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A Dutch Daubigny
Charles-François Daubigny in Holland

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Introduction

Now we know Daubigny, Corot, Millet and Troyon for the first time! Our own Louvre does not have such masterpieces!’¹

These words of high praise were bestowed on the art collection of the Dutch painter Hendrik Willem Mesdag (1831-1915) by a group of French visitors in 1902. They marvelled at the exhibited works by the Barbizon School, in which they recognized a different side of these artists. Because Mesdag had mostly acquired late pieces or preliminary studies, these tourists realized that their own School of nineteenth-century naturalists had produced more than the ‘properly finished’ Salon paintings on display in their own French galleries.

While these men claimed that in order to truly comprehend Daubigny and his circle of French painters one ought to visit the Netherlands, this artist’s own generation had made the exact same journey in the past so as to learn about the Dutch masters of the Golden Age. Although the Louvre owned pictures by Rembrandt and Ruisdael, every Parisian wishing to come to a full understanding of the seventeenth-century Dutch Masters was advised to pack his bags for Holland. Beside its rich artistic heritage, the nation’s past economical prosperity, political climate and picturesque qualities had inspired numerous travellers to visit the Netherlands over the centuries. Especially during the Romantic Age the foreign travel rose to an unexpected height, inspired by a desire to explore what lay beyond the national borders. Philosophers, poets and painters travelled to ‘exotic’ sites such as Amsterdam, Dordrecht, Zaandam and Harlingen. Among them was also the renowned landscape painter Charles-François Daubigny (1817-1878), making the journey to the north in 1871 with his son Karl (1846-1886), himself an artist too.

Over the years art historians have shown interest in these various foreign visitors. One of the most important researchers on this topic was Hans Kraan, who from the 1980s onwards devoted several articles on artists visiting the Netherlands. His findings would ultimately be gathered in *Dromen van Holland* (2002), still the most important publication on the subject. Besides offering a helpful overview of the many artists that set foot on Dutch soil it also discusses their visits and their representations of the nation and its people. Kraan proved the importance of the country’s pictur-

¹ ‘Nu eerst kennen wij Daubigny, Corot, Millet, Troyon! Bij ons in het Louvre zijn zulke meesterwerken niet!’, Sunday edition of *Dagblad van Zuid Holland en ’s Gravenhage*, 1 (January 18th, 1903), pp. 9-10. Hans Kraan, ‘Barbizon en het verzamelen in Nederland’, in: John Sillevius and Hans Kraan (ed.), *De School van Barbizon. Franse meesters van de 19^{de} eeuw*, 1985, p. 70.

esque appearance and legacy of the seventeenth-century School of painters, demonstrating that foreign visitors were drawn to both the nation's charming windmills and rich museum collections. Kraan's research was expanded with projects focusing more on particular individuals such as *Max Liebermann en Holland* (1980), *Monet in Holland* (1986) and *Whistler en Holland* (1997), as well as on specific Dutch sites, like *Dromen van Dordrecht* (2005) and *Dutch Utopia. American artists in Laren* (2009). In the exhibition catalogue *Monet in Holland* Boudewijn Bakker correctly states: 'Thanks to the publications of J. Verbeek and Hans Kraan we now generally know of several artists when they came and which places they visited, yet the character of their travelling remains rather unclear because so few of them have told something about their reasons and experiences. The artists' motives will probably have been as diverse as their artistic ideas, but many undoubtedly came here first of all in order to enrich their knowledge of the art from the Golden Age'.² Also, the author expressed his amazement at the fact that within the vast amount of literature on Monet, no publication seemed to have seriously discussed the painter's possible reasons for seeing Holland or explained his choices for the particular sites he visited there.³

Although addressed in both the later published *Dromen van Holland* and *Dromen van Dordrecht*, the same aspects have still not yet been properly discussed in the case of Daubigny. In fact, the overall amount of publications on this landscape artist is rather meagre compared to that of many of his French colleagues. Nevertheless, his late colourful and loosely painted pictures have caused Daubigny's status in art history to be 'upgraded' from being the youngest member of Barbizon to that of an important role model for the Impressionists. However, this interesting position is not the only reason Daubigny deserves more of our attention, especially in the Netherlands.

As it happens, *De Mesdag Collectie* (The Hague) is not the only Dutch gallery offering a taste of Daubigny's oeuvre. In fact, Aukje Vergeest's research on French art collections in the Netherlands demonstrated that Daubigny is the best represented French painter in our public museums, mentioning no less than 59 works in total.⁴ The artist's popularity during the end of the nineteenth- and the beginning of the twentieth century with both Dutch collectors and painters connects Daubigny's work to our national history of art. While the artistic innovations made by the Hague School painters

² Bakker: 'Dankzij de publicaties van J. Verbeek en Hans Kraan weten we van sommige kunstenaars ongeveer wanneer ze kwamen en welke plaatsen ze bezochten, maar toch blijft het karakter van hun reizen tamelijk schimmig, doordat zo weinigen van hen iets hebben verteld over hun beweegredenen en ervaringen. De motieven van de kunstenaars zullen wel even ver uiteengelopen hebben als hun schilderkunstige opvattingen, maar velen kwamen hier zonder twijfel allereerst om hun kennis van de kunst uit de Gouden Eeuw te verrijken'. Boudewijn Bakker, 'Monet als toerist', in: Bakker et al., *Monet in Holland*, Zwolle 1986, p. 22.

³ Bakker: 'Wat zocht Monet eigenlijk in Nederland, en waarom koos hij juist die gebieden? Was het toeval, intuïtie of traditie? Vreemd genoeg wordt die vraag in de kunsthistorische literatuur helemaal niet gesteld, of in algemene en stereotiepe termen beantwoord'. Ibid., p. 17.

⁴ Aukje Vergeest, *The French Collection. Nineteenth-century French Paintings in Dutch Public Collections*, Amsterdam 2000, p. 23.

were for a great part directly inspired by the naturalism of Daubigny and his fellow members of Barbizon, Vincent van Gogh would equally express his admiration for the painter in his letters, even honouring the artist with three pictures representing *Daubigny's Garden* (1890) [Fig. 1].

But while we are quite aware of what the Dutch saw in Daubigny, it is rather unclear what Daubigny wished to find in Holland. Biographical publications on the artist only mention the visit in passing without elaborating on the painter's possible reasons for visiting the Netherlands, the work he made there and the exact places he saw. Up until now, his motivations are generally characterized as artistic, such as seeing the Dutch Old Masters and the landscape that had inspired them.⁵ This would place him in a long tradition of earlier nineteenth-century visitors who seemed to consider a trip to the Netherlands a tour around the galleries in the first place. However, by comparing Daubigny's stay with several generations of French artists such as the painters of Barbizon, Boudin and Monet, I would like to find out whether Daubigny had commercial reasons for coming to Holland as well. The success of the later Impressionists is often explained by the upcoming dealer-critic system, in which art dealers and exhibition strategies began to play a much larger role than before. Visits abroad were not just artistically but also financially interesting, allowing the painter to come back with something new for the art market. Monet's multiple stays in the Netherlands are therefore described as artistic as well as commercial undertakings. Because Daubigny's own journey took place at a rather late stage in his career – in fact simultaneously with Monet – it would be interesting to see whether the painter's decision to see the Netherlands was similarly influenced by the saleability of 'Dutch' work.

After an introduction of Daubigny's life and oeuvre by analyzing the painter's current reputation as a middleman between Barbizon and Impressionism, I shall first discuss the various writers and artists that preceded Daubigny on his journey to Holland. Their experiences will thereafter be compared to the painter's own stay in 1871, in which his visit shall be reconstructed by means of early biographical sources and the artist's correspondence. After focussing on Daubigny's possible artistic reasons for coming to Holland I will finally investigate his often mentioned commercial motivation by discussing the reception of his Dutch work and position on the art market. Was Daubigny only a middleman because of his artistic accomplishments, or does his trip to Holland qualify him for this position in a commercial sense as well?

1. Daubigny. A Traditional Revolutionary

In a 1959 exhibition catalogue, Daubigny was described as ‘young enough to be Corot’s son and old enough to be Monet’s father’.⁶ This characterization refers to more than his age alone; over time Daubigny’s place in art history has shifted from being a member of the Barbizon School to that of a forerunner of Impressionism. Already during his lifetime Daubigny was associated with the so-called ‘Men of 1830’, such as Rousseau and Corot, named after the moment from which they began to challenge the academic standards of landscape painting with a new kind of naturalism. Daubigny was indeed closely connected to them, sharing both their friendship and their preference for natural French sceneries instead of Italian heroic subjects. It was not until 1890, long after their deaths, that they became better known as the School of Barbizon, referring to the village near the forest of Fontainebleau where many of them had gathered to sketch after nature out-of-doors. Responsible for this change of name was the Englishman David C. Thomson, who had published a book on the group of French naturalists in order to promote their art in Great Britain. He considered Daubigny part of the very heart of the Barbizon School, apparently not bothered by the fact that the painter had spent little time in Fontainebleau.⁷ Yet the name stuck, being adopted five years later by W.H. Fuller’s *Two Barbizon Painters* (1895), in which he discusses Daubigny and Troyon. While being aware that many members had hardly lived in Barbizon, Fuller considered them to belong to the same school based on their stylistic similarities.⁸ Yet Daubigny’s much younger age caused E.G. Halton to describe him as a ‘follower rather than a pioneer’, working in the Barbizon manner when this had already become acceptable for the Salon.⁹ In *Barbizon Revisited* (1962) Robert Herbert hardly altered his predecessors’ selection of Barbizon artists, yet he did respond to the changed portrayal of the School in art history when he warned against the characterization of Barbizon as nothing more than a vehicle that would ultimately lead to Monet’s objective visions of nature. Herbert: ‘We must avoid seeing Barbizon art as merely the cradle of Impressionism, or as the repository of nineteenth-century sentimentalism’.¹⁰

⁶ Anonymous, *Paintings by C.F. Daubigny*, exhib. cat. Hazlitt Gallery, London 1959, p. 3.

⁷ David C. Thompson, *The Barbizon School of Painting*, London 1890. Thompson led the Goupil Gallery in London, a dependence of the Paris Gallery Boussod & Valladon. Christoph Heilmann, Michael Clarke and John Sillevis, *Corot, Courbet und die Maler von Barbizon. Les amis de la nature*, Munich 1996, p. 41.

⁸ W.H. Fuller, *Two Barbizon painters*, New York 1895, pp. 3-4.

⁹ E.G. Halton: ‘It is a little difficult to define the exact position of Daubigny amongst the group of painters now generally known as the Barbizon School, for although he was at one with them in spirit and feeling, and worthily upheld their ideals and their doctrines, he “arrived” only when the great struggle which freed landscape painting in France was at an end. He was therefore a follower rather than a pioneer of the movement with which the older men were more or less associated’. E.G. Halton, ‘The Collection of Mr. Alexander Young II – The Daubignys’, *The Studio. An Illustrated Magazine of Fine and Applied Art* 39 (1906-07), Nos. 163-166, p. 99.

¹⁰ Robert L. Herbert, *Barbizon Revisited*, Boston 1962, p. 67.

However, he did stress Daubigny's importance for the Impressionists, thereby setting him slightly apart from the older generation of 1830.¹¹ Thus the 'follower' again became a 'pioneer', yet this time for the next generation. Over the years Daubigny's role as a middleman between Barbizon and Impressionism has become stronger, based both on his evolving painting techniques and his early support for the younger generation of landscapists.

1.1 Traditional Ties

By not attending the École des Beaux-Arts, the Barbizon artists are considered the first independent painters of their time. They were more interested in translating their honest feelings towards nature to the canvas than in academically painted biblical or mythological heroes. As a result, the generation of 1830 was considered controversial at the Salon, earning Rousseau the title of 'le grand refusée' when his *Descente de vaches* (1834) was refused not only once but twice.¹² However, at that time the Salon was still the most important vehicle to gain public recognition as an artist, thereby forcing Daubigny and the other members of Barbizon to seek admission. Before focusing on his role as a forerunner of Impressionism, I will therefore demonstrate that in many ways Daubigny was still a very traditional artist.

Born in Paris in 1817, Charles-François Daubigny spent part of his childhood in the rural Valmondois area because of his delicate health. He grew up in an artistic family, in which the father Edme was a painter of classicist landscapes in the tradition of Poussin. Trained in painting and drawing, the young Daubigny decorated boxes and clocks and moved out to study under Pierre-Asthasie-Théodore Sentiès (b. 1801) whilst working as a restorer at Versailles.¹³ After a trip to Italy, Daubigny returned to his master in order to prepare for the upcoming Prix de Rome competition for historical landscape painting. Winning this prize was important for young artists, offering them a financed stay in Rome and the chance to earn official commissions.¹⁴ Daubigny failed the second trial competition, yet his attempt to compete again in 1841 shows the young artist's eagerness to gain this academic award.¹⁵ Although never a student of the École, the system did allow painters such as Daubigny to enter the competition by attending the studio of one of the École's teachers.¹⁶ This time, Daubigny studied with the history painter Paul Delaroche (1797-1856), yet presumably got disqualified for

¹¹ Ibid., p. 65.

¹² John Sillevs, 'De School van Barbizon', in: Sillevs and Kraan 1985 (note 1), p. 54.

¹³ Frédéric Henriët, *C. Daubigny et son oeuvre gravé*, Paris 1875, p. 8. Madeleine Fidell-Beaufort and Janine Bailly-Herzberg, *Daubigny*, Paris 1975, pp. 19, 32. It is unknown when Sentiès died.

¹⁴ Michael Marlais, 'Charles-François Daubigny and the traditions of French landscape painting', in: Michael Marlais, John Varriano and Wendy M. Watson, *Valenciennes, Daubigny and the origins of French Landscape painting*, South Hadley 2004, p. 41.

¹⁵ Fidell-Beaufort and Bailly-Herzberg 1975 (note 13), pp. 19, 35.

¹⁶ Kermit S. Champa, *The Rise of Landscape Painting in France. Corot to Monet*, Manchester/New Hampshire 1991, p. 65.

missing a meeting at the Academy whilst eating out with a friend.¹⁷ He did not enter the competition again, yet worked hard to be admitted to the Salon, understanding the importance for his career when finally exhibiting at this major event. One of his first entries was a religious painting of *Saint Jerome* (1840) [Fig. 2]. The theme was probably chosen to please the jury, who after all considered historical painting the most honourable genre. Yet from that moment onwards, Daubigny's entries would be pure landscapes, him hardly missing a Salon exhibition until his death in 1878. Initially working in the classicist tradition, his French rural scenes would become more and more natural and realistic, causing the critic Théophile Gautier to crown him as one of the most important landscape painters alive, and 'le premier des paysagistes objectifs'. Despite the praise he received for his unadorned and anti-academic representations of nature, Daubigny would never hide his traditional training, always mentioning both his father and Delaroche as his teachers in the Salon catalogues.¹⁸

Furthermore, the artist clearly admired the work of his classicist forerunners, copying them in the Louvre and to a large extent still following their working methods. Although one of the first to truly embrace plein-air painting, Daubigny finished his Salon works in the studio and his delicate green and brown tonalities can be related to Poussin and Lorrain. Furthermore, while Gautier considered him an objective painter, Daubigny's final works were largely based on memories and conventional compositions in which he managed to combine forms of nature in such a convincing manner that they appeared very realistic. Even when standing face to face with nature, Daubigny always carried the mental images of his predecessors with him, for instance when describing the landscape of Crémieu in 1854 as beautiful, comparing it to what he had seen from Gaspard Dughet, Nicolas Poussin, and Salvator Rosa.¹⁹

1.2 Work

Like many of his contemporaries, Daubigny's initial source of income was printmaking, for instance by illustrating travel books. His talent for this technique made him publish etchings and engravings throughout his career, yet it was clear that the artist's primary goal was to establish a reputation as a painter. His success did not come overnight. Although men such as Rousseau had already begun to challenge the academic standards of landscape painting, the great leaders of Classicism and Romanticism, the Cabanels and the Delacroix's, still determined the standards of the Salon.²⁰ However, with a little help from national politics Daubigny managed to achieve a break-through in 1848. After the Republicans had come to power during the Revolution, thorough changes were made at the Salon as

¹⁷ Henriot 1875 (note 13), p. 25. Anecdote also mentioned in Jean Laran, *Daubigny*, Paris 1913, p. 23.

¹⁸ Fidell-Beaufort and Bailly-Herzberg 1975 (note 13), pp. 38, 47. Laran 1913 (note 17), pp. 22, 55.

¹⁹ Marlais 2004 (note 14), pp. 50-51.

²⁰ Herbert 1962 (note 10), p. 40.

well. No jury was appointed that year and as a result all painters were admitted for the exhibition. Daubigny sent a total of six works whilst winning a second-class medal for *Les Bords du Cousin près d'Avallon*, which gave him true public exposure for the first time [Fig. 3]. Furthermore, the new and more progressive regime seemed to favour the style and ideals of the Barbizon artists, resulting in an increasing number of important state commissions for Daubigny and his colleagues.²¹

Although his earlier work was still rooted in the classicist manner of Claude Lorrain and Poussin, Daubigny started to get rid of his soft textures and academic compositions in the early 1850s, introducing a looser and much thicker kind of brushwork.²² His journeys through the French countryside made him a specialist in depicting calm and cultivated rural scenes, as opposed to the more romantic representations of pure nature by Rousseau. Daubigny's large production of paintings showing the surroundings of the Dauphiné and Auvers regions received positive criticism, praising his realistic approach.²³ In 1851 Gabriel Ferry commented on *Les Iles Vierges à Besons*: 'Its golden cornices are not a framework; it is an opening towards the course of the Seine; it is not a painting which you see; it is the sky itself, the transparent water of the river in which you see the wet shades of poplar trees, willows and water plants tremble and play; it is a lively and animated nature, with the appearance of a painting'.²⁴ The best stimulus for Daubigny's career may have been the purchases made by the Emperor himself, buying *L'Étang de Gylieu* in 1853 [Fig. 4]. Beside several state commissions and Salon medals, Daubigny was even knighted in the Legion of Honour in 1859.²⁵ His increasing success meant an increasing amount of money and opportunities, which Daubigny used to travel more intensely, favouring sites such as Optevoz and Villerville.

If we can indicate the Salon of 1848 as a turning point in Daubigny's career, the year of 1857 played a similarly important role in the development of the painter's style. Obviously more attached to the countryside than to the city of Paris, Daubigny launched 'Le Botin', his studio boat in that year. Fully equipped with a studio, kitchen, sleeping area, and a pet rabbit named *Rafiot* for a mascot, this little vessel allowed Daubigny to make long excursions along the Seine and l'Oise rivers, often in the company of his son Karl or befriended painters like Corot [Fig. 6]. The effect on his work was instant: Daubigny was less interested in mountains and meadows, but focused on capturing the very rivers he sailed on. Water began to play a crucial role in his oeuvre, resulting in his initially heavy palette being transformed towards a freer and smaller brushstroke. He applied his paint rapidly, capturing the light

²¹ Fidell-Beaufort and Bailly-Herzberg 1975 (note 13), p. 43. Herbert 1962 (note 10), pp. 38-39.

²² Herbert 1962 (note 10), p. 47.

²³ Marlais 2004 (note 14), pp. 43, 45.

²⁴ Gabriel Ferry: 'Ces baguettes dorées ne sont pas un cadre; c'est une ouverture sur le cours de la Seine; ce n'est pas une toile que vous y voyez; c'est le ciel même, la rivière aux eaux transparentes dans lesquelles tremblent et se jouent les ombres humides des peupliers, des saules et des plantes aquatiques; c'est la nature vivante, animée, avec l'apparence d'un tableau'. Cited by: Laran 1913 (note 17), pp. 31-32.

²⁵ Fidell-Beaufort and Bailly-Herzberg 1975 (note 13), p. 23.

as it reflected on the water. It is clear that Daubigny's looser technique was the result of continuous plein-air painting, and he managed to bring some of the spontaneity of his out-of-doors studies to his finished studio paintings as well. However, Daubigny still used this lighter and more colourful palette next to his earlier style, exhibiting both at the Salon.²⁶

This combination of new and more traditional work was continued during the 1860s, offering the public of the Salon both safe (*Le Matin et les Bords de l'Oise a Auvers*, 1863) and more provocative works (*Soleil couchant sur l'Oise*, 1865) [Fig. 6-7]. All the critical attention, even when not always positive, had made it possible to raise his prizes. In the final decade of his life, Daubigny's manner became even looser and broader, combined with a more vibrant use of colours and lively application of paint, sometimes by means of the palette knife.²⁷ His work *Les Coquelicots (Les Champs au Mois de Juin*, 1874), a theme treated by Monet the very year before, was even considered a step too far by his closest friend Camille Corot, who stated: 'his field of poppies is blinding. There are too many' [Fig. 8-9].²⁸ Although Daubigny would return to his earlier and more traditional style in the last years of his life, resulting in a diminished interest from critics and crowd alike, it is the colourful poppy field or the choppy brushwork in his *l'Effet de Neige* (1874) that captured the attention of art historians when bestowing on him the role of father of Impressionism [Fig. 10].

1.3 Daubigny the 'Pre-Impressionist'

So why should this honour be received by Daubigny and not his fellow members of Barbizon? Firstly, the work of Rousseau, Corot and Troyon can generally be considered more romantic than realistic, especially when compared to Daubigny. Furthermore, Daubigny was closer in age to the Impressionists and a painter of pure landscape, as opposed to Corot.²⁹ Yet the main reason for his reputation as a stepping stone for the younger generation is his loose brushstroke, a result of his interest in plein-air painting. Even when the entire School of Barbizon was known for working out-of-doors, Daubigny seems to have taken this the furthest of them all. Though he shares this promotion of working from nature directly with men such as Johann Barthold Jongkind (1819-1891) and Eugène Boudin (1824-1898) – also considered father figures to the Impressionists – Daubigny achieved the most in terms of making this sketch-like painting style acceptable to the audience.³⁰ Although proven nothing but a myth, Daubigny's friend, student and first biographer Frédéric Henriet (1826-1918) described how Daubigny's *Villerville-sur-mer* (1863) was the first finished Salon painting to have been completed

²⁶ Fidell-Beaufort and Bailly-Herzberg 1975 (note 13), p. 49. Herbert 1962 (note 10), p. 47.

²⁷ Henriet 1875 (note 13), p. 41. Fidell-Beaufort and Bailly-Herzberg 1975 (note 13), pp. 49, 61.

²⁸ Camille Corot: 'Son champ de coquelicots est aveuglant. Il y en a trop'. Cited by: Fidell-Beaufort and Bailly-Herzberg 1975 (note 13), p. 71.

²⁹ Marlais 2004 (note 14), p. 41. Herbert 1962 (note 10), p. 56.

³⁰ Robert Hellebranth, *Charles-François Daubigny 1817-1878*, Morges 1976, p. XVII-XVIII.

entirely out-of-doors, an honour that has been adopted in handbooks for decades [Fig. 11]. Henriet: 'Daubigny attached his canvas to stakes solidly planted in the ground, and there it stayed, risking the attacks of goats and bulls, and open to the pranks of naughty children. It was not taken down until it was perfectly finished. The painter had chosen a grey sky filled with fat clouds chased by the angry wind. He was constantly on the alert for the right moment and ran to take up his work as soon as the weather corresponded to that of his painting'.³¹ Later biographies similarly emphasize and sometimes exaggerate his anti-academic reputation, describing him as a man who tried to stay out of the dreadful dark studio as much as he could. Jean Laran would describe Daubigny's motto as: 'The painting is a strain; the direct plein-air study is a joy'.³² Although his larger finished works were still made during the winter months in his Paris studio, Daubigny eventually would also exhibit studies made completely on the spot.³³ Like the Impressionists, the artist was most of all interested in depicting light and changing weather conditions, especially after the purchase of his studio boat.

Even though Daubigny's role as a 'pre-Impressionist' largely came into being only after Monet, Renoir and Pissarro had proven their impact on the history of art, contemporary critics already commented on the particular characteristics in his work that would inspire the next generation. As early as in the 1850s, long before Daubigny's late sketch-like manner would have evolved completely, critics were beginning to feel uneasy about the artist's changing course. In 1852, the *Moniteur Universelle* stated about Daubigny: 'I do not know anyone who has a more intimate feeling for nature, and who can better make it felt. But why does he only produce rough sketches like *La Moisson* and the *Vue Prise sur les Bords de la Seine*. This latter is particularly beautiful. Is M. Daubigny afraid of ruining his work by finishing it? But that would be an avowal of weakness. I have a better opinion of his talent and I am convinced that a man who has begun so well could not finish badly' [Fig. 12].³⁴ Two years later Léon Lagrange reprimanded him for the same reason, calling Daubigny a 'slave to his impressions'.³⁵ Nevertheless, some seemed to consider this aspect a positive feature in

³¹ Henriet: 'Daubigny avait fixé sa toile à des pieux solidement plantés en terre, et elle y resta, exposée en permanence aux coups de corne des ruminants et aux espiègleries des polissons, jusqu'à parfait achèvement. Le peintre avait précisément adopté un ciel gris mouvementé, avec de gros nuages que le vent chasse travailler aussitôt que le temps se déclarait dans le sens de l'impression du tableau'. Henriet 1875 (note 13), p. 43.

³² Laran: 'Le tableau est un effort; l'étude directe en plein air est une joie'. Laran 1913 (note 17), p. 8.

³³ Marlais 2004 (note 14), p. 49.

³⁴ Grunn: 'Au groupe des néo-paysagistes appartient encore M. Daubigny. Je ne sais personne qui ait un sentiment plus intime de la nature et qui le fasse mieux sentir. Mais pourquoi ne tracer que des ébauches comme la *Moisson* et la *Vue prise sur les Bords de la Seine*. Cette dernière surtout est ravissante. M. Daubigny craindrait-il de se gêner en se terminant? ce serait un aveu d'impuissance. J'ai meilleure opinion de son talent et je suis convaincu qu'un homme qui commence si bien ne peut pas achever mal'. Grunn, *Moniteur Universel*, June 20th, 1852. Translation adopted from Fidell-Beaufort and Bailly-Herzberg 1975 (note 13), p. 45.

³⁵ Léon Lagrange: 'Esclave de l'impression, Daubigny a peur de trop mettre du sien dans ses tableaux. Il arrête sa main quand il voudrait serrer l'exécution de plus près'. Léon Lagrange, 'Salons', *Gazette des Beaux-arts*, July 1854. Translation adopted from Fidell-Beaufort and Bailly-Herzberg 1975 (note 13), p. 55.

Daubigny's work, such as Zacharie Astruc's praise of the painter's 'simple impressions' in 1859.³⁶ Yet we should be careful by reading too much into their use of the term 'impression', for at that time the later school would be on no critic's mind. From that moment onwards, any negative criticism on Daubigny seemed to revolve solely around his unfinished manner, even though it did not negatively affect his sales or opportunities to exhibit at the Salon.³⁷ Works such as *Le Village près Bonnières*, *Le Parc à Moutons le Matin*, and *Le Lever de Lune* were hard to accept for art theorists, yet paved the way for the Impressionists [Fig. 13]. It is as if Gautier already recognized this development in landscape painting in his Salon review of 1861, warning others against going down the same dangerous road as Daubigny. Gautier: 'It is a true shame that Daubigny, this landscapist of such true feeling, so right and so natural, is satisfied with a first impression and neglects details to this point. These paintings are nothing but sketches and not very advanced at that. This is not due to a lack of time, because he has exhibited no less than five fairly important canvases. One must therefore attribute this loose manner to a system, which we believe to be dangerous for the future of the painter if he does not abandon it as quickly as possible. [...] Each object delineates itself by an apparent or real contour, and the landscapes of M. Daubigny offer little except spots of colour placed in juxtaposition. It needs, however, but a few days' labour to make excellent pictures of these insufficient preparations'.³⁸ One could almost imagine the exact same works spoken about Monet and his circle.

It is therefore not difficult to understand why the Impressionists were so taken with Daubigny's landscapes, recognizing in them something they wished to take even further. In his 1857 article in *l'Artiste*, which Henriet had written in a sort of defence of his friend, the biographer lists exactly those qualities which the later Impressionists aspired. According to Henriet, Daubigny had introduced a new manner of depicting light by combining luminous colours instead of creating a simple opposition between light and dark. Furthermore, he championed Daubigny's talent for improvisation and direct sketches after nature.³⁹ Equally interested in plein-air painting, Boudin condemned his

³⁶ Astruc: 'Le realism – pardon – la nature de Monsieur Daubigny est charmante et plaît à tous. [...] C'est le peintre par excellence des simples impressions'. Zacharie Astruc, *Les 14 stations du Salon Aout 1859*, Paris 1859, p. 303. Cited by: Fidell-Beaufort and Bailly-Herzberg 1975 (note 13), pp. 49-50.

³⁷ Laran 1913 (note 17), p. 13. Herbert 1962 (note 10), p. 48. A. de Colonne offered similar criticism on Daubigny's *Village près Bonnières*: 'A titre d'impression, c'est un chef-d'oeuvre, à titre de paysage, c'est une oeuvre incomplète, ou pour parler plus juste, ce n'est pas un paysage...'. Cited by: Laran 1913 (note 17), p. 74.

³⁸ Gautier: 'Il est vraiment dommage que M. Daubigny, ce paysagiste d'un sentiment si vrai, si juste et si naturel, se contente d'une première impression et néglige à ce point les détails. Ces tableaux ne sont que des ébauches, et des ébauches peu avancées. Ce n'est pas le temps qui lui a manqué car il n'a pas exposé moins de cinq toiles assez importantes; c'est donc à une système qu'on doit attribuer cette manière lâchée, que nous croyons dangereuse pour l'avenir du peintre s'il ne l'abandonne au plus vite' [...] Chaque objet se dessine par un contour apparent ou réel, et les paysages de M. Daubigny n'offrent guère que des taches de couleur juxtaposées. Il n'eût cependant fallu que quelques jours de travail pour faire des tableaux excellents de ces préparations insuffisantes'. Théophile Gautier, *Abécédaire du Salon de 1861*, Paris 1861, pp. 119-120.

³⁹ Frédéric Henriet, 'Daubigny', *l'Artiste*, Paris 1857, Vol. 1, pp. 195-198.

own work as second-rate after witnessing Daubigny's bold studies.⁴⁰ Another admirer was the young Monet, who wrote Boudin after attending the Salon two years after Henriét's defence. Monet: 'In quality the Troyon's are superb, the Daubigny's are for me something truly beautiful'. [...] 'Daubigny, now there is a fellow who does well, who understands nature!' ⁴¹ Monet even purchased his own studio boat, which could well have been inspired by Daubigny's enterprise [Fig. 14]. Daubigny's work did not differ very much from that of the young Impressionists such as Pissarro's *Bords de la Marne* (1864/65) [Fig. 15].⁴² Yet it seems the influence was not limited to one direction. As mentioned, Daubigny's depiction of bright red poppies recalls Monet's earlier version of the same theme and the mature artist would not let age, experience or tradition stand in the way of occasionally 'flirting' with Impressionism. His bright greens in *Le Verger* (1876) are nothing like the subdued harmonious tones in his traditional work and his *Young Corn* shows a vigorously painted sky that makes Van Gogh's admiration for the man easily understandable [Fig. 16-17].

Yet it was not just the example of Daubigny's painting that helped the Impressionists to eventually achieve their goals. In the fragile beginnings of their careers, the already established Barbizon landscapist seemed to support their efforts vigorously. In 1865 the Salon had increased its amount of jury members, allowing Daubigny and Corot to be part of the admission committee. Zola remembered Daubigny's progressive attitude as a jury member, stating that the landscapist presumably called out: 'Let us refuse only the 'nothings', the 'mediocres'. Let us accept the 'temperaments'.⁴³ In this line of thought, Daubigny did all in his power to get the young avant-garde accepted. He succeeded with Pissarro, yet stood alone when defending a young Cézanne and Renoir. As a result, Daubigny even suggested the organization of a new Salon de Refusés, offering the public the opportunity to see less conventional painting as well. His quarrels with the other jury members apparently caused emotions to run high, as described by art critic Castagnary. He recalls the reaction of Émile de Nieuwerkerke, Head of Fine Arts, to Daubigny's interferences: 'M. de Nieuwerkerke has laid the blame on Daubigny. If the Salon of this year is what it is, a Salon of newcomers; if the doors have been opened to almost anyone who asked to be admitted, if it contains 1,378 more works than last year's Salon, if in this overflow of free painting, official State painting has made a poor showing, it is

⁴⁰ Boudin 1868: 'I have just come from visiting Daubigny and some other painters of talent, where I have seen extremely beautiful things which, I must admit, make us look second rate. Their studies contain a boldness and anger that I would like to put in my own. We spoke of Monet, and Daubigny told me that at the last Salon he had to fight in order to have one of his paintings admitted; they first accepted *Le Bateau* and then came the turn of the other. Nieuwerkerke told him, 'Oh, no, enough of that painting there'. Nevertheless, Daubigny finds the jetty far superior'. Quote translated by: Fidell-Beaufort and Bailly-Herzberg 1975 (note 13), pp. 72-73.

⁴¹ Champa 1991 (note 16), p. 71.

⁴² Henri Loyrette and Gary Tinterow, *Impressionisme. Les Origines 1859-1869*, Paris 1994, pp. 61, 86.

⁴³ Zola on Daubigny: 'Ne refusons que les nuls et les médiocres, acceptons les tempéraments'. Translation adopted from Fidell-Beaufort and Bailly-Herzberg 1975 (note 13), p. 58.

all Daubigny's fault'.⁴⁴ After facing the same resistance in 1870, Daubigny decided to lay down his position as a jury member when Monet was again refused. However, that same year Daubigny would make a great difference for the most important representative of the next generation, when introducing Monet to the art dealer Durand-Ruel, who would later become one of the most successful promoters of the Impressionists.

As can be seen by Daubigny's career, his position between the 'old' and the 'new', Barbizon and Impressionism, is definitely justified. Younger and more straightforward in his landscape depictions, he was not quite a Barbizon painter like the others. At the same time, the artist's roots were definitely traditional, in education, inspiration and execution. He would never distance himself from the Salon, in fact his entire career was focused on being seen at this important art event. Furthermore, although sketching out of doors, he still seemed to believe a Salon masterpiece ought to be created in the safe surroundings of his studio walls. However, at the same time Daubigny rebelled against academic standards by sending both rather traditional and more provocative works to the annual exhibitions, thereby offering an example for younger artists as well as preparing the critics and public for a new manner of seeing and representing nature. This twofold character, representing the traditional and the revolutionary, can be recognized in both his personal character and his artistic oeuvre. In chapter 4 we shall find out whether this position was also characteristic of his attitude towards the more commercial aspects of art.

⁴⁴ Castagnary: 'M. de Nieuwerkerke s'en prend à Daubigny. Si le Salon de cette année est ce qu'il est, un Salon de nouveaux venus, si les portes en ont été ouvertes à presque tous ceux qui se sont présentés; s'il contient 1.378 numéros de plus que le Salon de l'année dernière, si, dans ce débordement de la peinture libre, la peinture d'Etat fait assez pauvre figure, c'est à Daubigny la faute. Daubigny a voulu faire de la fausse popularité, c'est un ambitieux, un libéral et un libre penseur [...] Cited by: Fidell-Beaufort and Bailly-Herzberg 1975 (note 13), p. 60.

2. Le pays de Rembrandt. Visiting Holland

'Holland takes in a great place in the history of the arts: and what it contributed to this history? She has given it the landscape by Rembrandt, by Ruisdael, by Hobbema, by Cuyp, P. Potter, Van den Velde, up to and including Dujardin and Berghem; she has introduced or developed a new sentiment in painting that makes it an equal to the most famous of Schools'.⁴⁵

These were the opening words spoken by the marquis de Chennevières, director of Fine Arts, at the funeral of Charles-François Daubigny in 1878. His praise of Dutch seventeenth-century painting was quickly followed by a tribute to the deceased himself, for according to the speaker the secrets of Rembrandt and his comrades were rediscovered halfway the nineteenth-century by men such as Rousseau, Corot, Millet, and eventually Daubigny. By turning away from academism towards a more naturalistic yet still poetic landscape art, the Barbizon painters were considered heirs to the Dutch School. Not only does De Chennevières' final farewell to 'le dernier des paysagistes' indicate the appreciation for Dutch seventeenth-century painting in France at the time, it also demonstrates how often contemporary artists such as Daubigny were associated with these Old Masters.⁴⁶

This change of heart regarding Dutch realism as opposed to academic idealism largely occurred in the nineteenth century. It went hand in hand with a more general interest in the Netherlands, spreading by means of illustrated albums and travel books. The country was visited by a wide range of people, attracted to its waterworks and windmills, canals and customs, politics and people. Before focussing on Daubigny's journey to the Netherlands we shall therefore turn to the philosophers, adventurers and artists that visited Holland before him. As we shall see, they had a variety of reasons for travelling north, yet seventeenth-century painting seemed one of the most important.

⁴⁵ De Chennevières : 'La Hollande tient une grande place dans l'histoire des arts: et qu'a donné la Hollande à cette histoire ? Elle lui a donné le paysage par Rembrandt, par Ruisdael, par Hobbema, par Cuyp, P. Potter, Van den Velde, jusqu'à Dujardin et Berghem; elle a introduit ou développé dans la peinture un sentiment nouveau qui fait de son école l'égale des plus fameuses. Ce sentiment est celui d'un amour intime de la nature, d'une pénétration passionnée de sa vie propre, comparable à l'ardeur que les autres écoles avaient réservée pour l'expression de la vie et de la beauté humaine'. Cited by: Henriot 1875 (note 13), p. 212.

⁴⁶ De Chennevières : 'Il se retrouva, ce secret, il y a un demi-siècle, dans la généreuse fermentation de notre école romantique, alors qu'à la suite de nos grands peintres d'histoire, à la suite de Géricault et de Delacroix, apparurent Corot et P. Huet, puis Flers, Cabat, Th. Rousseau, J. Dupré, Diaz, Marilhat, Millet, Daubigny; et plus d'un de nous a pu se dire parfois que ces paysagistes avaient peut-être jeté, dans le grand retentissement de la peinture moderne, la note la plus élevée, la plus poétique, la plus personnelle à notre temps'. [...] 'Malheur à nous si nous venions à nous dire que nous sommes ici pour saluer d'un dernier adieu le dernier des paysagistes!'. Ibid.

2.1 Searching for the Picturesque

Already during the fifteenth and sixteenth century, in times of upcoming prosperity, The Netherlands were an attractive travel destination for merchants, intellectuals, diplomats and artists.⁴⁷ Many foreigners even immigrated to the north in the following centuries, as described by the French philosopher Denis Diderot (1713-1748) in his *Voyage en Hollande et dans les Pays-Bas autrichien* after visiting in 1772. Diderot: 'The republicans recruit their inhabitants from the monarchies. Apart from the foreigners who are attracted by the civil, political freedoms, the republic [also] recruits people who come out of curiosity or in the hope of becoming rich'.⁴⁸ Thus for the greater part their motives were either political or economical, yet through the centuries interest in the Dutch landscape itself increased as well. Although the later travel mania of the 'Grand-tourists' was still mostly directed towards the ancient monuments of Rome, this was followed by a search for the 'picturesque' in which less golden lit landscapes such as that in Holland gained in favour as well.⁴⁹ This development had already resulted in a renewed interest in the landscape of France itself, as expressed in the beloved topographical publications such as *Voyages pittoresques et romantiques dans l'Ancienne France* (1820-1878).⁵⁰ The attraction of the Low Countries grew in the nineteenth century and although the first visitors were mostly English and German they were quickly followed by the French. At the beginning of the century the various parts of the Napoleonic Empire had piqued the people's interest. Cartographers set out to map the area and the inhabitants of Paris could soon buy albums with typically Dutch views of windmills and canals. But while past visitors and immigrants had been drawn by the country's wealth, nineteenth-century travellers were confronted with a nation largely lagging behind in industrial progress. Yet this only added to its enchantment. Especially during the Romantic era, with its nostalgia for bygone ages, the Netherlands were often praised for their picturesque appearance. From 1832 onwards, the illustrated weekly *Le Magasin Pittoresque* would regularly devote its articles to the nation's geography and ethnology, demonstrating a growing fascination for Holland in France.⁵¹

The same kind of appreciation can be recognized in various examples of travel books, a fast growing type of literature indicating the increasing number of foreign adventures in the nineteenth century. They offer us an idea of the specific Dutch sites tourists wished to visit at the time. Although

⁴⁷ Hans Kraan, *Dromen van Holland. Buitenlandse kunstenaars schilderen Holland. 1800-1914*, Zwolle 2002, p. 16.

⁴⁸ Diderot: Les républiques se recrutent aux dépens des monarchies. Outre les étrangers que la liberté civile, politique, religieuse, la curiosité, le désir de faire fortune attirent de toutes parts [...]. Denis Diderot, *Voyage en Hollande*, Paris 1982 (1774), p. 36. Diderot visited the Netherlands twice in the 1770s, three months in 1772 and another seven months in 1774. Shortly thereafter he published his book on the nation.

⁴⁹ Kraan 2002 (note 47), pp. 31-33.

⁵⁰ John Sillevs, 'Inleiding', in: Sillevs and Kraan 1986 (note 1), p. 9.

⁵¹ Bakker, 'Monet als tourist', in: Bakker, et al. 1986 (note 2), p. 19. Kraan 2002 (note 47), pp. 45, 67, 73.

Karl Baedeker (1801-1859) was not a Frenchman, this travel author did publish his many city guides in French as well, therefore contributing to the ever increasing tourism towards Holland. His *Belgique et Hollande. Manuel du voyageur* (1866) offers exactly what its title implies. Filled with practical information, it helped visitors choose their hotel, restaurant and manner of transport, informing them about local foods, currency and customs. The manual even offered its audience a readymade seven-day-trip around Holland, consisting of a tight schedule leading through Utrecht, Amsterdam, Broek in Waterland, Zaandam, Harlingen, Leiden, The Hague, Scheveningen, Delft and Rotterdam. Yet Baedeker explains this would only offer a superficial impression of the country, stressing that there are many more interesting places to see. Like many other authors, he described both Belgium and Holland, for most visitors combined the two in their journey.⁵²

Less practical but more elaborate on the country's history and culture were the writings by Henry Havard (1831-1921). During the 1870s this cultural historian stayed in the Netherlands a number of times, resulting in a series of publications such as *La Hollande pittoresque* (1873). For his writings Havard made use of Dutch city descriptions like Wagenaar's *Beschryving van Amsterdam* (1762-68), yet he mostly relied on his own experience. Although not explicitly mentioned as such in its title, Havard's *Amsterdam et Venise* (1876) again demonstrates that visitors were mostly interested in the country's charming aspects, such as windmills, neat little red brick houses and equally colourful flower fields. In his introduction Havard already announces that Amsterdam will be studied 'from the picturesque point of view'. By then the Dutch capital had become one of the most popular places to see for foreigners, yet this status was still relatively young. Granted, compared to other Dutch cities it had the most beautiful museums, yet for a long time Amsterdam itself was generally considered rather unattractive and even boring in comparison to The Hague and Rotterdam. Although this image changed from the 1860s onwards, travel literature shows that a trip to the Netherlands was not limited to the large cities. Similar to Baedeker, Havard speaks of numerous smaller and bigger towns worth visiting, including Kampen, Enkhuizen, Lemmer and last but not least Zaandam, which had become attractive after the increasingly expanding trade in flower bulbs.⁵³ Not surprisingly, these places scored high on the 'picturesque' scale.

Apart from a general curiosity for what was to be seen across the border, the increase of tourism was also due to more practical reasons, such as an expanding railroad network which stimulated travelling. Whilst Baedeker gives an overview of the different railroads leading to various cities, numerous travel guides about the Netherlands describe the country as seen from the many rivers and canals that it had to offer. As mentioned earlier, the nation was rather late in joining its neighbours in the Industrial Revolution, and it was not until the 1870s that the Dutch railroads really

⁵² Karl Baedeker, *Belgique et hollande. Manuel du voyageur*, Coblenz 1866, p. 191.

⁵³ Henry Havard, *Amsterdam et Venise*, Paris 1876, pp. 5-6, 15.

started to develop. Before that time there was only one connection between Cologne, Arnhem and Amsterdam. From there, a smaller line could take you to Haarlem and Rotterdam. Travellers that departed from Paris would necessarily need to leave their carriages in either Antwerp or Willemstad, with a boat to bring them to Dordrecht and Rotterdam.⁵⁴ Baedeker himself advised to take a ship from Rotterdam to Antwerp on the way back to Paris.⁵⁵ In *Voyage pittoresque en Hollande et en Belgique* (1857) Edmont Texeir opted for travelling by boat as well, in his case from Antwerp to Dordrecht, while Havard sailed in the company of the Dutch sea painter J.E. van Heemskerck van Beest (1828-1894).⁵⁶ However, it was not just necessity or convenience that made travellers take the waterways instead of the railways. This rather old fashioned use of transport only seemed to complete the picturesque image of Holland.

These writers all marvelled at the Netherlands, speaking of its people, landscape and architecture as if visiting a far away exotic land, even comparing it to China. However, not all travellers were so enchanted. The brothers Edmond and Jules de Goncourt were apparently nothing but bored with the never changing flat lands of Holland.⁵⁷ Their opinion was shared by several others, who were set back by the bad weather, grey skies and unaltered views. Apparently writer and photographer Maxime du Camp (1822-1894) felt the need to invalidate these presumptions, openly and enthusiastically declaring his love for the marvelous ‘polders’ which the Dutch had conquered from the sea. Du Camps : ‘Even if I wanted to, I would be hiding my love for Holland in vain; there is nothing in Europe more charming than its large landscapes, it might seem all the same at first, but it is filled, for the observer, with an ongoing variety and always cheerful’.⁵⁸

2.2 Politics and Art

Whether these men wrote positively or negatively on the Netherlands, their descriptions often also reflect their opinion of their own French society.⁵⁹ While the curious flat fields of Holland were plenty of reason for touring around this country, its remarkable political history played an important role as well. During the Dutch War of Independence (1568-1648) the Northern Netherlands had cut their ties with the great Habsburg Empire and become an independent Republic reigned by burghers and merchants. Even though it was once again a monarchy after 1815, Holland would continue to symbolize

⁵⁴ Bakker, ‘Monet als tourist’, in: Bakker, et al. 1986 (note 2), p. 19.

⁵⁵ Baedeker 1866 (note 52), p. 191.

⁵⁶ Kraan 2002 (note 47), p. 177. Bakker, ‘Monet als tourist’, in: Bakker, et al. 1986 (note 2), p. 20.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

⁵⁸ Du Camps: ‘Je voudrais en vain le cacher, cher ami, je suis amoureux de la Hollande; il n’y a rien en Europe de plus charmant que ses larges paysages, uniformes peut-être au premier aspect, mais pleins, pour l’observateur, d’une variété sans cesse renouvelée et toujours souriante’. Maxime du Camp, *En Hollande. Lettres a un ami par Maxime du Camp suivies des catalogues des musées de Rotterdam, La Haye et Amsterdam*, Paris 1859, pp. 1-2, 4. Du Camp had taken the train for Antwerp and visited the same sites as Havard and Baedeker.

⁵⁹ Kraan 2002 (note 47), p. 38.

independence, democracy and freedom in the eyes of many a Frenchman.⁶⁰ Especially the republicans were interested in the country's fascinating political history, which they considered a leading example for their own nation. This sentiment was shared by Havard, as expressed in his comparisons of Amsterdam and Venice. The author noticed many similarities in history and geography: both cities were situated near the sea, both had formed a Republican government led by independent citizens and the two shared a similar tolerance as regards religion.⁶¹ More importantly, these resemblances also resulted in a similar type of art. Havard: 'Thus art displays the same characteristics in both countries. Their architecture, both indigenous and partly borrowed from the southern people, shows the same flaws and beauties. Sculpture and literature are dead, and neither has witnessed the birth of a sculptor of renown within its city walls. [...] On the other hand, in the art of painting they have managed to outshine the others with similar radiance. [...]'.⁶² Thus Havard considered art an expression of a nation's geography, climate and history. In line with this theory, the author's characterization of Amsterdam as the 'Venice of the North' was not just based on its comparable canals and history, but also on the characteristics of its art.

Such an alignment of art and society had already been expressed by the French historian Edgar Quintet (1803-1875) who argued that every political revolution goes side by side with an artistic one. In his *Marnix de Sainte-Aldegonde* (1857) he commented that 'the same religious revolution that created Dutch politics has created Dutch art', stating that 'religion, politics, industry and art are nothing but various forms of the same thought'.⁶³ This theory became wide spread and was especially adopted by republicans such as author and art critic Théophile Thoré (1807-1867), writing under the pseudonym Willem Bürger. His combined interest in politics and aesthetics made him approach Dutch seventeenth-century art from a political point of view, considering this period's paint-

⁶⁰ Bakker, 'Monet als tourist', in: Bakker, et al. 1986 (note 2), p. 18. W. Bürger, *Musées de la Hollande. Amsterdam et la Haye. Études sur l'école hollandaise par W. Bürger*, Paris 1858, p. IX.

⁶¹ Havard: 'Il est certain que, pour ceux qui connaissent à fond l'histoire de la Hollande et celle de la Vénétie, qui ont vécu dans les deux pays, étudié le caractère des habitants, pénétré les mœurs et les costumes, fouillé les traditions, il y a entre Amsterdam et Venise des analogies frappants'. Havard 1876 (note 53), p. 1.

⁶² Havard: 'L'art, enfin, présente dans les deux pays les mêmes caractères. Leur architecture, autochtone bien qu'empruntée en partie à des peuples méridionaux, affecte les mêmes défauts et des beautés analogues. La sculpture y est lettre morte, et ni l'une ni l'autre n'ont vu naître dans leurs murs un statuaire de renom. La musique y est adorée sans qu'elle ait donné le jour à un seul compositeur de génie. Par contre, la peinture y a brillé d'un éclat identiques. Après l'école vénitienne, l'école hollandaise est la plus coloriste de celles qui ont illustré les temps modernes. Chose curieuse ! quand nous en serons arrivés à l'étude des ces questions artistiques si intéressantes et si attachantes, nous verrons que ce sont encore les mêmes louanges et les mêmes reproches qu'on adresse aux deux écoles, les mêmes qualités qu'on leur reconnaît et les mêmes défauts'. *Ibid.*, p. 3.

⁶³ Quintet: 'La même révolution religieuse que a créé une Hollande politique a créé l'art hollandais, en sorte que l'on a ici le spectacle d'une nation qui, née d'une parole comme le chêne du gland, s'épanouit dans une unité vivante, où la religion, la politique, l'industrie, l'art, ne sont que les formes diverses d'une même pensée'. Cited by: Petra ten-Doesschate Chu, *French Realism and the Dutch Masters. The influence of Dutch seventeenth-century painting on the development of French painting between 1830 and 1870*, Utrecht 1974, p. 13.

ing a direct result of the nation's established freedom. Thoré expressed his admiration for the Dutch resistance against Spain, praising the open democracy that had followed. Besides informing his readers about the history and art of the Netherlands, his writings also functioned as a criticism against Napoleon III.⁶⁴ Due to his support of the Revolution in 1848, Thoré was forced to leave his homeland and settle in Brussels. From 1855 onwards he devoted himself to writing on Dutch art in particular, resulting in the 'rediscovery' of artists such as Frans Hals and Johannes Vermeer.⁶⁵ His *Musées de la Hollande* (1858-1860) offered the French public a museum guide to Holland's art collections, greatly contributing to its appreciation abroad.⁶⁶ Like Quintet and the later Havard, Thoré considered art and society a unified whole, noticing that Dutch painting – with its realism and every day subjects – was based on the same democratic principles as the society that produced it. Thoré: 'The United Provinces – after breaking with Spain – geographically and socially form a unique nation, with Protestantism and the republic as the basis of religious and political freedom. It is under this characteristic influence that they produced – almost instantly since the beginning of the seventeenth century – a native School that has no likeness to the old Low Countries, which were always submitted to the despotism of catholic Spain'.⁶⁷

Yet Thoré did not write on the Dutch Old Masters as merely a lost art of the past which had been the first to break away from Italian Renaissance painting. Instead, he assigned the School a prophetic role in the history of art, advocating a similar approach to painting in his own country. With its depictions of what Thoré believed to be contemporary genre scenes and almost photographic renderings of the Dutch landscape, this art was the art of the present, therefore of the future. Instead of painting classical gods and biblical saints, modern French artists needed to occupy themselves with their own time.⁶⁸ Not surprisingly, Thoré was therefore a great supporter of the French Realists and School of Barbizon, and personally befriended with men such as Théodore Rousseau.⁶⁹ This vision for future French painting was shared by Pierre-Joseph Proudhon (1809-1865), advising not an imitation but rather merely a recapturing of the Dutch 'spirit'. After the Revolution of 1848 the ever expanding

⁶⁴ Frances S. Jowell, 'Politique et Esthétique. Du citoyen Thoré A William Bürger', in: *La critique d'art en France. 1850-1900*, Université de Saint-Étienne 1989, p. 28.

⁶⁵ Petra ten-Doesschate Chu, 'Nineteenth-century visitors to the Frans Hals Museum', in: Gabriel P. Weisberg and Laurinda S. Dixon, *The documented image. Visions in art history*, New York 1987, pp. 112-113.

⁶⁶ Herbert 1962(note 10), p. 18. Jowell 1989 (note 64), p. 26.

⁶⁷ Thoré: 'Les Provinces-Unies, après s'être détachées des Pays-Bas espagnols, constituent géographiquement et socialement une nation à part, qui a pour principe la liberté religieuse et politique, le protestantisme et la république. C'est sous cette influence caractéristique que se produit, presque tout de suite, dès le commencement du XVIIe siècle, une école autochtone, qui n'a plus aucune-adhérence avec les anciens Pays-Bas, toujours courbés sous les despotisme de l'Espagne catholique'. Bürger 1858 (note 60), p. 320-321, IX. Also discussed in Jowell 1989 (note 64), p. 31. Bakker, 'Monet als tourist', in: Bakker, et al. 1986 (note 2), pp. 18-19.

⁶⁸ Ten-Doesschate Chu 1987 (note 65), pp. 112-113.

⁶⁹ Heilmann, Clarke and Sillevs 1996 (note 7), pp. 35-36.

notion of Dutch art as the result of an almost utopian free and democratic society made Rembrandt the 'Luther of Dutch art' and Netherlandish painting an art for the common people.⁷⁰

2.3 Appreciating Dutch Art

Even though Holland's surroundings and political history were important reasons for heading north, the nation's art seemed to play a crucial role as well. In fact, after offering its readers practical tips and background information on the country's history, all mentioned travel authors devoted a large part of their writing to the museums one ought to visit. Furthermore, the seventeenth-century Dutch artistic heritage seemed forever on their minds when describing the landscape, architecture and people itself. Du Camp wrote in a letter in 1857: 'Do you remember, dear friend, having seen a landscape by Paul Potter in the gallery of the 'marquis' of Westminster in London? That painting, it is all of Holland!'⁷¹ This articulation is typical for the perception of Holland with French travellers, recognizing Dutch landscape scenes and genre paintings in everything that crossed their paths. Edmond Texeir wrote of 'charming ready-made paintings' when describing the streets and canals of Amsterdam, 'only waiting for their painter and their frame'.⁷² Furthermore, he believed himself to be 'right in the middle of a painting by Aert van der Neer' when sailing from Antwerp to Dordrecht, while others connected the cheerful fairs with Teniers and recognized Ruisdael in every tree. Not surprisingly, many French visitors were therefore involved in art criticism. Apart from the aforementioned Thoré, Holland was explored by men such as Charles Blanc, Théophile Gautier, Eugène Fromentin and Charles Baudelaire.⁷³

Although their publications on Holland and its art contributed greatly to the knowledge and rediscovery of Dutch painting in France, this is not to say that the French had been completely ignorant to this School of painting and its qualities. This far, visitors to the Louvre could already see works by various Dutch artists, such as Gerard Dou, Gabriel Metsu, Rembrandt, Hals and Ruisdael. Furthermore, several private collections in and around Paris owned and displayed Dutch painting as well.⁷⁴ Some artists kept paintings or reproductions of Dutch art themselves, such as Rousseau's collection of prints by Rembrandt, Ruisdael and Van de Velde.⁷⁵ However, it was not until the 1820s that the

⁷⁰ Herbert 1964 (note 10), p. 39. Ten-Doesschate Chu 1974 (note 63), pp. 13-15.

⁷¹ Du Camp, February 13th, 1857: 'Vous souvenez-vous, cher ami, d'avoir vu dans la galerie du marquis de Westminster, à Londres, un paysage de Paul Potter? [...] Ce tableau, c'est toute la Hollande!' Du Camp 1859 (note 58), pp. 1-2.

⁷² Bakker, 'Monet als tourist', in: Bakker, et al. 1986 (note 2), pp. 19, 21. Edmond Texeir, *Voyage pittoresque en Hollande et en Belgique*, Paris 1857.

⁷³ H. van der Tuin, *Les vieux peintres des Pays-Bas et la critique artistique en France de la première moitié du XIXe siècle*, Paris 1948, p. 34. Bakker, 'Monet als tourist', in: Bakker, et al. 1986 (note 2), p. 19.

⁷⁴ Van der Tuin 1948 (note 73), pp. 1, 7, 9-10.

⁷⁵ Jacques Foucart, 'De Hollandse inspiratie', in: Sillevius and Kraan 1985 (note 1), p. 28.

appreciation of this kind of painting truly began to increase.⁷⁶ This was mostly due to a persistent French landscape tradition which was directed to idealism instead of realism. Although still at the bottom of the hierarchy, Dutch landscape painting became better known after Valenciennes (1750-1819), 'professeur de perspective' at the École des Beaux-Arts, had introduced the category of the 'paysage portrait', following the more highly regarded 'paysage historique' and 'paysage pastoral'. Although naturally inferior to Poussin and Lorrain, artists were advised to study painters like Karel Dujardin and Adriaen van de Velde for their own merits as well.⁷⁷ Archaeologist Charles Lenormant (1802-1859) already challenged the persistent presumption that the Italians were superior to the Dutch during his stay in Holland in 1827, claiming that the Dutch painters were just as skilled. Lenormant: 'Do you believe, if respect permits such a comparison, that Paul Potter has made his cows any different from how Raphaël made his women?'.⁷⁸ Through Salon submissions by Englishmen like Bonington and Constable French painters were directed towards the art of the Low Countries as worthy role models too.⁷⁹ As a result, Italian landscapes slowly became old fashioned, while Ruisdael and Hobbema were rising in esteem. Simultaneously, the Louvre added Dutch artists to its collection, making this School even more accessible for both the public and interested painters.⁸⁰ These works were consequently impressed on many a traveller's mind before visiting Holland.

In a poem about the Netherlands, Arsène Houssaye (1815-1896) wrote, 'I have crossed the land of Rembrandt twice. Once in reality, once in the Louvre'.⁸¹ Yet for many the National Museum's selection of northern masters still proved rather too meagre to their taste. In order to really understand Dutch art, one had to discover the galleries in Holland itself. Thoré's museum descriptions make it clear that the major collections to visit were the Trippenhuis (the later Rijksmuseum) in Amsterdam and the Mauritshuis in The Hague. The Trippenhuis had the highest reputation, mostly because it displayed what was to be considered the country's ultimate masterpiece: Rembrandt's *Night Watch*.⁸² However, authors were also interested in smaller private collections often open for visitors, such as the Museum Van der Hoop and the collections by Six and Verstolk.⁸³ Critics emphasized the

⁷⁶ Van der Tuin, op. cit. (note 72), p. 86.

⁷⁷ Kraan 2002 (note 47), p. 78.

⁷⁸ Lenormant: 'Mais aussi, avec toute cette vérité, à travers quel prisme ne voyaient-ils pas cette nature incomplète en réalité et quelle couleur poétique ne savaient-ils pas lui imprimer. Croyez vous, si le respect permet cette comparaison, que Paul Potter ait fait ses vaches autrement que Raphaël faisait des femmes?' Lenormant, *Beaux-arts et Voyages*, Paris 1861, Vol. 2, p. 11. Cited by: Ten-Doesschate Chu 1974 (note 63), p. 12.

⁷⁹ Van der Tuin 1948 (note 73), p. 87.

⁸⁰ The Louvre acquired Van der Neer's *Village by Moonlight*, Rembrandt's *Slaughtered Ox* and Hobbema's *Watermill* in 1852, 1857 and 1861, respectively. In 1869 about 50 Dutch works from the collection of Dr. Louis La Caze entered the gallery. Ten-Doesschate Chu 1974 (note 63), pp. 2, 9-10.

⁸¹ H. Van der Tuin, *Les vieux peintres de Pays-Bas et la littérature en France dans la première moitié du XIXe siècle*, Paris 1953, p. 92.

⁸² J. Verbeek, 'Bezoekers van het Rijksmuseum in het Trippenhuis 1844-1885', *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 6 (1958) No. 3-4, pp. 60, 67.

⁸³ Bürger 1858 (note 60). Havard 1876 (note 53), p. 228.

importance of seeing these works with your own eyes, for it offered a different take on the complete oeuvres of the Dutch masters. Due to the limited selection in French galleries, a man like Frans Hals only gained in reputation after the Frans Hals Museum was opened in 1863. While the Louvre did not yet possess any works by this skilful portraitist, the Harlem gallery opened the eyes of the public, making them realize Hals was more than the legendary drunkard.⁸⁴ The same was discovered about Rembrandt, whose civil subjects like the *Night Watch* and *Anatomical Lesson* offered a completely different side of this master.⁸⁵ Or as Alphonse de Royer stated in 1835: 'One cannot flatter oneself of properly appreciating Rembrandt without having been in the museums of Holland'.⁸⁶

2.4 French Artists in Holland

Maybe these often repeated words of advice inspired French painters to make the journey themselves. In previous centuries, artists visiting Holland mostly came searching for employment.⁸⁷ However, nineteenth-century artists seemed more interested in a type of self-education by studying the Dutch collections. As a result, a large number of painters from all generations visited Holland, varying from established masters to mediocre beginners, academy painters to avant-garde rebels. Their names can still be traced with the help of guest books, which they signed when visiting places such as the Trippenhuis or the Frans Hals Museum.⁸⁸ These records show names such as Meissonier, Rosa Bonheur, Bouguereau and Bonvin, but also of Manet, Courbet and Corot.

Although they visited the same collections and saw the same works of art, the influence seventeenth-century art would have varied from painter to painter. Gustave Courbet (1819-1877) already travelled to Holland in 1846, a trip that turned out to have a major impact on the Realist. Deeply touched by Old Master paintings that represented their own time, it was in Holland that Courbet truly recognized in Rembrandt the kind of realism he wished to achieve in his own work. Inspired by the *Night Watch*, Courbet decided to translate a comparable topic to his own time, resulting in his *Pompier courant à un incendie* (1851) [Fig. 18].⁸⁹ The 'Holland experience' seemed to be a similar turning point for artists such as Raymond Brascassat (1804-1867) and Constant Troyon (1810-1865). While Brascassat arrived in the Netherlands a historical landscapist, delivering what was

⁸⁴ Ten-Doesschate Chu 1987 (note 65), p. 111.

⁸⁵ Van der Tuin 1948 (note 73), pp. 39-40.

⁸⁶ De Royer: 'On ne peut se flatter d'apprécier convenablement Rembrandt sans avoir vu les musées de la Hollande...', Alphonse de Royer, 'Des Arts en Hollande', *Revue des Deux Mondes*, Vol. 3 (August 15th, 1835), p. 438. Cited by: Van der Tuin 1948 (note 73), p. 40.

⁸⁷ Kraan 2002 (note 47), pp. 16, 20-21.

⁸⁸ The desire to learn more about seventeenth-century painting has been offered as the most important reason for early visitors by Kraan and Bakker. The articles of Verbeek and Ten-Doesschate Chu contributed to our knowledge of the visitors of the Trippenhuis and Frans Hals Museum.

⁸⁹ Pierre Miquel, *L'École de la nature. Le Paysage français au XIXe siècle. 1824-1874*, Maurs-la-Jolie 1975, p. 709.

expected from an honourable painter in this genre, the confrontation with Paulus Potter made him return a changed man. From then on dogs, cattle and fighting bulls would appear in his canvases, immediately reminding us of the Dutch School [Fig. 19].⁹⁰ In his turn, Troyon's decision to try his luck as an animal painter was equally inspired by a walk through the Dutch galleries in 1848. His depictions of cattle seem to be directly inspired by the manner of Aelbert Cuyp, while his later landscapes were executed more realistically and with a greater attention to the rendering of light.⁹¹ Yet not all confrontations with Dutch seventeenth-century painting resulted in animal- or landscape art. History painters travelled to Holland in order to find suitable backgrounds for their depictions of the Dutch (republican) past, such as Isabey's *Arrival of the Count of Alva in Rotterdam* (1844) [Fig. 20]. Manet seemed equally impressed with the Dutch collections when visiting in 1852, even copying Rembrandt's *Anatomical Lesson*. While the motif in his *Boy with cherries* (1859) immediately recalls Dutch painting, his later *Le Déjeuner dans l'atelier* (1868) can be seen as the modern translation of genre painting Thoré had wished for.⁹² The woman carrying a canteen in the background reminisces Vermeer and the map on the wall, the still life table setting and rather peculiar collection of old armour on the foreground recall typical seventeenth-century motifs [Fig. 21-22].⁹³

Aside from copying in the galleries, few of the visiting artists picked up their brush to paint in the Netherlands. When they did, these works were often not meant for display. Even the members of the Barbizon group that visited Holland mostly came for Rembrandt and Ruisdael, whom they considered important role models. Yet in contrast to Troyon, Camille Corot's (1796-1875) experience of Holland hardly left a trace in his work. Together with his 'hollandophile' comrade Dutileux, Corot's immediate motive for the journey was a visit to his cousin in Rotterdam during the summer of 1854. Interestingly enough, the only signs of Dutch inspiration to be recognized in Corot's work occurred much earlier in his career, where one can pinpoint typical Ruisdael composition schemes such as a use of diagonals and majestic clusters of trees.⁹⁴ Yet these apparent references in the 1820s seem to have been wiped out by a later journey to Italy, a foreign adventure that did leave a deep impression on the artist's work. This is not to say he did not spend time making sketches of Holland's surroundings, even working on them after returning home, yet he apparently never considered these picturesque paintings good enough to exhibit them at the Salon. In fact, directly after his return from Holland Corot's submission was a *Souvenir d'Italie*.⁹⁵ Troyon on the other hand, did exhibit a *Vue des*

⁹⁰ Kraan 2002 (note 47), pp. 79-80.

⁹¹ Herbert 1962 (note 10), p. 53. Fuller 1895 (note 8), pp. 7-8.

⁹² Peter Hecht, 'Rembrandt and Raphael back to back. The contribution of Thoré', *Simiolus. Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 26 (1998) No. 3, p. 176. Kraan 2002 (note 47), pp. 83-84, 88. Bakker, 'Monet als tourist', in Bakker, et al. 1986 (note 2), p. 24.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 130-131.

⁹⁴ Heilmann, Clarke and Sillevs 1996 (note 7), p. 20. Ten-Doesschate Chu 1974 (note 63), pp. 21-22.

⁹⁵ Anonymous, *Corot. Raconté par lui-même et par ses amis*, Geneva 1946, pp. 23, 60.

environs d'Amsterdam and *Vue des environs de la Haye* at the Salon of 1848.⁹⁶ Yet overall it seems to have taken the French longer to interest themselves for painting on the spot in the Netherlands when compared to their English colleagues. When exhibiting Dutch landscape themes in France, the overall composition, use of colour, light effects and painting technique were still more inspired by the works of Meindert Hobbema (1638-1709) and Aert van der Neer (1603/04-1677) than by Holland's actual appearance.⁹⁷

Thus up until the second half of the century French artists experienced the Netherlands in a rather similar way to the men who had written about the country in their travel books. They visited the same sites and most importantly took the advice of learning about Dutch painting by means of the country's own collections. Not the country itself, but its art seemed to be its most important attraction, making a stay in the Netherlands a kind of art pilgrimage. Holland was indeed the 'land of Rembrandt' first of all, and the increase of the visits of French painters over time was due to both an increasingly accommodating infrastructure and the writings of men such as Thoré, Havard and Du Camp who all promoted Dutch art in France. Masters such as Rembrandt and Hobbema had become the new benchmarks for contemporary naturalist and realist painters, who strived after making the same 'honest' representations of their own surroundings. As a result artists came foremost for the country's landscape painting as opposed to its contemporary environment, for Vermeer's *View on Delft* instead of the actual cities and to see the realistically painted genre scenes rather than the local people itself. The Dutch topics exhibited in Paris were often painted in the spirit of the Old Masters, either in terms of style or subject. However, Daubigny's journey would occur much later than those of his Barbizon colleagues. Meanwhile, depictions of Holland had become less art historical and based more on what the artist saw instead of what he knew.

⁹⁶ Kraan, 'Nederland en Barbizon; kunstenaars gaan en komen', in Sillevius and Kraan 1985 (note 1), p. 98.

⁹⁷ Kraan 2002 (note 47), pp. 79, 81.

3. Daubigny in Holland

As we have seen in the previous chapter, the first nineteenth-century French explorers that packed their bags for Holland were mostly critics and writers, subsequently passing on their enthusiasm regarding the country's landscape and art treasures to painters. Simultaneously, the general shift from academic classicism to anti-academic realism made the Netherlands increasingly popular, therefore a rising rival to more traditional travel destinations such as Italy.⁹⁸ Thus Daubigny's visit to Holland in 1871, especially as a disciple of this naturalist direction in painting, was hardly a surprising move. Because the previous visits of his colleagues can generally be described as an art pilgrimage in which they were mostly concerned with seeing Dutch seventeenth-century painting in all its glory, we shall first focus on Daubigny's often mentioned artistic reasons for heading north. How did Daubigny value Dutch painting and in what manner did this appreciation determine his visit? Furthermore, an attempt to reconstruct his stay might clarify the exact places he visited and his possible contacts in the Netherlands. Yet aside from simply describing the artist's stay, his journey shall be set in context by both comparing it with those of his fellow-painters as well as with Daubigny's previous foreign travels. Was Daubigny only interested in Holland's past, or did he wish to find something more?

3.1 Daubigny and the Dutch School

The large influence of the Old Masters on Rousseau, Corot, Troyon and their circle leads to the obvious suggestion that Daubigny wished to see more of Dutch art for himself. This interest in the Golden Age is therefore often reported as Daubigny's main reason for visiting Holland.⁹⁹ In *Two Barbizon Painters* (1895) Fuller states that the artist had heard stories about Paul Potter's *Young Bull* and Rembrandt's *Night Watch* and wished to see them with his own eyes.¹⁰⁰ And the youngest member of Barbizon indeed displayed knowledge of art by painters like Ruisdaël and Cuyp. Already in 1853, after the painter had achieved some success at the Salon, the French State commissioned several contemporary artists to make copies after famous works at the Louvre. Daubigny, one of the chosen candidates, was asked to make an engraving after Ruisdael's most famous landscape in the gallery: *Le Buisson* [Fig. 23]. The work was considered an important role model for many Barbizon artists and its typical composition, with a slightly diagonal running road and groups of trees, can be recognized

⁹⁸ Kraan 2002 (note 47), p. 44.

⁹⁹ Saskia de Bodt, 'Les bonnes choses de la Hollande', in: Moniek Peters (ed.), *Dromen van Dordrecht. Buitenlandse kunstenaars schilderen Dordrecht 1850-1920*, Bussum 2005, p. 39.

¹⁰⁰ Fuller 1895 (note 8), pp. 16-17.

in several of their works. Besides earning him a total of 4000 francs, this commission also contributed to Daubigny's fame and reputation.¹⁰¹ Apparently his final work was appreciated, for two years later he was commissioned to make another print after a work in the Louvre collection, for which Daubigny was presumably allowed to choose Ruisdael's *Coup de Soleil*.¹⁰²

However, aside from any compulsory study of old landscape painting, Daubigny's own works show Dutch inspiration as well. The painter presumably admired the work of Aelbert Cuyp (1620-1691) in particular, as is indicated by Henriët.¹⁰³ In his *Le Carrefour de Nid de l'Aigle, Forêt de Fontainebleau*, exhibited at the 1840 Salon, we are reminded of Ruisdael and Hobbema [Fig. 24]. Overall, his later compositional schemes are considered more Dutch than academic, showing typical low horizons, diagonal roads or rivers and the use of the greyish palette the School was known for.¹⁰⁴ However, it would go too far to say that seventeenth-century Dutch painting left a clearly visible and permanent mark on Daubigny's style, technique or choice of topic. Can we consider every depiction of life stock a reference to Paul Potter's famous *Bull*, or every diagonal an inheritance of Ruisdael's [Fig. 25]? Certainly not, even when for any naturalist landscape artist Netherlandish painting was a logical and almost unavoidable source. Furthermore, the aforementioned example dates from a rather early point in Daubigny's career. Especially after his first voyages with the *botin*, the artist's paintings show increasingly less references to the works of his predecessors, even though he never observed nature without remembering the painted landscapes of the past. Yet these inspirational sources certainly did not limit themselves to Dutch realism, leaving room for influences from contemporaries such as his friend Corot as much as from more classical models like Poussin and Lorrain.¹⁰⁵

However, as with his colleagues the connection between Daubigny and Dutch art did not go unnoticed by the critics. The rising reputation of this anti-academic School meant that Rembrandt, Ruisdael and Hals were now worthy enough to refer to when praising a painting. Especially when applauding a work's 'honesty', 'truthfulness' or 'realism', critics were quick to state whether it was better or less successfully executed than in its seventeenth-century counterparts. Castagnary for instance, believed that Daubigny's *Le Pré des Graves* (1859) was incomparable to anything done by his contemporaries, therefore measuring it against the standards of the Golden Age. Castagnary: 'The general arrangement is very beautiful, everything is in there, life, the vastness and solidness of a

¹⁰¹ Loys Delteil, *Charles-François Daubigny. Le peintre graveur illustré*, Paris 1921, nos. 87, 93. Fourcart, *De Hollandse inspiratie*, in: Sillevius and Kraan 1985 (note 1), pp. 32-33. Pierre Miquel 1975 (note 89), p. 677.

¹⁰² Laran 1913 (note 17), p. 44. Miquel 1975 (note 89), p. 684.

¹⁰³ Henriët, *Catalogue de la vente. C.F. Daubigny. 6 mai 1878*, Paris, p. VIII.

¹⁰⁴ Ten-Doesschate Chu 1974 (note 63), p. 28. Champa 1991 (note 16), p. 67.

¹⁰⁵ Ten-Doesschate Chu 1974 (note 63), p. 28.

Ruisdael'.¹⁰⁶ Even when it comes to *le Villerville-sur-Mer* (1864), according to legend the first work painted entirely out-of-doors, Lagrange still considered the similarities with Ruisdael's *Le Buisson* striking, suggesting that Daubigny had remembered his first state commission well.¹⁰⁷ Likewise, when the Dutch themselves finally discovered Daubigny some time after his death, they were quick to consider his talent closely connected to their own artistic heritage, speaking of Daubigny's skies, painted as by an 'old Dutchman', handling a loose brush like Frans Hals and noting that his compelling works reminded one of Rembrandt.¹⁰⁸

3.2 Force or Voluntary. Various Reasons for Travelling.

Although Daubigny's journey to the Netherlands would be his last foreign visit, it certainly was not his first. Even in France itself, the painter's lifestyle can be described as rather nomadic. Already before his journeys with the *botin* he spent his time in the countryside as much as he could, only returning to his Paris studio during the winter months or when business called him to the capital. For his entire life Daubigny would thus travel around his favourite regions of France, such as Normandy, the Auvers, Isère, Gironde and in his favourite childhood place Villerville. He sailed down the rivers to see his own land from the waterside, eventually publishing a series of amusing prints depicting his journeys, entitled *Voyage en bateau* (1861) [Fig. 26-27]. The etchings show how Daubigny wished to be perceived: as a travel-loving, plein-air painting man of nature, going on out-of-doors adventures with his friends.¹⁰⁹ Yet at intervals Daubigny would take his journeys further, even crossing national borders.

A quick glance at Daubigny's earlier travels might indicate something about his motivations for visiting the Netherlands. Both Daubigny's French and foreign travels were the result of either choice or necessity. His decision to leave Paris for the calm countryside surroundings of Optevoz proved one of the most successful moves in his career, yet his immediate reason was a cholera epidemic that had chased both regular citizens and artists from the densely populated capital.¹¹⁰ After

¹⁰⁶ Castagnary, 'Les arbres, surtout ceux de gauche, manquent à mon avis de consistance..... Mais les terrains avec leurs gazons et leur plantes sont merveilleusement établis, d'une telle puissance et d'une telle vérité locale, que je ne sache pas en notre temps un artiste capable d'en faire de semblables. L'ordonnance générale est très belle; il y a là-dedans, la vie, la largeur et la solidité d'un Ruisdael'. Cited by: Laran 2013 (note 17), pp. 55-56.

¹⁰⁷ Lagrange: 'Dans *Villerville*, la figure de femme, placée trop bas et à gauche détruit l'équilibre. C'est plus haut qu'elle devrait se montrer, là où le chemin s'élargit comme pour l'attendre. Avec quel art les maîtres hollandais savaient poser leurs bonshommes au bon endroit! Voyez le *Buisson* de Ruisdael. Ce n'est pas un paysage historique subordonnant la nature à l'intérêt de la figure humaine. Pourtant, essayez de déplacer le bonhomme et le chien, le tableau perdra son assiette. M. Daubigny qui a gravé le *Buisson* de Ruisdael, aurait dû se souvenir...'. L. Lagrange in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 1864, p. 11. Cited by: Miquel 1975 (note 89), p. 690.

¹⁰⁸ Jan Veth, 'Kunst. Daubigny-tentoonstelling in Pulchri Studio, *Nieuwe Gids* 5 (1890) No. 2, p. 116.

¹⁰⁹ Fidell-Beaufort and Bailly-Herzberg 1975 (note 13), p. 23.

¹¹⁰ The Optevoz area proved especially productive for Daubigny, where he made over 50 works of art. Furthermore, it helped him develop his style and set his reputation.

two earlier visits in 1865 and 1866, Daubigny's third visit to London in 1870 was equally involuntary, only leaving to escape the political unrest in France caused by its conflict with Prussia. Not surprisingly, his first adventure abroad took place in Italy, the ultimate destination for every aspiring Salon painter. In 1832 his father had already made the trip and Daubigny would follow four years later.¹¹¹ According to Frédéric Henriet, Daubigny and his friend Henri Mignan would set out, 'knapsacks on their backs', to Toulon, from which they sailed to Genoa.¹¹² They visited Italy's numerous cities, including Rome, Florence, Pisa, Spezia and Turin, thereafter returning home through Switzerland.¹¹³ It shows that Daubigny was still a young man of tradition, visiting those sites which an aspiring artist was expected to have seen. Valenciennes had propagated these types of majestic countries, stating that: 'One has to have seen Italy, Switzerland, the Pyrenees and other romantic landscapes that develop the mind of the genius, that form its taste and give a grand and flattering character to the artist's work'.¹¹⁴ As the artistic convention of the time prescribed, young Daubigny was still looking for overwhelming mountain landscapes instead of the calm and picturesque countryside that would later set his reputation. In Rome, Mignan and Daubigny therefore did what they were supposed to do: study the ancient monuments and treasures at the Vatican, such as Raphaël's *Loggia* and Michelangelo's *Sistine Chapel*. Furthermore, he copied two paintings by the academic heroes Poussin and Lorrain.¹¹⁵ Although he also made sketches after the country's surroundings, little of these early works survive. Henriet's later biography, in which the author wished to stress (and maybe even boost) Daubigny's modern character, describes how aside from the heroes of the Renaissance the young painter was already equally interested in rather plain subjects, making drawings after everyday life in Italy.¹¹⁶ 'My God', his friend Geoffroy-Dechaume supposedly cried upon seeing Daubigny's sketches after his return, 'it was not exactly worth the trouble going to Rome in order to draw a thistle; you could have found one at Montmartre!'.¹¹⁷ Daubigny's Italian journey was not just prescribed as a vital element to every artist's education, it was also the result of his desire to achieve a breakthrough at the Salon. At the time, Italianate sceneries with classical components still had a far better

¹¹¹ Pierre Miquel 1975 (note 89), p. 665.

¹¹² Fidell-Beaufort and Bailly-Herzberg 1975 (note 13), pp. 19, 35.

¹¹³ Étienne Moreau-Nélaton, *Daubigny raconte par lui-même*, Paris 1925, pp. 11, 13-14.

¹¹⁴ Valenciennes: [...] 'Il faut avoir vu l'Italie, la Suisse, les Pyrénées et d'autres pays romantiques qui développent le génie, forment le goût et donnent un caractère grandiose et flatteur aux productions d'un Artiste'. P.H Valenciennes, *Éléments de perspective pratique à l'usage des artistes, suivis de Reflexions et conseils à un Elève sur la peinture, et particulièrement sur le genre du Paysage*, Paris 1820, p. 280.

¹¹⁵ Miquel 1975 (note 89), p. 668.

¹¹⁶ Fidell-Beaufort and Bailly-Herzberg 1975 (note 13), pp. 34-35.

¹¹⁷ Henriet: 'Pardieu, s'écia en riant Geoffroy-Dechaume, ce n'était vraiment pas la peine d'aller à Rome pour dessiner un chardon; tu l'aurais trouvé à Montmartre!' Frédéric Henriet, 'C. Daubigny', *L'Art* 25 (1881) no. 2, p. 76. Another anecdote to characterize the young Daubigny as modern is mentioned by Pierre Miquel: 'A Rome, Daubigny, contemplant les grandes oeuvres de Raphaël (ou de Michel-Ange), se serait écrié: *C'est comme des Daumier*'. Cited by: Miquel 1975 (note 89), p. 668.

chance at being accepted, and Daubigny would indeed send in two Italian landscapes the year after he returned home. Fortunately for us they were not admitted, a failure that might have contributed to Daubigny's understanding that heroic landscape painting was not to be his future.¹¹⁸ According to Henriët, the visit to Italy would leave no further influence on the young artist's work.¹¹⁹ Yet this first trip abroad would be followed by others, with various motives. He probably went to Switzerland for its majestic mountains as described by Valenciennes, undertaking this journey twice (1852 and 1853) with his friend Corot. Yet another reason for these trips may have been more personal, for they were invited to stay with their mutual friend Armand Leleux (1818-1885) in Geneva. Daubigny's most visits foreign travels, however, were to England and his only trip to Spain took place in 1868, a country which left him little impressed.

Daubigny thus appears to have had various reasons for travelling abroad, ranging from studying the art of the past or the country's landscape, as much as visiting personal friends. But what were the painter's motives for travelling to Holland? Both Fuller and Mollett follow the frequently offered reason of undertaking an art pilgrimage, although similar to Henriët Fuller mentions that Holland's artistic heritage seems to have left no enduring impression on Daubigny's oeuvre. In *Daubigny. Raconté par lui-même* (1925), Moreau-Nélaton simply states both the artist and his son Karl (1846-1886), who accompanied him to the Netherlands, had grown so much accustomed to their travelling lifestyle that they continued their 1870 stay in London with a trip to Holland.¹²⁰ A reconstruction of the painter's days spent in the Netherlands might clarify his motivations more precisely.

3.3 Daubigny in Holland

Unfortunately, little is known about Daubigny's stay in the Netherlands in the fall of 1871, and he himself left little records of the event. Our most important source on the artist's life, Henriët's 1875 biography, only mentions Holland in passing, while later publications on the painter treat this journey with the same lack of attention. Furthermore, there seems to be much confusion amongst later art historians about this visit. For instance, both Fuller and Mollett date the journey far too early, convinced that it already occurred in 1836/37, shortly after Daubigny's trip to Italy. Because this implied that Daubigny was only a nineteen-year-old when visiting Holland, they put the trip in an entirely different context. As a result, they argued that although seeing Holland as a young lad, it left few marks on his stylistic development. Yet thanks to the few contemporary documents that have sur-

¹¹⁸ In 1837 Daubigny send in a *Vue de la campagne de Rome* (80 x 95 cm.) and a *Vue de la montagne de Canderrano* (140 x 240 cm.). Pierre Miquel 1975 (note 89), p. 668.

¹¹⁹ Henriët 1875 (note 13), p. 13.

¹²⁰ Moreau-Nélaton: 'A l'arrière-saison, le paysagiste et son fils aîné, mis en goût de déplacement par l'existence mouvementé qu'ils venaient de mener, prenaient leur vol pour la Hollande'. Moreau-Nélaton 1925 (note 113), p. 106.

vived, such as two of Daubigny's letters, it is certain that he did not set foot on Dutch soil until 1871. However, even after this was established, confusion remained. Rewald states in his influential *History of Impressionism* (1964) that Daubigny visited both in 1871 and 1872, which was adopted by Hans Kraan in 1985.¹²¹ In reality Daubigny came only once, while it is suggested that his oldest son Karl returned several times during the 1870s.¹²² In total the journey would have taken them about two to three weeks, passing through Dordrecht, Amsterdam, The Hague and Haarlem.

Judging from Daubigny's writing, it indeed seems that the painter was eager to learn more about the Golden Age. This was probably the reason for his first stop already being in Belgium. Daubigny's short description of this stay proves that the French not only combined a visit to Holland with Belgium out of practical reasons, but also saw the two countries as rather one and the same. Although men such as Havard and Thoré clearly indicated the difference between the Netherlands and Belgium – as between the terms 'the Netherlands' and 'Holland' – many an art critic spoke of the 'école flamande' when referring to Rembrandt and Hals, making no distinction between the two countries. Daubigny likewise lists Rubens as one of the master painters already seen during his stay in Holland, making no reference to Antwerp being a city in Belgium. Together with Karl he visited the Cathedral of Our Lady in Antwerp, where they saw Rubens' *Elevation of the Cross* (1610/11). The artist does not elaborate on his opinion of the city, only stating that he considers the *Elevation* superior to the famous *Descent of the Cross* by the same master. Both works were well-known in Paris, especially because they had been taken from Antwerp by Napoleon in 1794. The two pieces were returned from Paris the very year before Daubigny was born, in 1816. The artist must have known Rubens' altar pieces through prints and other reproductions, which obviously does no justice to the original.¹²³ It is therefore likely that apart from any logistic necessity, Daubigny's brief stop in Antwerp was partially inspired by writers such as Charles Lenormant, who stated: 'a single day spent in Antwerp has learned me more about the flemish school than I'd be able to in five years of studying in Paris'.¹²⁴

It seems that Daubigny's own stay indeed lasted no longer than a single day, for there is no mentioning of other Belgium sites in his letter. He more likely immediately travelled on to Holland, as this was the common travel route. Again, Daubigny's letters show how much the painter kept art in

¹²¹ John Rewald, *The History of Impressionism*, 1964, p. 221. Kraan, 'Nederland en Barbizon; kunstenaars gaan en komen', in: Sillevius and Kraan 1985 (note 1), p. 101.

¹²² Karl supposedly returned to Holland between 1871 and 1874. Biographical handbooks makes no mentioning of this, yet he did exhibit Dutch works in this period. Information adopted from RKDArtist < www.rkd.nl/rkddb > (06-05-2013)

¹²³ Daubigny to Henriët (Amsterdam, September 19th, 1871): 'Nous avons déjà vu des chefs-d'œuvre: La Mise en Croix de Rubens que je trouve supérieure à l Descente de croix'. Letter cited by: Miquel 1975 (note 89), p. 698.

¹²⁴ Lenormant: 'Un seul jour passé à Anvers m'en a plus appris sur l'école flamande que n'auraient pu le faire cinq ans d'études à Paris'. Cited by: Van der Tuin 1948 (note 72), p. 40.

mind when describing the foreign landscape. Daubigny: 'I am in Holland, what a ravishing country! It is as 'blonde' as Rubens' women. It is a wonderful colour'.¹²⁵ According to Moreau-Nélaton Daubigny and Karl had taken a boat from Antwerp to Dordrecht, where Daubigny wrote to his friend Jean-Louis Chenillion (1810-1875) on September the 14th. At that time, they had already been in the Netherlands for eight days. Four days later they continued their journey to Amsterdam, which we only know because they signed their names in the visitor registers of the Trippenhuis. There, Daubigny was confronted with the famous *Night Watch*, describing this encounter to his friend Henriette the very next day. Daubigny: 'The master of all masterpieces is the Night Watch by Rembrandt. It is a work with no comparison, it is the creation of a magician'.¹²⁶ His words seem to come straight from the various travel descriptions he could have read in advance, for instance the one in which Charles-Paul Landon described the painting as a 'masterpiece for its claire-obscure magic' in his *Annales du Musée et de l'École Moderne des Beaux-Arts* (1805).¹²⁷ Similarly, Daubigny's praise of the *Night Watch* resonates an earlier description of the work by Thoré, who considered its title an 'absurd name', probably due to its unusual representation of light. Daubigny likewise remarked the curiousness of the picture's title, stating: 'I do not know why they call the painting the Night Watch; granted, it shows the preparation of a group of soldiers of all kinds, but it's the last reflection of sunlight that illuminates the scene'.¹²⁸ Not surprisingly, Daubigny's admiration too, was mostly directed towards Rembrandt's depiction of light, something the artist himself was deeply interested in. He described the painting's palette as phosphorescent and complimented on its realism. Daubigny: 'It is life itself, all is animated, the golden embroideries glisten in the last ray of light from the setting sun'.¹²⁹ In his praise of the *Night Watch* one could almost recognize Daubigny's position as an intermediary figure between

¹²⁵ Daubigny to Henriette (Amsterdam, September 19th, 1871): 'Je suis en Hollande, quel ravissant pays! Elle est aussi blonde que les femmes de Rubens. C'est d'une couleur admirable'. Letter cited by: Miquel 1975 (note 89), p. 698.

¹²⁶ Daubigny to Henriette (Amsterdam, September 19th, 1871): 'Mais le chef-d'œuvre des chefs-d'œuvre, c'est la Ronde de nuit de Rembrandt. Ce tableau n'a plus de point de comparaison; c'est la création d'un magicien'. Ibid.

¹²⁷ Landon called Rembrandt 'le grand magicien du clair-obscur'. Charles-Paul Landon, *Annales du Musée et de l'École Moderne des Beaux-Arts. Recueil de gravures au trait, contenant la collection complète des peintures et sculptures du Musée Napoléon. Paysages et tableaux de genre*, Paris 1805-1808. Van der Tuin 1948 (note 72), p. 163.

¹²⁸ Thoré's description of the *Night Watch*: 'La lumière est pourtant si bizarre, si phénoménale au premier aspect, qu'on a souvent pris cet effet pour un effet de nuit, et c'est là sans doute ce qui a contribué à faire baptiser le tableau du nom absurde: la Ronde du Nuit'. W. Bürger 1858 (note 60), p. 2.

Daubigny to Henriette (Amsterdam, September 19th, 1871): 'Je ne sais pourquoi on appelle ce tableau la Ronde de Nuit; c'est bien les préparatifs d'une ronde de soldats de toutes sortes, mais ce sont les derniers reflets du couchant qui éclairent la scène. Letter cited by: Miquel 1975 (note 89), p. 698.

¹²⁹ Daubigny to Henriette (Amsterdam, September 19th, 1871): 'Les couleurs de la palette ont doublé leur éclat; c'est phosphorescent; c'est la vie même; tout est animé, des broderies d'or reluisant au dernier rayon de soleil couchant'. Ibid.

Barbizon and Impressionism, for the painter considered Rembrandt's magic to be the result of both the man's long experience and the artist's inspiration of a single moment'.¹³⁰

Daubigny's subsequent visit to The Hague cannot be verified with a signed visitor book, yet in his letter to Chenillion he writes: 'We are leaving for The Hague and Amsterdam and thereafter we shall return in a rush. But I insist on not returning without seeing *The Bull* by Paul Potter [...]'.¹³¹ Even though he did not leave his name at the Mauritshuis Museum, this seems enough evidence to assume he did visit the collection, in which he also must have seen Rembrandt's *Anatomical Lesson*, Ruisdael's *View of Haarlem with bleaching grounds* and Vermeer's *View of Delft*. Although he never mentions the city of Haarlem in his letters, this town was likewise definitely part of his route home-wards. Our only evidence here is a signature in the visitor registers of the by then famous Frans Hals Museum. Likewise, it seems Daubigny's main reason for this stop was his desire to gain a better understanding of Dutch painting. As described by Petra ten-Doesschate Chu, the foundation of this collection greatly contributed to Hals' rediscovery in the nineteenth-century. At the time Daubigny set foot in the museum, the Old Master's rising fame had reached its ultimate height. Partially a result of the Prussian War in 1870, many French artists visited Harlem in this particular period. Painters like Monet, Vollon and Manet dotted down their names in the registers just shortly before or after Daubigny did. Instead of foremost being inspired by its qualities such as bourgeois subjects, a close attention to detail and texture and the works' realism these artists were also attracted to Hals' bold painting technique.¹³² Although Daubigny did not report on seeing Hals in his correspondence, the painter must have also appreciated the Old Master's style, for Daubigny's own work had already become increasingly less finished from the 1860s onwards.

But was Daubigny's journey really merely an art pilgrimage to 'le pays de Rembrandt' as Arsène Houssaye characterized the Netherlands? In *Monet in Holland* (1986) Boudewijn Bakker describes Monet's first visit to the Netherlands in 1871 as rather untraditional when compared to those of his colleagues, preferring the present over the past when mostly painting himself instead of visiting the museums. He did not see the Trippenhuis until two weeks after his arrival and spent most of his time in Zaandam.¹³³ From there he apologetically wrote to his friend Camille Pissarro: 'I haven't had the time to visit the museums, I foremost wish to work and I shall treat myself on that after-

¹³⁰ Daubigny to Henriët (Amsterdam, September 19th, 1871): 'C'est la science de toute la vie d'un homme comme Rembrandt, ajoutée à l'inspiration d'un moment [...]'. Ibid.

¹³¹ Daubigny to Chenillion (Dordrecht, September 14th, 1871): 'Nous allons partir pour La Haye et Amsterdam et ensuite nous reviendrons au galop. Mais je tiens à ne pas revenir sans voir le Taureau de Paul Potter [...]'. Original letters published in Henriët 1881 (note 117), p. 76.

¹³² Doesschate Chu 1987 (note 65), pp. 117-118, 128-130.

¹³³ Bakker, 'Monet als toerist', in: Bakker, et al. 1986 (note 2), pp. 17, 25.

wards'.¹³⁴ Just like Daubigny, he would visit the Frans Hals Museum on his way back from Amsterdam to Paris. Thus for Monet the Dutch art treasures were merely dessert, while his main course consisted of the Dutch landscape itself. The fact that Daubigny's letter to Henriët immediately starts off with the masterpieces the artist could now finally cross off his list indicates that Rembrandt, Potter and Hals were his main reasons for coming in the first place. Yet we should realize that his earlier letter was sent from Dordrecht, where Daubigny and his son had spent several days. Although in it he mentions his plans for seeing the nation's masterpieces on the way home, all he had yet done was paint in Dordrecht, which he apparently considered rather beautiful. Thus like Monet, Daubigny and Karl had started working right away in order to capture the 'blonde light' of Holland the artist gushed over in his letters several times. This resulted in a series of painted windmills and boats seen from the riverside, which shall be discussed more elaborately in the next chapter [Fig. 28-38]. Daubigny: 'We have rented a boat and we have worked on the Meuse (Maas) river, where we have painted the windmills of Dordrecht'.¹³⁵ So even when miles separated from his beloved *botin*, Daubigny would still insist on painting landscape his way; from the waterside. It was not uncommon for artists to depict Dordrecht from this particular angle. As we have seen, earlier travel writers had advised this type of traditional transport and it is known that boats were up for rent in several corners of Dordrecht, a service many painters made use of.¹³⁶ As previously described, the Dutch town was a popular destination for travellers at the time. In fact, beside Amsterdam it was the most visited place in the Netherlands. As one of the oldest cities in the country its typical architecture, church tower and crowded harbour were perfect for those seeking the picturesque. The city gate and windmills made the river scene even more charming, a skyline still free of factories and other types of modern pollution.¹³⁷ Daubigny could have easily been advised to see Dordrecht by his close relations such as Corot, Paul Huet, Ziem and Troyon who, as we have seen, visited the site before. It was the ultimate Dutch view, known from cityscapes by old heroes such as Jan van Goyen and Daubigny's personal favourite Aelbert Cuyp, who was from Dordrecht himself.¹³⁸ Two years after Daubigny's stay, Havard's description of the place ensures us that any man searching for the scenes depicted by Dutch Old Masters would not be let down in Dordrecht, even going as far to state no other city in Europe offered a more lovely and charming sight. Havard: 'From whatever side it may be approached, its aspect is the same, smil-

¹³⁴ Monet to Pissarro (Zaandam June 17th, 1871): 'Je n'ai pas eu le temps de visiter les musées, je veux avant toute chose travailler et je m'offrirai cela après.' *Ibid.*, pp. 180-181.

¹³⁵ Daubigny to Chenillion (Dordrecht, September 14th, 1871): 'Nous avons loué un bateau et nous allons travailler sur la Meuse, où nous faisons les moulins de Dordrecht'. Original letters published in Henriët 1881 (note 117), p. 76.

¹³⁶ Mayken Jonkman 'Naar aanleiding van Joseph Vernet sketching at Dordrecht, 1767', in: Peters (ed.) 2005 (note 99), p. 110.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 8, 26, 40.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 25, 122-123.

ing, kindly, with an air of welcome, and no sooner does one get into the midst of it that one feels at home. Even at first sight there is nothing foreign, nothing strange about it. The traveler wonders where he has previously seen that graceful picturesque outline; the black windmills, with their ochre-tinted sails, the outer ring of leafy trees, the red quays, the top-heavy houses, and, towering above them all, the lofty steeple with its four-faced clock-dial. Ah, he remembers! It was in the paintings of Cuyp, Van Goyen and Ruisdael [...].¹³⁹ Another aspect that made this place particularly attractive for Daubigny was its location, situated between the Old Meuse river, the Merwede and the Dordtse Kil. Practically an island, it was thus almost surrounded by what Havard called 'that magic river', in which the 'brightly-tinted city looks into its waters as into a silver mirror'.¹⁴⁰ It sounds like the perfect place for a painter like Daubigny.

So even though Monet spent far more of his time working in Holland, resulting in a much larger number of paintings, both he and Daubigny seemed to postpone a visit to the galleries in favour of painting themselves. Because Monet's stay in the Netherlands in 1871 overlapped with Daubigny's shorter visit in September, many have suggested the two befriended artists could have been in touch with one another. Rewald even believed it likely that Monet came after being invited by Daubigny, but then the author wrongfully thought that the Barbizon artist had arrived before Monet did.¹⁴¹ In reality the future representative of Impressionism had already set off in the summer, arriving in Zaandam on the 2nd of June. He only stayed for about ten days in Amsterdam, while his overall visit lasted several months, returning home in October. Even though the two artists were so close to each other during Daubigny's stay, there sadly exists no evidence whatsoever of them meeting in the Netherlands. The same can be said about other French travellers present at the time, such as the artist Henri Michel-Lévy (1844-1914) and the aforementioned Henry Havard, with whom Monet did visit the museums. They all stayed in the hotel De Beurs in Amsterdam, where Daubigny and Karl may have slept as well when passing through the capital.¹⁴²

In fact, the total absence of any indication that Daubigny had a contact in the Netherlands is rather uncharacteristic for this amiable artist, known to have been both friendly and socially adept. His previous foreign journeys thus offer us a completely different situation, in which Daubigny never left for a foreign country without any contacts. In general, it was common for artists to know a friend, family member, collector or dealer in the country they wished to visit, making the preparations for such a stay abroad much easier. Daubigny's 1866 visit to England was on the invitation by a group of British painters headed by Sir Frederic Leighton (1830-1896) and it is known he had lunch at Whis-

¹³⁹ Henry Havard, *The Heart of Holland*, London 1880, p. 5. English translation by Mrs. Cashel Hoey. Mentioned in Michiel Peters, 'De uithoek van Europa', in: Peters (ed.) 2005 (note 99), pp. 26, 28.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

¹⁴¹ Rewald 1964 (note 121), p. 221.

¹⁴² Bakker, et al. 1986 (note 2), pp. 36-37, 43, 99, 146, 180

tlers' house in 1856. Although biographical publications on Daubigny make no mention of this, the artist's London address book indicates that he was acquainted with a wide ranging group of painters and art lovers during his longer stay in 1870. He visited the amateur painter and feminist Barbara Bodichon (1827-1891) on the Isle of Wight and Hastings and painted the Thames together with French refugees such as the young Monet and Pissarro.¹⁴³

Nothing, however, is known about any possible contacts with Dutch painters or dealers before or during his stay in Holland. Considering the fact that Daubigny was a well-established painter in France at the time, one would expect at least a handful of Dutch artists to be thrilled to meet him. In this respect, it would be interesting to know what kind of reputation Daubigny had abroad at the time of his visit. The first Barbizon artist to exhibit in the Netherlands, Troyon did so as early as 1844 in the Dutch counterpart of the Paris Salon, the so-called 'Tentoonstelling van Levende Meesters' (Exhibition for Contemporary Artists). The work in question was a forest scene, a painting not met with great enthusiasm by Dutch critics. It was not until five years later that Dupré exhibited a piece in The Hague. Yet before the 1880s Barbizon works were occasionally sold by art dealers such as Goupil & Cie in The Hague and by Van Wisselingh.¹⁴⁴ In fact, it was the old Hendrik Jan Van Wisselingh (1816-1884) who had invited Courbet to come and stay with him in 1846, resulting in a portrait of this dealer in paint supplies by the French Realist he wished to promote in the Netherlands.¹⁴⁵ It is known Van Wisselingh owned Daubigny's at a time they were still hard to find in Holland and he was one of the first to – unsuccessfully – try and sell this work. The dealer's son, Elbert Jan Van Wisselingh (1848-1912) took over both the gallery and his father's strategy of inviting foreign painters over to Holland in order to promote their work.¹⁴⁶ That Van Wisselingh had close contacts with French painters at the time of Daubigny's visit is demonstrated by Antoine Vollon's Salon entry of 1872, which

¹⁴³ Daubigny's list of addresses includes names of collectors, art lovers and artists, such as the collector George Howard; the seascapist Henry Moore; Leighton; Legros; Monet; W.M. Rossetti; Val Prinsep; Arthur Severn; G.P. Boyce and Seymour Haden. John House, 'New Material on Monet and Pissarro in London in 1870-71', *The Burlington Magazine* 120 (Oct. 1978) No. 907, p. 641.

Madame Bodichon to William Allingham (Swanmore Parsonage, Ryde, I.W., December 18th, 1870): 'A three days visit from the French painter Daubigny did me good; we went for one afternoon under the cliffs at Niton, don't you remember where those little antique thorns are? He enjoyed it as only people of genius can enjoy things. I hope you will go and see his pictures in Bond Street, and there will be one in the Suffolk Street Exhibition for the French Peasants; I think you will like them. I have two very delicious sketches which he did in the evenings – very very Daubigny, one lovely and the other quaint'. H. Allingham and E.B. Williams (eds.), *Letters to William Allingham*, London 1911, p. 85. Daubigny had met Bodichon in Paris in the 1860s. She studied under William Holman Hunt and exhibited at the Royal Academy and Salon.

¹⁴⁴ Kraan, 'Barbizon en het verzamelen in Nederland', in: Sillevius and Kraan 1985 (note 1), p. 83.

¹⁴⁵ J.F. Heijbroek and E.L. Wouthuysen, *Portret van een kunsthandel. De firma Wisselingh en zijn compagnons. 1838-heden*, Zwolle 1999, p. 19. In 1886 Monet's visit to the Netherlands was also on invitation, in this case from the ambassador secretary of France in The Hague, the Baron d'Estournelles de Constant, whose brother had ties with the Parisian art community. A.H. Huussen jr., 'Claude Monet in Nederland', in: Bakker, et al. 1986 (note 2), p. 43.

¹⁴⁶ The young Van Wisselingh helped to convince James Whistler to visit the Netherlands 1889. Heijbroek and Wouthuysen 1999 (note 145), pp. 23, 25, 35. Kraan, in: Sillevius and Kraan 1985 (note 1), p. 82.

was dedicated 'à monsieur Wisselingh, souvenir d'amitié'.¹⁴⁷ Yet despite Vollon being a close friend of Daubigny, there is no evidence that the artist came into contact with this dealer. Even though the old Van Wisselingh did his best to promote Daubigny in The Hague, it appears he did not go through the trouble of inviting or meeting him. Still, there must have been several opportunities for the Dutch to come across Daubigny's work before the painter came himself. It is certain that before 1860 two private collections in Amsterdam owned works by Barbizon painters such as Decamps, Rousseau, Troyon, Diaz and Dupré. However, in order to truly become acquainted with Barbizon the Dutch still needed to go abroad, to either Brussels or France itself.¹⁴⁸ Several painters did make this journey, in which they most likely came across the French generation of 1830 and maybe work by Daubigny as well. Willem Roelofs (1822-1897) even visited the forest of Fontainebleau in 1851, followed by Jozef Israëls (1824-1911) two years later. When Jacob Maris (1837-1899) saw Paris with Frederik Hendrik Kaemmerer (1839-1902) in 1865 he had first made a stop at this famous forest as well, and his work around that time shows knowledge of the naturalistic French landscape painters. Furthermore, Gerard Bilders (1838-1865) wrote in his diary about the 'greys' of French artists like Corot, Dupré and Troyon, indicating an awareness of what would later be called Barbizon. The French critic Thoré visited the old Israëls in his Dutch studio in 1867. Would he not have spoken about his own French School of landscapists which he appreciated and supported? Finally one could even have heard about Daubigny through the various French magazines and newspapers reporting on the annual Salons.¹⁴⁹ Yet as far as we know Daubigny himself exhibited only once in the Netherlands prior to his stay in Holland: his *Bords de la Eure* was to be seen in Rotterdam in 1867. It was discussed by a critic as 'one of the best pieces at the exhibition, 'despite of its great flaws'.¹⁵⁰ Yet it was not until after his death that Daubigny's name became better known in Holland, partly thanks to the many acquisitions made by Hendrik Willem Mesdag at Daubigny's auction of 1878. Most exhibitions thus only took place after Daubigny had already returned to France and it was not until 1890 that he was honoured with a one-man-show at the art society Pulchri Studio in The Hague.¹⁵¹ All in all, Daubigny was not a famous man when he arrived in Holland, yet it is certain that a large part of the future Hague School painters would have heard of him and as a result have been interested in meeting the artist. Yet Daubigny might have intentionally stayed anonymous during his short visit to the Netherlands. Too many social obligations only complicate things, taking time away from work. Two years before seeing Holland,

¹⁴⁷ Heijbroek and Wouthuysen, 1999 (note 145), pp. 20, 22.

¹⁴⁸ Sillevis and Kraan 1985 (note 11), pp. 61, 70, 74, 86.

¹⁴⁹ Heilmann, Clarke and Sillevis 1996 (note 7), pp. 43-44. For a discussion on Dutch painters in France, see Sillevis and Kraan 1985 (note 1).

¹⁵⁰ It was discussed as 'eene schilderij die ondanks groote gebrken en het minder geacheveerde, geniaal opgevat, kloek behandeld en eene van de beste der expositie mag genoemd worden'. Cited by: Has Kraan, 'Barbizon en de Nederlandse kunstcritiek', in: Sillevis and Kraan 1985 (note 1), p. 64.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 74, 77.

Daubigny had complained about this to his daughter Cécile, regretting the fact that his arrival in Bordeaux had been announced in *La Gironde*, which led to obligations towards many people Daubigny was not keen on seeing.¹⁵² Furthermore, the fact that Daubigny was not alone but accompanied by his son probably caused him to be less stimulated in making contacts in the foreign country.

So how would Daubigny have looked back on his trip to Holland? If we must follow Henriët's recollection, the painter's overall impression was not very positive. In the biographer's catalogue entry for the posthumous auction in 1878 he described how Daubigny and Karl 'did not hesitate returning their tickets, cured of the Batavian land forever, the tedious sight of which could hardly have charmed them'.¹⁵³ Henriët obviously based this harsh judgment on the letter he had received from Amsterdam, in which Daubigny writes: 'I have worked little. I have not travelled from city to city, and not speaking the language, the charming and intimate little villages in between that I was to find have been kept from me'.¹⁵⁴ The expressed troubles of conversing with the locals is in strange contrast with Havard's characterization of Dordrecht as 'Hospitable'. Monet's letters written in the same period also show a different side of Holland, in which all the people were 'friendly and hospitable', and everyone had mastered the French language.¹⁵⁵ Maybe Daubigny had less luck than his younger friend, yet at the same time Henriët's account appears rather too harsh, for in his letter Daubigny simultaneously marvels at the country's beauty and its art galleries. In fact, his impressions of the land left him so inspired he could not wait to return 'au galop' to Paris in order to 'capture the many beautiful things of Holland on the canvas'.¹⁵⁶ Furthermore, only a year after his return he would buy Monet's *Moulins à Hollande*, a strange memory of a country that was considered boring [Fig. 39].¹⁵⁷

¹⁵² Daubigny to Cécile (Bordeaux, Autumn 1868): 'Je vais diner ce soir en ville, chez le directeur de la Société des Amis des Arts et des expositions de Bordeaux ; car mon ami, l'écrivain, a fait savoir dans *La Gironde* à tous les habitants que j'étais arrivé, ce qui m'amène des visiteurs crampons, dont je me serais bien passé'. Letter cited by: Fidell-Beaufort and Bailly-Herzberg 1975 (note 13), p. 64.

¹⁵³ Henriët: 'Cette excursion est de 1871. Daubigny et Karl, qui accompagnait son père, éprouvèrent bientôt le désagrement de voyager dans un pays dont ils ne connaissaient la langue ni l'un ni l'autre ; ils ne tardèrent pas à prendre leur ticket de retour, à jamais guéris du pays Batave, dont les aspects un peu monotones les avaient d'ailleurs fort médiocrement séduits'. Henriët 1878 (note 103), p. XI.

¹⁵⁴ Daubigny to Henriët (Amsterdam, September 19th, 1871): 'J'ai peu travaillé ; ne voyagent que de ville en ville, et ne sachent pas parler la langue, je suis privé des petits villages intermédiaires où j'aurais trouvé le paysage intime et charmant de la Hollande'. Letter cited by: Miquel 1975 (note 89), p. 698.

¹⁵⁵ Havard: 'If I had to give it [Dordrecht] a surname, I should not be at loss for a moment. I would call it the 'Hospitable'. Havard 1880 (note 139), p. 5.

Monet to Pissarro (Zaandam June 2nd, 1871): 'Nous avons traversé presque toute la Hollande, et certes ce que j'en ai vu m'a paru beaucoup plus beau que ce que l'on dit'. Zaandam est particulièrement remarquable et il y a à peindre pour la vie; nous allons être, je crois, très bien installés. Les Hollandais ont l'air très aimable et hospitaliers' [...] Les Hollandais assez aimables et parlant presque tous le français'. Letter Cited by: Bakker, et al. 1986 (note 1), pp. 180-181.

¹⁵⁶ Daubigny: 'Je retourne au galop à Paris pour tâcher de résumer les bonnes choses de la Hollande, sur des toiles'. Cited by: Miquel 1975 (note 89), p. 698.

¹⁵⁷ Monet's *La Zaan à Zaandam* was bought as *Moulins à Hollande* by Durand-Ruel on May 11th, 1872, Inv. No. 1693, for 300 francs. He subsequently sold it to Daubigny for 800 francs. Ronald Pickvance, 'Catalogus', in:

Another souvenir may have been a pair of Delftware figures, placed in a cabinet full of memories of his trips abroad, which are still in his house today.¹⁵⁸ The fact that Daubigny never returned after his first visit probably has more to do with his troubling health than his personal experience, for soon after his Dutch trip he was treated for both bronchitis and asthma, typical diseases for the plein-air painter.¹⁵⁹

Judged by Daubigny's knowledge and interest in Netherlandish painting, it indeed seems likely that the artist was equally inspired by the portrayals of Holland and its art treasures in travel literature. His descriptions of museum collections reflect the writings by earlier travellers such as Havard and Thoré. During his career Daubigny had copied Dutch painting, been inspired by it and his work was frequently compared to it. Furthermore, the artist's correspondence shows him ravishing over the Dutch works of the past, indicating that he wished to finally see the many different sides of Netherlandish painting instead of depending on the Louvre alone. In this respect, his last foreign adventure can be compared to his first, when he studied the works of his forerunners in Rome. It places him in the same category as the forerunners discussed in the previous chapter. Yet at the same time Daubigny's letters show his disappointment about not finding the picturesque villages he had apparently come to see. Furthermore, the artist's statement that he had been unable to travel from city to city undoubtedly refers to a 'painting tour' as opposed to a museum tour, for he had already visited several galleries and indicated his plans for seeing more. Additionally, the fact that he spent most of his time working in Dordrecht shows that although in a much shorter timeframe, Daubigny followed the same 'untraditional route' as his young friend Monet, putting work before pleasure. Thus of the two artistic motives discussed – visiting the galleries and seeing the landscape itself – the last can be considered as the more important to Daubigny. As we shall see, this may be related to the popularity of the Dutch view on the Parisian art market.

Bakker, et al. 1986 (note 2), p. 124. Daniel Wildenstein, *Monet. Catalogue Raisonné*, Cologne 1996, Vol. 2, No. 172.

¹⁵⁸ Ella Reitsma, 'Het huis van Charles-Francois Daubigny', *Vrij Nederland* 24-05-1997, p. 53.

¹⁵⁹ Henriët 1881 (note 117), p. 81.

4. A Dutch Daubigny

Daubigny supposedly did not just build his house in the Auvers to be closer to his beloved countryside, he also wished to be further away from the Parisian art dealers. At home he could work in peace, without having to deal with the constant pressure of picture sellers.¹⁶⁰ As stated, Daubigny complained about dealers and collectors always wishing for the same paintings, constantly knocking on his door for pictures that he himself considered not the best of his work. Critic Albert Wolff even mentions the painter crying out to a baffled group of studio visitors: 'Leave me alone, the best works are those that do not sell!'¹⁶¹ However, nineteenth-century biographies are generally not the most objective of sources. Daubigny was to be remembered as a free man with an original spirit, not led by commerce or mediocrity. Unfortunately, this painter had to face reality as well, in which almost every artist worries about his financial situation at some point in his career. Although he eventually succeeded in becoming a well-known landscapist, even Daubigny needed to make sure he sold enough works in order to provide for his family.

Our overview of Holland's visiting artists in the past has shown that nineteenth-travellers had artistic reasons for seeing the country in the first place, whereas their predecessors often had commercial grounds such as seeking commissions.¹⁶² However, even romantic souls need to eat and have painting supplies in their studios, thus their reasons for travelling were not always entirely free of financial motivations either. Yet Kraan groups Daubigny's visit to the Netherlands with those of earlier generations who instigated the interest in Dutch landscape painting, while the genre's commercial success only began to play a role with later artists. Kraan: 'The interest with French artists for the 'South-Holland' river landscape, instigated by Corot, Anastasi, Ziem and Daubigny, slowly became a tradition. The great number of artists heading north with Dordrecht or Rotterdam as their final destination is remarkable. The success of Jongkind and Boudin has probably contributed to this, with whom Paul Durand-Ruel did good business [...]. Considering the favourable art market, it is very likely

¹⁶⁰ Michael Holloway Duffy, *The influence of Charles-François Daubigny (1817-1878) on French plein-air landscape painting. Rustic portrayals of everyday life in the work of a forerunner to impressionism*, Lewiston 2010, p. 43.

¹⁶¹ Wolff: 'Peu fait pour les relations mondaines, Daubigny regrettait le on vieux temps où le marchand venait discrètement chez le peintre et emportait le tableau à des prix raisonnables. [...] Ce à quoi le fier artiste, froissé jusque dans les moelles, s'écria un jour devant les visiteurs stupéfiés: - Laissez-moi donc tranquille; les meilleurs tableaux sont ceux qui ne se vendent pas!'. Albert Wolff, *La Capitale de l'Art*, Paris 1886, p. 148.

A similar statement about Daubigny was made by Émile Zola in his Salon review of 1866. Zola: Demandez à M. Daubigny quels sont les tableaux qu'il vend le mieux. Il vous répondra que ce sont justement ceux qu'il estime de moins. On veut de la vérité adoucie, de la nature propre et lavée avec soin, des horizons fuyants et rêveurs'. Émile Zola, *Mon Salon. Augmenté d'une dédicace et d'un appendice*, Paris 1866, p. 67.

¹⁶² Kraan 2002 (note 47), p. 16.

that Monet – and after him Arman Guillaumin – were partially stimulated by this art dealer when painting Dutch subjects.¹⁶³ The characterization of Monet's multiple visits to Holland as commercial undertakings is partly based on his expressed wish to be productive as a painter rather than travel as a tourist. This reasoning is perfectly in line with his position as leading man of the Impressionists, who are considered the first to profit from the upcoming dealer-critic-system as described in *Canvases and Careers* (1965). Fellow 'member' Renoir supposedly warned his dealer: 'If I only sold the good things I do, I'd die of starvation', juxtaposing this artist's commercial mentality with Daubigny's aforementioned annoyance with art dealers.¹⁶⁴ Yet such a strong contrast between the generations before and after Impressionism is rather excessive. It so happens that Daubigny's late visit to Holland coincided with the beginning of the art market's radical changes. In this respect, it would be interesting to see whether Daubigny's 'Dutch paintings' were the result of their popularity with buyers and how these works relate to those of others. Furthermore, his Dordrecht views have never been compared to the rest of his oeuvre, even though such an approach could lead to a better understanding of what he wished to achieve with them. Could he have carefully selected Holland as his destination because of its combination similarities and differences to the sites he depicted the most? Finally, we shall take a better look at the artist's relationship with art dealers. Even though our previous chapter has demonstrated that Daubigny had apparently made no effort in promoting his work with Dutch picture sellers, he instead may have kept the Parisian art market in the back of his mind when travelling to the Netherlands.

Profitable 'Paysages'

It so happens that the two painters most mentioned for making great profit out of Dutch landscape views were Daubigny's fellow 'pre-Impressionists', Johann Barthold Jongkind and Eugène Boudin. When earlier travellers to Holland did pick up their brush instead of merely visiting the museums, they initially still painted Dutch scenes in the fashion of their seventeenth-century predecessors. This was probably not merely due to their admiration for the Golden Age, but also because this period's charming winter landscapes and night scenes were well sought after on the Parisian art market at the

¹⁶³ Kraan: 'De belangstelling van Franse kunstenaars voor het Zuid-Hollandse rivierlandschap, die begon bij Corot, Anastasi, Ziem en Daubigny, werd langzamerhand een traditie. Het groot aantal kunstenaars dat naar het noorden kwam met als eindbestemming Dordrecht of Rotterdam is opmerkelijk. Het succes van Jongkind en Boudin heeft hier waarschijnlijk aan bijgedragen. Paul Durand-Ruel deed goede zaken met deze twee kunstenaars, vooral met Boudin, van wie hij in 1881 het alleenrecht op de verkoop van het werk kreeg. Het is, gezien de gunstige kunstmarkt, zeer wel mogelijk dat Monet – en naar hem Armand Guillaumin – mede op instigatie van deze kunsthandelaar Hollandse onderwerpen is gaan schilderen'. Kraan 2002 (note 47), p. 206.

¹⁶⁴ Pierre-Auguste Renoir to Paul Durand-Ruel, April 25th, 1901: '[...] Si je ne vendais que des bonnes choses, je mourrais de faim [...]'. Lionello Venturi, *Les archives de l'impressionisme*, Paris/New York 1939, pp. 166-157. English translation by Pierre Assouline, *Discovering Impressionism. The life of Paul Durand-Ruel*, New York 2004, p. 24.

time.¹⁶⁵ Although still affected by past landscape artists, plein-air painters such as Jongkind and Boudin represented and exhibited Holland in a more modern fashion. Especially Jongkind, a Dutchman himself, greatly contributed to the popularization of the typical Dutch view in France. When Eugène Isabey and the French sculptor and politician of Dutch descent, the Count de Nieuwerkerke, attended the unveiling of the new statue of William of Orange in The Hague in 1845, Jongkind managed to secure a place in Isabey's Paris studio.¹⁶⁶ Yet this move to France did not make him forget about his homeland. On the contrary, Jongkind's decision to specialize in Dutch landscape scenes proved to be a lucrative one. Over the years he would return to Holland several times in order to gain new inspiration so as to meet the growing demand for his work. His successes at the Salon led to a steady repetition of typical scenes with windmills at the waterside under rather gloomy winter skies, mostly meant for the buying public.¹⁶⁷ Beside his paintings, the artist's series of prints equally stimulated the demand for charming Dutch scenes and his 1862 publication of etchings, entitled *Vues de Hollande*, was a great commercial success.¹⁶⁸ The appreciation from both clients and critics for this genre obviously inspired others to visit these 'best-selling' landscapes for themselves. After his stay in the Netherlands Félix Ziem (1821-1911) would repeat his composition of windmills at the Amstel river no less than six times because of its success and August Anastasi (1820-1889) would ultimately make the Dutch evening river landscape his speciality [Fig. 40]. In 1866, Paul Huet's *Bords de la Haye* was bought by the State, indicating the changed attitude towards non-classical landscape painting.¹⁶⁹

Because Daubigny's own visit did not take place until the early 1870s, it seems odd to consider this painter one of the main instigators of popularizing the Dutch landscape genre in France. Only two years before Daubigny's journey, Jongkind been successful at the Salon with his *Intérieur au Port et Vue de la Bourse de Rotterdam* and *La Meuse à Dordrecht* (1869), a motif Daubigny later picked up as well. Jongkind continued exhibiting views of Dordrecht in the following years [Fig. 41]¹⁷⁰ Furthermore, both painters were founding members of the *Société des aquafortistes*, which will certainly have acquainted Daubigny with Jongkind's earlier Dutch etchings.¹⁷¹ It is unlikely that the painter would not have noticed the growing clientele for views of Holland. Considering that he must have been familiar with Jongkind's work and its saleability, and given the fact that both artists were interested in painting plein-air, it is not too far stretched to believe that Daubigny might have consciously chosen Dordrecht because of its selling qualities. Furthermore, he was acquainted with most

¹⁶⁵ Kraan 2002 (note 47), p. 79.

¹⁶⁶ Victorine Hefting, *J.B. Jongkind. Voorloper van het Impressionisme*, Amsterdam 1992, p. 17.

¹⁶⁷ Kraan 2002 (note 47), pp. 196-197. Bakker, 'Monet als toerist', in: Bakker, et al. 1986 (note 2), p. 24.

¹⁶⁸ Hefting 1992 (note 166), pp. 76, 112.

¹⁶⁹ Bakker, 'Monet als toerist', in: Bakker, et al. 1986 (note 2), p. 24. Kraan 2002 (note 47), pp. 146-149.

¹⁷⁰ At the Salon of 1870 Jongkind showed *Vue d'un canal à Dordrecht* and *Intérieur du Port à Dordrecht*. He showed *Entrée du Port de Dordrecht* in 1872. Hefting 1992 (note 166), p. 191.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 76.

of the French artists that had either visited or were still to see Holland, being personally befriended with men such as Corot, Courbet and Boudin.

When working on the same sites or exhibiting at the same places, these painters must not only have been interested in each other's artistic progress but also in their financial achievements. It was not uncommon for landscape artists to try their luck in a certain region when it had gained others success at the Salon or art market. Boudin had inspired Monet to work in Normandy during the 1860s and much later, in 1883, the Impressionist had Courbet's well-selling representations of Étretat in mind when starting his own series of this region.¹⁷² Courbet even mentioned being commissioned to go to that particular site, indicating that public demand could influence such a decision. Likewise, Dubourg advised his friend Boudin in 1858 to start working in the region where Daubigny had painted so many successful canvases.¹⁷³ The same financial considerations were naturally applied to a journey outside of France. Boudin recognized Monet as the chosen leader of the 'new school' after looking at his sketches of Holland in 1871, and he himself supposedly packed his bags for Rotterdam after hearing great things about the country's light from the successful Jongkind.¹⁷⁴ Boudin's rather loose and transparent depictions of Rotterdam and Dordrecht were received with much enthusiasm by critics in the following years, earning him a first-class medal in 1881 for his *Meuse à Rotterdam*.¹⁷⁵ Thus a visit to Holland could not just be inspirational or educational, it often even proved to be financially fruitful. For some, these rather unromantic travel reasons may have even been more important than learning about the nation's history of art. Or as was stated about Boudin's criteria for choosing a foreign destination: 'Money does not go where painters go, the painter follows the money'.¹⁷⁶

Dordrecht by Daubigny

Daubigny and his son first worked in Dordrecht before making their tour around the galleries. As we have just described, this choice of destination conforms to the successfully exhibited views of Holland to be seen in Paris at the time. In his letter to Chenillion the painter embellished his written praise on the beauty of the Netherlands with an amusing little scribble which reminds us of his travel etchings for the *Voyage en Bateau*. It shows Daubigny himself, seated before an easel while painting what seems to be Dordrecht [Fig. 42]. Two rather comical Dutch locals accompany him, of which a child points to a group of windmills in the distance while the older man gestures to the canvas that

¹⁷² Bakker, 'Monet als toerist', in: Bakker, et al. 1986 (note 2), p. 34.

¹⁷³ Fidell-Beaufort and Bailly-Herzberg 1975 (note 13), p. 49.

¹⁷⁴ Letter by Boudin cited in: A.H. Huussen, 'Claude Monet in Nederland', in: Bakker, et al. 1986 (note 2), p. 43. Kraan 2002 (note 47), p. 197.

¹⁷⁵ Gustave Cahen, *Eugène Boudin. Sa vie et son oeuvre*, Paris 1900, p. 89.

¹⁷⁶ Jean-Aubry: 'L'argent ne venant pas au peintres, le peintre allait vers l'argent'. Gérard Jean-Aubry, *Eugène Boudin. La vie et l'œuvre d'après les lettres et les documents inédits*, Neuchâtel 1987, p. 106.

carries its representation. Interestingly enough, Daubigny has drawn himself under a parasol stuck firmly into the ground instead of painting from a boat like he had described to his friend.¹⁷⁷ Yet the low viewpoints to be recognized in Daubigny's depictions of Dordrecht do indeed indicate he was mostly seated in a ship. Because of this compositional scheme, his views of the city have been compared to the work of both Jongkind and the Dutch Old Masters, yet Daubigny's earlier French paintings already show just how much he preferred to paint from such an angle. One can therefore not simply assume that the artist consciously imitated the views of Dordrecht he may have seen at the Salon or museum.

In fact, his working methods did not change whilst abroad. He still made his quick preparatory sketches plein-air and his finished works had to wait until he would return to his Paris studio. Some of his sketches still exist, along with the works of art which derived from them [Fig. 28-38]. Although depicted from different angles, the entire Dordrecht series seems to follow a certain scheme in which the city's characteristic windmills and vessels are reflected in the water, taking up most of the foreground. The low horizons are marked with the skyline of Dordrecht, usually consisting of no more than a number of small red roofed houses. Although known for often painting on the spot, Daubigny was no slave to reality. As we have seen, the artist was always more concerned with achieving a harmonious atmosphere as opposed to topographical accuracy. His Dordrecht views are no different. After returning to France, Daubigny used his sketches and memories to compose several canvas and panel paintings entitled *Moulins à Hollande* and *Moulins à Dordrecht*. Like Jongkind did not necessarily need to be in the Netherlands in order to paint his homeland, Daubigny's final works are carefully assembled compilations of his sketches, resulting in typical Dutch landscape compositions.¹⁷⁸ Daubigny thus worked according to the traditional way of painting, in which landscapes or cityscapes are composed in the studio. The focus in his Dutch paintings clearly lies on the characteristic picturesque aspects of Dordrecht, such as its windmills and ships, all of them almost prescribed elements of the popular genre.

The suggestion that Daubigny did wish to achieve something with his new Dutch topic is supported by the fact that he exhibited a large *Moulins à Dordrecht, Hollande* (1872) at the Salon the very year of his return [Fig. 35]. Michiel Peters describes the piece as 'ground-breaking', a judgement probably not based on the work's stylistic novelty or its reception by contemporary critics.¹⁷⁹ Overall, literature on Daubigny comments on the cold reception of his Dutch views, an interesting deviation from what seemed to be a ticket to success for most artists. Why did Daubigny fail where others suc-

¹⁷⁷ Letters reproduced in: Henriët 1881 (note 117).

¹⁷⁸ Sillevs and Kraan 1985 (note 1), p. 143. Marlais 2004 (note 14), p. 51.

¹⁷⁹ Peters: 'Voor veel kunstenaars bleef het aanzien van de stad vanaf het water het hoofdmotief, zoals bij Charles-Francois Daubigny (1817-1878), die in 1871 zijn baanbrekende *Moulins de Dordrecht* schilderde'. Michiel Peters, 'De uithoek van Europa', in: Peters 2005 (note 99), p. 29.

ceeded? In his 1913 biography Laran mentions the criticism of the French journalist, critic and travel writer Ernest Duvergier de Hauranne (1843-1877), who frequently reviewed the Paris Salon exhibitions. He seemed particularly disappointed in Daubigny's first try at a Dutch topic. Duvergier de Hauranne: 'What has he done with his talent? Those that can still recall his slopes of the Seine overflowing in the sun, his lovely banks of the l'Oise, his large serious and noble seascapes, will not be able to recognize this in the VUE DES MOULINS A DORDRECHT. This painting, alas! It has nothing of the Dutch School aside from the simplicity of its topic.....Everything is disordered, weak, made without a concept and as if by accident. It is not the brush that is missing; it is even too much present. The sky is patted on with large dashes.... The rest is more or less brushed as if with an inattentive hand'.¹⁸⁰ Apparently, a Dutch subject alone was not enough to please the critics. Daubigny was again attacked for his lack of finish, implying that when depicting a Dutch view one ought to execute it in a fitting manner. Even though his Salon painting is more detailed than the rest of the series, he was still condemned for handling his brush too loosely. Yet contrary to what art historians imply other reviews could be described as mild, especially when compared to that of Duvergier de Hauranne. In *l'Artiste*, Daubigny's work was considered less of a failure when compared to *Le Tonnelier*, which he exhibited at the same Salon: '[...] The Moulins de Dordrecht is less coarse [than Le Tonnelier]; the painting has firmness and harmony, a certain austerity and robustness'.¹⁸¹ Yet the rest of his review was less complimentary, especially regarding the painter's use of his palette. '[...] The windmills and the ships, the houses and the canals, all, the sky included, is browned with the same dreary and heavy tone'.¹⁸² Daubigny's overall recollection of Holland indeed seems a bit drab, something which may have actually been caused by the fact that Daubigny worked there in the fall, as opposed to the more cheerful spring and summer months. However, some of his works do give us an impression of the 'blonde light' Daubigny had noticed. Yet the artist only exhibited *Moulins à Dordrecht* at the Salon, which luckily found some positive criticism as well. For instance, G. Lafenestre did appreciate

¹⁸⁰ Duvergier de Hauranne: Qu'a-t-il fait de son talent ? Ceux qui se rappellent encore ses coteaux de la Seine inondés de soleil, ses rives de l'Oise si riantes, ses vastes paysages maritimes d'une caractère si sérieux et si noble, ne peuvent le reconnaître dans la VUE DES MOULINS A DORDRECHT. Cette toile, hélas ! n'a de l'école hollandaise que la simplicité du sujet..... Tout y est confus, lâché, fait sans conscience et comme au hasard. Ce n'est pas la brosse qui manque; il y en a même trop. Le ciel est tapoté à grands coups..... Tout le reste est brossé tant bien que mal d'une main distraite'. Cited by: Miquel 1975 (note 89), p. 699. Laran commented on the cold reception that this was due to a lack of originality and sentiment. Laran 1913 (note 17), pp. 101-102.

¹⁸¹ Anonymous, *L'Artiste* 1872: 'Les masses de feuillages qui encombrant la hutte de son Tonnelier sont maçonnés à chaux et à sable ; le coup de lumière qui les traverse a dû prendre le calibre d'un obus prussien pour les pénétrer. Les Moulins de Dordrecht sont d'une facture moins grossière; le tableau a de l'aplomb et de l'équilibre, une certaine carrure austère et robuste ; mais les moulins et les barques, les maisons et le canal, tout, le ciel compris, est bruni du même ton morne et lourd. La toile semble moins colorée que mise en couleur'. Ibid.

¹⁸² Ibid.

Daubigny's interpretation of Dordrecht, claiming it had a 'solid and majestic calmness'.¹⁸³ Thus the critics were not altogether negative, yet they certainly were not raving either. But what about the buying clientele that seemed to love Dutch views so much? It appears the art market was less affected by any art criticism, for Daubigny sold his Salon painting in the very year of its exhibition to the Parisian art dealer Breyse for 4500 francs.¹⁸⁴ Moreover, the fact that the painter replicated the scene indicates that there was a demand for his Dutch work. Another version of the *Moulins* was acquired for 1900 francs shortly after this first sale. However, Daubigny's posthumous auction does mention some paintings of Dordrecht that apparently never found a buyer.¹⁸⁵

Because Daubigny's Dutch work was not as unanimously applauded as in the case with most others, a comparative look might be interesting. The series' topic, compositional schemes, and recurring motifs fit right in with the much appreciated views of Holland by Ziem and Anastasi, yet in terms of technical execution Daubigny's brushwork resembles that of Jongkind. As opposed to Daubigny, however, this Dutchman had not limited himself to the exterior view of a riverside with windmills, instead also depicting the picturesque streets Havard had mentioned.¹⁸⁶ In his Salon review of 1881 Louis de Fourcaud already addressed Jongkind's influence on among others Daubigny and Boudin, especially regarding their choice for Dutch subjects.¹⁸⁷ Yet although Daubigny may indeed have been directly inspired by these works, it does appear as if his visions of Holland depend less on seventeenth-century conventions when compared to the much appreciated Ziem and sometimes even Jongkind. Although this last painter's technique is equally and sometimes even less finished than Daubigny's, Jongkind made both daring and extremely traditional Dutch views. Furthermore, even his loosely painted cityscapes and winter landscapes recall the dramatic night scenes and light effects by Aert van der Neer [Fig. 43].¹⁸⁸ Thus although Daubigny was influenced by past painting, his version of the Dutch harbour scene did not remind the critics of the famous Old Masters that had preceded Daubigny in this genre. The artist's Salon submission would later nevertheless be compared to the Dutch School by Claretie, claiming that 'it is a masterpiece in colour and charm; it has a tone that recalls the most beautiful of Pierre de Hogh's paintings. Daubigny had never done better'.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸³ G. Lafenestre, *L'illustration* 1872: 'En Hollande, vous trouverez, d'ailleurs cette année, M. Daubigny qui peint les Moulins de Dordrecht, avec cette majesté calme et robuste dont il sait imprégner également nos grandes hêtrées de France, comme dans cette retraite paisiblement laborieuse qu'il appelle le Tonnelier'. Ibid.

¹⁸⁴ Moreau-Nélaton 1925 (note 113), pp. 108-109.

¹⁸⁵ Laran 2013 (note 17), p. 102.

¹⁸⁶ Saskia de Bodt, 'Les bonnes choses de la Hollande', in: Peters 2005 (note 99), p. 38.

¹⁸⁷ De Fourcaud: 'L'Influence de M. Jongkind a été considérable. L'illustre Daubigny lui-même, un des maîtres éclatants du pays français, en a été par intervalles, et M. Eugène Boudin a exposé au Salon un tableau de La Meuse à Dordrecht traité à sa manière ordinaire'. Cited by: François Auffret, *Jongkind 1819-1891. Héritier, contemporain & précurseur. Biographie illustrée*, Paris 2004, p. 253.

¹⁸⁸ Bakker, 'Monet als toerist', in: Bakker, et al. 1986 (note 2), p. 25.

¹⁸⁹ M.J. Claretie: 'C'est là une oeuvre de choix, un chef-d'oeuvre. Le soleil couchant réchauffe les toits et les murs rouges ou verts des logis hollandais; il dore d'un reflet rouge de cuivre des bateaux endormis, aux voiles

When we confront Daubigny's interpretations of Holland with those of that other successful painter of Dutch views, Eugène Boudin, the difference is striking. Although often making similar use of grayish and brown tones, Boudin's depictions of Dordrecht and Rotterdam show an abundance of colour missing in Daubigny's scenes, such as the brightly lit canal houses in *Le Pont de la Bourse, Rotterdam* (1876) [Fig. 44]. However, when making such a comparison it is important to remember that Boudin's true success only came in the early 1880s, when public and critics had grown more accustomed to the use of such a palette. In fact, when Monet himself visited Holland in the same year as Daubigny, this future hero of Impressionism still applied relatively subdued colours when compared to his later sessions in the Netherlands. Between 1871 and 1886 the artist would return several times, resulting in about forty paintings in total.¹⁹⁰ Especially Monet's later depictions of the famous flower fields at Zaandam, exploding with reds, purples and yellows, look nothing like Daubigny's harmoniously toned views. Yet although in general the painter's Dutch oeuvre is far more varied and colourful, some of Monet's 1871 works do resemble Daubigny's series [Fig. 45-47]. These similarities may have been the reason for *Voorzaan and Westerhem* being offered for sale under the title *Bords de la Meuse, en Hollande, temps gris* in 1924, even though the painter had never worked on this river [Fig. 45].¹⁹¹ Thus Monet, the painter who is considered one of the first to depict Holland without reverting to the Golden Age, chose to represent some of his wide Dutch skies in a manner similar to Daubigny. Moreover, Monet repeated different motifs as well and many of his compositions likewise seem to be painted from the waterside. The fact that the Impressionist also spent several summer months in Holland could explain his more varied use of colour. Because of Monet's vast production of Dutch work, which he frequently exhibited, it has been suggested the painter also had commercial motives for going north. In this respect, it is interesting to know that art dealer Durand-Ruel initially seemed to favour his more traditional and finished work, buying the 'Daubigny-like' *Moulins à Zaandam* (1872) instead of the more daring compositions [Fig. 46]. What's more, although no other painter preceded Monet in depicting the flower fields of Zaandam, his works made in Amsterdam show exactly those street corners and canal views well-known in Paris thanks to illustrated album books, contributing to their salability.¹⁹² This alludes to the financial criteria many artists considered when

abaissées, et dont la coque brune reluit comme le dos de hannetons énormes. Quelle poésie dans ce ciel d'une gris de perle, dans cette paix silencieuse d'un beau soir! On a gardé dans ses souvenirs de voyage des visions pareilles, chaudes encore d'un dernier rayon solaire, et rafraîchies par l'eau sur laquelle filait rapidement le bateau..... Dans le tableau de Daubigny, on n'aperçoit aucun personnage: un ciel, des bateaux, des moulins, de l'eau, et c'est tout. Et c'est un chef-d'œuvre de couleur et de charme; cela est d'un ton qui rappelle les plus belles toiles de Pierre de Hogh. Daubigny n'a jamais fait mieux'. Cited by: Laran 1913 (note 17), p. 102.

¹⁹⁰ Ronald de Leeuw, 'Voorwoord', in: Bakker, et al. 1986 (note 2), p. 7.

¹⁹¹ Pickvance, 'Catalogus', in: Bakker, et al. 1986 (note 2), p. 134.

¹⁹² Ibid., pp. 33, 55, 138.

choosing a destination, often deciding on either a French or foreign site well-known with the public for its tourism and from travel literature.¹⁹³

Landscape Series

We have established that Daubigny's Dutch series contains all the picturesque elements which made the genre so beloved with the critics and the crowd. Furthermore, the painter's expressed discontent about not being able to see more of the country's charming small villages indicates that he was indeed searching for the characteristic elements Holland was famous for. However, by not following tradition in terms of execution, Daubigny may have caused critics to be disappointed in his version of the well-known Dutch landscape scene. Nevertheless, it may have been these very critics that inspired the artist to try his luck in Holland in the first place. Fidell-Beaufort and Bailly-Herzberg states about Daubigny's situation shortly before his journey to the Netherlands: 'If as a person he remained the same simple man; as a painter he was divided between the endless repetition of the most famous of his canvases and the attempt to maintain his original spirit of innovation'.¹⁹⁴ The artist thus knew his harmonious French countryside scenes brought him success and a decent income, yet he also felt the need to keep developing his manner. For various artists such a desire caused them to change their everyday surroundings, hoping that a new destination would automatically lead to new inspiration. It is known that painters such as Monet and Boudin particularly packed their bags in times of difficulty, whether personal, artistic or financial, in order to produce a series of paintings in a brand new place.¹⁹⁵ In this respect, Daubigny's trip to Holland could not just have been inspired by the nation's artistic heritage, picturesque character and saleability on the art market, but also on a general need to offer the public something new as well as to renew himself. As it happens, beside any negative comments regarding technical execution the painter had received criticism for being repetitive. Émile Zola mentioned Daubigny showing the people old canvases at the Salon of 1866 and in *L'Artiste* he was accused of always doing the same: 'What to say or what to repeat about the paintings of Daubigny? It's always the same dark painting and messiness'.¹⁹⁶ Another common point of critique was that Daubigny seemed to adopt and combine other artist's styles, causing Thoré to claim

¹⁹³ Robert L. Herbert, *Monet on the Normandy Coast. Tourism and painting. 1867-1886*, New Haven/London 1994, p. 2.

¹⁹⁴ Fidell-Beaufort and Bailly-Herzberg 1975 (note 13), p. 61.

¹⁹⁵ Grace Seiberling, *Monet's Series*, New York/London 1981, pp. 50-51, 148.

¹⁹⁶ Zola: 'Cette année, M. Daubigny a contenté la foule sans trop se mentir à lui-même. Je crois savoir d'ailleurs que ce sont là d'anciennes toiles'. Zola 1866 (note 161), p. 67.

Anonymous, *L'Artiste* 1872: Que dire ou que redire des tableaux de M. Daubigny ? C'est toujours la même peinture noire et bourbeuse étalée sur des sites vulgaires qui vous feraient regretter les décors à coulisses et à tombeaux de l'ancienne école'. Cited by: Miquel 1975 (note 89), p. 699.

that the painter possessed no individuality.¹⁹⁷ His vast amount of repetitive compositions would eventually even harm his reputation after his death, being described as an artist ‘who seems to have produced pictures as Lord Leverhulme did soap’ by the famous critic Clive Bell in 1925.¹⁹⁸ With the ongoing developments in the Parisian art world paintings were no longer merely displayed at the annual Salon, but also showed in shops around the city on a regular basis, encouraging artists to alternate more frequently in style and topic in order to remain interesting for a buying public.

However, like many others Daubigny had already experienced the risks of working in a completely new environment. This seemed especially the case with him, being more of a painter of the French countryside than of pure nature or city life. Fuller already mentioned that the artist could have done without any of his visits abroad when searching for subjects, ‘for he found them everywhere about him and almost at his own doorstep’.¹⁹⁹ Daubigny often seems to have felt rather uncomfortable when confronted with sceneries he had never depicted before. In 1869 he had undertaken an unsuccessful trip around Spain with the art dealer Brame, travelling through Madrid, Seville and Grenada. This twelve-day tour left him rather unsatisfied, returning as Henriët described, ‘without any appreciable booty and without any outstanding memory, except for a quick hello to Henri Regnault’.²⁰⁰ The painter known for his softly toned river scenes felt quite out of his element in the harsh southern sun and Hellebranth’s catalogue raisonné shows that Daubigny’s one and only try at a sunny street in Spain had no follow-up [Fig. 48]. Monet seems to have faced similar difficulties when working abroad, complaining to Théodore Duret on his first trip to Italy: ‘It makes me desperate, I would need a palette with diamonds to be able to paint this’. The same problems of familiarizing oneself with a new range of colours were offered in Holland, where Zaandam’s bright flower fields caused Monet to continuously represented them in a different manner. Monet: ‘[the] enormous fields of flowers, marvelously beautiful in itself, but to turn a poor painter insane. It is impossible to do with our flimsy palette’.²⁰¹ Finally, after spending some time in the Pyrenees in 1872, Daubigny had come to the conclusion that a familiar landscape was far more productive than a strange one, even when considered absolutely astonishing. Daubigny: ‘I have not managed to get anything done at Cauterets. It is truly more beautiful to look at than to paint. It is always only very little what one

¹⁹⁷ Thoré (1861): ‘M. Daubigny, dont la réputation est assez récente, s’est composée une matière par un certain mélange de Corot et de Dupré. Ses tableaux du Salon sont faibles et sans accent..... Le Parc a Moutons rappelle Jacque ou Millet, M. Daubigny manque d’individualité’. Cited by: Laran 1913 (note 17), p. 75.

¹⁹⁸ Clive Bell, ‘Barbizon’, *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 47 (November 1925) No. 272, p. 256. In his comparison Bell referred to William Hesketh Lever, 1st Viscount Leverhulme (1851-1925), an English industrialist known for founding the soap firm Lever Brothers in 1885.

¹⁹⁹ Fuller 1895 (note 8), p. 21.

²⁰⁰ Henriët on Daubigny’s journey to Spain: ‘sans aucun butin appréciable et sans autre souvenir maquant qu’un salut rapide à Henri Regnault’. Henriët 1875 (note 13), p. 46. English translation adopted from Fidell-Beaufort and Bailly-Herzberg 1975 (note 13), p. 65.

²⁰¹ Bakker, et al. 1986 (note 2), pp. 16, 62.

does, and it offers no idea of the landscape's grandeur. [...] One is so surprised by those grand views that one would have to stay a long time to find the means of interpreting them adequately and not to fall back into the banality of photography. I shall leave for Auvers, to finish the season. There is nothing like one's natural everyday surroundings for making one feel at ease. The pictures we do there show the effects of our home life and the sweet sensations we experience in it'.²⁰²

This returning struggle with painting 'exotic' landscapes may have contributed to Daubigny opting for Holland as his travel destination. The growing interest in anti-academic landscape painting during the nineteenth century resulted in various French handbooks on the genre which not only encouraged studying nature directly, but also advised those specific local sites that bore resemblances to the characteristic Dutch landscape. French painters were thus taught to discover the surroundings of Paris like the Dutch had previously explored their own nation.²⁰³ In *Barbizon Revisited* (1962) Robert Herbert states Daubigny's choice for the Netherlands might have had something to do with its climatic similarity to parts of France. Especially after 1857 Daubigny became increasingly interested in depicting water and the effects of light when reflected on its surface. As a result he preferred the more humid regions of his country, applying the same criteria when choosing destinations abroad. Herbert argues that the only foreign travels relevant for the painter's oeuvre were England and the Netherlands, two nations that happen to share the same atmosphere caused by a humid climate.²⁰⁴ Here, Daubigny could therefore paint new sceneries whilst still being able to depend on his past experience and familiar painting manner.

Although Herbert hardly elaborates on his own theory, it seems to be supported by the artist's Dutch works. When comparing Daubigny's Dordrecht series with the rest of his oeuvre, its similarities with both previous and later paintings become clear. In general, the members of Barbizon had little interest in modern life and Daubigny was no exception in this. The artist indeed managed to avoid city life in Dordrecht by depicting it solely from the outside. This way, he was able to combine his familiar repertoire of river scenes with more outlandish architectural elements. For instance, he made use of the exact same motifs to enliven his landscapes with. The herons on the foreground of

²⁰² Daubigny to Henriot, Paris September 30th, 1872: 'Je n'ai rien fait de bon à Cauterets. C'est vraiment plus beau à voir qu'à peindre. C'est toujours trop petit, ce que l'on fait, et on ne donne aucune idée de la grandeur de ces pays-là. Il est vrai aussi que, forcé de rester à Cauterets pour prendre les eaux, je n'ai pu travailler dans les quelques excursions et ascensions que j'ai faites aux environs, où c'était alors très beau. On est tellement surpris par ces grands aspects qu'il faut rester longtemps pour trouver l'interprétation capable de les rendre et pour ne pas tomber dans la banalité photographique. Je vais partir pour Auvers, pour terminer la saison. [...] Il n'est tel encore que la nature dans laquelle on vit tous les jours, et où l'on se plaît réellement'. Cited by Moreau-Nélaton 1925 (note 112), pp. 109-110.

²⁰³ Jacques Foucart, 'De Hollandse inspiratie', in: Sillevius and Kraan 1985 (note 1), p. 32. Foucart mentions examples like *Guide du paysagiste amateur* by Champin and *Etudes de paysage* by Lefranc (1840)

²⁰⁴ Herbert: 'From this time forward, water was to be his constant theme, no longer wooded glades or the calm ponds and rivers of southern France, and his only important trips abroad were to London and Holland, Northern maritime countries'. Herbert 1962 (note 10), p. 47.

his Salon piece *Moulins à Dordrecht, Hollande* (1872) may well have been there during Daubigny's painting session, yet he more likely added them later on in order to animate the scene, as he had done so frequently in the past [Fig. 4, 35]. But it's not just in small details that we can find the artist approaching his new Dutch motifs in a similar manner to his French work. His *Mill of the Gylieu* (1868) shows very similar red rooftops against a yellow sky when compared to his *River Meuse at Dordrecht* (1872) and Daubigny's later excursion to Dieppe left him with harbour scenes that look much alike [Fig. 49-50]. In fact, Van Gogh would later reminisce about the harbour of Dieppe and its 'old boats with brown nets and sails like Daubigny paints them', when walking through Dordrecht.²⁰⁵ Furthermore, Daubigny's landscapes made in Kéridy, Brittany in the late 1860s show a similar use of colour, not to mention the presence of the occasional windmill.

Holland's comparable climate to Daubigny's beloved humid homeland regions thus presented him with the perfect combination of the new and the familiar. At the same time these foreign picturesque elements had a potential group of buyers. Furthermore, the painter's earlier stays in that other rainy nation, Great Britain, had already proven to be successful undertakings. His views of the Thames were apparently well-sought after in England, making him a considerable amount of money.²⁰⁶ Like in his later works from Holland, the closest he came to city life was by depicting the harbours and the silhouette of London's skyline. Similar to Monet, Daubigny was not a specialist in representing clear architectural constructions, and both of their views of London show how they cleverly made use of the city's foggy atmosphere in order to simplify and fade any outlines [Fig. 51-52]. The same approach was thereafter used by Monet in Amsterdam in which he obscured all architectural details, suggesting that Monet likewise was better at ease with doing what he knew.²⁰⁷ This avoidance of any rigid building constructions was probably the main reason Monet felt very dissatisfied with his 1908 series of Venice, which he initially even refused to exhibit. Although at first sight the same perfect combination of water, light and 'exotic' architecture, the dominance of this Italian city's buildings in a sunnier climate proved to be less successful than any of his depictions of England or Holland.²⁰⁸

Yet it is important to stress that Monet's later series, such as those of Venice, played a different role than Daubigny's Dordrecht series in the by then radically altered art market. As Seiberling

²⁰⁵ Vincent van Gogh to Theo van Gogh, Dordrecht, February 7th and 8th, 1877: 'Er zijn in andere landen wel eigenaardige dingen. B.v. de Fransche kust die ik zag bij Dieppe – de falaises met het groene gras er op – en de zee en lucht – de haven met de oude booten zoals Daubigny ze schildert met bruine netten en zeilen '[...]'. <http://vangoghletters.org/vg/letters/let102/letter.html#translation> (12-06-2012).

²⁰⁶ Pissarro to Béliard, February 22nd, 1871: 'Daubigny vient de rentrer, retour de Londres, où il a gagné beaucoup d'argent'. Cited by: Rewald 1964 (note 121), p. 219.

²⁰⁷ Seiberling 1981 (note 195), p. 196. The Pushkin Museum, Moscow, owns a painting of Westminster by Daubigny that is very similar to Monet's work in terms of colour and painting technique.

²⁰⁸ Monet worked a long time on the Venice series after staying there in 1908, but was never satisfied with them. *Ibid.*, p. 212.

explains in *Monet's Series* (1981) the concept of painting and exhibiting several works with comparable topics was already well-known with the older Barbizon generation. The popularity of printing techniques such as lithography had stimulated the wide spread circulation of images, thereby motivating artists to specialize in certain topics. These developments coalesced with the popularity of the *vues pittoresques* in which landscape series for travel albums were exhibited together at the Salon, sometimes even resulting in commissions for easel paintings with the same topic. Such prints were therefore partially employed as promotional tools for the art market.²⁰⁹ Daubigny himself contributed to some of these series, making illustrations for *Français peints par eux-mêmes, à la Normandie* or *Guide de voyageur de Paris à la mer* (1847).²¹⁰ Daubigny's son Karl in his turn presumably produced an album entitled *Souvenirs du Voyage* on their mutual trip to Holland.²¹¹ Another early example of painting in series was to depict the same landscape or motif several times, yet on different moments of the day or in different weather conditions.²¹² However, these series did not always originate from long plein-air painting sessions, often deriving from studio labour instead. For instance, Daubigny sometimes repeated the same landscape scenes with various light effects, such as sunset, moonlight or midday, executing them years apart.²¹³ This kind of production was purely meant for the art market, offering the people a choice between different yet still typical 'Daubigny's'. Yet Daubigny's series of paintings made in Holland were never on display as a group. It was not until the 1890s that Monet's pictures with identical subjects, such as his famous haystacks or landscape series from a particular region, would be exhibited as a whole. With the new structures in the Parisian art market, series were now exhibited in order to show a particular aspect of the artist's overall oeuvre.²¹⁴ Yet though Daubigny's series are no more than forerunners of what Monet would later make of them, we shall see that the painter did have plenty of doings with the art market during his life.

Daubigny and Art Dealers

Despite of what biographers such as Henriët have suggested, their accounts of the painter's life and his working methods do indicate that Daubigny knew how to make a profit in his line of work. When running into the painter on the streets of Paris, Henriët remembered speaking with the artist whilst on his way to his brand new larger studio, where he could meet the demand of his growing clientele more efficiently. 'Are they ever stupid', the painter supposedly chuckled, ridiculing the bourgeois

²⁰⁹ Harrison C. White and Cynthia A. White, *Canvases and careers. Institutional change in the French painting world*, Chicago/London 1993 (1965), pp. 79-82.

²¹⁰ Delteil 1921 (note 101), n.p. Delteil mentions this title, yet I have not been able to trace such a publication or album of prints by Karl Daubigny.

²¹¹ Henriët 1875 (note 13), p. 38.

²¹² Seiberling 1981 (note 195), pp. 2, 25.

²¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 27. Hellebranth 1976 (note 30), p. XVIII.

²¹⁴ Seiberling 1981 (note 195), pp. 100-101.

buyers 'who fought among themselves today for the same paintings they turned their noses up at yesterday'. Daubigny clearly understood the whims of the art market and how people wished to buy a famous name in the first place. Or as the painter himself verbalized: 'toujours la signature'.²¹⁵ His comprehension of the wheeling and dealing in the art trade was probably the result of his own involvement in the business and the relationship he had with art dealers at an early stage.

The development from a State-sponsored art world towards a more open Parisian art market has elaborately been explained in Harrison and Cynthia White's *Canvases and Careers* (1965), responsible for the term *dealer-critic system* as a description for the modernized manner of criticizing, advertizing, exhibiting and selling art. Because the Impressionists were the first avant-garde painters to take advantage of these new possibilities, their rise in the 1870s is generally considered the beginning of this new structure.²¹⁶ Before that time artists such as Daubigny often maintained an ambivalent relationship with the Salon. On the one hand they struggled with the exhibition's rigid prescribed taste, while at the same time it was their most important gateway to success. Because the jury members of the Salon were appointed by the Academy, this institution's classicist ideals were regarded as leading guidelines when accepting or denying works of art. However, since the event was sponsored by the government, winning a medal at the Salon could not only result in public recognition but also in future State commissions.²¹⁷ The long lasting importance of the Salon is indicated by the initial efforts of the young Impressionists to be admitted. For instance, Monet focussed on figure painting in the 1860s as a result of this genre's higher academic regard in comparison to landscape. Similarly, several of the Impressionists entered the studios of renowned academic painters and, like Daubigny, they pursued the Prix de Rome.²¹⁸ Yet this academic system would ultimately die of its own success. As the number of artists increased during the nineteenth century, the number of submitted works became a problem. While at first the jury's task was to guard academic standards, they ultimately were there to ensure that the amount of accepted works remained 'within the acceptable'.²¹⁹ In this labyrinth of exhibited pictures the enormous quantity of mediocre works took away the attention of potential masterpieces, whereas the academic value system shunned new manners

²¹⁵Henriet citing Daubigny: 'SONT-ILS BETES, HEIN, SONT-ILS BETES! ILS, c'étaient les bourgeois, les amateurs qui se disputaient aujourd'hui ces mêmes peintures qu'ils dédaignaient hier et qui les voyaient avec d'autres yeux, à travers le prestige d'un nom consacré. Toujours la signature...'. Cited by: Fidell-Beaufort and Bailly-Herzberg 1975 (note 13), p. 63.

²¹⁶ White and White: 'The impressionists seemed to mark a basic new era in art primarily because they ushered in a new structure for the art world. Let us call this new institutional system the dealer-and-critic system'. White and White 1993 (1965) (note 210), p. 2.

²¹⁷ Champa 1991 (note 16), p. 64.

²¹⁸ Seiberling 1981 (note 195), p. 41. White and White 1993 (1965) (note 210), p. 114.

²¹⁹ White and White 1993 (1965) (note 210), p. 29.

of expression. As a result, the Impressionists were unable to fit into the old system, therefore turning to alternatives offered by the open market instead.²²⁰

The rise of the art dealer in Paris did not happen overnight. Already during the eighteenth century picture sellers responded to the growing demand for decorative easel painting caused by a demographical shift in society. The old French nobility slowly disappeared as the new bourgeois was taking over. This upcoming middle class had no great palaces to decorate and was therefore in lesser need of the highly regarded oversized history paintings of the Salon. Instead, they asked for smaller portable pictures to adorn their comfortable homes with, opening up the art market for 'lesser genres' such as landscape- and still life painting. The later Impressionists would eventually successfully meet the demands of this expanding class of buyers. Art dealers offered these painters both financial and social support, providing them with a network of potential clients. More importantly, the independently organized exhibitions brought them the required visibility and attention from art critics and buyers they were unable to receive within the academic system. While the Salon had always focused on the painting itself, art dealers emphasized the man behind the work by exhibiting them in group exhibitions or one-man-shows. As a result artists were placed in a certain School or movement, while their works were viewed as parts of an entire oeuvre.²²¹ This new marketing strategy included an international approach in which dealers often set up branches in several European cities. *Goupil & Cie* (1850) would open galleries in London, Brussels, Berlin and The Hague, thereby expanding their market. This way French contemporary art was increasingly sold abroad while dealers could acquaint themselves with new foreign talents at the same time.²²² Yet the most important early player in the field was Paul Durand-Ruel (1831-1922) who had taken over the business from his father in 1865. Instead of offering his customers a combination of pictures and other decorative luxury goods, the young dealer would focus solely on selling paintings. He opened satellite galleries in England, Germany, Belgium and the Netherlands, whilst building his success by means of a range of speculative purchases and sales.²²³ Initially focusing mostly on the Barbizon School, Durand-Ruel would buy up entire collections for great amounts of money, thereby applying the strategy of monopoly and specialization with a certain group of artists. The dealer developed this approach even further after starting his business with the Impressionists, demanding that they sold their work to none of his rivals.²²⁴ His position as the most important dealer of Impressionism would be set in motion after meeting both Monet and Pissarro in England in 1870. The unstable political situation as a result of the Franco-Prussian War had caused Durand-Ruel to take refuge in London, opening up a gallery in New Bond

²²⁰ Champa 1991 (note 16), 64.

²²¹ White and White 1993 (1965) (note 210), pp. 10, 92-98, 150.

²²² In 1884 the Goupil & Cie. would continue under the name *Boussod, Valadon & Cie*.

²²³ Venturi 1939 (note 164), Vol. II, p. 13.

²²⁴ White and White 1993 (1965) (note 210), p. 124. Assouline 2004 (note 164), pp. 76, 155.

Street. In the following decades, the dealer would help promote their art by means of both the aforementioned group- and one-man-shows, or by displaying thematic series.²²⁵ Although his speculative manner of doing business caused him to get into financial problems a number of times, he would be the most important and stable financial support for Monet and his circle. Monet himself actively participated in applying the latest exhibition strategies in order to make his art more interesting and valuable for buyers. Eventually, He would not even deliver paintings unless they were meant to be put on a decent display.²²⁶

As we have seen, the demand of a buying public or success of colleagues affected artists in their choice for travel destinations. Yet sometimes these decisions were even more directly the result of a relationship between the painter and his dealer. Every art dealer acts as a mediator between the artists he supports and the clients he sells their work to. Thus men such as Durand-Ruel, Petit and Vollard actively pushed general taste into a certain direction, while at the same time recognizing what the buying public desired. As a result, they had little reservation in advising painters on aspects such as technical execution and choice of topic in order to make their works more vendible.²²⁷ It is known Durand-Ruel pressured Monet into giving him more ‘serious paintings’, meaning of larger size and with a higher overall finish.²²⁸ Similarly, Boudin’s correspondence shows the kind of pressure a dealer could lay on an artist. In a letter to Durand-Ruel, the painter expresses his struggle with the dealer’s marketing strategy of exclusivity. Although admitting that he had indeed painted too much of mediocre quality in the past, Durand-Ruel’s plan to reduce the amount of pictures circulating on the art market was incompatible with Boudin’s way of working. Boudin: ‘I know that you have always had the vision of limiting or rather restraining my production and to do what you have done for Monet and several others, but our characters are completely different’.²²⁹ Another letter by Boudin proves that his dealer had an important say in where and when the painter travelled. Boudin: ‘[...] He [Durand-Ruel] wished me to go to Dieppe this very cold winter. I am going to write so as to request him to give me the month of June instead. I hope he will agree, if he does not wish to kill a painter’.²³⁰ Artists thus not always chose their travel destination themselves, instead sometimes being

²²⁵ In the 1880s Durand-Ruel organized one man exhibitions on the works of Boudin, Monet, Renoir and Pissarro. Venturi 1939 (note 164), Vol. II, p. 10.

²²⁶ Herbert 1994 (note 193), pp. 43-44.

²²⁷ Bakker, ‘Monet als toerist’, in: Bakker, et al. 1986 (note 2), p. 34. Assouline 2004 (note 164), p. 93.

²²⁸ Seiberling 1981 (note 195), pp. 64, 150.

²²⁹ Boudin to Durand-Ruel, Deauville, September 29th, 1895 : ‘je sais que vous avez toujours eu la pensée de raréfier ou plutôt de restreindre ma production, et de faire ce que vous avez fait pour Monet et quelques autres, mais nos tempéraments sont bien différents. Ma production est trop grande et d’ailleurs j’en ai trop semé dans le passé et sûrement de très médiocres’. Venturi 1939 (note 164), Vol. II, p. 91.

²³⁰ Boudin to Martin, February 8th, 1881: ‘Tu vas être épaté. Figure-toi que j’ai une commande officielle Rien que cela. Eux vues du port de Dieppe, pour l’Etat, oui, mon cher, le sous-secrétaire m’a fait demandez par Durand-Ruel que lui a fait honte et il m’a fait cette commande, mais il désirait que j’allasse à Dieppe par cet hiver

'shipped off' to commercially interesting sites such as Dieppe, Étretat, London, Venice and last but not least; the Netherlands.

So how does this relate to Daubigny and his visit to Holland? Was he stimulated in making this journey by an art dealer as well? Unfortunately, the painter died before truly being able to profit from the fully developed new structures in the Parisian art world like the Impressionists had done in the 1880s and 1890s. There are plenty of indications, however, that the older artist was provided with similar opportunities during his life, of which he made frequent use. As Nicholas Green demonstrated in his article about the mid-nineteenth-century art market, some of the aforementioned marketing strategies were already applied during the early 1850s and 1860s, when the first professional art dealers started to settle at the Rue Lafitte. Théophile Gautier described the street as a permanent Salon, in which paintings and prints were on display behind windows which would even be lit during the nighttime.²³¹ One of these picture shops belonged to Pierre-Firmin Martin (1817-1891), who likewise pressed Daubigny's contemporary Jongkind in making something he could actually sell instead of merely what the painter simply liked, urging him not to take another trip to Nivernais.²³² Furthermore, the concept of group exhibition was also already known at this time, for the Barbizon artists were shown as a group in the gallery of Louis Martinet.²³³ Moreover, several painters of the Barbizon generation had already collaborated with dealers in the organization of large public auctions in order to sell their paintings, sometimes even offering their latest work. Rousseau would hold three of such sales (1850, 1861 and 1863), while Diaz would organize a staggering amount of eleven auctions during the 1850s and 1860s. Furthermore, from the 1850s onwards Rousseau indicated he would only do business with the new art dealers at the Rue Lafitte as opposed to the traditional antiquarians.²³⁴

Thus Daubigny's personal friends and colleagues apparently made use of the new opportunities offered by an upcoming group of dealers. Yet the artist himself was not simply relying on State commissions or Salon successes either. He especially kept a good relationship with Alfred Cadart (1828-1875), who ran his shop Cadart & Luquet at 79 Rue de Richelieu from 1863 to 1867. It would become a meeting place for artists whose work he sold, such as Boudin, Courbet and even the young Monet. Not only would Daubigny himself frequently visit the gallery, his work was almost permanently displayed there. As a maker of prints himself Cadart would mostly focus on etchings and lithographs, yet he occasionally exhibited and sold paintings as well, such as the 1866 display of Courbet's

si froid : je viens de lui écrire pour le prier remettre au mois de juin, j'espère qu'il consentira, s'il ne veut pas la mort des peintres'. Jean-Aubry 1987 (note 176), p. 120.

²³¹ Nicholas Green, 'Circuits of productions, circuits of consumption. The case of mid-nineteenth-century French Art dealing, *Art Journal* 48 (Spring 1989) No. 1, p. 29.

²³² Hefting 1992 (note 166), p. 88.

²³³ Herbert 1962 (note 10), p. 40.

²³⁴ Green 1989 (note 233), p. 32.

seascape series. Although Daubigny would not limit himself to one art dealer, selling his work to men such as Goupil, Breyse and Tédesco, Cadart would become his exclusive print publisher.²³⁵ More importantly, the painter would greatly benefit from Cadart's international contacts, since this dealer already promoted French printmaking and painting in England since the 1860s. It was thus with this dealer that Daubigny undertook his own first journey to London in 1865, where he most likely profited from Cadart's network of artists, dealers, and buyers.²³⁶ As we have seen earlier, the artist's later trip to Spain was organized by the dealer Brame, suggesting that Daubigny's foreign journeys were indeed influenced by the business of art dealers.²³⁷

So who might have influenced his visit to Dordrecht? Interestingly enough, Daubigny's Dutch journey was shortly preceded with a longer stay in London, where he apparently came to a close collaboration with the aforementioned champion of art marketing: Paul Durand-Ruel. The dealer's father had already developed a particular liking for Barbizon, and his son did not leave this School of painters unattended after taking over.²³⁸ In fact, the naturalist art movement would remain the best selling type of painting during the 1870s, causing Durand-Ruel to buy large number of works directly from Corot, Diaz and Daubigny.²³⁹ Even after discovering the young Impressionists, the stable prizes for the Barbizon artists allowed the dealer to make more risky purchases from unestablished names. Millet, Dupré and Diaz therefore kept sending him their latest works, despite his move to London.²⁴⁰ Thus the majority of Durand-Ruel's stock consisted of landscape painting from the 1850s, including much work by Daubigny, whom he had been buying since 1857.²⁴¹ In his memoirs the dealer would remember the painter as a well-selling artist, yet this mostly concerned Daubigny's safe work as opposed to his sketch-like paintings.²⁴² This fits the landscapist's strategy during the 1860s, in which he mostly sold his well-known river landscapes whilst exhibiting bolder pictures.²⁴³ Furthermore, not only did Durand-Ruel simply buy and sell Barbizon; some of his later marketing tricks were already put to work with this generation of artists. In his own short-lived journal, the *Revue Internationale de l'Art et de la Curiosité* (1869), Durand-Ruel tried to influence the public's taste in favour of artists like Daubigny and Dupré. By keeping his own name from the magazine the dealer tried to give it an air of objectivity.²⁴⁴ Although the only one-man-shows Durand-Ruel would organize for Daubigny's generation (such as Corot and Daumier) took place only shortly before their deaths, the Barbizon artists

²³⁵ Moreau-Nélaton 1925 (note 113), pp. 108-109. Fidell-Beaufort and Bailly-Herzberg 1975 (note 13), p. 59.

²³⁶ Fidell-Beaufort and Bailly-Herzberg 1975 (note 13), pp. 54, 59. Assouline 2004 (note 164), p. 200.

²³⁷ Fidell-Beaufort and Bailly-Herzberg 1975 (note 13), p. 57.

²³⁸ White and White 1993 (1965) (note 210), p. 124.

²³⁹ Venturi 1939 (note 164), Vol. II, p. 17.

²⁴⁰ Assouline 2004 (note 164), pp. 100, 150.

²⁴¹ Fidell-Beaufort and Bailly-Herzberg 1975 (note 13), p. 66.

²⁴² Stolwijk and Thomson 1999 (note 224), p. 64. Venturi 1939 (note 164), Vol. I, p. 186.

²⁴³ Duffy 2010 (note 160), p. 103.

²⁴⁴ White and White 1993 (1965) (note 210), p. 125. Assouline 2004 (note 164), p. 90.

seem to have gained from the dealer's business long after he became enchanted with Monet and Pissarro.²⁴⁵

In fact, it was Daubigny himself who convinced Durand-Ruel of their importance and talent, thereby playing a vital role in the rise of the dealer-critic system. Like many others Daubigny and his family had left for London during the war, although Karl Daubigny would join the garde-mobile in Paris. The painter was quick to find his familiar art dealer in the British capital, immediately engaging in business by receiving an order for three pictures. The artist supported Durand-Ruel's mission in promoting French painting in England, as indicated by his correspondence. Daubigny: 'Durand-Ruel shall open a gallery and he has ordered three paintings after my studies of Villerville. [...] What atrocious painting is the modern English School! They truly need our influence. They consider Gérôme and Bouguereau realists. Who are Courbet, Millet, Ribot and Bonvin? I do believe Durand-Ruel should start changing their taste'.²⁴⁶

Not only did Daubigny support the dealer's promotion of French art in spirit, he also actively contributed to the mission by selling his own work as well as by becoming involved in the organization of several exhibitions in London. Because his own name was not well known in England, Durand-Ruel came up with a fictitious sponsor for his exhibitions, the so-called *Society of French Artists*, in which not only Daubigny, but also Courbet, Corot and Millet were listed as part of the committee. However, only Daubigny was actually present when the dealer began his total series of eleven displays, whereas the others most likely were not even aware of their involvement.²⁴⁷ Such expositions enabled the dealer to built up a network of clients and patrons. Daubigny would among others help set up the exhibition for 'Distressed Peasantry of France', to which Monet contributed as well.²⁴⁸ After working together near the Thames, Daubigny had arranged for Monet and Durand-Ruel to meet. The Barbizon painter is even said to have offered the dealer the chance to replace the works of this young talent with his own if Durand-Ruel was unable to find a buyer.²⁴⁹ The significance of this meeting, which resulted in a long term business relationship, was not lost on Monet. In his letter to Moreau-Nélaton he later confirmed the crucial role Daubigny played in this event, adding at the end

²⁴⁵ Assouline 2004 (note 164), p. 151.

²⁴⁶ Daubigny, London, November 2nd, 1870: 'Durand-Ruel vient d'ouvrir une galerie et m'a commandé trois tableaux d'après mes études de Villerville. [...] Quelle affreuse peinture que la peinture moderne anglaise! Ils auraient bien besoin de notre influence. Gérôme et Bouguereau sont des réalistes à côté eux. Que seraient Courbet, Millet, Ribot and Bonvin? Je crois que Durand-Ruel bien à faire avant de changer le goût'. Letter cited by: Moreau-Nélaton 1925 (note113), p. 104.

²⁴⁷ White and White 1993 (1965) (note 210), p. 125. Assouline 2004 (note 164), p. 99.

²⁴⁸ House 1978 (note 143), p. 636.

²⁴⁹ Rewald 1964 (note 121), p. 211. According to Assouline Daubigny told Durand-Ruel: 'You must buy it'. I promise to take any you cant't get rid of, in exchange for my own work, since you prefer it'. Assouline 2004 (note 164), p. 102.

that 'something which touched me immensely was that Daubigny bought one of my Dutch views to from Durand-Ruel'.²⁵⁰

As we have seen, Monet's journeys to the Netherlands have been considered partially commercial enterprises, in which an involvement with Durand-Ruel is believed to be likely. The dealer's own international travelling had left him with many contacts there. Furthermore, his collaboration with other painters that specialized in Dutch views, such as his exclusive contract with Boudin, indicates that Durand-Ruel responded to the popularity of this genre. He bought some of Monet's work right after the painter had left Zaandam on his first visit, and Boudewijn Bakker has demonstrated that the dealer was most likely involved in Monet's stay in 1886, as the painter requested him to send some money for the journey.²⁵¹ It may prove to be nothing but a coincidence, yet right after engaging in business with Durand-Ruel both Monet and Daubigny were heading north to the Netherlands. While Monet travelled directly from England to Holland, Daubigny briefly returned first to France in order to settle his affairs, and maybe to pick up his son Karl along the way. The two artists must have discussed their upcoming new foreign adventure when working and socializing in London and it is interesting to see that Monet felt moved by Daubigny's purchase of a Dutch scene as opposed to one of the Thames pictures he had made when they were together. Even if Daubigny did not intent on doing further business with Durand-Ruel after leaving London, he will most likely have shared his plans with the dealer who in his turn could only confirm the popularity of the Dutch genre in his own gallery.

In this respect, it is interesting to know that although Holland would be Daubigny's last visit abroad, he apparently planned for a far more adventurous journey in 1876. In this time of crisis on the art market, painters again tried their luck in new places. Boudin returned to Rotterdam, yet noticed the same indifference with buyers in the Netherlands.²⁵² In a letter to Martin he let the dealer in on the news that Daubigny was trying to escape financial difficulty in a similar manner. Boudin: 'These last days I have seen Daubigny. He asked me for advice regarding an expedition to America. It would take great courage [...]'.²⁵³ The United States were considered an interesting new market by

²⁵⁰ Monet to Moreau-Nélaton, January 14th, 1925: 'Tout ce que vous a été dit de Daubigny à propos de moi est exact, et j'ai des raisons pour lui conserver une grande reconnaissance. C'est grâce à lui qui me rencontrait à Londres pendant la Commune [sic] et me voyant très gêné pour ne pas dire plus et s'enthousiasme de certaines de mes études de la Tamise il me mit en rapport avec Mr Durand-Ruel grâce auquel plusieurs de mes amis et moi ne sommes pas morts de faim. Ce sont là des choses que je n'oublie pas. Une chose m'a fort touché depuis cela c'est l'achat à Durand-Ruel d'une de mes vues de Hollande par Daubigny'. Cited by: House 1978 (note 143), p. 636.

²⁵¹ Bakker, 'Monet als toerist', in: Bakker, et al. 1986 (note 2), p. 32.

²⁵² Jean-Aubry 1987 (note 176), p. 12.

²⁵³ Boudin, to M. Martin, November 9th, 1876: 'J'ai vu Daubigny ces jours derniers, il me demandait conseil pour faire une expédition en Amérique. Il faut une grande dose de courage pour tenir le pinceau par ce temps d'abandon et d'indifférence'. Ibid. p. 118.

art dealers such as Durand-Ruel, who dreamed of expanding his business there.²⁵⁴ Whether due to old age or cold feet, Daubigny would never undertake this last journey. However, if he had done so, he certainly would not have picked America for its great galleries, famous School of painters or picturesque landscape. Instead, new subject matter for a stagnating market must have been his leading motive. In this regard, it would have been the perfect conclusion to his series of foreign journeys, ranging from mainly artistic trips to completely commercial undertakings. While Italy and Switzerland offered him the opportunity to 'develop his genius mind', as Valenciennes put it, Daubigny's trips to England and Spain were made in the company of two art dealers. His stay in Holland appears to be situated somewhere in between, a fitting position for a middleman among Barbizon and Impressionism. While expressing his enthusiasm for the country's landscape and galleries, the popularity of Dutch views on the art market and at the Salon could not have been lost on him. Furthermore, the city of Dordrecht offered Daubigny the perfect opportunity to depict a new subject, yet at the same time not to scare off potential clients looking for a characteristic Daubigny. The painter was therefore equally an intermediary figure between the academic structures and the new dealer-critic system by profiting both from State commissions and Salon exhibitions as well as from the latest marketing strategies developed by art dealers.

²⁵⁴Assouline 2004 (note 164), p. 204.

Conclusion

After an analysis of Daubigny's position in art history, a comparative look at the artist's Dutch journey and the works of art inspired by it, and finally by an analysis of the painter's relation to the dealer-critic system, we can conclude that Daubigny was indeed a middleman between Barbizon and Impressionism in more than the artistic sense. His love for plein-air painting and the effect this had on his work served as an example for Monet and his circle, who frequently expressed their admiration for the older landscape artist. Furthermore, unlike most 'forerunners' of a certain new art movement, this was not a typical one-way influence. Even after establishing a name for himself with his naturalistic countryside scenes, Daubigny's early recognition of the Impressionists is demonstrated in the painter's own late work. His brush became looser, his palette turned brighter, yet he simultaneously held on to his traditional roots as a Salon painter. During his career he would thus exhibit his rather safe harmoniously toned landscapes aside bolder pictures that took critics getting used to.

This twofold character can equally be recognized in Daubigny's stay in the Netherlands. On the one hand he shared the admiration for the anti-academic landscape paintings by men such as Hobbema and Ruisdael, while his own work was frequently compared to these long-gone masters. Like the many artists that had visited Holland before him, Daubigny seemed interested in exploring the legacy of the Golden Age. He made the traditional pilgrimage around the famous collections and his description of seeing Rembrandt recalls the writings of earlier travellers such as Havard and Thoré, whose publications had greatly contributed to the rediscovery and revaluation of Dutch painting in France. This indeed places Daubigny in a long tradition in which a tour around the Netherlands equalled a tour around the galleries.

However, like Monet, Daubigny did not commence his art-historical excursions until he had finished working on his series of windmill scenes in Dordrecht. This suggests that the artist likewise considered painting his most pressing task, saving the museums for on the way back home. Moreover, his biggest disappointment was missing out on the little picturesque villages that he was told to find. Daubigny's desire to depict these well-known charming scenes of Holland can be related to the popularity of such landscapes at both the Salon and the art market at the time, as is indicated by the successes of specialists in this genre such as Ziem and Jongkind. A trip to Holland therefore became commercially interesting as well, something of which Daubigny must have been well aware. Yet contrary to most successful painters of the Dutch landscape, his work was less based on seventeenth-century conventions, which may have caused its rather cold reception with critics.

But despite the fact that his Dordrecht scenes were not unanimously praised, a journey to Holland was an excellent move for Daubigny on paper. Although nothing indicates that he tried to sell his work in the Netherlands, the artist could have planned to do business with Parisian art dealers instead. His past dealing with these picture sellers, as well as his relationship with the champion art dealer of the second half of the century, Durand-Ruel, indicates that Daubigny was no stranger to the commercial side of art. Daubigny should therefore not be considered an initiator of popularizing the Dutch genre, as which he has been described in past literature. He instead belongs to the next generation of painters visiting the Netherlands with the art market on their minds. Significantly, Daubigny's late visit coincided with the upcoming dealer-critic system, which forced painters to renew themselves more frequently, often resulting in artists looking for new inspiration in unknown places. This strategy had already been successfully applied by Daubigny in his London series, which had earned him quite some money. However, through experience the artist learned that trying to represent a completely different landscape, atmosphere and light often led to no results. It is therefore striking that he chose Holland as his next destination, a country that shared the same humid climate with England and Daubigny's favourite French regions, allowing him to approach his Dordrecht series like any of his French river landscapes while its typically Dutch elements simultaneously turned it into something new. Although the late member of Barbizon died before he could truly make use of the innovating marketing strategies developed by dealers and critics, his involvement with the art market shows that Daubigny was a middleman in terms of money and marketing as well, and truly a painter between two systems. Aware of the fact that buyers wanted a well-known landscape scene by an equally famous name, his Dordrecht series offered his clientele a deviation from the familiar 'Daubigny-riverbank', 'Daubigny-valley', or 'Daubigny-meadow', presenting them instead with a typical 'Dutch Daubigny'.

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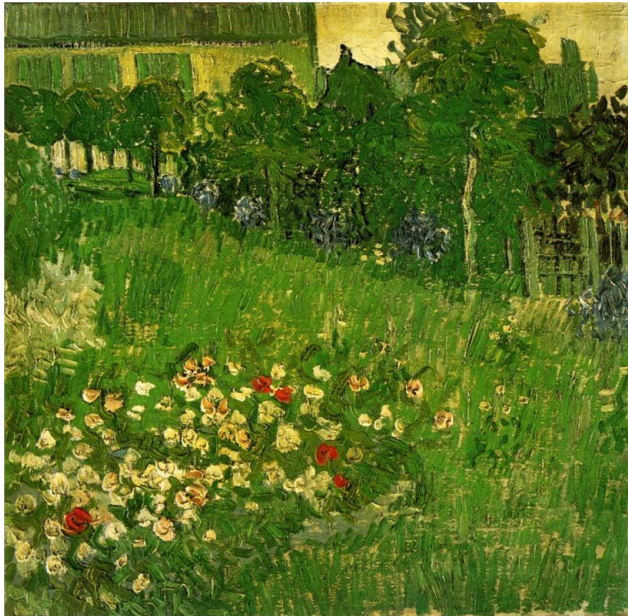
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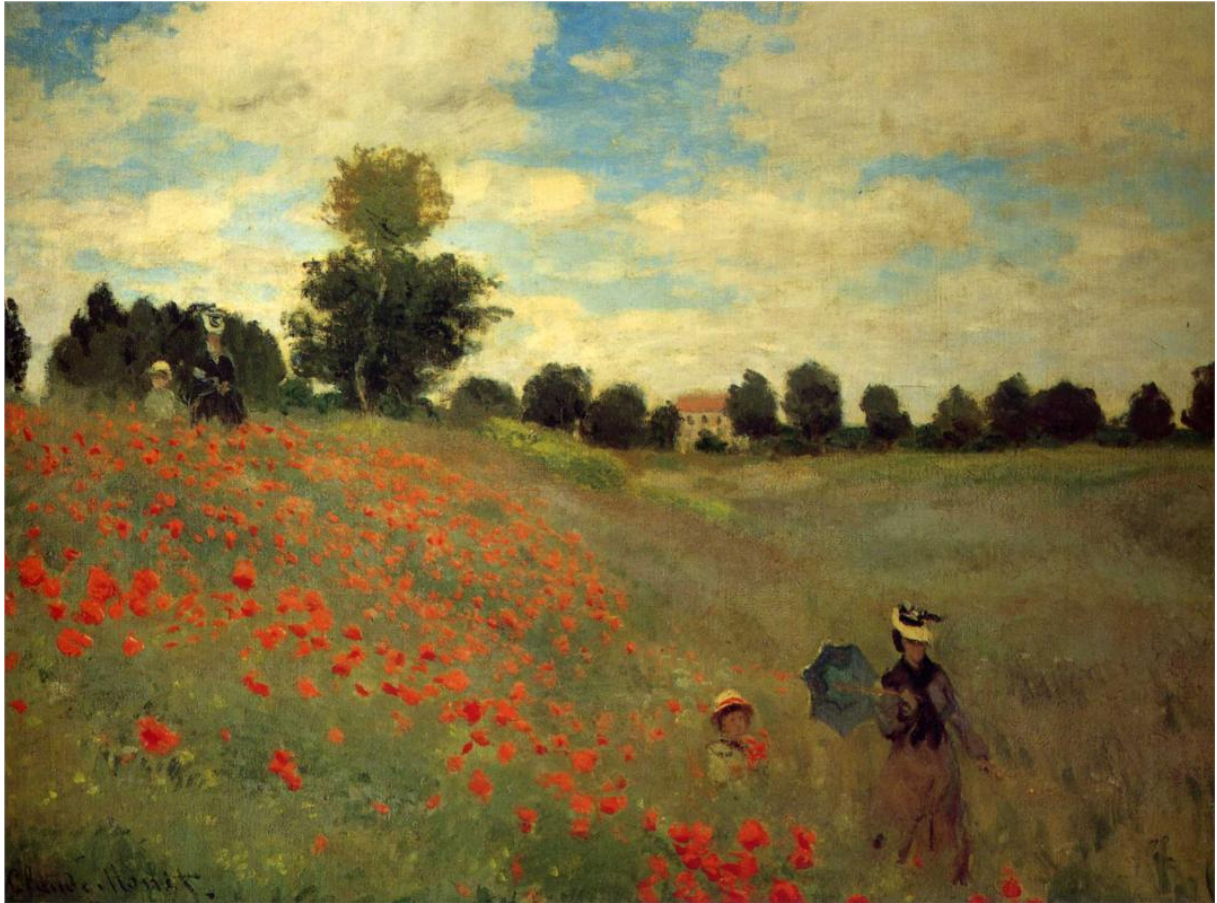
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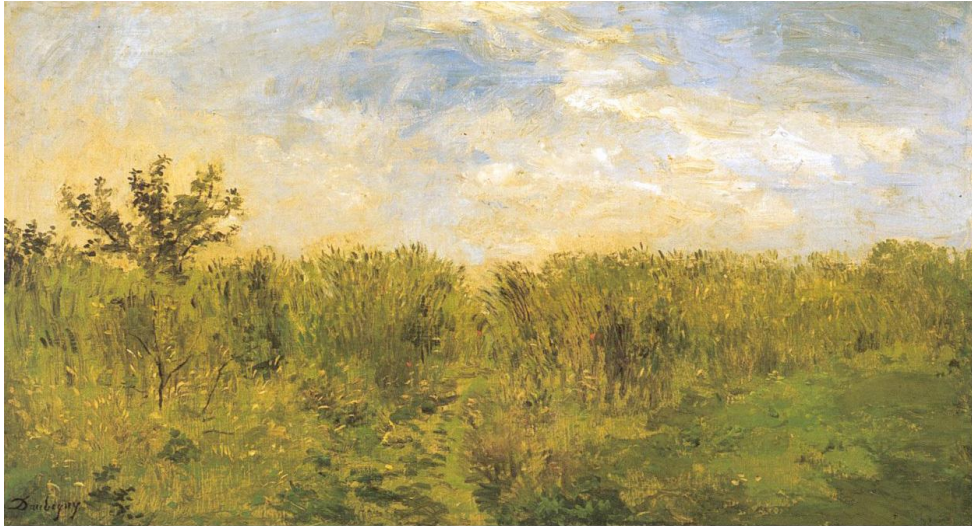
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Daubigny

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Daubigny.

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27. Charles-François Daubigny, *Avallant. Le Déjeuner dans le Bateau*, pen and ink on paper, not dated, 110 x 162 mm., Musée du Louvre, C abinet des Dessins, Paris, France. Drawing for the series *Voyage en Bateau* (1861).



28. Charles-Fran ois Daubigny, *The Channel in Holland*, 1871, charcoal on paper, 247 x 337 mm., Mus e Magnin, Dijon, France.



29. Charles-Fran ois Daubigny, *Les trois Moulins*, c. 1871/72, charcoal on paper, 315 x 476 mm., Kunsthalle Bremen, Germany.



30. Charles-François Daubigny, *Les trois Moulins*, oil on panel, 1872, 15 x 30 cm., private collection, Great-Britain.



31. Charles-François Daubigny, *Moulins à Dordrecht*, 1872, oil on canvas, 27.5 x 46.5 cm., Auctioned at Deburau, 7 December 2008.



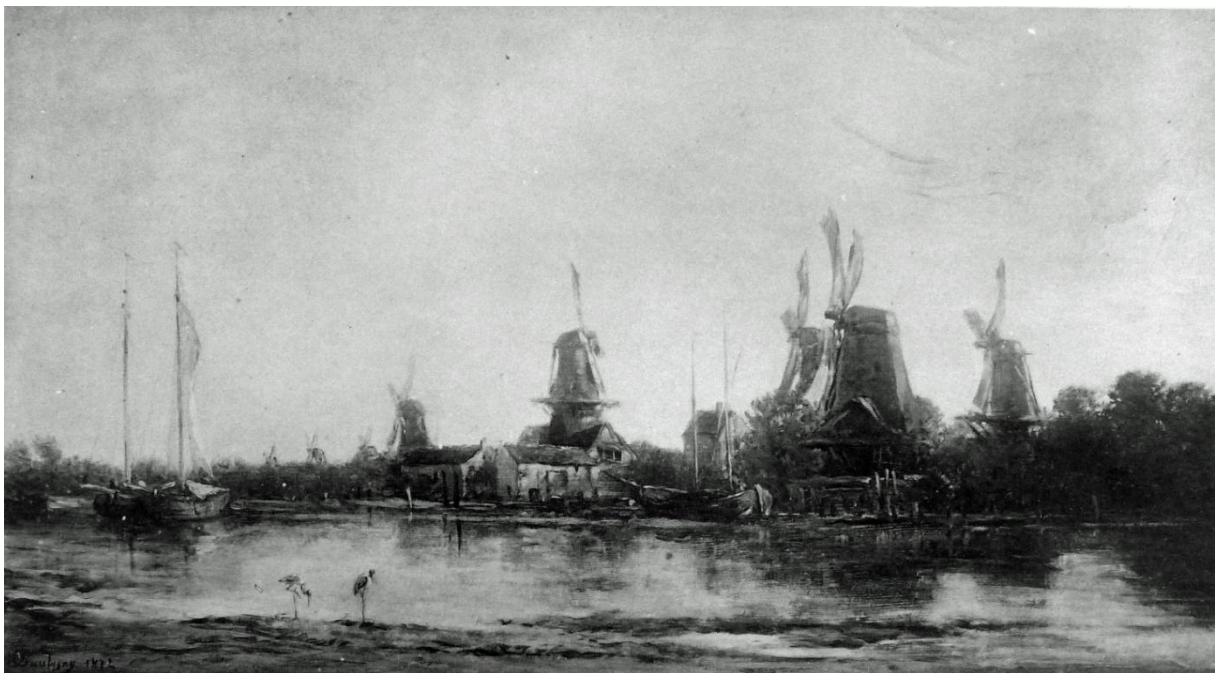
32. Charles-François Daubigny, *Moulins à Dordrecht*, 1872, oil on canvas, 86.5 x 147 cm., Detroit Institute of Arts, USA.



33. Charles-François Daubigny, *Moulins près de Dordrecht*, 1872, oil on canvas, 46 x 81 cm., location unknown.



34. Charles-François Daubigny, *Les trois Moulins*, 1872, oil on panel, 15.2 x 29.8 cm, location unknown.



35. Charles-François Daubigny, *Moulins à Dordrecht, Hollande*, 1872, oil on panel, 38 x 68 cm, private collection. Exhibited at the Salon of 1872.



36. Charles-François Daubigny, *Vue de Dordrecht*, 1872, oil on panel, 33.3 x 58.1 cm., Indiana University Art Museum, USA. Inscribed in red paint on lower left corner: 'à mon amie Arago'.



37. Charles-François Daubigny, *Moulins en Hollande*, 1872, oil on panel, 35 x 65.5 cm., Museu Calouste Gulbenkian, Lisbon, Portugal.



38. Charles-François Daubigny, *Meuse à Dordrecht*, 1872, oil on canvas, 46 x 81 cm., private collection.



39. Claude Monet, *Le Zaan à Zaandam*, 1871, oil on canvas, 42 x 43 cm, private collection. Purchased by Daubigny from Durand-Ruel.



40. Auguste Anastasi, *Moonlandscape*, 1858, oil on carton, 16.5 x 30 cm., location unknown.



41. Johan Barthold Jongkind, *Le Port de Dordrecht*, 1869, oil on canvas, 41 x 65.5 cm., private collection. (Not mentioned Salon painting)



42. Charles-François Daubigny, *Detail of Daubigny's letter to Chenillion, September 14th, 1871.*



43. Johan Barthold Jongkind, *Clair de Lune, Dordrecht, 1872*, oil on canvas, 40.3 x 65.6 cm., Simonis-Buunk, Ede, The Netherlands.



44. Eugène Boudin, Rotterdam, *Pont de la Bourse*, 1876, oil on canvas, no measurements, private collection.



45. Claude Monet, *Voorzaan and Westerheim*, not dated, oil on canvas, 34 x 73.3 cm., private collection.



46. Claude Monet, *Moulins à Zaandam*, 1872, oil on canvas, 48 x 73.5cm., Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, Copenhagen, Denmark.



47. Claude Monet, *Un Moulin à Zaandam*, not dated, oil on canvas, 48.5 x 73.5cm., private collection.



48. Charles-François Daubigny, *Une Rue à Coroue, Espagne*, not dated, oil on canvas, 46.4 x 24.1 cm, location unknown.



49. Charles-François Daubigny, *The Mill of the Gylieu*, 1868, oil on panel, 40 x 69 cm., Musée du Louvre, Paris, France.



50. Charles-François Daubigny, *The Port of Dieppe*, 1876, oil on panel, 39 x 67 cm., private collection.



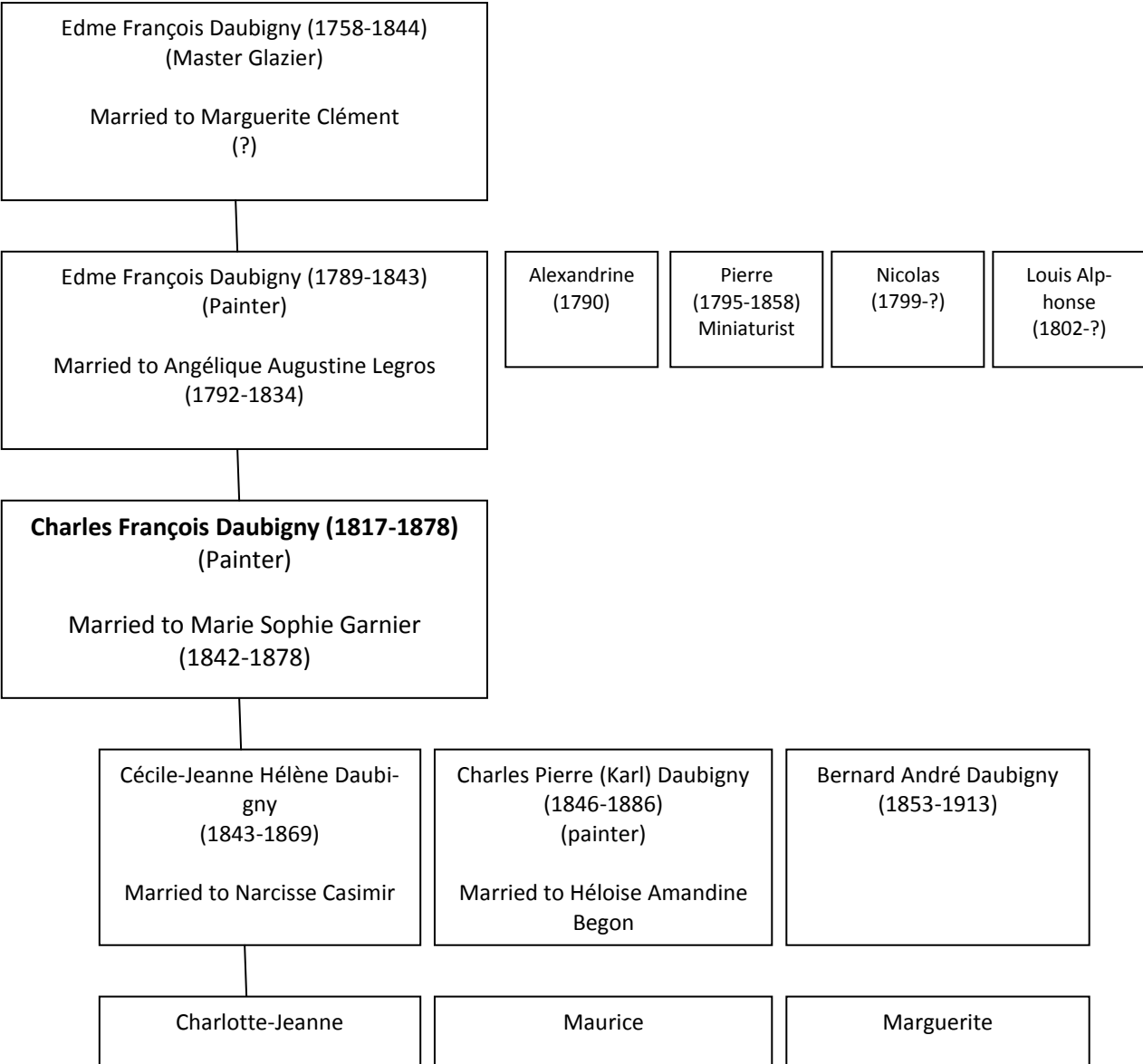
51. Claude Monet, *The Thames below Westminster*, c. 1871, oil on canvas, 47 x 73 cm., National Gallery, London, England.



52. Charles-François Daubigny, *St. Paul's from the Surrey Side*, 1871, oil on canvas, 44.5 x 81 cm., National Gallery, London, England.

Overview of Daubigny's life

Family Tree



Dates*

1817	Charles François Daubigny is born.
1836	Daubigny leaves for Italy on February the 20 th with Henri Mignan
1837	Daubigny has returned from Italy and enters the Prix de Rome competition.
1838	Daubigny's first accepted submission at the Salon (<i>Vue de Notre Dame de Paris et de l'Île Saint Louis</i>).
1839	Daubigny travels in the Isère.
1842	Daubigny marries Marie Sophie.
1843	Daubigny is in Fonainebleau.
1845-47	Daubigny travels through various French regions, such as Valmondois during the summer months and Burgundy.
1848	Second class medal at the Salon.
1849	Daubigny leaves Paris for Lyon, Optevoz and Crémieu after a cholera epidemic takes place in Paris.
1852	Daubigny is at Avallon and Crémieu. He travels to Switzerland with Corot.1852
1853	Returns to Switzerland
1854-55	Travels around various French regions such as Auvers, Villerville, Avallon, the Dauphiné, Normandy, Brittany, Morvan, Corbigny, Joigny and Auxerre.
1857	Daubigny launches the Botin and travels sails down the Oise with Corot. He is in Marlotte with J. Breton.
1858	Daubigny is in Villerville with Corot.
1860	Daubigny builds his house in the Auvers.
1863	Daubigny travels down the Oise.
1852	Daubigny's <i>La Moisson</i> and <i>Les Bords de la Seine</i> are purchased by the government.
1859	Daubigny earns his first first-class medal at the Salon and receives several state commissions. He becomes knight in the Legion of Honour
1864	Daubigny is in Epernay.
1865	In Auvers and on the Oise. He meets Courbet in Trouville and befriends Boudin. Daubigny visits England with Cadart.
1866	Daubigny is in Pont de l'Arche and Villerville. He returns to London.

1867-68	Daubigny stays in France, visiting Brittany and Bordeaux
1869	In Spain with art dealer Brame. Thereafter In Trouville
1870	Franco-Prussian war. Daubigny and his family (without Karl) leave for London in October. There he meets Monet and Pissarro, whom he introduces to Durand-Ruel.
1871	Monet travels from London to Holland at the beginning of June. Daubigny first returns to Paris. Together with his son Karl he travels to Holland at the beginning of September. They stop in Belgium (Antwerp), continuing their journey through Dordrecht, Amsterdam, The Hague and Haarlem. They return to France halfway September.
1872	Exhibits <i>Les Moulins de Dordrecht</i> at the Salon. Travels to Villerville with the botin.
1873-76	Daubigny travels through regions such as Auvers, Dieppe and the Cliffs of Pollet. He sails down the Yonne and the Seine.
1876	Daubigny considers travelling to the United States.
1877	Daubigny makes his last journey down the Seine.
1878	Daubigny dies on February the 8 th .

*Dates are mostly based on Madeleine Fidell-Beaufort and Janine Bailly-Herzberg, *Daubigny*, Paris 1975, pp. 15-27.