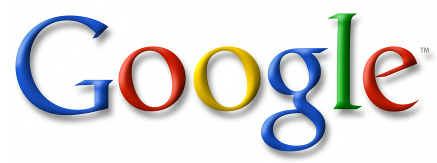

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ART IN THE MODERN STATE

BY

LADY DILKE,

AUTHOR OF "THE RENAISSANCE IN FRANCE," "CLAUDE LORRAIN D'APRÈS DES DOCUMENTS INÉDITS," ETC. ETC.

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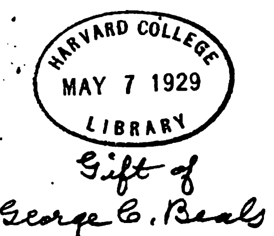

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CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

PAGE

FRANCE UNDER RICHELIEU 1

The origin of the modern state in the seventeenth century—The Renaissance and the "Grand Siècle"—The political situation—Richelieu's policy—The Assembly of Notables—Judicial murder of the Duke de Montmorency and other opponents—Intimidation of the Parliament of Paris—Abuse of church patronage—Oppression of the Huguenots—Organisation of the Academy as a literary police—The Cid—The dictionary—Richelieu's death—The foundations of despotic power secured.

CHAPTER II.

FRANCE UNDER COLBERT 29

The Fronde and Mazarin—Advent of Colbert—Colbert and Fouquet—Fouquet's fall—Colbert establishes financial equilibrium—Creates the navy—His edict on commerce—Chambers of marine insurance—Compagnie des Indes—Colbert's system of protection—The tariff of 1664—His industrial policy—The Academy of Painting and Sculpture placed in command of State manufactories and the schools established in connection with them.

CHAPTER III.

PAGE

THE ROYAL ACADEMY OF ARCHITECTURE 51

Colbert, Chief Commissioner of Works—His clerk, Charles Perrault—Le Vau and Bernini—Colbert forms the Committee of the Board of Works—The Louvre Colonnade—Claude Perrault—Versailles—The Committee of the Board of Works becomes the Academy of Architecture—Continues to advise the Board of Works—Acts as a general court of appeal to the profession—Mansard—His additions to Versailles—His independence—The Academy sinks into insignificance—Character of the works under Louis XIV.—None of Colbert's projects carried out.

CHAPTER IV.

THE ROYAL ACADEMY OF PAINTING AND SCULPTURE . 81

Important part played by the Academy in the organisation of the arts—The struggle of the Academy with the *maîtrise*—Colbert supports the Academy—Le Brun director—Constitution of the Academy—School—Exhibitions—Lectures—Library—Collections—Obligation of paying court to ministers—Protestant members turned out—The Academy completely dependent on the administration—Its influence on French art and industry.

CHAPTER V.

THE ACADEMICAL SCHOOL 101

Contest between the *maîtrise* and the Academy for the training of students—The model—Expenses of the life-class met by voluntary contributions—Revolt of students under Abraham Bosse—Colbert interferes—Institution of competitions—The Grand Prix—The School of France at Rome—Hogarth on the Italian journey—Errard—Admission to the schools gradually made less easy—Regulations—Difficulties of maintaining discipline—Master and student—Democratic organisation of the school in connection with the Academy—From the Academy proceeded other schools all over France which have constantly influenced French production.

CHAPTER VI.

PAGE

LE BRUN AND THE DECORATORS OF VERSAILLES . . . 119

Simon Vouet—Le Brun—The Little Gallery of the Louvre—The Great Gallery—Le Brun's versatility—His supremacy—The Degré des Ambassadeurs—The Galerie des Glaces—The Salons de la Guerre and de la Paix—Flimsy character of much of the decoration—Marly—Rapid production—Theatrical purpose—Sir Joshua and Le Brun—Le Brun and Mignard—Le Brun's despotism—His influence on art—Landscape—Le Brun, as opposed to Mignard, a representative of tradition.

CHAPTER VII.

THE SCHOOL OF SCULPTURE 146

Puget — Girardon — Sarrazin and Guillain — The school of Sarrazin—Le Brun's skilful use of patronage—Girardon becomes his right hand at Versailles—The Grotte de Thétis—La Fontaine's visit—The works of the interior—The queen's apartments—The state apartments—Caffieri—Coysevox and "consors"—The present state of the sculptures of Versailles—Under Le Brun's rule sculpture a subordinate element of decoration—The best traditions of the school nevertheless preserved.

CHAPTER VIII.

ENGRAVING 167

Engravers in subjection to printers—Two groups, engravers and etchers — Claude Mellan and other satellites of Simon Vouet—Jacques Callot—His originality—His followers—Fair dell' Impruneta—Siege of Breda—His studies and character—Abraham Bosse—His quarrels with the Academy—Nanteuil—His influence at Court—He obtains the edict of St. Jean de Luz—His portraits—Ostentatious living—Edelinck—The Cabinet d'Estampes—The salaries of engravers to the Crown—Their lodgings in the Gobelins and Louvre—Their official recognition—Their unpopularity in the Academy—Their situation even now scarcely modified.

CHAPTER IX.

PAGE

INDUSTRIAL ARTS: THE GOBELINS—THE SAVONNERIE . 189

Manufactures started by Henri IV.—Revived by Colbert—The Gobelins—The Louvre—The Savonnerie—The king's visit—The organisation of 1667—Apprentices — Academical school — The aid given on occasion by the Academy—The looms of the Gobelins—The Savonnerie and the Louvre—Costly furniture—Van Somer—Oppenord—Boulle—The forges of the Gobelins and the Louvre—Claude De Villers—Ballin—Warin the medallist—Effect of systematic training has survived neglect and change.

CHAPTER X.

CONCLUSION 216

Disciplined reaction against the Renaissance inaugurated by the "Grand Siècle"—Individualism built up absolutism—The revolution of 1789 gave check to absolutism — Modern democracy the protest of the Renaissance against the crimes which stifled it politically—In art we have a corresponding situation.

APPENDIX.

I.

MÉMOIRE DU PROCUREUR DU ROY AU CHATELET CONTRE L'ACADÉMIE 223

II.

RAISONNEMENT DÉSINTÉRESSÉ POUR LES MAÎTRES TOUCHANT L'ACADÉMIE DE ST. LUC 225

III.

LIST OF PAPERS CONTAINED IN ARCHIVES OF THE ACADEMY OF ST. LUKE AT ROME RELATIVE TO THE JUNCTION PROPOSED WITH THE R.A. OF PAINTING AND SCULPTURE AT PARIS, TOGETHER WITH AN UNPUBLISHED LETTER OF LE BRUN 227

IV.

PAGE

NOTE ON THE PRIVILEGES OF ACADEMICIANS 230

V.

NOTE ON THE ACADEMY LECTURES 230

VI.

NOTE ON THE ACADEMY EXHIBITIONS 232

VII.

NOTE ON THE LOUVRE COLONNADE 232

VIII.

EXTRACTS AND SUMMARY OF CONTENTS OF REGISTER OF THE ACADEMY OF ARCHITECTURE FROM 1672 TO 1694 233

IX.

UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS RELATIVE TO CALLOT'S STAY AND WORK IN FLORENCE 240

X.

ÉDIT DU ROY POUR L'ÉTABLISSEMENT D'UNE MANUFACTURE DES MEUBLES DE LA COURONNE AUX GOBELINS 242

ABBREVIATIONS.

ARCH. NAT.—Archives Nationales.

C. DES BTS.—Comptes des bâtiments du roi sous le règne de Louis XIV., publiés par Jules Guiffrey, 1664–1687.

I.G.—Inventaire général du mobilier de la Couronne sous Louis XIV. (1663–1715), par Jules Guiffrey.

ARCH DE L'ART FR.—Archives de l'art français, Recueil de documents inédits, publiés sous la direction de M. de Chennevières. Paris, 1852–1862.

NOUV. ARCH.—Nouvelles archives de l'art français, Recueil de documents inédits, publiés par la société de l'histoire de l'art français. Paris, 1872–1885.

P.V.—Procès-verbaux de l'Ancienne Académie de Peinture et de Sculpture. Publiés par M. A. de Montaiglon, 1875.

M.I.—Mémoires inédits sur la vie et les ouvrages des membres de l'Académie Royale, publiés par MM. Dussieux, Soulié, etc. etc.

PIGANIOL.—Piganiol de la Force. Nouvelle description des châteaux et parcs de Versailles et Marly. Paris, 1764.

ART IN THE MODERN STATE.

CHAPTER I.

FRANCE UNDER RICHELIEU.

To the student of the modern social system, a minute knowledge of the various conditions of life in France during the "Grand Siècle" is indispensable. The France of Richelieu and Colbert gave birth to the modern state, so that, if we would know anything accurately about modern political and social organisation, we have to look to the system which lies at the root of our own growth. This is the case in every branch of life. Administrative problems, social difficulties, industrial needs, all the disturbing complexities of our present economical situation were formulated and constructively dealt with by the rulers of France in the "Grand Siècle." The true greatness of this great century consists in this, not in its vain wars, and formal stage, and stilted eloquence, and pompous palaces, and grandiose art, but in the formation and working out of the political and social system of which these things were the first fruits. It is idle to indulge in academical discussions as to the merits of this system. We have inherited it, it has penetrated our lives in every direction, we act, we think under its invisible pressure,

and its study is pregnant with teaching, not only for the student, but also for the practical man.

One of the most noted, and justly noted connoisseurs of Paris asked: "How can one dwell on the art of the seventeenth century? It has no charm." The answer is, that it presents in its organisation, from the point of view of social polity, problems of the highest intellectual interest. Throughout all its phases the life of France wears, during the seventeenth century, a political aspect. The explanation of all changes in the social system, in letters, in the arts, in fashions even, has to be sought in the necessities of the political position; and the seeming caprices of taste take their rise from the same causes which went to determine the making of a treaty or the promulgation of an edict. This seems all the stranger because in times preceding, letters and the arts at least appeared to flourish in conditions as far removed from the action of statecraft as if they had been a growth of fairyland. In the Middle Ages they were devoted to a virgin image of virtue; they framed in the shades of the sanctuary an ideal shining with the beauty born of self-renunciation, of resignation to self-imposed conditions of moral and physical suffering. By the queenly Venus of the Renaissance they were consecrated to the joys of life, and the world saw that through their perfect use, men might renew their strength, and behold virtue and beauty with clear eyes. It was, however, reserved for the rulers of France in the seventeenth century fully to realise the political function of letters and the arts in the modern state, and their immense importance in connection with the prosperity of a commercial nation.

The policy pursued by Louis XIV.'s great Minister, Colbert, derived its impulse, in this as in every other

respect, from the state policy inaugurated by his great predecessor, Richelieu; and it is quite impossible to rightly understand the relations between the state and the arts which were created in France by Colbert, unless we first recall the circumstances which led Richelieu into the arbitrary courses which he invigorated with his splendid talent, and which are alternately the object of extravagant blame or extravagant admiration, only because the conditions under which he had to work are so little understood.

When the reign of Henri IV. came to its fatal close, men weary of combat were ready to barter liberty for law. The ideal to which the sixteenth century had aspired—the ideal which had involved the liberation of human life from all the restraints which prevented its harmonious development—was replaced by the vision of order. This love of order was the passion of the day, and in the name of order all tyranny was justified. To this attitude of mind, innovations, political or religious, were alike odious, and power awaited those alone who either divined or shared it. Step by step, every aspiration after freedom—freedom of thought, freedom of expression, freedom of life—was suppressed, and the desire for individual liberty which the sixteenth century had fostered, encountered everywhere a royal tyranny, the very existence of which depended on its destruction.

The work of establishing this tyranny and of destroying the liberties of France fell to the lot of Richelieu. Trained both as a soldier and a priest, equally ready with measures of red-handed repression or secret police, Richelieu was doubly fitted for the task. All that the Renaissance prized most highly had no value for him, and if he had little love for liberty, for letters he had still less. It must not, however, be supposed that the

system on which he worked—the system which ultimately gave France that leading place in Europe which she has ever since maintained—was the outcome of mere personal and arbitrary caprice. Every great political and social system which has given a new aspect to history, and constituted itself a power among men, has necessarily had for the very principle of its existence the consent of some great moral truth. In the affirmation of this truth has lain the source of strength, but also of weakness, for in pushing it to extreme conclusions the negation has been reached of other truths, opposite in character, but equal in value, which have in their turn asserted their existence and put to confusion those who had ignored their force.

Richelieu was deeply imbued with the importance of truths diametrically opposite to those which were embodied in the movement of the Renaissance. For the Renaissance had proclaimed that the most noble fruits of life are produced only when complete scope is allowed to the development of the individual, but Richelieu remembered that the individual counts for very little in the development of a people. The affirmation of the supreme rights of the individual, having been carried to its extreme, had ended in reaction, and the whole tendency of Richelieu's policy was necessarily governed by the consequences which this reaction had imposed. The day had not yet come for the asking in what way individual liberty might be secured, whilst at the same time there should be created in the mass that unity of purpose which alone ensures collective action and leads to national greatness. The task of the moment was only the simple task of creating this unity of purpose and of realising this ideal of collective action; to this task Richelieu devoted the most splendid

energies which ever inspired a suffering human body, and he accomplished that which he set himself to do.

The Renaissance, in its devotion to a noble moral ideal which had for its object the making of a great man, had overlooked the value of the social and political ideal which aspires to the making of a great nation; but if the Renaissance paid dear for its neglect of the claims of citizenship, the reaction by which it was followed was destined to pay no less dear for its neglect of individual claims. The principles of absolutism have now, in spite of slight vicissitudes, dominated in one shape or another the social and political world of Europe for two centuries; and just as in the sixteenth century we see the individual upraising himself against moral and religious oppression, even so we see to-day the revolt of those who have suffered from the social and political tyranny inherent to that ideal of the state which was inaugurated by Richelieu and Colbert. That they did so inaugurate it was a necessity of their position, a necessity of the reaction of which they were the exponents. It is easy to represent Richelieu as an ambitious priest, who, making himself the tool of absolute monarchy, seized on wealth and power, crushing out popular liberties, and destroying alike free cities and free thought. In truth Richelieu cared for none of these things; the royal power was not to him an object for reverence, but for use, and if Protestantism were to be put down, and the power of the great nobles broken, it was not in the interest of the throne or the Church, but to clear the way for the welding of all the forces of the nation into one giant whole. The welfare of the people, the glory of letters and the arts, the development of trade, and industrial resources, were matters for

consideration, not in and for themselves, but only inasmuch as they contributed to the building up of that fabric of national grandeur which was the supreme object of Richelieu's policy. It was not a selfish policy; his ambition was not for himself, but for the nation to which he belonged; it was not a servile policy, he cared naught for Louis and much for France; but he was utterly indifferent as to whether the people he was called to govern were happy, or enlightened, or prosperous, so long as by their united forces the state grew strong. To bring about this result Richelieu laboured, taking no rest, and as he worked he ruthlessly destroyed all life and liberty the existence of which was incompatible with regular growth. No cruelty was too pitiless, no treachery too base, if required to maintain the pressure necessary to force into even channels all the springs of national energy. The pride of the great nobles was brought to the scaffold; the pride of the magistracy broken to the task of registering decrees to order; stiffnecked members of Huguenot consistories stooped to accept civilities accorded to them solely as men of learning; while learning and letters themselves were forced to put on a royal livery as the price of bare existence.

The pressure of things without coincided with the necessities of the internal situation. On every frontier of France the deadly presence of Austria-Spain made itself felt, and helped to impose on Richelieu those conditions which he in his turn imposed on France. All internal dissensions, all seeds of domestic opposition had to be utterly destroyed, so that he might use the whole resources of the nation in the struggle to maintain her place in Europe. The Huguenots challenged their own ruin by striving to take him at a disadvan-

tage during his first campaign in the Valtelline. The Cardinal turned and temporised with them at Montpellier (1626), but, having gained time, he deliberately negotiated the Peace of Monzon with the enemy, in order that he might be free to crush Protestant France. Until the walls of La Rochelle had fallen (1628), Richelieu scrupulously avoided all foreign complications; when that terrible hour of reckoning had struck, when fire and famine and the sword had carried ruin, with every circumstance of anguish inconceivable, to the most heroic source of energy in France, then he felt free once more to take the field. But again, the Italian campaign had scarcely opened when a second desperate rebellion, under the Duke de Montmorency, compelled Richelieu to abandon his footing. He drew back but for a moment, and the execution of the Duke at Toulouse gave the signal for the third renewal of the never-ending struggle with Austria-Spain. For five long years it now continued with varying fortunes, till in 1635 all seemed lost, and Paris herself was actually threatened by the Spaniard; but the tide turned at its worst, Savoy was mastered, Alsace was secured, and Richelieu, before his death, had the good fortune to see his highest hopes on the verge of fulfilment, and to hear the news of victory for once ringing louder than the echoes of defeat. If ever during his long tenure of power the fight with dangers without seemed to slacken for a moment, then indeed be sure that the fiercest internal effort was being made in preparation for its renewal: only once, and that when he employed the prestige of his brilliant successes in Italy (1629) to overawe Languedoc, had the Cardinal felt himself sufficiently strong to face, at the same time, his foes both foreign and domestic. The national

existence was at stake throughout these long years of unequal struggle, during which the treachery of those within her borders was an even greater menace to the life of France than all the forces of her foes without. To secure victory, to prevent defeat abroad, lives and liberties were freely sacrificed at home, and any act, however oppressive or illegal, became just.

It was thus that the Cardinal was forced to have recourse to the most bloody and unlawful measures in order to crush the power of the great nobles of the realm. He had founded his rule, curiously enough, on a mock appeal to the popular will. The Assembly of Notables which he called together in 1626 was, like the plébiscite of 1852, a farce intended to preface the exercise of arbitrary power. The country gentlemen and tradesmen who had been invited to join the magistracy at Paris[1] were flattered by the prospect of a direct influence on public affairs, and Richelieu desired them to counsel him "sans crainte ni désir de déplaire ou complaire à personne."[2] But the line they were expected to take on each point submitted to them was distinctly indicated from the outset, and on assembling in the great hall of the Tuileries, the Notables heard, from the lips of the Cardinal's mouthpiece, Marillac, the Keeper of the Seals, that it was necessary, in order to check the lightness with which men engaged in seditious practices, that new laws should be enacted against political offenders, so that justice might be done without awaiting the results of legal procedure.[3]

It is clear that to obtain these laws was the chief

[1] "Procès-Verbal de ce qui s'est passé à l'assemblée des Notables, tenue au Palais des Tuileries en l'année 1626. Extrait du *Mercure Français* de la même année." Paris, 1787.

[2] *Idem*, p. 39. [3] *Idem*, p. 20.

if not the sole object for which Richelieu had called the Assembly together. On its dispersal there instantly followed, one after another, the judicial murders of the greatest nobles of France. The temper of these men was an undoubted danger which threatened not only the unity but even the very existence of the power which Richelieu sought to establish. Corneille, in the opening scene of the *Cid*, records the arrogance of their tone and pretensions. The speeches of Don Gomez are evidently inspired by memories of the rebel Duke de Montmorency, who had perished on the scaffold in 1632, just four years previous to the appearance of this famous play.

The death of the Duke de Montmorency—a man who by marriage stood very near the king, for his wife was a cousin of the queen-mother, in whose interest he had taken up arms—was preceded and followed by the fall of other victims hardly less illustrious. In all these cases, judgment was procured by wholly illegal expedients. It is, however, certain that it was in each instance absolutely necessary, not only to Richelieu's safety, but necessary in the interests of France, that a conviction should be obtained at any price. It was impossible to deal effectively with dangers abroad whilst domestic plots and conspiracies required to be strictly watched. Foreign complications were actually made the signal for home intrigues; every threat of disaster to the national arms was welcomed as giving fresh opening for an endeavour to compass the downfall of the Cardinal. To achieve this result the nobles of France intrigued with England or Spain abroad, and stirred up the Huguenots to revolt at home. Thus Soubise, at a critical moment of the Italian campaign, in 1625, embarrassed Richelieu by

rousing the country at his back, obliging him to sacrifice the prospects of the war and the interests of his allies by the hasty conclusion of peace. To accomplish the like end, princes of the blood crossed the frontier and negotiated with the deadliest enemies of France. Nor negotiated only; secret treaties were actually signed by them with Austria-Spain. Things went so far that, in 1632, the French saw their territory invaded by the heir to the crown; they saw Gaston, Duke of Orleans, the son of Henri IV., in arms, and accompanied by the very dregs of the Spanish forces.

As it was impossible to inflict on Gaston himself the punishment which his crimes and his cowardice deserved, the chastisement of his accomplices—whom he always unscrupulously betrayed—had to be obtained by fair means or foul. On this, the first occasion of a serious plot against Richelieu's policy and life, there was no evidence of the guilt of one of the chief culprits, the young Count de Chalais, which could have been laid before Parliament. The Cardinal, therefore, had recourse to a commission, irregular both in its constitution and in its form of procedure. At the arbitrary decree of this chamber of justice, the young Count and Marshal de Marillac died by the hand of the executioner in 1632. In spite of repeated appeals to the Parliament of Paris, by whom alone he could have been legally tried, the Duke de Montmorency was brought before a similar tribunal. The deliberations of the Parliament of Toulouse were openly directed, in virtue of a royal warrant, by an officer of the Crown specially despatched for the purpose of obtaining a verdict. In justification of these high-handed severities, Richelieu pleaded that it would be unjust to try to set an example "par la soumission des petits;" but he did not suffer "les petits"

to escape, for on this occasion the minor culprits received their full share of penalties, some being condemned to be torn by four horses, whilst others were to be broken on the wheel.

Having once entered on this course, Richelieu was unable to draw back; he was forced to take the same steps over and over again—steps which, theoretically at least, he did not approve. Not only were the proceedings of these irregular commissions directed by Crown officers, but the creatures nominated to sit were bought, and bound to return a verdict in accordance with the exigencies of the political situation. Thus, while the Cardinal was announcing his desire to reform the magistracy and to put an end to the sale of offices of trust, his practice was in direct opposition to his principles.

A year after the execution of the Duke de Montmorency, the lengths to which Richelieu found himself forced to go, are even more plainly illustrated by the steps taken in reference to the trial of the Duke de la Valette. The Duke, who was reckoned the best match in France, had been forced, in 1633, to marry a niece of Richelieu in order to make terms for his father, the Duke d'Epernon, who had, as Governor of Guienne, been involved in a desperate quarrel with the Archbishop de Sourdis, apparently sent to Bordeaux by the Cardinal for the express purpose of provoking it. De la Valette revenged himself for being forced into a connection which he regarded as a disgrace, by ironical jests, which are said to have wounded Richelieu so deeply that, in 1639, he declared that should the Duke, his niece's husband, be put upon his trial for his alleged incompetence or treachery at the siege of Fontarabia, he himself was ready to play the part of *procureur-général*. Warned by the fate of others, De la Valette

fled to England; and as England refused to give him up, the trial was proceeded with in his absence.

The officers of the Parliament of Paris were summoned to St. Germain, where a curious mixture of cajolery and coercion was employed to bring them to compliance. No explanation was given of the object for which they had been convoked until they had eaten a splendid dinner, to which they had been set down on their arrival. Not until they had well-dined were they informed that the king had required their attendance in their capacity of councillors of state. In the council-chamber, the king himself curtly informed them that they had been sent for to try the Duke de la Valette. Though thus taken at a disadvantage, Le Fay, the *premier président*, had the courage to represent that the proposed course was illegal, and humbly to entreat his majesty to act according to law. "Je ne le veux pas," was the answer; "vous faites les difficiles, et il semble que vous voulez me tenir en tutelle; mais je suis le maître, et je saurai me faire obéir." The report was then read to them, and the king himself solicited the votes, challenging those present, one by one, and returning to their abject protestations the same answer: "That's not a vote. Vote." The Cardinal looked on without speaking, but the fear which he inspired was so great that only one man dared stand firm. De Bellelièvre courageously declared that the course adopted was incompatible with the royal dignity, and refused, in answer to the king's repeated demands, to swerve from his original statement. He alone, too, when the second sitting of this arbitrarily-constituted commission took place, on the 14th of May, 1640, coolly discussed the evidence, and protested that it was absolutely insufficient to sustain the charge of high treason. The others, to a man,

gave their vote for death, justly alarmed at what might be the consequences of any exercise of independent judgment; for Louis, in dismissing them on the first occasion of their meeting, had made use of these significant words: "Ceux qui disent que je ne puis pas donner les juges qu'il me plaît à mes sujets quand ils m'ont offensé, sont des ignorants qui sont indignes de posséder leurs charges."

On this wise Richelieu intimidated the magistracy, strained, and even violated, the laws. To make head against the foreign enemies of France, he had to crush all opposition at home; to crush all opposition at home, he forced the guardians of justice to become the mere tools of Government. The Parliament of Paris went on protesting, but in vain, against his illegalities. It has, indeed, been contended that the spirit displayed by this body, its resistance to the high-handed exercise of absolute power, was never inspired by the love of civic liberties, but was prompted only by professional jealousy, zealous in the tenacious observance of the letter of the law, eager to defend details of effete procedure and all vested interests, however obnoxious to the light of reason or the common good. If, however, the Parliament had confined its action to matters such as these, it would not have become the object of extreme measures of coercion on the part of the Crown; it contained many who were mere lawyers, but it also numbered among its members those who believed in their responsibilities as magistrates, as citizens, as men, and occasionally the whole body would be thus inspired to active protest in the cause of liberty and justice.

In their dealings with Richelieu the Parliament were always forced in the end to bow to his will, but they seized on every opportunity of marking their

disapproval, and the infinite annoyance with which he regarded their attitude of irreconcilable opposition is illustrated by many maxims laid down in the "Testament Politique." It is not safe, of course, to take a work of doubtful authenticity as an authority for what the Cardinal wished to do, but it is an instructive commentary on what he really did. Perhaps, too, in this lies the best evidence against Richelieu's having had any direct concern in its composition, otherwise he would afford an unique example of public performance in perfect harmony with private intentions, of success attained, not only in the very direction, but by the precise measures by which it was intended to be compassed. According to the "Testament," that very suppression of venality which Richelieu is elsewhere represented as having had at heart, was a reform wholly inexpedient, for the sale of public posts acted as a bar to men of low birth, and men of low birth ought to be kept out of high office, for "les esprits de telles gens sont d'ordinaire difficiles à manier." Richelieu—governing always with one great object in view, determined to enforce that union within, which alone could make France externally powerful, having need at every turn of facile tools—found himself forced to break the neck of theory in practice, and thus as late as 1639, just before proceeding to try the Duke de la Valette, he refreshed his supply of persons easy to handle by creating and selling no less than four hundred places of "procureur au Parlement de Paris."

Whilst he crushed the great nobles, and forced the magistracy to become the tools of authority, Richelieu was not slack to follow up the same lines of policy in other directions. The benefices of the Church, as well as the offices of state, were reserved

for the poor in spirit; a little learning was no drawback, but the recognised qualifications for a bishop were humility, good birth, and general respectability unblemished by any touch of prickly austerity. Of these, humility alone was indispensable, and throughout the days of Richelieu the humble "petit collet" invariably received preferment. Now and then a high post was attained by a great militant ecclesiastic, like De Sourdis, who was, as we have seen, sent to Bordeaux to worry the Duke d'Epernon; but Godeau, Bishop of Grasse, is a better representative of Richelieu's bishops. As the Abbé Antoine, Godeau was renowned as a scribbling *pique-assiette,* a hanger-on at the Hôtel Rambouillet, who played lackey to Julie, and afforded a daily butt for the witticisms of Voiture. He had just enough pride left to feel uneasy in his position, and to show it, whereupon his successful rival in the good graces of the *précieuses* counselled him in rhyme:

> Quittez l'amour, ce n'est votre métier:
> Faites des vers, traduisez le psautier.

Godeau took the hint, bethought himself of the Cardinal, and fell at his feet with a translation of the "Benedicite," done into French verse. "Monsieur l'Abbé," graciously replied Richelieu, "vous me donnez 'Benedicite,' et moi je vous donnerai Grasse." The "nain de Julie," as he called himself, accordingly became a bishop, and in that position admirably fulfilled his benefactor's ideal of respectable mediocrity, unblemished by any touch of "austérité épineuse."

This same prickly austerity would alone have sufficed to make the Huguenots hateful in Richelieu's eyes, even if he had not seen in them "des âmes rebelles à la légitime autorité;" but in the hands of

the Dukes de Rohan and de Soubise the organisation of the party assumed an aggressive character, so that in the interests of legitimate authority its destruction became necessary. Nor could a man of Richelieu's peculiar genius ever regard with toleration those who had once thwarted his plans and resisted his power. Although the edict of 1629, which deprived the Huguenots of their right of public meeting, expressly maintained their freedom of worship, Richelieu always refused to recognise, even by implication, their ecclesiastical constitution. When the Consistory of Montauban came to do homage to the great Cardinal—who, with the ruins of La Rochelle at his back, had carried fire and sword throughout the province of Languedoc, and deprived the Protestants of their last city of refuge—they were at once informed that as men of letters they would be always welcome, though as an ecclesiastical corporation they could not be received.

Nor was it possible, under this general and arbitrary pressure, that even letters and learning should be free. Having established his power, and obtained a firm hold upon all civil and ecclesiastical organisations, it would seem as if Richelieu had been in full possession of the means of government; but he saw his way to a further and more complete security by the vigilant direction and control of all the opinions as well as of all the acts of men. Those of independent spirit soon became sensible of the weight of his intentions in this direction. In the very year of that same "pacification" of Languedoc, Descartes quitted France for Holland, foreseeing that in his native country he would be neither "assez seul ni assez libre." Balzac retired to Angoulême; Corneille, after a moment of revolt, humbly gave in his submission, and so obtained the

protection of the tutelary god of letters: "une protection," said Sarrasin, "qu'on serait plus que sacrilège de violer."[1] And, to the last, this system of repression held good; in vain did the Sorbonne in 1638 unite in desiring to receive the gifted Antoine Arnauld, then a young man, whose merit was beyond doubt, and whose theology had not yet incurred serious suspicion. Richelieu, dying, still kept watch, and on a technical point prevented his admission.[2] Nor did minor men escape watchful observation. The Cardinal, having strained the quality of justice and of mercy in the service of a power to which he was himself a slave, came to live on the breath of spies, came to fear not only the influence of the great with his weakly master, but the influence of the infinitely little with the great. He would take note of the social relations of even quite obscure persons. The name of Jacques Hillerin, *conseiller au parlement*, came up on one occasion when arbitrary measures were in contemplation against some of the body to which he belonged: "Let him alone," said the Cardinal, "aussi n'y a-t-il rien à gagner avec lui qui vit de telle sorte qu'il ne voit princes n'y grands, n'y se trouve en compagnie."[3] The less fortunate Scarron, *conseiller de grand'chambre*, whose life was more worldly, and whose tongue had something of the bitter wit which distinguished his more celebrated son, not only lost his place, but was finally exiled from France.

The true reason for the extreme measures taken against Scarron is doubtful, but it was known that when the letters patent[4] creating the Académie Fran-

[1] "Discours sur la Tragédie." See "L'Amour tyrannique," Scudéri.

[2] See p. 29, vol. i., "Vie d'Antoine Arnauld." Lausanne, 1783.

[3] "Lettres Chronologiques," p. 116.

[4] The *Letters Patent* were drawn up by Valentin Conrart; the privileges

çaise came before Parliament for verification (1635), he sarcastically remarked: "This reminds one of the emperor who, having forbidden the senate to deal with public affairs, consulted it as to what sauce should be eaten with a large turbot, which had been sent to him from a distance."[1] Scarron, it would seem, did not realise that the Academy itself was called into existence to render definite political services, and that its members were destined to discharge at the will of the Cardinal, in a very practical fashion, the functions of a literary police.

The list of the original members does not contain a single name of note. Its nucleus was, indeed, formed by a small society styling itself Académie des Beaux Esprits, which, in 1630, had begun to meet at the house of Valentin Conrart to read the rhymes of his gallant relative, the Abbé Godeau. Conrart himself was a Calvinist, who had retouched Marot's version of the Psalms, but was better known by his rhymes in reply to the popular ballad of "Le Goutteux sans pareil." At a later date his name figured on Colbert's list of literary pensioners:[2] "Au sieur Conrart, lequel sans connoissance d'aucune autre langue que sa maternelle est admirable pour juger toutes les productions de l'esprit —1500 liv." Those who met at Conrart's house were mostly rhymesters like himself; one only—Gombault—was a man of quality who had contributed to the "Guirlande de Julie," and therefore passed as a poet at the Hôtel de Rambouillet. With two exceptions—Malle-

conferred were the exemption from "toutes tutelles et curatelles et de tous guets et gardes," "le droit de committimus de toutes leurs causes personnelles, possessoires, et hypothécaires."—PELLISSON, "Histoire de l'Académie Française," ed. Olivet, vol. i. pp. 30, 33.

[1] *Ibid.* p. 45, note.

[2] Clément, "Hist. de Colbert," ed. 1874, vol. ii. p. 275, and Bourgoin, "Un Bourgeois de Paris lettré."

ville, a hanger-on of Bassompierre's (then confined to the Bastille), and Serizay, who owed his fortunes to the Duke de la Rochefoucauld, whom the Cardinal had practically exiled to Poitou—all were devoted to Richelieu. The negotiations for the official organisation of their body were carried on by the Abbé Boisrobert, who had been brought to their meetings by Nicolas Faret,[1] whose name, rhyming with *cabaret*, now lives only in a satire of Boileau's. Boisrobert, who describes himself as *un grand dupeur d'oreilles*, occupied in the Cardinal's court, the post that fifty years earlier would have been conferred on an official fool, and his jests were so necessary to his master's digestion that on one occasion, Richelieu, having fallen ill, whilst the Abbé happened to be in disgrace, his doctor would give no other prescription than "Recipe Boisrobert."

Throughout the whole transaction, Boisrobert was actively supported by two other members of the society who lived, like himself, in dependence on the Cardinal: Chapelain, the whipper-in of Richelieu's private pack of poets, and Sirmond, a paid political pamphleteer, who had replaced Mathieu de Mergues in the Minister's service. It is, then, no matter for surprise that we find the newly-constituted body bound by their prefatory article to absolute submission to the Cardinal's wishes. "And firstly," the statutes begin, "personne ne sera reçu dans l'Académie qui ne soit agréable à Monseigneur le Protecteur."[2] The members were not, indeed, long

[1] Faret was ordered to prepare a statement setting forth the nature of the project, and Serizay a letter imploring the Cardinal to grant his protection. The letter in substance said, "que si Mgr. le Cardinal avait publié ses écrits, il ne manqueroit rien à la perfection de la Langue, qu'il auroit fait sans doute ce que l'Académie se proposoit de faire, mais que sa modestie l'empêchant de mettre au jour ses grands ouvrages, etc., etc."

[2] Pellisson, "Histoire de l'Académie Française," vol. i. p. 489.

left in doubt as to the precise nature of the duties which they were expected to perform in return for official recognition and protection, for the appearance of Corneille's famous play, the *Cid*, gave their protector an early opportunity of testing the docility of his creatures.

The disgust with which Richelieu viewed the popular success of this play has been usually explained by the fact of a previous quarrel with Corneille, who had been one of the paid poets attached to the Cardinal's court, for the purpose of putting into shape, dramas of which he himself suggested the subject. The freedom with which, on one occasion, Corneille had departed from his instructions brought on him an angry reproof, to which he replied by instantly quitting the Cardinal's service, boasting publicly, as he did so, of his independence. But all this does not fully explain the persistence with which Richelieu fought against the success of the *Cid*. He is represented as having spitefully set himself to injure the man who had vexed his vanity, but another reason is evident to any attentive reader of the play, a reason which explains both its extraordinary vogue and Richelieu's obstinate ill-will. The heroes of the *Cid* are the "grands de la Cour," the very class with which Richelieu was engaged in perpetual and deadly warfare. These are the men to whom the king is represented as owing his kingdom and his crown; it is they whose quarrels shake the empire, but it is the force of their arms which repels the foreign invader and gives safety and splendour to the throne. There are many passages which may well have been publicly applauded by the enemies of the Cardinal with special intention, and the whole tendency of the situation was such as must have inspired him with disgust and anger. In-

stead, however, of taking up the point really at issue, Richelieu probably thought it wiser to dispute the public enthusiasm on literary grounds. He, therefore, requested the Academy to pronounce judgment, and the Academy, after months of negotiation, published their "Sentiments on the *Cid*" (1638).

The character of their official utterances had not been calculated to give weight to the literary decisions of the new Academy. Gombault, the man of quality, had lectured on the "Je ne sçais quoi;" Racan had followed suit with a diatribe, *Contre les Sciences.*[1] Habert, a young artillery officer, had published three hundred lines on the *Temple de la Mort*, whilst his brother, the Abbé Cérisy, was pronounced to have dethroned Ovid by his masterpiece, *La Métamorphose des yeux de Philis en Astres.* The public, it must be confessed, who compared Corneille's work with these productions, was likely rather to find justification for its enthusiasm than reasons for damning the too-successful play.

The embarrassment of the unfortunate Academicians was indescribable. They were indeed in a position of great difficulty; such a measure of criticism as would have fully satisfied their protector would not only have alienated the public, but have caused divisions in their own councils. One of the four representatives deputed by the Academy to review the expression of their "sentiments" before submitting them to the protector himself, was Serizay, a man who, as we have seen, shared to the full both the popular feeling for Corneille's play and the popular hostility to the Cardinal Minister. The *Sentiments*, as handled by him, did not, as might have been expected, meet the Cardinal's approbation.

[1] Pellisson, "Histoire de l'Académie Française," vol. i. p. 76.

Serizay was summoned to come to him at once, in order that he might "better explain his intentions."[1] Serizay, however, promptly escaped to Poitou, pleading engagements to his master, the Duke de la Rochefoucauld, and the Cardinal's "intentions" were carried out by more docile instruments.

The publication of the *Sentiments* thus reformed sufficed to bring Corneille on his knees. Coupled with the violent attacks of a host of scribblers eager, like Scudéri, to pay court to the sole dispenser of patronage, the action of the Academy was an evident manifestation of a displeasure which at any moment might visit him with serious consequences. He, therefore, who had once bravely boasted that his work should secure an audience *sans appui*, hastened to appease the offended Cardinal by the submissive dedication prefixed to *Horace*.

These details of Richelieu's proceedings against Corneille, plainly show that the lines of policy which he pursued in his dealings with letters, were precisely the same as those followed by him in all other directions. He put Corneille on his trial, just as he had put the Duke de la Valette on his trial; and when the verdict of the Academy did not fulfil his requirements—just as in the case of the Duke he had said to the Parliament by his mouthpiece the king, "That's not a vote. Vote!" until he got the reply he wanted—even so he sent back their *Sentiments* to the united body of Academicians until they had been brought into strict conformity with his own.

There is, however, another aspect under which the operations of the Academy, as influenced by Richelieu, must be considered; for the character of the whole

[1] Pellisson, "Histoire de l'Académie Française," vol. i. pp. 118–19.

brilliant future of French literature was so much the very flower and outcome of the general conditions created in France by the great Cardinal's rule, that no review of the salient features of his policy can pass over in silence those secret workings by which the world of letters was brought into harmony with the new political and social system. It was with his express approval, if not at his instigation, that the great work of the "Dictionary" was undertaken and pushed forward by the French Academy. The two Academicians who specially devoted themselves to the task—Chapelain and Sirmond—were both in the Cardinal's paid service. Sirmond, on joining the first meeting at Conrart's house, had proposed that all the members of the Académie des Beaux Esprits should bind themselves by an oath to employ only words which had been approved by a majority of votes, so that, as Pellisson observes, he who failed to keep his engagement would have been guilty, "not of a fault only, but of a crime." This was the proposal which, rejected in its original form, actually gave birth to the great project of the "Dictionary;" a work which from the first progressed but slowly, as in one of his epistles the Abbé Boisrobert tells us:

> Depuis six mois dessus l'F on travaille,
> Et le destin m'aurait fort obligé
> S'il m'avait dit, tu vivras jusqu'au G.

But the effect which it had on French literature was none the less certain and immediate. An overwhelming importance came to be attached to the use only of such words as had been approved by the official judge of taste; many in the highest degree valuable as means of expression were irrevocably ostracised on grounds of euphony. The use of such as were old-fashioned, or

betrayed any approach to what Voltaire has termed "la malheureuse facilité du langage marotique," was strictly forbidden, for this might have led to obscurity of style, and "ce qui n'est pas clair n'est pas français," had already become a ruling precept. The compass of the French tongue was thus greatly reduced; but, within given limits, it was rendered an instrument of remarkable perfection. All that it was permitted to say it could soon say perfectly. It was, however, no more free than the Parliament or the Academicians themselves to say all that was to be said about anything. The mechanical pressure applied destroyed the flexibility of the language, destroyed its powers of suggestion, and thus acted even as a restraint upon thought. There could be no shadowing forth of those imaginative states of feeling, of those vague emotions under whose inspiration language becomes something other than a tool of the intellect. For the very essence of such states of feeling and emotion is indefinite, and refuses to submit itself to the most delicate analysis; they could find, therefore, no adequate form of expression in a language to every particle of which had been assigned a precise meaning distinctly recognised and exactly defined.

A literature fostered under these influences was characterised, as might have been expected, by the lustre of intelligence rather than by warmth of feeling. The very consciousness of the determination to produce that which was pronounced admirable prevented spontaneity of purpose. The intention to work up to a fixed pattern of excellence called forth splendid qualities of mind, of judgment, of taste, but shackled the movement of the passions, and thus the most magnificent effects of the noble literature born under the auspices of the Academy seem to have been conceived with preoccu-

pations which barred the action of great enthusiasm. These very conditions were, however, specially favourable to the production of work which, in its commonest forms, could receive an exquisite finish. Words having all been prepared for use, like highly-cut gems, the whole skill of a writer could be solely devoted to employing them in such wise as should bring out their full, recognised, and legitimate value. Narrative, whether historical or familiar, the exposition of critical or scientific analysis, and rhetoric, in all its branches, profited by the purity which the French tongue thus acquired. The art of oratory, of dramatic declamation especially, obtained a splendid brilliance and polish, whilst the French stage was carried to a point of regularity which made it the model and admiration of Europe.

When Richelieu constituted the French Academy the political organisation of France was accomplished. The fears and interests of the great nobles were combining to bring them to the foot of the throne; law and civil order lay within the grasp of the rulers of the state. By the formation of the Académie Française the Cardinal began the work of bringing under the direction and control of the central authority, those social forces which had never before been made the servants of direct political purpose. Swiftly and surely the action which he had taken in respect of literature was destined to be extended to the sciences and the arts. All the forces of thought, all the energies of labour, were now ready to be held by similar ties to the administration, to accept popular tasks, and to conform to an officially recognised standard of excellence. This part of his work the Cardinal was not, indeed, destined to complete, nor could he even attempt those large measures, connected with the various branches of the public service and the general economy

of the state, which were necessary in order to bring the whole conditions of the national life into perfect harmony with the principles of his rule. The vast administrative reforms required in order to place the financial system on a satisfactory footing, and in order to relieve industry, commerce, and agriculture from the obsolete trammels of another age, were left to be dealt with by Richelieu's successors. But the solution of all these problems had to be sought by them in the direction and by the methods which his rule had imposed.

"Ce qui est libre dans son commencement devient quelquefois nécessaire dans la suite." The rising passion for order which had seconded the Cardinal in every direction, had aided the rapid absorption into the national system of the principles on which he governed, so that although death came (1642) before he had filled in the outlines of his great system, its completion in future days had become a necessity. The Cardinal had struck at the root of every force capable of offering any resistance to the central authority. As he lay in his dying agony, his enemies rejoiced, and believed that as he passed away their own strength would return. Never did men more gravely miscalculate their own weakness and the might of the forces arrayed against them. The Cardinal dead, the great nobles who had disputed his power found themselves face to face with France; the new France, unknown to them, which he had created; a France in which every organisation, civil and ecclesiastical, had begun to fear the central authority, in which every corporation was looking to the Crown for protection and countenance; a France in which they themselves, the proudest princes in Europe, should count but as the ornaments of a Court. For it was no phantom greatness that Richelieu had given to his country, and

although the royal power, which had been but an instrument in his hands, became a scourge to those who followed him, yet its utmost excesses could not destroy the bond into which he had knitted the very nerves and sinews of France. That strange duality of mind which characterises the whole nation, and gives a practical strain to all their speculation, leads them also to idealise their practical life; and the large lines of Richelieu's policy, with its equally ordered hierarchy of labour and service to the state, with its contingent and rising scale of reward and consideration maintained in harmonious action by supreme authority duly invested with the splendid symbols as well as with the grave reality of power, appealed not only to the national vanity and love of show, but to that profound passion for symmetrical unity and completeness which is the leading, and perhaps the noblest, trait of the French genius.

Richelieu himself had been the first to set the example of that self-abnegation in the service of the state which he rigorously exacted of others. He has been reproached with the fortune which he amassed, with the number of his more than royal residences, with the splendour of his more than princely household, with the pomp and circumstance with which he surrounded every act of his life. But these were the incidents, not the objects of Richelieu's career; ambitious schemes for self-aggrandisement waited on the uses of power. To him everything had a political significance, and everything was therefore a matter for the care of Government; so letters and the arts, for which he had no natural interest, could not be overlooked in this connection. They were fitting attendants in the train of the great, and as such it was necessary to give them due protection and acknowledgment.

Union, direction, and protection, in these lay the future greatness of France, as conceived by Richelieu—a greatness which should be over and above all a political greatness dominating the rest of Europe. To lay the foundations of this political greatness, oppression and cruelty laboured hand in hand with statecraft. But, to rate Richelieu and his policy, foreign and domestic, by the prejudices of a Liberal and the principles of a Freetrader, would be equally futile and inartistic. His political ideal, if contrasted with that of others who have controlled the destinies of France, attains a lofty standard. His conception of the state, embracing in its logical perfection the minutest details of life as well as the vast interests of the nation, justifies itself as perhaps the only political Utopia which has ever had a practical value.

After the wasteful husbandry of the Renaissance, after its one-sided reclamation of individual liberty, France had need to be recalled, even harshly, to opposite considerations; France had need to be reminded that the life of the state, like the life of the family, is founded on much renouncement of personal liberty, on much self-restraint and self-abnegation. Her great ruler had no free field to work in; the nation was bound to learn, with him, at the cost of blood and tears, the value of unity in great things and small, to be lessoned in self-sacrifice, moral and physical, and to count all sacrifice but a part of the just debt due from the citizen to the Republic. The teaching of the Renaissance was thus set at naught, for the fatal condition of learning one thing well seems to be that, for the moment, everything else shall be forgotten, and France was now destined to forget—but too completely—the sacredness of liberty and of life.

CHAPTER II.

FRANCE UNDER COLBERT.

THE death of Richelieu arrested for a while the process of transformation which was taking place in every department of state government in France, and the selfish ambitions which he had kept in check with an iron hand immediately broke loose in the follies and faction-fighting of the Fronde. The reminiscences of liberty which Mazarin had aroused by a series of arbitrary edicts found no true-hearted exponent amongst the leading partisans who joined the movement for purposes of their own. The Parliament, indeed, attempted to maintain the demand for something in the nature of an Habeas Corpus Act; but their Court allies, the heroes of the Fronde, carried on the most shameless intrigues, having naught in view except the satisfaction of their personal interests. There were crying evils to remedy; the financial situation alone was a sufficient reason for revolt; tax upon tax was imposed without regard to consequences or respect to the most formal pledges; whilst Mazarin's creature, Emery, silenced remonstrance with the biting jest, "That good faith was a tradesman's virtue." To ride abroad redressing human wrongs was, however, no part of the schemes of men like the brilliant Condé or the adventurer De

Retz. The opportunity which the movement afforded for attempting the re-establishment of some counterpoise to the royal power, the bearing which such an attempt, if successful, might have on the future of France, could not escape the notice of a man of such high intelligence as De Retz. But in the conversation which he has left on record as having taken place between Condé and himself in the gardens of the Archbishop's palace at Paris, De Retz makes no pretence of urging these considerations because they were weighty in themselves; he only fastens on them as offering a foothold for ambition. Even had the disinterested desire to reform the state of France existed, the maxim that "a king must always be obeyed" had been impressed so deeply on the minds of men that, though it might be put to silence for a time, it could not be forgotten. The great opportunities of the Fronde were therefore wasted in years of selfish disorder, which rendered men only the more ready for unconditional surrender when Colbert presented himself, and, as has been happily said by M. Clément, with Colbert the spirit of the great Cardinal came back to power.

Born at Reims on the 29th of August, 1619, Colbert was educated by the Jesuits, and at the early age of nineteen[1] entered the War Office, in which department Le Tellier, a connection of his family by marriage, filled the post of Under-Secretary of State. From the first, Colbert distinguished himself by his abnormal powers of work, by his extraordinary zeal in the public service, and by an equal devotion to his own interests. His Jesuit training showed fruit in his dealings with all those who, like Le Tellier or Mazarin,

[1] Bibl. Nat. MSS. Baluze, "Papiers des Armoires," vol. ccclxii. fol. 12. *Apud* Clément, "Hist. de Colbert," 2nd ed., 1874, vol. i. p. 5.

could be of use to him on his road to power, whilst the old tradition of his Scotch blood is favoured by a certain "dourness" of character which rendered him in general difficult of access. Men scanned his countenance when they approached him, eager for some favourable indication of his humour, and the books of the Academy formally record that once he received the members with "un visage fort guay." [1] As for women, Madame de Sévigné tells us they could only obtain an audience of Colbert by favour of the king, and to unwelcome petitioners he would oppose so dead a silence that they were reduced to say, like the witty Madame Corneuil: "At least, my lord, show by some sign that you hear me!" [2] His marvellous strength of brain, seconded by rare powers of endurance, enabled him to work habitually fourteen hours a day, to enter into every detail of every branch of the administration, whilst at the same time he never lost sight of that noble project of universal reform which he had conceived, and which embraced both Church and State. The rare intervals of rest which his vast labours permitted were spent with books, for the pleasures which are a snare to facile natures had no hold on him, nor could the sincere affection which he bore his family, and which is a welcome and human trait of his iron nature, betray him into weakness. When public interests were at stake, Colbert spared no man, not even the dearest of his own household.[3]

Qualified in every way for the work of administration, absolutely indifferent to popularity, Colbert seemed destined by nature to lead the final charge against the surviving forces of the feudal system. After the troubles of the Fronde had died away, and the death of Mazarin

[1] P. V., vol. i. p. 372. [2] "Ménagiana," ed. 1715, vol. v. p. 27.
[3] See letters to his sons, "Lettres et Insts. de Colbert," Clément.

had left Louis XIV. a king in deed as well as name, these forces of the past were personified by Fouquet, and the duel between Fouquet and Colbert was the dramatic close of a struggle predestined to end in the complete triumph of absolutism. The magnificent and brilliant Fouquet, who for years past had taken advantage of his position as *Surintendant des Finances* to lavish the resources of the state on his private pleasures,[1] was plainly marked out as the object of Colbert's hostility. Mazarin, indifferent probably to depredations of which he had himself set the example, persistently shut his eyes to the scandals pointed out by Colbert, who, in 1659,[2] had loudly demanded the creation of a Chamber of Justice to examine into the disgraceful abuses existing in the financial administration. Mazarin dead, the enemies of the *Surintendant* at once coalesced against him, nor could the utmost efforts of those whom he had obliged with more than royal munificence avail in his defence. On the losing side were ranged all the spendthrift princes and facile beauties of the Court, all the greedy recipients of Fouquet's ostentatious bounties. He had reckoned that the greatest names in France would be compromised by his fall, and that by their danger his own safety was assured.[3] He had reckoned without Colbert; he had reckoned without that power which had been steadily growing throughout all vicissitudes of fate during the last two generations, and which was now centred in the king. No stranger turn of fortune can be pictured than that which, on the threshold of the modern era, linked the nobles of France in their

[1] For expenses at Vaux, see Bonaffé, "Le Surintendant Fouquet;" also Chéruel, "La Vie Publique et Privée de Fouquet;" Dumesnil, "Hist. des plus Célèbres Amateurs Français."

[2] Clément, "Hist de Colbert," vol. i. p. 90 *et seq.*

[3] Clément, *ibid.* p. 119; and "Lettres et Insts. de Colbert," vol. ii. p 8.

last struggle for independence with the fortunes of a rapacious and fraudulent financier, nor can anything be more suggestive of the character of the coming epoch than the sight of this last battle fought, not in the field of arms, but before a court of law.

To Colbert, the fall of Fouquet was but the necessary preliminary to that reform of every branch of the administration which had been ripening in his mind ever since he had entered the public service. To bring the financial situation into order, it was necessary first to call Fouquet to account. The preface to the Édict of 1661,[1] creating that Chamber of Justice which Colbert had vainly demanded of Mazarin in 1659, sets forth that "the scandalous abuses connected with the administration of the public purse had determined the king to hold an inquiry into the details of all receipts and expenditure throughout the kingdom, so as to prevent a few private persons from making monstrous fortunes by illegitimate means, and setting the example of a luxury calculated to corrupt public character and morality."

Although the Chamber was carefully composed of men whose zeal was supposed at least to equal their capacity, Fouquet's party was so strong that the king himself had to intervene in order to urge the proceedings to a conclusion. "Lorsque je trouvai bon," said Louis XIV., "que Fouquet eust un conseil libre, j'ay cru que son procès dureroit peu de temps; mais il y a plus de deux ans qu'il est commencé, et je souhaite extresmement qu'il finisse. Il y va de ma réputation."[2] When the king spoke thus it seemed, indeed, as if the trial might be prolonged to all eternity. Colbert had made what

[1] Clément, "Hist. de Colbert," vol. i. p. 125.

[2] Chéruel, "Journal d'Ollivier Lefèvre d'Ormesson," ed. 1861, vol. ii. p. 174.

appears to us to have been a mistake in tactics, for he had carried on, with a high hand, his suppressions and conversions of "rentes" simultaneously with his prosecution of Fouquet. All the vested interests menaced by these proceedings were consequently armed against him, and ready to combine with the personal friends of the *Surintendant* in hindering the attempt to bring him to justice. The termination of the trial, long delayed, was only procured by repeated coercion; judges thought to be favourable to the accused were removed, and replaced by others known to be less leniently inclined;[1] many were deprived of their public offices and emoluments, and some were sent into exile.[2] But, in spite of these oppressive measures, the sentence obtained fell short of that which alone could have satisfied Colbert, for the life of Fouquet was spared, and he was condemned only to banishment and the confiscation of all his goods. There was, however, one last resource, nor did Colbert hesitate to use it. The king was advised to strain the royal prerogative yet further, and he therefore arbitrarily increased the penalty pronounced by a court the members of which he himself had nominated, and the perpetual exile to which Fouquet had been condemned was changed into imprisonment for life.[3] Colbert attached so much importance to his share in the case that he dictated the whole story to Perrault, who says: "Il me la fit retourner trois ou quatre fois avant de la transcrire dans le registre."[4]

[1] Clément, "Hist. de Colbert," vol. i. p. 136.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 145.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 144.

[4] "Mém. de Perrault," Avignon, 1759, p. 39. The document itself has been printed by Clément in vol. ii. 1st part, p. 17 *et seq.*, "Lettres et Insts. de Colbert." It is the most considerable composition by Colbert extant, and is entitled, "Mémoire sur les affaires des finances de France pour servir à l'histoire, etc."

It was the record of a great triumph; but the result of this triumph must not be looked for in the mere issue of a trial in which justice was obtained by the brutal exercise of despotic power and at the price of repeated violations of the law; it must be looked for rather in the consequent public exposure of the fraudulent and rotten system which had prevailed in the financial administration for long years past.[1] The fall of the chief offender, Fouquet, having been brought about, it was easy to force all those who had been guilty of similar malversations on a minor scale, to run the gauntlet of the High Commission. Restitution and confiscation became the order of the day, and when the Chamber of Justice was finally dissolved in 1669, far beyond any advantage which might be reckoned to the Treasury from these sources was the gain to the nation in the general sense of security and confidence. It was felt that the days of wholesale dishonesty and embezzlement were at an end, and that the economical future of France would now rest on a sound basis. Relieved from all anxiety in this direction, confident in the unconditional support of a young monarch whose passion for absolute rule aptly seconded his own purposes, inspired by an inborn hatred of all abuses, of all corruption, and burning with an extraordinary zeal for the public service, Colbert went forward from this moment without hesitation, devoting his whole energies to the gigantic task of reshaping the internal economy of France.

Richelieu, as we have already seen, had indeed secured the political position, but his strength had been strained to the uttermost in the effort to combat the dangers which menaced the very existence of

[1] Clément, "Hist. de Colbert," vol. i. p. 138 *et seq.*

authority, and he had been powerless to reform the internal administration or to develop the industrial resources of the country. All the talent of the brilliant and spendthrift Mazarin but just availed to maintain the situation as created by his great predecessor, and he lacked the power, even if he had had the will, to handle administrative or economical problems. These questions fell to Colbert's lot, and at a moment propitious beyond all others for giving practical effect to schemes such as must usually make head against a dead weight of resistance. Backed by despotic power, his achievements in these directions have, to an incredible extent, determined the destinies of modern industry, and have given birth to the whole system of modern administration, not only in France, but throughout Europe.

In the teeth of a lavish expenditure which he was utterly unable to check, once and again did Colbert succeed in establishing a financial equilibrium when the fortunes of France seemed desperate.[1] In the years 1660–4, when, as we have just seen, he forced all those who had profited by the depredations of Mazarin and Fouquet to disgorge, whilst at the same time he inspected and revised all sources of public revenue, and consolidated the public debt,[2] these great reforms were accomplished by unjust and arbitrary measures.[3] But Colbert could not shut his eyes to the teaching of experience, and just as at a later date he found himself unable to ignore the facts which made against the wisdom of his own commercial policy, in spite of his profound conviction that national

[1] Clément, "Hist. de Colbert," vol. i. pp. 149–172, and see also his "Gouvernement de Louis XIV."

[2] *Ibid.* pp. 151, 163.

[3] *Ibid.* pp. 155–6.

prosperity must necessarily result from prohibitive tariffs,[1] even so at the close of his career, when the treasury of France was exhausted and her future revenues burdened by wars which he had vainly opposed, Colbert, taught by the strong representations which had been made by Lamoignon and others against the illegal courses of 1660–4, made choice of different methods; and the measures by which he succeeded for the second time in placing the national finances on a sound footing would be recognised to-day as just and regular.[2]

Not even the great questions of finance were sufficient to absorb the energies of Colbert. His extraordinary grasp of every subject proper to the cares of government is proved by volumes of letters and instructions,[3] in which he daily handled the affairs of each department of State, discussing and directing with a command of special detail so minute and a wisdom so pregnant, that it seems as if each in turn must have been the single object of a life's experience and devotion. The French navy Colbert may, indeed, be said to have created.[4] When the siege of La Rochelle began in 1627, Richelieu had not a single man-of-war ready to put to sea, and for the transport of arms and ammunition was obliged to requisition trading-vessels and fishing-boats in the harbours along the coasts;[5] nor at any time during the course of operations could

[1] Clément, "Hist. de Colbert," vol. i. pp. 297, 365.

[2] *Ibid.* pp. 168–9 *et seq.*

[3] Clément, "Lettres et Insts. de Colbert."

[4] "Principes de M. Colbert." Eug. Sue, "Hist. de la Marine Française," vol. i. p. 287.

[5] "Vie du Cardinal Richelieu," Amsᵗ. 1714, vol. i. pp. 302–3. Clément, "Hist. de Colbert," ed. 1846, chap. xix.; and "Hist. de Ministerio Cardinalis Richelij," ed. 1649, p. 222.

the French muster more than forty small vessels in response to the Cardinal's appeals; whilst the English fleet despatched to the relief of the besieged was not only infinitely more numerous, but consisted of ships vastly greater in size.[1] The organisation then to some extent introduced into this branch of the service by the great Cardinal collapsed under the thriftless rule of Mazarin, and the French navy again fell into a state of deplorable neglect, which could not escape the lynx-eyed watchfulness of Colbert. He took matters promptly into his own hands, demanding exact reports as to the number and tonnage of the merchant shipping in the different ports and harbours of France, whilst at the same time he pushed on the work of construction in the royal arsenals and dockyards with unparalleled vigour,[2] creating the port of Rochefort, and bringing up the Royal Navy in ten years from 20 or 22 vessels all out of repair, to 196, of which 120 were vessels of line with a tonnage of 107,950, and all this he did, although his repeated entreaties failed to induce Louis XIV. to visit either of the great ports or review the magnificent fleet which had been created in his name.

The official documents concerning this subject all show that the larger aspects of state policy were familiar to Colbert; he never forgot that the interests of the monarchy were inseparable from all that contributed to the welfare of the nation. His functions as Minister of Marine (the duties of which department he had actually discharged since 1661) were defined by a regulation bearing date March 7th, 1669,[3] which opens

[1] "Mém. de Bassompierre," ed. 1665, vol. iii. p. 159.

[2] "Tableaux des Vaisseaux," etc., Eug. Sue, "Hist. de la Marine," vol. i. p. 344; and "Mém. d'Infreville," *ibid.* vol. i. p. 346.

[3] Eug. Sue, "Hist. de la Marine," vol. i. pp. 285–6.

with a clause pointing out the close connection which exists between the navy and commerce. This, coupled with the fact that since Colbert had taken the matter in hand, as Minister of Finance, French commerce had notably augmented throughout the kingdom,[1] is assigned as the reason for transferring to him, as responsible Minister, not only the whole care of the navy in all the provinces of France, but also everything regarding commerce both internal and external, all French trading companies and their concessions, all colonies,[2] and manufactories in whatsoever land they may be established. We have, indeed, but to turn to Colbert's "Edict on Commerce," which appeared in 1673, and to that on the navy issued in 1681, to find in their careful provisions full justification of the trust reposed in him, while the opinions of Lord Tenterden, Lord Mansfield, and other authorities on the subject, bear witness to the value of his great work in the foundation of Chambers of Marine Insurance, and the authority accorded to his sagacious regulations in this matter down to the present day.[3]

The creation of the Compagnie des Indes Orientales had originated in a scheme of Fouquet's. The merchants of Tours, Nantes, and La Rochelle, when in 1663 they presented their petition for its foundation, set forth that what they proposed was the "même dessein que celui qui avait été accepté par M. Fouquet quelque temps avant sa détention." It is, therefore, more than probable that Colbert had long been familiar with the project which he supported by lavish expenditure of

[1] See Wolowski, "De l'Organisation Industrielle de la France avant . . . Colbert." *Revue de Législation et de la Jurisprudence*, Mars, 1843.

[2] See Pauliat, "Madagascar sous Louis XIV."

[3] Walford, "Cyclopædia of Marine Insurance," vol. iv. pp. 309–313.

influence and money, if indeed he were not himself the author of it.[1] He is, indeed, often accused of having developed his commercial policy at the expense of those agricultural interests which Sully had fostered, and which must always be a chief source of the prosperity of France. His edicts prohibiting the export of grain constituted, it is true, a standing menace to the producer, whose permit, terminable in three or six months, depended now on the prospects of harvest, now on the probable wants of the king's troops in winter quarters, or again on the policy of cutting off the enemy's supplies.[2] The husbandman, always uncertain of his market, was thus practically discouraged, and agricultural commerce was checked, but it must be remembered that these measures were exceptional, and that Colbert's industrial policy was in the main based on the then universally accepted proposition that good economy involved the drawing within the national borders of ever-increasing stores of the precious metals. Hence his system of bounties on export of home produce, hence the rewards given to the East India Company (1671) for carrying French instead of Irish cattle to the "Isles françoises d'Amérique," for he aimed at the fostering of home production by an elaborate system of protection, whilst at the same time the markets of other countries were to be forced open and flooded with French goods. Courtilz de Sandras puts into Colbert's mouth the argument used to-day by United States protectionists: "Should any one argue that if we put ourselves on this footing . . . the foreigners can do the same, so it would be simpler to leave things just as

[1] Pauliat, "Madagascar sous Louis XIV."

[2] Clément, "Hist. de Colbert," vol. i. p. 365; and "Gouvernement de Louis XIV.," chap. xii. p. 227.

they are . . . to speak thus one must be ignorant that we need no one, but our neighbours need us. The kingdom has, with few exceptions, *all* within its borders, but in the neighbouring states it is not so."[1] Any attempt on the part of a weaker power to imitate Colbert's own policy, such, for instance, as that made in the Papal States by Alexander VII. and Clement IX., was instantly repressed with a high hand;[2] and perhaps no more eloquent condemnation of Colbert's whole scheme is to be found than that furnished by the negotiations conducted on this occasion by the Abbé de Bourlemont. It was indeed necessary to the successful result of Colbert's commercial policy, as it would be necessary to the complete success of any protectionist policy, that the nation pursuing it should be able to dictate her own terms to the rest of Europe.

His leading idea was to lower all export dues on national produce and manufactures, and whilst diminishing import duties on such raw materials as were required for French manufactures, to raise them until they became prohibitive on all foreign goods. The success of the tariff of 1664 misled Colbert. That tariff was a splendidly statesmanlike attempt to put an end to the conflict and confusion of the duties, dues, and customs then existing in the different provinces and ports of France, and it was in effect a tariff calculated for purely fiscal purposes.[3] Far other were the considerations embodied in the tariff of 1667, which led to the Dutch and English wars, and which, having been enacted in the supposed interests of home industry,

[1] "Test. Polit. de Messire Jean Baptiste Colbert," chap. xv.: "Des Marchands et du Commerce."

[2] Clément, "Hist. de Colbert," vol. i. p. 305.

[3] *Ibid.* pp. 292-3.

eventually stimulated production in other countries. England set up manufactures of silk, of hats, and also of all those coarser kinds of cloth which up to 1659 she had been accustomed to import in large quantities from France, whilst the Dutch not only got hold of French paper-makers, but having learnt how to fabricate canvas for their own shipping, also secured the English market, which had previously depended wholly on France for its supply of the like goods.[1]

If, however, the industrial policy of Colbert cannot be said to have realised his expectations, since it neither brought about a great increase in the number of home manufactures nor succeeded in securing a larger share of foreign trade, there is not a doubt that, in spite even of the disastrous wars which it provoked, it powerfully contributed, on the whole, to place France in the front rank as a commercial nation. The very pains and penalties by which he vexed those same industries which it was his main object to foster, and which became much worse after his death,[2] were not without a beneficial influence on their general character. At first sight such attempts as that to fix by law the length, width, price, and quality of different stuffs by subjecting the unhappy producer of material not precisely in conformity with the legal standard to infamous punishments, would appear to be an illegitimate interference with individual liberty in the endeavour to attain, by arbitrary tampering with the natural conditions of production, that perfection of workmanship which should properly result from mutual emulation between rival

[1] "Mém. sur la Commerce," etc., "Lettres et Insts.," vol. ii. 1re partie, annexes, p. cclvii. See also Clément, "Gouvernement de Louis XIV.," chap. x.

[2] Levasseur, "Histoire des Classes Ouvrières," 1st series, vol. ii. chap. vi.

competitors for custom. It may, however, be pleaded, in extenuation of these and other like measures, that since the guilds and corporations of the arts and trades were becoming daily less powerful, it was needful that the supreme authority should find some means whereby the influence which they had previously exercised in keeping up the standard of work in their respective industries should be replaced. At the present day the spirit of Colbert's legislation in this respect survives in such establishments as the conditioning houses of Roubaix and of Lyons, the functions of which are described at length in the "Report of the Royal Commission on Technical Education."[1] But the conditioning performed in these houses, which undertake the testing of all raw material and manufactured goods, is entirely optional. If buyer and seller agree to any transaction without submitting to the official test and expenses they are at liberty to do so; whereas Colbert, by penalties so cruel that they could not be rigorously exacted, sought to enforce the observance of perfectly arbitrary regulations.[2] Most writers have, in fact, pointed to these enactments as a series of glaring mistakes. From an economical point of view they are clearly right, but is there not another aspect of the question—the political? And from the political point of view may it not be justly urged that, although industrial development was checked by Colbert's severe penalties against the manufacture or

[1] "The conditioning house of Roubaix, like the similar establishments of Lyons and Crefeld, undertakes the testing of all raw materials and manufactured goods with regard to actual weight, measurement, and condition. Certain standards of condition are recognised in various materials, upon which allowances are made for the moisture they contain. . . . The house was built by the town at a cost of £16,000."—*Vide* "Report of Royal Commission on Technical Education."

[2] Clément, "Hist. de Colbert," vol. i. pp. 326–7.

sale of inferior goods, yet, in so far as these regulations tended to maintain a high standard of excellence, they did actually fulfil to a large extent his purpose of adding lustre to the character of French industry, and thereby increasing the importance of France in Europe. Everything that could increase the importance of the nation, as well as all that could add to its real power, was an object of Colbert's patriotic solicitude. To surround the throne of France with every attribute of majesty which could heighten its lustre in the eyes of foreign courts was but to complete his general scheme for the political aggrandisement of France. Why was he ready to confer substantial encouragement on men of letters and artists, but because they alone could give to luxury a dazzling elegance? To the pure pleasures of art Colbert was as indifferent as Richelieu himself; he saw, however, not only its value as a means of national glory; he was also the first to appreciate the immense services which it might be brought to render to national industry. Hence arose Colbert's intimate relations with the chief of the Academy of Painting and Sculpture, and herein, too, lies the explanation of much that at first sight appears to be abnormal in the character of French seventeenth-century work, especially if compared with that of the period immediately preceding.

This matter alone, which, if compared to the whole scheme of his administration, seems but a puny detail, serves to show the completeness of Colbert's conception of the modern state. The devoted servant of the most despotic Crown in Europe, he never lost sight of the interests of the people. The Academy of Painting and Sculpture and the School of Architecture were not called into being in order that royal palaces should be raised surpassing all others in magnificence.

Bièvrebache and the Savonnerie were not established only that such palaces should be furnished more sumptuously than those of an Eastern fairy tale. Colbert did not care chiefly to inquire, when organising art administration, what were the institutions best fitted to foster the proper interests of art; he asked, in the first place, what would most contribute to swell the national importance. Even so, in surrounding the king with the treasures of luxury, his object was twofold—their possession should indeed illustrate the Crown, but should also be a unique source of advantage to the people. Glass-workers were brought from Venice, and lace-makers from Flanders, that they might yield to France the secrets of their skill. Palaces and public buildings were to afford commissions for French artists, and a means of technical and artistic education for all those employed on them. The royal collections were but a further instrument in educating the taste and increasing the knowledge of the working classes. The costly factories of the Savonnerie and the Gobelins were practical schools, in which every detail of every branch of all those industries which contribute to the furnishing and decoration of houses was brought to perfection, whilst a band of chosen apprentices were trained in the adjoining schools.

To these schools Colbert assigned a prominent position in his scheme, looking on them as the home and nursery of French industry. After six years of apprenticeship and four of service, the boys, who were received into them free of charge, went forth passed masters in their respective crafts, and carried the fruits of their training into all the provinces of France.[1]

These schools, as well as the institutions of which

[1] "Notice Historique sur les Manufactures Impériales de Tapisseries, etc." Lacordaire, 1853, p. 55.

they formed a part, were placed by Colbert in direct relations with the privileged Academy of Painting and Sculpture, and under the protectorate of this body, officially organised and recognised corporations of artists, eager to enjoy the privileges of the central society of Paris, spread themselves over France. On the other hand, the facilities afforded for foreign study by the foundation of the School of France at Rome, secured the interests of art education in its highest form, and gave into the hands of the ruling Minister a supply of men perfectly accomplished, and fitted to undertake the execution of the most complicated tasks or the direction of the most important establishments. Thus, that unity of authority which had been the precept of the great Cardinal's policy imposed its extreme consequences, and prevented in France that lamentable divorce between art and industry which took place at this moment in every other country in Europe. Each link was complete in the chain which connected the humblest institutions with the proud central Academy, and from the director of the central Academy all received ultimate guidance and control.

To Colbert, therefore, is due the honour of having foreseen, not only that the interests of the modern state were inseparably bound up with those of industry, but also that the interests of industry could not without prejudice be divorced from art. The principles on which he worked contained, indeed, certain seeds of failure; in his industrial system protection was pushed to an extreme which injured those whom it was meant to serve; and the arbitrary caprices of the power which he and his great predecessor had rendered sovereign speedily brought about financial disaster. The pitiless and despotic Louvois, who had succeeded his father,

Colbert's old patron Le Tellier, as Secretary of State for War, played on the imperious vanity of King Louis, and engaged him in wars big and little, which in most cases wanted even the shade of a pretext. Wars big and little caused reckless expenditure, together with that terrible corruption which seems invariably to follow in its train, and against which Colbert had fought from the first with bitter earnest. All the zeal of the great Minister's strict economy could only stay for a while the sure approach of national distress. In cruel vexation he saw himself forced to close his establishment of Bièvrebache, and to sacrifice the industrial training of French workmen to the expenses of the war with Holland which the king had arrogantly provoked, and for which the exigencies of his own commercial policy had been made the excuse.[1]

When Colbert died, on 6th September, 1683, the misery of France, exhausted by oppressive taxation,[2] and depopulated by armies kept constantly on foot, cried out against the Minister who, rather than fall from power, had lent himself to measures which he heartily condemned. For the moment men forgot how numerous were the benefits which he had conferred, how great a work had been accomplished by his hand, and remembered only the harshness with which he had dealt justice and stinted mercy. Yet order reigned where, before his advent, all had been corruption and confusion; the navy of France had been created, her colonies fostered, her forests saved from destruction;[3] justice and the authority of the

[1] See "Mém. de Perrault," p. 168, *et seq.*

[2] See "Abus du Crédit et le Désordre financier à la fin du Règne de Louis XIV."—Vuitry, *Revue des Deux Mondes*, Jan., 1884.

[3] See Maury, "Les Forêts de la France."

law had been carried into the darkest corners of the land; religious toleration, socially if not politically, had been advocated; whilst the encroachments of the Church had been more or less steadfastly opposed. Colbert's attempts to unify legislation were premature, but, aided by his uncle Pussort, he got embodied the Code Louis (1667), the Ordonnance Criminale (1670), the Ordonnance des Eaux et Forêts (1669), the Edict on Commerce (1673), the Code Maritime (1681), and prepared his Code Colonial, commonly called the Code Noir, which appeared after his death.

To the material prosperity of the nation—even after we have made all possible deductions for the evils arising from an exaggerated system of protection—an immense and enduring impulse had been given. "One single instance," says Levasseur, "suffices to measure the distance which separates the administration of Colbert from that of his predecessors. Whilst Fouquet did not get even twenty-three millions of the eighty-four levied on the nation, Colbert knew, in his first year, how to get in fifty-three millions of the eighty-eight which he levied. . . . For eleven years he balanced receipts and expenditure. He inherited a debt of eleven millions of 'rente' and left behind him only a debt of eight millions, after having met the expenses of two wars and of the wildest extravagance."[1] In spite of disgrace and death his influence survived; in spite of the financial disorders, which went on steadily increasing, and which at last brought France to the verge of bankruptcy, his work bore fruit in the frequent efforts which were made to equalise the pressure of taxation. When, in 1695, the difficulties

[1] Levasseur, "Hist. des Classes Ouvrières," vol. ii. pp. 169–170.

were so great that even the food of the wild beasts in the menagerie was cut off,[1] and the desperate expedient of a poll-tax was resorted to in order to meet the ruinous expenses of war; several intendants at once pointed out its unfair incidence, and urged the adoption of schemes by which it might be made proportional.

They remembered the statesman who, when a war was contemplated, had bidden them report whether the peasants "se retablissent un peu, comment ils sont habillez, meublez, et s'ils se réjouissent d'avantage les jours de festes et dans les mariages qu'ils ne faisaient cy-devant." At a later date, 1701, these representations in favour of proportional taxation actually took effect: "La capitation de 1695 était *un impôt de quotité*, puisque chaque contribuable était directement imposé à la taxe que lui assignait le tarif, et que le produit total, non fixé à l'avance, était le résultat des cotes individuelles inscrites aux rôles. Celle de 1701 devient *un impôt de répartition :* la somme à percevoir dans chaque généralité est arrêtée en conseil, et elle est ensuite répartie entre les contribuables par des officiers publics déterminés et, en dernier ressort, par les intendans. Cette répartition ne peut plus s'opérer exclusivement suivant le tarif de 1695, et le plus souvent elle se fait à raison des facultés des contribuables. Sous ce rapport, la capitation est plus proportionnelle aux fortunes." [2]

These were considerations of a new order in state government, which should mean the good husbandry of national resources, and it is the glory of the age of Louis XIV., and its great importance to men, that it saw the inauguration of this new ideal, to the

[1] O.[1] 1053. Arch. Nat.

[2] Vuitry, *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1884. See also Forbonnais, "Recherches et Considérations sur les Finances de France."

realisation of which modern political and social economy constantly aspires. The brilliant Fouquet had played with these problems.[1] Colbert gave his life to their solution.[2]

[1] "Interrogation de Fouquet," F. de Laborde.

[2] See M. Chéruel, "Histoire de l'Administration Moderne en France." Also Joubleau, "Étude sur Colbert."

CHAPTER III.

THE ROYAL ACADEMY OF ARCHITECTURE.

IN the dialogue which Diderot invents at Marly between the two most celebrated kings of France, Henri IV. thus addresses Louis XIV.: "You are right, my boy, all this is very magnificent; but I should like to see the homes of my peasants at Yonne;"[1] and Diderot adds: "What would he have thought to have found, all round these magnificent palaces, his peasants starving on straw, in their roofless lairs?"

This is the picture put before us by an eye-witness in 1762, when the *Grand Siècle* had borne its proper fruit: during no other century had so many splendid architectural monuments been raised in France, and, at its close, never had the poor been so ill housed, never had their lives been devoured by a more hungry misery! The love of building, which prevailed in the Renaissance, and which Fouquet, at a later date, carried to an extravagant excess, was inherited by the Grand Monarque, and became, in virtue of the social conditions of the day, an appanage of the Crown. A hundred years before Diderot, Colbert wrote: "There is no one now in France, but the king, who employs sculptors, painters, and other skilful workmen: if his Majesty does not find

[1] Letter to Mdlle. Voland.

them employment, they must go elsewhere to seek their living." [1]

"Vingt-quatre violons du roi étaient toute la musique de la France," and the history of French architecture in the seventeenth century is simply the history of the royal palaces of France; for though Colbert would have had it otherwise, not even he could divert to works of public utility the gold required for the wars and pleasures of the king.

During the Renaissance, when Paris had still her rivals, every province in France could show some costly pile in progress—some château or church, fit to be the wonder of a future age—whilst on the smaller houses of good citizens were lavished all the resources of a humbler beauty, full of variety and charm. The work of the *Grand Siècle*, on the other hand, is not only all royal but all monotonous. Since none but the king could give employment, all that was made was made to please him, and his tastes, superb and practical, were those of one whose ideals were wholly external. "Mazarin," says M. de Laborde, "could not inspire the king with love of art, for that cannot be taught; and, wanting in that natural instinct which discovers genius, and that delicacy of taste which loves perfection, Louis XIV. got out of the difficulty by appealing to the grandiose; incapable of feeling any beauty in simplicity, he threw himself into profuse magnificence." [2]

No greater contrast could be desired to the loveliness of Blois, of Chambord, or of Ecouen—a loveliness which once lingered even where the formal gardens of Le Nôtre glowed in the sunshine of the Tuileries—than the orderly grandeur of Versailles and the stately glories

[1] Letter, 1672, cited by Clément, "Hist. de Colbert," ed. 1846, chap. xvii. p. 340. [2] De Laborde, "Le Palais Mazarin," p. 32.

of its courts. Not that this grandeur and glory are unintelligent, for, at the king's call, there came a crowd of all the talents, eager to fulfil his purposes of magnificence and splendour; but the result has an eminently unintellectual aspect, for in truth a ray of genius would have embarrassed the builders of Versailles and disturbed the convincing effects at which they aimed with much just pride of skill.

The cradle of Versailles was Vincennes. Whilst Louis XIV. was yet a boy, the old fortress was transformed with a view to his amusements, and Colbert, then no more than Mazarin's man of business, was instructed to bring together there "tout ce qui s'y peut faire pour le plaisir du roy."[1] Any residence, beyond the reach of a Paris mob, must have had peculiar charm to a boy whose childhood had seen the restless days of the Fronde. The freedom and safety of Vincennes became very dear to him, but Vincennes was soon outgrown, and at Versailles he sought a vaster theatre for the display of those tastes which, fostered by Colbert on his way to power, were destined to bring to the ground his darling schemes for the welfare of the French people.

Nominated publicly to the post of Commissioner of Works in January, 1664, a post which he had been for some time secretly preparing to occupy, Colbert had settled to his own satisfaction the line which he intended to pursue. He held that, for the glory and honour of the king of France, the Louvre had to be completed in such wise that, for size and magnificence, it should surpass the palaces of all other kings and countries, whilst Paris should be filled with public monuments destined to eclipse the triumphs of

[1] "Lettres de Colbert," November 29, 1653.

Greece and Rome. But, on this head, as on many others, Colbert had miscalculated his strength, for the claims of that enlightened self-interest which to him appeared all-convincing, were easily outweighed in the mind of his master by the dictates of pleasure or caprice.

Colbert himself was not a man of taste, but he had too exact a mind to remain unconscious of his own deficiency. In early days, when making purchases for Mazarin, he used anxiously to solicit the Cardinal's guïdance,[1] and he prepared himself to take over the Board of Works by selecting a few confidential advisers who formed a small committee which ultimately became the Academy of Inscriptions, and gave birth, a few years later, to yet another academy—the Academy of Architecture.

One of the chief in influence among these advisers was Colbert's own clerk, Charles Perrault,[2] the author not only of the *Contes des Fées*, but of the curious memoirs[3] which contain so much of the secret history of these transactions. He enumerates the projects named at their first meeting, held on the 3rd February, 1663; and when we find that the Louvre was to be finished, many monuments to be raised to the glory of the king, and numbers of medals were to be struck, it seems odd that not one of those called to advise as to the execution of these schemes possessed any practical qualifications.

Shortly after this first meeting the members were formally presented to the king, whom they found in a closet behind his mother's bedchamber, "which," says

[1] De Laborde, "Le Palais Mazarin," p. 262.

[2] The others were the Abbé de Bourseis and the Abbé de Canaques, both, like Chapelain, members of the Académie Française. De Canaques was satirised by Boileau.

[3] "Mém. de Perrault," Avignon, 1759.

Perrault, "he incessantly quitted to watch her, waiting on her in her sickness, ministering to almost all her wants."[1] The queen-mother was sick to death, but her son's anxiety did not make him the less superb in committing to the care of the new Academy "that which he held dearer than anything in the world—his glory!"

But "ma gloire" had a twin brother in "mon bon plaisir," and before he had been a year in office, we find Colbert appealing to the king against that reckless expenditure at Versailles, which hindered the execution of all other projects. "I entreat your Majesty to allow me to say two words as to the reflections I often make on this subject, and to be pleased to forgive my zeal. That building is far more a question of your Majesty's amusement than of your Majesty's credit. . . . Yet if your Majesty seeks where the 500,000 crowns are gone which have been spent there the last two years, your Majesty will have great difficulty in finding them. Whilst your Majesty has spent such great sums on this building, the Louvre has been neglected. . . . Ah! what a pity that the greatest and most virtuous king, of that true virtue which is the stuff of the greatest princes, should be measured by the yard of Versailles!" Already this absorbing passion for show and pleasure had begun to vex the soul of Colbert; already that economy which he was bent on introducing into the public service was menaced by the expense of the king's diversions. "As for me," he continues, "I confess that in spite of your Majesty's dislike to running up the current account, could I have foreseen how great would have been the drain of Versailles, I should have advised the carrying it under that head so as to conceal the amount." In his despair, Colbert next urged as a

[1] "Mém. de Perrault," p. 40.

compromise that a fixed yearly sum should be allotted to this pleasure-house, whilst more strenuous efforts should be made for the completion of the Louvre; but in vain. Versailles was the creation of the king himself; as to the Louvre and the buildings of Paris, he could force himself occasionally to give them dignified attention, but he took no more interest in them than he did in his fleet, and thus Colbert's prediction is verified, and this chief of kings is now judged by the crumbling glories of a deserted palace.

Still Colbert refused to forego his projects. Having formed his council, his next care was to select an architect, and he at once found himself in a sea of difficulties. As "Surintendant et ordonnateur général des maisons royales, jardins et tapisseries de Sa Majesté, arts et manufactures de France," he had, under his orders, four intendants, three supervisors, three treasurers, and the first architect to the king, Le Vau. But the plans of Le Vau for the principal façade of the Louvre were too modest for him, so he stopped the works, and invited the profession to criticise Le Vau's plans and send in designs of their own.[1] This was the first act of the play in which Bernini was eventually called to take a principal part.

The Paris architects were, of course, all delighted to criticise Le Vau; many, too, were ready with designs of their own, to be exhibited in the same room with the condemned model by the man in disgrace. Amongst these was one, as Charles Perrault tells us, by his "brother[2] the doctor," which all approved, probably because none feared an amateur as a serious rival, but they reckoned without the doctor's brother. The great feature of this plan was an immense peristyle,

[1] "Mém. de Perrault," p. 60. [2] *Ibid.* p. 61.

or colonnade of fluted pillars, crowned by elaborate capitals of the Corinthian order, and the novelty and splendour of the project are said to have astonished Colbert; but his admiration of the doctor's genius, as well as his disapprobation of Le Vau's designs, had probably both been inspired of set purpose by the astute Charles Perrault, who had from the first laid his plans to procure the honour of finishing the Louvre for his own family. For the moment, however, he had to content himself with seeing his brother's design despatched to Rome, together with that of Le Vau, which had held its own well in this competition, for Colbert naturally hesitated to commit so important an undertaking to the doctor's hands without further advice.

The fresh plans and fresh criticisms received from Rome were but a further embarrassment; Colbert could not make up his mind to take the responsibility of a decision. Seeing his hesitation, the Abbé Benedetti[1] took the opportunity to press the claims of Bernini, from whom a criticism and a project had also been solicited by the French Ambassador; and although Colbert noticed that the Cavaliere seemed to have thought of nothing but the outside, he was in such difficulties that he took the desperate step of inviting Bernini to Paris.[2]

The Perraults now appeared to have been completely checkmated, and the most absurd concessions were made to the vanity of the very vain old Italian to secure his co-operation in the completion of the palace

[1] Benedetti had been employed by Mazarin, in 1644, to negotiate with Bernini before he entrusted the building of his palace to François Mansard, and had again endeavoured to introduce an Italian architect, when Le Vau was selected to carry out additions to Vincennes. See "Le Palais Mazarin," note 189.

[2] Colbert's Letters, 3rd October, 1664.

of palaces. He was escorted to Paris by the French Ambassador, the Duke de Créqui himself, who, when he had taken leave of the Holy Father, "colla solita pompa," visited the Cavaliere, "colla medesima," in order to request him to depart. His progress across France was triumphal; every city through which he passed had the king's orders to present him with addresses and gifts. Even the great town of Lyons, paying by custom such homage to princes of the blood alone, had to acquit itself like the rest. M. de Chantelou, the Steward of the Royal Household, was sent out to meet Bernini, when he approached Paris in the month of May, with orders to take his commands and bear him company, and he was received almost immediately by the king at St. Germain with all imaginable honours.

On the other hand, those of the profession who had been ready to combine against Le Vau were not prepared to yield the place to a foreigner, though they had criticised Le Vau and quizzed the doctor. Forced now to receive Bernini with every outward demonstration of respect, they in secret made common cause against him, whispering about that this new rival eclipsed all others only by his pretensions and his arrogance.

Bernini soon gave them their open opportunity; in the magnificent scheme which he elaborated, he betrayed the weakness on which the practical eye of Colbert had fastened at the outset; he neglected all those domestic requirements on providing for which French architects had begun to pride themselves; he took thought for banqueting halls, for theatres, and state reception chambers, and left such common matters as sleeping rooms and offices, Italian fashion, to take care of themselves. Colbert, who attached a reasonable importance to the distribution of comfortable living

rooms,[1] not only for the king but for his Court, was no less exacting as to provisions which might facilitate the discharge of their duties by the officers of the household, and loudly expressed his dissatisfaction.[2] Charles Perrault at once improved the occasion, and by dint of persistently dwelling on these particular defects, worked Colbert up into a state of exasperation. Yet, in bringing Bernini to Paris, and in treating him as one inspired, Colbert had committed, not only himself, but the king, so deeply, that to dismiss the Italian like an ordinary mortal was impossible; he was therefore forced to temporise, and even to continue to approve openly what he secretly condemned. So successfully did he conceal his irritation, even from those about him, that at one moment the wily Perrault thought he had overreached himself, and, alarmed at the public reprimand he had received at a meeting of the Board of Works, pursued Colbert down a corridor,[3] humbly entreating him to overlook the liberty he had taken in criticising Bernini's plans. "What," replied Colbert furiously, "do you think I don't see it all as well as you? *Peste soit du B. . . . qui pense nous en fairc accroire!*" "I was astonished," says Perrault, "and gave thanks to Almighty God that He granted me this clear view of the Court, and of the dissimulation necessary to those who would live therein!" It was evident that the fate of Bernini's plan was sealed.

Meanwhile, in spite of the gathering storm, preparations for the new buildings of the Louvre went on. The first stone was laid on 17th October, 1665, by the

[1] The question of interior arrangements was frequently the chief problem of the plans submitted to the Academy. See Register of Academy of Architecture, June 9. 1677, etc., now preserved in the Archives of the Institut, extracts from which will be found in Appendix VIII.

[2] "Mém. de Perrault," p. 86. [3] *Ibid.* p. 93.

king himself, with flourish of trumpets and much pomp of flowing wigs, and coats weighty with gold.[1] Before the close of the year the foundations were far advanced, but the situation became more and more embarrassing every day. No petty act of discouragement and annoyance was left unpractised by which Bernini might be forced to take the initiative, and relieve his unwilling hosts of his irksome presence. The old man's vanity, no mean defence against indirect attacks, at last gave way; forced to entertain the unwelcome suspicion that his triumphant honours were to be exchanged for humiliation and defeat, he requested leave to depart, and his ill humour broke forth when his secret and deadly enemy, Charles Perrault, carried to him the king's parting gifts: a grant of a yearly pension of 12,000 l. for himself, another of 1200 l. for his son, and three bags, each containing a thousand gold coins. "These I carried to him in my own arms," says Perrault, "in order to do him the more honour." But Bernini was not to be so deceived. "Such good-days," said he, "would be pleasant enough if they came often; as for your patents, I don't look to see them paid above once or twice at the most." And so they parted.[2]

Perrault had got rid of Bernini; he had now to get rid of Le Vau. By adroit suggestions the king had been disgusted with the magnificent schemes of the Italian; by the pretence of imposing on his admiration a second and more modest design of Le Vau, he was warily brought to pronounce himself finally in favour of the colonnade by Claude Perrault.[3] Even then, however, Colbert hesitated to commit himself

[1] These coats for great ceremonies were so heavy with metal that they were instantly laid aside on entering the private apartments. See "Journal de Dangeau," 19 Février, 1714.

[2] "Mém. de Perrault," p. 110. See also *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, Mars, 1884.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 127.

wholly to a man who might be an ingenious and brilliant draughtsman, but who had no professional training or experience. The friends of Le Vau, who counted thirty years of service, were merciless in their chaff. "Architecture," they said, "must be very ill since she was to be put into the doctor's hands!" But the doctor's devoted brother, ever fertile in expedients, again came to the rescue, and by his invention of the "Conseil des bâtiments" which ultimately became the Academy of Architecture (1671) the difficulty was solved. Strong in the outspoken approval of Louis XIV., Perrault advised that his brother's design should be placed in the hands of a committee of the Board of Works contrived on the model of the first committee appointed by Colbert to aid him in his functions as Chief Commissioner, the committee which had developed into the Academy of Inscriptions.[1] The early meetings of this committee were quite informal. Charles Perrault acted as secretary, the doctor submitted his designs, Le Vau pointed out, as in duty bound, certain unprofessional artifices which were undoubtedly bad building.[2] Colbert called Le Brun to his aid, Le Brun concurred with Le Vau in condemning the employment of iron braces, to counteract the pressure of the architraves, and other such unworkmanlike devices; but these objections were overruled, the die was cast, the works went on.

Perrault the doctor was told, just as Bernini had been told, that on no account must he interfere with or injure the old Louvre, and more especially must he respect the work of Pierre Lescot on the façade of the interior of the court facing east. Bernini had cast

[1] "Mém. de Perrault," p. 122.

[2] See Registre du Conseil des Bâtiments, Arch. Nat., and see also Blondel, vol. iv. p. 4.

all such warnings to the winds; in his scheme, the old court was filled up by four enormous pavilions, which, projecting inwards, gave it the shape of a Greek cross; building round this nucleus, he had arranged four smaller courts, irregular in shape, and ill lighted, the different parts all of various heights, finished up by terraces, which, serving the upper storeys and connected by staircases, afforded a kind of promenade. Bold projections broke up the line of the palace on the south by the Seine; there, as well as on the north and east, the moat remained. As for the façade on the east, where Perrault's colonnade was destined ultimately to stand, that also was broken up irregularly, and as far as can be judged from the plans, the cornice with its consoles and statues must have crushed the whole.[1] The central entrance was poor, though the vestibule within was magnificent, and the staircases well placed. The same defects marked the proposed façade to face the Tuileries on the west; the central body of the building seems out of all proportion with the pavilions at the corners, and the double rows of arcades in the first and second storeys look as if they were stuck to, or hanging from, the enormous Corinthian columns which run up past them, and which are, as it were, cut through by the cornice on which the second storey rests.[2] The great space between the Louvre and the Tuileries lay empty, only covered by an immense connecting gallery, running along on the north side; while on the east, Bernini would have cleared the ground right up to the Pont Neuf, raising in the centre a rock a hundred feet high, surmounted

[1] Blondel, vol. iv. book 6, No. 1. plate 8.

[2] De Clarac, "Musée de Sculpture," ed. 1841, vol. i. p. 372. See also Perrault's criticisms of and defence of such treatment of an order. Appendix VII.

by the statue of the king, decorated on all sides by nymphs and urns, out of which water should have flowed to the most distant parts of Paris.

That this scheme was stupendous, nobody will deny; that it was, as Bernini did not scruple to assert, the fruit of direct Divine inspiration, not even Bernini himself could have believed; but whatever the defects of his plan, the reproach specially brought against it by his Parisian critics applied with equal force to the designs of Claude Perrault. If Bernini, as they said, had thought of nothing but the outside of the palace, most certainly Claude Perrault, when he designed that magnificent mask, the colonnade, had paid very little attention to the inside:[1] if he were a genius he was not an architect, and he never seems to have thought of putting his own work into relation with that of his predecessors. Until his advent, all additions and alterations in the Louvre had been made more or less in reference to the façade by Lescot, on the west of the old court. Its proportions had been disturbed by Lemercier,[2] but Lemercier religiously preserved the style of the Renaissance, and Le Vau, in 1660, took up his work in the same spirit. In 1663 the desire to complete the fourth façade so as to make it more magnificent than all the rest, overleaped all other considerations, and the construction of Perrault's colonnade was allowed to disturb the whole economy of the Louvre.[3] It was so much too long for the side to which it was attached,[4] that another sham front had to be carried along the side facing the Seine,

[1] De Clarac, "Musée de Sculpture," vol. i. p. 382.

[2] The original size of the court was one-fourth that of the present area.

[3] Guilhermy, "Itinéraire Archéologique," p. 268.

[4] Mr. Fergusson considers it too long also for its height, but adds that this was not the fault of the architect.

and so much too high for the rest of the court, that the balustrade which surmounted the cornice stood considerably above the line of roof on the inside. In short it was about as adapted to its purpose as the Observatory with which the doctor had at the same time endowed Paris.[1]

The fatal consequence of his dealings with the Louvre was that it became impossible to carry along on the inside the attic and French roof of Lescot, which had been hitherto respected and continued round the court by his successors. Nothing daunted, Perrault destroyed their work, and replaced it on three sides of the Court by a repetition of the order employed in the first storey, a scheme the effect of which has been disastrous. For the west wing now alone remains with its original attic, at once a provocation and a protest; again and again it has been menaced by those who had rather sacrifice its beauty than leave it out of line with the rest of the quadrangle, whilst it has as often been saved by those to whom perfect symmetry was too dear a price to pay for loss of the original record.

In the noisy war of blunders and spites which raged round the colonnade, Le Vau, the humbled first architect to the Crown, plays his part in silence. He had not only to bear the pain of seeing himself set aside for a layman, but was obliged to give that layman the practical help indispensable to the carrying out of his plans. This he seems to have done so loyally that many believed him to have been himself the author of the work. To these Claude Perrault triumphantly replied: "Look at Le Vau's plans; show me his peristyle!"[2] and this test, which had helped to suppress Bernini by making Colbert feel that there was some-

[1] See Legrand and Landon, "Description de Paris." [2] Mém., p. 125.

thing humiliating in the absence of a colonnade, successfully served to shame Le Vau. The *pensée du péristyle* was the unanswerable argument which silenced those who, like Germain Brice [1] or François Dorbay, believed that Perrault had as much share in the colonnade of the Louvre as Catherine de Médicis in the Tuileries; but Le Vau himself, essentially an architect of the old French school, can scarcely have envied the honours of that last and greatest triumph of the heavy transitional architecture which had arisen with the Jesuits in the reign of Henri IV.

M. de Laborde aptly said of Le Vau's predecessor, Lemercier, that he showed in the building of the Sorbonne "qu'il savait inventer, dans le Louvre qu'il savait respecter."[2] Le Vau was less happy than Lemercier in that he was forced by the king to destroy in the Louvre what he would fain have respected; just as, at an earlier date, he had been forced to destroy in the Tuileries the spiral staircase of Delorme, a triumph of construction, by the same royal order. At Versailles, however, Le Vau suddenly obtained some small compensation. In 1669 Colbert had spoken of the building of Versailles as a matter not absolutely settled; he had informed his Council that the Tuileries and Louvre must be finished, had gone into minute questions connected with the great staircase, the colonnade, the attic, and had even considered the rebuilding of neighbouring houses; but, as to Versailles, he only suggested that "a definite understanding should be come to in respect of the plans and designs of the additions to be made." [3]

[1] "Description de Paris," ed. 1698, vol. i. p. 26.

[2] "De l'Union des Arts," vol. i. p. 99.

[3] "Lettres et Insts.," vol. ii. p. ccx. These plans are now in the Cabinet des Estampes.

Up to this date he had succeeded in staving off anything more than some slight alterations in the wings of the "petit château,"[1] as the pleasure-house of Louis XIII. was popularly named, but even as he spoke the future of Versailles was determined; the king decided to make additions sufficient to house himself and his Council for many days whenever it suited him; and the château forthwith had to be transformed into a royal palace. Then it was that Le Vau, forced to abandon the Louvre to Perrault, was called to make plans for Versailles[2]—plans by which he had hoped to justify the reputation he had won at Vaux le Vicomte as the architect of Fouquet; but an ill fate pursued him, and even as they were taking shape he died.

Now, the informal Committee of Works had continued to act satisfactorily as long as Le Vau was alive; his authority had always been sufficient to settle vexed questions of practical detail, but there was no one to replace him. Neither his son nor his son-in-law, François Dorbay—to whose superintendence the plans for Versailles were necessarily entrusted—was a man of sufficient standing to take his place.[3] Colbert therefore largely increased his committee, calling to his aid Libéral Bruand, the builder of the Invalides and of Richmond Palace, Pierre Gittard, Antoine Lepaultre, and Pierre Mignard, whose task it was to supervise the sculptors employed in the royal palaces, just as Le Brun directed all the painters and decorators. To these were added François Blondel,[4] as lecturer, and Félibien des

[1] Dussieux, "Château de Versailles," vol. i. p. 90.

[2] For plans of the Louvre and Versailles see J. F. Blondel, "Arch. Fran. Recueil," etc., vol. iv., Paris, 1756.

[3] He was made also Garde des Antiques in 1673. O.* 1053. Arch. Nat.

[4] Diplomatist and mathematician, having great theoretical and some practical knowledge of architecture, author of "Cours d'Architecture," etc.

Avaux, to fulfil the same duties which he already discharged, as Secretary to the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture. The next step was to set aside part of the gallery of the Palais Royal for the Thursday meetings of the committee, which was formally installed on the 31st day of December, 1671, and recognised as the "Académie des Architectes du Roy."[1]

As we turn over the leaves of the old registers of the proceedings, now preserved in the library of the Institute, our first impression is, that this Academy, so far from serving any practical end, spent most of its time in useless discussions. Debates on propositions such as that "Toutes choses faites de bon goust doivent nécessairement plaire, mais qu'il y a plusieurs choses qui peuvent plaire qu'on ne peut pas pour cela dire de bon goust," are diversified by much reading of Vitruvius, Serlio, Scamozzi and Battista Alberti. One asks oneself how is it that the Society came to fail so completely of its high purpose? True, as the days go on, the reading serves chiefly as a text for the examination of professional problems, and even these are not discussed merely in the air; but it is comparatively rare to find the Academicians holding council over difficulties regarding public works actually in progress.

Up till the death of Colbert in 1683 the members took a certain share in the decision of questions concerning the Louvre. In June, 1674, they approved Perrault's proposal to suppress some details in the pediment; in March, 1677, his designs for the attic were submitted to them; in January, 1679, they inspected models of the west front in order to determine the proper elevation of the wings, each man being desired to send his opinion to Colbert privately. But at this date all hope

[1] See Appendix VIII., "Registre de l'Acad. d'Arch."

of the completion of the palace must have been given up, for in 1672 Colbert had been reduced to add in a note to the Budget of Expenditure, "il faut mettre le Louvre en état de ne pas perir,"[1] and although the Colonnade was carried so far that in 1676 the two enormous blocks, each fifty feet long, quarried at Meudon, were raised with infinite pains on the cornice of the central pediment, the works continued to languish as if every one's patience had been exhausted by the effort, till with the death of Colbert they came wholly to a standstill, remaining in a state of such utter neglect that Bachaumont, writing seventy years later, notes that "ces nouvelles parties . . . ne sont ni achevées ni couvertes."[2]

If the share of the Academy in the completion of the Louvre was little, the part it played in the building of Versailles was still less. Shortly after Le Vau's death, at the sitting of March, 1672, the "assemblée des architectes nommés par le roy," deliberated as to the disposition of certain pilasters near the entrance to the great court, and other matters in connection with his plans; but, after this for several years, the Academy hears no more of Versailles. Not, indeed, until the moment at which the château, as rehandled on Le Vau's plans, was almost complete (20th May, 1674), were the members again taken into council, and then only concerning points of interior decoration.

The old château of Louis XIII. stood, when Le Vau was called to remodel it, between court and garden, its wings extending along the court on the north and south. Le Vau, faithful to the traditions which had guided him in dealing with the Louvre, respected the "little château," isolating it from his own work, except on

[1] Clément, "Hist. de Colbert," ed. 1846, chap. xvii. p. 340.
[2] "Essai sur l'Architecture," p. 81, ed. 1751.

the west or garden front—this front he carried on to right and left, throwing out two other wings north and south, which were separated by open courts, lying on either side of the central Cour de Marbre. In this way he preserved the older wings of the château, which gave much grace and lightness to the general aspect; and on the east, where the new buildings were extended up to the offices of Louis XIII., they were also connected with the old hunting lodge, portions of which may still be detected behind the Galerie des Glaces, and in the great corridor. Violently opposed by Perrault's party, who were anxious to give the doctor the opportunity for another colonnade,[1] Le Vau found an unexpected supporter in the king himself, for a too great persistency in suggesting that the château was so ruinous that it must be pulled down, irritated him into peremptorily declaring that it should stand. "Pull it down if you like, but if you do, it shall be rebuilt stone for stone."[2] An outburst of temper which is popularly set down to filial piety, but if filial piety was the cause, then it is odd to find a little later that the chapel of Louis XIII. was sacrificed without protest by Mansard, to the wardrobe of his son.

Jean Hardouin Mansard, on being called to Versailles, was not in the least inclined to begin discussions with the Board of Works, or to refer difficulties to the judgment of his brother Academicians. "He was," says St. Simon, "a well-made handsome man of the scum of the people, with much mother wit, wholly applied to

[1] The doctor's plans filled two vols., "Dessins d'Architecture pour le Louvre et Versailles, etc.," par Claude Perrault. Sold by Charles Perrault to the Crown (together with "Registre du Conseil des Bts." now in Arch. Nat.), and after various vicissitudes burnt in the Louvre, 1871. Cited by Piganiol; and by Blondel, vol. iv. pp. 4, 48, *et seq.*

[2] Mém., pp. 161, 162. "Lettres et Insts.," vol. v. p. 266.

the art of pleasing, but unpurged from the grossness contracted in his origin. Hodman, stone-cutter, mason, pointer, he worked himself in with the great Mansard . . . who tried to train him and make something of him. He was thought to be his son. He called himself his nephew, and some time after his death (1666), took his name to give himself importance, in which he succeeded."[1] Nominated as an "architecte du roy" in 1675,[2] he soon found favour at Court, for though ridiculously inferior to the great François Mansard in originality and ability, he had just those gifts of facility and expedition which pleased Louis XIV.[3] The Versailles of Le Vau was then practically finished, although the noble *Degré des Ambassadeurs*[4] (destroyed by Louis XV.) and other portions of the interior were still in progress, but the Versailles of Le Vau was no sooner finished than it was condemned as too small. The vast additions, which the king impatiently demanded, Mansard instantly supplied, working with such rapidity that, in the space of a few years, he not only rehandled Versailles, but called into being those typical creations of the day, Marly, Trianon, and Clagny. The great wing was thrown out on the south and tacked on to the château by building along the *Cour des Princes* (1679–81); the terrace of Le Vau on the west became the *Galerie des Glaces* (1679), a new and lofty chapel arose on the north (1681–2),[5] and within five years from the commencement of the reign of Mansard, Louis XIV. began to make the palace his habitual residence. Throughout all these alterations the

[1] St. Simon, Mémoires, ed. 1873, vol. v. pp. 459, 460.
[2] See "Registre de l'Acad. d'Arch." Appendix VIII.
[3] "Journal de Dangeau," April 3rd, 1685.
[4] Finished in 1681, Dussieux, "Château de Versailles," vol. i. p. 99.
[5] Replaced by the present chapel in 1710.

little château was still respected; coming from the town, even to-day, and looking up the slope from the wide Place d'Armes, the eye travels over the vast area of the Great Court lined with statues, and beyond, again, across other courts of lessening size, till it rests on the small building which is enveloped in the immense palace of Louis XIV. Long and narrow, the new palace engulfs the old, and the toy-like red-brick building, daintily faced with pale buff stone, is lost at the end of the distant perspective.

Only twice, whilst he was carrying out this immense enterprise, did Mansard condescend to consult his fellows. In 1689, when it was nearly finished, he graciously allowed them to inspect his design for the chapel, just as he had previously[1] submitted to them the plans for the construction of the great north wing, the building of which destroyed Perrault's famous *Grotte de Thétis*[2] and the reservoirs of Louis XIII.; these plans being presented for inspection solely that the Academicians might save his time by arranging for their execution with the contractors "qui pourront se présenter." In like manner, Mansard's project for the entrance to the Hôtel de Noailles (1679) came before them, as well as that for the Dôme des Invalides (1689); but the points which he allowed them to consider were such as the proper depth of vaulting on walls of given dimensions, or the simplest construction for the roof he had ordered for the Town Hall of Arles.[3] His extraordinary favour with the king enabled Mansard to rule as dictator. "If any one had a house to build," says St. Simon, "he expected him to send for Mansard, just as an invalid was expected to send for Fagon." His salary was incessantly augmented, in spite of the pressing need for

[1] October 27th, 1684. [2] Mém., p. 157. [3] 1684.

economy; he was ennobled; was made, after Colbert's death, Intendant des Bâtiments (1684), Inspector-General (1691); and when Colbert de Villacerf, Louvois' creature, was forced to resign, Mansard obtained the coveted Surintendance, selling his post of Intendant to the younger Blondel,[1] whilst he kept his appointment of First Architect to the Crown. As Surintendant, the lustre which he contrived to give to his post, the account to which he turned the opportunities it afforded of private interviews with the king ("qu'il connoissoit en perfection"), were so great that at his death, in 1708, nobles intrigued for his succession, and the Duc d'Antin, the son of Louis XIV. and Madame de Montespan, only secured it through the active support of Madame de Maintenon.[2]

Under these conditions the credit and consequence of the Academy rapidly diminished, and its part, as far as regarded works undertaken for the Crown, was reduced to nothing. Cut off from the brilliant prospects which had glittered before their eyes when they first assembled, having had little to do with the Louvre and less with Versailles, with no more likelihood of being allowed by Mansard to share in the construction of the Place Vendôme than they had had of touching the Invalides under Libéral Bruand, the Academicians were forced to narrow their ambitions. They lectured to students, read amongst themselves, and welcomed applications for advice from private persons. Sometimes they furnished plans, sometimes surveyed their execution, or even acted as arbitrators in such professional disputes as a quarrel between the brothers Lepaultre,[3] or a difference between the Duc de Bouillon and his builder

[1] Dussieux, "Château de Versailles," vol. i. pp. 100, 101.
[2] "De l'Union des Arts," vol. i. p. 130.
[3] July 12th, 1677.

Vauban.[1] Occasionally even legal points, such as right of way, were brought before them for settlement.

Even the practical applications which they received were of such a nature as proves the truth of Colbert's remark that no one in France employed skilled workmen but the king. The Prince of Orange, indeed, requests plans for a palace (1685); but we hear next to nothing of building on an important scale by French nobles, and during fifteen years the most considerable projects brought before the Academy were designs for a hospital at Besançon (1673), for finishing the towers of Rennes Cathedral (1674), and for a Jesuit church at Caen (1682). For the most part their attention is occupied with matters no more considerable than a gateway at the Feuillants (1677), an altar for the Sorbonne (1681), or a chapel at St. Eustache (1682). Frequently advice is sought on points of a most elementary character: the Chapter of Beauvais (1676) have to be told that, until they can replace the leaden roof of their cathedral, they had better make a provisional framework of wood, and thatch it or cover it in with loose straw, and Chartres (1676) wishes to know if a man is obliged to prop up his neighbour's house when he is engaged in pulling down his own, the Academy being requested to take into account the fact that at Chartres all the houses are of wood.

As for matters of archæological interest they are rarely touched on. In February, 1678, at Perrault's instance, the drawing is examined of a triumphal arch, recently discovered at Reims;[2] and once they discuss the plans of some old work sent up from Troyes; but in

[1] May, 1688.

[2] The Porte de Mars, built by Agrippa in honour of Cæsar Augustus, now standing built into the walls of the city near the Porte de Laon.

each case the main interest is eminently practical; just as the one problem which engaged their whole attention throughout the course of that inspection of the ancient monuments of Paris and the neighbourhood, which they began by Colbert's orders in July, 1678, was—"How to render masonry durable?"[1]

Louvois, who, shortly after his accession to power,[2] made the most magnificent promises as to the importance and prosperity he intended to confer on the Academy of Architecture, ended, after a message concerning an "Arc de' Triomphe,"[3] and a request for advice on the scheme for carrying the Eure to Versailles,[4] with a series of consultations about repairs for broken-down bridges in various parts of France, which were carried on chiefly through Pierre Bulet, the architect of the Porte St. Martin, whom he had ordered them, in 1685, to receive of their company. As for the building of the Place Vendôme, the only trace left of the project in the councils of the Academy is that discussion on "grandes places," in which it is decided that they ought not to be occupied by the houses of private persons.

Suddenly this harmless society was surprised by the terrible announcement that Félibien had received a letter from M. de Villacerf; a letter as brief as it was conclusive: "Le roy," said the Surintendant, "m'a ordonné de faire cesser l'Académie d'Architecture; je vous prie d'en avertir M. de la Hire[5] affin qu'il n'enseigne plus, et MM. les Architectes affin qu'ils ne s'y trouvent plus."

The Academicians needed no explanation of this

[1] Printed *in extenso* by M. de Laborde, see "Revue de l'Architecture et Travaux Publics. C. Daly, année 1852." [2] 29th December, 1684.

[3] Jan. 12, 1685. See Registre, Appendix VIII.

[4] *Ibid.* Mars 2, 1685.

[5] La Hire had succeeded Blondel as professor and lecturer.

order. Louvois was dead, and with him had departed the energy which alone had supported the nation in the king's mistaken courses; discouragement had seized on the public mind; pushed hard by the allied forces of Europe, France had been forced to exchange the excitement of active warfare for the dull necessity of defence. Famine stalked the land; all trades languished; commerce was annihilated.[1] "Famines, floods, cattle plagues had afflicted a nation exhausted," says Forbonnais, "by twenty-two years of war and misery." To an administration overwhelmed with debt, even the small subvention due to the Academy of Architecture was a burden of which it was well to be rid. There was but one way of saving the prestige attaching to their titles and functions, and the members at once entreated to be allowed to meet and teach gratuitously. The desired permission was granted; but from this date their attendance became irregular, there were no more visits from Commissioners of Works, no more practical interest in their proceedings; sometimes Dorbay attends and reads Blondel's "Architecture" with Félibien, sometimes the register of these academic studies is sadly interrupted by the chronicle of deaths.

At the close of the reign, the great works with which Colbert had dreamed of endowing Paris under the auspices of the Academy of Architecture were represented by three triumphal arches,[2] the Invalides, the Observatory, the Louvre Colonnade, and the unfinished Place Vendôme; whilst, in the levelling of the *Butte des Moulins*[3] and in the piercing of a couple of avenues,

[1] See Fénélon's Letter, Œuvres, vol. iii. p. 443, ed. 1837.

[2] Porte St. Antoine, restored; Porte St. Denis, built by Blondel; and Porte St. Martin, built by his pupil, Pierre Bulet.

[3] Clément, "Hist. de Colbert," vol. ii. p. 221.

many noble monuments had been mercilessly destroyed as Gothic. There has been, it is said, great exaggeration as to the sums spent on Versailles and its dependencies; it is evident, too, that there can be no foundation for the popular story that the king burnt the accounts for very shame, for he spent as he ruled, by Divine right. Setting aside all fable and conjecture as to the cost of much that has escaped us, the figures that we have are startling enough. In vain Colbert strove to keep down by rigorous supervision the outgoings on works in progress,[1] and to prevent the losses incurred through the thefts of servants and dependants;[2] in vain he exacted incessant watchfulness from his subordinates in the attempt to check the frauds inevitable on the employment of thousands of workmen; the expenditure increased with every year. About £14,000,000 of our present money (165,000,000 liv.) are accounted for by the Board of Works under Louis XIV., and of that sum at least two-thirds went on Versailles and the dependent palaces of Trianon, Clagny, and St. Cyr; of the remaining third, half was absorbed by Marly, the Louvre, the Tuileries, and other royal palaces; Marly, that last caprice of the *Grand Monarque*, of which now only a few ruins remain, swallowing up 22,000,000 fr. reckoning at the present rate,[3] so that only a very small portion of the total was expended on works of any public utility such as the Invalides or that *Canal des deux Mers* from which

[1] His orders to Lefebvre, one of his inspectors at Versailles, were to rise at five o'clock to visit all the works, check the number of the 36,000 men employed, and be ready to answer questions on all points of detail. —"Lettres et Insts.," vol. v. p. 337.

[2] Petit, a controleur, reports in 1665 that when the Court left St. Germain the servants took even the locks off the doors. Dussieux, "Château de Versailles," note, vol. i. p. 103.

[3] Clément, "Hist. de Colbert," vol. ii. p. 207.

Riquet was called in the heat of his labours that he might scheme idle schemes for bringing the Loire to Versailles.[1]

	Liv.
Dépense totale de Versailles, Églises, Trianon, Clagny, Saint Cyr, la Machine de Marly, la Rivière d'Eure, Noisy, et les Moulineaux	81,151,414
Tableaux, étoffes, argenterie, antiques	6,386,774
Meubles et autres dépenses	13,000,000
Chapelle (construite de 1699 à 1710)	3,260,241
Autres dépenses de tout genre	13,000,000
Total pour Versailles et dépendances	116,798,429
Saint Germain	6,455,561
Marly (non-compris la machine qui figure à l'article Versailles)	4,501,279
[2] Fontainebleau	2,773,746
Chambord	1,225,701
Louvre et Tuileries (expenses on this stopped in 1679)	10,608,969
Arc de Triomphe de St. Antoine	513,755
Observatoire de Paris (construit de 1667 à 1672)	725,174
Hôtel Royal et Église des Invalides	1,710,332
Place Royale de l'Hôtel Vendosme (Louvois, 1687–99)	2,062,699
Le Val de Grace	3,000,000
Annonciades de Meulan	88,412
Canal des Deux Mers (non-compris ce qui a été fourni par les États de Languedoc)	7,736,555
Manufactures des Gobelins et de la Savonnerie	3,645,943
Manufactures établies en plusieurs villes	1,707,990
Pensions et gratifications aux gens de lettres	1,979,970
	[3] 165,534,515

The fact that the king never put a check to the sums he spent on himself enables us at least to take

[1] "Mém. de Perrault," p. 146.

[2] Fontainebleau—a good deal going on, 1639–42. Extracts from "C. des Bts.," 1639–43. Müntz et Molinier, 1886.

[3] Calculated by Clément, "Lettres et Insts.," vol. i. p. cli., to represent 350,000,000 of modern French money. See also "Hist. de Colbert," note, vol. ii. pp. 207 and 210. Eckhardt calculated Versailles at 116,238,893 liv., equivalent, according to him, to (in 1834) 500,000,000 f. See "Etats au vrai de toutes les sommes employées par Louis XIV. à Versailles, Marly, et dépendances; au Louvre, Tuileries, Canal de Languedoc, secours, etc." Eckhardt, Versailles, 1836.

his palaces as the complete expression of his mind; the love of size and the love of ornament which they betray corresponded with that passion for show and effect which was ingrained in his intensely theatrical nature. The pleasant graces which entice the eye to the dwellings of the Renaissance were born of individual fancy, and contrast with that vanity of display which, growing steadily throughout the Grand Siècle, replaced variety of interest by a monotonous pomp. The change had in truth begun before King Louis was born; it was inaugurated by the construction of the *Place Royale* (1615), when the historic *Palais des Tournelles* was razed to the ground to open up its spacious square, and the demolitions of Sully began to impart to the physiognomy of Paris that prosaic aspect which, heightened by the improvements of successive reigns, was finally brought to perfection by the Prefects of the Second Empire.

The *Place Royale* set the fashion of erecting rows of buildings consisting of houses built on a symmetrical plan, regardless of the possibly different tastes and occupations of their inhabitants. "They stand," says Michelet, "like men in the mines of Siberia, distinguished from each other only by their number;" and Germain Brice notes the commonness, the clumsiness of its aspect. The houses round this Place are, he says, "d'une symmétrie égale mais assez grossière."[1] A further triumph of regularity at the expense of variety and originality of purpose was proclaimed by the Luxembourg, built by Jacques Desbrosses[2] for Marie de Médicis; and the abuse

[1] "Description de Paris," ed. 1713, vol. ii. p. 62.

[2] Jacques Desbrosses built also the Portal of St. Germain, pronounced by Perrault to be "one of the most beautiful buildings of the last hundred years."—"Ordonnance des Cinq Espèces de Colonnes," Paris, 1683, p. 117.

of rustication on wall and pillar, probably intended to recall the Florentine palaces of the queen's youth, adds to the general appearance of heaviness from which not all the skill of the architect, displayed in the bold and simple distribution of the masses, can redeem the building.

This same heaviness, which M. de Laborde fancies to have been dispelled by the gracious influence of Poussin's stay in Paris,[1] prevails even in the best work of François Mansard, whose Château de Maisons, like the north front of the Louvre,[2] marks the period when the architecture of the day became settled in style. The Colonnade of Perrault is heavy; heavier still the aspect of that Palace of Versailles whose dimensions "are unsurpassed by any other, either of ancient or modern times."[3] This impression of dulness, of heaviness, of commonness even, is heightened when as at Versailles colossal size is combined with profusion of ornament. Colossal size demands simplicity of treatment, perfection of proportion, and King Louis hated the one and could not understand the other. He had no perception of constructive beauty, and could see no merit in work which, like the north front of the Louvre, was practically without ornament, and relied for effect on the happy disposition of its masses and window openings. His love of decoration had been fostered by Bernini's visit; and the vases and trophies which originally crowned the balustrade above the attic of Versailles, show how Mansard borrowed from the Italian's plans for the Louvre, decorative features which had commended themselves to the king's approval. Shorn of these

[1] "Le Palais Mazarin," quatrième lettre, Les Hôtels de Paris.

[2] Begun by Lemercier and finished on his lines by Le Vau and Dorbay.

[3] Fergusson's "Modern Architecture," p. 233.

additions the elevation of the garden front has lost, it is said, its proper effect; and it is clear that throughout the building, all considerations of style were sacrificed to the display of ornament, much of which, owing to the gigantic size of the palace, seems sadly inefficient.

Walking on the deserted terraces, beneath the crumbling walls of Versailles, what is the message that comes to us from this ruin of royal things? What is left there to-day of the great king, and of that virtue excelling the virtue of all other kings in which Colbert would fain have believed? An empty pleasure house haunted by memories of lust, and insolence, and greedy self! A princely life at once so small of purpose and so great in place, was fitly housed in this mighty palace, great, not by the imperial gifts of space and height, but by a gigantic accumulation of littleness. This, then, is that yard of Versailles with which Colbert threatened King Louis that he should at last be measured.

CHAPTER IV.

THE ROYAL ACADEMY OF PAINTING AND SCULPTURE —THE MAÎTRISE—ERRARD—LE BRUN.

THE Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture played a far more important part in the organisation of the vast works carried out during the Grand Siècle than did the Academy of Architecture. Necessarily so, for building had come to be regarded merely as a vehicle for decoration, and to win familiarity with the difficult beauties of proportion and construction, of balance and symmetry, has always required more court than any minds except those of rare constitution have been willing to pay.

The circumstances which led to the foundation of this society were precisely similar to those which in every other direction heralded the coming of the modern era. The battle between the new Academy and the ancient guild of painters, sculptors, and gilders, was fought out during the seventeenth century, with hostility as bitter as that which marked the great war between Richelieu and the princes of France. The incidents of the struggle were less picturesque, but the interests at stake were equally weighty, for the triumph of the Academy determined the future of France as a commercial nation, and

largely contributed to the brilliant prosperity of her industrial undertakings.

The feudal system had pressed heavily not only on the artisan, but on every class of the community. The guilds, which had in their origin done good service by enabling the producer to make head against seigneurial oppression, grew to exercise a cruel and vexatious tyranny over the poorer workmen, whilst at the same time they became in the highest degree burdensome to the consumer. "These rules," says the edict of Charles V. concerning the tailors (1356), "were made in the interest of each trade rather than for the common good."[1] It had already become evident that the action of the corporations, by limiting the number of skilled workmen—since no one who had not, at much expense, been received by them could exercise his calling—was prejudicial to the public, inasmuch as "the more skilled artisans there are, so much the cheaper will be the articles produced;"[2] and this which was said of the tailors applied in truth to the members of all the other trades.

The pretensions of the corporations greatly increased under Louis XI.,[3] who looked to them for political support; and they were vigorously maintained throughout the sixteenth century in the teeth of growing opposition and dislike. Concessions were sometimes made by the government to their adversaries, partly by the granting of immunities for special causes, and partly by the exercise of extreme tolerance in applying to workmen laws enacted in the interest of those who claimed

[1] Valleroux, "Corporation d'Arts et Métiers," p. 79. [2] Edict, 1597.

[3] Some of the statutes renewed in 1464 and 1467 restricted admission to mastership to the sons of *maîtres* (Valleroux, "Corporation d'Arts et Métiers," p. 82).

jurisdiction over them. The main tendency of the royal power was, however, rather to identify its authority with that of the corporations, making use of their organisation for fiscal and other purposes, whilst granting in return for these services such concessions of privilege that by degrees the right to work became throughout France the monopoly in every trade of a close corporation.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century no body of skilled artisans were in a more difficult and distressful position than the painters and sculptors of Paris. Oppressed by the incessant and annoying interference of the corporation of *peintres-ymagiers*, they were ready to sell themselves to government in exchange for any measure of reasonable protection. The *maitrise* claimed absolute authority over all artists not exercising their calling within the precincts of royal palaces under license of a *brevet du roi*. The privileges of the corporation, which had been less boldly maintained during the troubles which marked the reigns of the Valois and the close of the sixteenth century, were persistently reasserted under Henri IV. and Sully as soon as a more settled order prevailed; but the legal judgments given in their favour were often successfully evaded by the brevet-holders, and consequently in 1619 matters came to a crisis, and the *maîtrise* once more appealed directly to the Crown.

In this appeal the guild of master painters asserted their exclusive right not only of producing but of selling works of art. They forbade the holder of a *brevet* from working even in the house of a master until he had complied with the rules of their corporation, and concluded by demanding increased authority over their own apprentices. A long struggle ensued, till in 1622 the

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master painters actually obtained the royal assent to their demands, and all artists in Paris would have lain at their mercy had not the brevet-holders pertinaciously opposed the registration of the Act. For seventeen years they carried on the war by a series of ingenious legal delays till, in 1639, all means of resistance being exhausted, the letters patent granted in 1622 were duly registered, and the corporation, inspirited by their triumph, began immediately to put forth fresh pretensions.

In 1646, when the follies and disorders of the Fronde were at their height, the corporation seized the occasion to make a violent onslaught on all the holders of *brevets*. At this moment the precincts of the Court were no longer a stronghold whence the attacks of the guild of master painters could be successfully repelled, and it was necessary to seek other means of safety. The existence of the Académie Française, and the emoluments and immunities conferred on its members, probably suggested to the persecuted brevet-holders the possibility of obtaining for themselves equal protection, if not equal privileges. In 1648, therefore, they enrolled themselves in a self-constituted society,[1] and entered on negotiations with the view of obtaining the countenance of the Crown, which, after many difficulties, they carried to a successful issue.[2]

Various attempts were now made to conciliate the

[1] See "Statuts et Réglements de l'Académie," Fév. 1648, and "Lettres Patentes," O.[1] 1056, "Arch. Nat."

[2] See "*Requête* to Queen in Council," by M. de Charmois, January, 1648, and "Arrêt du Conseil d'Estat; portant deffences aux maîtres jurés, peintres et sculpteurs de donner aucun trouble ou empeschement aux Peintres et Sculpteurs de l'Académie en quelque sorte et manière que ce soit à peine de deux mille livres d'amende." O.[1] 1056, "Arch. Nat." Vitet, "Acad. Roy.," pp. 195, 208, *et seq.*

old corporation, and in 1651 a junction was actually effected between the young Academy and the *maîtrise;*[1] but irreconcilable differences arose, and at last an open breach took place. The masters, who, it must not be forgotten, counted amongst their number men of no mean talents, were animated by a spirit of independence which rendered them averse to any compromise, and ensured the failure of any attempt at union which involved the abdication of their long-established supremacy. For nearly three centuries their body had possessed complete legal control, not only over all artists, but over all the trades in which carving, painting, or even gilding played a part. They had maintained an active police, entering houses and workshops, and forcibly interfering with the labour of all those who either did not acknowledge their jurisdiction or had infringed the most trifling of their regulations. Thus they not only formed an organisation as obnoxious to the centralising tendencies of the day as the consistories of the Huguenots or the Parliament of Paris itself, but it was impossible that they should tamely accept the innovations and pretensions of a younger society aspiring to lead the way in the path of reform. Open hostilities immediately followed the breakdown of the junction.

The Academy, having drawn up a new code of rules and obtained the protection of Mazarin,[2] made a determined stand, and thenceforth the struggle between them and their opponents followed its natural course, modified only by the changes in the political situation. When Mazarin seemed likely to be driven from power the masters became threatening; when the authority of

[1] "Articles pour la Jonction," O.[1] 1056. "Arch. Nat." Vitet, "Acad. Roy.," ch. iii. "Hist. de l'Acad.," Montaiglon, vol. i. p. 17.

[2] *Ibid.* pp. 165, 166, 173–7.

the Crown was re-established the Academy recovered courage.

Foredoomed to failure, the members of the old guild fought tenaciously, raising their claims the higher as it became the more certain that they would never be gratified. In vain did the more prudent, like Laurent Magnier, entreat them to reform; they persisted in their foolish courses, and, like other corporations of more recent date, brought themselves into disrepute by reckless expenditure on eating and drinking.[1] If, however, we remember that these men were the sons of those who built the cathedrals of France; the sons of those to whom she owed the enamels, the painted glass, the pictured books, and all the lovely household art of the Renaissance; their struggle—even in all its obscure windings and all its spiteful jealousies—wins from us something like pity and reverence: the pity and the reverence to be accorded to those who at their own peril hold to the forms of a dying creed, nor see that its grace departs at the touch by which they would fain protect it.

The battle, apparently doubtful, was in reality carried on against adverse fates. Colbert, in determining the general lines of his industrial policy, had been led to examine into the situation of the Academy. Always inclined to exaggerate the power of legislation in respect to the development of commerce, he had resolved actively to control and support the organisations of the various arts and trades;[2] and, just as he was bent on reducing the fiscal system to one uniform method throughout the provinces of France, even so he determined on bringing the various guilds to accept a

[1] M. I. vol. i. p. 417.

[2] Neymark, "Colbert et son Temps," vol. i. pp. 268–272.

single code of regulations for each art or trade—a code which in every instance was to embody enactments far more stringent, as well as wider in scope, than those which had been in force of old.[1]

In the case of the painters and sculptors, Colbert had to choose between the Academy and the *maîtrise*, and his choice would not be doubtful. On the one hand, he found the masters bent on maintaining an insolent independence ; on the other, a body of men equal if not superior in ability, of bolder views, of greater energy, panting for official position and official support, ready to give any pledges and assume any duties in return for his gracious countenance and protection. Le Brun, the mouthpiece of the Academy, might have urged in vain the good example set by Italian princes in the encouragement of the arts,[2] had he not been able to enforce his arguments by an appeal to the interests of French industry and the pressing needs of those branches of foreign manufacture which he knew Colbert to be anxious to naturalise in France. The sturdy masters, who kept shop with their bands of lusty apprentices, were therefore set aside for those in whom Colbert discerned tools more fitting to his hand and purpose, and in their place arose the Academicians — the associates of wits and men of letters, not unwelcome even at Court, but slavishly bound to the strict performance of services to the State, such as their rivals, bred in traditions which they obstinately refused to modify, were incapable of rendering.

Secretly and speedily Colbert[3] and Le Brun elaborated new statutes and regulations, which, whilst entirely

[1] Valleroux, " Corporations d'Arts et Métiers," p. 97.

[2] Statuts et Réglements IV., "Procès-Verbaux," vol. i. p. 8.

[3] Elected Vice-Protector in 1661.

liberating the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture from all fear of the *maîtrise*, placed that body wholly in dependence on the Crown. These statutes were finally confirmed by the Parliament of Paris on the 14th May, 1664,[1] and this event was so decisive of the fortunes of the Academy, which thenceforth stood in direct connection with the Board of Works, and discharged the functions of a State department, that it is always styled the "Grande Restauration," as marking the moment when its history, so to speak, ceases to be a matter of mere private interest, since it becomes inseparably connected with the work of government in France.

At this critical juncture fortune also gave her timely aid; for the death of M. Antoine Ratabon, Chief Commissioner of Works and Director of the rising Academy, who had been but an unworthy successor to Sublet des Noyers, enabled Colbert to take the Board of Works into his own hands, whilst securing the appointment of Le Brun to an office of which he had long enjoyed the secret power.[2] No time was now lost in working out a systematic organisation. Le Brun, who had skilfully kept himself clear from all the compromising disasters of the junction, came boldly to the front. The administration of public works, of the royal galleries and collections, and of all provincial academies and schools, was centralised under the direction of the Academy, whilst to the Director was entrusted not only the government of the Academy itself, but the practical

[1] This confirmation was preceded by: "Arrêt du parlement pour vérification du brevêt," 28 Dec., 1654. "Arrêt renvoyant brevêts et ordonnant aux peintres du roi de se joindre," 8 Fev., 1663. "Lettres patentes pour approbation des Statuts," Oct., 1663. "Les Statuts," 24 Dec., 1663. "Arrêt du parlement pour vérification des lettres patentes du Dec., 1663," 14 Mai, 1664. See O.[1] 1056. "Arch. Nat."

[2] "Hist. de l'Acad.," Montaiglon, vol. ii. pp. 111–119, and p. 138.

control of all branches of industry which demanded the co-operation of art.[1] The great majority of the members, recognising the value of his services and the force of his character, gave to Le Brun their hearty support, whilst the party which for a time had put forward the claims of Charles Errard, Ratabon's natural son, was reduced to acquiescence in his supremacy. Assembling the whole body at his lodgings in the Gobelins, Le Brun celebrated the occasion by a "magnificent dinner" at which no expense was spared to render it worthy of their common triumph.[2]

The opposition with which the masters had met the first establishment of the new corporation, the pretensions by which they had made the junction a source of fruitless vexation, the irritating persecutions by which they had tried to assert their authority, recoiled heavily on themselves. The Académy, which in 1648 had only sought to be delivered from the tyranny of the masters, now claimed in turn the privileges of the oppressor; that liberty which it had demanded for itself it now denied to others; and by royal decree the right to teach and lecture publicly was reserved to members of the new corporation, and all outsiders, no matter what their condition or quality, were strictly forbidden to establish life classes either for sculpture or painting.[3]

Within its own lines the Academy was, however, extremely liberal. Pupils of inferior ability who failed to reach the rank of Academicians were allowed to reckon the years of study passed in the schools in the

[1] "Hist. de l'Acad.," Montaiglon, vol. ii. p. 75.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 138.

[3] Vitet, "Acad. Roy.," p. 241; and "Hist. de l'Acad.," Montaiglon, vol. ii. p. 144.

place of the apprenticeship required by the statutes of the *maîtrises* in the various cities of the realm.[1] The number of Academicians was practically unlimited; any painter, sculptor, or engraver,[2] who fulfilled certain easy conditions,[3] received a certificate[4] and became at once an "Académiste," and was admitted to all the deliberations of the society, although not permitted to vote. The right to be present at private meetings, to take part in the yearly exhibitions, together with freedom to exercise their calling, were indeed almost the only advantages enjoyed by those Academicians who were not on the list of officials. The special advantages — such as exemption from taxation—granted by the Crown to forty of their number,[5] went in the first place to those actually filling some post in connection either with the teaching or the business of the society.[6] As for the salaries which these chief officers were supposed to receive, it seems more than doubtful whether any large proportion of them ever went into their own pockets. The expenses of the school were so great that they always exceeded the sum allotted for its maintenance and left a deficit, which the Academy had of course to make good.[7]

Nor were these the only heavy responsibilities from which the main body of Academicians wholly escaped. Various duties were incumbent on the holders of official posts, to the punctual discharge of which Colbert

[1] "Hist. de l'Acad.," Montaiglon, vol. ii. p. 112.

[2] P. V., vol. i. p. 258.

[3] Applicants had to produce a certificate of good conduct, a diploma work, and to pass a *vivâ voce* examination. *Ibid.* pp. 192, 256.

[4] Rule xxii. Rules of 1664.

[5] By the settlement of 1655 to thirty, but their privileges were only made valid in 1664. P. V., vol. i. p. 257.

[6] *Ibid.* p. 277, and Appendix IV., Priv. of Acad., Statutes of 1664.

[7] *Ibid.* vol. ii. pp. 52, 76.

attached great importance. Any slackness in their fulfilment was invariably made an excuse for the imposition of further obligations. If the Academicians begged to be let off holding yearly exhibitions,[1] he replied: "Very well, they shall be biennial, but I shall attend, and you must lecture before me on the works sent in." If they complained that to draw up reports of their own discussions was a task for which they had neither time nor patience, he instantly saddled them with a secretary,[2] whilst insisting that their discussions should be better worth reporting. If the delivery of the monthly lectures in the Academy became irregular, he insisted that twelve more should be given yearly on the paintings in the royal galleries;[3] and whenever these tasks became a weariness to the flesh, or professional engagements interfered with their punctual discharge, his chief clerk[4] would appear and utter such alarming threats as to the stoppage of allowances as goaded the unfortunate Academicians to fresh exertions.

Yet though unsparing in his exactions, Colbert showed no ungenerous care for the real interests of the society. Even their collections did not escape his watchful solicitude. The library from the first grew rapidly by the gifts of friends and members;[5] but casts from the antique had been less readily obtained. Colbert, therefore, not only ordered that splendid series of special casts, some of which, executed at Rome by the care of M. de Chantelou, are still amongst the ornaments of

[1] See Appendix VI. 3.

[2] Félibien des Avaux. P. V., vol. i. pp. 315, 324.

[3] Conf. de l'Acad., Félibien des Avaux, 1706. For royal collections, see Félibien's "Tableaux du Cabinet du Roy," and "Statues et Bustes Antiques des Maisons Royales."

[4] P. V., 31st August, 1669.

[5] *Ibid.* vol. i. pp. 270, 280, 325, 362; vol. ii. p. 139, etc.

the Louvre, but also authorised the Academy to take from the royal collections several valuable works of classic sculpture.[1] He descended even to the perpetually recurring difficulties of the life class,[2] and actually bestowed on the school "deux esclaves Turque," poor wretches, whom we are told "Monseigneur a faict venir des Galèr de Toulon pour servir de modelle lesquels la Compagnie a veu les ayant fait despouller."[3]

It is always a question how much the unconscious working of human forces, and how much the clear-insight of administrators and law-makers, may count for in the development of any great intellectual or social problem. If Colbert were, by his business instincts, eminently fitted to put the house of France in order, so was Le Brun a man made to rule in an epoch when art was destined to be the handmaid either of public use or public show. All that a strong intellect, backed by great physical powers, could yield was within his reach. Whether he was painting gigantic battle-pieces, or lecturing the members of the Academy, or drawing up a scheme of instruction for the workmen in royal factories, or designing fireworks for Vaux le Vicomte,[4] or works of sculpture for Versailles,[5] everything that he did was planned in an admirably sound and practical fashion; but we look in vain for any evidence of what we call "feeling." The elements of moral fervour which gave to the work of the Renaissance some of that power over the heart of man which is the rarest attribute of art, were extinct in France when Le Brun became the Director of the new Academy, but the

[1] P. V., vol. i. pp. 14, 366; also "Lettres de Poussin," p. 273.

[2] *Ibid.* pp. 355–6. [3] *Ibid.* p. 328.

[4] M. I., vol. i. p. 20. See also for the illuminations at Versailles in 1674, Dussieux, "Château de Versailles," vol. i. p. 73.

[5] M. I., vol. i. p. 28.

task which he fulfilled, the task of bringing into order and cohesion the traditions, teaching, and interests of French art, required no such stimulus for its apt performance.[1]

"Les premiers ouvrages," says Coypel, in running over a list of Le Brun's own work, "sont beaucoup plus piquants que les derniers, mais il ne faut s'en prendre qu'à la nécessité où il se trouvait de satisfaire le Prince et le Ministre." So pressing was this necessity, that Le Brun soon found that in order to maintain his credit and influence he was forced to spend much time in paying court not only to Colbert, but to all those in power. Little by little his example and the force of circumstances imposed the same obligation on all the other officers of the Academy, until it became, as we learn from the curious account given by d'Argenville in the life of Bon Boullogne, a daily occupation and tax. Boullogne, having set his pupils to work, went out, we are told, at nine in the morning, "pour faire sa cour aux Ministres," nor did he return till noon. Severe was the penalty paid for slackness in these observances, for the same writer, alluding to the poverty of Hallé, remarks that "had he only known how to pay his court to Ministers, his merits would certainly have procured him a pension." Nor was the loss of pensions and employment the only punishment incurred by such neglect; the subjection of the Academy grew to be so complete that they dared receive no one, however considerable his claims, if obnoxious to those in power. Louis Dorigny's reception, for example, was successfully prevented by a mere whisper to Mansard, then Chief Commissioner of Works, that he was the son of the man who had engraved the *Mansarade*,[2] a satirical

[1] De Laborde, "De l'Union des Arts," vol. i. p. 97.
[2] D'Argenville, "Vies des Peintres," vol. iv. p. 273.

print, which in 1651, three years before the birth of Louis, his father had published in ridicule of the tax on the fine arts then proposed by Mansard. Nor was the court which had to be paid to the great and powerful confined to mere empty homage. The extreme urgency displayed in exacting diploma works[1] was largely due to the necessity under which the Academy laboured of making presents to those from whom it obtained support. Mazarin, Séguier, Ratabon, the First-President Banville, and even Colbert himself, had to be propitiated in this fashion by gifts of no mean value.[2]

The tolls thus constantly levied were, however, but a minor portion of the tribute paid by the Academy to their patrons; the very constitution of the society underwent great modifications. For the certainty of employment, for the exclusive right of public teaching, and for the increase of pensions and privileges, the members bartered much of their early independence. The statutes of 1664 contained additions which if not numerous were important. In 1655, when the first allowance, or rather promise of an allowance, was made to the Academy by the Crown, it was agreed that all commissioners and sub-commissioners of works should be permitted to vote and even preside at the election of rectors;[3] but when pensions and allowances were increased at the *Grande Restauration*, this small concession was not considered sufficient. All the four rectors, whose election previously had been at least supposed to be determined by a majority of votes, became nominees of the Crown, the Academicians exercising only such indirect influence over their

[1] P. V., vol. i. pp. 261–274, etc.

[2] *Ibid.* pp. 111, 131, 140, 162, 360, 383, 387–8; vol. ii. pp. 12, 13, 105.

[3] Vitet, "Acad. Roy.," p. 230, rule 3.

selection as might arise from the agreement that they should be appointed from among the number of professors past or present, the choice of whom was still left in the hands of their brother artists.

Under this pressure the temper of the Academy speedily became as pliant as could be desired, and when the word was reluctantly given by Colbert in 1681 to turn out the Protestant members of their body, the Academy seconded the measure with an eagerness which contrasts with their treatment of such propositions at an earlier date. The masters, during the junction, had always tried to make capital out of the religious difficulty, and attempts were made to exclude from the higher offices all those who were of "la religion:"[1] these failing, a formal complaint was embodied in a statement of their case laid by them before the *Procureur du Roi au Chatelet.* In this document, drawn up probably shortly before the *Grande Restauration,* the Academicians are taxed with giving power to "un homme de la religion pretendue Refformée de faire prester le serment aux academistes catholiques soulz le tiltre de Secretaire de l'Academye dont les mœurs seront suspects."[2]

Yet, as far as we can see, no distinction was made between Catholics and Huguenots in the election to offices as long as the Academy was left to itself. In 1650, when Louis Testelin, the most generous and active of the original members, was received as professor, the post of secretary was conferred on his brother Henri, as staunch a Calvinist as himself.[3]

[1] P. V., vol. i. p. 93.

[2] Coll. Delamare, Police Reports, Fonds. 2791, Bibl. Nationale. This document, which is undated, is, I believe, hitherto unpublished. See Appendix I.

[3] P. V., vol. i. p. 33. See Preface to the "Hist. de l'Acad." attributed to H. Testelin. Montaiglon, Paris, 1853.

Sebastian Bourdon, a noted Huguenot, whose enemies had in early days driven him from Rome by threats of the Inquisition,[1] was one of their most distinguished rectors, and when Le Brun read over the list[2] of those whom the king ordered to recant or be deprived of their posts, besides the names of Henri Testelin and of L'Espagnandell, a well-known sculptor, we find those of no fewer than three keepers: Ferdinand, Besnard, and Rousseau—together with that of Michelin, one of the assistant professors.

All resigned; Testelin made up his mind to retire to the Hague and die in exile, only asking that a certificate might be given him that the cruel blow from which he suffered had been caused by no fault of his own, he having for thirty-three years faithfully and honourably discharged all his duties towards that body which he and his brother had been chiefly instrumental in creating. Yet after having been turned out as a Huguenot, he was insulted as a deserter and a fugitive![3] L'Espagnandell and Besnard, who seem to have had no resources, after struggling for a time abjured, and were again received as Academicians;[4] but D'Agard[5] (a painter not named in the first list), with Rousseau and Louis Cheron, took refuge in England, where they found employment from the Duke of Montagu, and the Academy having struck from off their books all these devoted names, demonstrated further zeal by setting as subjects for diploma pictures such themes as "Le Rétablissement de la Religion Catholique dans Strasbourg," "l'Hérésie terrassée," and

[1] M. I., vol. i. p. 89. [2] P. V., vol. ii. p. 198.
[3] P. V., vol. ii. pp. 197-8. Nouv. Arch. 1879, p. 134. See also Mem. ined. de Jean Rou (a Protestant assistant of Testelin). F. Waddington, 1857.
[4] P. V., vol. ii. p. 313. [5] *Ibid.* p. 215.

"Le Triomphe de l'Eglise," or by inventing, as in the case of Fontenay, the flower painter, little favouritisms for the encouragement of those who were "nouvellement convertiz à la foy Catholique." [1]

After this all semblance of independence disappeared, and the Academy continued to exist only as a highly-organised department of State. The system on which it was worked, though admirable in many of its results, by giving this peculiarly public and official character to the leading artists of the day, altered the private conditions of their lives, dictated to them their daily thoughts and cares, and changed the very quality of their work.

That which is expressively called "qualité intime" disappears from French art during the "Grand Siècle." It was impossible that a man living under the conditions of which we have now traced the growth, forced to give up the best hours of every day to the inexorable necessities of official ante-chambers, should produce work nourished by the more secret forces of his being. The noblest talents were brought to share in solicitation and intrigue, to perform daily homage to the powerful, to think continually, not of what they themselves would make with joy, or even of what the king might like to see, but rather always of what it would best become the ruler of France to possess.

Even the study of nature was carried on with an eye to courtly representation, and thus led to that choice of theatrical pose and movement, to that preference for the most striking effects both of composition and colour, which is characteristic of even the best art of that day. French eyes, which of old had been charmed by silver greys, soft blues, and jewel-like touches of scarlet, began to demand costly masses of ultramarine and such

[1] P. V., vol. ii. pp. 237, 241, 313, 325.

juxtaposition of other hues as might enhance their telling effect. Onward through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries rises the steady crescendo, till we come to that acme of not inharmonious riot for which David's pupils coined the verb "vanloter."

To those who care for no work in which they cannot find evidence of the continuous ripening of some deep passion and purpose, the magnificent productions of the age of Louis XIV. can bring little but disgust. We must go outside the circle within which centred the real movement of the day; we must turn to the etchings of Callot, who repudiated France; to the classic dreams of Poussin, who, like Descartes, lived in voluntary exile; to the intensely human portraits of Philippe de Champagne—the grave Fleming whom no letters of naturalisation could ever make a Frenchman; or to the modest canvases of the three brothers Lenain, if we wish to find something of that which it was necessary to sacrifice in order to carry out the splendid scheme inaugurated by Colbert and Le Brun.

The end imposed the means; the enormous influence over the whole field of national industry which the Academy acquired could not have been obtained at a lesser price. To judge the work done for France by these men and their chief we must look, in the first place, to the political importance of their enterprise, to the splendour and magnificence of the whole conception, and to the perfect fitness and finish of every detail. Everywhere we see signs of a marvellous promptitude of purpose and certainty in the calculation of desired effect, the outcome of a training exactly adapted to its ends. If, on close inspection, the "sublime style," which leaves its imprint on things great and small, seems like that of Bossuet's funeral discourses to have a

nobler show than substance; if, as Michelet wittily remarks, the "trumpet appears to have become the national instrument," it was at least an instrument most appropriate to the ceremonial of an ostentatious court. Stage effects were the object of every artist, and to his contemporaries Le Brun appeared, as he did to Lepicié, "our great poet in painting."

Up till 1793, in spite of the check received in 1694, when all the Academies were ordered to close their doors,[1] the huge machine performed its double functions with a regularity that was in itself majestic. Tasks of the humblest or the loftiest order were fulfilled with equal zeal and dignity. Academicians might one day be despatched to found great schools or direct great manufactures who were ordered to Marly the next and given tin leaves to paint and nail in the semblance of a hedge where stubborn nature had refused to grow the hornbeams ordered by the Grand Monarque.[2] But, no matter what the task of these royal servants, the same high standard of performance presided at its execution. And so widespread was the sense of the value of the Academy as a teaching power, that when the general crash came and it was suppressed in its academic capacity it was spared as an educational body. The École des Beaux Arts sprang in direct descent from that life class established with so much pains in the teeth of the angry masters and opened in February, 1648, by Le Brun.

Suppressed in 1793[3] as an Academy, the old society

[1] P. V., vol. iii. p. 141.

[2] D'Argenville, "Vies des Peintres," "Life of Blain de Fontenay," vol. iv. p. 283.

[3] The Procès-verbaux of the sittings were saved by Renou who became, on the suppression of the Academy, Secretary of the School. See "Dict. de l'Acad. des Beaux Arts." Paris, 1858.

lived on in the school, and the collections which had accumulated in the long course of years, the library, the casts, the diploma works,[1] and archives, naturally became the property of the school, which then also inherited and carried on the old traditions of academical training and accomplishment, which had been matured by so much self-abnegation and sacrifice. That training has always been based since the days of Le Brun on the "éternelle étude du modèle de l'école," with which reactionary writers from Diderot onwards have ever been ready to reproach it; but whilst we admit its insufficiency as an exclusive means of instruction, it is impossible to ignore the fact that the very antagonists of this system have owed to its method and discipline more than half their practical strength.

One result is plain—that is, whether lending its powers to express the pompous materialism of the epoch of Louis XIV., the frivolities of the age by which it was succeeded, the heroes of the Revolution, the romantic movement of the Restoration, the commonplace sentiment which flourished under Louis Philippe, the cosmopolitan interests and elegance of the Second Empire, or the so-called Realism of to-day, French art always preserves its characteristic excellence; no matter what the varied fluctuations of style and intention, all that it pretends to make—it makes well.

[1] See "Description des œuvres d'art dans les salles de l'Académie" (1715), Guérin. The Gallery of the Louvre has now carried off some of the most important of the diploma works, such as Watteau's "Embarquement pour Cythère;" others, less remarkable, have been drafted into provincial museums. Great importance was also attached from the first to the library. See P. V., vol. i. pp. 325, 362, vol. ii. p. 139; see also vol. i. p. 270, and M. I., vol. i. p. 76.

CHAPTER V.

THE ACADEMICAL SCHOOL.

"To pester the three great estates of the Empire about twenty or thirty students drawing after a man or a horse, appears, it must be acknowledged, foolish enough; but the real motive is, that a few bustling characters, who have access to people of rank, think that they can thus get a superiority over their brethren, be appointed to places and have salaries—as in France—for telling a lad when a leg or an arm is too long or too short."[1] When he wrote this, Hogarth had no idea that the painters of Paris had been driven "to pester the three great estates of the Empire" before they could get permission to tell a lad whether an arm or a leg was too long or too short! Training apprentices was far too profitable a monopoly for the masters to relinquish without a struggle, and on this grave question the quarrel between them and the members of the Academy hinged from the very beginning of troubles.

Every means of persecution, legal and illegal, was used to prevent students from attending the Academy school for "l'enseignement d'après le naturel," or systematic study from the living model. Defeated in their

[1] Hogarth, "Anecdotes of Himself," ed. 1833.

appeals to the arm of the law, the masters raised the cry of immorality; but the charm of novelty continued to work, the crowd continued to flock to the rooms in the Hôtel Clisson[1] in which the Academy class was held, and the masters seeing that one live model was an irresistible attraction, swallowed their scruples and opened a second "academy" with two. They christened themselves the Academy of St. Luke, and elected Simon Vouet their "Prince" on the undertaking that he would superintend the life-class; but Vouet was ill; after placing the model once or twice he left the pupils to their own devices, and his death, which happened shortly after, put an end to the hope that he would some day return and reinvigorate their languishing studies.

One by one the neglected lads returned to the Academy,[2] which was on the point of closing its doors; but the return of the students could not restore its broken fortunes, for having no funds, the members were unable to imitate the generosity of the wealthy masters and keep up a life-class gratis.[3] The maintenance of the model was a serious question, for the fees of the students were insufficient to cover his wages, and these, as well as all other expenses, had to be paid by the Academy. Recourse was had, therefore, to all sorts of expedients; the Academicians taxed themselves,[4] with the result that Sarrazin, one of the ablest of their number, had to

[1] The Academy had early been forced to seek a more spacious lodging than that near the church of St. Eustache, which had been found for them by the generosity of their early patron, M. de Charmois.

[2] The monthly receipts from fees suddenly doubled. December, 1650. P. V., vol. i. pp. 38–9.

[3] The lessons in perspective by A. Bosse, in anatomy by the friendly surgeon Quatrousse, had always been given gratis, and it was from the first enacted that whenever the king paid for the model that class also should be free.

[4] March, 1648.

leave them avowedly on this account; they doubled the charge to students, they asked the model to take the fees, but all in vain. The vicissitudes of the attempted coalition[1] with the *maîtrise* further disturbed the finances, and many[2] Academicians, finding they could not attend and teach without being out of pocket, became shy of fulfilling their duties.

Heroic efforts were made by the Protestant secretary, Louis Testelin, to keep the class going at his own expense; but if the model arrived there were no teachers, if the teachers attended there were no students, if the students assembled there was no model, "Girar" finding it not worth while for the "peu d'escoliers qu'il y a." A change was made, and on March 3rd, 1657, we find the pathetic entry: "Charlle le modelle," Girar's successor, "a manqué plusieurs fois." Their place of meeting was equally uncertain; no sooner had they put in order the rooms assigned them in the Louvre than they had notice to quit,[3] and were forced to spend some years in lodgings in the Rue de Richelieu, whilst waiting again for temporary quarters in the Palais Royal.

It was impossible for a school carried on under these conditions to be efficient. The teaching had long become a matter of complaint, for it was so difficult to induce competent men to give their time regularly, that great laxity crept into the choice of those appointed as professors.[4] The students, justly discontented, rebelled, under the leadership of a lad named Jean Friquet; and

[1] 1652.

[2] M. I., L. Testelin, vol. i. p. 221. P. V., January, 1654.

[3] P. V., vol. i. p. 110, *et seq.*, and "Hist. de l'Acad.," Montaiglon, vol. ii. pp. 59, 60.

[4] The arrangement was that for two hours every day, Sundays and holidays excepted, in winter from 3 till 5, in summer from 6 till 8, the "ansien" or professor for the month should preside and teach. P. V., vol. i. p. 8, Rule iv.

encouraged by the engraver, Abraham Bosse, who had a bitter quarrel with the Academy, which fills the pages of many now forgotten pamphlets, they set up a rival school of their own[1] in the *enclos* of St. Denis à la Charte. There they worked, placing the model and criticising each other in turn, till on November 2nd, 1662, they were suddenly dispersed by an order from Chancellor Séguier himself.

Against this decree the *pauvres estudiants* at once petitioned, pleading that the situation of the Academy was objectionable, inasmuch as poor students setting out on foot after seven o'clock, to return to such distant quarters as the Faubourgs St. Antoine, St. Victor, St. Jacques, or the Marais, did so at the peril of their lives, and making out also a very good case in the name of liberty of private study, which, however, they somewhat injured, being instigated by Bosse to add an inconsequent rider to the effect that the perspective lately taught in the Academy was nicely calculated to turn the mind away from the objects it should be led to comprehend.

The action of the students, however justifiable, was ill-timed; and Colbert, who had just brought Fouquet to the ground, was not likely to tolerate the revolt of a handful of mutinous lads against the authority of a body he had chosen to protect. The rebellious students were promptly forced on their knees, and at one and the same sitting (January 13th, 1663) the "académistes" received the humble submission of the deserters, and enjoyed the long-expected satisfaction of deliberating how they should employ the salaries and allowances promised to them by Colbert in the king's name.

On this memorable occasion Colbert not only

[1] P. V., vol. i. p. 197.

granted salaries to the officials, and an allowance for the life-class of the Academy, but he instituted a prize fund for the students by the employment of which the Academicians hoped to win over their refractory pupils. Le Brun also announced that Du Metz, Colbert's chief clerk, would give a gold watch and two gold medals as prizes for the three best drawings of "Moses Breaking the Tables of the Law;" [1] and Du Metz's example was speedily followed by another *personne curieuse*, whose good intentions were made known on the 14th July, when the Academy was sitting for the purpose of awarding the prizes in the preliminary competition for the *Grand Prix*.[2]

The details of the arrangements made for this competition are curious, not only because they contain the germ of a system pursued down to the present day, but also because from these small beginnings sprang that great institution, the School of France at Rome. The competition was divided into two stages, and in the first place drawings were sent in of the subject proposed.[3] That selected in 1663, as the first of the series to be continued every year on the "actions éroiques du roy," was an allegorical treatment of the taking of Dunkirk, the town figuring as Danaë, whilst Great Britain, in the guise of an old woman, gratefully received a shower of French gold from Jupiter—Louis XIV.[4] The acquisition of Dunkirk was the news of the day. Charles Perrault had been requested by Chapelain, at Colbert's instance, to compose some fine prose on this theme; but,

[1] These prizes fell to Meunier (M. I., vol. i. pp. 57–8), Corneille, and Friquet, all men who afterwards distinguished themselves.

[2] P. V., vol. i. p. 231.

[3] The expenses of these were paid out of class receipts, so as to keep all the Royal Fund for the trial competition. *Ibid.* p. 231.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 221.

despite the prompting of Le Brun, the students showed no great alacrity, and when June arrived, only a few "dessains et modelles" having been brought in of the subject, which had been given out in April, it was proclaimed that all those who had failed to enter for the preliminary should be shut out from the final competition.[1] Furthermore—moved probably quite as much by anger at this sluggishness on the part of the students as by the fear, openly expressed, that they would none of them be able, as yet, to produce anything worthy consideration—Academicians, and even all persons of age and discretion who attended the life-class, were invited to compete.[2] It is true that the title of Academician was very liberally bestowed, since all whose diploma work satisfied the rather moderate requirements of the Academy were at once allowed to take the oath and style themselves "académistes," so it is probable enough that the admission to the competition for the *Grand Prix* did not imply an influx of mature talent likely to prove a formidable obstacle to the success of "la jeunesse."

Perhaps the Academicians declined to take advantage of the invitation; perhaps on second thoughts the invitation was cancelled; at any rate we find, when the prescribed works were completed, and the prizes awarded, a year later, that all the threé successful competitors belonged to the student class. A curious ceremony took place when these works, after having been exhibited for a week at the Academy, were transferred to the students' class-room. They had to run the gauntlet of free criticism, and their authors were instructed to "soutenir leurs instanssions et résonner en présence du Professeur

[1] P. V., vol. i. p. 233.

[2] Not to deprive "la jeunesse du prix qu'elle esperoit," a second prize was restricted to the students. *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 209.

quy se treuvera." As an encouragement to those going through this ordeal, the prizes, consisting of three gold medals by Warin, were meanwhile hung up to view above the President's chair; for the presentation had been put off, in consequence of a hint that Colbert himself intended to be present; and the written awards, which had already been opened, were solemnly sealed up again for "l'ouvertur quy s'en fera en la présence de Monseigneur Colbert."[1]

On the 10th of September, 1664, this great ceremony took place. A minute, pointing out the five qualities to be esteemed in judging an historical picture, had been prepared for Colbert's guidance, but the document ended with "ce sont les sentiments de l'Académie, Monseigneur, qu'elle soumet à votre jugement." The prizes were awarded to Meunier, Corneille, and Roger, but, as each treated a different subject,[2] it would seem that the Academy had departed in more than one particular from their original programme,[3] and, whilst restricting the competition to pupils in their own school, had allowed considerable liberty in the choice of subject, provided only that it contained allusion to the "fais éroiques du roi." The prize, too, had become a matter of far greater consequence, for the medals awarded were presented by Colbert to Meunier, Corneille, and Roger, "en leur promestant que le Roy leur donnera panssion pour aller à Rome quand l'Académie le jugera apropos."

"This same travelling to Italy," says Hogarth,[4] "has, in several instances that I have seen, reduced the student from nature, and led him to paint marble

[1] P. V., vol. i. p. 265.

[2] Meunier, "The Golden Fleece;" Corneille, "Danaë;" and Roger, a bas-relief of Marsyas. P. V., vol. i. p. 266.

[3] *Ibid.*, Rule xxiv. p. 256.

[4] "Hogarth Anecdotes," ed. 1833.

figures, in which he has availed himself of the great works of antiquity as a coward does when he puts on the armour of an Alexander; for, with similar pretensions and similar vanity, the painter supposes he shall be adored as a second Raphael Urbino."

It was, however, no new thing for the Crown to pay the expenses of young artists studying in Italy. Michel Corneille, the elder brother of Jean-Baptiste, himself had been in receipt of a pension "pour lui donner moien de se rendre plus capable dans son art;" and as far back as 1618 we find Cristofle Cochet, a young sculptor, receiving an allowance for the same purpose.[1] Then, as always, it was far easier to obtain a nominal royal grant than to get it paid; and the difficulties of the boys in receipt of pensions were enhanced by spasmodic attempts to relieve the Treasury at their expense, when they would suddenly find, as in 1625, that their allowances, not originally calculated on too liberal a scale, had been reduced by a quarter, or even a half.[2]

The first winners of the *Grand Prix* fared no better; they had to wait for two years before they received their due. As early as November, 1664, the Academy had formally certified that Corneille and Meunier had both made such progress that they were fully fit to profit by study in Italy.[3] A few weeks later, Du Metz announced that, instantly on receipt of the certificates, orders had been given to hold ready the money required for the journey and maintenance of the students. Unfortunately at this very moment Colbert was deeply preoccupied by his great fiscal reforms, and by his attempt to regularise taxation in France.[4] It was

[1] Nouv. Arch. Châteaux Roy., 1872, p. 16.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 53.

[3] P. V., vol. i. pp. 271, 272.

[4] Clément, "Hist. de Colbert," vol. i. pp. 175, 292. See also chap. ii., ed. 1846.

probably due to this fact that the departure of the students was so long delayed ; they were not, however, wholly losers by their two years' waiting, for the scheme for their residence in Italy was greatly enlarged, and before they started had developed into the foundation of the School of France at Rome.[1]

The statutes of this new creation were read out, in the presence of the assembled Academicians, on March 26th, 1666, together with the names of the students "tant peintre que sculpteur et architecte retenus pour lad. Académie de Romme." After which, Charles Errard, the Academician who had been nominated Rector, took his leave, meaning to start upon his journey before the next meeting of the Company.[2] The Academy then formally recorded its desire for his success, and bidding Errard "God speed," commended to his care the little band selected to accompany him.

Errard had had private reasons for accepting a post which at an earlier date would not have satisfied his ambition. The death of his reputed father, Ratabon, had deprived him of the support which gave him consequence; and when Colbert, after his accession to power, called Le Brun to take a seat in the newly created Board of Works, Errard saw that he could never hope to acquire the ascendency.

The fate of Pierre Mignard was in evidence to show how far Colbert would go to maintain his authority. He had taken up Le Brun and was decided in crushing opposition. Therefore, when Mignard placed himself at the head of the brevet-holders in order to wage war on the Academy, Colbert sent him word, through

[1] P. V., vol. i. pp. 300, 301.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 301. Poussin had refused the post ("Mém. de Perrault," p. 62).

Perrault, that "if he persisted in disobedience, he should be made to quit the country,"[1] and though Mignard retorted with big words he felt obliged to take refuge with the *maîtres* in the Academy of St. Luke, and thenceforth set such a limit to his acts as enabled Colbert to ignore him.

Errard no more than Mignard was inclined to submit to the dictatorship of Le Brun, but Errard was too deeply committed to the Academy to hope to make his peace with the *maîtres*, amongst whom he would have again found himself constrained to take the second place, therefore, says his biographer, "il fît une retraite glorieuse et utile;" for having advocated the establishment of the Academy of France at Rome, he not only obtained the post of Director, but induced Colbert to pay down in full, before his departure, all the sums which had long been owing to him for work executed for the Crown.[2]

At Rome Errard did well. The school grew rapidly in importance, and his name was justly associated with its success. He seems to have had the power of inspiring his pupils with honourable emulation, "les jeunes peintres sous son inspection y faisaient à l'envi des copies des bons tableaux, et les jeunes sculpteurs en faisaient réciproquement des plus belles statues et des meilleurs bas-reliefs," thus realising that ideal course of study which the Academicians had laid before Bernini in 1665, "assavoir qu'avant d'estudier d'aprèz nature il faust remplire l'esprist des belles hidée de l'Antique."[3] Nor did his services stop with the inspection and direction of the students. In 1676, he all but brought about the junction of the Royal Academy with the

[1] "Vie de Pierre Mignard," by Monville.

[2] M. I., vol. i. pp. 81, 82.

[3] P. V., vol. i. p. 290.

Academy of St. Luke,[1] and took the casting of Trajan's Column, and many of the finest casts from the antique now in the Louvre were executed under his eye.

The exercises of the school at Rome were also turned to account for the instruction of the school in Paris. The first drawings done by the students under Errard's direction were laid before the Academy by Du Metz; then it was decided that the "envois de Rome" should always be publicly exhibited, but eventually they were made the occasion for a contest amongst the Paris pupils who discussed their merits in full conclave, "ou par éscrit ou de vive voix." [2]

Admission to the school, which had been at first so easy a matter that it was almost a mere question of fees, became far more difficult after the liberality of Colbert enabled the Academy to open the life-class free of charge; and the privileges which had been accorded to all holders of diplomas were gradually restricted by the regulations necessary to prevent too great pressure on the limited space at disposal. When the rights granted to the sons of masters during the junction[3] were cancelled in 1663,[4] an exception was made in favour of those whose fathers had died, from which it would seem that the Academy was still anxious to win over young recruits from the *maîtrise*. The children of Academicians, as well as all Academicians and persons of a certain age, and "de discretion considérable," were allowed also to profit by the royal subsidy to the fullest extent,[5] whilst the same privilege of free admission was also conferred each week on the six

[1] O.[1] 1056, "Arch. Nat.," for documents concerning this junction; also in Archives of Academy of St. Luke at Rome. See Appendix III.; also P. V., vol. ii. p. 89.

[2] P. V., vol. i. pp. 309, 338. [3] *Ibid.* p. 54. [4] *Ibid.* p. 223.

[5] *Ibid.* pp. 208–9.

students adjudged to have done the best in the week preceding, and half the payment required from outsiders was remitted to six others. In this way a certain amount of emulation was created, and some check put on "le trouble que les plus jeunes et qui ne sont poin capable de proffiter en ceste étude ont accoutumé de faire."

From these regulations it must be inferred that the Academicians, though they had the right of free entry for themselves and their children, were unable to pass in any of the student-pupils whom to the number of six each [1] they were allowed to take under their protection.[2] These, who all paid a fee at their matriculation, made also — like the masters' apprentices during the junction[3]—a further payment for admission to the life-class. This is proved by the fact that in October, 1666, a special decree was required of the Academy in order to pass in free "les jeunes hommes qui sont auprèz de Monsieur le Brun de la par du Roy." [4] Restrictions were further imposed in October, 1668,[5] as it was found that students frequently abused the facility with which they could obtain "protection pour désigner." Letters of permission were then printed and made current only for three months, whilst it was further enacted that no official should take under his wing more than six, no Academician more than three outside pupils.

Even under the statutes of 1664, the discipline instituted for the students preserved something of the old relations observed in the guilds between master and apprentice. No lad could enter the Academy to draw until he had chosen for himself a "protector" from amongst the members, to whom he was bound to give

[1] P. V., vol. i. p. 267. [2] *Ibid.* p. 294. [3] *Ibid.* p. 54.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 308. [5] *Ibid.* p. 334.

account of his actions and occupations, and to whom at least once a month he submitted his drawings.[1] Nor could a lad change from one master to another without the consent of the "protector" whom he desired to quit: the only exception to these rules was made for "masters," who could, if they liked, retain the entire responsibility for their sons' conduct;[2] and from an entry made on November 29th, 1664, it is clear that this was no mere form, for all the masters sending their children to the life-class are on that day summoned to answer for them at the next meeting of the Academy —whether or no they complied with the injunction may be doubtful.

To answer for a student's conduct was no sinecure; in early days no less a person than Eustache le Sueur had to report "des desordres et des friponneries" which he was unable to repress. Two unruly youths named Bomme and Marot had proved more than a match for the gentle painter of the life of St. Bruno. Bomme was promptly expelled, and Marot shared his fate shortly after, having meanwhile succeeded in getting a lad named Mantagon into sèrious trouble. These disorders led to the passing of a resolution that no one should enter the life-class unless he had first been approved by the "ansien quy est en mois," and after this, things for a while went peacefully; but, in 1663, the sculptor Girardon, a very different person from Le Sueur, was treated to "plusieurs insollances, raillerie et argarade" on the part of "sertains estudiants adonnez à la desbauche," some of whom were old offenders, having been already expelled from the Academy. These turbulent spirits in revenge broke into the life-class, committed "divers impertinence quy seroyen

[1] P. V., vol. i. p. 267. [2] *Ibid.* p. 267.

trot longue à resiter," succeeded in exciting a regular outbreak and went off in triumph, carrying in their train a large number of the pupils.

Amongst these was the afterwards celebrated sculptor Antoine Coysevox, then a young man of twenty-three; but he seems to have speedily repented him of his misdoings, and to have made humble submission together with two other culprits named La Perdrix and Baudet—the latter a pupil of Sebastian Bourdon's.[1] The rioters through Le Brun's influence were signally punished; but in spite of this, though Coysevox and Baudet subsided, we find the incorrigible La Perdrix two years later sharing the disgrace of an abominably ill-conducted boy called Jaquin, and once more humbly entreating to be allowed to "rentrer dans la liberté d'estudier à l'Académie."[2]

The wearing of a sword or carrying of other arms, a practice to which all these lads were addicted, greatly aggravated both "acsidans et scandalz." It had been forbidden to all students shortly after the date of the "Grande Restauration;" but further precautions were found necessary to prevent the incessant recurrence of serious riots. It was resolved that students should not be allowed to assemble in the rooms before the prescribed hour, and access to the life-class was denied to all who came only "to look at the model," unless, indeed, they were accompanied by an Academician.[3] A more decent order was for a space maintained through the enforcement of these regulations, and during several years the worst excesses that had to be chronicled in the register were the scribbling of "des escriture insollente" on the

[1] P. V., vol. i. p. 240. Baudet in later life distinguished himself by his masterly engravings after Poussin. See Mariette, "Abecedario."

[2] *Ibid.* p. 292.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 294.

walls of the staircase,[1] or quarrels about seats. But, in November, 1670, a tremendous revolt took place which had to be vigorously repressed. Thirteen students, amongst whom was young Vanloo, were expelled for disgraceful misconduct within the walls of the Academy, accompanied with street-rioting, fighting, and yelling, "des urlements estrange," attacking the neighbouring shops, and throwing of stones and filth.

This, which was one of the worst, seems to have been also the last serious difficulty experienced by the Academy in maintaining a decent order amongst its pupils, and, indeed, though the ears of the visitor are still often greeted by "des urlements estrange" in the corridors of the *École des Beaux-Arts,* and the students of the Paris school have not unfrequently challenged the decisions of their superiors by mutinous conduct, such conduct has of late been invariably prompted by some serious motive, and has never been characterised by incidents such as disgraced the outbreak in which the younger Vanloo was implicated.

It was not alone in the relations between a student and his protector that the traditions of an older time modified the constitution of the new society. In one important respect, as M. Vitet has observed, the Academy preserved a thoroughly democratic character. Every boy who entered the school was sure that, when he had reached a certain stage of facility, he would be received an Academician. Once an Academician, he enjoyed the right of being present at all deliberative meetings of the forty acting members of the society, and, though he could not vote, yet, being present, no measure affecting the society or the profession could be passed without his full knowledge. He and his children were

[1] P. V., vol. i. p. 310.

free of the life-school and of the other academical classes, and their recognised connection with the Academy was a title to employment, whilst it protected them from the harassing interference of the old guild. Thus every lad felt, when he took his seat in class, that there was no insurmountable barrier between himself and the elect who filled the most distinguished posts; and the whole body of those who passed through the course were interested in the maintenance of a corporation to which they were sure of being attached, even if they could never hope to attain the full power and privileges of an acting member.

In this way the Academy for a time preserved in its constitution something of the collective character of the ancient guilds, but little by little the traces of the past order were obliterated. Besides the enormous power which was gradually lodged in the hands of the leading members of the society, through whom alone a share in Crown commissions could be obtained, must be reckoned the influence acquired through the foundation, under their authority, of other schools and provincial academies —satellites of the central sun of Paris. The corporations formed in the various towns of France were obliged to submit their claims to Le Brun and the body which he governed; and by him and his fellow Academicians their statutes were revised, and the course of instruction to be pursued within their walls was laid down on a strictly academical pattern.[1]

M. Courajod has, indeed, reproached the Academy with timidity and jealousy, and taxed its members with unwillingness to permit the establishment of any schools outside its own body, except that little school at the

[1] Lyons, 1676; Reims, 1677; Bordeaux, 1676. But Lyons lapsed for want of funds, and was re-established in 1756.

Gobelins rendered necessary by the Crown manufactory.[1] The Academy was, however, powerless to find the funds, without which the decree of 1676, authorising the establishment of academical schools of painting and sculpture in all the towns of France, remained of necessity a dead letter. Add to the want of funds the steady opposition offered by the guilds[2] in every town to the foundation of academical schools, and we find a very sufficient reason for the length of time it took before such teaching was widely disseminated in the provinces.

Even in the eighteenth century, when these schools became common, their expenses were in all instances provided, as at Lyons (1756), by "un petit nombre de citoyens amateurs," who showed a public-spirited generosity which is worth noting. Their organisation, on the other hand, was as constantly due to the enterprise of some painter trained in the Academy of Paris.[3] In this way that Academy most effectively contributed to the spread of academical teaching, just as the workmen from the Gobelins schools—which were, as conceived by Colbert, the very nursery and cradle of French industry—went forth, after their years of apprenticeship and service, to carry the secrets of their training and their skill to the remotest corners of France.

Nor must it be forgotten that the teaching which even these workmen received was exactly the same in kind as that given within the walls of the Academy itself; for the very painters who made designs for Sèvres

[1] "L'École Royale des Élèves protégés," p. lix.

[2] The Academy School was established at Bordeaux, 1676, by letters patent. This Academy had, in 1706, to have recourse to an "arrêt du conseil d'état" to prevent the "Corps de Métiers" from destroying it. O.[1] 1056. Divers. 1642–1750. "Arch. Nat."

[3] Courajod, *ibid.* pp. lx.–lxi. "Lettre de l'Abbé Lacroix," O.[1] 1923, "Arch. Nat." Cited also by M. Courajod.

and the Gobelins, whose costly products were the toys of princes, were actually obliged to organise the instruction, given in the schools attached, on the same principles as that which they provided in the Academy for their own sons. The artisan who left Paris for Bordeaux found, therefore, that he could continue in the province the course which he had begun in the capital; just as the lads who were sent up from local institutions to the Academy of Paris were already prepared to fall into the ranks of her students.

When Colbert died, many of his noblest foundations were at once suppressed. The school of the Gobelins—the great hive of Bièvrebache—was emptied of its people; but there is no more astonishing testimony to the soundness of the methods he employed than the evidence on all hands that the principles on which Bièvrebache was conducted are still animating the great national manufactories of France. The workmen of the Gobelins and of Sèvres still go forth, like their forefathers, to enrich the resources and raise the level of private enterprise. The autocratic tyranny of the Academy still bears fruit; for the conditions created under the auspices of Le Brun preserved sound traditions of teaching and training, and, in spite of wars and revolutions, the connection between the arts and industry, which other nations seek painfully to re-establish, has never been lost in France. French provincial cities still maintain their academic schools, and we may even now see the municipal councils of poor country towns taxing their slender resources, with a noble public spirit, to give the boy, who they hope may one day distinguish himself, a start on his way to Paris.

CHAPTER VI.

LE BRUN AND THE DECORATORS OF VERSAILLES.

SIMON VOUET, first painter to Louis XIII., had prepared the way for the tyranny of Charles Le Brun. Vouet it was who drove Poussin out of France, and snatched commissions from Philippe de Champagne.[1] All his life long he allowed his pupils to vex the guild of masters,[2] but as soon as Le Brun began to work the Academy in organised opposition to the old corporation, Vouet sprang from his death-bed, in order, by their help, to crush one in whom he saw a rival.

Vouet had then reigned for twenty years. On his return to France, in 1627, he started with immense advantages, for he had spent ten years in Italy,[3] and had even visited Constantinople in the train of De Sancy, the French ambassador. Turning to account the experience thus acquired during the familiar hours in which he gave lessons to the king, Vouet speedily became a favourite, and "little by little got hold of all great works, was followed by all the painters of Paris, for whom he found employment, and became the teacher of all those who desired to learn his art."[4]

[1] Lépicié, "Vies des Peintres. Disc. Pré.," pp. lxiii., lxx.
[2] Vitet, "Acad. Roy.," p. 49.
[3] Nouv. Arch., 1872, p. 51.
[4] Lépicié, *ibid.*

On this wise the traditions of the school of Fontainebleau were preserved throughout the reign of Louis XIII. The king's first painter had knowledge, method, much dignity, and more manner; his drawings[1] are sometimes grave, if not noble in character; his paintings often recall (as in the Madonna of the Brunswick Gallery) the work of his contemporary, Sassoferato; and the best results of his teaching were exemplified in Eustache Le Sueur, a charming draughtsman if an overrated painter.[2] Vouet was not, however, destined to found a school; Le Brun, coming to the front, transformed the traditions which his master had respected, inherited his post, and enlarged its authority.

From his earliest days Le Brun had given proof of that adroitness and worldly tact to which, quite as much as to his professional talent, he owed the great position which he eventually secured. He had in large measure the faculty of success, was always happening to draw what people wanted just when they wanted it, and happening to be in the way himself whenever it was to his own advantage. Aged eleven, he contrived to attract the attention of Chancellor Séguier, and next obtained a commission from Richelieu, which opportunely caught the eye of Poussin, with whom, in 1642,[3] he travelled to Rome. Returning to France four years later, Le Brun, then a young man of twenty-seven, found a formidable rival in Charles Errard, into whose hands his father, the Chief Commissioner of Works, Ratabon, had put work at the Louvre, Versailles, Fontainebleau, the Tuileries (where he succeeded Claude's friend, Jean Nocret), and other royal palaces.[4]

[1] See Louvre, and Print Room, British Museum.

[2] See Dussieux, "Nouv. Recherches sur la Vie d'Eustache Le Sueur."

[3] See M. I., "Vie de Le Brun." [4] Nouv. Arch., 1882, p. 92.

Immediate employment under the Crown seemed out of the question, and Le Brun accordingly entered the service of Fouquet, but in so doing he showed his ordinary and admirable prudence, using his opportunities at Vaux le Vicomte to secure the favour of Mazarin[1] and to make friends with Colbert. Supported by them, he fought the battle of the new school against the old, and, having got the control of the Academy, remained master of the position. Commanding the industrial arts through the Gobelins,[2] and the rest of the profession through the Academy, he put his stamp on everything produced in France throughout the seventeenth century, so that the so-called style of Louis XIV. is in truth the style imposed by Le Brun on all his pupils and assistants.

The starting-point of his long career of official work and favour was the Little Gallery of the Louvre, destroyed by fire, which spread even to the Great Gallery, through the carelessness of a workman of Henry de Gissey's in 1661,[3] the very year in which the downfall of Fouquet set free all his chosen servants to take the livery of the Crown. Ratabon, though failing in health and power, was still alive, and at his instigation an attempt was made to checkmate Le Brun by insisting that he should divide the work of restoration with Errard. Sarrazin, the chief sculptor at the

[1] Le Brun got himself introduced to Mazarin by Valdor. Florent le Comte, "Cabinet des Singularitez," ed. 1700, vol. iii. p. 160. Valdor published "Le Triomphe de Louis le Juste," Paris, Ant. Etienne, 1649.

[2] Founded 1660, as manufactory of *meubles de la Couronne*. M. I., vol. i. p. 23. De Laborde, "De l'Union des Arts," vol. i. pp. 121–2.

[3] See Montaigion, "Henry de Gissey, dessinateur ordinaire des Plaisirs et Ballets du Roi," and for "Petite Galerie" the "notice" by M. de Chennevières, second edition, 1855, and "Petite Galerie du Louvre, du dessin de M. Le Brun, etc.," gravée par St. André, 1695.

Louvre, had died in the previous year, and it seemed easy to set his assistants aside and suggest that Errard should have sole conduct of the works of relief, whilst to Le Brun should be committed the painting of walls and ceiling. Le Brun, however, determined to try his strength. Ignoring his instructions, he prepared a complete scheme, including the works of relief which it had been proposed to leave to Errard; backed by Colbert he carried his point, and the unfortunate Errard endured the humiliation of seeing the pupils whom he had trained, transferred (like Claude Audran and the two Marsy) to the service of his rival.[1]

Colbert had risked nothing by pushing Le Brun at Errard's expense: he knew how pleased the king had been by the decorations for his marriage triumph, which had been entrusted to Le Brun by the city of Paris, and had witnessed in the previous year the royal satisfaction with the enormous canvas of "Alexander and the Family of Darius," painted at Fontainebleau under the eyes of the Court. The check received by Errard was final as far as his Paris career was concerned, though for the moment, aided by the faithful Noël Coypel, he continued to carry out various decorations in the "little château" at Versailles, which were, however, destined to be swept away, almost as soon as finished, by the alterations and additions of Mansard.[2] The death of his reputed father, Ratabon, left him completely at Colbert's mercy, and when in his new capacity of *Surintendant,* Colbert announced to the assembled Academy that there would be work for all in the royal palaces,[3] the conditions were so well understood that Le Brun was promptly elected Chancellor for life, and

[1] M. I., vol. i. p. 81. [2] *Ibid.* p. 81.
[3] P. V., vol. i. p. 246. Vitet, "Acad. Roy.," p. 254.

the gratefulness of this selection[1] was as speedily acknowledged by orders that under Le Brun's direction the Academy should at once begin work on the plans for the completion of the "Grande Galerie du Louvre."

To Louis Boulogne—it is said by Colbert's initiative, that is by Le Brun's desire—the chief part in this work was confided.[2] Aided by his sons and daughters, he took up Poussin's unfinished designs and carried them out to completion as best he could. In the Little Gallery, or "Galerie d'Apollon," Le Brun, besides the two Marsy whom he took over from Charles Errard had already associated with himself some of the ablest members of the society. The dignified and academic Thomas Regnauldin, Gervaise, and Girardon,[3] were told off to model the stucco figures of the interior,[4] whilst the Chancellor himself began to execute with his own hand the most important compartments of the ceiling.[5]

No work, however, was more frequently interrupted than this of the Apollo Gallery, and one of Le Brun's designs, "Le Réveil de la Terre," actually remained to be carried out in 1850 by M. Guitard.[6] The master was called off right and left to further other projects and decorate other palaces. At one time, in his capacity of Keeper of the Royal Collections, he must gather together works of art; at another the Gobelins claimed all his attention; then there was St. Germains to decorate; the king to be accompanied in his Flanders campaign;[7]

[1] 29th March, 1664. M. I., vol. i. p. 18.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 203.

[3] See "Sculpture;" see also the "Notice" by de Chennevières, p. 44 *et seq.*

[4] Lépicié, "Vies des Peintres," vol. i. p. 45.

[5] See plates engraved by St. André, and for the ornaments, "Œuvre de Jean Berain," Paris, 1659.

[6] See "Notice des Dessins," Musée du Louvre, No. 840.

[7] Lépicié, *ibid.* p. 39.

the pomp of the Dauphin's baptism to be organised; the figure-heads of men-of-war to be sketched for Toulon arsenals; and, finally, the monster demands of Versailles, which grew till it became the one absorbing enterprise, and the Great Gallery of the Louvre, like the famous Gallery of Apollo, and the Colonnade of Charles Perrault, remained unfinished.[1]

At Versailles, Le Brun, for whom the title of First Painter had been revived,[2] took command of all the works of decoration, whether sculpture or painting. Over the whole palace his rule was supreme, and all other artists had to accept the position of his assistants. Imagine the situation of Sir Frederic Leighton, cumulating the offices of President of the Royal Academy, Keeper of the Queen's Pictures, Director of the National Gallery and of the South Kensington Museum and Schools, having also under his hand the Board of Works and several great national manufactories, as well as the biggest building in the world to decorate and furnish royally! Sir John Millais would of course sulk off somewhere else, as Errard did to Rome; Mr. Herkomer would go to New York, perhaps, and found the school of the future; but their disappearance would only make Sir Frederic's position stronger, and thus, left to rule in undisputed sovereignty, imagine the President (if you can) producing several vast historical paintings a year, furnishing the designs which Hook and Horsley, Fildes, Calderon, Poynter, Frith and Goodall, Faed, Long, Orchardson, everything, in short, that writes itself R.A., would be sworn to carry out or

[1] Lépicié says: "After the death of Chancellor Séguier (1672) Louis XIV. positively determined to fix his residence at Versailles." So Séguier would seem to have joined Colbert in opposition to the scheme (pp. 50–1). M. I., p. 27 *et seq.*

[2] O.* 1053, "Arch. Nat."

starve; whilst Boehm, MacLean, and Gilbert competed for the chance of embodying his projects for the sculptured decorations of halls and gardens, and a crowd of minor artists waited for patterns by which to work out such details as locks and bolts for doors and windows.

As early as 1671, whilst the plans of Le Vau were yet in progress, the whole force of the Academy was centred on Versailles. The conventional and amiable Blanchard, together with Houasse, Jouvenet, De la Fosse, Claude Vignon, J. B. Champagne, and Nicolas Loir,[1] deserted the Tuileries, whilst Claude Audran, who, together with Noël Coypel,[2] had previously been employed, under Errard, at Versailles, returned thither, leaving his task in the Great Gallery of the Louvre unfinished. To these, shortly after, came Rousseau, the Huguenot painter of perspectives, his co-religionist, Henri Testelin, Baptiste Monnoyer (deservedly famous for his lovely flowers), Verdier, and many others of less note. Nor did Louis Boulogne and his family remain behind. Aided by Nicolas Loir, who was afterwards carried off to the king's apartments, the father and his children decorated the attic of the château with works which were speedily displaced or destroyed by the construction of the Gallery of Mirrors.[3]

So great have been the successive changes and alterations of Versailles that the only portions which genuinely represent the decorations of the palace of

[1] Loir had been painting at the Tuileries the "Salle des Gardes," under Le Brun's direction. M. I., vol. i. pp. 338–340. Lépicié, "Vies des Peintres," vol. i. p. 42.

[2] In 1661–2, in the apartments of the Queen. Florent le Comte, vol. iii. p. 125. M. I., vol. ii. p. 12. These works were destroyed by subsequent changes. M. I., vol. i. p. 81. Coypel decorated the "Salle des Machines," at the Tuileries, under Le Brun. Lépicié, *ibid.* p. 43.

[3] C. des Bts., 1671–2–3. M. I., vol. i. p. 203.

Louis XIV. are the king's state apartments, the Gallery of Mirrors, the Halls of Peace and War, and one or two of the queen's rooms. Even so, Versailles is the only place where the works of Le Brun and his school can be studied with anything like completeness. For himself he reserved the magnificent state staircase, commonly called the *Degré des Ambassadeurs*, the Gallery of Mirrors, and the Halls of Peace and War,[1] which gave access to that gallery at either end. For the decoration of the chapel, which at first took the place of the old building left by Louis XIII., Le Brun also prepared a great scheme which was never carried out, the chapel itself being speedily destroyed to make way for the present portentous structure; and Louvois, was delighted to deny the old master even the satisfaction of seeing his great cartoon, the "Chute des Anges Rebelles," painted by his pupils in the Collège des Quatre Nations.[2] With the reign of Louvois the reign of Mignard had begun, and such parts of the decoration of Hardouin Mansard's last project as were left in the hands of Le Brun's assistants—like the Resurrection by Lafosse, and the Day of Pentecost painted by Jouvenet, in the Chapel of St. Louis—now show but as passages a trifle less tawdry than the rest.[3]

If we set aside all additions of a later date, we yet find remarkable evidence of two distinct schools of thought and expression existing side by side in the decorations of Versailles: on the one hand, we have the pupils of Le Brun, and on the other, the men who preserved more strictly than himself the traditions of the reign of Louis XIII., men who had been trained by Philippe de Champagne, by Sebastian Bourdon, or by

[1] Lépicié, "Vies des Peintres," vol. i. p. 52.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 59. M. I., vol. i. pp. 49, 50.

[3] Piganiol, vol. i. pp. 37, 77, 79. D'Argenville, "Vies des Peintres," vol. iv. p. 206.

Simon Vouet. Le Brun in his masterful way tried at first to use them all indifferently. He put Baptiste de Champagne to work in the Mercury room,[1] but shortly after sent him into the queen's apartments, to which he appears finally to have relegated all those whose work was least suited to his own schemes. In these apartments, Baptiste de Champagne decorated the Oratory,[2] whilst Errard's whilom assistant, Gilbert de Sève, worked in the bed-chamber.[3] To the queen's guardroom was transferred the work of another pupil of Errard—the ceiling subject of Jupiter in a silver car, and the accompanying chimney-pieces,[4] which had been originally executed by Noël Coypel for a room absorbed in the construction of the Hall of War. For Le Brun always ruled with a certain magnanimity; and even during his stay in Rome, where he succeeded his master, in 1672, as Director of the School of France, Coypel continued to work for Versailles, and exhibited in the Pantheon, before despatching them to Paris, four canvases intended for the Royal Council-chamber.[5]

To the queen's drawing-room Le Brun despatched Mignard's pupil, Michel Corneille;[6] and Bourdon's scholar, Nicolas Loir, who carried out, in accordance with his suggestions, the group of Flora and Iris on the

[1] 1673, C. des Bts. For details on the family of P. de Champagne, see "Note Biographique concernant le Peintre, J.-B. de Champagne," by M. Galesloot, Acad. Roy. de la Belgique, Extr. du Bulletin, 2. Série, t. xxv. No. 2, 1868.

[2] Piganiol, p. 151. C. des Bts. 1680. M. I., vol. i. p. 348. But his chief works were at the Tuileries and at Vincennes. Félibien, vol. ii. p. 643.

[3] Destroyed in remodelling the rooms for Marie Antoinette. Dussieux, "Château de Versailles," vol. i. p. 181. D'Argenville, "Vies des Peintres," vol. iv. p. 285.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 176.

[5] *Ibid.* p. 172. D'Argenville adds that these were then in the Cabinet du Roi au Luxembourg (1672). Can these be the four said to be four out of five originally destined for the king's guardroom and now in the Louvre?

[6] M. I., vol. i. p. 384. D'Argenville, *ibid.* p. 202. His drawings, see Louvre and Print Room, British Museum, were empty, coarse, and formal.

ceiling of her ante-chamber;[1] Paillet, another scholar of Bourdon's, aided by Claude Vignon, executed the cameos of the same room, whilst yet another named Meunier,[2] together with Poerson and Blain de Fontenay (who also decorated the bathroom), painted the perspectives and flowers of the staircase, where we still find a figure leaning blandly forward past a vase of flowers and gazing with a look of pleased surprise, no longer warranted by anything that he can be supposed to see. All the other decorations have been replaced by stucco and whitewash, and the motley Sunday mob swarms up the steps once trodden only by the king and those whom it pleased him to honour.

Le Brun's own most docile pupil was Verdier,[3] whose wife, a woman "de peu de conduite," says Mariette, was Le Brun's niece by marriage. Verdier aided him largely in all that he undertook himself, as, for instance, in the Gallery of Mirrors; but the master had also great confidence in the ability of Houasse, who carried out his design of the "Triumph of Constantine,"[4] and whom he employed, together with Jouvenet, in the Halls of Peace and War,[5] and in the Mars room,[6] where hung the famous picture of the "Family of Darius," which had laid the foundation of Le Brun's favour with the king.[7] To Houasse also was allotted the ceiling of the Venus room, on the walls of which we still find two perspectives by Rousseau,[8] and by Houasse

[1] C. des Bts. 1674, 1678. D'Argenville, "Vies des Peintres," vol. iv. p. 165.

[2] Meunier, Paillet, and Loir were amongst the better pupils of Sebastian Bourdon. M. I., vol. i. pp. 97, 102.

[3] D'Argenville, *ibid.* p. 138.

[4] *Ibid.* pp. 138, 142.

[5] Piganiol, vol. i. pp. 144, 227. Dussieux, "Château de Versailles," vol. i. p. 149. M. I., vol. i. p. 204.

[6] Piganiol, *ibid.* p. 143.

[7] *Ibid.* p. 146.

[8] *Ibid.* p. 136. D'Argenville, *ibid.* p. 158. Dussieux, *ibid.* p. 147.

are the two subjects from the story of Apollo and Daphne[1] in the Apollo or Throne-room, where was hung, at a later date, Rigaud's splendid portrait of the king;[2] but the work in this room was shared with De la Fosse, a pupil very highly esteemed by Le Brun, although perhaps the least servile of all his assistants. The ceiling of the Throne-room was entrusted to De la Fosse,[3] and in the Diana room the Iphigenia of the mantelpiece, and two other subjects, were also by his hand;[4] here, too, De la Fosse had, as fellow-worker, Blanchard, who painted the ceiling, and who then enjoyed a reputation as a colourist which almost rivalled that of Houasse and Claude Audran, the latter of whom, on the suggestion of Claude Perrault, there executed two designs from the stories of Cyrus and of Cæsar, which formed pendants to those by De la Fosse.[5]

Audran is indeed to be found everywhere at Versailles, exercising his special talent for imitating, with illusive reality, reliefs of gold and bronze. Originally an assistant of Errard's assistant, Noël Coypel, he had attracted Le Brun's notice by his skill in this class of work, and had even been employed to carry out parts of his famous designs of the battles of Granicus and Arbela. After working on the Great Staircase with Le Brun himself, Audran joined Jouvenet and Houasse in the Halls of Peace and War,[6] aiding them also in the works of the Mars and Diana rooms,[7] and painting a subject, now destroyed, in the king's bath-room.[8]

[1] D'Argenville, "Vies des Peintres," vol. iv. p. 138.

[2] Piganiol, vol. i. p. 165. [3] *Ibid.* p. 162.

[4] "Jason at Colchos" and "Alexander Lion-hunting." M. I., vol. ii. p. 3. D'Argenville, *ibid.* p. 191. [5] Piganiol, p. 140. M. I., vol. ii. p. 14.

[6] Piganiol, p. 143. [7] D'Argenville, *ibid.* p. 137.

[8] "Venus receiving the arms of Æneas from Cupid." M. I., vol. ii. p. 15.

For all these works sketches and indications were given by Le Brun, and for the *Degré des Ambassadeurs*, engraved by Etienne Baudet, he actually finished in detail drawings, not only for the paintings in fresco and oil, but for all the ornaments which gave this stair so sumptuous a character, as well as the designs for all the sculptures and reliefs.[1] It was for these stairs that Van der Meulen painted the battle of Cassel and the sieges of Valenciennes, of Cambrai, and of St. Omer, going himself to Cambrai that he might make his studies on the spot.[2] So much importance was, indeed, attached to the faithful representation of the king's glorious campaigns that Van der Meulen followed in the train of Le Brun when he was carried in Colbert's carriage to witness the taking of Luxembourg, which had to be depicted in the halls of Marly.[3]

The four canvases carried out for the Great Stairs, drawings for which are now in the Louvre, were originally placed between pilasters at the side of doors giving access to the king's state apartments, and were relieved magnificently on imitation tapestries with golden grounds, and accompanied with ornaments in relief. Between these Claude Audran painted the four galleries, or tribunes, out of which looked life-size representatives of different Asiatic nations all amazement at the glories unrolled before them.[4] The same arrangement of alternate reliefs and suggested openings was carried out in the splendid decorations overhead. Balustrades, on which perched birds of many colours,

[1] Lépicié, "Vies des Peintres," vol. i. p. 55 *et seq.*

[2] Nouv. Arch., 1879, pp. 127, 129. Piganiol, vol. i. p. 21. Lépicié, *ibid.* p. 56 *et seq.*

[3] Lépicié, *ibid.* p. 39. Dussieux, "Château de Versailles," vol. i. p. 151. See also a very curious letter of Henri Testelin's to Charles Errard, giving an account of Le Brun's reception at the camp by Louis XIV., in April, 1677. Nouv. Arch., 1878, p. 278.

[4] M. I., vol. ii. p. 13.

fluttering their plumes against the sky, showed above the pictured galleries, and were spaced by boldly modelled groups which surmounted the framework of Van der Meulen's canvases.[1] Lighted by a vaulted opening in the centre, the marbles of the walls and stair, the trophies and other decorations of gilt bronze, the carvings of the gilded doors, and the brilliant hues of the paintings above and below the cornice, appeared to enormous advantage; for the heavy character of Le Brun's work generally causes his ceilings to detract from, rather than enhance, the effect of his schemes of decoration.

This is especially the case with the *Grande Galerie*, or Gallery of Mirrors, the works in which were commenced before the Great Stairs were finished. Le Brun, who had meantime remodelled and re-decorated the château of Sceaux[2] for Colbert, began to paint in the Gallery of Mirrors about 1679,[3] and this gallery still remains the most perfect monument of his genius and the typical embodiment of the triumphs of the great reign. Between long rows of marble columns of various colours enriched by bases and capitals of gilt bronze, into which many details[4] of Le Brun's composite "French order" were introduced, are ranged trophies of gilt bronze composed of eagles, lion-skins, suns and garlands admirable alike in design and execution. Above these the mimic architecture of the ceiling is splendidly supported by caryatides of bronze and gilt, whilst the angles and bays between the twelve immense canvases of Le Brun, which are the principal glory of the place, are spaced with rich hangings and

[1] See "Gravures de la Chalcographie," Nos. 2219–27, 2557–64.
[2] M. I., vol. i. p. 30, vol. ii. p. 13.
[3] Lépicié, "Vies des Peintres," vol. i. p. 59.
[4] M. I., vol. i. pp. 32, 33, and 37.

wreathed with garlands of flowers falling from the hands of women and children—golden images personifying all the arts and all the sciences. Bas-reliefs of lapis and gold form the keys of the vaulting, and the vast allegorical canvas,[1] which represents the king in the prime of his youth turning from Pleasure to seek Glory, is set like a jewel in the centre. Minerva, Mars, the Graces, Peace and Honour do him service, whilst Discord lies crushed beneath the mighty shield of France. All Olympus has flocked to the young prince's feet; but Glory, with her star-like crown, attracts his eyes, and Time shows deeds which fill the Sun with wonder. The Dutch campaign is chronicled in four minor compartments; then come the League of Spain, Germany, and Holland; the conquest of Franche-Comté; the Flemish campaigns and the Dutch peace. These chief subjects are supplemented by oval designs of less importance, but all showing forth the triumphs and virtues of the king, who expressed his admiration for what Lépicié calls "this veritable epic" by a royal gift to Le Brun conferred actually without consultation with Colbert.[2]

The Halls of Peace and War, when uncovered in 1686,[3] were hailed, like the Gallery of Mirrors, by universal admiration; now, stripped of their costly furniture, and showing the effect of incessant restoration, they preserve but the outlines of former splendour. It is not easy to picture them hung with winter velvet or summer silks — regal stuffs, "faites du temps de Colbert"—and when jewelled tables and silver seats and vases glittered amongst the green leaves and fair blossoms of stately orange-trees.

[1] D'Argenville, "Vies des Peintres," vol. iv. p. 141, engraved by Massé.
[2] Lépicié, "Vies des Peintres," vol. i. p. 80. [3] M. I., vol. i. p. 69.

Even then the theatrical element—the element of stage display and pretence—prevailed in the paltry means employed to produce this effect of superb magnificence. Painted canvas needs must fade, gilded cameos scale and drop, fresco perspectives must be repainted; but why sham tapestry on the Great Stairs? Why sham lapis in the compartments of wall and ceiling? Why not inlay rather than paint on the polished surfaces of marble basins? Why, in all this royal splendour, should abject poverty be so often confessed?

One reason was certainly the haste imposed by the impatience of the king to see his stately house of pleasure finished. If the reliefs had been, not of stucco, but of chiselled marble, if walls and ceilings had been jewelled with lapis, ten times ten years would scarce have sufficed for its building. A recent writer, M. Genevay,[1] has suggested that the taste for sham decoration was intentionally fostered by Colbert for reasons of economy. No reasons of economy would, though, have induced the king, had he preferred the real thing, to put up with shams. He must have thought them superior; the cheat probably appeared to him the smarter thing, just as, in the eyes of the Spanish monarch, the cardboard suit of his spendthrift painter outshone the livery of gold brocade which it replaced.

Decoration was, indeed, in the eyes of Le Brun and his master, "la science du décor," and he understood to perfection how to prepare the stage on which the royal puppet and his minions should play their parts to advantage. From what remains of his work, and from the engravings by means of which he obtained a careful record of every design he made, his system is clear.[2] He took as

[1] "Le Style Louis XIV."

[2] See list given by Villot in "Notice des Tableaux du Louvre." A

his point of departure the indications of the architect, and filled in his constructive lines with scene-painting of marvellous skill, employing mimic architectural enrichments, painted frieze, and cornice, and galleries, and caryatides of seeming bronze, supporting painted orders and interspersed with reliefs of stucco, which broke the transition to the sculptured busts and statues of marble, just as sham draperies were so designed as to enhance the pictured movement of the canvases which rested on them.

The staircase, recklessly destroyed by Louis XV.,[1] was in even a higher degree than the Gallery of Mirrors, a triumph of this class of combinations. The decorations in strong relief, which spaced the balustrades, were in direct relation to lower reliefs which led the eye gently to the flat compartments, storied with tales of the royal successes, and, if there was anything more remarkable than Le Brun's skill in marrying the seeming to the real, the round to the flat, then that greater marvel is doubtless his perfect mastery of the use of gold. In the utmost profusion of lavish spending, he yet so distributes it that it is never tawdry, never interferes with the coloured surfaces in its neighbourhood, and this treatment of gold was, we may infer from Florent le Comte's remarks on the frames at the Louvre exhibition in 1699, an object of special study, for the pleasure of the golden frame does not consist in its shining but in its quiet, which should be broken only by the points selected for polish. As M. Genevay notes, in speaking of the work

great deal of importance was attached to this matter of engraving. On 14th February, 1685, it is recorded that Mosnier asked Le Brun (wishing clearly to pay his court) whether he should comply with the proposal made to him to engrave a work by Mignard, and said Le Nôtre had put Mignard up to asking him through La Chapelle, but that he would only do it if well paid. M. I., vol. i. p. 57.

[1] D'Argenville, "Vies des Peintres," vol. iv. p. 142.

in the Gallery of Mirrors, "les éclats de bruni sur les extremités en relèvent le mat."

Still, in spite of this wonderful magnificence, the aspect of the great palace, although carrying with it—at any rate when Le Brun had his way—an imposing impression of grandeur, can never have been other than cold and formal. The heaviness of the ceilings, the depth and strength of their colouring, are in themselves oppressive. In this respect, as in the determination to produce complete illusion, Le Brun's practice contrasts unfavourably with that of all great masters. The true science of mural painting is to respect the wall; the outlines in Raphael's wall-paintings are everywhere purposely of equal value, and if we look at the walls of the Sistine, where the Sibyls grow from the flat surface into strong relief by the forcible accentuation of points of light, we find the outline for the most part in half shadow, and nowhere do the medallions, as at Versailles, make any pretence of illusion; no one could take them for real sculpture. As for the ceiling, the colour perceptibly lightens towards the centre, whereas in all the ceilings of Le Brun the reverse effect is produced. Hot and heavy are the paintings overhead in the Mars room, and in the Hall of Plenty there is nothing to lift the eye, as it were, beyond the roof. Something may have to be allowed for the darkening process of time, but in the Gallery of Mirrors the ceiling must always have hung like a dark pall above the floors from which it was separated by walls of dazzling light.

Very soon the system of painted shows, which, practised at triumphal entries and such like passing ceremonials, admirably fulfilled the purposes of a holiday pageant,[1] invaded not only the whole field of internal

[1] See for Dauphin's baptism at St. Germain-en-Laye, M. I., vol. i. p. 28; also the funeral pomp of Chancellor Séguier, *ibid.* p. 29.

decoration, but that of the exterior also. Extensive works of this kind had been carried out by Le Brun at St. Germain-en-Laye after his return from the campaign of Flanders (1667), but the façades of Marly, which he took in hand in 1683, owed a great deal more to paint than simple decoration. In point of architecture, Marly may be said to have been practically all paint.[1] Everything that should have been sculpture, and even something more, was paint. The king's own pavilion, the principal wing of the château, was noticeable only for "une riche architecture" painted from the designs and under the conduct of Le Brun. Rousseau, the Huguenot painter of the perspectives in the Venus room, who had begun the work, had to fly[2] France on the revocation of the Edict of Nantes; but it was completed by his pupil Mosnier, and the gaiety of this fugitive splendour so charmed Louis XIV. that he caused the homes of his carp to be in like manner emblazoned. No less a person than Blain de Fontenay was called from his work in the queen's apartments to trace upon their gilded basins garlands of flowers which could only be kept in bloom by incessant vigilance and repair.[3]

Day by day this wasteful theatricality gained ground, until rapidity of execution became the merit valued beyond all others. Poussin, in 1641, had written from Paris to M. de Chantelou, "I could bear my burden cheerfully if it were not that works which should demand much time have to be finished at a blow. I swear to you that if I had to live in this country I should become a regular mountebank like all the rest. Study and reflection are unknown; whosoever desires to study or

[1] Geneva, "Le Style Louis XIV.," p. 112. Lépicié, "Vies des Peintres," vol. i. p. 57.

[2] D'Argenville, "Vies des Peintres," vol. iv. p. 288. [3] *Ibid.* p. 283.

do well should fly from France."[1] Thirty years later, the leading men habitually boasted of the despatch with which they worked. "Rousseau," says D'Argenville, "went extremely fast, declaring that he should be too happy if his hand would be as quick as his thought." Time went on, and Vivien bragged of painting a picture without leaving the breakfast table;[2] Largillière plumed himself on doing in a week, what would take another man a month; Rigaud, yielding to the common weakness, knocked off a mock Vandyck at a sitting, whilst Lagrenée, according to Diderot, produced, in addition to minor work, seventeen large pictures in two years!

The gravity of purpose which had marked the old academical set fast disappeared. Contrast the drawings of Le Sueur, or even of La Hire, with those of De la Fosse or Michel Corneille; the portraits of Philippe de Champagne, with those of Mignard or De Troy! Now this contrast is just as marked in lesser men. The portraits of the brothers Beaubrun, the court painters, who delighted to entertain in their studio Henrietta Maria and her ladies, were sincere though wooden;[3] and Gilbert de Sève, if highly uninteresting,[4] retained that indescribable air which means that a man takes himself and his profession seriously, and which is almost wholly lacking in the succeeding generation.

Of Le Sueur, Sir Joshua Reynolds has said that he was the only French painter who had "a truly correct taste, free from any mixture of affectation or bombast. . . . All the others of that nation," he adds, "seem to have taken their ideas of grandeur from romances. . . .

[1] Letter to Chantelou, "Lettres de Nicolas Poussin," p. 64, ed. 1824.

[2] D'Argenville, "Vies des Peintres," vol. iv. p. 308.

[3] See portrait, Queen of Louis XIV., Versailles.

[4] See works at Versailles.

Their heroes are decked out so nice and fine, that they look like knights errant just entering the lists at a tournament in gilt armour and loaded most unmercifully with silk, satin, velvet, gold, jewels, etc., and hold up their heads and carry themselves with an air like a *petit maître* with his dancing master at his elbow, thus corrupting the true taste, and leading it away from the pure, the simple and grand style, by a mock majesty and a false magnificence." [1]

This sweeping condemnation is rather hárd on Le Brun, for, "after his fashion," as M. Ingres has said, "Le Brun was a great artist. Look at his fine compositions on the History of Alexander and at his immense labours at Versailles. His reputation to-day has sunk, but, in reality, he is far greater than that which remains to him." [2] In his own work he always retained a certain measure of dignity which leavened the theatrical grandeur which he inaugurated, and which destroyed for a while that tendency towards sober distinction which is a natural element of all typical French work. Nor was he to blame for best expressing that which all wished to express; everybody was posing a little; even the Lenain, as M. Champfleury[3] has remarked, were not free from this reproach; but pose, restrained by Le Brun within certain courtly limits, degenerated through Mignard, whose very name happens to be an appropriate synonym for all mincing graces, into the sprawling affectations of the eighteenth century. Curiously enough, Le Brun, who was the younger man of the two, stands forth, if compared with Mignard, as the representative of tradition; and even in developing the theatrical tendencies of his day, he inculcated on his disciples an

[1] Leslie's Life, vol. i. p. 87.
[2] De Laborde, "Ingres, sa Vie, etc. etc.," p. 163.
[3] "Les Frères Lenain," p. 31.

amount of "school" which his elder rival was incapable of appreciating. Vouet's pupils, and men of the serious and formal type of Jean Baptiste de Champagne, naturally grouped themselves about Le Brun, whilst Mignard became the precursor of the epoch of Louis XV. His tricky draperies and fluttering movement heralded the future popularity of Boucher and Vanloo, whilst his graceful conventionalities of form encouraged that disuse of the model which shortly grew to the height which excited the indignant remonstrances of Diderot.[1]

Patronised by Monseigneur, for whom, in 1677, he had carried out the decorations of St. Cloud, Mignard could obtain no footing at Versailles until, after the death of Colbert, Louvois was free to pit his own *protégé* against Le Brun. "Ces Messieurs les Mignards," said the Grand Monarque, "sont difficiles; ils n'ont d'éloges que pour leur héros;"[2] but the apartments of Monseigneur, destroyed in 1728, were confided to Mignard in 1684, and, two years later, he obtained the little gallery and private rooms of the king, where he painted in allegorical disguises all the prettiest women of the Court.[3] Mignard was at his best in portraits, yet Poussin, writing from Rome in 1648, says: "It vexes me to spend a single sixpence on a portrait such as Mignard's, who is, however, the man here who does them best, although they are plastered and without power or vitality;" but, though there is much truth in this bitter criticism, the favour which Mignard enjoyed with his Court patrons was not without justification. He had a certain feeling for grace of arrangement, his details, if common, were well put together, and his colour,

[1] Salon, 1765.

[2] Dussieux, "Les Art^{tes}. Fr^{s}. à l'étranger," p. 69.

[3] Destroyed in 1736. Engraved by Audran, C. des B^{ts}. 1686. D'Argenville, "Vies des Peintres," vol. iv. p. 83. See list of drawings, and Mignard's Inventory, Nouv. Arch. 1874, pp. 42–4.

if poor and cold, sometimes had wonderful delicacy of carnation in the flesh.[1]

Mignard, however, had neither the vigour nor the remarkable command of all resources of decoration possessed by Le Brun or even by a second-rate man like Jouvenet, who not only excelled in compositions calculated for great effect, but redeemed some vulgarity in choice of type by his strong dramatic sentiment, and who, by a remarkable breadth and suggestiveness of light and shade, generally succeeded in masking the unpleasantness of his local colour. As a colourist, too, Mignard was inferior to Houasse, if judged by the damaged remains of his work in the Hall of Plenty, or even to De la Fosse[2] as seen in his paintings at the Invalides,[3] for his work at Versailles had been disfigured by restoration, and his decorations at Montague House, like those of Rousseau and Monnoyer, have been totally destroyed.

Inferior in many respects to several of Le Brun's assistants, Mignard was yet more inferior to Le Brun himself, not only in point of capacity, but also as to strength and breadth of character. Le Brun was a tyrant, but he was never a petty or vexatious one. Those who opposed his authority he put aside, but his worst enemies have not recorded of him any such mean and furtive tricks as Mignard employed when he secretly stirred the *maîtres* to annoy the Academy of which he, after the death of Le Brun, was actually the head.[4] Of course the system which enabled Le Brun to

[1] See portrait of a lady in the possession of Mrs. Ker, portrait of Henriette, Duchess of Orleans, belonging to Sir Charles W. Dilke, and portrait of Descartes (?) at Castle Howard.

[2] De la Fosse left for England at Lord Montague's invitation, when, after the death of Colbert, Le Brun's authority was sensibly diminished.

[3] See engravings by Picart and Cochin.

[4] Lépicié, "Vies des Peintres," vol. i. p. 74.

do so much was an abuse. For one man to get, like this painter, all he wants, must be an abuse: it means the use of others by him to such an extent that their individuality is sacrificed. After all, however, for one who needs the help of many to express that which he can think, the most think nothing that is worth expressing.

Under their Chancellor's rule, the Academy, which had been ordered as a means of bringing to bear the corporate wisdom of many on special problems, became a mere bundle of tools; the tyranny of Mansard and the tyranny of Le Brun ran parallel to the lines of royal absolutism. The king supported Le Brun, as he supported Mansard, as he supported Colbert; they were his vice-regents. The sole channel of employment in any and every field was favour; and thus "skilful artists, painters, and sculptors fully capable of rising on their own wings, out of deference to the credit of the First Painter, associated their talents with his, and were ready to follow out his noble designs." The crowd of distinguished members of the Royal Academy found at Versailles "favourable opportunities for the exercise of gifts already great either by working out the sketches of M. Le Brun . . . or at least by agreeing with him both on the choice of subject and on the details accompanying it. Thus, the different rooms which form the apartments of this superb château, have been so skilfully painted by MM. Noël Coypel, Audran, Houasse, Jouvenet, De la Fosse, and many others." [1]

The influence, though, which was favourable to the development of docile natures, was fatal to any form of original talent; and now and again there surges out of this sea of busy movement the trace of some obscure

[1] Lépicié, "Vies des Peintres," vol. i. pp. 51–2.

disturbance; some man rises and protests against this order of things, and is remorselessly swept away, like that humble worker in ivory, Simon Jaillot, who refused to be taxed by the Academy for the funeral pomp of Chancellor Séguier, saying he saw no reason why he should pay in acknowledgment of the advantages that M. Le Brun "en avait resceu." Of course the speech was repeated; of course Le Brun insisted on an apology, which failing to obtain, he, equally of course, expelled the insolent one from the Academy. In vain Jaillot continued to protest against the arbitrary oppression of one "to whom the first rank has been given amongst the painters of the day, but who holds it rather by his wrath than by his deserts." Le Brun was not to be appeased, and if the memorial reciting Jaillot's wrongs awoke secret sympathy in the breast of any Academician no one raised his voice in Jaillot's favour.[1] Not until Colbert had passed away was Van der Meulen free to vent the malice with which he regarded the author of his fortune, and working through Louvois to contrive for Le Brun humiliations which not even the king's constancy could wholly palliate.[2]

Le Brun died in his lodgings at the Gobelins on the 12th February, 1690;[3] and up till the day of his death, in spite of Louvois and the Mignards, he bravely held his own. He died, so to say, erect, giving proof to the last of the same powers of organisation, the same inexhaustible activity and fertility which justify his claims to fame. No branch of art, no interest of his day

[1] P. V., vol. ii. p. 112.

[2] A recent writer, M. Genevay ("Le Style Louis XIV.," p. 200), has stated that we have no proof of the alleged hostility of Van der Meulen to Le Brun, but the M. I. abound with allusions to it. See vol. i. pp. 57, 58, 71–2.

[3] Lépicié, "Vies des Peintres," vol. i. p. 87.

was unfamiliar to him, not even that love of landscape which had begun to stir the world, growing and thriving as if it were a necessary relief from the prevailing passion for display and formality. Poussin himself had been gradually absorbed by it; at first, the lines of hill and field, the shadows of the woods and the depth of waters appear in his works as a mere architectural background to the drama of human passions, but, by degrees, the figures become mere furniture, just as the Angel and St. Matthew of the Tiber landscape at Berlin count only for as much as the rocks of the foreground, and, lastly, as in the great tempera paintings of the Doria Palace, landscape borrows no interest from human life. Gaspar Dughet and the host of minor men—Patel, Francisque Millet, Forest,[1] and Abraham Genoëls—followed in the footsteps of Poussin and Claude. With Genoëls Le Brun worked out the backgrounds of his Battles of Alexander, and they show in a marked degree the freshness of feeling with which, in spite of fixity of doctrine as regarded points of treatment, it was becoming possible, even for the most academic mind, to look at nature.

The variety and extent of Le Brun's powers and acquirements make it as absurd for us to call Mignard his rival, as it was to make him say that the death of Le Sueur had "taken a thorn out of his foot."[2] Le Brun had far too just a knowledge of his own strength to have thought, far too much dignity to have said, anything so silly. His natural force of character, even more than his extraordinary powers of work, gave him

[1] Forest, like the two Elle, Michelin, Housseau, L'Espagnandell, Rousseau, etc., etc., had to fly France on the revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

[2] Le Sueur and Le Brun had worked together at the Hôtel Lambert in 1649. Both were pupils of Simon Vouet.

his firm hold over other men. As an artist he knew more than others, and he also knew better how to turn his knowledge to account; but he was not only an artist, he was an administrator, and to his powers of administration every branch of the art of the "Grand Siècle" bears eloquent witness.

As his influence died away, and the men whom he had trained disappeared, exaggeration of movement and pettiness of style made progress hand-in-hand with that self-indulgent luxury which, as Diderot says, degrades the greatest talents, "en les assujettissant à des petits ouvrages, et les grands ouvrages en les reduisant à la bambochade." The new school which stigmatised Velasquez as "a Spaniard who, in spite of his visit to Italy, remained an artist of very middling capacity," [1] rejoiced over Lagrenée's Truth, Justice, and Religion masquerading in a banker's dressing-room, or wept before his dying Dauphin assisted in the last extremity by the little Duke of Burgundy, stark naked, but saving the proprieties by his *cordon bleu*. When taste had taken this turn, well might the Arts of Vanloo grieve lest Heaven should deprive them of their fitting patron, Madame de Pompadour.

Nothing but little pictures, mean thoughts, frivolous compositions, "propres au boudoir d'un petit maître, faites pour des petits abbés, des petits robins, des gros financiers ou autres personnages sans mœurs et d'un petit goût"! We have stepped from the great stage to the puppet-show; and to these charming littlenesses, prettinesses, emptinesses which make up the glorified upholstery of Boucher, of Baudoin, of Fragonard, there is allied a love of turbulence which in all phases of life is a sure sign of something wrong. Diderot speaks of

[1] G. Brice, "Description de Paris," ed. 1713, vol. i. p. 40.

Boucher as the "most deadly enemy of silence," and, when the younger Restout paints Anacreon singing, exclaims, "If he sings it cannot be French music, for he does not screech enough." Yet Diderot himself suffers from the same unrest, and is always begging for more noise, more action, more passion!

Brilliant, indeed, were many of these men; all too fascinating the idylls of their theatrical Arcadia, the powdered charms of their voluptuous nymphs; and surely the names of Watteau and of Chardin shall ever be counted as an honour to France. Yet, looking back, we see the elder days were other. "Soyez galant!" cries Boucher; but Le Brun said, "Soyez noble!"

CHAPTER VII.

THE SCHOOL OF SCULPTURE—SARRAZIN, PUGET, AND GIRARDON.

THE first name which comes to our lips when we call over the roll of French sculptors in the seventeenth century is that of Puget. Painter, architect, and engineer, he was also by far the most vigorous representative of sculpture during the reign of Louis XIV. Curiously enough, in spite of his visits to Paris and his years of residence in Italy, his work never lost its strong local character. The Virgin of Lorgues, which he executed for the Benedictines of Le Thoronet, is a woman of Marseilles, her features strongly marked, and the structure so forcibly indicated as to give an air of age to a model already older than is usually the case with those who sit for virgins. The deep line between her eyebrows indicates that from her birth Puget's sitter had faced the southern sun, and her thick hair, growing stubbornly off the forehead, seems to uplift the veil she wears; on the boldly-cut lines of her mouth lies a Provençal accent; her hands have picked the fruits of the olive and the vine, and everywhere falls the same rather heavy emphasis in the modelling, which makes the muscular forms of the body tell plainly, even beneath the broken and uneasy lines of the drapery.

This Virgin of Lorgues, executed when Puget was between thirty and forty, shows all the features which individualise his talent, and give his work its typical and local character, whilst, at the same time, it promises that energy and life, that skill in contrasting decorative accessories with the simple surface of the nude, to which he attained in the Saint Sebastian of the Carignano church at Genoa. The Saint Sebastian, which is, perhaps, Puget's most complete work, belongs to the same period as the French Hercules of the Louvre, which, destined for Vaux le Vicomte, fell into the hands of Colbert, and became the chief ornament of the courts of Sceaux.[1] Executed at Genoa, this extraordinarily vigorous statue is nevertheless a transcript from the galleys of Toulon, an embodiment of that superb force which can defy the utmost tyranny of Fate. Colbert, if he could not—and it seems he could not—appreciate it at its full value, was, at least, so far impressed that he unwillingly conceded the conditions imposed by Puget, as the price of his consent to serve in the arsenals of Toulon, and ordered him to return to France.[2]

At this date, known, as Puget must have been in Paris since the arrival of the Hercules, by work remarkable for startling vigour, for character, and for admirable decorative fitness, it is astonishing that he was not summoned to Versailles instead of being consigned to the dockyards for the rest of his life.[3]

Was Le Brun envious of his gifts, or did he distrust his power to control Puget and carry him through the intrigues which would have greeted his coming to Paris?

[1] Mariette, "Abecedario," vol. iv. p. 225; and Léon Lagrange, "Pierre Puget," 2nd ed., p. 61. [2] (1668). Léon Lagrange, *ibid.* p. 117.
[3] See Correspondance, Arch. de l'Art Frs., 1856, p. 225 *et seq.*

It is clear from the terms of the generous letter written by him to Puget on the arrival of the Milo at Versailles (1683), that he fully recognised his claims as a sculptor. "I took care to be present," he says, "at the opening of the case containing your Milo, when the king had it opened; and when S. M. did me the honour to ask my opinion, I tried to make him notice all the beauties of your work. In so doing I only did you justice, for in truth your statue appeared to me very beautiful in every respect and wrought by a great artist." [1] If, therefore, Le Brun did not urge the employment of Puget on the works at Versailles, it cannot have been from distrust of his ability, but it may have been from distrust of his character. The violent element in his work, which, on first seeing the Hercules, must have startled and disconcerted a man like Colbert accustomed to all the academic proprieties, had its corresponding quality in Puget's nature. Proud, self-confident, and authoritative, not to say dictatorial, Puget was anything but easy to work with, and the letters of Arnoul, the *intendant des galères*, to Colbert at this epoch show the difficult side of his nature. "He seeks to build his own reputation rather than the king's arsenal," complains Arnoul, and again, "He thinks of nothing but the beautiful, whilst I must look to what is useful and necessary." [2] Le Brun had had probably some opportunity of judging Puget in this respect, in connection with the works at Vaux, for Puget was well known to Lepautre, who had recommended his employment by Fouquet on those works of sculpture for which, at the moment of the *Surintendant's* fall, he was actually buying marbles in Italy. Early in the year, too (1668), Puget had visited Paris,[3] and Le Brun may then have learnt something of that independence of temper, which,

[1] Lagrange, "Pierre Puget," p. 191. [2] *Ibid.* p. 156. [3] *Ibid.* p. 114.

in 1688, led Puget to throw up the work to which he had been called by Louvois and leave Paris, rather than disentangle the intrigues by which he was hindered in its execution.

There were obstacles in the way of placing Puget at Versailles which were certainly grave enough to fright the wariest schemer. The defeat of Poussin, the discomfiture of Bernini, were not precedents likely to engage any man of the higher sort to tempt the fates of Paris, and Le Brun himself was also deeply committed to François Girardon,[1] who had for years courted his favour with obsequious subserviency. Already (1668) he had, however, been obliged to despatch Girardon to Marseilles, where trained workmen appear to have been as scarce as at Toulon, and where disastrous consequences resulted from the attempt to carry out Le Brun's designs for the prow of the *Royal Louis;* and, from the letters of D'Infreville to Colbert, it is clear that there was no one in the yards of either port capable of directing the "works of sculpture." The choice lay, therefore, between the permanent appointment of Girardon to the dockyards, and the recall of Puget.

Girardon was a practised, if not a born Parisian, practised too in all the intrigues, professional and other, against which Puget would have been defenceless, whilst Puget, on the other hand, would have found at Paris no employment for those special scientific acquirements, which might have rendered his services in the dockyards invaluable. Le Brun can scarcely have hesitated in his choice of tools. Girardon was recalled to Paris, and

[1] A pupil of Anguier and *protégé* of Chancellor Séguier. He executed Colbert's tomb on Le Brun's designs, and succeeded Le Brun as Inspector-General of works of sculpture in 1690. One of his chief assistants at Versailles was Robert le Lorrain. See Corrard de Breban, M. I., vol. ii. p. 214; and *ibid.* vol. i. p. 291 *et seq.*

Puget was left at Toulon ; but he got no free hand, and his energies were constantly cramped in every direction, in spite of D'Infreville's support, by Colbert's persistent distrust of one who cared in the first place for "the beautiful."

Through the generosity of Chancellor Séguier, Le Brun's early patron, Girardon, had also enjoyed an Italian training, but nearly all those whom he called about him had been pupils or assistants of a sculptor who had had for many years a preponderating influence in Paris. Jacques Sarrazin, the friend of Domenichino, had married, on settling in France, one of Simon Vouet's nieces, and there had been no one to dispute his authority, except, perhaps, the son of his early master, Simon Guillain, whose name figures with that of Sarrazin on the list of founders of the Academy. Guillain, who died leaving a great fortune in 1656,[1] had, indeed, indignantly refused to work with Sarrazin in the court of the old Louvre,[2] for he also made a great figure in those days. It was said of him, "Sa probité etoit grande, ses sentiments honnêtes, sa fierté noble et civile, sa taille belle, et son cœur incapable de crainte." His immense bodily strength, and skill in the use of the "fléau," which he always carried under his cloak, made him a terror to street marauders, who fled from their victims at his approach crying, "Voici notre fléau; passons vite notre chemin!" In all things Guillain belonged to the old school, was a favourite sculptor of Anne of Austria, and maintained in his work (as if a lineal descendant through Bartélemy Prieur) those traditions of the sixteenth century which were preserved amongst painters by the pupils of Vouet and Sebastian

[1] Nouv. Arch., 1872, p. 28.
[2] M. I., vol. i. p. 259.

Bourdon. Sarrazin, who survived him only four years,[1] was, on the other hand, an innovator, and his caryatides on the front of the Louvre show the results of his eighteen years' residence in Rome, and how certain it was that Le Brun could be sure of finding amongst his disciples and assistants just those who would most readily take to his views and assimilate his style.

Thus, it is not surprising that nearly all the sculptors whom Le Brun called to Versailles, and certainly all the most noted, had been pupils or assistants of Sarrazin. Legendre, Lehongre, Thibaut Poissant, Gaspard and Balthazar Marsy, Lerambert, Legros, Gilles Guérin and Philippe Buyster[2] had all been his disciples, and of some we are told, as of Legendre, that, although they were most deeply devoted to their master, they found this devotion no stumbling-block to the closest relations of friendship with Le Brun.[3] Buyster and Guérin, who had been apprenticed to Le Brun's father, a master sculptor, worked under Sarrazin for many years; carrying out (after Guillain's refusal) the famous caryatides and other decorations of the Lemercier pavilion of the Louvre.[4] Sarrazin must indeed have thought very highly of Guérin, for after employing him on various works for private persons, he recalled him to the Louvre and entrusted him (1652)[5] with the sculpture of the king's bed-chamber. There, Guérin had amongst his assistants another of Sarrazin's pupils, Nicolas Legendre (who brought with him Laurent Magnier),[6] Thomas Regnauldin, a young disciple of Michel Anguier, and François Girardon, who, like Regnauldin, was then but

[1] M. I., vol. i. p. 125.
[2] *Ibid.* vol. i. pp. 125, 259, 281, 307, 319, 330, 363, 411.
[3] *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 411.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 119.
[5] *Ibid.* p. 415.
[6] *Ibid.* p. 417.

beginning to form himself in the exercise of his art.[1] As a pupil and assistant of Guérin, who afterwards employed him on the Hôtel de Ville,[2] Girardon, as well as Regnauldin, may be considered to have been trained in the school of Sarrazin, although he had previously worked under Guillain's scholars the Anguier,[3] and the same may be said of another no less known artist, Antoine Coysevox, who was trained by one of the master's most loyal and devoted followers, the courtly *garde des antiques du roi*, Louis Lerambert[4]—the friend and fellow pupil of Le Brun and Le Nôtre. He is said, however, to have owed his success with persons of "la première qualité," quite as much to his curly hair and his graceful dancing as to his professional ability.

Even the Fleming, Van Opstal[5]—who afterwards brought in his compatriot Martin van der Bogaert, commonly called Desjardins—worked under Sarrazin on his first coming to Paris, and the Italian Tuby must also have had personal relations with him, since we find that he and Legros were the authors of the two memorial notices of the master, which were presented to the Academy after his death in 1660.[6] Not alone by his talent and the authority which he held at the Louvre can the immense number of Sarrazin's pupils be explained; the attachment felt for him was due in great measure to the beauty and nobility of his character. In

[1] M. I., vol. i. p. 263. [2] *Ibid.* p. 264. [3] *Ibid.* p. 296.

[4] *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 33, and Arch. de l'Art Fr^e., 1855, p. 228. See Genevay, "Le Style Louis XIV.," p. 218.

[5] Le Vau employed Van Opstal on his house in the Ile Notre Dame, and he also worked on the Hôtel Lambert. (M. I., vol. i. p. 178.) See "Sculptures de G. Van Opstal" (Louis Courajod). The bas-relief of "The Flight into Egypt," inserted in the mantelpiece of the Diana room, is attributed by M. Dussieux to Van Opstal. It is possibly one of the two small marble reliefs by Van Opstal, taken to Versailles from the Hôtel de Gramont. M. I., vol. i. p. 182.

[6] *Ibid.* p. 115.

a note, which is attributed to Legros, we are told that Sarrazin "all his life strove to serve the interests of all who had understanding; if such as these found themselves in any difficulty, he would take up their concerns, and" (as he did for Philippe Buyster)[1] "carry them through with ministers; in the case of others he would see that they received liberal payment, so that it might be said that he did well by all men, but chiefly by those who were men of capacity: thus, it was plain that he loved all who were of high worth."[2] On this wise, it came to pass that all the abler men fell under his influence, and that with the single exception of Guillain's pupil, Michel Anguier,[3] all the sculptors of Versailles may be referred to his school.

The struggle between Errard and Le Brun for the conduct of the works of relief in the "Galerie d'Apollon" was the first direct consequence of Sarrazin's disappearance from the scene. Never before had the direction of works of such a character been placed in the hands of a painter. When Gilles Guérin was carrying out the reliefs in the king's bed-chamber at the Louvre, Thibaut Poissant and Michel Anguier were engaged, in like manner, in the queen's apartments, and in the hall opening into them. Sarrazin dead, the attempt by Ratabon to push Errard, furnished Le Brun with exactly the opportunity he desired for getting into his hands that general control of all the artists working for the Crown of which he had long been ambitious.

Le Brun had paved the way for peaceable acceptance of his authority by skilful use of the patronage which first came into his hands through Fouquet; he had carried Anguier to St. Mandé in 1655, and transferred

[1] M. I., vol. i. p. 283. [2] *Ibid.* p. 126.
[3] *Ibid.* pp. 192, 436, 452.

him later on to Vaux le Vicomte,[1] where, in 1658, he introduced Poissant and Legendre, who had been previously working at Meudon with Sarrazin. To Legendre,[2] he committed all the stucco ornaments of the ceilings, which are still one of the glories of Fouquet's noble château, whilst by his relations with Anne of Austria, he again procured employment for Anguier at Val de Grace. When fresh power came to him through the defeat of Errard, Le Brun's use of it could not have been more prudent in its calculations, for he called to the Apollo Gallery, François Girardon, the brothers Marsy, and Thomas Regnauldin, thus attaching to himself four men of great ability, whose support against the *maîtres* was invaluable.

The result of this adroit management was seen when that final break with the guild of masters took place which preceded the reconstitution of the Royal Academy. Then the leading sculptors amongst the masters all came over to Le Brun. Michel Anguier, who—under the influence of Mignard and Du Fresnoy—had for a time been violent in opposition, forsook his allegiance, declaring that he left the masters "par considération pour M. Colbert," who had, indeed, at the instigation of Le Brun, given him a commission in the Church of St. Eustache; but Anguier required fuller wage than this, and accordingly obtained the hand of a niece of Remy, the king's broiderer, in marriage, being at the same time commissioned to execute "six Termes en pierre de Vernon" for the avenue of the park at Versailles.[3] Buyster,[4] a thorough artisan, who began his career at Paris, in the yard of a coach-builder, and who had at one time outrivalled Anguier in violence,

[1] M. I., vol. i. p. 440.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 411.
[3] *Ibid.* pp. 460–1.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 284.

was reached through his friend Thibaut Poissant, whilst Legendre, taking as his second wife one of the Chancellor's connections, not only re-entered the Academy himself, but brought with him Laurent Magnier—a most important triumph, for Magnier, independently of his powers as a sculptor, was one of the best heads amongst the masters, and about the only one who would have been capable of governing that body successfully.

Girardon now gave himself absolutely over to Le Brun, and practically held under him, from this date, that post of Chief Inspector of all works of sculpture to which he was officially appointed in 1690, after the death of his master. He appears to have been a man whose *coup d'œil* and certainty of execution was equalled only by his extraordinary sluggishness of initiative. Whether this arose from mere laziness, from that natural inability to compose and design which has been acknowledged sometimes by artists such as Henner—in other respects of no mean powers—or whether it was the result of purely servile calculation, the fact is that Girardon hardly ever did anything the pattern of which was not furnished or suggested to him by Le Brun. His principal achievement—the Tomb of Richelieu, now in the Sorbonne—was not only carried out (as also that of Colbert at a later date) from the designs of Le Brun,[1] but shows in every touch of the chisel that Girardon was so penetrated by his manner that it cost him no effort to reproduce it in marble.

At Versailles, Girardon's work in the famous *Grotte de Thétis*,[2] the construction of which had been begun by Pierre de Francine, the engineer of all the playing fountains of the palace, established his reputation.

[1] See Florent le Comte. [2] M. I., vol. i. p. 477.

Le Brun found himself thoroughly understood, and the king was delighted. The execution of the side groups by Guérin and the Marsy, and of that portion of the central one which was the work of Regnauldin, showed, by contrast, how superior was Girardon to his fellow-workers; for if he had, as Piganiol de la Force [1] puts it, less fire than some of his rivals, he was free from that academic stiffness which mars the productions both of Regnauldin and of Guérin, whilst, in point of precision, the brothers Marsy could not match him, though they might rival him in vigour.[2]

The remains of the *Grotte de Thétis*, now in the Bosquet d'Apollon (having been transferred thither by Mansard in 1684 to make room for the north wing), would suffice, even if we had nothing else, to show how invaluable Girardon's remarkable powers of calculating effect at great distances,[3] must have been in the direction of the vast works of exterior decoration at Versailles, which filled the years between 1664 and 1671. There is nothing more rare in modern art than to find a work of sculpture, such as the group of Apollo and the Nymphs, containing a large number of figures all in true relations to each other. This is the particular virtue which distinguishes most of the decorations of Versailles, and which survives even now, although injury and neglect have deprived them of the other claims they may once have had to admiration, and this is the virtue which they probably owe to Girardon's watchful

[1] Piganiol, vol. ii. p. 329.

[2] Amongst the chief works of Girardon at Versailles were four Tritons at the Fountain of the Pyramid (*ibid.* p. 20); bas-relief on Charles Perrault's design at the Baths of Diana (M. I., vol. i. p. 420; Piganiol, *ibid.* p. 27); a Proserpine—bronze (*ibid.* p. 166); "Winter" (*ibid.* p. 41); "Saturn," etc. (*ibid.* p. 155); besides various restorations, as of the Venus d'Arles and three vases.

[3] See Perrault, "Ordonnance des Cinq Espèces de Colonnes," p. 14.

eye. From this time forward we find him everywhere, indoors and out, working at everything of importance either singly or in company with Gaspard Marsy—on the great groups of the entrance court, and on the figures right and left of the centre pediment of the little château; with Desjardins and "*consors*" on the statues in the marble court; with Tuby, Magnier and Legendre, at the Pyramid; on the Great Stairs with the full strength of the staff; at the Fountains of Saturn with Regnauldin; at the Water garden with Lehongre and his assistants; with Espingola at the Fountains of Fame. In the very thick of these labours, he found time to journey to Rome, so as further to perfect himself for the king's business, and to superintend divers works in the Louvre and other royal palaces; even the "belle chapelle" of Fontainebleau owed its decorations to his hand.[1]

When La Fontaine, who, like Boileau, was an intimate friend of Girardon,[2] went over to visit Versailles in 1668,[3] he found the Fountain of Latona just finished by the Marsy, and most of the chief works in the grounds far advanced.[4] It was a fatal year for those employed there; Buyster, who, in addition to his labours in the court of the little château,[5] had just completed a marble Faun near the *Pyramide d'Eau*,[6] died in March; Van Opstal, whose bas-reliefs in the famous *Grotte de Thétis* were destroyed by Mansard on its removal to its present position, followed him in August,[7] and in the course of the next month Poissant, who had been busy in the Horse Shoe enclosure, was also carried off.[8] In

[1] See C. des B^ts. for years 1664–80. Lives of Girardon and assistants in M. I.; and also Piganiol. [2] M. I., vol. i. p. 302. [3] *Ibid.* p. 64.

[4] For the Statues of Versailles see Thomassin (Simon), "Recueil des Figures, Groupes, etc." Paris, 1694. [5] Piganiol, vol. i. p. 15.

[6] M. I., p. 289. Piganiol, vol. ii. p. 26.

[7] M. I., vol. i. p. 183. [8] *Ibid.* p. 329.

fact, when the great distribution of royal commissions in 1671 took place, five leading sculptors were missing; the fertile Lerambert, who always produced at least two important works a year, died in 1670,[1] and Legendre, who with Magnier had but just arrived from the Great Gallery in the Louvre,[2] early in 1671.

At this critical date, the interior of the palace absorbed all attention; Legendre, Legrand, Besnard, and Magnier, who executed all the carvings of the Bath-room,[3] had been called from the gardens in the previous year to work in the ground-floor rooms. Nothing, indeed, is more remarkable than the readiness with which Girardon and all the members of Le Brun's staff handled the greatest diversity of materials; plaster or metal, stone or wood, modelling, carving, casting, were as familiar to their fingers as every variety of size; to work on a miniature or on a gigantic scale was all the same to them. The very men who worked on the colossal statues and decorations outside the palace gave a gem-like finish and elegance to the delicate mouldings and reliefs of the interior.

Tuby, aided by Legros, Masson, Mazeline, and Hutinot, designed all the stucco work of the queen's apartments,[4] and Hutinot was also employed in a like manner with Regnauldin and Raon in the king's. Lehongre, who, like Legendre, had a special gift of excellence in delicate wood-carving, having decorated the attic,[5] descended to the ground-floor and took the Ionic, afterwards called the Diana room,[6] which gave access to the Bath-room where Caffieri and Temporiti, who like Tuby had long been attached to the Gobelins, were at work aided by the Huguenot L'Espagnandell, Gaspard

[1] M. I., vol. i. p. 333. Piganiol, vol. ii. p. 336.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 419. C. des Bts., 1670. [3] *Ibid.* [4] C. des Bts., 1671–2.
[5] M. I., vol. i. p. 375. [6] *Ibid.* p. 376. C. des Bts., 1671.

Marsy, and Desjardins.[1] In the Octagon Cabinet, for which Tuby executed statues, Lehongre, and afterwards Legros, aided him by carving ornament,[2] but in the Cabinet of Curiosities he not only carried out a large proportion of the wood-carving and stucco reliefs, but also the gilt bronzes which enriched the walls and the furniture.[3] Ornament of a similar character, in the vestibule, guard-room, bed and ante-chamber of the state apartments, was entrusted to the two Marsy.[4] These rooms are, however, better known to us at present as the Venus, Mars, Mercury, and Apollo rooms, for the Great Stairs, from which the Venus room once gave access to the state apartments, have disappeared. The guard-room was even more speedily diverted from its original use, being transformed into a ball-room and re-handled by Magnier and Lehongre;[5] the Mercury room, on the other hand, has always been known as the *Chambre du lit*, and was assigned as such by Louis XIV. to his grandchild, Philip of Anjou, when King of Spain; and in the Apollo room the nails which fixed the daïs still remain to show its original use as a state ante-chamber, in which the throne was placed when it pleased the king there to give audience.

In delicate wood-carving and other ornamental work Lehongre and his French brethren were rivalled, if not surpassed, by the Genoese Caffieri and by Temporiti of Milan. Assisted by L'Espagnandell, Caffieri executed all the doors and windows; completing those of the state apartments in 1672, then working in the queen's oratory in 1673, and furnishing in the same year his designs for the magnificent openwork bronze doors which it was proposed to employ, but which were

[1] M. I., vol. i. pp. 309, 395. C. des Bts., 1672.
[2] M. I., vol. i. p. 376. C. des Bts., 1671–2, 1676.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 376.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 308. C. des Bts., 1671.
[5] *Ibid.* pp. 378, 419.

replaced by doors of wood, so terrible were the draughts which chilled the air in those vast and splendid rooms.

On the 12th December, 1673, Colbert writes from Sceaux to King Louis: "Les ouvrages de Versailles s'avancent et j'espère que dans la fin de ce mois le Labirinte, le Marais, les appartements de Votre Majesté et de la Reyne seront entièrement achevéz;" and the king replies from Nancy four days later, writing, as was his wont, on the margin of Colbert's letter: "Je seray bien aise en arrivant de trouver Versailles dans l'estat que vous me mandez." [1] Every possible means was now taken to press forward the completion of the palace, and whilst these works were finished in the various private and state apartments of the ground-floor and first storey, the construction of the Gallery of Mirrors had been begun, and the *Degré des Ambassadeurs* was rapidly progressing. From 1674 to 1679 almost every one of the leading sculptors already mentioned was engaged on it, but gradually the larger and more important parts of the work fell to three men, Tuby, Coysevox,[2] and Caffieri. These three, under Girardon, seem to have approved themselves to Le Brun as best capable of carrying out his schemes, for, immediately on the completion of the staircase, he placed the chief work in the Gallery of Mirrors in their hands. At the same time, also, there took place a general re-handling of all the royal apartments[3] necessary to bring them into harmony with the Gallery of Mirrors on which Le Brun reckoned as his master work.

[1] Extract from MS. correspondence in the Archives of the Duc de Luynes at Dampierre.

[2] Coysevox was a *protégé* of the Cardinal Furstemberg, Abbot of St. Germain des Prés. He employed him first at Saverne. Besides work mentioned in the text he executed many statues in the gardens of Versailles. (See Piganiol.) He was lodged in the Gobelins in 1694 (O.[1] 1083, "Arch. Nat."), where he died in 1720.

[3] See C. des B[ts]., 1680.

For this gallery Le Brun picked his assistants with extreme care: Tuby, Coysevox, Caffieri, L'Espagnandell (who seems to have replaced Temporiti), and Legeret were told off to work on the cornice of gilt stucco. To Caffieri also fell the task of carrying out the gilt bronze capitals of the marble columns against the walls, according to the details of Le Brun's *ordre français*; he designed, too, the noble doors giving access to the king's apartments, nor did he and L'Espagnandell disdain to execute with their own hands such seemingly trivial details as the "roses de métail" which fastened the sections of the mirrors which fill the spaces between the pillars.[1] The execution of the trophies of gilt bronze, which M. Dussieux says were modelled by Coysevox, seems to have been distributed amongst various hands, for besides Caffieri, L'Espagnandell, and Coysevox, six other sculptors received payment for them in 1681—the year, too, in which *Coisevaux et Consors* completed the decoration of the Hall of War. The "Consors" were probably, in this instance, his nephews and pupils, Guillaume and Nicolas Coustou,[2] with whose aid Coysevox began to carry out in marble the great equestrian relief of the victorious king, the plaster model of which, designed by Desjardins, is still in place above the chimney-piece of the Hall, for the king died whilst the work was in hand, and consequently the marble was left unfinished.[3]

With the purely decorative work of the Great Gallery and its adjoining halls Girardon had very little, if any, concern; it was simply a frame to the immense canvases

[1] C. des Bts., 1680.

[2] Lodged in Louvre, 1703. O.[1] 1053, "Arch. Nat."

[3] Piganiol, vol. i. p. 172. M. I. A fine bust of Louis XIV. by Coysevox, from the collection of Sir Richard Wallace, was exhibited at the Quai Malaquais this summer.

of Le Brun, who naturally kept the general supervision in his own hands. Girardon's co-operation was here confined to the bringing in of a white marble Apollo,[1] and to the draping of the antique busts which were placed in the Halls of Peace and War.[2] After the death of Le Brun, although Girardon had then had the "conduitte des ouvriers" in his hands for many years,[3] Louvois and Mansard strove, by all means in their power, to set aside one whom they looked on as a man of "la vieille cour." To some extent Girardon's own habits put him at a disadvantage. He had never attempted, like the other leading artists of his day, to make a social figure, and was considered to be "un peu ménager." At the height of his fortune, he contented himself with his modest lodgings in the Louvre, where in 1679 he had succeeded Claude Ballin,[4] whilst his fellows built magnificent hotels, and his wife (the beautiful flower-painter, Catharine du Chemin) found herself obliged to economically sacrifice her "grands talents" to her household cares.[5] Girardon's compatriot, Mignard, found it easy to patronise and dictate to him, regarding him as little better than a stone-cutter, and, when Colbert had passed away, Louvois and Mansard held him at their mercy, employing him only, when they could not do without him, on works which no one else dared to undertake.

When he died in 1715, Girardon had seen all his fellow-workers fall beside him one by one; one by one all his powerful patrons had perished. Many, like the great Condé, who used to visit him at his work, had passed away whilst he was yet in the prime of manhood, but he also outlived all those with whom he had

[1] C. des B^ts^., 1683. [2] *Ibid.* 1686. [3] *Ibid.* 1687.
[4] O.[1] 1055, "Arch. Nat." [5] M. I., vol. i. p. 304.

chiefly laboured:—the two Marsy, Gilles Guérin, Buyster, Lehongre, Desjardins, Regnauldin; he outlived his chosen friends La Fontaine, Santeuil, and Boileau; he outlived the unfriendly Louvois and the equally unfriendly Mansard, consoled during his last years by his pleasant and faithful relations to his native town of Troyes, and reminded by an occasional visit from the Regent Orleans that he was a last representative of the great days of the "Grand Siècle."[1]

Of his work—and the same may be said of that of all the sculptors of Versailles—there is scarcely any satisfactory evidence remaining except in such parts of the interior as have escaped the chances of change. With the exception of his arrangement of the busts which were left to Louis XIV. by Mazarin, and which are still in the Halls of Peace and War, Girardon's chief work lay out of doors, where time and neglect, with all the vicissitudes of icy frosts and burning suns, have wreaked their will unhindered amongst the marbles and bronzes which decorated the exterior of the palace and peopled its gardens. The ground-work, so to say, is intact in the state-rooms, except where minor details (as in the chimney-piece of the *Salon de Mercure*) have suffered alteration. The Great Gallery, the Halls of Peace and War, the Bed-chamber of Louis XIV., the ante-chamber of his queen, are good specimens of the original scheme of decoration and evidence of the perfection of workmanship generally attained. Many portions of the work in these rooms are still exquisitely fresh: after the lapse of two hundred years the surface of the stucco reliefs is as clean and sharp as that of the chiselled bronzes gleaming on the walls as if they had been fastened there but yesterday. The look of newness, in

[1] M. I., vol. i. p. 302.

many details such as these, is startling, especially when contrasted with the signs of frequent repair and renovation shown by the paintings in their neighbourhood.

When we go into the gardens the case is very different. Apart from the filthy neglect which disgraces them, the state of marbles such as the groups at the Baths of Apollo, the group of Latona by the Marsy, the Nymph of Coysevox, or Tuby's Chariot of the Sun, could not be rendered satisfactory by any amount of care. An army of restorers incessantly on the watch for every trace of injury, could not prevent the certain deterioration of the surface which leaves them but the idle ghosts of what they may have been. The low reliefs of the vases by Tuby and Coysevox, which stand on either hand as we go down to the Water garden, are still beautiful in spite of the carelessness which seems to accept wanton injury as a matter of course. Here and there, too, metal statues and groups such as Houzeau's spirited Bloodhound and Stag, preserve some recognisable characteristics. Worn, even into holes, as are the fine bronzes of the Kellers, neglected, foul with dirt, corroded by contact with the rubbish thrown on them, it is still possible to distinguish the different styles of the men who modelled the groups from which they were cast; it is still possible to note that Thomas Regnauldin was stiff and academic; that Lehongre, or L'Ongre, as he was sometimes called, was bent on steering clear of all violence and affectation, and that in his dignified manner he must have been revolted by the weakness and mannerism of the hands and feet and waving sinewless lines bestowed by Tuby on several neighbouring nymphs. Nor can the ridiculously small heads set on the thick necks of Raon's ladies have pleased the older master much better than Tuby's empty modelling; though, perhaps, he might have joined us in pardoning Legros

the cramp which affects the extremities of all his subjects for the sake of the graceful and animated movement, the life and energy which make his groups, on the whole, the best of those which surround the two basins of the famous Water garden.

If the bronzes of the Kellers have suffered deplorably, what shall be said of the groups and statues cast in lead? Already, in 1749, their condition was a matter of remark. Speaking of Regnauldin's group of Ceres and her children, the Comte de Caylus says: "It would be wrong to estimate a man's worth by such a work. Cast in lead and laid down, as are nearly all those of Versailles, on a flat surface, it cannot be spirited. Besides which, if the softness of the lead at first renders all the delicacy of the mould, it also lends itself the more readily to effacement." When, however, M. de Caylus turns from these works to those executed in stone, he cites Regnauldin's figure of Peace in the marble court and has no better report to make. "You know," he cries, "the changes which mere exposure to weather causes, yet the group is fine, and the execution appears great and free, but in very truth what can one say of a work of sculpture such as this, done at least sixty years ago?" [1]

Little enough could then be said; but what can be said now? In the deserted courts, along the garden front, on the wings, the countless statues, worn down by weather, have lost all form and shape. Girardon's "Hercules Victorious" is in no better stead than Regnauldin's "Peace;" whilst the condition of those in less protected situations—the nymphs, the fauns, the satyrs and hamadryads of the gardens — justifies the reproach of a recent writer: "The statues in the North Garden and in the grove of the Baths of Apollo, look,

[1] See M. I., vol. i. Life of Regnauldin.

for all the world, like scarecrows meant to frighten the birds, if, indeed, they don't terrify any belated loiterer at set of sun."[1] This is the more to be regretted because, wherever the work has been under cover, we find plain evidence of that style and character which still make the French School of Sculpture the chief in Europe. For awhile, the sculptors of France, under the dominant rule of Le Brun, had to accept the post of assistants in the common work of decoration—architecture herself had to be content with the mere making of the framework—but it cannot be denied that the French sculptors did all they had to do with unrivalled intelligence and skill.

Even in dealing with the pictorial motives which Le Brun and the taste of his age had imposed, the school continued to preserve its great traditions of scholarly treatment, and the succeeding century saw the perfection of Houdon's busts[2]—the Mercury and the Diana of Pigalle—exquisite examples of the measure, tact, and elegance which are proper to all French sculpture. One influence, and one influence alone, had seemed capable, during the "Grand Siècle," of adding something to these qualities and of invigorating their formality by that energy and vigour which can atone even for faults of taste. That influence was carefully kept at a distance. The virility and audacity of the great Provençal master, Pierre Puget, could find no place in the hierarchical organisation of the arts imposed by Colbert and Le Brun; yet, after his death, in more than one direction traces of his influence have been recognised in the renewal of energy amongst the members of that Academy which, during his life, he was not found worthy to enter.

[1] *Figaro*, 18th Aug., 1886.
[2] A scholar of Girardon's pupil, Sebastian Slodtz.

CHAPTER VIII.

ENGRAVING.

At first sight it would seem that when the guilds began to give way under the pressure of the new social order, engravers were in much the same position as other artists. They lived, it is true, under the heels of the printers, and were tyrannised over by them just as painters and sculptors were tyrannised over by the guild of the *peintres-ymagiers;* but, like them, they too could obtain a certain amount of liberty by means of the *brevets du roi*. Unfortunately, this *brevet* could not remove the social disabilities by which they were further handicapped; they might run away from the printers, but then the painters and sculptors declined to receive them, and when the doors of the Academy were at last opened to their knock, they found themselves put in the corner, strictly forbidden to paint, and regarded generally as an inferior class. "Excellens graveurs," says Art. 15 of the statutes of 1664, "pourront estre resceus Académiste sans néanmoins qu'il leur soit permis d'entreprendre aucun ouvrage de peintres,"[1] but a strict censorship of all engravings published by members was maintained by their brother Academicians.[2]

Throughout the great movement of the sixteenth cen-

[1] P. V., vol. i. p. 258. [2] *Ibid.*

tury, engraving had, indeed, played a very secondary part, and although men such as Rabel and De Leu showed ability in the reproduction of portraits, whilst Cousin, Delaulne, and Duvet engraved important series of their own designs, by far the larger number were engaged in work which had not even the semblance of independence. In the seventeenth century a new era began, and before its close two groups of engravers were formed as distinct in the character of their work as they were in the choice of tools. On the one hand were the engravers proper, who continued to devote themselves to the old task of reproduction, whilst, on the other, there arose the vast army of etchers, who for the most part transcribed their own impressions, and whose ranks were swelled by painters innumerable, attracted, like Claude, by the adventurous charms of the newer method. Of course lines of division such as these must not be drawn absolutely, for occasionally etchers used the burin, or placed their skill at the service of others, whilst engravers, in their turn, handled the needle, or, like Audran, that unrivalled master of technique, mingled its varied lines with the more regular curve of their orthodox tools.

In the first of these two groups, amongst the engravers proper, Pierre Daret, Claude Mellan,[1] and Michel Lasne stood conspicuous: they were, during the first half of the "Grand Siècle," no unworthy successors to the men of the school of Fontainebleau, and although they may be roughly classed with Jacques Perrier and other engravers of the reign of Louis XIII. as satellites of Simon Vouet, yet they were not wanting in individuality; each had his own special method of work, his own manner of seeing and feeling. Nothing, indeed, more clearly distinguishes French engravers of this date from

[1] Born at Abbeville in 1598 ("Arch. de l'Art Frs.," 1852, p. 262).

those of other nations than the intelligence and originality which they displayed in the interpretation of the masters whose works they reproduced. Even if we group them, as, indeed, M. Duplessis has done in his "History of Engraving in France," under the names of the masters whose designs they were chiefly engaged in rendering; even if we class them as the engravers of Vouet, of Poussin, of Mignard, or of Le Brun, we are still forced to admit the personality of each one of those who practised what it has pleased some foolish persons to stigmatise as a purely mechanical art. It is, however, true that in no other fine art can so high a degree of manual skill be attained without any corresponding artistic insight or accomplishment; so that men may be cited, such as Masson or Claude Mellan, adroit even to trickery, yet destitute to a great extent of all those qualities which constitute artistic value. It is none the less certain that the best engraver will be always he who is the best draughtsman, and it was in virtue of their eminence in this respect, even more than by the right of their intelligent and skilful technique, that Pesne, and Audran, and (to her honour be it remembered) Claudine Stella, achieved their unsurpassed reputation, and conferred an unrivalled lustre on the school to which they belonged.

Whilst, however, Daret, and Mellan, and Lasne handed on the torch of tradition to those in whose hands it was destined to shine with undying brilliance, it was reserved for Jacques Callot to give a new development to his art. Although he made no scholars, properly so called, his influence can be traced, telling with extraordinary force on many of the most able masters of later days; and the wonderful impetus which the use of the etching needle obtained, either alone or in combination with the burin, was directly

due to Callot's initiative. Abraham Bosse, Nicolas Cochin, and that whole school, in short, whose exquisite skill has rendered for ever famous the illustration of French books, must be reckoned as Callot's followers, and so, too, should Etienne de la Belle, who had probably studied the master's work at Florence, and also Sebastian Leclerc, who, born after Callot's death, had never come within the sphere of his personal influence.

De la Belle had, indeed, studied Callot to such purpose that, for delicacy of execution, he has been held to have surpassed his model; it is, however, a mere exaggeration to put him above Callot. If isolated passages of his work may be compared with that of his predecessor, yet even when he treads most closely on the heels of the master, as, for example, in his sketch of the Pont Neuf,[1] should you examine in detail the groups by which it is peopled, you will find the drawing less expressive—for example, less character of form in the horses and the movement everywhere less forcibly alive. Were he not, even in these points, superior to his follower, Callot's grasp and width of interest would put him into a far higher rank than any that could be assigned to De la Belle. There is no phase of human life which he has left untouched: the vices and sorrows of men, their peaceful joys, their basest crimes, their most sacred aspirations, their utmost stretch of cruelty and lust are alike familiar to his eyes; and it is on account of this extraordinary range of thought and feeling that we should put him in a different category from those by whom in technical skill he may have been surpassed.

Take the "Fiera dell' Impruneta,"[2] one of the masterpieces of Callot's needle, and quite as remarkable for the delicacy and vivacity of the workmanship

[1] Print Room, British Museum. [2] Meaume, 624, etc.

as for the immense variety of the types rendered: the terrible beggars who display their sores, the inevitable Turk gazing at the waterworks, the mounted cavalier, the peasant woman who watches the horse-race, perched between the panniers of her mule—all ages, all conditions, all occupations, alert, bewildered, amused or weary, idle dames or busy men, the rich and his neighbour Lazarus; all are characterised by the same feather-stroke of graceful wit and genius. Or, take again the equally astonishing variety of incident and type in "The Siege of Breda."[1] Look at the outskirts of the camp, where the despairing and maddened peasant sees his flocks driven off before his eyes; his hopeless protest met by savage blows, whilst his ears are filled with the prayers of his wife and the shrieks of his children; pass within the lines where dogs devour the fallen horses, and carrion crows flit round the deadly company of the gallows; beyond are the troops exercising, and besieging parties marching past the walls of the beleaguered town, and everywhere the beggar and the starving cur, now skulking by the coach of Her Serene Highness Isabella, or flying from the cottage whose walls reek with lust and blood. Yet Callot, who reached a terrible intensity of expression in rendering such things, as for instance the awful face of the monk preaching to the wretch about to be hung in "Misères et Malheurs de la Guerre,"[2] or in delineating the crowd of the Crucifixion,[3] so that we even seem to hear the yell of the dissipated youth rejoicing with the jeering mob, touches with

[1] Meaume, 510. The original drawing for the "Siege of Rochelle," which recorded the position of Richelieu between the king and his brother, changed hands at the sale of André Charles Boulle's effects. See Mariette, "Abecedario," vol. i. p. 283.

[2] Paris, 1633. [3] Meaume, 23.

the tenderest affection commonplace episodes of peaceful domestic life. Two women spinning, with their companion pussy lurking at their side,[1] are a sufficient indication for Callot to call before us a vision lovely with the joys of hearth and home, or, as in the "Vices,"[2] he will show exquisite sense of decorative purpose, and chisel every figure like a jewel till it gleams as if it were some enamelled bit of goldsmith's work full of colour and sharply cut; or, again, the wand of his "Caprice"[3] creates for us an endless swarm of beings full of dance and fun.

It was this broad sweep of Callot's mind, his originality, his virility and vitality, which lifted him out of the ordinary category of engravers and gave the place apart which it would be idle to justify on purely technical grounds, for whether he had used this tool or that, whether he had or had not inaugurated that method the invention of which Sandrart liberally attributes to Jacques Bellange, Callot would have been none the less Callot, he would have been just as great. "When young," says M. Duplessis, "Callot studied with zeal and sought his path; as he grew older he created for himself his own manner and became a master."[4] All his life he was a student; the leaves of his sketch-book in the Albertina[5] show how ardent an observer he was, not only of nature, but of the different methods by which masters of old had interpreted nature; no less than eight pages are filled by studies from the *Danse Macabre*, of which he seems at one time to have intended to produce an independent version.[6] But not

[1] Meaume, 671. [2] *Ibid.* 157–163. [3] *Ibid.* 768–867.
[4] "Hist. de la Gravure," p. 174.
[5] "Livre d'esquisses de Jacques Callot, publié par Moritz Thausing."
[6] See Drawings in the Uffizi, published 1875, by Pini.

alone Holbein; Lucas van Leyde, Lionardo, and Dürer, all in turn seem to have occupied Callot's mind.

Nor was Callot only a strong and independent artist, he was a strong and independent man. His early experiences in the household of the Grand Duke[1] of Tuscany had failed to make a courtier of him; in vain Louis XIII., after his triumphal entry into the capital of Lorraine, invited him to depict the Siege of Nancy. "Sire," he replied, "je suis Lorrain, et je crois ne devoir rien faire contre l'honneur de mon prince et de mon pays."[2] Yet neither Callot's high character, nor his honours, nor the immense celebrity which his art attained, could affect the low esteem in which members of the profession generally were held, although it is possible that his distinction and success stimulated their efforts to improve it.

One of his immediate followers was Abraham Bosse, of Tours, a talented but mistaken engraver,[3] who deliberately made it a point of honour to use the etching needle as if it were an engraver's burin. He was proud and sensitive in character, and, knowing himself to be a man of high accomplishment in many ways, was little likely to brook any neglect or to put up with slights, whether personal or professional. On the foundation of the Royal Academy he instantly seized the opportunity to put himself in connection with the members, and dedicated to them his book, "Sentiments sur la Distinction," two copies of which he presented to the library.[4] The new society was not in

[1] His name appears on list of Household in 1620. See documents preserved in the Florence Archives and printed in Appendix IX.

[2] Félibien, ed. Mariette, vol. ii. p. 171.

[3] See Duplessis, "Catalogue de l'œuvre de Abraham Bosse." Paris, 1859.

[4] P. V., vol. i. p. 23. His "Traité des manières de graver en taille-douce" appeared in 1645.

a situation to repudiate help, and they gladly accepted his adhesion and availed themselves of his services as a lecturer. For two long years Bosse steadily gave two sets of lectures on perspective to the students gratuitously, and at last, as a reward for his services, he was grudgingly made an honorary Academician. Even this scanty recognition of his zeal and labours was rendered ineffectual, for he was assured that he must not look on this honour as conferred upon him in his capacity of engraver, "lest it should be regarded as a precedent by others." He was, moreover, desired to note that even as he was not made chargeable for expenses, so neither were any of the "privileges" of the Academy communicated to him.[1]

Naturally Bosse felt aggrieved, but he smothered his resentment and continued to devote much time to his labour of love. In 1665, after seven years of weekly teaching, he added a weekly lecture on geometry to his course on perspective, and these lectures were so successful, that in the pride of his heart Bosse prepared them for publication and offered to bring them out, with the sanction of the Academy, as the approved result of their deliberations. At this point, however, difficulties arose.

The Academicians seem to have been unwilling to take any responsibility in connection with the publication, but, anxious not to lose his services as a lecturer, they tried to soften their refusal by proposing to promote Bosse to the post of Councillor, an office which would have admitted him to the privileges of the thirty chief Academicians, and by offering to accept a dedication.[2] This, however, could not satisfy Bosse. He felt that his position was ill-defined, and therefore

[1] P. V., vol. i. p. 58. [2] *Ibid.* p. 103.

challenged the terms of his letters of association, demanding also a distinct understanding as to what authority his book was to have. On this, it was decided, "après divers reprises et délibérations," that he should print in his own name, a decision which deeply wounded his vanity. His irritation smouldered again until one Le Bicheur, also an Academician, brought out a treatise on perspective, by which Bosse conceived his rights of authorship to have been seriously injured.[1]

Round this nucleus a disturbance gathered which soon assumed vast proportions. The company were slow to redress the grievances under which Bosse believed himself to suffer; he became more and more violent in complaint, and retaliated by making use, in a small essay on the proportions of the human figure, of diagrams which Charles Errard claimed as his property.[2] Parties were now formed, and the quarrel grew to such a head that the Academy were forced to appeal to their Director, seeing that "à l'occasion dudit Sieur Bosse, il est arivé combustion entre plusieurs personne de la Compagnie," but the arrival of the Director made things no better, for at the first mention of the matter Bosse burst out into a torrent of abuse, gave the lie to his accusers, refused with scandalous oaths to give up his original letters of association, and left the assembly breathing fire and fury. Then came vain attempts to heal the breach, but Bosse continued to send insulting letters and to circulate a statement to which he obtained many signatures; finally, after a conflict in which heated partisans actually came to blows, he brought about his own ignominious expulsion, May, 1661, from the body which he had served zealously for many years, and which had at no time rewarded his services with generosity.

[1] P. V., vol. i. p. 169. [2] *Ibid.* p. 171.

The pages of the reports of these proceedings are full of indications of the sort of be-littleing which drove the irascible engraver wild. When the others had nothing more unpleasant to say they always began to impertinently question his "calité,"[1] until he waxed hot and left the sitting in bitterness: no wonder that when at last they made up their minds to admit him amongst the thirty, and at the same time required him to return his old letters of association,[2] he became suspicious and refused to deliver them, doubtless believing in some plot by which his position, instead of being bettered, would be further cheapened.

Curiously enough, at the very moment when Bosse forfeited his connection with the Academy, not only was that body rapidly rising in importance, but the profession to which he belonged had gained enormously in public opinion through the edict in favour of engraving obtained by Nanteuil from Louis XIV. at St. Jean de Luz. Nanteuil, after various essays, had developed the manner in which he executed the magnificent series of life-size portraits which were his great title to favour:[3] that of M. de Bellièvre engraved after Le Brun (1657), his engravings of his own portraits of the Bishop of St. Brieuc, of Lotin de Charny, of Loret the gazetteer, of Lomenie de Brienne, of the President de Maisons, and many other celebrities, had brought him into close relations with the Court; and this near association with all the most distinguished in the world of Paris probably heightened the irritation which Nanteuil, in common with the rest of his profession, felt at the

[1] P. V., vol. i. p. 169. [2] *Ibid.* p. 172.

[3] Duplessis' "Hist. de la Gravure en France;" R. Dumesnil, "Le Peintre-Graveur Français;" and De Laborde, "Le Palais Mazarin," note 62.

annoyances to which they were subjected in other directions.[1] Shortly after his arrival in Paris, he had witnessed the difficulty experienced by the Academy in protecting its members from the audacious attempt made by François Mansard, the great architect, to arrogate to himself, by royal privilege, the control and censure of all the engravers of Paris.[1] In 1659, he had obtained a royal pension, having been nominated engraver in ordinary to the Crown,[2] and whilst Abraham Bosse was unwisely fighting his battles with the Academy, Nanteuil skilfully used his opportunities of approach to Colbert and the king, until in answer to his solicitations the celebrated edict appeared which affirmed the "excellence and advantages of the engraver's art, distinguished it from the mechanical arts, and delivered it from the hindrances and restrictions to which it had been subjected," conferring on it in official terms "that distinction and freedom due to all the liberal arts."

Shortly after this important step had been taken, Fouquet, Colbert, and the king himself all gave sittings to Nanteuil, and amongst his chief masterpieces, most of which were, as Sandrart says, "effigies viventium mole efformatæ," must be reckoned repeated portraits of Colbert and his master. Nanteuil, indeed, cared above all things to have distinguished sitters, not necessarily men of rank, but men who were either famous or deserved to be so. After a time, when he had attained such a height of fashion and favour that he was practically able to choose his own sitters, Nanteuil did not hesitate even to solicit the interference of the king in order to gain his ends, if celebrities proved refractory. When

[1] "Hist. de l'Acad.," Montaiglon, vol. i. p. 81.

[2] "Arch. de l'Art Frs.," 1855, p. 267.

praises of the spirited defence of Maestricht by the "brave de Calvo," in 1676, were on every tongue, we are not surprised to find Madame de Sévigné relating in her letters that Nanteuil presented himself at the royal dinner and requested the king to "order" M. de Calvo to sit to him. The features of the eccentric daughter of the great Gustavus—Queen Christina of Sweden—naturally aroused the interest which he evidently felt in every kind of unusual character; but, as a rule, women rarely engaged his attention, though his heads of Anne of Austria, of the Duchesse de Nemours, of the Queen of Poland, and of Marie de Bragelonne show that this was from no want of power on his part to render their softer lines. Even as it stands, cut short in 1678 by his early death, the work which Nanteuil completed—aided, perhaps, by his skilful subordinates Pitau, Regnesson, Simon, and Corneille Vermeulen[1]—is a magnificent record. Richelieu, Mazarin, De Retz; the Dukes de Beaufort, de Longueville, and de Bouillon; the great Condé, Turenne, Bossuet, Le Tellier, Péréfixe, Fouquet, and Colbert; Loret, Ménage, and Voiture; statesmen, soldiers, priests, men of letters, and men of fashion; to know them we have only to turn to that great gallery which, in the summer of his days, "Nanteuil ad vivum faciebat."

Nanteuil's action in obtaining the edict of St. Jean de Luz bore immediate fruit. The intemperate Bosse had stormed and raged in vain, his scientific acquirements and his very real claims to recognition had been held of no account, but Nanteuil, "qui menait la douce vie" and loved life and letters better than either geometry or perspective, had no sooner triumphed at Court than the doors of the Academy were opened

[1] R. Dumesnil, "Le Peintre-Graveur Français," vol. iv. p. 39.

to his brothers. Huret, Van Schuppen, Daret, and Chateau, were received in 1663; Vallet and Picart entered the following year; next came the turn of Herrard and Silvestre,[1] the latter of whom was a *protégé* of Le Brun; Sebastian Leclerc[2] was admitted in 1672, and in 1674 came the great Gérard Audran,[3] together with Etienne Baudet of turbulent memory.[4] Lepautre was received in 1677,[5] which year saw also the tardy admission of Edelinck, Nanteuil's nephew by marriage, who had arrived in Paris from Flanders as early as 1666.[6]

At his coming Edelinck had applied for a place on the list of those to be sent to the Academy of France at Rome; but Le Brun had warned the ever-watchful Colbert how remarkable was the promise shown by the lad as an engraver. He represented that if Edelinck were sent to Rome—which was the centre of a vast commerce in prints—he would certainly be kept there, whereupon the boy's nomination was revoked; he was commissioned to engrave the Holy Family of Raphael, and Colbert himself did not disdain to negotiate a marriage for him with the daughter of Nicolas Regnesson, the wealthy engraver, whose sister had married Nanteuil. Edelinck found himself doubly happy in the connections

[1] See "Recherches sur quelques artistes Lorrains," par M. E. Meaume; also, "Renseignements sur quelques Peintres et Graveurs du XVII. et XVIII. Siècles." Paris, 1869.

[2] See Sebastian Leclerc, Meaume, Paris, 1887.

[3] See for this family, "Les Audran, Peintres et Graveurs," Edmond Michel.

[4] See chap. v. p. 114.

[5] A man of extraordinarily flexible genius, besides his innumerable decorative designs, "propriâ inventione in folio ederet historias biblicas et profanas alias quin et fabulosas ex Ovidio."—SANDRART. See also Duplessis, "Hist. de la Gravure en France," p. 279.

[6] See Mariette, "Abecedario," vol. ii. p. 217. Edelinck's portrait of Graef is dated 1666.

which this marriage brought him; he was as fond of a pleasant life as Nanteuil himself, and became famous for the magnificent way in which he received his friends and men of mark in Paris; but this magnificence, whilst it no doubt contributed to modify the feeling generally entertained as to the social inferiority of engravers, prevented him from amassing that wealth which his high prices, his prosperous business, and the fortune he received with his wife, would have led us to expect,[1] for his various sources of income did no more than cover the expenses of his household.

All these great engravers seem to have been curiously ostentatious, as if the novelty of their credit and honours had been too much for their good sense. Gérard Audran, indeed, who was a family connection of Poussin's brother-in-law, Gaspar Dughet, and who married Mdlle. Lichery,[2] seems to have lived, in spite of his great situation, as simply as his brother Claude, contented always with much the same sort of honourable professional consideration. But of Michel Lasne Mariette says "qu'il aimait excessivement le plaisir;" to which Florent le Comte adds "il aimait la douce vie et faisait son capital de la joie." In fact, his capital was so completely invested in this security that M. de Montaiglon recently discovered that Lasne's death was the signal for the descent of swarms of creditors on his house in the galleries of the Louvre.[3] As for Nanteuil, we know that he spent in pleasure the greater part of the wealth which he so readily amassed; the remainder of his fortune went to Edelinck,[4] whose lavish expenditure was also to some extent justified by the rank of the

[1] M. I., vol. ii. p. 56. [2] M. I., vol. ii. pp. 12 and 64.

[3] "Arch. de l'Art Frᵉ.," 1862, p. 219.

[4] Mariette, "Abecedario," Nouv. Arch., 1883, p. 26 *et seq.*

visitors whom his high character and the credit which he enjoyed at Court attracted to him. Foreign ambassadors, and even princes of the blood, did not disdain to seek him out in his lodgings at the Gobelins. There, in 1699, he completed the plate from Philippe de Champagne's "Moses," which Nanteuil had left unfinished at his death, twenty-one years before; and there Philippe d'Orléans, afterwards Regent, publicly glorified him by declaring that, with his tools in his hands, Edelinck was better worth seeing than all his pictures and statues.[1]

The creation of the "Cabinet d'Estampes,"[2] in 1670, gave further importance to the profession. The edict of St. Jean de Luz had broadly defined the legal position, and the organisation of this collection, which became a complement of the splendid series of works which formed the "Cabinet du Roi," effected a corresponding change in the professional situation. Le Brun had naturally conceived a strong desire to see his compositions reproduced by skilled hands; he had entrusted his portraits to Nanteuil; he had interfered to prevent Edelinck from leaving Paris; he had suggested his employment, and that of his fellows, on the engraving of pictures in the king's possession. The next step was to secure the preservation of all plates executed at the royal cost.[3] As far back as 1667 Colbert had secured for the king the marvellous collections of the famous Abbé Michel de Marolles, in which he had brought together the works of no fewer than six thousand masters; and out of this purchase, which was at first

[1] M. I., vol. ii. p. 55.

[2] See Duplessis, "Le Cabinet du Roi, Collection d'Estampes commandée par Louis XIV.;" also De Laborde, "Le Département des Estampes."

[3] Duplessis, "Hist. de la Gravure en France," p. 282. De Laborde, *ibid.* p. 15.

regarded only as an addition to the Royal Library,[1] grew that great department which has served as a model to all other countries. It was easy for Le Brun to induce Colbert to add to this vast gathering in of the past by contemporary work, and in a few years the original collection was increased by that series of over a thousand plates which, guarded in the Louvre at *La Chalcographie*, remains to all time one of the chief records of French art.

Each class is here represented—the men who worked in little, the men who worked in big—the irascible Abraham Bosse, in whose work we find our most accurate source of information as to the manners and customs of half the century; Sebastian Leclerc, who faithfully represented the traditions of Callot; Israel Silvestre, to whose picturesque needle we owe many graceful records of the royal palaces and great houses of France; then, in full contrast to the needle-point of Jean Morin, come the life-size portraits of Nanteuil; the magnificent series in which Gérard Audran reproduced the grandiose compositions of Le Brun; Edelinck's brilliant print of the famous *Crucifix aux Anges;* and the faithful translations from Poussin which have rendered the names of those fine draughtsmen, Pesne and Claudine Stella, ever memorable.[2]

All this was carried out at the expense of the nation. In one year alone (1671) no fewer than eight men of mark were entered on the royal accounts as "graveurs de planches." Gérard Audran was reproducing Le Brun's series of the Battles of Alexander, interchanging the engraving burin and the etching needle, with a skill

[1] Marolles was keeper. See C. des Bts., 1668–9. De Laborde *ut sup.*, p. 12.
[2] C. des Bts., 1668–69–71.

which perhaps has never been equalled; Edelinck, also, was employing his pure engraving method in the same service; Rousselet (whose art dated from the days of Louis XIII.),[1] Chateau, and Picart were busy with paintings by Guido, Domenichino, and the Caracci; Claude Mellan, whose foolish pride it was to engrave subjects of great size—like his famous head of Christ—by a single line, had been told off to reproduce the ancient sculptures at the Tuileries, a style of work with which he was especially familiar, for Sandrart relates how, during their years of study in Rome, Mellan engraved many classical statues "mea manu prius delineatas." At the Tuileries, also, Israel Silvestre was sketching the garden front; many others, with Berain at their head, were at work recording the ornamental designs which formed a principal feature of the palace decorations; others, like Abraham Bosse, Patigny, Tournier, and Vanderban, were preparing illustrations for works which owed their publication to royal liberality, such as Perrault's magnificent Vitruvius, the first edition of which appeared in 1678.[2]

Many of these men received yearly salaries from the Crown, and their names were entered on the books of the Royal Household. We know that Nanteuil had enjoyed not only Court favour, but a Court pension as *graveur ordinaire du roi* as early as 1659.[3] Claude Mellan, who was lodged in the Louvre, and Soubeyran both held similar posts, in which they were succeeded at their death by Sebastian Leclerc and Etienne Baudet.[4] In 1667, Rousselet, Leclerc, and Gérard Audran all had

[1] There are many drawings by Rousselet in the Albertina of a purely academical character.

[2] C. des Bts., 1668–73.

[3] Arch. de l'Art Frs., 1855, p. 267.

[4] O.1* 1053, "Arch. Nat." O.1 1083, *ibid.*

apartments in the Gobelins,[1] where Leclerc married the dyer Van Kerchove's daughter,[2] the year after his reception at the Academy (1672). All three were in receipt of pensions, and they had probably been lodged there at a much earlier date, for we find their names on the royal accounts, under the heading *graveurs de planches*, as far back as 1668–9. Edelinck, too, had joined them there without doubt in 1672, when he began to engrave the plates of the *Histoire d'Alexandre* on which both he and Audran worked under the eye of Le Brun, and Edelinck's credit as a draughtsman must in popular estimation have rivalled that of Audran, who, on the whole, is much the greater artist, for after the retirement of Louis Lichery from the post, Edelinck was appointed director and professor of the Academy school, and received the full salary of fifty crowns from the king.

Yet although, from the moment that engraving received full official recognition, the art steadily increased in importance, and the position of engravers themselves was improved, the highest offices in the Academy were still denied to them. They were admitted as Associates, but not even the extraordinary enthusiasm excited by Gérard Audran's masterly interpretation of Poussin's great composition "Time and Truth"—a work in which he showed himself as fine a draughtsman as he was an engraver—could induce the jealous Academicians to bestow on him any higher rank than that of "conseiller," a distinction which they had been quite willing to pay even to Abraham Bosse.

In spite of the immense popularity of their art, in spite of the honours which the leading men enjoyed in spite of intermarriages such as that of Gérard Audran

[1] Marolles, "Livre des Peintres," p. 92.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 92. Nouv. Arch., 1872, p. 318.

with Louis Lichery's sister, engravers, curiously enough, continued to be regarded by their brother artists as constituting a lower grade and class apart. Disputes within the walls of the Academy perpetually turned on their assumed inferiority to painters or sculptors. Van der Meulen was a very unpopular man with his fellow workers, but he had no sooner to open his mouth against engravers than he had all the world on his side. In 1686, the whole assembly unanimously acknowledged that he had grave cause of complaint, seeing that, in the list of councillors, painters, sculptors, and engravers were "confusément meslés," and satisfaction on this head was at once given to him by a resolution which enacted that for the future the names of engravers should all be put together at the bottom.[1]

A slight such as this naturally encouraged the old enemies of engravers, the printers, who every now and again seized an opportunity for annoyance. They saw in the bad dispositions of the Academy an encouragement to persecution, and shortly became so daring that Gérard Audran, at the climax of his honours, and in the very year of his death, had to be protected, together with Picart le Romain[2] and Giffart, against the interference of the printers' community with the "ouvrages de leurs mains."[3] Nor was this lesson sufficient; they had come so near success and had given so much trouble that a few years later they made a dead set against what they looked on as amateur competition. It was then the turn of the painters and sculptors to defend themselves, and another royal decree was registered by the *Conseil d'état* to enable all members of the Academy to engrave and publish their own works.[4]

[1] P. V., vol. ii. p. 330.

[2] A Calvinist who had had to leave for Amsterdam. Piganiol, vol. ii. p. 347.

[3] O.[1] 1056.

[4] O.[1] 1056.

This, be it remembered, was an extension of the liberty already secured to engravers by profession, so as to include that great body of *peintres-graveurs* of which Claude had been the most distinguished forerunner, and which soon counted in its ranks almost the whole profession. Vouet and Le Brun himself had not disdained the needle; and their example had been followed by the whole Academy, and, in some instances, notably by Francisque Millet, Jacques Rousseau, and Claude Lefebvre, with a success so brilliant that, should all their other work have perished, the plates which they engraved would suffice to preserve their memory.

Yet, day by day, these men showed an invincible contempt for the professors of the art they themselves did not disdain to practise, and it is difficult to see exactly what lay at the root of this persistent disregard of a profession many members of which were held in exceptional honour. One thing is certain, and that is the extreme distaste for any approach to commercial methods which prevailed in the Academy after its members took to playing the part of courtiers and men of the world, and it seems possible that the explanation of some of their hostility to engravers lies in the fact that long after painters had closed their shutters and retired into the comparative seclusion of their studios, engravers continued to keep shops.

Now, the feeling against keeping shops was very strong amongst the members of the Academy; so much so that acts which we should now consider perfectly justifiable, were viewed with extreme disfavour. On one occasion the Academy even went so far as to strike off the list of Academicians one of their number, Michel Serre, the painter of the king's galleys,[1] for the

[1] "Arch. de l'Art Frs.," 1852, pp. 333 and 376.

simple reason that he had permitted his picture of the Plague at Marseilles to be exhibited for money to the public. Whilst this feeling was very strong in the Academy, the engravers, on the other hand, were naturally loth to forego the substantial advantages which they derived from the direct sale of their works, since they found in the combination of the trade of print-selling with the art of engraving their most lucrative source of income. At any rate, it was not subject to the chances which often rendered work executed by agreement an intolerable annoyance or even a serious loss, as in the case of the ever unfortunate Abraham Bosse, who was nearly ruined over the plates which he engraved for Guy de la Brosse, the founder of the Botanical Garden.[1] However anxious, therefore, the engravers were to obtain that general social consideration which as artists they felt to be their due, they of course declined to relinquish the substance for the shadow.

The situation changed very gradually, but changed rather through the desire of painters to be associated in the profits derived from the sale of plates which reproduced their most popular works, than from any alteration on the side of the engravers; and we learn from the inimitable paper in which Greuze recorded with unparalleled unreserve his complaints against his wife, how tempting must have been the revenue which the *commerce d'estampes*, skilfully conducted, could bring in. If, however, the battle which had been so hardly fought by Nanteuil and his colleagues was nearly won in France, it was not so in other countries and notably in England, where a very strong prejudice persistently attached to the engraver's art.

[1] "Arch. de l'Art Frᵉ.," 1852, p. 280.

Early in the present century John Landseer, in his discourses at the Royal Institution, renewed the strife, placing engraving as of equal rank with either painting or sculpture, and when the Academy (1806) offered him the degree of Associate, his indignant protests, and the passion with which he demanded an equal place for engravers in the constitution of the society, recall the frantic struggles of the angry Abraham Bosse. In vain he protested, in vain he appealed to the House of Commons for the redress of his grievance. The House of Commons was of one mind with the Academy, and the strictest demarcation was maintained. Although in Paris an engraver might be a member of the Institute, in London up to 1876 he took a place apart, as Van der Meulen would have rejoiced to see, on the bottom line of every printed list.

CHAPTER IX.

THE GOBELINS—THE SAVONNERIE.

"IL n'est pas étonnant," says Voltaire, "que la peinture, la sculpture, la poésie, l'éloquence, la philosophie fussent presque inconnues à une nation qui, ayant des ports sur l'océan et la Méditerranée, n'avait pourtant point de flotte, et qui, aimant le luxe à l'excès, avait à peine quelques manufactures grossières." Exaggerated as it is in some respects, this picture of France in the early days of Louis XIV. does not go far wrong in respect of French industry. Most of the manufactures which had been the pride of Henri IV. failed to survive their creator. In 1610 the silk, the glass, the soap factories, which he had established were closed; the high-warp looms of Laurent and Dubourg, which in 1603 he had transferred to the Louvre from the Faubourg St. Antoine, were as inactive as the carpet factory which, under Pierre Dupont,[1] he had also installed there; many workmen were dismissed, and even the Gobelins were shut. Fifty years later Colbert re-inaugurated the policy which had been cut short by the knife of Ravaillac, and succeeded not only in completely reviving those industries which Henri IV. had been unable to establish,

[1] Author of "La Stromatourgie," reprinted by Darcel. Paris, 1882.

but also in setting up others which became rooted on their new soil.

Gradually a new division, under the heading "Manufactures de France," occupies more and more space in the royal accounts: the first separate division occurs in 1668, but for many years previous the entries respecting these manufactures had been growing in importance and frequency. Colbert, too, had been actively endeavouring to foster by legislation the general development of French industry. Whenever it was possible, he based his action on the existing guilds,[1] and wherever he found a falling off in the excellence of any manufacture, he instantly conferred on the corporation connected with it tremendous powers of exacting fines and penalties for the slightest deviation from a fixed standard of perfection.[2] These enlarged powers were not, however, an unmixed benefit, and the governing bodies of the guilds would often gladly have eluded a responsibility as odious as it was weighty. Stringent and vexatious as he was in his dealings with industries already established, Colbert counted no privileges too great when he had to reward those who seconded his efforts to implant new ones. The accounts are full of rewards, indemnities, and subventions which all have the same end in view. Just as the "Compagnie des Indes" received bounties for taking French cattle rather than "bœufs d'Irlande" in their bottoms to the "Isles françaises," even so glass-workers from Venice were paid to establish their factories at Paris,[3] and the tapestries of Beauvais;[4]

[1] I have explained in chap. iv. p. 87, why Colbert preferred the R.A. to the existing guild.

[2] See edict of 1666 respecting "Sarsche d'Aumale," also that of 1669. The influence of that of 1673 cannot be exaggerated as regards French industry. [3] O.[1] 1054, and C. des B[ts]., 1665. Edicts of 1683, 1688, 1693.

[4] The manufactory at Aubusson was a private enterprise. See "La Tapisserie d'Aubusson," par Léopold Gravier, Paris, 1886.

the point laces of Auxerre and Rheims, the English serges of Troyes, and the fine cloths of Abbeville are but a few of the new industries started by Colbert at a heavy cost to the yearly budget.

In vigorous pursuance of these schemes, the organisation of the great establishment, called the "Manufactures des Meubles de la Couronne," was pushed forward at the Gobelins, nor were the other centres forgotten which had been dependent of old on the administration. Amongst these, one of the most important was the royal carpet factory at the Savonnerie—an offshoot, under Louis XIII., from the factory which his father had established under Pierre Dupont in the Louvre. The importation, in 1647, of two Florentines, Pierre and Jean Lefèvre, to assist in the direction of the high-warp looms in the Louvre, and the establishment of Dupont's pupil, Simon Lourdet, at the Savonnerie, stand out, indeed, like isolated facts which bear witness to the general neglect of industrial interests under the rule of Louis XIII.[1] The Savonnerie, where Simon Lourdet was at work on the carpets (*tapis sarrazinois*) destined for the Great Gallery of the Louvre,[2] now became, like the works at the Louvre itself, a dependence of the Gobelins, and its buildings underwent thorough restoration. As for the Gobelins, whose name now suggests only a great manufactory of tapestries, it became, during this most famous epoch of its existence, even busier in the making of splendid services of plate, of costly inlaid

[1] 17th April, 1627. Arrêt du Conseil d'Etat du roy portant l'établissement et reglemens de la manufacture de la Savonnerie. "Arch. Nat.," O.[1] 1054. See also "Arch. de l'Art Fr[e].," 1852, p. 207.

[2] From 1665 to 1669 he receives payment on this account yearly, then he was replaced by his son Philippe, who was succeeded in 1670 by his wife Jeanne Haffray, to whom came in 1671 Louis Dupont, probably one of the family in the Louvre. See C. des B[ts]., and Lacordaire, "Notice Historique sur les Manufactures Impériales de Tapisseries," etc., 1885, p. 71 *et seq.*

cabinets, of carven frames and of gilded coaches, than in producing the storied hangings with which the name of the old hotel is identified; but the looms were never more merrily active than when the sculptor's mallet and the hammer of the smith were resounding under the same roof; when the weaver wove his costly webs to the tune of the lapidary's file, whilst the saw and chisel made constant chorus in his ears. Yet fame persists in declaring the glories of the Gobelin looms, and takes little account of its special connection with all the other marvels of a new luxury which represented "la magnificence mesurée du goût nouveau, la profusion choisie de l'industrie nouvelle," and which became, as M. Taine has pointed out in his "Essai sur Fléchier," a political engine under Louis XIV.[1]

The selection by Colbert of the Gobelins, as the nucleus round which all the other establishments for the production of the *meubles de la Couronne* should be grouped, was, however, probably determined by the reputation which the tapestries already enjoyed.[2] The family from whom the old hotel took its name had been, it is said, dyers from Reims, who, attracted by the purity of its waters, placed their works on the banks of the Bièvre. To them came the Camaye (who were probably workers in tapestry), and, at a later date, the looms of the Comans, who, together with François de la Planche, had been brought from Flanders by Henri IV., were transferred from Les Tournelles to the Gobelins.[3] Patterns for working were habitually furnished by some of the most distinguished men in Paris. La Hire,

[1] See "Inventaire général du Mobilier de la Couronne." Guiffrey, 1886.

[2] See letter of 1651 cited by M. Guiffrey, "Nouv. Arch.," 1880–1, p. 142.

[3] See Lacordaire, "Notice Historique sur les Manufactures Impériales de Tapisseries," etc., 1853 and 1885.

for example, was the author of designs for a series destined to be hung in St. Etienne du Mont. Tapestry, therefore, from the first held its own at the Gobelins, and continued to do so even after the building became one vast workshop, where painters, sculptors, goldsmiths, lapidaries, wood-carvers, cabinet-makers, workers in metal, and embroiderers in silk, formed that great colony which had for its object not only the decoration of Marly and Versailles, but also the maintenance of French taste at the highest possible level in all that concerned industrial art.

This idea was a familiar one to Colbert; in years past he had been accustomed to hear from his old master Mazarin justifications of extravagant expenditure on furniture and other masterpieces of Italian art, based on the ground that they would serve as models for French industry, and there is no more amusing feature in Colbert's correspondence with the Cardinal than the expressions which betray his uneasy amazement at the sums given for *objets d'art.*[1] It was a grief to him to send such sums out of the country, and the attempt to produce similar masterpieces on French soil was a necessary corollary of his economical theories. For the concentration of all his workers on one spot, he had the example of Fouquet, who had brought together at Maincy, not far from Vaux le Vicomte, all the artists and artisans engaged in embellishing his marvellous palace.[2] Nor had Colbert anything better to do when the fall of Fouquet left them unemployed (1662) than to carry them to Bièvrebache.

The Hôtel had come into Colbert's hands as early

[1] "Le Palais Mazarin," note 227, p. 262.

[2] "Arch. de l'Art Frs.," 1862, p. 15. Genevay, "Le Style Louis XIV.," p. 42.

as 1662,[1] but over and above the most necessary repairs very little was done there for some years.[2] In 1665, alterations and improvements on a large scale were commenced; the meadows at the back were enclosed: in place of the single carpenter who had hitherto slowly mended looms and patched up falling rafters, an army of plumbers, masons, glaziers, locksmiths, and their men, figure in the accounts. Even the long-abandoned brewery was put in order, and finally in 1667, a royal decree gave to the establishment its settled organisation, and a royal visit of encouragement and approbation bore witness to the interest taken by Louis XIV. in his "manufactures des meubles de la Couronne."

There is a painting by De Sève at Versailles, in which this visit is commemorated; we see at once the immense extension which the works in the Faubourg St. Marceau had already acquired. Enormous tubs of silver and their stands are displayed ready to receive the orange-trees of the Gallery of Mirrors, and the size and quantity of goldsmiths' work alone, all of which had been cast and chiselled on the spot, are sufficient to explain the expenses reported in the accounts as incurred by Jans and Tuby in setting up and decorating the buffet on which it was placed for the king's inspection.

The date of this visit was in the history of the Gobelins, as momentous as the date of 1664 in the history of the Academy; it marked an epoch of full development in comparison with which the previous period was one

[1] It was previously the property of the "Sieur Leleu, conseiller au parlement." Lacordaire, "Notice Historique sur les Manufactures Impériales de Tapisseries," 1853, p. 57.

[2] C. des B^{ts}. Accounts of Prou the joiner for 1662-3-4. Prou is mentioned by the Abbé Marolles amongst "ceux qui font fleurir les beaux arts dans l'hostel des manufactures royales aux Gobelins." Lacordaire, "Notice Historique sur les Manufactures Impériales de Tapisseries," 1853, p. 75.

of stunted growth. The magnificent Le Brun himself took up his lodgings in the building,[1] thus identifying himself with the undertaking, and in time his connection with the Gobelins was felt to add so much to his importance, that one of the plans devised by his enemies in 1665 for diminishing his influence at Court, was the offer of a post of honour in another parish, his acceptance of which would have enabled them to say to the king that Le Brun was absenting himself from Bièvrebache.[2]

After Le Brun, the Concierge Rochon seems to have had a good deal of power; he certainly was the proprietor of part of the buildings, as in 1666 he received payment for rent due to him for the "maison du Gobelins,"[3] and in previous years, in addition to what he receives on account of the "manufactures," he is paid for rooms occupied by the artisans employed in the works. Five apprentices were boarded by him, and he received a yearly salary, as did also Van Kerchove, the Dutchman in charge of the dyeing-rooms.[4] Baudren Yvart, who, under Louis Blamard, had been the chief designer for Fouquet's nineteen tapestry-workers at Maincy,[5] occupied an equally responsible position at Bièvrebache. He was made resident keeper, a post in which he was afterwards succeeded by his son Joseph; and, probably in order to give him official status, Le Brun had early secured his reception by the Academy, his diploma picture on "The Glories of Sculpture," having been presented in 1663.[6]

[1] M. I., vol. i. p. 23. [2] *Ibid.* p. 58.

[3] C. des Bts. Le Brun also had private property there which he sold the king, in 1668, "pour l'accroissement des Gobelins."

[4] C. des Bts. 1665. His daughter married Sebastian Lichery; his son, in 1681, became a pupil of Lacroix. Nouv. Arch., 1872, pp. 280 and 318.

[5] Bonaffé, "Le Surintendant Fouquet," pp. 25, 46 *et seq.* Nouv. Arch. *ut supra.* [6] M. I. Vie de Prou, vol. ii. p. 31.

O 2

Yvart, who was also employed on designs for the Louvre[1] factories, was specially engaged in the production of large cartoons, and his name is remembered in connection with those from which the History of Constantine was worked,[2] with those for the borders of the Meleager and Atalanta series, with the principal figures in the set called the "Maisons Royales," and with several of those in the series called "l'Histoire du Roi." The figures in the "Baptism of the Dauphin" were all from his hand, and, at the very day of his death, he was busy on those for the Entry of the Queen at Douai.[3] Amongst the earliest workers, too, must be remembered Anthony Mathew, "Antoine Mathieu," an Englishman famous for his power as a portrait-painter, who died, Florent le Comte tells us, in 1674, having "beaucoup travaillé aux Gobelins pour les ouvrages du Roy."[4]

In addition to Yvart, four salaried designers, each with his specialty, were attached to the works: Baptiste Monnoyer, the flower-painter; Besnard, who had a wonderful gift for animals; Francart, the ornamental designer; and Abraham Genoëls, who devoted himself to landscape. The conditions, too, of payment by the piece, on which system Colbert had at first elected to proceed, were later somewhat modified by his decision to assign salaries also to the tapestry contractors; those who were responsible for the high-warp looms receiving a third more than those engaged on the looms for the less costly sort.[5]

These contractors actually discharged the functions of middlemen, and not the least curious of the regulations under which the establishment was worked are

[1] Müntz, "La Tapisserie," p. 282.

[2] Begun on Le Brun's designs for Fouquet. See Bonaffé, "Le Surintendant Fouquet," and M. I., vol. i. p. 20.

[3] "Deux Peintres Boulonnais," Vaillant, 1884.

[4] Florent le Comte, vol. iii. p. 130. Received into R.A. in October, 1661. P. V., vol. i. p. 187.

[5] C. des B^{ts}.

those which determine their relations to their fellow-workmen on the one hand, and their obligations to the Crown on the other. The Crown furnished them with the cartoons to be worked,[1] and sold them the raw materials; the contractor on his side undertook to deliver a certain amount of tapestry every year at a fixed tariff. *Haute-lisse*, or high-warp tapestry, cost about eighty pounds the square metre, but low warp (*basse-lisse*) could be produced at half this rate, and when we find that between 1663 and 1690, the Gobelins turned out nineteen sets of the more costly description, in addition to thirty-four of the cheaper sort, we realise the great importance of this particular industry.[2] Only one Frenchman, Henry Laurent, figures amongst the contractors in high warp. Jans, whose son appears on the books in 1695,[3] was a Fleming, who came to Paris from Oudenarde in 1650,[4] whilst Jean Lefebvre, who had been transferred from the Louvre[5] to the Gobelins, was a Florentine. As for the less important low-warp looms, they remained under the sole direction of Jean la Croix, until one named Mosin was called in as fine-drawer and assistant in 1670.[6]

From the other workmen should be specially singled out, as one of the earliest comers, Domenico Cucci, joiner and carver, a wonderful worker in ebony, and strangely skilful in the use of bright jewelled incrustations, who had been at work ever since 1664[7] on the two vast cabinets, Temples of Fame and Virtue, which were intended to form the principal ornaments of the Galerie

[1] See later, p. 203. [2] Müntz, "La Tapisserie," p. 291.

[3] O.[1] 1083, "Arch. Nat."

[4] His *lettres de provision*, date 1654. O.[1] 1053, "Arch. Nat."

[5] Lodged in Louvre, and allowed to have a shop in Tuileries Gardens in 1655. O.[1] 1057, "Arch. Nat."

[6] C. des Bts., and Lacordaire, "Notice Historique sur les Manufactures Impériales de Tapisserie," 1855, p. 59.

[7] See *Lettre de naturalisation*, "Arch. de l'Art Fr.," 1873, p. 243.

d'Apollon. At the same date, too, Cucci's compatriots, Tuby and Temporiti, were probably taken on the staff, for although Temporiti's name first appears in the royal accounts for 1667, his act of naturalisation (granted in 1671) sets forth that for many years past he has been working at the Gobelins,[1] and the same phrase is also employed in the letters accorded to Tuby, in 1672.

The immediate control of men of this class could not of course be left to the Concierge Rochon, and before long we find a body of inspectors created, who lodged in a separate Hotel where they received several of the younger painters,[2] but in addition to these and the great body of workers, they had the care of no fewer than sixty children. These children were distributed as apprentices in the different workshops, and also had to be housed and taught and fed. At first Le Brun does not seem to have contemplated the giving to them any other than a purely professional training. Experience, however, seems to have convinced him that, as Descartes had first suggested, it was necessary to supplement the teaching of the workshop by the training of the school; and in this connection it is extremely interesting to find that in 1667, when the state formally recognised[3] the settled order which had been slowly worked out at the Gobelins, some of the most carefully considered provisions in the Edict are those devoted to the children. A quite new departure is made in the seventh clause, which directs that the children, on their entrance into the establishment, should be immediately placed in the *Séminaire du directeur*, who was to appoint as his assistant a master

[1] Nouv. Arch., 1873, p. 248. [2] O.[1] 1083, "Arch. Nat."
[3] See Appendix X.

painter having for his special duty their instruction and education. This appointment, which afterwards fell to the great engraver Edelinck, was first held by one of Le Brun's own pupils, Louis Lichery,[1] and it is noteworthy that this class, intended solely for the instruction of the little apprentices, was academical. The teacher's work was daily to pose the model, correct the drawings, and discharge, in a word, all the functions of the Academy professor, and for the performance of these duties he received a salary equal to that assigned to the other painters attached in different capacities to the Gobelins.[2]

Further teaching of a non-professional kind was also given regularly to the children by the priest who, besides celebrating mass for the whole body of workers in accordance with regulations which were also in force at the Savonnerie, was bound to give certain instruction to the apprentices.[3] By-and-by, as time went on, and the numbers of the tapestry-workers, chiefly Flemings, had increased to two hundred and fifty, a second priest, one of the "religieux flamans de Piquepuce," was also attached to the establishment, and a surgeon, M. de la Chambre, was included amongst the officials in 1669. He and his successor, Clément, are regularly borne on the books down to 1698, when Lemargue, *chirurgien*, receives a certificate in a similar capacity.[4]

The year after the great settlement of 1667 preparations were made to receive three Florentine lapidaries, Megliorini, Branchi, and Gachetti, all of whom were occupied in preparing the stones used by Cucci and his fellows for their inlaid cabinets and other

[1] See M. I. Vie de Louis Lichery, and "Recherches sur Louis Licherie, membre de l'ancienne Académie Royale, etc." Caen, 1860. Bellier de la Chavignerie.

[2] M. I., vol. ii. p. 62.

[3] C. des Bts., 1670.

[4] O.[1] 1083, "Arch. Nat."

articles of costly furniture. These three were afterwards joined by three French gem-cutters, Jean and André Dubois and François Chef-de-ville.[1] The looms at the same time were in full activity; Jans had in hand sets of the Seasons, the Elements, the Acts of the Apostles, the History of Alexander, the story of Meleager,[2] and the Life of the King, which Fouquet's workers at Maincy had begun to execute from Le Brun's designs. The magnificent series of the Life of the King is no doubt that in which, as M. Müntz has remarked, the talent of Le Brun is seen to the best advantage, and the liberal reward which Jans received on New Year's Eve, proved the measure of the royal satisfaction. Two embroiderers, Philibert Balland and Simon Fayette, were added to the staff in 1670, and to them were entrusted the working of the wide borders used to frame the hangings for doors and windows, and of the raised work on silk brocade, such as the king's famous "brodeur," Remy, Michel Anguier's father-in-law, was used to produce either for state dress or furniture; but of the fragile result of their labours the only trace remains in the royal account books. Bailly, too, whose specialty was "tapisserie de peinture en teinture sur tissu de soie,"[3] was shortly after this date attached to the Gobelins.

The numbers of new arrivals continued to increase at such a rapid rate, that it became necessary to make a complete revision of the brevets of the lodgings which had been accorded by the Crown.[4] Great confusion prevailed, owing to the fact that, whereas many workers, like Jean Lefebvre, had been transferred from the Louvre to the Gobelins, the privileges granted to the workers there in 1608 by Henri IV. were still in force.

[1] C. des Bts., 1669, 1670.
[2] *Ibid.* 1668. See Le Brun, C., "Tapisseries du Roi," etc. Paris, 1760.
[3] *Ibid.* 1674.
[4] O.[1] 1084, "Arch. Nat." See also "Nouv. Arch.," 1873, p. 40

The Gobelins had, indeed, always occupied many more designers than could be housed on the spot. Van der Meulen had been requisitioned as early as 1666; Caffieri[1] was also, like his compatriots, Tuby, Cucci, and Temporiti, to be found quite as often at Bièvrebache as at Versailles. Caffieri had as versatile a talent as Le Brun himself; he would go from making bronze and gilt trophies or chiselling the doors of state apartments to the decoration of men-of-war at Le Havre,[2] and his brother Italians shared his extraordinary facility. It is not, therefore, surprising to find their names connected with all that concerned the costliest forms of carved and decorated furniture, and the making, as Guillet de St. Georges says, of "tout ce qui fait aujourd'hui la magnificence des maisons royales et tout ce qui a servi à régaler non-seulement les ambassadeurs des potentats de l'Europe mais ceux des climats les plus éloignés."[3] As he wrote this Le Brun's biographer was doubtless thinking of that coach for the Great Mogul which, in accordance with Colbert's orders, had been made at the Gobelins, on Le Brun's designs, in the early days of 1665, and which probably owed its wealth of sculpture and of goldsmiths' work to the skilful fingers of the master's Italian *protégés*, who found their only formidable rival in the Spaniard, Antoine Coysevox, then also lodging in the Gobelins.[4]

Towards 1675, a fresh influx of artists took place, when on the list of salaried painters, instead of the names of Besnard, Genoëls, and Francart, we find those of De Sève, Houasse, and Guillaume Anguier[5] in

[1] See Guiffrey, "Les Caffieri." Paris, 1877. Nouv. Arch., 1876, pp. 54, 55, etc. C. des Bts., 1679.

[2] C. des Bts., 1673. See also Genevay, "Le Style Louis XIV.," p. 208.

[3] M. I., vol. i. p. 24. See also Inventaire de Menningue cited Lacordaire.

[4] O.[1] 1083, "Arch. Nat."

[5] Brother of Michel, and skilful architectural designer. M. I., vol. i. p. 445. C. des Bts., 1674, and O.[1] 1083, "Arch. Nat."

addition to Cussac and Le Brun's two pupils, Verdier[1] and Bonnemer. In the same year, too, the engravers, Rousselet and Gérard Audran, were added to the permanent staff, Lepautre and Berain, who had received the appointment of "dessinateur de la chambre,"[2] being constantly called in as ornamental designers. Berain's post, which obliged him to direct the *mise-en-scène* of all Court ceremonies, can have been no sinecure, but his fertility of invention enabled him to incessantly produce designs for every sort of decorative work, carved, painted, or woven; and the French grace and lightness with which he adapted arabesque, intermingled with figure and animal subjects, to the heavy forms in vogue under Louis XIV., have earned for him well-deserved renown.[3]

Sometimes if any special work were taken in hand, half the strength of the Academy would be called in, and a curious account of the way in which this was done when it was proposed to execute a new set of hangings, is given by Le Brun's biographer, in relating some of the intrigues to which he was exposed after the death of Colbert. His enemies were first successful in stopping the completion of a set of the celebrated series called "l'Histoire du Roi," and next they induced Louvois to approve, on La Chapelle's suggestion, two series of drawings—the one set attributed to Raffaelle, the other composed of drawings by Giulio Romano—all of which were in the royal collections. Coloured sketches were prepared from these, and distributed to fourteen Academicians—one man, one drawing—and on the list of names we find those of Boulogne the elder, Coypel,

[1] See Quittances du règne de Louis XIV., "Nouv. Arch.," 1876, p. 60.

[2] O.* 1053, "Arch. Nat." See "Œuvre de Jean Berain, dessinateur du Cab. du Roi Louis XIV.," Paris, 1659.

[3] Mariette, "Abecedario," also Genevay, "Le Style Louis XIV.," p. 221.

Corneille, Verdier, Houasse, and the younger De Sève, who were amongst the ablest and most conspicuous members of the society.[1] Le Brun, who was present when the coloured sketches were distributed, took occasion to criticise the indecent license taken in the treatment of some of the subjects—a license to which Giulio Romano, as in the decorations of the Palazzo del Te, is frequently inclined—but he only drew on himself a snub from La Chapelle; the paintings were at once put in hand, exhibited, on completion, in the chapel of the Tuileries, and then, with Louvois' sanction, despatched to the Gobelins, about two years having been occupied in their preparation.

For this system, which gradually led to a mistaken rivalry with the brush on the part of the loom, Le Brun himself is said to have been responsible; with him began the practice of giving to the tapestry-worker a painted study, instead of a cartoon washed with colour, which was but a summary of that which the painted study inevitably represented with more or less realism. The drawings by La Hire, from which the "MM. Gobelin" worked the hangings for St. Etienne du Mont, appear to have been carried out, at any rate in the first instance, only in black and white—*sur papier blanc à la pierre noire*[2]—completed probably by some general scheme of colouration. Le Brun went to the opposite extreme, and did so, according to M. Müntz, with the deliberate intention of "diminishing the interval" separating tapestry from painting, and thus inaugurated the tendency which has recently culminated in the ill-advised attempt to triumph over the material limitations of this manufacture, by the production of works of an imitative rather than a decorative character. Le Brun himself could not carry the change very far, for he was whole-

[1] M. I., vol. i. pp. 56–7. [2] *Ibid.* vol. i. note, p. 112.

somely restrained by the traditions in which those who had to weave from his designs had been bred, and he was forced, whether he would or no, to work under certain restrictions.

It was owing to these restrictions that Le Brun, as M. Denuelle has noticed,[1] never made use of more than three planes, getting his perspective by the scale of his details; but his desire for a full scheme of colour is betrayed in the foregrounds of all the pieces worked after his compositions, and he went as far in this direction as the six shades of colour, which his dyers allowed him, would permit. The result obtained was indescribably magnificent. "Quand ces tentures éblouissantes s'agitent, on éprouve," says M. Müntz, "comme un frémissement religieux, on croit voir Alexandre le roi dieu, et Louis XIV., le roi soleil, descendre de leur char triomphal ou des marches de trône pour se mêler à nous!" Especially justified is this enthusiasm by those tapestries in which "le roi soleil" figures, for Le Brun, always mannered when working on classical subjects, distinguished himself in giving historical style to the events of his own day; his power in portraiture, coupled with this peculiar excellence and consummate knowledge of the art of decoration, enabled him to produce effects unrivalled in magnificence even by the famous hangings of Mortlake, for which Vandyke drew the borders to Raffaelle's cartoons.

Although the looms of the Gobelins eclipsed all the rest, those of the Savonnerie were constantly active, and rich stuffs of gold and silver continued also to be produced in the Louvre, where Louis Dupont wove his *tapis de Perse*, or made brocades on golden

[1] Rapport de la Commission de la manufacture des Gobelins, p. 27. Müntz, "La Tapisserie," p. 278. See also Lacordaire, "Notice Historique sur les Manufactures Impériales de Tapisseries, etc.," 1853, p. 80.

grounds;[1] there, too, a large proportion of furniture was produced. One named Golle was busy on costly cabinets, marquetry floors were turned out from the workshops of Jacques Somer,[2] near to whom worked the Guelder Jean Oppenord, whose costly parquet of coloured woods was destroyed with the little gallery at Versailles.[3] In the Louvre, too, was established Jean Massé,[4] but he was replaced in 1672 by the celebrated André Charles Boulle (in England often called Buhl), who gave a new impulse and a new direction to the making of costly furniture, and whose credit grew with such rapidity, that within seven years a second lodging had to be granted to him[5] so that he might house the vast manufactory for all sorts of furniture in bronze and wood, which employed no fewer than eighteen sets of cabinet-makers, besides joiners, and subsidiary groups of filers, mounters, polishers, workers in bronze and gilt, over whom his sons and himself exercised a ceaseless supervision. The works of Boulle were the rage of Paris — clock-cases, tables, bureaux, marquetry of every description from simple joiners' work, such as the *estrade de bois de rapport* made for the queen's bed-chamber,[6] down to the most costly incrustations of copper gilt and tortoise-shell, the value of which was so great that when his workshops were destroyed by fire in 1720, the loss on the furniture being made to order was enormous.[7] In spite of his immense

[1] C. des Bts., 1666 *et seq.* [2] *Ibid.* 1668, succeeded by his widow.

[3] See "Œuvres de Gille Marie Oppenord, etc., mis au jour . . . par Gabriel Huquier." See C. des Bts., 1685. He was naturalised in 1679. Nouv. Arch., 1873, p. 258.

[4] See brevet, Arch. I. 222, cited in Nouv. Arch., 1873, p. 74, and O1.* 1053, "Arch. Nat." See quatrain of Marolles, "Livres des Peintres-Graveurs," ed. 1855, p. 88. [5] O1.* 1053, "Arch. Nat."

[6] C. des Bts., 1674. Nouv. Arch., 1876, p. 53.

[7] 80,000 lt. (*livres tournois*). Arch. de l'Art Fr., 1856, note, p. 334. Asselineau.

vogue, nothing went well with Boulle; he quarrelled with his workmen and got the worst of it,[1] and his affairs, owing partly to his mania for collecting, which constantly brought him to the verge of bankruptcy, were so involved that more than once the Crown had to interpose between him and his creditors, lest their just claims should prevent the fulfilment of royal commissions.[2]

The forges of the Louvre soon became as active as its factories and workshops, although Guillaume Dupré had his foundry in the Louvre as early as 1603.[3] At first, the smiths seem to have been busiest at Bièvrebache, for the wonderful silver which figures in De Sève's picture of the visit of Louis XIV. to the Gobelins in 1667, was in all probability the work of Jacques Dutel and his comrades Viaucourt, Cousinet, Merlin, and Alexis Loir[4] (brother of the painter), who were all established on the spot. At that date Claude De Villers, the great English smith, who had arrived from London in 1665 with all his family, had only produced a couple of silver bowls; it was not long, however, before the sums paid to him for *grands ouvrages d'argenterie* were almost as considerable as those which went to his French rival Claude Ballin, who in that same critical year 1667, was constructing his forges near the Great Gallery of the Louvre.

Thenceforth Ballin stood chief amongst his fellows, chiselling seats and stands and standards for the Gallery of Mirrors, on the candelabra for which he had at his arrival been instantly employed. Like De Villers, Ballin turned with equal readiness to work of the most

[1] Nouv. Arch., 1880, p. 316; 1882, p. 106; and Arch. de l'Art Frs., 1856, p. 321.

[2] O.[1] 1054, "Arch. Nat." 21 Juin, 1701, see order staying execution for three months repeated in October with extension to six.

[3] Nouv. Arch., 1872, p. 178.

[4] Conseiller of R. A. received 1678. M. I., vol. i. pp. 15, 29, 49, 70. See "Nouveaux dessins de guéridons, etc. Gravez par A. Loire. A Paris chez N. Langlois."

enormous size, or to such trifles as an inkstand or a pounce-box.[1] Many voices celebrate his praises, and Mariette, a century later, described with enthusiasm the beauty of certain delicate mountings in silver gilt which Ballin had executed for a volume in which Le Sueur's friend Anne de Chambré had collected the compositions of Denis Gaultier, binding them in costly green shagreen, and illustrating them by drawings from the hands of Nanteuil and Abraham Bosse.[2] This volume, like the toilet toys chiselled by De Villers, or the golden ship[3] —*nef d'or*—of Jean Gravet, or the silver mirrors of Debonnaire,[4] has long since disappeared, and of all the glories which figure in De Sève's picture none remain: silver seats and silver candelabra, golden mirrors and caskets, were all swept into the melting-pot in 1689, and then the sacrifice of these priceless works of art, on which sums unknown had been expended, realised but a trifle. "The king said to-night" (12th Dec. 1689), writes Dangeau, "that he had thought to get more than six millions out of the silver which he had sent to the Mint, but that he would scarcely get as much as three!"

Claude Ballin was saved by death from the mortification of seeing his life's work perish before his eyes,[5] for the destruction was wholesale, and it is almost impossible to identify the work of any one of these famous smiths: the few objects which escaped, either on account of their unimportance or because they were in private hands, like the silver "flambeaux" in the collection of M. Spitzer, are rarely or never signed. The works of Warin,[6]

[1] C. des Bts., 1685. [2] M. I., vol. i. p. 171.

[3] The ship or *nef* was, says Littré, a "petite machine en forme de navire où l'on enfermait le couvert du roi et qui se servait sur un bout de la table." [4] See C. des Bts. and I. G.

[5] Succeeded in 1679 by Girardon in his lodgings in the Louvre. Nouv. Arch., 1873, p. 75.

[6] Naturalised in 1626. Nouv. Arch., 1873, p. 236.

the famous medallist and master of the Mint, who like most medallists had the habit of thus marking his work, form, therefore, an exception all the more valuable.

"Nous avons," says Voltaire, "égalé les anciens dans les médailles. Varin fut le premier qui tira cet art de la médiocrité." And though this sweeping statement is a little unfair to Guillaume Dupré, the able medallist of Henri IV., whose work generally shows Italian influence,[1] there is no doubt that his fame has been eclipsed by Warin's greater importance and astonishing success.

Warin, who in 1628 had been forced to fly the country to save his neck from the halter which he had deserved as a coiner, managed matters so cleverly that in 1663 we find him "Conseiller du Roy en ses Conseils, Intendant de ses bastiments et Conducteur général du moulin de la Monnoye."[2] He owed something probably to family connection, for although born at Liège, and receiving letters of naturalisation only in 1650, his son asserts that the "charge de garde des machines du Louvre" had been in his family for two hundred years.[3] As early as 1661, his crimes had been condoned by the Academy, who showed their opinion of his talent by sending for him to execute the seal of the company, and four years later they elected him a member of their body.[4] It was the year of Bernini's visit to Paris, and it is probable that Warin owed this accession of honour to the satisfaction felt at his execution of the gold medals which he had modelled for the foundations of the Louvre.[5] He had had the fore-

[1] See Catalogue du Louvre. His Marie de Médicis is well known; one of his best is that of Jacques Boisseau. For further details see Nouv. Arch., 1872, p. 178; *ibid.* 1876, p. 172; and *ibid.* 1880, p. 182.

[2] See Fétis, "Les Artistes belges à l'étranger," and Nouv. Arch., 1876, pp. 35–6; *ibid.* 1872, p. 50.

[3] *Ibid.* 1876, p. 235.

[4] P. V., vol. i. pp. 186, 291.

[5] In 1668 Warin was paid for other medals, probably those for the foundations of the Observatoire and for Versailles. C. des Bts., 1668.

sight to acquire property on the very spot required for the completion of the new plans, and consequently was bought out, much to his advantage, so that the royal accounts alternately record the payments made on this head and those for medals and busts of the king.[1] The last payment is on account of a series of medals of "l'Histoire du Roy," on which he was engaged during his latter years, and for which, in 1677, long after his death, his heirs received a sum in "parfait payement;" but, nevertheless, the total due was not cleared off in 1693, when François Warin appealed for justice in the name of his father's services and his own misery.[2]

Warin, who seems to have been a detestable character, regardless where money was concerned of his own honour or the happiness of others, did not neglect to secure his professional reputation. In most instances he carefully signed his work, so that we know a great deal more about it than we do about that of any other of the minor artists of his day. As one would expect, some of his earlier works,[3] executed apparently under the influence of Guillaume Dupré, are amongst the best. His medal of Richelieu (1631) is good, and that of Anne of Austria—a magnificent medal executed in the very year of her widowhood—shows Warin's full strength of hand and power of delicate finish.

The most distinguishing feature of Warin's art is, however, one which is equally typical of that of his fellows. At the exhibition on the Quai Malaquais, during the present summer, all the world has admired the two "Commodes" made by Boulle for the bed-

[1] C. des B^{ts}., 1667. He executed two busts, one in bronze and one in marble. The statue of Louis XIV., a heavy, poor work, now on the Escalier des Princes at Versailles, was left by him to the king. Arch. de l'Art Fr^{s}., 1852, p. 293.

[2] Nouv. Arch., 1880, p. 30.

[3] See his bust of Richelieu in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

chamber of Louis XIV. at Versailles, and which have been preserved since the Rèvolution in the Mazarin Library. The noble arabesques which unfold themselves on the inlay of dark shell, the graceful curves and volutes of the feet, the severe and splendid character of the winged figures at the sides, combine to make these perhaps the finest models extant of the art of Boulle under the influence of Le Brun. The celebrated "bureau de Colbert," lent by the Ministry of Marine, the *bureau en contre partie*—inlaid with shell on a ground of copper—had suffered much from unskilful restoration; yet in it also, as in the innumerable other works of the school which figured at this remarkable exhibition, the same indelible marks of a great style were to be recognised—dignity, and noble symmetry, and a fine taste. Perfect power, too, of fusing decorative and pictorial detail—power which is just as noticeable in the treatment of a medal as in the design of tapestries for the Gobelins or of sculptures for Versailles—was also a leading feature of all the art which bears the name of Louis XIV. When we come to the purely decorative details, to the trophies of Coysevox, Tuby, and "consors;" to the rosettes and bands still retaining the glass panels of the Gallery of Mirrors; to the bronze and gilt ornaments of the Venus and Diana rooms, or the locks and bolts chiselled by Domenico Cucci in the Hall of Apollo, which, like the draperies cast by Pierre le Nerve for the busts in the *Cabinet de Médailles*, have happily escaped the general destruction, we find a predominant aptness of judgment, a tact and skill, especially manifest in the calculated introduction of relief into the flat. By this extreme skilfulness in gradation of planes even violence is prevented from becoming vulgar, and it is no less striking than that union of great boldness of general outline with the utmost delicacy of chiselling, which

distinguishes alike the smallest and largest objects, the gilt button of a shutter, or ironwork on a scale as imposing as the balconies of the Cour de Marbre.[1]

The same admirable treatment of relief, masterly, strong, and firm, is shown in the smallest bits of stucco modelling, in the carving of the frames of the two tables—one in the Œil-de-Bœuf with a granite top, and one with a mosaic top in the Diana room—which are almost the sole relics of furniture made at the Gobelins now at Versailles. The same beautiful quality marks the sculptured surface of the wooden doors, the remains of which, at the entrance to the rooms of Venus and Diana, are now the only record of the pristine glories of the Ambassadors' Stairs. These doors, carved by Caffieri in 1678,[2] or the even finer pair in the Hall of Plenty, are of the very best time of Louis XIV., and even if we take work produced thirty years later—work done, not by the men whom Le Brun with rare judgment selected as his assistants, but by those whom they trained—we find that it retains the character, the distinction, the excellence of execution which were proper to the work of their masters. The beautiful golden frieze of children playing with birds and beasts which runs round the Œil-de-Bœuf,[3] the wood-carvings of the same chamber,[4] the cornice of the bedroom,[5] and the metal work of both these apartments,[6] were all executed

[1] Carried out by Delobel (C. des Bts.), 1684.

[2] C. des Bts. See also Genevay, "Le Style Louis XIV.," for doors of the Salon at Marly, p. 118.

[3] Flamen, Van Clive, Hurtrelle, Poultier, Poirier-Harsly. C. des Bts., 1701–2.

[4] By Taupin, Dugoulon, Le Goupil, and Billan. C. des Bts., 1701–2. See also Piganiol, vol. i. p. 259.

[5] Lespingola, who also executed cornices of the Œil-de-Bœuf. C. des Bts., 1701–2.

[6] Jules Lochon. C. des Bts., 1702. See also Dussieux, "Château de Versailles."

in the earliest years of the eighteenth century by a generation to whom Le Brun was almost unknown.

That the work of these younger men should have been what it was is in itself a testimony to the soundness of the system under which they had been trained. Colbert and Le Brun had directed their most strenuous efforts to the maintenance of the highest possible standard of excellence in workmanship, and the result was that, even after direct pressure was removed, tradition compelled respect, and the very button of a window-catch was expected to show the same kind of merit as the costliest products of an artist's skill.

Even in his own day the influence which Colbert's stringent system had had on excellence of production was fully recognised, and we find from inventories of royal furniture[1] that the note "étoffe faite du temps de Colbert," was held to be a certificate of value. Regulations such as those of his Edict on Commerce, 1673, or of that famous decree bearing date 1667, in which he so curiously mapped out the whole internal order of French industry, had direct results other than those of a vexatious character. The mere fact, too, of the enormous attention paid to industrial and commercial interests by Louis XIV.'s great Minister raised the status of labour, and brought about a certain respect for "business" in quarters to which it was unfamiliar, and this respect had a close connection with the success of Colbert's educational work.

Le Brun, in his own field, was a no less exacting taskmaster; everything that was produced under his rule bears witness to the perfection of finish which he demanded, and to the admirable manner in which he was seconded by those about him. If we examine, for example, the mosaic marble panelling which lines the

[1] Cited by Dussieux, "Château de Versailles," vol. i. pp. 441–2.

rooms of Venus and Diana, we shall find that the workmanship of the jointings is as exquisite as in the best Italian work, so that in all these years not one has stirred. If we look at the rosettes and bands which fasten the bevelled mirrors to the walls of the Great Gallery we find again the same justness of fitting and finish, and it is difficult to persuade ourselves that the gilded trophies and ornaments, wherever they remain, are not things of yesterday, so fresh are they, so sharp in line, so keen, so fine of edge.

One thing is certain: if this excellence of performance was in large measure due to the practical training obtained in the workshops and workrooms of the Gobelins, the influence of the academical school and of the lessons there given was equally powerful in raising and invigorating the tastes of the ornamental designers bred within the Gobelin walls. For Le Brun, to whose initiative the foundation of this academical school in the centre of an establishment devoted wholly to the production of works of decoration was due, had recognised the fact that the highest and widest possible artistic training is none too good for your art-workman, and that you will defeat your own ends if you limit his attention to those forms which may happen to be considered as the special province of industrial art. It is said, in Paris of to-day, that the only school which furnishes no new blood to the ranks of that great army of ornamental designers who give the law to Europe, is that school in which ornamental design is expressly taught—the school in which work the students of architecture. "Quel plus mauvais service," says M. Ravaisson,[1] "serait-il donc possible de rendre au plus grand nombre en tout pays et dans le nôtre surtout, que de faire partout prévaloir des méthodes d'enseignement propres à borner à la

[1] "L'Enseignement du Dessin," pp. 39–40.

mesure de la médiocrité le développement des talents?" and in still plainer language he adds, "Pour l'industrie française en particulier, si elle est à tant de titres au premier rang parmi les industries européennes, à quoi en est-elle redevable sinon à ce que le premier rang appartient depuis longtemps déjà à nos peintres et à nos statuaires?"

It was the close connection of the greatest painters and statuaries of the day with the schools that gave the Gobelins their brief splendour in the reign of Louis XIV., and the practical utility of the Academy was felt to be so great that it was carried on long after the death of its founder. Although in 1694 the workshops were closed and many workmen forced to join the army,[1] four years later Germain Brice says: "There is still a sort of Academy at the Gobelins where young men can study from the model daily posed for them, but," he adds, "in spite of all that, things have greatly changed there, as they say, these last few years."[2] As long as it lasted the school was not only powerful for discipline, but continued to be the connecting link by which the decorative arts at their very centre were attached to the great staff of painters and sculptors who were themselves centralised in the Academy; it effected the solidarity of all the arts, and justified the policy which had led Colbert to injure and cramp the authority of the guilds.

Under the rule of Mignard,[3] when Le Brun had passed away, the Gobelins, as Germain Brice says, were greatly changed, and when, on the death of Mignard, the direction of Colbert's great creation passed into the hands of the Board of Works, it fell to the ground, for funds were wanting to support the schools and other institutions connected with it which he had been unable

[1] Lacordaire, "Notice Historique sur les Manufactures Impériales de Tapisseries, etc.," ed. 1853, p. 83. [2] "Description de Paris," vol. ii. p. 23.
[3] See Lacordaire, *ibid.* p. 81.

to place on a sound financial footing. It was not until Charles Antoine Coypel succeeded Boulogne as First Painter, in 1746, that this part of Colbert's schemes again received attention. Then, whether Coypel had misunderstood Colbert's object or was out of sympathy with it, he certainly gave a totally different direction to that *École des Élèves protégés*, which was formed, as it were, in the very name of the Gobelins.[1] In place of an institution which should give to children living in the workshop an insight into the noblest forms of art, Coypel seems to have planned a little seminary in which twelve boys were nursed for the Academy.

Such a system could not meet the want which had been created under Le Brun's administration, and in 1766 royal letters patent authorised the position of the *École gratuite de dessin*, which had been opened in the old *Collège d'Autun* by Bachelier during the previous year. In this school the attempt was once more made to give "chaque ouvrier la faculté d'exécuter lui-même et sans secours étranger les différens ouvrages que son génie particulier pour son art lui fait imaginer." [2]

This school was of course swept away by the Revolution, and other ways and methods less arbitrary have since been shaped in accordance with the demands of to-day; but these later ways and methods defy that severity of discipline by virtue of which French art attained its magnificent superiority over that of other nations; the training of the workman has gradually become little more than mere apprenticeship to his trade, and this tends to encourage those personal vagaries which are prompted by the selfish desire to attract the public notice.

[1] Courajod, "L'École des Élèves protégés," p. 115 *et seq.*

[2] Lettres Patentes. See Courajod, "L'École des Élèves protégés," p. 232.

CHAPTER X.

CONCLUSION.

"YOUR revenue and your expenditure have passed all bounds. You have been raised to the skies for having, it is said, effaced the greatness of all your predecessors put together—that is to say, for having impoverished the whole of France in order that you might introduce at Court a monstrous and miserable luxury."[1] In these words Fénélon addressed the Grand Monarque in 1693. Was it a true indictment?

To some extent doubtless "Yes"! Pleasure and superstition had had their will of one who, in spite of the lines of lust and bigotry which disfigured his character, was nevertheless a man of mark. Incapable of love for either God or man—yet grovelling before his confessor and his mistress—the king, when dealing with practical affairs, showed conspicuous ability and energy. His judgment, when the narrow lights of selfishness and pride were sufficient for its guidance, was unerring; his natural powers of discernment and apprehension of a very high order, his capacity for work and endurance

[1] In 1710 the tenth of each man's income was demanded, "pour soutenir la guerre" (declared on 14 Oct., 1710). See Vuitry, "De l'abus, etc." *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1884.

far beyond the common; his understanding sharp enough to make him a most dangerous master to a Minister like Colbert. The one-sided arguments by which the latter, eager for success, had backed up his policy of aggrandisement having once been taken in by the king were by the king employed with despotic logic, and Colbert dying, saw his work in large measure destroyed by the very means on which he had reckoned to ensure its success. France, instead of being made the richer and the more prosperous by the activity of her fostered industries and protected commerce, was actually bankrupt through the scandalous luxury of a dissolute Court.

This is the reverse side of the shield, and there is much to justify the terrible words of Fénélon: the blood, the anguish and the exile of the Huguenots; the hunger and nakedness of the peasantry; the deaths of fathers and husbands, who fell in thousands over the pestilential labours enforced to please a harlot's fancy; commerce harassed by arbitrary legislation; the producer now coaxed with bounties, now ground by taxation to the earth; the professions sacrificing their independence for the support and countenance of men in power; whilst those nearest to the throne held their honour cheap at the price of a pension or a place.

Apart from the terrible shadows which blacken its lustre, nothing can be more joyless than the aspect of the Great Century. The mystic passion born of Christian sentiment, which tinctured with fervour the splendid realism of classic ideals, lifted the problems of the Renaissance into the highest sphere of intellectual interest: the social and political problems of the age of Louis XIV. have no such spiritual fascination. Not less complicated, not less exciting, not less momentous to

human life and society are they, but of wholly different value, and belonging to another order of things.

Out of the crumbling ruins of feudalism, the modern state had to be created, its administration organised, its commerce developed, its institutions established, its officers housed, and the keynote of all this activity was not the satisfaction of happy energies, but the calculated considerations of business. Active and far-reaching in schemes of practical work, great in devotion to the most arduous tasks of government, noble in sacrifice to popular interests, splendid in her intelligent zeal to know and do, France became the foremost amongst nations; but the fervid love of beauty haunted her common paths no more.

Had her people been still in the full heat of that creative energy which had marked the Renaissance, the institution of such a system as this, in spite of the political and social benefits which it conferred, might have been a matter for regret. But France had "spoiled the bread and spilled the wine," riot and ruin had been her heritage, and out of riot and ruin Richelieu and his successors had to rebuild an imperial state.

The means by which they succeeded in doing this were for a while abused, but they succeeded, and not all the vicissitudes of fortune nor the sins and wickedness of after rulers could destroy their work. A spirit of co-operation, of zeal for the grandeur of the state and for the national reputation, was called forth in France by the men of the *Grand Siècle*, a spirit which is perhaps not the very noblest spring of energy, but which is an undoubted element of national strength, and which, markedly as it has affected the external progress of France, has had a no less marked influence on every branch of her internal development.

"Tout pour la patrie"—all for France—the watchword which is ever on the lips of her sons, is ever in their hearts. In this absolute devotion to France lies the national point of stability: the Bourbon tradition may die, the Napoleonic legend may die, but France never dies; she always claims, no matter who may be the ruler of the day, the same unquestioning self-sacrifice in her service. And—by a strange revenge of fate—this spirit in which the French have found, again and again, the force necessary to repair the losses entailed by the follies or the crimes of their fallen rulers, was called forth in them by the very measures which were employed in the seventeenth century to secure the foundations of arbitrary rule.

Not to her fair skies alone nor to the wealth of her happy soil does France owe her rank in Europe, but chiefly to the devoted passion with which she is served by every Frenchman. That zeal for the national honour which enabled her on the morrow of Sedan to begin the work of reconstruction with dauntless ardour, to uphold her commercial credit and to stablish her future, that same zeal it is which sustains the artist in his poverty rather than set his hand to work unworthy one to whom his country has given the highest training which her school can bestow.

At the present moment, when the bonds of national life seem somewhat slack amongst us, the means by which this spirit was called forth are full of interest, and the more so since the perplexing conditions, social and political, with which we have to deal may be referred, in great measure, to that disciplined reaction against liberty of thought and life which was in part the work of the seventeenth century. In no country of Europe was this reaction more plainly defined than in

France: there, the moral and intellectual revolution which had in the preceding age been carried out, if but partially, to a logical conclusion; there, too, the forces of the reaction were taken in hand by those in supreme power, and promptly put to that work of political and social reorganisation, the effects of which in some shape or other have endured even to this day. The revolution which we call the Renaissance was necessarily incomplete, seeing that it never affected either political or social life. Moreover, as soon as the fabric of political and social life appeared to be menaced and the forces of the reaction were aroused, the very principle to which the Renaissance had owed its existence, the principle of individualism, was turned against itself.

The great class organisations, the industrial guilds, which had sprung up in the Middle Ages had been based on the opposite principle—the principle of collectivism; the legal rights, privileges, and immunities which had accrued in the course of centuries to these bodies, formed formidable obstacles to the establishment of a system of arbitrary centralisation. Those in power, however, found no agent more powerful for the destruction of those societies than an appeal to that very principle of individual liberty which they desired to crush out in other directions. The great guilds had always represented the common interest of the arts and trades as distinct from, and sometimes even incompatible with, those of the artisan himself; nothing was easier, therefore, than to encourage the disposition to revolt, always latent amongst the abler and more enterprising members, since all who were suffering from the frequently vexatious restraints imposed by the combination of their fellow-workers naturally looked to the Crown for protection.

Thus it came to pass that, one by one, the ancient guilds lost that power and importance which they had so long enjoyed, and were relegated to a situation of political insignificance; thus, too, whilst all those organisations by which the interests of the individual or of the family had been subordinated to those of the class or trade were broken up, class distinctions, bred of the old order of things, were increased and maintained.

In a certain sense—for class distinctions marked out individuals as having advantages not belonging to the common rank—these caste distinctions lent themselves to the aims of absolutism, and found their parallel in the titles and privileges granted to those who bore rule in the new Academies. They ruled, not as representatives of their brothers, but as delegates of the Crown; they aided in the work of decentralisation, completed the absorption of provincial types, and gave to French art and French industry that uniform character and style which it has since maintained throughout all the changes of fashion down to our time.

In the conflict between the *maîtrise* and the Academies was reflected the great struggle of central absolutism as against a democracy of many centres; the struggle between a system based on individualism, which tends to the building up of absolutism, as against that collectivism which is its overthrow. The violent outburst of 1789, with all its frenzied iconoclasm, was but a protest born of the crimes which stifled the Renaissance, for the irresistible development of democracy, which is the keystone of the modern situation, begun in the moral world by the Renaissance, received so severe a check politically and socially in France during the seventeenth century, that 1789 was needed in order to redress the balance.

The moral evolution of the sixteenth century having failed to obtain social and political expression, the assertion of the rights of the individual was turned to the profit of arbitrary government, and now for the last hundred years the protest against the suppression of the Renaissance has been gathering strength. To fight against it is as irrational as to become its fanatical apologist; it requires neither advocacy nor apology, it is an inevitable transformation—an historical evolution. When the moral type changes in character, it is of necessity that the world seeks new courses; only the death of the old must be the price of the new birth.

> Nam quodcumque suis mutatum finibus exit,
> Continuo hoc mors est illius quod fuit ante.

APPENDIX.

I.

THIS piece, and that following, in which the masters state their grievances against the Academy, are, I believe, both unpublished. I give them here, because the case for the Academy has been fully placed before the world by the documents printed in the Appendix to M. Vitet's admirable study, "L'Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture," whilst that for the masters has been passed over.

"Mémoire" of the Procureur du Roy au Chatelet (M. de Riantz, see Montaiglon, "Histoire de l'Académie," vol. ii. p. 126), on behalf of the Maîtrise against the Academy. (National Library MSS. Collection Delamare, Fonds français, 21791.) Probable date, 1664.

"Le procureur du roy au Chastelet & le lieutenant du prevost de Paris pour le faict des arts & metiers Auquel seul appartient (et en possession de tous temps immemorial) de recevoir les maistres dans la ville de Paris . . . et . . . juger . . . tous les differents qui naissent de maistre a maistre pour le faict des maistrises.

"Entr'autres communaultez Il y a celle des peintres et sculpteurs qui a esté erigéé en maistrise Il y a plus de quatre ans, ausquelz a esté conceddé des statuts & privilèges par les Roys . . . ils ont toujours vescus dans l'obeissance & se sont perfectionnés en sorte que l'on peut dire quil y a en cette communaulté les plus habilles hommes de l'Europe. Neantmoings en l'année 1648 le Roy par l'Importunité accorda a

quelques particuliers peintres certains articles soubz le tiltre de l'Académye Royalle Lesquelz troublèrent la communaulté des peintres & sculpteurs, en sorte que dès le procureur du Roy en recevoit un prejudice considerable, Mais les Académistes sestans accomodez avec la communaulté des peintres & sculptures par un concordat passé pardevant notaires au mois d'Aoust 1651 & ayant reduit leur nombre a trente le procureur du Roy les a soufferts, & lorsquils ont porté pardevant luy leurs differends contre les maistres de la ditte communaulté il leurs a rendu la justice quil leurs debvoit.

"Ces Académistes non voulant pas demeurer là ont obtenus d'aultres articles de sa majestie par les quelles l'on donne aux Académistes seuls le droit de travailler et d'enseigner dans paris l'art de peinture, l'on faict des deffenses a toutes sortes de personnes de travailler que soubz les ordes de l'Académye & l'on establist des officiers pour cognoistre & juger de leurs differents, souverainement soubz l'authorité de gens d'Illustre condition, l'on estably en tiltre d'office un secretaire qui recoit le serment des academistes bien quil professe la Religion pretendue Reforméé Lequel exige deux Louis dor en deslivrant les provisions & enfin l'on donne pouvoir aux deux huissiers qui balairont le lieu [see Art. XX. of the Statutes of 1664, P. V., vol. i. p. 255] ou se tiendra l'accadémie de travailler dans paris en qualité de maistres, & ainsi soubz pretexte de chercher les moyens d'avoir des habilz peintres ce qui est sauf correction bien Inutil puisquil y a une Académye bien establye & une maîtrise dans Paris remplye d'habilz gens, ou l'on professe l'art de la peinture autant bien que l'on peult désirer lon veult soustraire de la jurisdiction du procureur du Roy la communaulté des peintres & sculpteurs & dans la suitte celle des menuisiers parcequils ont droict de faire des ornements de sculpture, des serruriers, & charpentiers. Supprimer les ordonnances que les Roys ont faict de siècle en siècle depuis que la monarchye est monarchye les statuts conceddéés à toutes ses communaultéz par les Roys successivement Depuis plus de cinq a six cens ans donner pouvoir a un homme de la Religion pretendue Refforméé de faire prester le serment aux accadémistes Catholiques soubz le tiltre de Secre-

taire de l'Accadémye dont les mœurs seront suspects, aux accadémistes de faire des assembléés dans Paris qui ont toujours esté estroitement deffendués, de se soustraire de la police des juges ordinaires pour abuser de leur art soit en faisant des nuditéés soit d'autres figures scandaleuses & enfin establir une nouvelle Jurisdiction qui sera composéé de Juges de conseilleurs de grieffier & huissiers & par ce moyen ruyner la charge du procureur du Roy."

(The spelling in this and the following document has been carefully preserved.)

II.

THE MS. above cited is followed by another, entitled "Raisonnement desinteressé pour les maistres peintres & sculpteurs de la ville de Paris touchant l'Académie de St Luc." The following extracts contain all the important passages of this document, which, like the preceding, bears no date:

"Le corps des maistres peintres & sculpteurs subsiste dans Paris Il y a plus de quatre cens ans. . . . Si ce corps a esté plus vigoureux dans ses premières années que dans les suivantes & que lon ayt eu sujet d'accuser de foiblesse aucuns de ses membres comme l'on a faict pour prétexter l'establissement faict en 1648 de l'Académie Royalle des mesmes arts Ce deffaut ne provient que du trop de tranquillité dont il a jouy qui par faute d'ennemis ou plustost d'emulateurs on a laissé engourdir la vigueur. . . . Mais estant présentément reveillé comme il est par la noble émulation de l'Académie Royalle, il sent encores en soy assez de vigueur pour maintenir avec justice son droict d'aisnesse soit pour la conservation de ses privilegès & droicts soit pour les ouvrages de l'art qu'il conviendra faire.

"L'unique reproche quils veullent advouer qu'on leur a pu faire avec quelque raison, est d'avoir souffert dans leur corps pour membres co-egaux & communs avec eux en privilèges ceux qui n'en exercent que les plus basses & grossières fonctions telz que les doreurs, Marbriers & autres estoffeurs qui par raison doivent etre distinguez & tenus autant au dessous

des peintres & sculpteurs que l'ouvrage de ceux cy est pardessus le leur. Ils pourroient dire que c'est un abus inveteré quilz ont tolleré plustost par habitude que par aprobation. . . . Neantmoins pour oster a l'advenir tout sujet a l'Académie de leur objecter ce deffault & profiter en cela de son advis Les d[ts] M[rs] sont resolus d'apporter parmy eux toulte la reforme & la distinction que l'on peut desirer sur ce sujet.

"L'establissement de l'Académie Royalle est à la verité dans le dessein que l'on a eu de relever le lustre de ces arts. . . . Neantmoins comme ce nouveau corps n'a esté formé qu'aux despends de celuy de la Maîtrise, & que par les articles de son establissement, Sa Majesté par Sa prudence & justice a expressément reservé que c'est sans quil puisse nuire n'y prejudicier au corps des Maistres; les d[e] Académistes n'ont pas de grace de pretendre d'obliger ceux qui se contentent d'estre Maistres a ce faire Académistes n'y encores moins de droict de les troubler dans leurs antiens privilèges. . . . Les Maistres veulent bien passer soubz silence le contrat d'union faict par eux avec les Académistes le 7 Juin 1651 puisque ces derniers l'ont enfraint et violez de leur part. Ce contract leur a servi a faire enregistrer au Parlement Les patentes de l'Establissement de la d[e] Académie à l'enregistrement desquelles les Maistres s'estoient opposés, & il contient cette clause expresse acceptée respectivement par les parties que c'est sans aucun dessein de prejudicier au corps des Maistres ny aux particuliers que les deux corps seront joints avec voix desliberatives . . . ce qui n'a pas esté observé par les Académistes qui se sont depuis sequestrez des Maitres & faict bande a part De sorte que ceux cy se contentent de demeurer dans leur corps separez comme ilz l'estoient avant le d[e] contrat avec leurs antiens droicts & privilèges accordez a leurs Maitrises. . . .

"La seulle chose que non seulement les Maistres mais encore tous les vertueux ont droit d'improuver avec raison dans lad[e] Académie comme une oppression manifeste a la vertu est la pretention qu'elle a eu (usurpant l'antien droict des Maistres) d'estre seule dans Paris . . . . ceux qui s'en estiment les premiers & principaux membres . . . . voulant

par ce moyen esviter silz pouvaient avoir des coëgaux en d'autres académies qui pourroient meriter le mesme honneur queux. L'on ne peut pas desnier que les Maistres n'ayent droict d'en tenir plusieurs . . . . cependant lesd[tes] Académistes au préjudice de cette liberté & de l'honneur d'une Académie Royalle ou l'on devroit enseigner gratuitement la jeunesse puisquelle est entretenu aux despends de Sa Majesté en ont congedier les filz des Maistres ou pour les souffrir veullent en exiger de l'argent. . . . Si l'instruction de la jeunesse est comme elle doit estre le principal motif de l'Académie l'on y doit aussi joindre la commodité des estudians, & quelle raison & proportion y a il dune seule académie dans un petit monde comme Paris ou tant de jeunes gens & pauvres ouvriers logez aux extremitez de la ville & fauxbourgs perdroient plus de temps a aller & venir avec bien de la peine quilz n'en pourroient employer a l'estude. Il faut donc par necessité & charité en establir en divers quartiers de la ville. . . . A quoy Maistres voulants de leur part contribuer tout ce quilz peuvent ont crû estre obligez se servant de leur antien droit de restablir une académie de St Luc dans la chambre de leur communaulté non seulement pour l'instruction quilz doivent naturellement a leurs enfans mais encores pour faire connoistre que cest a tort qu'on les a voulu accuser de n'avoir pas assez de zele pour se donner cette peine & que d'ailleurs ilz nont pas moins de Capacité pour enseigner la Jeunesse que ceux qui ont l'honneur d'estre de l'Académie Royalle ny moins de passion queux de servir & plaire a Sa Majesté en tout ce quilz pouront."

Res faciunt non verba fidem.

III.

PROPOSED JUNCTION OF THE ROYAL ACADEMY OF PAINTING AND SCULPTURE WITH THE ACADEMY OF ST. LUKE AT ROME.

THE archives of the Academy of St. Luke at Rome contain a few papers relative to the association of the Royal Academy of France with that of St. Luke. There is more than a

sheet in French, and one in Italian, concerning the negotiations for the union. That in French is signed by "Le Brun, premier peintre du Roy, Chancelier & principal Recteur de l'Académie, Anguier, Girardon, Marsy, C. Beaubrun, M. G. de Sève, Besnard, Ferdinand, Tettelin, Regnaudin, Paillet, Coypel, De Campagne, P. de Sève, Blanchard, De la Fosse, Le Hongre, Raon, Houasse, Baptiste Tuby, Migon, Rousselet, Yvar, Tortebat, Rabon, Silvestre, Friquet."

Annexed to this are the royal letter assenting to the union of the two Academies; a letter of Testelin's, in his capacity of secretary; the power of attorney, given by the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture of Paris to Charles Errard, authorising him to conclude the union; the report of the discussion of the terms by the Academy of St. Luke, of which Errard was vice-prince; the original letters patent of the King of France, by which he confers nobility on Le Brun, together with an Italian translation of the same; and the heads of the agreement for the union, subscribed by Colbert for the king.

The archives also contain two letters, written by Le Brun in acknowledgment of his election to the Academy of St. Luke, and of his having been made its prince. The first of these letters has already been published from the copy preserved, together with the Italian translation, in the Bibl. Nat. Fonds Séguier (see "Arch. de l'Art Français," 1852, p. 52), and, as the text preserved in the archives of the Academy of St. Luke differs from it only verbally, except that it bears date 10th April (corrected into 10th February), 1676, it is unnecessary to reproduce it here.

The text of the second letter, a copy of which I owe to the friendly offices of M. Eugène Müntz, is subjoined. From it, it would appear that the office of prince to which Le Brun had been elected, carried with it, by grace of the Academy, special advantages and privileges.

"MESSIEURS,

Il faut avouer que je ne puis penser a vous faire un remerciment que je n'aye un nouveau sujet de vous en faire

un autre, La lettre que je viens de recevoir de vostre illustre & scavante Académie est un nouveau sujet de graces que j'ai a vous rendre, Cette lettre, Messieurs, est l'achèvement de vostre ouvrage, vous avez voulu par elle faire connoistre a tout le monde l'honneur que vous m'avez fait en me nommant Prince de vostre illustre Compagnie, vous avez voulu que chacun fust informé comme vous m'avez associé a tous les avantages que vous possedez quy ne sont dus qu'a vos illustres personnes, Quand je pense a la grandeur du rang ou vous m'avez elevé, et que je considere combien je merite peu cet honneur, je ne scay laquelle est plus grande en moy, ou de la joye que j'en ressens, ou de la confusion que j'en ay, Et s'il y a quelque chose quy puisse justifier vostre choix, c'est du moins que je me puis vanter de bien connoistre le prix de la grace que vous m'avez faitte, Je scay que j'entre en societé avec les plus habilles et les plus scavans hommes de nostre siecle, que je dois tout a leur generosité, Je scay encore qu'il ne faut pas seulement de parolles pour vous remercier de tant de faveurs, qu'il faut s'esforcer par des actions a se rendre digne de la place ou vous m'avez elevé, C'est, Messieurs, ce que j'essayeray de faire par mes assiduitez et mes services, en cherchant avec ardeur les occasions de vous tesmoigner ma reconnoissance, et de vous faire paroistre en tout rencontre que personne ne sera jamais avec plus de soubmission a tous vos ordres que moy, quy suis avec une forte passion, et beaucoup de respect pour vos illustres personnes

Messieurs

Vostre tres humble et tres obeissant serviteur

LE BRUN

a PARIS *le* 10e *Avril* 1676"

It is disappointing to find that after an elaborate exchange of civilities between the chiefs, and after the formal negotiations had proceeded to the length almost of conclusion, the proposed union of the two Academies came to nothing (M. I., vol. i. p. 30).

IV.

PRIVILEGES OF ACADEMICIANS.

OVER and above the small sum (600 l.t.—*livres tournois*) set apart for the maintenance of the model, the salaries, promised by Colbert to the Rectors and Professors in 1662, were considerably increased in 1664 (P. V., vol. i. p. 248). The four Rectors, each of whom had to attend every Saturday evening during his quarter to assist the Professor for the month in the correction of drawings, and in the direction of the pupils and their studies, were allotted 300 l.t. apiece; whilst the twelve Professors, each bound to attend every day during his month of office, "pour posser le modelle en attitude, le dessigner, corriger les estudians & veiller a toutes les affaires de l'académie" (vol. i. p. 248), only received 100 l.t. It must, however, be remembered that the Rector was obliged, at his weekly visit, to hold a revision of the whole week's work from the model, on the results of which depended the choice of those who were to compete for prizes. The lecturers on Perspective, Geometry, and Anatomy (MM. Migon and Quatrousse), who each taught on three days a week, received 200 l.t. each.

I learn from my friend, M. Eugène Müntz, that drawings executed by the Professors in the discharge of their duties in class, are still preserved in the École des Beaux Arts. After correcting these proofs I received from him the MS. of part of a work which he has in progress, in which those who desire to follow up the subject will find the History of the Academical School in France treated in the fullest detail.

V.

THE LECTURES ON GEOMETRY, PERSPECTIVE, AND ANATOMY.

THESE lectures were open to pupils and to the public on payment of the same fee as that required for the life-class (vol. i. p. 251, Art. IV.). For at least a year after the quarrel

with Abraham Bosse, no lectures on Geometry and Perspective were given. Eventually M. Migon presented himself (March, 1662), and, although warned that he could expect no pay till it should please the king to grant "les panssions," and that he must always submit to the company "le projet de ses leçons" before addressing the students, he persisted in taking the vacant post. In the following December the Academy decided to grant Migon a seat and vote (except at the reception of Academicians or election of officials), and to make him one of the thirty members (then) enjoying special privileges (P. V., vol. i. p. 203). The position of the lecturer on Anatomy was greatly inferior to that of the lecturer on Perspective. M. Quatrousse must have lectured for many years without pay, since in 1651 we find him offering "to continue" his lectures (vol. i. p. 59), when it was decided to give him a seat without vote at ordinary meetings; but he never obtained much consideration, for in September, 1670 (vol. i. p. 351), he is invited to open a public conference, it being alleged as a reason that "personne de la Compagnie ne s'y est offert." Yet in 1670 his position was not so bad as at first, for on 5th July of that year his name appears amongst the signatures to the draft of the day's proceedings (P. V., vol. i. p. 350), and continues to recur until 1672, when Quatrousse resigned his thankless office (P. V., vol. i. pp. 391, 400). The skeleton which he had lent to the Academy had been purchased from him in 1671 (P. V., vol. i. p. 364), but no note of regret or acknowledgment was placed on the register after his resignation. The "Compagnie," on November 5, when receiving, in the place of Quatrousse, Jean Friquet "en la calité de Professeur en anathomie pour en fair les fonctions & donner les leçons au Estudians un jour de chaque semaine à savoir le samedit," unkindly remark that "une personne de la profession se treuvant capable de donner des leçons d'anathomie devoit toujours estre préféré à un chirurgien." Friquet, who was no other than the unruly student who had headed the revolt of 1663, enjoyed at once all the advantages denied to Quatrousse, and took rank "en suite de Mrs les Conseiller Professeur avecq la qualité de Conseiller."

VI

THE EXHIBITIONS.

THE right to a place in the yearly exhibitions was, at first, regarded rather as a tiresome obligation than as a coveted advantage. The exhibition lasted "quelques jours seulement," and, in order to ensure sufficient contributors, it had to be enacted that those who did not exhibit could not take part in the yearly elections to office, which were held on the opening day, whenever any renewals or changes had to be made in the governing body. Some trouble was taken to make the show imposing on the first occasion after the confirmation of the new statutes, when, on account of the move to the Palais Royal, the exhibition was postponed until August. Colbert was expected, and it was decided that "la salle serait tapissée" (P. V., vol. i. p. 286). Beaubrun, the treasurer, was directed to buy what was necessary, and a hanging committee was appointed, on which we find the well-known names of Sebastian Bourdon, Van Opstal, Philippe de Champagne, and Nicolas Mignard, commonly called Mignard d'Avignon in order to distinguish him from Pierre, his able and refractory younger brother. So much difficulty was, however, experienced by them (*ibid.* vol. i. p. 297) in carrying out these plans that, in the following year (1666), it was decided that the exhibition should be triennial only, opening always during Holy Week.

VII.

NOTE ON COLONNADE OF THE LOUVRE.

"LE sixième abus est de faire un grand ordre, comprenant plusieurs étages, au lieu de donner un ordre à chaque étage. . . . Ce n'est pas que cela ne puisse etre permis quelquefois dans les

grands palais, mais il faut quc l'architecte ait l'adresse de trouver un prétexte à ce grand ordre, & qu'il paroisse qu'il y a esté obligé par la symetrie qui demande qu'un grand ordre qui est nécessaire à quelque partie considerable du bastiment. Cela a esté pratiqué avec beaucoup de jugement en plusieurs édifices, mais principalement dans le palais du Louvre, lesquel estant basti sur le bord d'un grand fleuve, qui donne une espace & un éloignement fort vaste à son aspect avoit besoin pour ne paroitre pas chetif d'avoir un grand ordre. Celuy qu'on luy a donné qui comprend deux étages, & qui est posé sur l'étage d'embas qui luy sert comme de Piédestail, & qui est proprement le rempart du chateau, est ainsi exhaussé à cause de deux grands & magnifiques portiques qui regnent le long de la principale face à l'entrée du Palais, & qui estant comme pour servir de Vestibule à tous les appartements du premier étage, demandoit cette grandeur & cette hauteur extraordinaire que l'on a donnée à son ordre, qu'il a falu poursuivre & faire regner ensuite tout au tour du reste de l'édifice: Car cela autorise ou du moins excuse l'incongruité que l'on aurait pu objecter à l'architecte, s'il avait fait sans necessité une chose qui d'ellemême est sans raison: scavoir ne donner pas à chaque étage qui est proprement un batiment séparé son ordre propre et séparé, & de faire servir une même colonne à porter deux planchers, supposant qu'elle en soûtint un par manière de dire sur sa teste, & un autre comme pendu à sa ceinture."—C. PERRAULT, *Ordonnance des Cinq Espèces de Colonnes*, p. 119.

VIII.

EXTRACTS FROM THE REGISTER OF THE ACADEMY OF ARCHITECTURE (UNPUBLISHED), AND SUMMARY OF CONTENTS FROM 1672 TO 1694.

VOL. I.—This register is preceded by the following entry:

"Années de reception. 1672, M. Colbert sur-intendant. 1680, M. Dormoy surintendant.

"Académiciens, 1672. M. Blondel Directeur & Professeur. Le Vau" (this is the son of F. Le Vau, who died 1670). "Bruand. Gittard. Le Pautre" (Le Paultre in another hand). "Mignard. Dorbay. Félibien secretaire.

"1673. Perrault Officier des Bat[ts] du Roy en charge. 1675, Hardouin Mansart surintendant en 1699. 1678, La motte coquard officier des Bat[ts] en charge de controlleur general. 1680, Perrault officier en charge. 26 Fev. Daucourt officier en charge. Gobert, officier en charge d'Intendant général des Bat[ts]. 1681, Le Nautre officier en charge." (In another hand Le Nostre, p. 440.)

The "registre des conferences de l'Académie Royale d'Architecture," which follows the above, is so voluminous and so same, that, although I have taken a copy of the greater part, it seems needless to do more than print a few extracts illustrative of the text, which will show the character of the proceedings. The report of the first sitting is given *in extenso.*

"Du dernier jour de Decembre 1671,

"Le jeudi der[e] jour de X[bre] 1671 l'Académie royalle des Architectes du Roy a esté establie par Monseign[r] Colbert surintendant des bastiments dans un des appartements du palais royal a un des bouts de la mesme gallerie ou de l'Academie royalle de Peinture. Et en prẽ[ce] de Mond'seig[r] Colbert & de plus[rs] personnes de qualité Mr Blondel professeur royal aux mathématiques & en archit[re] en a fait l'ouverture par un discours sur l'excellence de l'Archit[re]. Ensuite duq[l] il a declaré les intentions de S. M[té] sur l'establissement de cette compagnie composée des M[rs] Le Vau, Bruand, Gittard, le Pautre, Mignard et Dorbay, architectes choisis par sa M[té] et l'ordre que Mondseig[r] le surintendant veult qu'on garde qui est que tous les Mardis et Vendredis de la semaine le d'S Blondel fera leçon publique d'Arch[tre] a tous ceux qui voudront se trouver dans la sale de l'Académie depuis deux heures . . . jusques a quatre. Pendant la première heure il dictera les leçons & pendant la seconde il expliquera ou les elements d'Euclide ou autres connoissances necess[res] aux architectes.

"Tous les jeudis de la semaine a pareille heure se feront des assemblées particulières des personnes nommés par S. M. pour conferer sur l'art & les regles de l'Archt^{re} & dire leur avis sur les matières qui auront esté proposées selon l'estude & les observations que chacun aura faites sur les matières qui auront esté proposées. Ouvrages antiques & sur les escrits de ceux qui en ont traité. Chacun y adjoutant ses raisons par ores selon le sujet qui sera en déliberation. Et pour commancer le d Sr Blondel a dit que dans la première assemblée qui se fera le jeudi prochain l'on dira ce que c'est que le bon goust dont l'on parle d'ord^{re} dans les ouvrages d'Arch^{tre} et qui marque leur excellence.

(Signed) "BLONDEL. LE VAU.
"GITTARD. BRUAND.
"MIGNARD. DORBAY."
"FÉLIBIEN.

On the said Thursday, 7th January, 1672, it was decided that, "Toutes les choses faites de bon goust doivent nécessairement plaire mais qu'il y a plus^{res} choses qui peuvent plaire qu'on ne peut pas pour cela dire de bon goust." On the 18th February we find them all agreed that, considering the services of Scamozzi in preserving all that he could find in classic authors concerning architecture, he should hold second rank amongst moderns, and be followed, like Palladio, "en gros."

On the 17th March it is decided that Leon Battista Alberti "doit estre consideré comme un auteur plustost que cōme un ouvrier de bon gout." Viole and Cataneo are next disposed of, and on March 31st they proceed to their first deliberation on a practical question: "Sur la proposition qui a esté faict de la manière de disposer les pilastres opposez aux colonnes qui sont mises en saillie aux pavillons des ailes à l'entrée de la grande cour du chasteau de Versailles, scavoir si l'on disposerait [1] une colonne en saillie de deux tiers près le mur desd' pavillons vis a vis des colonnes angulaires de la façade du dehors ou si l'on [2] continueroit au dedans un rang de mesme colonnes alignées

sur ces premières & repondant a celles du dehors laissant de chaque costé aux encoigneures du mur des pilastres en manière 3 d'arrières corps, ou si laissant un alignem[t] de pilastres seulem[t] allignez sur ceux des encoigneures renforcant le mur par dedans pour soutenir la poussée des coupes de l'architrave, 4 ou si enfin laissant les pilastres allignez comme dessus l'on feroit porter depuis le mur jusques aux colonnes angulaires des poitrails revestus de pierre de taille, ou des barres de fer bien corroyés pour estre joints ensemble & posées de clamps pour soutenir l'architrave d'une seule pièce & deschargée par le hault.

"L'assemblée des architectes nommés par le Roy dans son Académie d'Architect[re] est d'avis que pour plus grande facilité du passage des carosses entre le mur & les colonnes pour la conservation du plus grand jour des logements & pour ajuster autant qu'il se peut ce qui reste a faire avec ce qui est déja fait Les colonnes de dedans seront ostées & les pilastres vis a vis des colonnes doivent estre faites sur l'align[t] de ceux des encoigneures, & pour porter les architraves qui doivent estre de pierre depuis le mur jusques aux colonnes angulaires il sera mis trois bandes de fer plat, de trois pouces sur un et demy chascun posées de clamp, bien corroyés & joints ensemble traversées par les bouts d'ancres entrez dans la colonne d'une part & au delà du mur de l'ault[r] cesd' barres de fer revesteus d'architraves frise & corniche de pierre posée en coupe & liées par les bouts par lesd' ancres & tirans.

"Pour ce qui est du dessein de la balustrade qu'on a fait voir, elle paroisse devoir faire un assez bon effet dans la hauteur marquée dans le dessein, mais pour les figures qui sont de huict pieds de hault dans le dessein Elles sont trop forts & trop haults & feront un meilleur effet les reduisant compris le socle à la haulteur de sept pieds et demy."

(For these works see Piganiol, vol. i. pp. 14, 15.)

(Signed)

BLONDEL.	LE VAU.
GITTARD.	BRUAND.
MIGNARD.	DORBAY.
FÉLIBIEN.	

At their next meeting, on the 7th April, the king's architects discuss the claims of Philibert de l'Orme, speak of his system of wood-jointing for vaulting (see "Renaissance of Art in France," vol. i. pp. 134–5), and give him the highest rank amongst French architects. On the 3rd May it is the turn of Jean Bullant, and, in the following month, of La Brosse (Desbrosses), the builder of the Luxembourg.

1673 In January the architects received the first application, from outside, for counsel, and examined the designs for the new hospital at Besançon submitted to them by a certain S[r] le Royer. On the 23rd of the same month, having been unable to decide the question "de la rencontre des architraves sur les colonnes accompagnés de pilastres," they agree to read Vitruvius, but on Feb. 28th, having discovered the "peu de rapport" that Jean Martin's translation has with Vitruvius, they break off and take Palladio, agreeing to wait for Perrault's translation of Vitruvius. This reading of Palladio serves them throughout the year (with the single exception of a decision taken, 31st July, to the effect that the inscription on the front of the church of the "Collège Mazarini" should be not in two lines but one), and is continued till the 9th of April, 1674, when they are consulted by the Chapter of Rennes as to finishing the towers of their cathedral. On April 23rd Gittard submits to them his drawing for the capitals of the pilasters in the Church of St. Sulpice; 31st May, Mignard gives exact notes on the *Maison carrée* of Nîmes; 11th June, a drawing is laid before them for the altar of the parish church of Vineuil; all the meetings between these different dates having been steadily occupied by reading Palladio. The first chapter of Vitruvius is begun with Perrault's notes on the 18th June, and, with an interlude from 7th Sept. to 19th Oct., during which Félibien's "Traité des Principes de l'Architecture" is under examination, this reading of Vitruvius is continued uninterruptedly till the end of 1674.

1674

1675 During 1675 the attendance became slack, and when the numbers were scanty, as on February 4th, they took to reading the "Dictionnaire des Arts." To profit by Vitruvius they seem to have required the help of Blondel,

who submitted to them in July his design for the Porte S. Denis and began to read out his "Livre d'Architecture." In the May previous Perrault submitted to them the difficulties arising in a room at Versailles concerning the place of certain columns which had been fixed without regard to the projection of their capitals, and in June he brought drawings of arches at Autun constructed without mortar. The tomb of Mazarin occupied them on the 29th July and 9th August, when also Perrault brought them letters from Rome on the use of "gouttes dans le soffit de la corniche du dorique" in the Theatre of Marcellus. After this they returned to reading Félibien's book, which carried them to the end of the year without other incident than the reception of Hardouin Mansard on December 23rd.

From the above extracts and summary a clear idea may be gained as to the course of proceedings in the Academy; 1676 and 1677 were marked by nothing noteworthy, but the following year, 1678, saw the whole body engaged at Colbert's instance in visiting the old churches and buildings of Paris and the environs, with the special object of reporting (see MS. in fol. 262, Bibl. Nat.) on their condition of preservation, so as to decide what was the best stone to employ and the best method of employing it. This portion of the Register has already been published by M. de Laborde (see "Revue d'Architecture et de Travaux Publics" de C. Daly, 1852, t. x. p. 194), and therefore needs no longer mention here. The inspection, which included the quarries of Pontoise and Fécamp, was completed during the summer months, and the report was finished in December, when they returned to their usual occupations, arbitrating between employers and employed, as in the dispute between the Marquis de Bullion and le S^r Le Brun, "maître masson" (5th December), and reading between whiles Alberti, Scamozzi, and Serlio. Thus things went on till, in 1694, the awful announcement came to them, as to all the other Academies, that their doors should be closed.

1694 "3 May Le Mercredy 21 avril 1694 Monsieur le Marquis de Villacerf surintendant des batiments a envoyé a M. Félibien un ordre du roy pour faire cesser les conferences & les leçons

de l'Académie d'Architecture aussi tost lon en a donne avis a M. Félibien afin que chacun eust a obeir ce qui a esté execute salon la teneur du d ordre. Et sur ce que la Cie a depuis supplié M. de Villacerf de vouloir bien luy faire la grace d'obtenir du Roy qu'elle peut continuer les conferances & les leçons ordinaires sans pour cela avoir autre dessin que de marquer a Sa Majesté le zèle & l'attachement que tous ceux qui composent la d' Compagnie ont a son service. Monsieur de Villacerf a eu la bonté d'obtenir du Roy pour la Cie la grace qu'elle a souhaité ainsy qu'il est porté par la lettre du 30 avril adressé au d' Sr Félibien & qui avec la première lettre est inserée dans le present registre conformément à l'intention de M. de Villacerf.

"Copie de la première lettre :

"'A PARIS *le* 21 *avril* 1694.

"'Le roy m'a ordonné de faire cesser l'Académie d'Architecture je vous prie d'en avertir M. de la Hire affin qu'il n'enseigne plus & Mrs les Architectes affin qu'ils ne s'y trouvent plus. Je suis Monsieur vostre &c.'

"'Signé DE VILLACERF & sur l'adresse a M. FÉLIBIEN &c.

"Copie de la seconde lettre mentionnée cy devant :

"'A PARIS *le* 30 *avril* 1694.

"'J'ay rendu compte au Roy de la proposition que Messrs. de l'Académie de l'Architecture m'ont fait de s'assembler gratuitement pour faire des conferances. Sa Majesté l'aprouve, & vous pouvez avertir ces Messieurs, qu'ils peuvent conferer ensemble & s'assembler les jours ordinaires, mais vous ne devez point marquer leurs assistances puisqu'ils n'en doivent pas être payez presentément. Sa Majesté trouve bon aussi que M. de la Hire achève gratuitement son cours d'architecture ainsi qu'il l'a proposé je vous prie de le luy faire savoir. Je suis obligé de vous dire qu'il est nécessaire que les lettres que je vous écrit de la part du Roy, qui concernent l'Académie d'Architecture, soient registrées dans le Registre de lade

Académie, a quoy je vous prie de tenir la main. Je suis Monsieur vostre &c.

"'Signé DE VILLACERF & plus bas pour adresse a M. FÉLIBIEN.'

"Après la lecture des lettres précedentes l'on a continué d'examiner le livre des édifices antiques du S[r] des Godets.

"BULLET. DE LA HIRE. DORBAY. FÉLIBIEN."

The sentence with which the report of the above sitting concludes shows that the system, by which the old corporations had been replaced, was now rooted against the possibility of overthrow.

IX

CALLOT'S WORK AT FLORENCE.

THE following communication, obtained for me through the kindness of M. Eugène Müntz from the Keeper of the Archives at Florence, gives some valuable details concerning Callot's early life and stay in that city.

"The subscriber certifies that the following notes concerning Jacques Callot and some of his works are established by documents preserved in the Medicæan section of the Archives of Florence:

"On the list of the household, from 1610 to 1620 inclusively, Callot appears amongst the members of the same for the space of a year (probably from July, 1619, to July, 1620), without salary, but in the enjoyment of all the privileges conceded to those in receipt of salaries (F[ta] 303).

"In 1618, and in 1619, he is commissioned by the Grand-Duke to etch thirty-two views of the most noteworthy spots in Jerusalem, as will be seen by the two facsimiles of accounts subjoined (F[ta] 359, a.q.).

Adì 1. Ottobre

Ser.mo Gran Duca deve dare a me Giacomo

"In 1619, and in 1620, Callot has a shop in the Galleria di Corte, and works there on commissions for the above-named Grand-Duke, as appears from a quantity of memoranda, addressed by Callot to Cosimo Latini, the overseer of the gallery, to obtain weekly payment of the wages of a certain Francesco di Paolo, who served him as printer, and, from time to time, to get repaid for expenses incidental to these commissions, amongst which may be noted some engravings representing scenes from the tragedy of 'Solimano,' written by Count Prospero Bonarelli (F[ta] 375).

"In 1623, the plate by Callot representing the 'Fiera dell' Impruneta' figures amongst the most valuable works of art existing in the Pitti Palace (F[ta] 421 to 26).

"In 1713, by order of the Grand-Duke Cosimo III., the 'Guardaroba di Corte' lends to the grand-ducal printers, Jacopo Guiducci and Santi Franchi, 35 plates by Callot, of various sizes, representing views of the Holy Land; 15, representing the deeds of the Grand-Duke Ferdinand I.; 2, representing fireworks which took place in Florence, on the river Arno, in the days of Cosimo II.; 1, representing a ball in the Pitti Palace, with the arms of Cosimo II., and with those of his wife, Maria Maddalena of Austria (F[ta] 957 to 82)."

(Signed) L'archivista,

FERDINANDO SOLDI.

The 30th April, 1878.

Stamped with the seal of the Royal Household, and signed by the "administrator" Perone.

X.

27 NOV[R] 1667. EDIT DU ROY POUR L'ÉTABLISSEMENT D'UNE MANUFACTURE DES MEUBLES DE LA COURONNE AUX GOBELINS.* (EXTRACT.)

". . . Le roy Henry le Grand notre ayeul, se voyant au milieu de la paix, estima n'en pouvoir mieux faire gouster les fruits à ses peuples qu'en rétablissant le commerce & les manufactures . . . il auroit, par son edit du mois de janvier 1607 établi la manufacture de toutes sortes de tapisseries tant dans notre bonne ville de Paris qu'en toutes les autres villes qui s'y trouveroient propres, et préposé à l'établissement & direction d'icelles les sieurs de Comans & de la Planche, ausquels, par le même édit, l'on auroit accordé plusieurs privilèges et avantages . . . les premiers établissements qui furent faits ayant été négligés & interrompus pendant la licence d'une longue guerre . . . pour les rétablir & pour rendre les établissements plus immuables en leur fixant un lieu commode & certain, nous aurions fait acquérir de nos deniers l'hostel des Gobelins & plusieurs maisons adjacentes, fait rechercher les peintres de la plus grande réputation, des tapissiers, des sculpteurs, orphèvres, ébénistes & autres ouvriers plus habiles en toutes sortes d'arts & métiers, que nous y aurions logés, donné des appartemens à chacun d'eux & accordé des privilèges & avantages; mais d'autant que ces ouvriers augmentent chaque jour . . . aussi nous avons estimé qu'il estoit nécessaire, pour l'affermissement de ces établissements de leur donner une forme constante & perpetuelle & les pourvoir d'un règlement convenable à cet effet. A ces causes . . . de l'advis de nostre conseil d'État, qui a vu l'Édit du mois de janvier 1607 . . . nous avons dict, statué & ordonné, disons, statuons & ordonnons ainsi qu'il en suit :

"1° C'est à sçavoir que la manufacture des tapisseries & autre ouvrages demeurera establie dans l'hostel appelé des

* Arch. Nat. O.[1] 1054. Edits, Lettres patentes, arrêts, declarations, ordonnances du roy. Années 1573–1731.

Gobelins maisons & lieux & deppendances à nous appartenant, sur la principale porte duquel hostel sera . . . inscript: *Manufacture royalle des meubles de la Couronne.*

"2° Seront les manufactures & deppendances d'icelles régies & administrées par les ordres de nostre amé & féal conseiller ordinaire en nos conseils, le sieur Colbert, surintendant de nos bastimens, arts & manufactures de France & ses successeurs en ladite charge.

"3° La conduite particulière des manufactures appartiendra au sieur Le Brun, nostre premier peintre, soubs le titre de directeur, suivant les lettres que nous luy avons accordeés le 8 mars 1663, etc., etc. . . .

"4° Le surintendant de nos bastimens & le directeur soubs luy tiendront la manufacture remplie de bons peintres, maistres tapissiers de haute lisse, orphèvres, fondeurs, graveurs, lapidaires, menuisiers en ébène & en bois, teinturiers & autres bons ouvriers, en toutes sortes d'arts & mestiers qui sont établis & que le surintendant de nos bastimens tiendra nécessaire d'y établir. . . .

"6° Voulons qu'il soit entretenu, dans les dites manufactures, à nos dépens, le nombre & quantité de soixante enfans. . . .

"7° Seront les enfans, lors de leur entrée en la dite maison, mis & placés dans le Séminaire du Directeur, auquel sera donné un maistre peintre soubs luy, qui aura soin de leur éducation & instruction.

". . . 10° Ils pourront, après six années d'apprentissage et quatre années de service, estre receus maistres, tant dans la bonne ville de Paris que dans toutes les autres du royaume, sans faire expérience ny estre tenus d'autre chose que de se présenter devant les maistres gardes des dites marchandises, arts & mestiers. . . . Les dits maîtres et gardes seront tenus de les recevoir, sans aucuns frais, sur le certificat du surintendant des finances.

"11° Les ouvriers employés dans les dites manufactures se retireront, dans les maisons les plus proches de l'hostel des Gobelins . . . en toute liberté. . . .

". . . 17° Nous avons faict & faisons très-expresses

inhibitions & deffenses à tous marchands et autres personnes . . . d'achepter ny faire venir des pays estrangers des tapisseries, ny vendre ou débiter aucune des manufactures estrangères ou autres que celles qui sont preséntèment dans notre royaume, à peine de confiscations d'icelles & d'amende de la valeur de la moitié des tapisseries confisquées. . . .

". . . Données à Paris, au mois de novembre 1667 & de notre règne le vingtcinq.

"(Signé) LOUIS."

& plus bas, "Par le roy

"De GÉNÉGAUD."

INDEX.

ACADEMICAL SCHOOLS, the, 101
Académie des Beaux Esprits, the, 18, 23
Académie Française, the, 18; "Sentiments on the Cid," 21; the Dictionary, 23
Academy of Architecture, the, 51–81
Academy of Inscriptions, the, 54
Academy of Painting and Sculpture, the, 44, 46, 81–123, 141, 176, 184, 186
Academy of St. Luke, the, 102, 110
Alexander, the Battles of, 182, 184
Anguier, Guillaume, painter, 201
Anguier, Michel, sculptor, 153, 154
Antin, the Duc d', surintendant des bâtiments, 72
Antique, study of the, 110, 111
Apollo Gallery, the, 123, 154
Architecture, the Academy of, 54, 61–75
Arles, Mansard's roof for the town hall of, 71
Arnauld, Antoine, 17
Arnoul, intendant des galères, 148
Arsenals, Puget employed in the, 147, 148
Art in the seventeenth century, French, 2, 44, 46, 100
Assembly of Notables, the, 8
Audran, Claude, painter, 122–130
Audran, Gerard, engraver, 168, 169, 179–185, 202
Auxerre point-lace, 191
Avaux, Félibien des, 66

BACHAUMONT, *quot.*, 68
Bailly, tapestry worker, 200
Balland, Philibert, embroiderer, 200
Ballin, Claude, silversmith, 162, 206, 207
Balzac, 16
Banville, 94
Bassompierre, 19
Baudet, Etienne, engraver, 114, 130, 179, 183
Baudoin, 144
Beaubrun, the, court painters, 137
Beaufort, the Duke de, 178
Beauvais, the tapestries of, 190
Bellange, Jacques, engraver, 172
Belle, Etienne de la, engraver, 170
Bellelièvre, De, 12
Benedetti, the Abbé, 57
Berain, engraver, 183, 202
Bernini, Italian architect, 56–62
Besançon, the hospital at, 73
Besnard, animal painter, 96, 158, 196, 201
Bicheur, Le, his treatise on Perspective, 175
Bièvrebache, 45, 47, 118, 193, 201, 206
Blamard, Louis, painter, 195
Blanchard, painter, 125, 129
Blois, 52
Blondel, François, lecturer, 66
Boehm, 125
Boileau, 157
Boisrobert, the Abbé, 19, 23
Bomme, expelled from the academical school, 113
Bonnemer, painter, 202
Bosse, Abraham, engraver, 104 (etc., etc.), 170–187
Bossuet sits to Nanteuil, 178
Boucher, 139, 144
Bouillon, the Duke de, sits to Nanteuil, 178

Boulle, André Charles, 205, 209, 210
Boullogne, Bon, 93
Boulogne, Louis, 123, 125, 202
Bourdon, Sebastian, Huguenot painter, 96, 114, 126, 128, 150 (etc., etc.)
Bourlemont, the Abbé de, 41
Branchi, Florentine lapidary, 199
"Breda, the siege of," etching by Callot, 171
Brice, Germain, 65
Brosse, Guy de la, founder of the Botanical Gardens, 187
Bruand, Libéral, architect, 66
Brun, Le, *see* Le Brun
Bulet, Pierre, architect, 74
Butte des Moulins, the, 75
Buyster, Philippe, sculptor, 151, 154, 157

"CABINET D'ESTAMPES," 181
Cabinet of Curiosities, the, 159
Caen, designs for a Jesuit church at, 73
Caffieri, Genoese wood-carver, 158–161, 201
Calderon, 124
Callot, Jacques, engraver, 98, 169–173
Calvo, De, the defender of Maestricht, 178
Camaye, tapestry workers, the, 192
Canal des deux Mers, the, 76
"Caprice," etching by Callot, 172
Caracci, engravings of the paintings of the, 183
Carpet factory, the royal, 189, 191
Cartoons, Yvart's, 196
Caryatides at the Louvre, the, 151
Caylus, Comte de, 165
Cérisy, the Abbé, 21
Chalais, Count de, 10
Chalcographie, La, 182
Chambers of Marine Insurance, 39
Chambord, 52
Chambre, De la, surgeon, 199
Champagne, J. B. de, painter, 125, 127, 139
Champagne, Philippe de, portrait painter, 98, 119, 126, 137
Chantelou, De, steward of the royal household, 58, 91, 136
Chapelain, poet, 19, 23, 105
Chapelle, La, 202, 203
Chardin, 145
Chateau, engraver, 179, 183
Château de Maisons, 79
Chef-de-ville, François, French gem-cutter, 200
Chemin, Catharine du, flower painter, 162
Cheron, Louis, Huguenot painter, 96
Church patronage, abuse of, 96
Cid, the, 9, 20
Clagny, Mansard builds the palace of, 70, 76
Claude, 143, 168
Clément, surgeon, 199
Clisson, the Hôtel, 102
Cochet, Cristofle, sculptor, 108
Cochin, Nicolas, engraver, 170
Code Louis (1667), the, 48
Code Maritime (1681), the, 48
Code Noir, the, 48
Code of Commerce (1673), the, 48
Colbert, 2, 18, 30–80, 86, 90–98, 104, 107, 121, 122, 133, 147, 177, 178, 189, 193, 212
Comans, the, tapestry workers, 192
Compagnie des Indes Orientales, 39, 190
Comte, Florent le, *quot.*, 134, 180
Condé, 29, 30; sits to Nanteuil, 178
Conditioning houses of Roubaix and Lyons, the, 43
Conrart, Valentin, poet, 18
"Conseil des bâtiments," the, 61
Consistory of Montauban, the, 16
Corneille, author of the *Cid*, 9, 16, 20–22
Corneille, Michel, painter, 107, 108, 127, 137, 203
Courajod, 116
Cousin, engraver, 168
Cousinet, silversmith, 206
Couston, Guillaume and Nicolas, 161
Coypel, Charles Antoine, Spanish sculptor, 114, 152, 161, 164, 201
Coypel, Noël, painter, 93, 122, 125, 127, 202
Créqui, the Duc de, 58
Croix, Jean la, tapestry worker, 197
Crucifix aux Anges, the, 182

Cucci, Domenico, joiner and carver, 197, 199, 201
Curiosities, the Cabinet of, 159
Cussac, painter, 201

D'Agard, painter, 96
D'Antin, the Duc, 72
Daret, Pierre, engraver, 168, 169, 179
D'Argenville, *quot.*, 137
De Beaufort, the Duke, 178
De Bellelièvre, 12
Debonnaire's silver mirrors, 207
De Bouillon, the Duke, 178
De Bourlemont, the Abbé, 41
De Calvo, defender of Maestricht, 178
De Caylus, Comte, 165
De Chalais, Comte, 10
De Chambré, Anne, 207
De Champagne, J. B., 125, 127, 139
De Champagne, Philippe, 98, 119, 126, 137
De Chantelou, steward of the royal household, 58, 91, 136
De Créqui, the Duc, 58
De Fontenay, Blain, flower painter, 97, 136
De Francine, Pierre, engineer, 155
De Gissey, Henri, 121
De la Belle, Etienne, engraver, 170
De Laborde, *quot.*, 65
De la Brosse, Guy, the founder of the Botanical Garden, 187
De la Chambre, surgeon, 199
De la Fosse, painter and decorator, 125–140
De la Hire, professor and lecturer, 74, 192
De la Planche, François, Flemish tapestry worker, 192
De la Rochefoucauld, the Duke, 19
Delaulne, engraver, 168
De la Valette, the Duke, 11
De Leu, engraver, 167
De Longueville, the Duke, 178
Delorme's spiral staircase, 65
De Marolles, the Abbé Michel, his collection, 181
De Mergues, Mathieu, 19
De Montmorency, rebellion of the Duke, 7, 9
D'Epernon, the Duke, 11
De Pompadour, Madame, 144
De Retz, 30; sits to Nanteuil, 178
De Rohan, the Duke, 16
De Sancy, French Ambassador at Constantinople, 119
De Sandras, Courtilz, 40
Des Avaux, Félibien, 66
Desbrosses, Jacques, builder of the Luxembourg, 78
Descartes, 16
De Sève, Gilbert, painter, 127, 137, 194, 201, 203
Desjardins, sculptor, 157–161
De Soubise, the Duke, 9, 16
De Sourdis, the Archbishop, 11, 15
De Troy, portrait painter, 137
De Villacerf, Colbert, surintendant des bâtiments, 72, 74
De Villers, Claude, silversmith, 206
"Dictionary," the, 23
Diderot, 51, 137, 139, 144
D'Infreville, 149
Dôme des Invalides (1689), 71
Domenichino, engravings of the paintings of, 183
Dorbay, François, architect, 65, 66, 75
Dorigny, Louis, 93
Dubois, Jean and André, gem-cutters, 200
Dubourg, the looms of, 189
Du Chemin, Catharine, flower painter, 162
Du Fresnoy, 154
Dughet, Gaspar, painter, 143, 180
Du Metz, Colbert's chief clerk, 105, 108
Dunkirk, allegorical treatment of the taking of, 105
Duplessis' "History of Engraving in France," 169, 172
Dupont, Louis, tapestry worker, 204
Dupont, Pierre, at the Savonnerie, 189, 191
Dupré, Guillaume, silversmith, 206
Dürer, Callot studies, 173
Dutel, Jacques, silversmith, 206
Duvet, engraver, 168

École des Beaux Arts, the, 99
Ecouen, 52
Edelinck, engraver, 179–184, 199
Edict des Eaux et Forêts (1669), the, 48

Edict of St. Jean de Luz in favour of engraving, the, 176–181
Edict on Commerce, Colbert's, 39
Emery, 29
England, the prejudice against engraving in, 187
Engraving and etching, 167–188
Epernon, the Duke d', 11
Errard, Charles, Ratabon's son, 89; rector of the school of France at Rome, 109; in charge at the Louvre, etc., 120; his rival Le Brun, 122, 153; Bosse, 175
Espingola, 157
Etchers, 168–188

FAED, 124
Fame and Virtue, the temples of, 197
Fame, the fountains of, 157
Faret, Nicolas, 19
Fayette, Simon, embroiderer, 200
Fénélon, 216
Ferdinand, Huguenot painter, 96
"Fiera dell' Impruneta," Callot's, 170
Fildes, 124
Flanders, lacemakers from, 45
Fontaine, La, 157
Fontainebleau, 120, 157
Fontarabia, siege of, 11
Fontenay, B. de, flower painter, 97, 136
Forest, decorator, 143
Fosse, De la, painter, 125–129, 137, 140
Fountain of Latona, the, 157
Fountains of Fame, the, 157
Fouquet, 32–39, 48–51, 121, 148, 153, 177, 178, 193
Fragonard, 144
Francart, ornamental designer, 196, 201
France, school of, at Rome, 127
Francine, Pierre de, engineer, 155
French navy, the, 37
Fresnoy, Du, 154
Friquet, Jean, student at the academical school, 103
Frith, 124
Fronde, the, 29

GACHETTI, Florentine lapidary, 199
Gallery of Mirrors, the, 160, 206
Gaston, Duke of Orleans, 10
Genevay, *quot.*, 133, 134
Genoa, Puget's Saint Sebastian at, 147
Genoëls, Abraham, landscape painter, 143, 196, 201
Gervaise, sculptor, 123
Giffart, engraver, 185
Gilbert, 124, 125
"Girar," the model, 103
Girardon, François, sculptor, 113, 123, 149–162
Gissey, Henri de, 121
Gittard, Pierre, sculptor, 66
Glassworkers from Venice, 45, 190
Gobelins, the, 45, 117–123, 142, 184, 189–200
Godeau, Bishop of Grasse, 15, 18
Gold medals by Warin, the, 105, 107
Golle, cabinet-maker, 205
Gombault, poet, 18, 21
Goodall, 124
Grand Prix, the, 105, 106
Gravet, Jean, his nef d'or, 207
Greuze, 187
Grotte de Thétis, the, 155–157
Guérin, Gilles, sculptor, 151, 153, 156
Guido, engravings from the pictures of, 183
Guilds, the, 82, 116, 117, 123, 150, 190, 220
Guillain, Simon, sculptor, 150
Guitard, from Le Brun's design, does "Le Réveil de la Terre" in 1850, 123

HABERT, poet and soldier, 21
Hallé, 93
Halls of Peace and War, the, 162
Henri IV., manufactures started by, 189
Hercules, Puget's, 147
Herkomer, 124
Herrard, engraver, 179
Hillerin, Jacques, *conseiller au parlement*, 17
Hire, La, 74, 137, 192, 203
Hogarth, 101, 107
Holbein, Callot studies, 173
Hook, 124
Horsley, 124

Houasse, painter and decorator, 125, 128, 140, 201, 203
Houdon, sculptor, 166
Houzeau, sculptor, 164
Huguenots, the, 6, 9, 16, 95, 96
Huret, engraver, 179
Hutinot, sculptor, 158

INDES ORIENTALES, the Compagnie des, 39
Industrial policy, Colbert's, 40
Industry and art, 45
Ingres on Le Brun, *quot.*, 138
Insurance, the Chambers of Marine, 39
Invalides, the Dôme des (1689), 71, 75
Italy, French students in, 107-109

JAILLOT, Simon, worker in ivory, 142
Jans, tapestry weaver, 194, 197, 200
Jaquin, student, 114
Jouvenet, painter, 125, 126, 128, 140

KELLERS, the, sculptors, 164, 165
Kerchove, Van, dyer, 195

LABORDE, De, *quot.*, 65
La Chapelle, 202
La Croix, Jean, tapestry worker, 197
La Fontaine, 157
Lagrenée, painter, 137, 144
La Hire, 137, 192, 203
Landseer, John, 188
Languedoc, the "pacification" of, 7, 16
La Perdrix, student, 114
Lapidaries, Florentine, 199
Largillière, painter, 137
La Rochelle, 7, 37
Lasne, Michel, engraver, 168, 169, 180
Latona, the fountain of, 157, 162
Laurent, Henri, tapestry worker, 189, 197
Le Bicheur, his treatise on perspective, 175
Le Brun, 61, 87-92, 98, 99, 105, 109, 116, 119-156, 179, 181, 186, 195, 200, 203
Leclerc, Sebastian, engraver, 170, 179, 182, 183
Le Comte, Florent, *quot.*, 134, 180
Lefèbvre, Pierre and Jean, Florentine weavers, 191, 197, 200
Legendre, Nicolas, sculptor, 151-158
Legeret, sculptor, 161
Legrand, sculptor, 158
Legros, sculptor, 151, 158, 159, 164
Lehongre, sculptor, 151, 157-159
Leighton, Sir Frederic, 124
Lemargue, surgeon, 199
Lemercier, architect, 63, 65
Lenain, the three brothers, painters, 98, 138
Lepaultre, Antoine, sculptor, 66
Lepautre, engraver, 148, 179, 202
Lerambert, Louis, sculptor, 151, 158
Le Romain, Picart, engraver, 185
Lescot, Pierre, architect, 61
L'Espagnandell, Huguenot painter, 96, 158-161
Le Sueur, Eustache, painter, 113, 120, 137
Le Tellier, 30, 178
Leu, De, engraver, 167
Levasseur, *quot.*, 48
Le Vau, architect, 56-68, 125
Leyde, Lucas Van, Callot studies, 173
Lichery, Louis, director of the Academy school, 184, 199
Life classes, 89, 92, 99-105, 111, 114
Lionardo, Callot studies, 173
Loir, Alexis, silversmith, 206
Loir, Nicolas, decorator, 125, 127
Long, 124
L'Ongre, *see* Lehongre
Longueville, the Duke de, 178
Lorgues, the Virgin of, 146
Lourdet, Simon, tapestry worker, 191
Louvois, 74, 75, 126, 142, 162, 202
Louvre, the, 53-76, 120, 123, 189
Luxembourg, the, 78, 130
Luxury of the French court, 217
Lyons, the art school at, 117

MACLEAN, 125
Magnier, Laurent, sculptor, 86, 151-159

Maincy, the tapestry workers at, 193, 195
Maîtrise, the, 83, 101, 103
Malleville, poet, 18
Mansarade, the, 93
Mansard, François, architect, 79, 122, 162, 177
Mansard, Jean Hardouin, architect, 69
Mantagon, student, 113
"Manufactures de France," 190
Marillac, Marshal de, 8, 10
Marly, 70, 76, 130, 136
Marolles, Abbé Michel de, 181
Marot, student, 113
Marsy, Gaspard and Balthazar, decorators, 122, 123, 151–159
Massé, Jean, 205
Masson, engraver, 158, 169
Mathew, Antony, 196
Mazarin, Cardinal, 29, 32, 36, 52, 85, 94, 121, 163, 178, 193
Mazeline, sculptor, 158
Megliorini, Florentine lapidary, 199
Mellan, Claude, engraver, 168, 169, 183
Mergues, Mathieu de, 19
Merlin, silversmith, 206
Meulen, Van der, painter of battle-pieces, 130, 142, 185, 201
Meunier, prize winner at the academical school, 107
Michelin, Huguenot painter, 96
Mignard, Pierre, portrait painter, 66, 109, 126, 137–139, 154, 214
Millais, Sir John, 124
Millet, Francisque, painter and engraver, 143, 186
Mirrors, Gallery of, 125, 128, 131, 160, 206
"Misères et Malheurs de la Guerre," etching by Callot, 171
Monnoyer, Baptiste, flower painter, 125, 196
Montagu, the Duke of, 96
Montmorency, the Duke de, 7, 9
Montpellier, 7
Monzon, the Peace of, 7
Morin, Jean, engraver, 182
"Moses," engraving by P. de Champagne, 181
Mosin, tapestry worker, 197
Mosnier, painter, 136

NANTEUIL, engraver, 176–183
National greatness, 4
Navy, the French, 37
Noailles, Hôtel des (1679), 71
Nocret, Jean, 120
Notables, the Assembly of, 8

OBSERVATORY, the, 64, 75
Octagon Cabinet, the, 159
Oppenard, Guelder Jean, parquetry maker, 205
Opstal, Van, Flemish sculptor, 152, 157
Orange, the Prince of, 73
Order, the love of, 3
Ordonnance Criminale (1670), the, 48

PAILLET, painter, 128
Palais des Tournelles, the, 78
Parliament of Paris, intimidation of the, 12
Patel, painter, 143
Patigny, engraver, 183
Peace and War, the halls of, 127–133
Peintres-ymagiers, the corporation of, 83
Perdrix, La, student, 114
Péréfixe sits to Nanteuil, 178
Perrault, Charles, author, Colbert's clerk, 34, 54–59, 105, 124
Perrault, Claude, architect and doctor, 56–64, 129
Perrier, Jacques, engraver, 168
Perspective, Bosse lecturer on, 174; Le Bicheur, 175
Pesne, engraver, 169, 182
Picart, engraver, 179, 183
Pigalle, sculptor, 166
Pitan, engraver, 178
Place Royale, the, 78
Planche, François de la, Flemish weaver, 192
Point-lace of Auxerre and Rheims, 191
Poissant, Thibaut, painter, 151–155
Poll-tax, the, 49
Pompadour, Madame de, 144
Poussin, painter, 98, 119–123, 136, 139
Poynter, 124
Protestant Academicians turned out, the, 95

Puget, Pierre, sculptor, 146–148, 166
Pussort, Colbert's uncle, 48
Pyramid, the, 157

Rabel, engraver, 167
Racan, author, 21
Raon, sculptor, 158, 164
Raphael, 135
Rapid production, 136, 137
Ratabon, Antoine, chief commissioner of works, 88, 94, 109, 121
Ravaillac, 189
Regnauldin, Thomas, sculptor, 123, 151–158
Regnesson, Nicolas, engraver, 178, 179
Reims, Porte de Mars at, 73
Remy, embroiderer, 200
Renaissance, the, 4, 52
Rennes Cathedral, 73
Restout, painter, 145
Retz, De, 30, 178
Reynolds, Sir Joshua, 137
Rheims point-lace, 191
Richelieu, Cardinal, 3–28, 120, 155, 178
Rigaud, portrait painter, 129, 137
Riquet, engineer, 77
Rochefort, the port of, 38
Rochefoucauld, the Duke de la, 19
Rochelle, La, 7, 37
Rochon, the Concierge, 195, 198
Roger, prize winner at the academical school, 107
Rohan, the Duke de, 16
Romain, Picart le, engraver, 185
Romano, Giulio, painter, 202, 203
Rome, the school of France at, 46, 109
Roubaix, the conditioning house of, 43
Rousseau, Jacques, Huguenot painter, 96, 125, 128, 136, 137, 186
Rousselet, engraver, 182, 202

St. Cyr, 76
St. Germains, 123
St. Luke, the Academy of, 102, 110
St. Mandé, 153
St. Sebastian, Puget's, 147
Sancy, De, French ambassador at Constantinople, 119
Sandras, Courtilz de, *quot.*, 40
Sarrazin, Jacques, sculptor, 102, 121, 150–153
Sassoferato, painter, 120
Saturn, the fountains of, 157
Savonnerie, the, 45, 191–205
Scarron, *conseiller de grand' chambre*, 17
Sceaux, the courts of, 147
School of Architecture, the, 44
School of France at Rome, the, 46, 109, 127
School, the academical, 101–118
Schuppen, Van, engraver, 179
Scudéri, poet, 22
Séguier, Chancellor, 94, 104, 120, 142, 150
Serizay, poet, 19, 21, 22
Serre, Michel, painter, 186
Sève, Gilbert de, painter, 127, 137, 194, 201, 203
Sévigné, Madame de, 31
Sèvres, 117, 118
"Siege of Breda," Callot's, 171
Silvestre, Israel, engraver, 179–183
Simon, engraver, 178
Sirmond, pamphleteer, 19, 23
Somer, Jacques, maker of marquetry, 205
Sorbonne, the, 17, 65, 155
Soubeyran, court pensioner, 183
Soubise, the Duke de, 9, 16
Sourdis, the Archbishop de, 11, 15
Stella, Claudine, engraver, 169, 182
Sueur, Eustache le, 113, 120, 137

Tapestry, 190–201
Tellier, Le, under secretary of state, 30, 178
Temporiti, sculptor, 158, 159, 198, 201
"Testament Politique," the, 14
Testelin, Henri, 96, 125
Testelin, Louis, 95, 103
Thétis, the Grotte de, 155–157
"Time and Truth," Poussin's, 184
Toulon, Puget at, 147–149
Tournier, engraver, 183
Trianon, 70, 76
Troy, De, 137
Troyes, English serges made at, 161

Tuby, decorator, 157–164, 194, 198, 201
Tuileries, 76, 120, 125
Turenne sits to Nanteuil, 178

VAL DE GRACE, 154
Valette, the Duke de la, 11
Vallet, engraver, 179
Vanderban, engraver, 183
Van der Meulen, battle painter, 130, 142, 185, 201
Van Kerchove, dyer, 195
Van Leyde, Lucas, 173
Vanloo, painter, 115, 139
"Vanloter," 98
Van Opstal, Flemish sculptor, 152, 157
Van Schuppen, engraver, 179
Vau, Le, 56–68, 125
Vaux le Vicomte, 66, 121, 154, 193
Velasquez, 144
Vendôme, the Place, 72–75
Venetian glassworkers, 45, 190
Verdier, painter, 125, 128, 202, 203
Vermeulen, Corneille, engraver, 178
Versailles, 52–80, 120–145, 156–164
Viaucourt, silversmith, 206
"Vices," etching by Callot, 172
Vignon, Claude, painter, 125, 128
Villacerf, Colbert de, 72, 74
Villers, Claude de, silversmith, 206
Vincennes, 53
Virgin of Lorgues, Puget's, 146
Vitruvius, Perrault's, 183
Vivien, painter, 137
Vouet, Simon, painter, 102, 119, 127, 139, 150, 168, 186
Vuitry, *quot.*, 49

WALL-PAINTING, 135
Warin, medallist and master of the Mint, 207–209
Water Garden, the, 157, 164
Watteau, 145

YVART, Baudren, designer of tapestries, 195, 196

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