

# University of St Andrews



Full metadata for this thesis is available in  
St Andrews Research Repository  
at:

<http://research-repository.st-andrews.ac.uk/>

This thesis is protected by original copyright

MILLET AND THE FRENCH PEASANT:  
THE ARTIST AS SOCIAL HISTORIAN

CATRIONA MILLER

M.LITT. THESIS  
ST. ANDREWS 1990



In submitting this thesis to the University of St. Andrews I understand that I am giving permission for it to be made available for use in accordance with the regulations of the University library for the time being in force, subject to any copyright vested in the work not being affected thereby. I also understand that the title and abstract will be published, and that a copy of the work may be made available to any bona fide library or research worker.

I, Catriona Jane Miller, hereby certify that this thesis, which is approximately 30,000 words in length, has been written by me, that it is the record of work carried out by me and that it has not been submitted in any previous application for a higher degree.

date: 1-5-90

signature of candidate:

I was admitted as a candidate for the degree of M.Litt. in October 1988 the higher study for which this is a record was carried out in the University of St. Andrews between June 1989 and April 1990.

date: 1-5-90

Signature of candidate/

I hereby certify that the candidate has fulfilled the conditions of the Resolution and Regulations appropriate for the degree of M.Litt. History of Art in the University of St. Andrews and that the candidate is qualified to submit this thesis in application for that degree.

date:

signature of supervisor:

The intention of this thesis is to bring together both art and social history in order to achieve a greater understanding of Millet and the world which he painted. New evidence on the artist is hard to come by but nineteenth century French rural history is an on-going source of study which art historians cannot afford to ignore.

The thesis is divided into two sections, each of which has distinctive aims but which are ultimately linked in the conclusion. The first concentrates on a survey of the artist's life, combining specific and often well-known facts with more general research on France. The intention is to reinterpret Millet's life; to establish the strength of his peasant background and the hold which it retained upon him throughout his life.

The second section leads on from this by discussing a broad cross-section of the artist's work in terms of recent historical study. Whilst the emphasis is on Millet's pictures of the peasantry, all his work can be seen in similar terms. It is divided into historical rather than pictorial categories with the aim of establishing the validity of the work as social history evidence.

As the conclusion states, this method of studying the artist establishes the importance of Millet as the one, accurate portrayal of rural life of the period, whose sympathies and understanding lay with the peasantry and influenced his whole art.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction.....	1
The Artist's Life: His Early Years.....	9
Artistic Education.....	15
1848 in Paris.....	24
Barbizon.....	29
His Art and Patrons.....	37
Conclusion.....	49
The Pictures: Historical Background.....	54
The Peasantry and the Land.....	67
The Farming Year.....	75
The Village and the Family.....	90
Women and Children.....	101
Religion.....	115
Popular Culture.....	124
Conclusion.....	131
Notes.....	140
Bibliography.....	158
Illustrations.....	165

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Fig. 1. <u>Gruchy</u> (1855).....	165
2. <u>Church at Greville</u> (1874).....	165
3. <u>Self Portrait</u> (1841).....	166
4. <u>Self Portrait</u> (1847).....	167
5. <u>The Sower</u> (1850).....	168
6. <u>The Sower</u> (1851).....	169
7. <u>Man Grafting a Tree</u> (1855).....	169
8. <u>Woman Grazing a Cow</u> (1859).....	170
9. <u>The Shepherdess</u> (1864).....	170
10. <u>Millet's Garden</u> (1853).....	171
11. <u>Man with a Hoe</u> (1863).....	172
12. <u>First Steps</u> (1867).....	172
13. <u>Buckwheat Harvest</u> (1874).....	173
14. <u>The Gleaners</u> (1857).....	173
15. <u>The Faggot-Gatherers</u> (1874).....	174
16. <u>Path through a Wheatfield</u> (1867).....	175
17. <u>Winter: the Ploughed Field</u> (1867).....	175
18. <u>The Peasant Family</u> (1872).....	176
19. <u>Goatherd from the Auvergne</u> (1866).....	177
20. <u>Woman Carrying Water</u> (1863).....	178
21. <u>Woman Churning Butter</u> (1855).....	179
22. <u>Bouillie</u> (1857).....	180
23. <u>Woman Sewing by a Window</u> (1856).....	181
24. <u>Newborn Calf</u> (1864).....	182
25. <u>The Sheep Shearing</u> (1847).....	182
26. <u>Veillée</u> (1866).....	183
27. <u>The Potato Planting</u> (1861).....	183
28. <u>Going to Work</u> (1851).....	184

29. <u>The Sheepfold</u> (1868).....	185
30. <u>The Angelus</u> (1857).....	185
31. <u>Spring</u> (1874).....	186
32. <u>Death and the Woodcutter</u> (1859).....	186
33. <u>Flight to Egypt</u> (1864).....	187
34. <u>Return from the Fields</u> (1866).....	187

## INTRODUCTION

Historiography on Millet is distinguished by quantity rather than quality. That is not to say that there have been no scholarly studies of his work, although even here we are almost wholly dependent on the work of one man, Herbert. But rather that the majority of writing is superficial and repetitive. Millet has suffered from being popular at a time when art history was little more than appreciation by colleagues and admirers. Equally, since the Second World War, when academic study began to be taken seriously, Millet as an artist has been overlooked. He was dismissed for the reasons he had once been praised. His work was considered sentimental and nostalgic in a modernist world and his legendary life of simplicity and virtue weighed around his neck like a millstone. As Herman wrote: "I am old enough to remember a time when to utter Millet's name brought laughter on one's head. Every writer on art and every artist who thought himself "of our times" either ignored him or damned him." [1]

The first biographical study of his life appeared in 1881. J-F Millet: Le Paysan et Le Peintre, largely written by the artist's lifelong friend, Sensier and posthumously published by the critic Mantz is a much criticised work. Yet it has formed the basis of many subsequent studies, including Cartwright's J-F Millet: His Life and Letters (1906) - the first standard study in English. Equally, despite his more selective and critical approach Moreau-Nelaton remained heavily dependent on Sensier for his three volume life, Millet Raconte Par Lui-meme (1921). As a result

Millet's importance in nineteenth century art history is well established both as an influence on the Impressionists [4] and Van Gogh [5], and as a pioneer of rustic ruralism who inspired a future generation of French and British artists [6]. Yet despite this importance, or perhaps because of it, Millet is treated rarely as an individual artist and often as merely a paragraph in more general studies.

There are perhaps two major stumbling blocks in dealing with Millet. Firstly, as I have indicated, he is not often considered in the isolation which he deserves. Too frequently art historians bandy around suitably italicised terms which link the artist to others without fully exploring the resulting relationship. A long tradition from Tomson [7] through Bouret [8] associates Millet with the other Barbizon artists. Yet the differences are more striking than the similarities: the others painted largely unpopulated forest scenes, the majority did not live permanently in the village and all were townsmen born and bred. To discuss Millet in this context is to invite confusion. Similarly, the much used term Realism rears its ugly head. Millet was by no means universally linked to the movement by contemporary critics and he cannot be compared satisfactorily to the self-proclaimed king, Courbet. Equally his work is often called Romantic, Epic, nostalgic - terms not usually associated with the workaday reportage of Realism. Despite careful handling by Weisberg [9] it must be said that a greater understanding of the term does not lead to a greater appreciation of Millet.

A second and more fundamental stumbling block lies in the lack of new evidence likely to be uncovered. All the

minutiae of the artist's daily existence are well-known and widely published. Since the discovery of the Winnower chronicled by Lindsay [10] no significant works have been unearthed. Writing on Millet must therefore concern itself with interpretation and art historians are sadly not always at their best when theorising. Pollock [11], following Zola's bodice ripping yarn [12], as well as Dali [13], sees sexual connotations in everything including the folds of women's clothing. Laughton [14] attributes the desolation of the landscape in the, as even he admits, unfinished Hagar and Ishmael to the personal problems of the artist. These views and others are of course valid to a certain extent but they still threaten to take us too far down the dead end alleyways of psychoanalysis.

It is, however, possible to study Millet in a new light. Tim Clark has shown the way with what he describes as "a social history of art" [15]. He criticises an art history which approaches the pictures as being somehow separate from the times in which they were produced and allows the history itself to be relegated to a background role, only occasionally and superficially putting in an appearance. Clark's study of Millet is limited both chronologically, in his concern only with the period 1848-51, and socially, as Clark is not primarily interested in the rural population of France. It does however demonstrate that, by broadening their terms of reference, art historians can increase their understanding of art and equally that such a possibility exists with the work of Millet.

The social history of France during the nineteenth century is a rich, and perhaps more importantly, an ongoing

field of study. Specifically, the status of the peasantry within that society has recently been reviewed from every angle. The regional diversity of France has spawned a series of local studies which give detailed accounts of daily life in rural communities. Writers such as Price [16] have sought to use the techniques of economic history to establish the rate of growth and change in the countryside. Gildea, in contrast, looks at change from a cultural viewpoint, discussing literacy, education and religion [17]. Whilst two classic works, Weber [18] and Zeldin [19], have brought together these strands in an attempt to establish the political and national role of the French peasantry. If we accept that Millet's art is inextricably linked to rural life then it is only sense to tap historical study on that subject. It is only sense and yet art historians have consistently failed to do so in any comprehensive fashion. At present the most useful synthesis is by a social historian, Juneja, who takes a long term perspective covering French painting from Millet to Gauguin [20].

This, therefore, is a primary aim of this thesis: to answer the questions posed by Millet's work in terms of that which he actually painted, the daily existence of rural life in France. Following Clark, I shall discuss Millet's life not simply through the specific details recorded by art historians but in terms of the general example posed by historical study. Inevitably this will bring into play the old debate on how involved Millet was with the peasantry which he painted. Sensier clearly stretches credibility with his image of the simple peasant painter but it is wrong to rely too heavily on the current view of a wholly

sophisticated artist. Both in background and lifestyle, as well as in the concerns of his pictures, Millet was actively involved with and interested in the peasant community.

This leads on to a second aim, for, whilst art historians may have neglected social history, it can be equally said that social historians have been reluctant to see the potential of Millet's work as evidence for their own. Quite content to use literary sources such as Balzac or Zola, with all the problems of bias and interpretation which fiction contains, they remain scornful of pictorial evidence. Too often paintings are used in a purely illustrative way without the necessary commentary which would establish a more valuable role for them. Naturally Millet's work can, and should, be criticised for its lack of comprehensiveness, for its universalism in a very regionalist world, for the inaccuracies and personal bias it undoubtedly contains. Yet it remains a valuable and largely untapped source of historical study.

The two sections of the work relate directly to these aims and are themselves inextricably linked. Without establishing Millet's validity as a portrayer of the peasantry it is impossible to discuss his role as a social historian. In grouping his work, I have avoided the traditional pictorial criteria of, for instance, all "diggers", interior scenes etc. and instead tried to form his oeuvre into historical categories. It is impossible to create exclusive pigeon-holes by this method and the division is a highly subjective one imposed by the author. We should remember that Millet, if anything, viewed his work

in pictorial categories, as demonstrated by his habit of revising certain stock subjects throughout his life.

The major problem in handling Millet's work remains its vastness: he produced some 500 oils and 3000 drawings during his career [21]. The bulk of these are "peasant" pictures, for it is one of the unique features of the artist that he stuck so diligently to his chosen theme. Apart from his early portraits, the mock rococo money-making schemes of his Paris years and a generally considered unsuccessful attempt at decorative art for the Thomas dining room in 1864, he never painted anything which cannot be brought under the broad umbrella of ruralism. It is however possible to separate off his landscapes proper from those which merely represent a background to the dominant figures. Millet differed from other Barbizon artists in tending to concentrate on humanity rather than nature yet he became increasingly interested in depicting landscape for its own sake. His sketches around Vichy (1866-8) and Cherbourg (1870) demonstrate the tendency in his later work for the figures to become smaller and the expression of nature to dominate the whole. Within the social history limitations of the thesis, however, these landscapes must remain largely undiscussed.

Since my original inspiration derived from the examples of his work at Glasgow City Art Gallery and the Burrell Collection, I shall draw most readily for illustration on these and other minor works held in British collections. This choice can be easily justified. The fame of Millet's major works, like the Sower or the Angelus, not only tends to distract from the impact of them - here the adage

familiarity breeds contempt is sadly all too accurate - but equally leads us to forget that they are not representative of his work as a whole. This is not simply in terms of numbers, equally many critics agree that Millet felt perhaps least happy in the medium of oils [22]. He saw these pictures as competition set pieces, a throw back to his failed attempt at the Prix de Rome and a necessary evil in the days when success depended on Salon recognition. The smaller drawings and pastels where the academic skills of colour, composition and line are subordinate to simple observation and where the need for artistic conformity is lessened, show the artist at his happiest and are perhaps most valuable from the viewpoint of historical evidence.

Finally, I would like to acknowledge the following for their assistance: Robin Spencer and the staff in the Art History Department at St. Andrews; the Photographic Unit there, for their help with the illustrations; the Prints and Drawings Department of the Burrell Collection and the City Art Gallery in Glasgow; the Art History Department and the Ashmolean in Oxford; those I drafted in to lend an ear and to proof read.

## SECTION ONE: THE ARTIST'S LIFE.

The Early Years.

Millet was a native of Normandy, born in the cluster of farmhouses known as Gruchy, on the extreme north-west coast of the province, in October 1814. Until the age of nineteen this was his home and indeed his life - rural France at its most isolated and localist. Gruchy was a single street of about twenty houses serviced by a cart-track and without even a church to call its own. The Cotentin area of Normandy is perhaps the least hospitable. Musset describes the isolation and independence of villages caused by large areas of land which is uncultivated because it is unproductive [23]. The sea lashes the coastline so as to make fishing a near impossible livelihood and harsh wet weather reduces the productivity of the soil. The climate has influenced the type of dwelling: "long houses of unhewn grey stone roughly cemented together, with heavily shuttered windows and capped with a high pitched thatched roof" [24]. Yet it is a mistake to see such sturdiness simply as affluence. Millet's own sketches of his childhood home, such as Gruchy (1855 Boston) [Fig 1], prove it to be a working house set in a farmyard where chickens roamed, fodder was stacked and water was drawn from the well.

Gruchy today is worth a visit, perpetuated in its isolation by a single track road flanked by high sheltering hedgerows and sporting a central stream in wet weather. Lecoecur's description [25] still rings true: "the roads were really for the most part little more than paths scooped out, sometimes as deeply as a river bed, unmaintained...in perpetual damp and darkness." The houses are still farms,

still recognisable from Millet's pictures and, despite visible signs of modernity, strangely divorced from the twentieth century.

Millet was reticent about his childhood and what he does say seems to corroborate the myths which have grown up around him. Yet it is possible to gain an impression of his formative years in Normandy and equally of the influence they had on him in later life. He was the second of eight children born to parents who farmed and were of farming backgrounds. His mother came from a "good" family - to use a country phrase - but despite this she worked in the fields and left the care of the children to the grandmother. The family owned their land, a fact much misinterpreted by biographers such as Bacou [26] who claim it proves the wealth of the Millets. At the end of the eighteenth century, when Arthur Young travelled through France he estimated that 30-40% of the peasantry were landowners - the family were simply one of many thousands of owner-occupiers.

Millet related many childhood memories to Sensier: "I remember waking up in the morning in my little bed and hearing the voices of people chatting in the room where I was. Amidst the voices there was a humming which was interrupted from time to time. This was the noise of the spinning wheel and the voices were those of the women, who were carding and spinning wool" [27]. He also described the room which was his home: "There was in one corner a big bed covered with a counterpane striped with broad brown and red stripes which reached down to the ground. There was also a large cupboard of a brown colour leaning against the wall between the foot of the bed and where the window was. All

this comes back to me as a vague dream" [28]. The same stark room was to reappear in many of Millet's interior scenes. Of life outdoors he says little, but describes two events which clearly had a vivid impact on him as a small boy. One was the regular collection of seaweed, good for fertilizer, by villagers prepared to take considerable risks to get one of the few benefits thrown up by the sea. A second was the wreck of ships in a freak Sunday storm. The whole village left the church to help as "the sea was strewn with wreckage, with planks, masts and drowning men" [29]. For Millet it was proof of the violent, uncontrollable side of Nature against which man must struggle to survive.

These few verbal vignettes are mimicked by that part of his art which, produced in retrospect, harks back to his childhood. They reveal highly nostalgic glimpses of a small boy's particular view of what was his world. The End of the Village at Greville (1865 Boston) is perhaps the epitome of this idealised pictorial biography, as Millet admitted to Silvestre in 1868: "I would like to make the spectator dimly aware of what passes for life in the mind of a child who has only received impressions of this kind and later finds himself out of his element in noisy surroundings" [30]. A mother and child look out to sea whilst in the shadows of the foreground stand a spinning wheel, a troupe of geese - the trappings of memorabilia. It is the end of the village and seemingly the end of the world, beyond which the sea stretches exciting, dangerous and completely unknown.

The other vital side of Millet's childhood centres around his education. The family possessed books, not simply the near ubiquitous illustrated Bible but an inherited and

treasured collection of religious writings from St. Augustine to Fenelon, Bossuet and the other Port Royal authors [31]. His family were literate, even his grandmother wrote regularly to Millet in Paris, and were keen that the children should receive a basic education. This was unusual though not impossible in nineteenth century France. Literacy figures, so far as they can be assessed from conscription records and marriage registers were surprisingly high. Spengler estimated that an average of 54% husbands and 34% wives were able to sign the register 1816-20, whilst around 53% of conscripts were literate [32]. Anderson agrees that 1/2 a predominantly peasant army were able to read in 1832 [33].

More unusual was the availability of a local school, which Millet attended from the age of six, complete with the presence of an educated and enthusiastic schoolmaster. Prior to the 1833 Guizot Education Act, when the provision of a commune school became compulsory, children were entirely dependent on local initiatives. Even afterwards, things were slow to improve. Free universal education was introduced in 1881 and prior to that 60% of pupils had to pay [34], something which many simply could not afford. Worse was the appalling quality of many teachers, reported by the Guizot inspectors who stated that many were only peasants themselves [35]. Poor pay, even after the introduction of a minimum wage under the 1850 Falloux Law, and low status perpetuated the problem for most of the century. Education was a haphazard affair, as Bonnemere wrote: "not a right but an accident" [36] and Millet was fortunate not simply in

having a family who valued schooling but a local teacher who was enthusiastic and capable of inspiring his charges.

The influence of religion was strong in Millet's childhood, not only in the family circle, but equally in promoting his education. The books which the family did possess were typical in their moralistic and improving nature. Millet's grandmother was deeply and austere religious, as is testified by her letters to him in Paris. His great-uncle, a priest until the upheavals of the Revolution, was still an unofficial member of the church as far as the village was concerned and was treated as such. Equally, it was an anonymous priest who, whilst teaching the catechism, recognised Millet's potential and taught him the basics of Latin. The French *cure* was drawn almost exclusively from the ranks of the peasantry, a fact which disgusted the Englishwoman Margaret Bethan-Edwards [37] who maintained that the rural population could not hope to improve whilst their moral wellbeing depended on such men. Better educated, but with few of the social refinements which would set them apart from their class, they returned to the villages to inspire comradely respect rather than deference. One of their own who worked in the fields as well as wearing the surplice of a priest. Religion and learning were intertwined and religion was an unchallenged part of Millet's early years. In 1871-4 he painted The Church at Greville (Louvre) [Fig 2], another of his nostalgic Normandy pictures, painted in the same light-touch, airy style. The church differs little from the farmhouses beyond - goats graze at its gates - and yet it looms larger than life in the landscape dwarfing the peasant who walks by. Millet

spoke of the picture to Wallis: "There is an impression of this scene as it struck my imagination as a child," [38] and indeed it is a child's eye view of a solid, perpetual, unchallenged building and the faith it represents.

It is difficult to say whether Millet had a typical peasant upbringing or not; the whole concept of "typical" is too hard to define in the context of rural life. What must be emphasised, however, is how unremarkable it was: his family were not wealthy, his education was not vast despite his Latin studies, and his background was not privileged. His family owned their land and as such were spared the uncertainty and poverty of a "metayer's" (sharecropper's) life, as described by Guillaumin [39]. Yet they never aspired to the status of "le coq du village"; they did not employ regular labourers; they lived simply. Millet's mother's letters of 1848, which speak of rising prices and problems with the farm, prove that severe poverty was a constant threat, if not a daily reality. Like 75% of the population [40] Millet grew up in a rural peasant family. If one considers his formative years to be at all important, then this is the single most significant fact.

### His Artistic Education

At the age of eighteen Millet left Gruchy. Artistic talent had been spotted; local fame and moderate fortune promised, and he was sent to Cherbourg to be a pupil of Mouchel, a former member of David's atelier. This was Millet's decisive break; from now on despite frequent return visits to his home, his life had been mapped out on a course which took him away from the land. In 1835, when his father died, Millet seriously considered giving up his studies and returning to take up his place as head of the family but he was persuaded otherwise. The family were used to his absence and the potential importance of his talent was appreciated as too valuable to give up. It was not an unusual course. Large families and the inheritance traditions embodied into law by the Code Napoleon encouraged limited migration away from rural farm life. The eight Millet children were all entitled to equal shares of the property, a division which would necessarily cause poverty for all. The farm was a family business but rarely an expanding one and even with daughters being married off into independence, which in itself required a dowry, it was essential that some children found a living elsewhere. Thus Millet's great uncle emigrated to Guadeloupe. Thus his younger brother went to sea. Thus Millet himself was encouraged in a burgeoning talent which could at least provide him with a living away from the land.

Once in Cherbourg Millet began his formal art training first with Mouchel, then with a former pupil of Gros, Langlois. Artists were allowed to copy from works in the Musée Thomas Henri and Millet also spent much time in the

local reading room, devouring everything from Virgil to Shakespeare and Byron. He later rather pompously declared: "I came to Paris with all my ideas fixed" [41]. Despite being only ten miles distance from Gruchy, the change in lifestyle must have been dramatic. The population of Cherbourg was 17,000, large by nineteenth century standards, and the town was a lively port and military base. Recent prosperity had encouraged a sense of civic pride, new buildings were being put up and culture was encouraged in a limited sense [42]. It was this atmosphere which gave Millet his first hand in a commission - helping Langlois with an altarpiece for the S. Trinita Church - and later his disastrous portrait of Javain was also executed for the Council. Equally, Langlois exploited feelings of local pride when he persuaded them to support Millet's studies in Paris: "Millet has nothing except the resource of his own religious love of the arts, his drive, a serious education and the esteem with which his family surrounds him. It is with regard to his position, Messieurs, and in the interest of my country (locality rather than France) that I come to you to, if not positively adopt the young Millet, at least to take the initiative" [43]. The result was a grant of 600 francs and the chance of a lifetime.

The capital of France was the epicentre of the country in every respect. The centralisation of government since 1789 had ensured its political predominance - as Tocqueville wrote: "the provinces had come under the sway of the metropolis" [44]. Its population continued to grow, entirely by immigration, faster than that of any other city in France. Culturally it was supreme. As late as 1951 64% of

provincial Frenchmen wanted to live in the capital and 46% of Parisians felt the rest of the country to be backward [45]. Menétra, an eighteenth century glazier, had only contempt for the backwardness and lack of sophistication of the provincial population, despite travelling widely [46] and Stendhal was a typical city tourist: "the stupidity of these provincials is beyond belief" [47]. The artistic pre-eminence of the city was assured by the dual powers of the Academy and the Salon. Without training in the capital a painter could hope only for local recognition and patronage and consequently only moderate financial success [48].

Millet arrived in January 1837 with the addresses of some contacts - locals who had previously left for the city and who in Millet's case proved to be unreliable. His first impressions of the city were not favourable: "All that I saw along the way made me sadder. Paris appeared dull, dreary and stale. I went to a cheap hotel and spent my first night in a sort of continual nightmare. The immense crowd of horses and carriages crossing and jostling each other, the narrow streets, the air and smells stifled me" [49]. Millet's feelings were not untypical: until 1830 doctors recognised "nostalgie" as a specific disease which afflicted the urbanised rural populations and caused nausea, insomnia and lack of appetite [50]. Other descriptions of the capital attest to that same oppressive effect on young immigrants. Restif de la Bretonne's young immigrant, despite being welcomed into a friend's house found himself bewildered by the size of the city and appalled at being asked to smuggle goods in by pedlars on the outskirts [51]. His views of the

city later found expression in his autobiographical novels about the evil effects of the capital on immigrants [52].

Life was frequently made easier in the initial stages by the regionalised nature of the city. Menetra felt loyalty to his quartier of St Saviour, comparing it to a village [53]. Nadaud, arriving in the company of other travelling masons, describes how he reached the quartier of Grève full of natives of Creuse who continued to speak their own dialect and wear local dress [54]. His real introduction to Paris life did not occur until his work carried him beyond the invisible boundaries of his countrymen's area. For Millet, however, arriving without the strong tradition of the migrant mason, Paris life was an uncushioned culture-shock. Speaking later he maintained that his visit to the Louvre made the whole experience worthwhile: "I climbed the great staircase with the beating heart and the hurried step of a man whose one great wish in life is about to be fulfilled" [55]. At the time, such treasures must have been poor compensation for the loneliness and uncertainty of his new life.

His arrival at Delaroche's studio was to prove equally unsettling. His favoured status with Langlois was replaced by the harsh taunts inflicted by sophisticated Parisians on a lowly and provincial newcomer. Delecluze gives a vivid picture of "atelier" life in his biography of David [56]. The "rapin" (apprentice) was the butt of all humour, the subject of practical jokes and condemned to a slavish existence providing assistance to the older pupils. There was a freer atmosphere of Delaroches's regime: Boime describes five hours work daily and a weekly visit from the master [57].

Millet was at least allowed to paint from the model without a long apprenticeship in drawing and plaster casts but it was clearly not a pleasant situation. Nor were the politics of the studio easy to accept: Delaroche quite readily backed another candidate in the Prix de Rome of 1838, snubbing Millet despite previous words of praise. Shortly afterwards Millet left to pursue his studies independently. Although it was a partly financial decision caused by the haphazard nature of his grant it equally proved Millet's stubborn lack of conformity. "The wild man of the woods" as his fellow students dubbed him, because of his strange accent and rustic dress, found both the strictures and the fashions of Parisian art unacceptable.

He still returned home on a yearly basis to help with the harvest, and thus followed the pattern of thousands of seasonal migrants whose work carried them to Paris and elsewhere but who never abandoned their roots. They left families behind in the country and retired back there after a lifetime of labour. When Millet chose a Norman wife in 1841 he mirrored Nadaud, who found his partner among the girls of Creuse whom he grew up with, [58] and Dumay, who after a long military service returned home to marry [59]. Yet such contact only emphasised the differences of his life. On one occasion he was struck by his lack of fitness when he tried to help out in the fields: "I felt myself no longer a man of the country" [60]. It was a feeling of isolation which was to continue throughout his life.

Paris did not treat Millet well. He seems to have made only one close friend, Marolles, and continued to write long letters to friends in Cherbourg. Despite having gone to the

capital to get into the artistic world he was choosing his own tastes. He studied at the independent Academie Suisse to perfect his life-drawing technique, and frequented the Louvre and the Spanish Exhibition inaugurated by Louis Philippe, producing work heavily influenced by the sombre colouring and broad texture of the Mediterranean artists which he saw. In 1840 he was deprived of his Cherbourg grant as the council found other ways of spending the money nearer to home. The Salon jury accepted only one of his two portraits and it received no critical attention. That year he made a long visit home, clearly taking stock.

In Cherbourg he was a prodigal son, a local celebrity, and as a result he got some portrait commissions from friends and 300 francs from the Council to paint the recently deceased mayor, Javain. Had the portrait been a success he might never have left the town; as it was the Council rejected it on the grounds that it was not a good likeness. The resulting exchanges, a series of politely furious letters quoted by Moreau Nelaton [61], led to Millet trying to appease the town with a picture of Moses which they valued at 100 francs. The scandal was serious in the small world of provincial Cherbourg; it had insulted Millet's high sense of pride and had made him notorious.

In 1841 Millet met his first wife, Pauline Ono, the daughter of a local tailor. It was a marriage approved by the family and celebrated at Gruchy in typical peasant traditions. Millet himself, made a series of portraits of the Ono family (Cherbourg) to mark the occasion, as well as a self-portrait. He showed himself severe and starched in his best clothes, the very image of a countryman feeling

uncomfortable in his Sunday best [Fig 3]. Pauline herself is simply dressed in sombre blue with a plain shawl, looking young and frail. They both have the posed stiffness of early photographs. If Millet was later to almost revel in portraying himself in working clothes [Fig 4], here he still conforms to the country idea that a picture was a special occasion, demanding that one looked one's best.

Returning to the capital with a wife to support Millet began the slow climb to the status of recognised artist. Over the next eighteen months he evolved a freer and more commercial style, influenced by eighteenth century French artists. In 1844 Thoré reviewed Millet's Salon entry, The Milkmaid (lost) by describing it as "in the taste of Boucher." Even the second portrait of Millet's wife, Pauline Deshabillée (Cherbourg), shows the change with the plain, formalised background replaced by a naturalistic vision of Pauline with her hair loose and wearing a dressing gown. His subjects were also well-chosen in their commerciability: The Riding Lesson (Cherbourg) shown at the 1844 Salon was a typical piece of escapist eroticism with nude children playing at horses in a vaguely Arcadian landscape. Despite the artist's attempts, however, success was slow in coming. Millet did not exhibit at the 1843 Salon and the following year his work received only moderate attention. At the same time, on a personal front things were getting worse and in April 1844 his wife died after a long and strength-sapping illness. It seemed to confirm Millet's view of the evils Paris and he returned to Normandy. Again we see evidence of his lack of feeling for the city; despite increasing

contacts with artist-friends, Millet returned home in time of crisis.

In Cherbourg, in 1845, Millet met Catherine Lemaire, a Breton from a family of workers. She was illiterate, from a landless family and "foreign", in the sense that she was not from Normandy. This, rather than the fact Millet met her so soon after the death of his first wife was to prove crucial. 57% of widows/widowers remarried within a year of their spouses death, a haste which was actively encouraged [62]. Catherine was never introduced to the family and instead became Millet's mistress. Much has been made of the fact that they did not marry until 1853 and that their union was not given church sanction until the year of Millet's death, by which time Catherine had borne him nine children. Certainly it was glossed over by Sensier who did not wish to offend the sensibilities of would-be patrons. But in a period when relationships were frequently consummated before marriage and couples only took their vows when the first child was on the way [63], the fact that Millet did not remarry immediately is not that significant. Nor is it necessarily proof of his lack of religious feeling as Herbert has argued: Phayer argues that promiscuity and religious devotion frequently went hand in hand [64]. What is more important than the morality of the issue is the fact that Millet felt strongly enough that his family would disapprove of the match to move immediately to Le Havre and then Paris. His sense of the importance of rural custom and kinship, as well as the strict social hierarchy of the provinces was clearly undiminished. After finding Catherine and because of her, he lost contact with his family, leaving

letters from home unanswered, and settling permanently in the city. Although Clark equates Millet's attitude to his family with that of the popular view of migrant peasants rejecting their roots, it was Catherine rather than Paris which caused the split in the case of the artist. Equally, he must have felt that her presence made it impossible for him to accept the post of Professor of Art in Cherbourg, which was offered to him in 1843.

### 1848 in Paris

After a flurry of provincial success in Le Havre, producing portraits for a sea captain (Lyons) and other commercial subjects and which earned him 900 francs, Millet once again arrived in Paris. His individual style, the "maniere fleurie" as Sensier dubbed it, was now well established and over the next three years, until the upheavals of 1848, he produced a series of erotic nude subjects with Arcadian or mythological settings. He began to produce pastels for dealers such as Deforge; he became known to a small group of artists, including Troyon and Diaz who had discovered his work at the 1844 Salon; in 1847 he met Sensier and so began a lifelong friendship. Sensier shared a rural background with Millet, although his father had been a village notary and he had become a minor civil servant in the capital's vast bureaucracy [66]. He records his surprise at Millet's curious garb on their first meeting "which gave his person an air of strangeness. A brown coat the colour of the wall, a dense beard and long hair topped by a woollen hat made him resemble a painter from the Middle Ages" [67].

Even with these increased contacts Millet was little involved with the public art life of Paris. He was a regular Salon exhibitor, as he was to be throughout his life, yet that was really the entire extent of his search for official recognition. In the cafes and artistic circles unofficial art life was also flourishing, but unlike Courbet, whose self-advertisement knew no bounds, Millet remained aloof, relying on limited contacts and private friendships: "Millet was a silent figure known only to his friends" [68]. This was the Paris of Murger's Scenes de la Vie Boheme (1851) and

yet in accounts of Millet's life one is totally unaware of the fact.

In 1847, after a disastrous attempt at the Temptation of St. Jerome, Millet reused the canvas for Oedipus taken down from the tree (Ottawa), showed the work at the Salon and suddenly achieved limited but important critical recognition. Gautier described it as "full of tortured expression, with an audacity and an unbelievable fury" [69] and Thore', already established as an admirer, enthused about its originality. Oedipus represented a more powerful style, with stronger brushwork and a composition dependent on movement which was to be further employed the following year with the Winnower (private coll.). Although 1848 may have been a political watershed in French history it produced little change in the life or work of Millet.

His involvement in the Revolution is highly debated but, despite his notably Republican friends, he seems to have avoided both the dangers of the Barricades, until being conscripted into the militia in July [70], and the behind the scenes wrangling of the Provisional Government. Jeanron was in Millet's eyes primarily a painter rather than a politician. Jacques' enthusiasm was fired by the heat of the moment only and he was easily persuaded to leave the centre stage of Parisian politics and accompany Millet to Barbizon in 1849. Dupont, a weaver turned bank clerk and writer of poems about the working man, was seen as a Radical in the troubled spirit of the times but to Millet his work simply struck a chord with his own sketches of life in Paris. Millet's attitude to the Revolution seems similar to his

feelings of 1870 when he fled to Cherbourg and refused to get involved with the Commune's Federation of Artists.

In two respects, however, Millet could not fail to be affected by events. Flaubert [71] records the utter chaos which reigned in Paris during the initial stages of the overthrow: "The Palais Royal was crammed with people. Seven bonfires were blazing in the inner court. Pianos, chests of drawers and clocks were being flung out of the windows...Great eddies of black smoke mixed with sparks were poring from chimneys. The sound of bells in the distance was like the frightened bleating of sheep. Everywhere, to the left and right, the victors were letting off their pieces."

Equally, heart-rending letters from his mother and grandmother must have brought home to the artist the uncertainty and suffering of the provinces at the time. He had broken off contact with the family following his affair with Catherine yet they continued to write to him. News of Salon success had filtered through to Cherbourg where Millet was once again being hailed as the local lad made good. The letters reveal twin characteristics of religious fervour and distrust of the city as his grandmother extolled him to "suffer no unseemly work to be done by your hand...I had rather that you were dead than that you were unfaithful to the laws of God" [72]. More importantly, they show the extent of economic hardship caused by harvest failure before 1848: the crisis hit after years of prosperity and thus was felt twice as badly [73]. It led to an increase in vagrancy, the price of wheat rising by 250% [74] and to farms in the village being abandoned. Their message is backed by Guillaumin: "the harvest of 1847 was very bad everywhere,

wheat sold at 8 francs the double and in country places the people were going hungry" [75]. Equally, the letters testify to the hostility of the peasantry to the increased taxation after the Revolution.

Against such a background it is perhaps surprising that Millet did not produce more pictures which reflected the suffering of that year. Like many artists, most famously Daumier, he entered the competition to design a representation of the Republic (Rheims); he sketched a few women begging and drew a parody of Delacroix's Liberty Leading the People, but this was a private comment on the times not intended for general viewing. If one compares it to Courbet's woodcut for Le Salut Public, similar in composition yet causing entirely different sentiments, Millet's bedraggled woman trailing a decapitated head behind her becomes a truly pacifist image of someone who despises the whole Revolution. Largely, his work continued on patterns already established: since 1847 he had been making studies of urban workers which culminated in the Roadbuilders of Montmartre (Toledo, Ohio) and the Woodsawyers (V and A.). Both transpose the ferocity of the Oedipus to the harshness of contemporary labour and prefigure his 1848 Salon entry, the Winnower. Despite being purchased by the new government for 500 francs this was a politically innocuous picture of one of the lower classes, who were at the forefront of the Salon-goers minds, engaged in a traditional task. Gautier's belief that it contained all that was necessary to annoy the bourgeoisie [76] was said in the spirit of the times rather than out of genuine conviction, for he was highly conservative himself and would have hit out against anything

truly radical. For the subsequent 1800 franc state commission, probably also gained because of Millet's "contacts", he began the highly traditional subject of Hagar and Ishmael (Hague). Equally, Millet's other contribution to the salon was the Jews in Captivity in Babylon (lost) and throughout this period he continued to produce non-realist pictures such as Confidences (Louvre) - hardly the stuff of Revolutionary art.

### Barbizon

Financially, Millet was still in severe straits despite this increased recognition. The 1848 state commissions arrived when he was literally starving and with a growing family to feed. He continued to paint signs for 30 francs to augment his income and produced a lithographed title page for a song sheet "Ou donc est-il?" for the same money. Laughton [77] suggests that a sense of Millet's hopelessness finds expression in the desolation of the Hagar desert landscape - certainly he must have felt extremely low throughout this period. With the added problem of a cholera outbreak in the capital, it is hardly surprising that he decided to take his family to the country in June 1849. He arrived in Barbizon with Jacque and rented some rooms in the house of one of the peasantry, a rabbit skin dealer known as Petit Jean.

Barbizon was 34 miles from Paris and in nineteenth century France that was a considerable distance. The areas around Paris were known for their independence from, and indifference to, the capital [78]. Smith describes the isolation of the village: "In the old days of post travel, Chailly was the last relay station on the highway from Paris to Fontainebleau. Barbizon, a hamlet of Chailly across the fields about half a mile away, was formed by a single street, 1/2 a mile in length joining the plain and the forest..There was no market place, no church, no inn, not even a graveyard. The only access to it was afforded by the almost impassable track across the fields from Chailly and a path through the forest" [79]. It was by this latter route which Millet arrived. Thus, despite its popularity with

artists it remained a tiny place, a single street without church, shop or post office. To Millet, despite a vastly different landscape, it must have been painfully reminiscent of home. Yet he did not originally intend to stay permanently in the village; he wrote to Sensier enthusing about the countryside - "if you could see how beautiful the forest is. I sometimes run out into the dusk after my day's work and everytime I come back feeling overwhelmed" [80] - and the low cost of living, but only committed himself to remaining a "short while".

In the event, Millet lived in Barbizon until his death in January 1875. He and an ever growing family - he and Catherine had nine surviving children - continued to live in the house they found soon after arriving. In 1859 they purchased it with Sensier's help and it was eventually extended as and when finances permitted. It conformed to the traditional architectural style of the region: "the houses and farmsteads lining the street consisted of open courts where manure was thrown, cows were milked, poultry were fed and children played" [81]. "It was neither hygienic nor healthy but picturesque" [82] - a 16 x 61 foot, two-roomed dwelling with a barn which Millet used as a studio "three feet underground with the pictures mildewing" [83]. For the first years at least, Millet lived in a state of constant penury - he wrote to Sensier continually, asking for loans and complaining about debt: "Just now I found a summons calling on me to pay within twenty-four hours..furthermore Gobillot has refused to supply me with anymore bread" [84]. They did employ a maid, but there was nothing unusual or

extravagant in that: over 1/6 of the rural population needed help in the home [85].

As Millet's art became known and recognised by a small group of enthusiasts, he became the reluctant recipient of pilgrim-like visitors who recorded details of his daily life. He continued to dress in the manner described by Sensier on their first meeting in Paris (Fig 4). Several photographs also testify to the rustification of Millet's dress throughout his life and Hunt recalled accompanying him to Fontainebleau station "dressed in blouse and sabots like a workman" [86]. It was not simply affection, Millet proved himself a countryman in other ways: he worked in his garden each morning; he knew the function of every tool used on the farm and could mend baskets [87]. Wheelwright, another eager American, provides the best description of the artist's character: "he was uniformly kind, courteous, held in check as it were by some native dignity and seriousness." [88]. He did not venture in to the Hotel Simon, where the majority of the artists stayed; he was rarely seen walking round the village and he had the reputation of being "bearish" - difficult to talk to and impossible to know. Even among friends Millet was acutely selfconscious: he remembered a city dinner party with Corot as "more of an embarrassment than a delight" [89] and Delacroix recalled the awkwardness of their meeting: "this morning Millet was brought to see me. He talked of Michaelangelo and the Bible - he is himself a peasant and proud of it" [90].

The commentators all emphasise how divorced from the peasantry of the village Millet was, despite his apparently equal isolation from the artist colony. They looked upon him

as bourgeois and did not understand him, whilst he in turn was "high and dignified" with them. Wheelwright was most astute: "It was not amongst the peasantry and his neighbours that he found his friends. They were people of taste and culture. The peasant was for him no ideal being clothed in imaginary virtues." [91]. Lepoittevin [92] points to this great contradiction in Millet's life: finding himself at home in neither the world of Paris nor of his peasant background he effectively shunned both. Having returned to the country in 1849 Millet never had the heart to leave, yet by then he was separated by a huge gulf from the peasantry of his origins. Significantly, he was to say with regret on his return to Gruchy in 1855: "I am a transplanted creature." [93].

The world which Millet made for himself was not a fixed one during the 27 years which he lived there. Much has been made of the popularity of Barbizon for artists and tourists: it is in effect seen as a rustic fantasy, created and perpetuated by those who visited and stayed there but without the substance of true rural France. The village had for a long time been a haven for artists and writers: in 1821, Bulgari, a pupil of David, described staying in the inn and dining with fellow artists like Aligny [94]. Throughout the nineteenth century the area was regularly mentioned in writings by Musset, Stevenson, Sand and Flaubert. Standing as it did, on the edge of the famous Fontainebleau forest, Barbizon captured imaginations and yet the life of the village carried on largely oblivious of its reputation and the visitors which that produced.

The local population looked out onto the productive plains towards Chailly rather than into the forest which provided them only with limited grazing and regular firewood. The "foreigners" who stayed for a few days at the inn, one of the few signs of the embryonic tourism, would wander in the forest or sit and sketch, largely overlooking the peasantry. Daumier picked up the anomaly with his caricaturist's eye: a peasant watches an artist in bemusement remarking: "what a fool he is to be sure - he's painting an apple tree which bears no apples." [95].

Apart from special occasions there seems to have been no association between the interlopers and the natives. The artists helped to decorate the village for the celebrations of its saint's day, when, to quote Millet "the whole village resembled a giant cooking pot" [96] and he and Rousseau helped to decorate a barn for the wedding of Ganne's eldest daughter [97]. Sometimes there was active hostility between the two groups, as when Millet objected to the use of a former cemetery for Sunday dancing.

Yet descriptions of the village all attest to life going on regardless of the presence of the artists. In 1870 people still rose at four and spent all day in the fields; the cows were daily herded to the common land; the introduction of paper money caused endless confusion amongst the semi-literate population. Low was astonished that his landlady had never been beyond the village boundaries and could not understand the dialect spoken in neighbouring villages [98]. Naegely sensibly realises that the Barbizon peasantry gained materially from the presence of outsiders

but their standard of living was not raised enough to fundamentally alter their life style [99].

During the last years of Millet's life with the development of a railway link, its relative proximity to Paris caused Barbizon to become something of a tourist attraction. It was a far cry from Millet's own arrival by foot in the days when the post and coach services were haphazard affairs dependent on the office at Chailly. Under the July Monarchy plans for footpaths through the forest were mooted but it was not until the 1860's that Napoleon III seriously re-established the idea. Under Denecourt the area was mapped out, guidebooks were published and "les amis de forêt" were established, a group dedicated to communing with countrified nature who were thoroughly caricatured in a novella by Champfluey [100]. Rousseau and Millet both fought the plan and signed a petition to the Empress organised by Silvestre in 1867, but for very different reasons. The former was reluctant to see his beloved forest oasis full of people trampling on nature and ruining the wilderness. Millet, in contrast, saw the destruction of old rights and with it the loss of local livelihoods. Grazing and wood gathering, the twin privileges which helped the poorest survive, would go if Denecourt had his way. Herds of pigs and peasants with faggots spoilt the view for visiting Parisians.

Luckily for Millet he died before the worst effects of the popularisation of Barbizon hit: Stevenson described the village in 1875 [101] and still found it "a noiseless hamlet" - a community of peasants with a community of artists existing within their midst. A mere fifteen years

later Smith was to mourn: "the forest has been transformed, its solitudes have been made accessible and thus its art profaned. The hamlet has been bound to the world" [102].

Throughout his life Millet rarely left the village, thus distinguishing himself from the other artists who frequented Barbizon but who kept homes and studios elsewhere. His visits to Paris were rare from the start and dwindled as he grew older. The 1864 decorative commission for the Hotel Thomas diningroom, which was worth 30,000 francs, forced him to stay in the capital but largely he relied on Sensier to keep his business in order and supply him with everything he might need. In 1851 news of his grandmother's death turned Millet's attention again to Gruchy. He claimed to have no money to travel to the funeral but it must equally have been a question of guilt he felt, having neglected for so long the old woman who cared deeply for him. Two years later with the death of his mother he could no longer avoid seeing the family and returned to Normandy for the division of the estate. The following year he returned for four months, sketching childhood scenes as well as drawing his sister (Emilie Spinning. Montreal) and his brother doing carpentry work (Louvre). The visit seemed to sadden him and he returned to Normandy only twice more, in 1866 after hearing news of his sister's illness, which was to prove fatal, and as a refugee in 1870, who found sketching out of doors impossible in the suspicious climate of the war. His pictures then concentrated on the landscape and particularly the sea, still a potent force in his imagination after a life time away. The only other times that Millet left Barbizon were a visit to Switzerland and

his trips to Vichy and the surrounding country in the 1860's, following doctor's orders that his wife should take the waters. Typically, he resented the town itself: "I have not much troubled myself with the gay world of the baths" [103], but the countryside caught his imagination and reminded him of Normandy, and he made many small ink sketches of the rolling landscape.

### His Art and Patrons

Sensier would have us believe that "from the time Millet went to Barbizon he became a rustic" both in lifestyle and art. He presents us with the scenario by which Millet, overhearing some Parisians describe him as a painter of nudes and overcome with shame, decides to abandon all such subjects. Spurred on by his vow, he sets out with Jacque to find village with a name ending in "zon". Once there he discovers himself, begins painting rural scenes and never looks back. Clearly this is little more than a convenient falsehood - the road to Barbizon as Millet's road to Damascus. His motives for leaving Paris were far from being wholly artistically based. Equally, as Clark points out, he was interested in working class subjects from 1846/7 onwards [104]. He began rustic pictures like the Winnower and Harvesters Resting (1853 Boston) before ever leaving the capital. As late as in 1851 he was still producing nudes: in that year Campredon paid 50 francs for Young Girl Bathing [105].

The transition to rural subject matter was a gradual if natural one, resulting from Millet's rediscovery of the countryside and its inhabitants; from his days sketching around Barbizon. Just as he did not go to the village with the intention of remaining there permanently, he did not go with the aim of becoming a ruralist artist. The fact that Millet did so single-mindedly set about producing peasant themes is, like his decision to settle in the countryside, perhaps one of the greatest indications of the impact which rural life made on him after his years of Paris living.

With such a convenient watershed in the artist's life it is tempting to see the rest of Millet's work as a relatively homogeneous body. Hence the previously common dismissal of him as a mere peasant painter. Such a view not only does disservice to the artist but also detracts from our ability to view his work and the important distinctions which it contains. Firstly, the slow development from the style and content of his Paris pictures to that of his mature Barbizon work should be emphasised. The transition can be seen clearly in his Salon entries of the early 1850's.

In 1850 he showed two pictures: Trussing Hay (Louvre) and the Sower (Philadelphia) (Fig 5). The former was well enough received as a simple and traditional harvest scene which Gautier described slightly patronisingly as "a very pretty picture" [106] but the Sower was the subject of much greater attention. A conservative critic saw the work as "the severe and threatening figure of a modern socialist who is flinging handfuls of shot into the sky in defiance of God and man." [107]. Generally, it was not seen in political terms but more moderately, as a pictorial parallel to the rustic novels of George Sands: "There is a grandeur and style in this figure...it is life itself which his large hand sheds." [108]

The Sower is often seen as some kind of watershed in Millet's work but in fact, it is rather more of a bridge between his developing styles. The vigour of movement of the figure being propelled down the gradient is reminiscent of the Winnower. The landscape, hardly defined and completely dominated by the figure, is a vague mixture of upland

Normandy and the flat expanse of the Chailly plain near Barbizon. The strong geographical distinction between the earliest hilly Sower (1847 Cardiff) and the flatland version in the Ashmolean (Fig 6) becomes merged in the Salon picture, as if Millet had not established in his own mind where the scene takes place.

Herbert groups the Sower and other works together under the title of "Epic Naturalism" [109] yet there are few of Millet's later works which have anything like the force of this piece. It is almost as if he had not yet left behind the religious and mythological subjects of his years in Paris; as if the strictures of Academic art, as taught by Delaroche and as witnessed in the Louvre, were still too firmly embedded. Millet transferred the rules to depict a peasant but he has not attempted to bend them towards the creation of an art of everyday rural life. The Sower remains "acceptable" art in too many senses: the man is engaged in a noble, life-giving task; he strides purposefully without a sense of labour or weariness; he could belong to any age. As such the picture bears close resemblance to the Harvesters Resting shown in 1853, a picture begun as a studio piece in Paris under the title of Ruth and Boaz. It places the peasantry in a timeless setting with Biblical overtones and depicts an optimistic subject, a time of plenty. Not surprisingly St. Victor described the work as "an idyll of Homer translated into patois." [110].

It was not until the 1855 Exposition des Beaux Arts that Millet produced a piece in his easily identifiable and well-known style. Man grafting a tree (Cologne) (Fig 7) depicted two figures, solid and static against the clearly

defined background of a Barbizon farmyard. The picture has lost the academically posed composition of the Harvesters; the sense of curving movement which created the force in his earlier work has been replaced by a frozen monumentality. It is not until the later landscapes such as Gust of Wind (1873 Cardiff) that such vigour reappears in Millet's work.

At the same time, the symbolic power of the Sower was diluted. Grafter was favourably received because of its Virgilian overtones - "one man takes cuttings from the mother plant's tender stalk" [111] - and its emphasis on the harmony of man and nature and the renewing strength of each. As Gautier enthused: "the man has the air of fulfilling some mystic ceremonial rite, of being the obscure priest of some rustic divinity. Millet understands the intimate poetry of the countryside." [112]. Petroz, writing in La Presse, agreed that "Millet knows how to give the most simple actions of human life a profound significance." [113]. Nevertheless one is left with the uneasy impression that this mystic ceremony could indeed be just a simple task.

This is borne out by the lesser work Millet was doing during this period. Clearly taken directly from his observations around Barbizon, they depict usually single figures engaged in everyday tasks against the definite setting of the Chailly plain. Herbert dates his first truly Barbizon inspired picture as Man spreading manure (1851) but this is simply one of a series of works which have the static poses and single straightforward theme of the Grafter. Millet's early pictures of work had not given this impression: as Fermigier says of the Roadbuilders (1847) "he combines realism with fantasy, the brushwork and force of

image give it a hellish quality"[114]. Equally, commentators saw the epic in Millet's work long after it was immediately apparent, as Castagnary wrote in 1867: "do you remember his Reaper, he might have reaped the whole world" [115].

If Millet could be said to move away from Paris art during this period in terms of style and subject matter, then it is equally true that he asserted his independence in his attitude to the Salon. There is considerable debate about just how controversial he intended to be. He is even accused of being politically biased in his choice of paintings, although with the record of his lack of involvement in both 1848 and 1870 this seems unlikely. From 1857 onwards conservative critics regularly saw political implications in Millet's work. In that year the Gleaners (Louvre) (Fig 14) reminded one La Figaro writer of "political disturbances and guill<sup>o</sup>tines of '73" [116] and in 1863 Man with a Hoe (San Francisco) (Fig 11) was compared to the murderer Dumoulard [117]. Whatever his politics, it is certain that Millet held very definite opinions on both the Salon and on official art in general and that he chose his entries with such ideas firmly in his mind. He was not alone in this, the period saw artists increasingly asserting their independence from the official scene. Courbet, with his independent 1855 exhibition and his assertion "I am a government", was the most determined [118]. Millet's essential conservatism, however, stopped him making any complete break with the Salon and thus made him assert his independence through his choice of pictures.

His early unhappy experiences at Delaroche's studio over the Prix de Rome formed the basis of Millet's view that

the art world of Paris was an exclusive club [119]. Throughout his life Millet remained a regular contributor to the Salon but equally remained dogged by problems with rejections, as in 1859 with Death and the Woodcutter (Copenhagen) (Fig 32); and the poor hanging of his work. In 1861 Nieuwerkerke, who believed the Barbizon artists to be "painters of democracy, of men who never change their linen" [120] and objected to the inclusion of Millet's work at all, fought a diplomatic battle with Chennevieres, a sympathetic Norman, over the positioning of his work, a battle in which Millet came out as the major loser. State recognition was also slow in coming to Millet. He received few commissions and only towards the end of his life, with the 1867 Universal Exposition which showed nine of his works; the 1868 award of Chevalier de Legion d'Honneur; and Chennevieres' choice of the artist for the 1874 Pantheon decorations, did Millet get the government attention he felt he deserved. Furthermore he had the experience of his friend, Rousseau, *Le Grand Refusé* who was repeatedly overlooked by the Salon jury, to sour his opinion of Paris art.

Hunt maintained that "the world had mistreated Millet and he never quite recovered from it." [121]. Certainly his attitude to critic, salon-goer and government was uncharitable - he bemoaned: "what have the great men - today done for the arts?" - and his belief seemed to be to avoid them at all costs. But in the circumstances it is perhaps understandable: Millet saw the treatment of his art go from enthusiasm to derision in the space of a few years, largely as a result not of personal changes, but of differences in public and political opinion. As the

controversy over Courbet and Realism increased, Millet's name inevitably became dragged in. Gautier's change of heart should be seen in this light, as his early enthusiasm for the artist turned to repeated taunts of ugliness: in 1861 he maintained that "the sheep appear more human than the shearer" in the case of Sheep-shearer [122].

Undoubtedly frustrated, Millet played to the gallery by affecting an ambiguous stance which served only to confuse the discussion of his work further. He claimed not to know what a St. Simonist was but admitted he "liked to trouble the wealthy in their repose." [123]. He never denied the enthusiastic description of Luce that he "showed living and noble socialism" [124] but objected to Silvestre's opinion that his peasants were Proudhonist [125]. When Sensier asked him to produce more shepherdesses because they sold well, he rejected the possibility of compromise and insisted: "it is said that I deny the charms of the countryside. I find there more than charms, I find infinite splendours" [126]. When the critics lambasted Tobit in 1861 as an ugly parody of religion, Millet gave them in the next Salon Man with Hoe, an even more ugly parody of humanity. As Desault wrote: "the man is affected by idiocy. He makes you sick to look at him" and St. Victor agreed: "Millet's art is born out of a slavish copying of the ignoble." [127]. It is perhaps well to remember his words of 1859: "they think they can tame me, that they can impose on me the art of the Salon. No, I shall stand my ground without retreating one sabot." [128].

In more private and less polemical moments Millet discussed his work with considerable clarity. After the 1863 Martinet Gallery exhibition, he replied to a letter from

Thore' by describing how he would like his pictures to be viewed. Of Woman carrying water ( 1863 New York) (Fig 20) he wrote: "I have always shunned with a kind of horror anything approaching the sentimental. I have desired on the other hand that this woman should perform simply and goodnatureedly, without regarding it as irksome, an act which, like her other household duties, she is accustomed to do every day of her life." [129]. Millet is here striving simply to represent daily life. It was this which the critics failed to appreciate until the mid-1860's, assuming that in the context of the time and because of the scale and seriousness of his work, Millet was producing something beyond naturalistic genre.

A comparison of Woman pasturing a cow (1859 Bourg-en Bresse) (Fig 8) and Shepherdess (1864 Louvre) (Fig 9), demonstrates the problem which Millet faced. Both depict the daily necessity of grazing animals; both show shadowy female figures in flat, dull landscapes; both convey the boredom of the task. Equally, by physically linking the woman to the cow with the grazing rope and by portraying the shepherdess knitting - a later stage along the cycle of watching the sheep - Millet represents the link between peasant and animal. Yet the former was rejected as ugly and stylized [130] for putting its peasant woman on a pedestal, whilst the latter was praised, earned Millet a medal and the state offered to buy it for 1500 francs. We might speculate on the reasons for this difference of opinion, but the result is clear: Millet's art was rarely taken at face value.

Another reason why Millet resented the Salon production line and why his pictures for it are perhaps less than

representative, is the restriction it placed on his technique. There is every reason to suggest that he did not like working in oils. His larger works are often laboured and "muddied", as both contemporary critics and writers today appreciate. The Goncourt brothers wrote of him: "Millet is a great silhouetter but he is an indifferent painter, with a woefully watery colour scheme." [131].

Away from such restrictions Millet experimented with both prints and pastels, exploring an interest which increased throughout his life. Both media allowed him to produce cheaper, and thus more easily saleable work, but he did not choose them solely from such motives. Jacques inspired and encouraged him towards etching around 1855 and the care with which Millet catalogued his attempts, as well as his insistence on destroying plates which led to a row with Lemerre in 1869, over his Auvergne Shepherdess for Sonnets and Etchings [132], imply that he was not in it simply for the money. Some work was inspired solely by the success of his oils, including the 1851 etching of the Sower, intended for L'Artiste but never used, and the 1861 version of Bouillie for the Gazette des Beaux Arts. His work for Lavieille, however, both in the Hours of Day and Work in the Fields was often not only original but went on to inspire further pieces. Thus the 1855 etching of the Woman churning butter became the basis for the 1870 Salon picture (Louvre).

Millet perhaps considered himself a draughtsman first and foremost, although his later concentration on the medium owes something to his regular bouts of migraine which restricted his ability to do large work. His drawings ranged from vigorous on the spot sketches with their tangled mass

of lines - he never painted plein air but carried a note pad with him everywhere - to the minimalist ink drawings of Vichy and the finished pastels produced for friends. He allowed himself a lack of restraint, a feeling that here lay his first inspiration, which is understandably lessened in the well worked oils. He experimented with light, with an impressionistic touch, with a new palette, all the time moving away from the "grand tradition of painting" in his work.[133].

Throughout his life Millet was helped by a small group of loyal friends and patrons who enabled him, often very indulgently, to continue his work. The landscapists as a whole were mutually supportive and Millet was in regular contact with Diaz, Troyon, Decamps, Corot and particularly Rousseau until his death in 1867. Sensier, however, remained the greatest source of support to Millet, acting as an umbilical cord between the artist and the capital, supplying him with paint and canvas on demand, paying off debts if things got tough, providing patrons as in his establishment of the Société de Dix, the group of etching collectors for whom Millet produced Going to Work in 1853. Sensier, as his biography of the artist suggests, was a slightly domineering agent, as in his pressures to persuade Millet to produce commercial subjects, but his support was invaluable.

Similarly, Gavet provided Millet with a sympathetic and regular source of income from 1865 when he ordered twenty pastels. By the time of the Durand Ruel sale of his estate in 1875, he owned ninety-five works all of which were commissioned without restriction for 450 - 1000 francs, giving Millet a convenient regular income. Equally he had

47

the loyalty of Campredon until his death in 1856, Calmette who organised some of the artist's first provincial exhibitions including that of 1873 at Cahours, and Silvestre who was appointed to the *Ministrie des Beaux Arts* by Napoleon III.

The advantages of such friends are only too apparent in comparison with Millet's treatment at the hands of Blanc and Stevens in 1860-3. The contract negotiated by them gave not only a monopoly on the artist's work for the three years but ended, by some clever accountancy, with Millet owing them 5,762 francs [134]. Millet always shied away from using dealers, believing that art should be sold person to person, and an attempt by Diaz to organise an exhibition in 1854 was thwarted by Millet himself. Gradually, however, Martinet, Tillot and others convinced him away from this view and by 1870 he was sending pictures to Durand Ruel in London.

It should also be remembered that Millet himself was a regular purchaser of art. At the sale of the Delacroix estate he bought fifty drawings and he regularly added to a collection of Dutch and Japanese work. He read widely - visitors to his home recalled a steady increase in the numbers of books throughout his life - and was frequently inspired by literature to produce illustrative work. In 1852 for some extra cash and to help out his friend, Bodmer, he collaborated on engravings for the History of the American Colonists. On Chassaing's advice he read Theocritus and considered illustrating the text. Along with Rousseau he was inspired to produce Pheobus and Boras (Louvre) from La Fontaine in 1857. Regularly he returned to the idea of

producing illustrations for what remained his favourite book, the Bible.

Certainly it should be emphasised that as an artist Millet was not subjected to a monopoly of peasant themes. His years in Barbizon were not ones of splendid isolation, spent producing work conjured up solely from the view out the window. He remained conscious of what the official art world demanded and the public expected by retaining indirect links with the capital. His art continued to develop in terms of subject, technique and medium; his mind was kept alive. But Millet retained enough sense of determined independence and of pleasure in his surroundings to live in, and draw his inspiration from Barbizon. Hunt summed up his art thus: "his subjects were real people with work to do. The homeliest of subjects had an attraction for him. He always subordinated the people and the painting to the thing they were doing." [135].

### Conclusion

The majority of discussion on Millet's life revolves around the question of his "peasantness". Sensier is doubted for his emphatic assertion that Millet was a peasant painter. Millet himself is derided for his statements such as "I am a peasant and nothing but" [136] - they are seen either as pure affectation or an attempt at self delusion. Its argued that anyone who left the land at eighteen; who lived for eleven years in Paris; who read widely and was regarded by contemporaries as one of the most cultured artists of his day; who made his living not from the land but from his art, cannot be a peasant. What about the other side of the coin? It is perhaps better to remember Van Gogh's view: "one must not be a city man but a countryman, however civilized one might be." [137].

Millet's background was typical of thousands of rural families. For his entire childhood he lived off the land and throughout the majority of his adult life lived in a small house in rural surroundings, cultivating his garden. His wife was illiterate and kept house just as his own mother would have done, with the aid of only one servant. His years in the city were times he resented in retrospect and seemed to actively detest at the time. He never abandoned his origins consciously: the break with his family came for other reasons. He never enthused about the life which his talent had opened up for him: the Salon was a chore and official art to be mistrusted. He chose his friends carefully and did not publically join the independent art life of the capital. Compared to that other immigrant from the provinces, Courbet, he was isolated and reticent. He

never held court at cafes flaunting his different dress and patois, playing up his oafishness. If Millet wore his rusticity on his sleeve it was with a take it or leave it attitude. Through his days of being taunted at Delaroche's studio to his worries about what cutlery to use a Corot's dinner party, Millet retained his provincial difference and diffidence. He was always identified as a peasant by contemporaries: Gerome called him "Jupiter in sabots" [138].

If Millet ever did feel a burst of excitement at the opportunities of Paris he soon came to share Retif's view: "even those of us unhappily hurled into the hurly burly of a corrupt city, who succumbed for a few years to its dangers, before long searched our hearts and returned to those sound principles which had been instilled in us by our childhood" [139]. In later years he maintained: "it is always a great effort for me to go to Paris" [140]. He clung to his background in many ways. Throughout his life he remained totally indifferent to political issues, a peculiarly peasant trait. Despite his zeal for reading he never picked up a social or political author and confined himself almost solely to imaginative literature. His contacts with radicals were primarily artistic ones. 1848 left little impact on his life and in 1870 he became a voluntary refugee to avoid the conflict. The few occasions on which Millet did get interested in politics were inspired by traditional peasant grievances, hence his defence of long term rights in Fontainebleau. His serious attitude to the labours of the poor - "thou shalt gain thy bread by the sweat of thy brow, my programme is work" [141] - contrasts with the champagne

socialism of Murger's Paris: "Your faith forbids you to eat bread soaked in the sweat of the people!" [142].

Perhaps the greatest indication of Millet's retention of his background is the subject matter of his art. He is unique in concentrating so whole-heartedly on rural scenes of the peasantry and the lands they inhabited. That he chose to do so, without the example of others or the encouragement of a ready market, demonstrates the personal importance of such subjects to him. Landscapes may have been an increasingly fashionable art form, and one which would produce role models for a young artist, but the peasantry remained a closed book. With the notable exception of Breton, painters of the countryside, including those of Barbizon itself, ignored its indigenous populations. The financial hardship of Millet's early years in Barbizon, which cannot simply be dismissed as a figment of Sensier's imagination, proved the artist's dedication to his subject. He refused to paint more sellable images, defending himself as a man who loved nature but who saw reality rather than Arcadia out of his window. He did not begin to paint peasant subjects overnight but once he had rediscovered the rural population he stuck with them despite the lack of reward.

This overwhelming interest frequently leads to the accusation the Millet was obsessed with his background; that perhaps his art even represented some psychological working out of guilt over his split with his family. But Millet was not a man trying to recapture his youth at all costs [143]. Such a man would have returned to Normandy rather than settling in some totally different and contrasting region of France. Very few of Millet's pictures, aside from those

painted of visits home, are identifiable pieces of memory, whilst the majority can be placed firmly in the Barbizon plain. All the commentators mention that Millet sketched endlessly from reality even although he produced no paintings *plein air*: an artist of nostalgia would have been able to rely far more on mere imagination. He did feel "how the imagination is tinged with melancholy as it looks back on bygone days. I feel within me a harrowing sadness" [144] but he does not seem to have used his art as a means of expressing this.

A second question which often arises is that of a crisis felt by Millet in his isolation at being caught between two worlds. Barres' novel Les Deracinés (1873) concentrates on the uprooting of migrant provincials who forget their background yet can find no alternative focus for their lives. Lepoittevin's biography of the artist studies the potential of such emotions on Millet and Sutton also suggests that his flight to Barbizon was a subconscious desire to "find himself." Millet's isolation within the Barbizon community is well documented: the peasants viewed him as a gentleman despite his lifestyle, yet he rarely associated himself with the other artists. It is difficult, however, to see Millet as a tortured soul. His remarks give the image of a man who realises his independence and is reluctant to bend his opinions to others but not someone who cannot cope with being different. For every example of crisis - "the gayest thing I know is calm" [145] - there are others which reveal him simply as a contented family man with few concerns beyond the mundane problems of finance and health. His art also stems from this dogged individualism:

both his deliberate choice of subjects and his attitude towards the Salon.

It is as if Millet retained his link with the countryside not simply by living in it and cultivating his garden, but by painting it. As early as 1835, when his father died, he had realised that he could not go back to life on the farm; that culture, education, leisure had become too accepted a part of his existence. But he never stopped appreciating the peasant way of life for what it was, nor respecting those who had no choice but to live it: "Peasants suit my temperament best. At the risk of sounding Socialist, the human side of art frankly touches me most" [146]. His art was less the product of bouts of nostalgia or fits of self doubt, than of a belief in himself and his origins. In that lies the essence, individuality and importance of his work.

## SECTION TWO: THE PICTURES

Historical Background.

There are various misconceptions, not to say myths, which cloud an understanding of nineteenth century French rural history. Art historians frequently fall into the trap of uttering platitudes which, although superficially true, serve only to give a false picture of reality. Thus Herbert, so excellent in his scholarship on Millet, is content to discuss rural depopulation in terms of a figure for Paris population growth and a mention of the government's concern. His approach begs more questions than it answers: is Paris typical? what type of people migrated? how was rural life affected? No synthesis of French rural history can be truly comprehensive. The current vogue focus on regionalism immediately forces one to concede that any generalisations on a national scale are meaningless. Equally, the sheer volume of recent research is impossible to cover fully and it would be foolish to claim to attempt it. For the purpose of this thesis, however, several key factors should be pinpointed before a discussion of social history in terms of Millet's work becomes feasible.

Nineteenth century writers were obsessed with the issue of rural depopulation. In 1866 the Academie Francais instituted a session on the problem [147]. Commentators such as Brame De l'Emigration de la Campagne (1859) and Bonnemere Histoire des Paysans (1856) criticised agricultural change which was forcing the peasantry off the land. Regular

attacks on conditions within Paris highlighted the problem of population expansion caused by immigration.

Yet as Spengler [148] points out, statistically speaking there was no crisis. In the late century the population only fell in half the departments of France. From 1846 - 1931 the urban population did increase by 146% but the rural figures only decreased by 24%. Depopulation was neither a dramatic nor a new phenomenon and as such we should be sceptical about both its impact on rural France and the scaremongering of contemporary urban-based writers. Weber, whilst recognising the long term impact is adamant that depopulation did not break up villages [149].

Migration had always been a part of rural France. During the eighteenth century Paris was dependent on immigration from predominantly young northerners for its 30% population growth as appallingly high death rates kept indigenous levels down [150]. A steady proportion of the population depended for their livelihood on migrant trades and, whilst they commonly retained a home base, their work carried them throughout France on a seasonal basis. A 1762 edict recognised that 56% of the rural population could not live solely off the land and thus accepted the pressures for emigration [151]. Traditional migration patterns contained features which were gradually eroded during the nineteenth century - permanent movement was localised, to within thirty km in the case of Paris; it was restricted to the young and landless; seasonal migration made up a major part. Nevertheless people were aware enough of the issue for it to receive mention in several of the 1789 Cahiers [152].

Over the next century migration remained a steady trickle rather than a major exodus. When the official definition of "urban" was fixed in 1846 it accounted for 24% of the population [153]; in 1881 the figure was still only 34% [154]; and it did not reach 50% until 1931 [155]. Towns remained small and heavily dependent on their rural hinterland: by 1911 only 15 centres had a population of over 100,000 [156]. People moved further afield and migration became permanent as traditional crafts and guilds died out. Even so, there seems little to suggest that depopulation was likely to have a major and damaging impact on the countryside.

Until the 1830's, in fact, as much ink was being spilled over concerns of overpopulation of agricultural land. Statistics show that during this period many departments reached their highest population levels [157] and emigration had actually decreased from eighteenth century peaks. Marginal lands were brought into use, vagrancy rose and the size of land holdings steadily diminished, making migration not only essential for the survival of many but economically sensible for the land as a whole. The potential for mass migration at this stage was only reduced by the phenomenon of France's very low birth-rate which persisted throughout the century. Together with death-rates which did not decrease until 1870 - 1/4 babies died before reaching their first birthday - it led to a population growth of only 44% compared with 300% in Britain over the same period [158].

Emigration increased to a peak in the 1870's, it was a steady rise accelerated in years of economic hardship or

harvest failure. At the same time, however, the number of farms rose to a peak in the 1880's of 3.5 million [159], a figure hardly compatible with the idea of rural depopulation. The majority of the migrants remained young and landless - the overspill of the rural population rather than its backbone. With traditional rural industries dying out these people had little option but to leave, although their departure only gradually influenced the 2/3 of the countryside who gained a living purely from agriculture [160]. In many ways the remaining peasantry benefitted from the migration: morcellement, the excessive division of land, decreased and land prices were kept down [161]. It was not until the 1890's that a shortage of agricultural labourers led to higher wages and financial problems for these owner-occupier farmers.

The incentives for emigration remained low. The effects of increased access to education and the universal conscription after 1870 can be exaggerated. Aghulon has argued that the increase in living standards of some members of communes encouraged others towards dissatisfaction with their status and increased the likelihood of migration [162]. Equally, Blanqui believed that the peasantry "attracted by the deceptive charms of the old suburbs are, thanks to the facility of communications, little by little abandoning the villages" [163]. Nadaud was fêted on his return to the village, considered an inspiration to leave by other young men [164] and Perdiguier found himself bored by village life on his return from travelling as an apprentice [165], but for many others their time away represented a horror story which they were unlikely to encourage others to repeat.

Viewed from the towns one can see why emigration caused such concern. 69% of urban servants were immigrants [166] and thus every family would be likely to have experience of the trend. Paris was bursting at the seams and, despite Haussmann's replanning of the centre, it remained a squalid, old-fashioned city unable to cope with the influx. As Lecouturier described it: "Paris is nothing but a nomad's camp." [167]. Crime figures were increasing; 1/2 the population was in a state of permanent poverty; housing had only increased at 50% of the immigration levels causing severe over-crowding [168].

Few of those writing on the subject had any first hand experience of the provinces and thus it is hardly surprising that they had such a jaundiced view of the problem. The long term history of migration and its frequent benefits were ignored in favour of scaremongering. Equally, the lack of impact it had on rural life was exaggerated: in 1961 Wylie recorded that 1/2 of Chanzeaux's residents had been born there, the majority to long term inhabitants [169]. Ackermann concurs that 3/5 of Bonnières' population in 1896 were locally born, a figure which had remained stable throughout the nineteenth century [170]. And the 1861 census recorded 90% of the population living in the department of their birth [171].

A second myth which clouds peasant history is that of politicisation. Frequently writers argue that discussion of the peasantry should begin with the 1789 Revolution, which brought them into politics, and reach a climax with the establishment of universal suffrage in 1848, which made them an integral part of the government system. Yet it is perhaps

more accurate to see the century less as the gradual discovery of politics by the peasantry and more in terms of the discovery of the rural populations by the politicians. A group of people, who had been ignored and treated as a semi-human species, became courted by deputies as a result of their electoral dominance.

The 1789 Revolution saw the peasantry speaking out politically, not simply through the Cahiers of grievances sent to the General Assembly by each commune, but equally through their physical opposition to much of the Revolutionary legislation. Despite the gesture of abolishing feudalism on August 4th 1789, the urban dominated Assembly paid little attention to peasant needs or demands. By 1793 the enforced declaration of grain stocks and their requisition, compensation for which was paid in the virtually worthless paper "assignat"; the treatment of the clergy under the Civil Constitution and the problems over the sale of confiscated lands, had effectively alienated the rural populations from the government [172].

Peasant opposition only rarely manifested itself in open rebellion, as in the Vendée [173] but regular protests of a traditional nature were staged and widespread support for Napoleon in the provinces, was a sign of peasant dissatisfaction with the Revolution. They cultivated a hatred of the government and a desire to avoid all contact with it. Restif summed up the popular opinion that "the ways to restrain the people have been gradually refined and their daily lives made more difficult by a 101 minor restrictions." [174].

Sixty years later during the 1848 Revolution, a similar process took place. "The peasantry retained the same narrow-mindedness, the same political blindness, the same ignorance of everything which lies outside the village" [175]. Again, a centrally based Republic began with great ideas of national cooperation only to forget the provinces when things got tough. Michelet condemned the July Monarchy for ignoring agriculture [176] and the new government set about rectifying the situation. Blanc included the peasantry in his survey of labour throughout the country and proposed a system of agricultural education and elected chambers to coordinate policy [177]; the "gabelle", the hated salt tax, was repealed; Carnot promoted the idea of universal education; and work houses were built in many villages to combat the problems of the agricultural slump [178]. Yet, when the Republic found itself in financial difficulties, it turned to taxation and the 45 centimes imposition which hit the peasantry hardest. As Marx wrote: "the tax was a question of life and death for the peasant, it came to represent a question of life and death for the Republic." [179]. Again, peasant opposition was highly traditional, localised and rarely reached a stage of outright rebellion. There was a notable difference between the reactions of the landless rural proletariat and the peasantry: the former greeted the opportunities of the Revolution with joy, the other reticence [180]. Hundreds of petitions were sent to the Assembly requesting tax exemptions, bread riots were reported and opposition was concentrated in areas of forest, or of large bourgeois farms [181].

Under the Second Empire and Third Republic, the peasantry continued to pay little attention to politics, whilst other specific rural groups, for instance the wine-growers, gained a reputation for being radical. Despite initial peasant enthusiasm for Napoleon III, who gained 84% of their vote in the presidential plebiscite, the old apathy returned when he let them down on the issue of taxation. Voting turnouts were frequently low: averaging 40% only in Provence [182] and the majority of deputies were still of Parisian origin. The first leader of the peasant party in 1926 was a schoolmaster [183] and both government and socialist attempts to interest the rural populations in politics met with little response. France, described by many as the "Peasant Republic" continued to pursue policies which were highly favourable to agriculture. The government's support of protectionism, despite the stagnation which it caused to agricultural development, was almost solely due to a heavy lobby of wealthy landowners and deputies who depended on the rural vote for their seats [184]. Yet the peasantry continued to distrust the government and avoid contact with it. Renan complained, after losing his rural parliamentary seat in 1869: "the peasantry require a government that is cheap, unimpressive and disinclined to interfere" [185].

Despite a widely held belief that "France is what education makes it", that schooling would produce patriotic citizens [186], the government did not manage to greatly increase literacy throughout the century. In 1880 1/4 females and 1/5 males could not sign the marriage register [187] and this, along with surprising numbers who remained

unable to speak French, hampered the peasants involvement in politics. In 1865 25% spoke only patois [188] and teachers reported that up to 1/2 their classes could not understand the national language [189]. This was true even in the towns - Taine recorded that the poor of Montpellier could not understand him [190] - but particularly in the countryside. Guillaumin's son returned from military service in 1870 with his first words of French [191] and Stendhal wrote: "the men from Provence are much more like Italians than French, the people use few French words"[192]. It is hardly surprising that "for the majority of the 20 million French, the law is nothing more than a sheet of white paper nailed to a church door" [193].

Thirdly, it is necessary to discuss the idea of agricultural change. The concept of an Agricultural Revolution, widely accepted in the context of Britain, becomes almost meaningless in terms of the gradual and stilted change which occurred in France. Young, visiting at the height of English development recognised that France was not ready, he was appalled by the lack of interest among landowners and the state of a country "idle in the midst of harvest" [194]. Nineteenth century writers were obsessed with the backwardness of France compared with Britain: Baudrillant criticised the lack of change in Normandy, one of the most progressive areas [195] and in 1850 Delisle wrote of the almost Medieval state of farming there, with a third of land still cultivated by the open-field system [196]. Cultivation reached 71% in the north but only 23% in Southern areas and as late as 1892 agriculture only produced 30% of France's National Income despite employing 50% of her

population [197]. Peguy wrote: "even after the 1870 war a farm in the Beauce country resembled a farm of the Gallo-Roman age infinitely more than that same farm resembles itself today" [198]. The message was clear: the nineteenth century saw little change in the state of French agriculture.

The government must be held mainly responsible for this state of affairs. From Napoleon onwards the official view was that, in his words, "agriculture is the earliest and most useful of the arts" [199]. Yet, despite repeated ~~wisdom~~ about the importance of agriculture, little was actually achieved and initiatives were few. The first major survey of farming was carried out in 1814 and ten yearly censuses were taken from 1852 [200], yet they were rarely comprehensive or explicit and the results of these were not put to any use. In 1846 the state spent less on the promotion of farming than it did on royal theatres [201]. Despite the establishment of a Ministry for Commerce and Agriculture in 1836, and inspectors in 1841, no sole government department took responsibility until the Third Republic. It was not until World War One that the government finally acknowledged its debt to the peasantry and granted them tax concessions [202].

Agricultural Societies had been an eighteenth century fashion, continued into the nineteenth: in 1830 the government ordered the setting up of one in every department. By 1842 there were 151 but they remained the domain of wealthy landowners - places to talk shop, deliver papers and win medals at the sort of show-piece agricultural fair described by Flaubert in Madame Bovary and Zola! "he

pointed to a silver cup, protected from the flies by a piece of muslin, the first prize in a show. It was a constant spur to his vanity" [203]. Equally, agriculture schools, established by 1833 legislation, were limited in their influence. Thabault describes the setting up of one in the village in 1849, with seventeen pupils: by 1856 it had spread the use of the horse plough to the peasants in the commune but further afield they retained the old-fashioned methods [204].

Indirectly the government's lack of promotion of education and, more especially, of transport and communications was equally detrimental to the development of agriculture in the provinces. Not only did the isolation of villages prevent the easy spread of ideas, but many of the peasantry did not have the opportunity of producing for a market and thus lacked the productivity incentive it could provide. By the mid-century only 1/6 of communes had a post-office [205] and telegraph did not reach many until the twentieth. Roads remained in an appalling state: in 1825 an estimated 67 million francs were needed to repair the "routes royales" alone [206]. Thabault records that there was no road into the village until 1855, before which they were dependent on an undrained track [207]. Napoleon had great building schemes but they concerned only routes of major strategic importance. The 1835 legislation simply re-instituted the "corvee", an Ancien Regime tax equivalent to three days labour per annum, which placed the burden and responsibility for roads on the commune [208]. No centralised programme was instituted until the 1860's.

The same problems beset the development of canal and rail, both of which were invaluable for the transportation of bulk supplies, like lime fertiliser. French canals increased in mileage two-fold during the 1830's [209], impressive until compared with England where the transport form was already on the decline. An 1842 railway law aimed at laying 2000 km of track, but it was dependent on private finance which bourgeoisie investors were unwilling to risk. Whilst the French moneyed classes preferred the security of land, the railways were forced to rely on the enthusiasm of those across the Channel [210]. A secondary network did not come into being until Freycinet's campaign in the 1870's: in that decade track in Provence increased fourfold [211]. Until then few rural areas reaped the benefits of rail and the trains killed off as many villages as they helped develop.

Other factors militated against agricultural development and therefore slowed rural change. French industrial expansion was slow, only 20% 1800-50 [212] and that together with a low population growth did not greatly increase demand for farm produce. The lack of major landowners along the lines of the English aristocracy, meant that little excess capital was available in rural areas to plough into new technology. A ready supply of labour until the end of the century reduced farmers' dependency on machinery - there were enough hands to do the work. Basic conservatism was part of the peasant mentality: new ideas had to be tested at a local level and given time to sink into the consciousness of the population. 1809 attempts to unify the franc and 1840 metrification both met with confusion and ignorance [213]. Edmond Restif, experimenting

with the introduction of vines and removing top soil, was not a characteristic landowner [214]. Zola gives a picture of the modern bourgeois farmer: "in his opinion the chief cause of inefficiency was lack of capital..When the peasants jeered at his machinery and hoped disaster would overtake, he dug in his heels" [215].

When all three factors are considered together, the limited change in the nineteenth century French countryside becomes apparent. "If the day would come at last when the peasant was properly educated and adopted a scientific approach, then production would double" [216] but that day did not come. Contemporary Paris-based writers, aware of great urban change and growth; of new scientific developments; of increased industrialisation; of the political upheaval which afflicted France intermittently throughout the century, were apt to exaggerate the extent to which such changes filtered down to the provinces. Mass emigration did not destroy villages; politicisation did not broaden peasant horizons overnight; agricultural developments did not dramatically increase living standards. Gradual change was occurring in which all three factors, together with better education, awareness of hygiene, improved communications and changing land patterns, played a part but the picture was one of stability. As Tocqueville advised his readers "picture for yourselves the French peasant as he was in the eighteenth century, or rather as he is today for he has not changed at all." [217].

### The Peasantry and the Land

In Britain we are used to the term "peasant" being understood in a pejorative sense. Landowners of any size sought to be known as yeomen or petty gentry, to associate themselves with the upper end of the social spectrum. The peasant remained the lowest of the low: uneducated, uncouth, brutal, living as a tenant and frequently owing archaic dues to his landlord. France, in contrast, with different landowning patterns, developed a different attitude to those who lived off the land. Not only was "paysan" a perfectly acceptable descriptive term but it increasingly came to be an attractive and positive one, imbued with deep significance and respect. Tocqueville emphasised the uniqueness of the French situation: "Americans do not have the term "peasant", they do not have the term because they do not have the concept - the ignorance of society, the simplicity of the countryside, the rustic nature of the villages. They cannot imagine either the vice or the virtue of emerging civilisation." [218]. A 1950 poll showed that 13.7% of the population considered themselves part of the peasantry compared with only 22% who thought themselves bourgeoisie or middle class [219]. Nineteenth century writers, like Michelet in Le Peuple, tended to eulogise the state of the peasantry and their attachment to the land but that exuberance should not detract from importance of the term and the group during these years.

The history of the peasantry is usually begun with the 1789 Revolution, as if this period both created a class of small landholders and gave them a collective voice. This was the common nineteenth century myth: "these people have

acquired their ideal since the Revolution - a patch of land enough to provide them with a store of potatoes" [220]. In fact landownership before it was high - Young estimated 30-40% [221] - and even tenant farmers had achieved some degree of independence, as lords turned away from rural residence and neglected old dues. Mid-eighteenth century attempts to increase feudal revenues to economically viable rates helped spark off anti-noble feeling in the provinces, exaggerated into terrifying tales of the Grand Peur.

The sale both of church lands and emigré estates during the Revolution benefitted few peasants and many bourgeois. Many were sold wholesale, putting the price well beyond the reach even of village consortiums. Lefebvre estimated that in the north the numbers of buyers were split 50-50 but that the peasant purchasers only got 12% of the land and few previously landless peasants gained anything in the transfer [222]. "Not a single peasant farmer had dared to risk his own money. Lawyers and financiers were the only people to benefit from the decision of the Revolution" [223]. Meanwhile the years had continued the tendency towards the erosion of common pasture and woodland which had begun during the previous century. The Rights of Man were expanded to include the Rights of Cultivation and gave the individual dominance. Forests became state property and in the transfer old rights were conveniently over-ruled. In 1793 a decree allowed villages to split common pastureland if 1/3 of inhabitants agreed [224]. The early nineteenth century saw a continuation of the pattern. Landownership increased; Napoleon embodied the principle of partible inheritance in the Code Civile and thus enabled all children to become

landowners; drainage and clearance increased the total acreage in cultivation and commonland continued to be reduced under the pressures for cultivation. Equally, there was a gradual drift away from the land by the bourgeois "rentiers" who had previously seen estate ownership as a means towards gentrification. By the 1851 census 35% of the rural population and 64% of the agricultural population were owner-occupiers [225]. The peasant was becoming the dominant feature of rural life.

With increased ownership came a change in attitude: independence and individuality, which were simply not possible under metayage or open-field agriculture, became a larger part of village life. Commentators differed about the benefits of this change. Balzac, in his only novel of the *Comedie Humaine* which dealt primarily with the peasantry, Les Paysans (1855) emphasised the grasping desire to own land which engulfed the whole village and put many of its inhabitants into debt. As late as 1890 1/6 of all cultivated land was mortgaged [226] and 1848 anti-semitic riots gave some indication of the fate of peasants at the hands of money-lenders [227]. Marx, writing during the 1848-52 period, condemned a rural population which had all the acquisitive and capitalist traits of the middle classes in their obsessive desire to own their own plot. In a wonderful piece of socialist rhetoric he described the peasantry as "a non-homogeneous, non-unified agglomeration of autonomous units of autarchic production" [228]. Zola dwells on the obsession created by landownership: "an all consuming passion, an appalling heartache at giving up this land which he had cultivated" [229]. And there was a

continuous debate between those who thought that ownership "turned sand to gold" and those who criticised "Napoleon's land-chopping machine" and believed that increased division and desire for land created a "maladie de la terre" [230].

What the land partition did create was greater unity among the peasantry. Villages were increasingly split between the landed and the landless [231], but for the owner-occupier, the peasant proprietor, the desire for land joined him to his fellows. Equally, as rural industry decreased, one of the first casualties of change [232], ~~it increased the~~ dominance of agriculture, and the peasantry, on village life. By 1870 in the Loire 80% of the rural population were owner-occupiers [233]. Those who were increasingly marginalised at the poor end of the village social scale, were despised by the up and coming peasants: "they disliked him because he was a workman who sawed and planed wood instead of tilling the soil" [234].

The peasantry were never a class: on a national level communities were too isolated to form any common bonds and on a village basis there was as much rivalry as cooperation. But the land issue gave them a common feeling- it allows one to speak of "the French peasant". The major characteristic of the group remained not simply their landholdings but the small size of them. In 1890 2.5 million landowners possessed less than 2 acres, out of a total landowning population of 3.5 million [235]. Equally, as a group their conservatism was assured: they could not support technological development because they had not the capital to benefit from it, and they rejected Socialism for its talk of common ownership. These traits continued in the peasantry after

they had left the land: Dumay records that immigrant factory workers kept a garden for the security it represented [236] and in 1900 42% of ex-peasants were self-employed [237].

The benefits of landholding were not merely symbolic. A plot represented the difference between survival and starvation; security alongside the hand-to-mouth existence of agricultural labourers or tenant-farmers discovered by Guillaumin; "after 20 years at La Creusèrie I was hardly any better off than when I arrived" [238]. It brought social status in the village where material possessions were beyond the reach of the majority but land was concrete evidence of one's worth. It gave something to pass on to one's children; fall back on in old age; to raise money against if things got tough. It was independence: "I am king of my own land. I want it to supply me with everything" [239].

Millet's pictures give us perhaps the best example of how the peasantry regarded themselves and the land they worked. Bourgeois depictions of landscapes dwelt on the glories of nature for its own sake but although Millet remained greatly interested by the countryside, he always portrayed it in connection with those who lived in it. Despite his love of Fontainebleau - "I have no pleasure equal to lying in the ferns looking up at the clouds" [240] - he rarely produced pictures of the forest but instead concentrated on the agricultural plain around Barbizon. A common opinion was that the countryside was wasted on the peasantry: "the working man is too exhausted, unhappy and anxious about the future to enjoy the beauties of the country and the charms of rustic life" [241]. Another was that the peasantry must be among the happiest people on

earth because of their proximity to nature: "Happy tiller of the soil, never leave your village for the town where you would have to buy everything..country life has no equal, yours is true happiness" [242]. But Millet falls into neither trap: his peasants are not carefree and he accepted "the common and melancholy lot of humanity is weariness..I am touched above all things by a man doomed by his birth to the eternal labour of the soil" [243]. But they clearly have a bond with the land which goes beyond a mere appreciation of the joys of nature and concerns their utter dependence on it.

Millet never divorces his figures from the landscape that they inhabit, as he himself said: "it is impossible to separate the peasant from the land" [244]. Often we find him physically linking the two in a way which emphasises the dependence. Gautier stressed the earthy tones which spread over the whole of Millet's pictures, "as if they had been painted with the earth itself" [245]; as if the soil had embedded itself into the clothes and skins of his figures. Juneja speaks of the bond between the worker and the soil which existed before mechanisation became an intermediary [246] and Millet exploits this to the full. His series of Men Digging are always shown with their spades cutting the earth, linking the figures to the ground. The Man with a Hoe (fig 11) similarly supports himself by resting on the tool embedded in the earth. Bachelard writes of the sexual relationship of the male farmer to female nature which needed to be courted and wooed before being sown [247] and Zola makes much of the same theme in La Terre. Thus these pictures of Millet's can be seen in a sexual sense, as a

marriage of man and nature which yearly bears fruit. Perhaps the epitome of this image is his Path through a Wheatfield (1867 Boston) (fig 16) which shows the figure almost swallowed up by the ripe produce of his labours, whilst he walks carrying a hoe, as a symbol of his continuing cyclical labour.

Millet's pictures do not simply represent the peasant's attitude to the land, they are an intensely territorial vision of the attachment to a particular patch of land. The Grafter (Fig 7), like most of his family pictures, places the scene in the specific setting of a Barbizon farmyard which was the hub of the land owned by peasant. The figures stand solidly, defying anyone to dispute their control and in a picture like Peasant Family (1874 Cardiff) (Fig 18) they seem almost menacing in their defence of their territory.

The Hoe shows the marking stones which were frequently the only indication of where plots began and ended under the open-field system of Barbizon [248]. "Respect that stone, that boundary stone, look at it beside the man isolated, bent and crushed downwards towards the earth, who, as you pass by, halts for a moment in his deforming labour, to rest on his spade" [249]. The figure seems alone in the plain, giving him a sense of ownership and belonging, although it was probably far from the reality. The traditionalism of agriculture meant that jobs were begun in unison by the villagers. By relegating these other tasks to a shadowy background role, Millet allows us to concentrate on the single figure, the owner-occupier. Equally, Millet shows the man in a state of total exhaustion: he is not a waged

labourer but an owner, dependent wholly on the effort which he puts into his land for his survival and prosperity. The Man with a Hoe fits perfectly Zola's description: "his body was now bent as though anxious to return to the soil which he had owned and coveted so fiercely." [250].

Agricultural Life

For the vast majority of the French peasantry agricultural life remained not only highly traditional but extremely diverse. Farms would rarely specialise in particular forms of production, for the market was not sufficiently developed to allow such agriculture and the land acreage was rarely enough to make it viable. As a result chickens, geese, goats, sheep cattle, market gardening and grain production all survived alongside each other. All were retained on a tiny scale - a case of a few sheep and a single cow - but all were necessary to the basic survival of the farm.

Mechanisation was limited throughout France and was only a feature on the larger farms which could afford such capital outlay. Ploughing was still done in many areas with the unwheeled "araire" which made only shallow furrows and was very heavy to handle. Although the wheeled plough was spreading from the north, Duby records the continued use of the more primitive variety, especially in the generally more backward southern areas, throughout the nineteenth century [251]. Thabault also records that some of the villagers were using wooden shafted ploughs as late as 1843 [252] Guillaumin remembers the excitement when the family changed from the araire to the wheeled "charrure" [253] and Wylie records the continued use of the horse plough in Chanzeaux in 1960 [254]. Sowing and threshing were also done by hand on the majority of farms. Daubigny drew a steam-thresher in the 1860's [255] but they did not become common features of the countryside until the 1890's.

Tradition continued to dominate in other ways. Work was carried out according to the season, thus sowing in spring and ploughing in winter. Tasks were passed down through the generations by the unofficial apprenticeship of father to son, as both Restif and Guillaumin remember. Agricultural work was largely a male preserve, just as household tasks were the domain of the women and whilst lesser duties at busy times of year might be delegated, the most important were always done by the head of the house. This was particularly true of both ploughing and sowing, immensely important as the year's crop was dependent on the efficiency and skill with which they were done. "The sowing was always done by the master or the eldest son" [256].

Weisberg argues that Millet concentrated on depicting the tasks done by only the poorest of the peasantry [257]. Thus he neglected ploughing in favour of showing man digging and using the hoe. Yet what Millet did show was the work carried out by the majority of the rural population on their own small plot of land. Large landowners who employed day labourers and farm workers beyond the common live-in servant, are excluded from the majority of Millet's work not to make a social point but because they did not represent the norm. Only 150,000 landowners held more than 100 acres compared with the 2.4 millions of 2-3 acre holders [258]. "In the Beauce the smallholders represented 80% of the total. For some time now almost all the day-labourers had been buying up small pieces of land" [259]. Although Barbizon had more than the average number of these larger landowners, the labourers on these farms were in themselves owners of small plots and they are the people Millet shows.

In 1892 Anderson estimates that 1/2 "journaliers" , agricultural workers, owned land of their own to supplement often meagre wages and provide security [260].

Millet's work, taken as a whole, shows a wide variety of agricultural tasks and there is evidence to suggest that the artist would have liked to take a more comprehensive approach. The 1855 sketches for Lavieille's etching series, Work in the Fields, twenty in all, can be seen as a catalogue of the farming year which Millet witnessed in Barbizon. In the majority of these pictures the setting is specifically the Barbizon plain or the traditional walled-in farmyard of the region. In them, Millet concentrates on one or two figures, the minimum necessary for the job in hand. He places them in the foreground with little extra detail and simply shows us the task being done. His work is frequently related to traditional depictions of farm work from the Medieval Books of Hours to the plates of the eighteenth century Encyclopedie [261]. This is less a demonstration of the timelessness of Millet's figures, than of the artist's desire to depict their tasks with all the accuracy of a reporter rather than a painter. He frequently expressed his desire to subordinate both the picture and the people to the task.

Perhaps the best illustration of this approach is a comparison between the Salon Sower of 1850 (Fig 5) and the drawing in the Ashmolean (Fig 6). The former with its grandeur and movement is a symbolic representation of one of the key tasks in the agricultural year. The latter, set in the Barbizon plain is simply a recording of the task. The sower is huddled and cramped, his head lowered in

concentrating on the task; the plough is still used as a compositional device to balance the figure, but it is clearly drawn, recognisable as the charrure. Millet's art was not so nostalgic as to depict an old-fashioned type of plough. "That morning Jean had slung a blue canvas seed bag around his middle and was holding it open with his left hand, whilst with his right he took out a handful of wheat and at every third step scattered it" [262].

From the task of sowing which Millet depicted many times in both crayon and pastel, it is possible to move through the agricultural year, gaining a fairly complete picture of it from his work. Spring was the planting season generally and, as well as the sowing of grain, Millet depicts the planting of potatoes, a vegetable rapidly becoming a staple of the rural population's diet after a slow introduction to France at the start of the century [263]. His oil of the Potato Planters (1861 Boston) (fig 27) shows a man and woman engaged in the task, taking great care over it. Millet once said "who shall dare say that a potato is inferior to a pomegranate" [264] and for this couple who depend on the crop, this was indeed true. Surprisingly Millet does not depict the harrowing of the ground after sowing, although he does show the implement itself, abandoned in the field of his Winter pastel (Fig 17).

In the late spring the planting and tending of vines became a major task. Barbizon was not a wine-growing area but an increasing number of the peasantry owned a small number of vines to provide themselves with in tiny cash crop, or for use by the family. The 1860's vine disease which hit large growers hardest, allowed the small farmer to

compete [265]. Few of the peasantry drunk wine on a regular basis, 3/5 did not, whatever the common picture of France might lead us to expect [266]. Despite increasing levels of alcoholism in the villages, something which caused contemporary commentators concern, wine was something for festive occasions only. On these, drunkenness was an integral part of the celebrations. Millet produced an oil of a Man tending vines (1857 Boston) which shows the slow job of staking and tying the tender plants. Equally, in pictures like the Man grafting a tree (fig 7) it is possible to make out in the background, the single row of vines which would have been part of the peasant's garden.

Summer was the busiest season of the year. During the long days, work continued from dawn to dusk, with perhaps a siesta to cover the hottest period of the day if one was working in the fields. More meals were served to sustain the extra activity and everyone was expected to help out. Reaping of all kinds was the major task and Millet shows not simply the perennially popular harvest scenes, but the gathering of apples and potatoes. In Women collecting apples (1850) he shows the men shaking the trees whilst the women gather the fruit from the ground. The scene is an orchard, sometimes part of the commonland of the village and an area used for grazing pigs and geese throughout the rest of the year. Equally, in the Potato Harvest (Baltimore), an oil shown at the 1867 Universal Exposition and posthumously produced as a lithograph Millet shows men and women digging up potatoes and putting them in sacks ready to be returned to the farm in a wheel barrow.

Despite early pictures like Harvesters Resting Millet's best description of the task is Buckwheat Harvest (Fig 13), a picture he produced first as a pastel (1868 Boston) and later in oil for the Four Seasons series commissioned by Hartmann. It is a picture set in Normandy, as one can tell from the unique bonnets of the womenfolk and the church in the background [267], and perhaps autobiographical - certainly Millet remembered the sound of threshing from his youth. Buckwheat was the poorman's grain [268], a hardy plant which could thrive in the roughest of soil conditions and which dominated in many areas of France. Despite the fact the everyone is helping out and the importance of the task is apparent from the sheer numbers and activity of the field, in the scene the division of labour is clearly shown. The men cut the wheat which is then gathered into sheaves by the women, which in turn are sent for threshing by the men.

The next stages of the harvesting process were threshing and winnowing. The latter Millet depicted in his famous Salon picture of 1848, which despite being produced in Paris and not showing the solid style of the majority of his task pictures is an accurate representation. Surprisingly he only showed threshing in one picture: in the distance of the Buckwheat Harvest one can make out the men standing in a large circle holding the flails above their heads. It was a job which required not only stamina but absolute subordination to the task, for all the flails had to be kept in time. Millet produced other pictures which represented the time of harvest. His Woman burning weeds (1860 Louvre), as it is commonly known as, is in fact a

representation of stubble-burning. The fact that a woman is working in the fields strongly implies that it is harvest time, one of the few occasions in the year when women were required to help with all agricultural tasks. Equally, the Reaper (1868 Boston), one of Millet's series of individuals at work, depicts the backview of a man cutting hay or wheat. Those who accuse Millet of nostalgic and old-fashioned portrayals of agriculture would do well to notice that the figure uses a scythe, which was replacing the smaller and less efficient sickle.

Arguably Millet's most famous picture of the harvest, however, is the Gleaners (1857 Louvre) (Fig 14), which represented the traditional right awarded to women, the old and the poor, of collecting overlooked stalks of grain after the harvest had been completed. Millet shows three women in a repetitive backbreaking pose, literally scouring the ground for every last ear; behind them the harvest has moved on, a hive of activity which revolves around the loaded wagon. When the picture was shown at the 1857 Salon it caused a storm of protest, being labelled political by many reviewers, including St. Victor who described the women as "the three fates of poverty". "Like many of the old rights gleaning was becoming less custom than concession" [269]. During the 1850's the right of gleaning had been widely discussed and attacked as an abuse and, following a 1854 Senate session, had become more strictly controlled [270]. Inspectors, such as the figure shown in Breton's 1855 Salon entry, were appointed; the length of time during which gleaning was permitted was curtailed and individuals had to prove real poverty in order to be licenced and permitted to

engage in it. If Millet did intend some kind of social comment with his picture then it would seem to be along highly conservative lines: Juneja claims that he represents the outcast gleaner by separating the women from the harvest [271] but his gleaners dominate the canvas because they had a perfect right, the privilege of tradition, to be there. Gleaning was not simply a practice which benefitted the poorest of the poor, although for them restrictions would naturally cause the most hardship, but one which represented the old communal traditions of the village. Castagnary maintained that "this canvas which recalls frightful misery is not a social thesis but a beautiful and simple work of art" [272]. Herbert traces the development of the picture [273] and its increasingly political approach, but in the final work the contrast of plenty and poverty is lessened by the shadowy nature of the harvest scene.

During the winter, although as Wheelwright describes "ploughing and digging continued throughout the year in Barbizon" [274], there was generally less work to be done in the fields. It was the time of year when mending and maintenance could be carried out but equally, as the peasantry lived according to the sun, it was a period when days were short and conservation of energy was at a premium. This was the time when food would become scarce if the harvest had been poor and Thuillier records that during the winter some families would go into virtual hibernation to save their supplies of food and fuel [275]. Millet's characteristic depiction of winter was a scene he reproduced many times with variation, including the now lost 1870 Salon entry and the pastel now in the Burrell Collection (Fig 17).

He shows a bare expanse of ploughed field stretching to the horizon; the only sign of life are the crows which hover above the scene and in the foreground lies an abandoned harrow, a symbol of the idleness and infertility of the season. He declared "decidedly winter is the most beautiful season" [275] but his portrayals of it are uniformly barren and desolate.

A major task not restricted to winter but most associated with it was that of gathering wood for fuel. Woodcutters were the radicals of the village: "they live a life which is both isolated and collective cut off from the population but working in teams. In this sense the proletariat of the forest is not dissimilar to the industrial proletariat. They were the only class not to benefit from the economic development of the 1850's.. the only class which could never really expect to own land which would provide a living for themselves and their families" [276]. Yet Millet's peasants chopping wood are just that. His early pictures of sawyers were images of Paris and of the professional woodman but those of Barbizon show men chopping wood to provide for their families. Often they are depicted with women - they chop and the women bundle the faggots together. Common woodland was decreasing but still important for the village economy. Young had been shocked by its size [278]; in 1850 1/4 was still common [279] and in some areas, like Provence, common forest remained in the majority throughout the century [280].

Other tasks had still to be done, and Millet represented a whole series of diggers as well as his famous Man with a Hoe (Fig 11) which was shown amidst great

controversy at the 1863 Salon. The land had to be turned ready for the spring planting and frequently the soil was so overworked and of such poor quality that it had to be dug many times to make it usable. "In places where the land is sterile you see figures digging and hoeing" [281]. The fact that Millet does not show the use of a plough in this context is understandable: not only were the implements themselves expensive but they required two oxen and on small plots of land were unwieldy and time consuming to use. Although peasants did share and borrow items such as ploughs, the practice was becoming less common and often smallholders were forced to rely on spades and hoes to turn the soil: "None of the tasks which fall to the peasant has a more pathetic significance than that of the digger, none speak more plainly of the poverty, the hardship, the helplessness of his lot" [282]. Finally, Man spreading manure was a depiction of a typical Barbizon winter scene: "Before the winter ploughing starts, the land is covered in manure as far as the eye can see. Under pale September skies from dawn to dusk carts brimming over with steaming piles of old litter would make their slow way down country lanes" [284]. Fertilizers were still primitive and rare; despite the increased use of lime it remained expensive and bulky to transport, particularly if the village did not have a nearby railhead [285] and manure was the only readily available method of enriching the soil. It may seem an odd subject for a picture but it shows Millet's determination to represent all aspects of agricultural life: he chose images less because of their pictorial impression than because of their importance to the peasant farmer.

Animals were an equally important part of the farm unit providing dairy produce and wool. Few were slaughtered, unless too old for any other use but if breeding was successful then the offspring would be sold to provide the farm with valuable extra income. Guillaumin remembers going with his father to market, to sell off a litter of piglets [286]. As animals were such a valuable commodity they were treated with respect by their owners. Nadaud remembers that they lived virtually along side their cattle, in long houses which divided the living quarters from the byre with only a thin partition wall [287]. "A doorway opened straight out onto the cowshed. The cows were part of the family and when this door was shut you could still see them through a pane of glass set in the side of the wall" [288]. Equally, Musset travelling in Normandy remarked: "all sympathy and sacrifices are reserved for the animals." [289]. Holmes humourously recalls a Breton prayer "Good God above, take my wife, spare the cattle" [290].

The grazing of most animals could not be accommodated on the owners' land: few peasants could afford to sacrifice their scarce land to pasture. Thus the majority used the common pastureland and woodland for the grazing of pigs, which was a feature, still, of most French villages. The reduction in commonland area was thus a problem and an issue for the majority of the rural population, not simply the poorest as is often inferred. It remained a frequent rallying cry of peasant opposition which could unite whole villages either against outsiders, or those few wealthy landowners in their midst who could afford to do without commonland.

Grazing this way required someone to watch over the animals to stop them straying and to prevent any harm coming to them when they were some distance from the farm. In Barbizon, as was the practice elsewhere, the village paid for a hired shepherd to look after the flocks [291], thus releasing an extra pair of hands to each individual family. In Gruchy, sheep could wander freely because of the large area of open countryside [292]. If this was not the practice then the least useful members of the farm were allocated the unskilled and tedious task of watching the animals. Guillaumin remembers that both his grandmother and sister had to watch sheep and pigs before he was old enough to do so [293].

Millet shows both the relationship between man and beast and equally, the common grazing patterns of the village, in his work on animals. His controversial New-born Calf (1864 Chicago) (Fig 24), shown in the 1864 Salon, which Gautier criticised as "being carried like the Holy Sacrament or the bull Apis" [294], is one of the best illustrations of the dependence of the peasant on his animals. The calf has been born in the fields but is being carried to the farmstead, where it can be watched and nurtured. The two men carry it carefully and solemnly, on a makeshift stretcher; the woman looks at it with the same concerned tilt of the head which the mother cow uses. At the house door the farmer's child stands unnoticed and temporarily ignored, such is the attention being lavished on the calf. In two versions of a similar picture, less symbolic and more sentimental, Millet depicts the New-born Lamb (1866 Boston). Here a little shepherdess carries the lamb from the fields in a

green Normandy scene, but the message is the same. Animals, particularly their offspring, were a huge capital asset to the farm.

Millet's series of pictures depicting a woman grazing a cow, including the most famous Salon version of the subject (Fig 8), are also indicative of the importance given to animals. The majority of the peasantry would only have one cow which provided milk, butter and cheese. Murphy uses the pictures as an example of Millet's depiction of the poorest marginalised peasantry yet controlled grazing was necessary for all in the open-field plain around Barbizon [295]. It was grazed on a lead to stop it straying but pictorially Millet uses this to emphasise the link between cow and woman. The animal dominates the pictures, apparently leading the woman and given predominance over her.

Millet's whole series of pictures of shepherds and shepherdesses, the subject to which he most frequently returned, reflect the Barbizon practise of hiring a grazer. The man, as in the Return from the Fields (1863 Boston), leads his sheep, with the help of his dog, from the grazing ground back to the village. He was a distinct figure, a waged labourer, who achieved his position in the village not because of the land he held but of the responsible job which he did.

The shepherdess with her spindle or knitting needles was a familiar feature in Millet's art (Fig 9), a perpetual reminder of the reason why she spent the day in the fields; of why the sheep with its fleece was so important to the peasantry. Equally, he produced a series of pictures of Sheep Shearing, originating with the drawing produced whilst

still in Paris (1847) and now in Plymouth (Fig 25). These all show the same traditional method of shearing: the man holds the sheep on an upturned tub with its head downwards and the woman wields the clippers. The task is one of the few accomplished by man and wife together, needing as it did two pairs of hands. Importantly, it is the woman who does the shearing, partly because of the strength required to hold the sheep but equally, because it represented the first stage of the carding-spinning process which was entirely her responsibility. The close centrifugal composition of the grouping which ultimately revolves around the animal is a perfect illustration of its importance to the family. Millet's 1861 Salon picture of Woman Shearing was highly criticised by contemporaries who felt that Millet had taken as much care over the depiction of the sheep as he had done the woman. Certainly he always gave the animals in his work as much prominence as their owners, emphasising the importance which they held in the rural economy.

Finally the picture of the Hog Killing (1870 Private) should be mentioned. It is a unique subject in Millet's work, not simply because of its unpleasantness and brutality, but because it is a highly unusual scene. Rarely would a family destroy such an asset and rarely did they eat meat on such a scale. The picture is clearly set in the Barbizon farmyard and it seems likely to have been a specific event which Millet witnessed. A sketch in the Burrell, shows the hands of the men on the rope, clearly a preparatory drawing for the oil. Millet manages to convey that this was an event, with everyone gathered round in the crowded farmyard: the faces register the strain needed to

drag the animal to its death but no emotion - the job is an economic necessity unclouded by sentimentality.

Millet shows a huge variety of farm tasks throughout his work. His criterion is always that the picture should represent an everyday reality, and his accuracy should not be underestimated. His peasants go about their tasks without complaint or enthusiasm, but rather with the dull monotony associated with routine work [296]. They do so, however, with care and deliberation and with consummate energy - these were important tasks on which their welfare depended. Berance maintains that Millet sanctified daily labour, calling him a forerunner of Péguy [297]. If he does achieve such a status it is because he treats work as important. Tasks which are perhaps simple in themselves, and often not visually stimulating, are depicted with care and concern because of the importance they have for the peasant. "Is that work, the kind of unimportant thing that people would have us believe. For me it conveys the true dignity, the real poetry of the human race" [298].

### The Village and the Family

There were two centres of focus for rural society: the village and the family. The former marked the outer boundary of existence, for few peasants would regularly travel beyond their immediate geographical surroundings. The latter represented the basic social and economic unit around which life was organised. "The world beyond our district seemed full of mystery and danger, peopled by savages.. I did not leave the farm more than four or five times in the year", wrote Guillaumin [219].

To talk of the village conjures up an image of a cluster of houses about a central green or church, but this picture is a false one. French villages were often scattered over a considerable area and if houses were grouped together there were usually not enough to warrant either a church, cafe or other form of communal building. All Frenchmen belonged to a commune but this was often an area larger than their village with an epicentre some distance from their home. Thus Barbizon was part of Chailly and Gruchy belonged to the commune of Greville.

Originally, the commune was the source of all community activity. It contained the church, the centre of worship, festivity and frequently the site of a Sunday market; it possessed its own area of common land and often the pasturing of animals was organised on a communal basis with a hired herdsman. Equally, the commune provided a council which debated local issues and allocated locally collected taxation: "It was governed like a large family. Everything was decided by

majority decision in an assembly which sat in the square"  
[300].

The traditional role of the commune was, however, being usurped. The first motivation for this had come from the centralising drive of the Revolution. The 1789 Cahiers, sent from all over France to the National Assembly and containing grievances, were drawn up by the communes, as the localist nature of their complaints testifies. They speak of over-charging by millers, of landlords usurping common land and of unfair taxation [301]. Although usually composed by the mayor, priest or other dominant member of the village hierarchy, the small size of the communes allowed most of their members to have a say. Despite the call for the Cahiers, and although the period was characterised by initial autonomy for the commune as landowners fled, it ended with a degree of centralisation such as France had never known. For many areas of the country, the concept of government took on a whole new meaning, as the old rights and independence of the commune were superceded.

In the early nineteenth century, the commune was to remain the administrative basis of the country. Guizot organised his Education Act around the provision of a school in each commune. Conscription ballots and taxation assessments were dealt with by it and the 1835 road legislation took the same basis. But all these measures were imposed from above and simply took advantage of the institution. The role of self-determination, with the commune as a forum for discussion, was being steadily reduced. At the same time the other aspect of village life was on the wane. The Revolution had done its bit to

erode traditional agricultural rights and the process continued piecemeal throughout the nineteenth century. Napoleon found himself increasingly backing the large landowners with measures like his 1824 Woodland Act [302]. The Restoration monarchy had the task of appeasing the returning nobility with compensation for lost estates. Both 1830 and 1848 saw peasant unrest which reiterated the grievances of the Cahiers. The protests were the last gasp of communal spirit as whole villages marched with their priest or mayor, singing old songs and clutching Revolutionary banners. Other factors gradually worked to erode the dominance of the village over the lives of its inhabitants. Education and communication lessened the isolation of the community.

In view of the importance of the village it is perhaps surprising that Millet does not portray common life in any of his pictures, nor give us a more rounded image of the village. Other, later, artists were quick to pick up the visual possibilities, as well as the sellable nostalgia, of such images. Rather as Hardy introduces us to Tess dancing on the village green, we see Breton depicting the Blessing of the Corn, and L'Hermitte's series of pictures based on the "Veillée". They were depictions of a sense of community spirit which townsfolk liked to imagine existed in the idyll of rural life. In doing so they ignored the gossiping, back-biting side of village life which even Sand recognised: in La Petite Fadette the girl's life is ruined by the taunts of her fellows. Equally, they omitted the increasing divisions of the village caused by changing land-holding

patterns. And they represent the antithesis of Millet's definition of art: "my aim is to give forcible and complete expression to all things that are necessary" [303] implying that frivolity and festivity had no role in his work.

We might say, however, that Millet chooses to ignore village life altogether. His view of the Church at Chailly (1861 Minneapolis) depicts the village almost as an abandoned one, with the fields left half ploughed and the houses deserted. Even his views of Gruchy seem to concern themselves not with the village but with specific houses within it (Fig I). The peasants are rarely seen in groups and the nostalgic drawing of Men Collecting Seaweed is one of the few which shows the villagers working together. Harvesters Resting was a studio piece based on a Biblical tale and can be seen as unrepresentative of Millet's later work, by portraying a group of farm workers. Equally, Buckwheat Harvest (Fig I3) is ambiguous: are we witnessing village cooperation or simply the enforced working together of a group of waged labourers on a large farm.

Perhaps the most surprising of Millet's pictures in this context, are his series of works entitled the Veillée, yet not resembling the typical description of such gatherings in any way. The veillée had long entered bourgeois mythology as the supreme example of village harmony. Like most rituals it had a practical purpose, that of conserving fuel, but it had become simply an excuse for a get-together and a chat, a chance to do minor tasks and relate old stories [304]. "In winter the

neighbours would gather together there on the mud floor and be warm and cosy with no further effort than bringing in a round table and a dozen chairs. Each neighbour would provide a candle in turn. The women sewed and knitted and did needlework" [305]. Although the cafe was to gradually take over as a meeting place, in the course of the century, the veillée was by no means dead. Millet, however, confines his depictions of it to views of a single family unit sitting by candle-light as, for instance, in Family at Evening (Birmingham 1866) (Fig 26). He captures the essence of the gathering - the single candle and the tasks of basket-weaving and sewing - but he ignores the social aspect completely. As always his figures sit silently working, with apparently no connection or communication between them.

The reasons that Millet ignored village life are not easy to explain. The isolation of his figures can be paralleled by his personal experience in Barbizon and his separation from the peasant community there. Yet this should not be over-emphasised, for his reminiscences of Gruchy depict no greater sense of integration in village life. Equally, it can be argued that Millet did not aim to show village life as a whole, but was merely interested in a specific part of it. Despite his early pictures of road-workers and his 1855 Cooper (Boston), he was little concerned with the non-agricultural population. Thus the village as a unit was too large for what he intended to show. Alongside these motives Millet seems to have grasped the nineteenth century trend towards the isolation of the individual within the community; the decline of the common

and the rise of the owner-occupier. In Barbizon Millet witnessed the effect of the change when Jacque bribed the mayor to move a traditional right of way from his land, thus illustrating that the individual with money could over-ride long established rights. By not focusing on village life, Millet does omit a part of the rural scene which still existed, but he nonetheless indicates the strain which that traditional image was undergoing. Equally, and perhaps more importantly, he concentrates on the second focus of rural existence. If the village is almost entirely absent from Millet's work, then the family can be said to dominate every part of it.

The importance of the family in rural life remained undiminished until well into the twentieth century: its strength lay in its dual role as a social and economic unit. Socially, the concept of someone not marrying, living on their own or leaving home without going into a surrogate family unit either as servant, apprentice or labourer was unheard of. People did not marry especially young, nor did they have many children - Millet was exceptional in coming from a family of eight and having nine children himself - but they spent their entire lives inside some form of family unit. In both an agricultural and an artisan context young, single people would often leave home but they did so to live and work within another family. The family, equally, had the legal and moral backing of both church and state to help secure its continuity. The Code Napoleon had endorsed paternal authority although it had temporarily sanctioned divorce, and the concept of equal inheritance had embraced the importance

of the whole family, not simply the eldest son. The state increasingly came to appreciate the value of a stable family system for its own stability; writers like LePlay promoted the idea [306]. The church, armed with the religious example of the Holy Family, upheld the significance and sanctity of family life. Illegitimacy could be ignored if the child knew both its parents and people were encouraged to remarry after the death of their partner to ensure that their children were brought up in a complete family unit.

The reason for the long-term survival of the family, however, lay not in its social value but in its role as an economic unit. Farms, as originally all crafts had been, were run along family lines. Everyone helped out, everyone had a traditionally defined role and the "family" was as much the house and land owned by the unit as it was the individuals themselves. Similarly, members of a family could be acquired and detached as was economically necessary. Frequently it consisted not of parents and children but of an extended unit of in-laws and relatives and live-in servants, all of whom might be needed to look after a large holding. It was common practice for all but the poorest to have a servant and this continued into the twentieth century, as Wylie records [307]. Restif recalls "there were usually twenty-one of us at the table including the ploughboys and vine-tenders, although there were only fourteen children" [308]. On the other hand, if there were a large number of children and land was scarce, it was quite common for the eldest to be sent away to work on neighbouring farms and thus relieve some

of the burden. The wealth of the agricultural family was dependent solely on one thing; the land. If they owned their holding then the major factor in any decision was how to keep and expand it; if they rented then the constant aim was to save enough to buy a small plot. Thus marriage settlements were often decided on where and how much land would be gathered. Thus some children were encouraged away from the village, so that the land need not be divided between so many.

Millet's work picks up the roles of the family, both as social and economic unit but again he does so in a way personal to the artist. The family of his pictures is not an extended one with relatives and servants because that simply did not reflect his experience. Thus we can see his concentration on the nuclear family. All the evidence testifies to Millet's love of children: Piedangel remembers "Millet working with the sounds of the family all around him" [309]. He came from a large family, and as one of the eldest had the task of looking after its younger members; and he loved playing with his own children. Thus images of children dominate much of his work.

Perhaps his archetypal portrayal of the family is the unfinished picture of 1874 now in Cardiff and entitled simply, Peasant Family. (Fig 18). It depicts father, mother and child in front of their home and embodies all the concepts of family life. The social and reproductive function which religion decreed, is represented not simply by the presence of the child but the close bonding of the group. The boy stands

between his parents, physically linking them with his outstretched arms. They protect him as was their duty and he in turn is a source of strength and support to them. The crucifix-like posture of the child is often seen as an example of Millet's mythical and monumental portrayal of the peasantry [310]; it far more symbolises the artist's attempt to heroify the status of the family. Sickert wrote: "the man and his solid spouse face the spectator with all the gravity and symmetry of twin caryatids, whilst the child, a baby Samson, essays the strengths of the pillars of his house" [311]. The group stand outside their home, on the means of their economic survival - the land - which will eventually be passed onto their child, holding the tools which will assist them in that struggle. Their pose establishes them almost as sentries guarding the property which is so important to them.

Another work with the same basis, but less obvious symbolism, is First Steps (1866 Cleveland) (Fig 12) which Millet originally produced as a drawing and later in pastel. It is clearly autobiographical and although it belongs to that body of his work which is frequently dismissed as tritely sentimental, it succinctly captures the essence of family life. Again the scene takes place outside the home, in the garden which provided the family with the majority of their food. Again it involves the father, mother, child relationship and the dependence of the latter on its parents. Here the father holds out his arms to encourage the baby to take its first shaky and tentative steps, whilst the mother has symbolically

just released her off-spring into the dangers of the world and onto the land for which he is destined.

First Steps is one of the few pictures in which Millet depicts his subjects at leisure. A more usual theme is the economic cooperation and division of labour within the family unit. The separation of daily tasks by sex is discussed in a later chapter but the mutual dependence and cooperation between the spouses can be seen in several pictures which continue the family theme in his work. Going to Work (1851 Glasgow) (Fig 28) is often discussed in a sexual context: the woman carries a basket to represent her role as child-bearer and the man holds a phallic pitchfork [312]. Yet the picture is in a far more straightforward way, a definition of the division of labour: the man digs and the woman gathers. The couple walk to work side by side, to do tasks which compliment each other and are both equally important for the survival of the family. Other than the viewers' association there is nothing to suggest that the pair are man and wife. So far from creating a sexual bond is Millet's painting that one could almost think the two are strangers. This is true of most of the artist's scenes of the family at work. The partners are united but without communication, contact or even apparent awareness of each other.

The same theme is continued in Couple Planting Potatoes (1861 Boston) (Fig 27). A man and woman work together in an atmosphere of silent cooperation, accomplishing different tasks whilst operating in harmony. As the man wields the dibble, the woman drops

the seed potatoes into the hole, whilst in the background under a tree, a baby lies in a basket to complete the family. The couple, rather like those in Going to Work, have an almost asexual relationship. In such a context the presence of the child appears almost incongruous, yet it is vital for Millet's representation of the dual role and function of the family.

## Women and Children

The role and position of woman is a hugely fashionable area of historical study at the present but the problems in dealing with it are still great. Women were frequently overlooked by contemporaries in the nineteenth century - the regular censuses were vague in relation to age and status of the female population [313] - not so much because their work was undervalued than because it was taken for granted. Whilst a man's role was only defined by the job he did, by apprenticeship and training, women were engaged in universal activities. Every woman, aside from those of the leisured classes, kept house and brought up children. In doing so she employed skills learnt almost subconsciously at her mother's knee; skills which had remained largely unchanged over time and space.

For women of the rural population, their sphere of activity was defined by the home. Within the family unit, if the man could be said to control the land, the woman remained dominant in the house. In domestic matters it was not uncommon for the man to be subservient to his wife, even to the extent of allowing her control of the purse strings. Women took a surprisingly active role in traditional demonstrations and bread riots [314] and this is an indication of their control over food and household activity. Despite the very concrete reality of male superiority, which both church and state helped to perpetuate, this monopoly of domestic duties gave women some semblance of equality. The traditional division of labour in the family - the idea that "Adam delved and Eve span" - gave both partners autonomy for most of the working day.

Equally the peasant lifestyle gave little priority to the male tasks. The man did not go out to earn a living wage and if he was the bread winner in a physical sense - planting and reaping the corn - then he remained dependent on his wife to produce an edible result. Often the difference between subsistence and extra "luxury" came not from the man but the woman, taking sewing or washing. Most of the extra eggs produced were sold by her as a source of cash in which the man had no part and the same was true of milk and butter. Guillaumin records how he was ridiculed for selling milk during his wife's pregnancy because the job was seen traditionally as the woman's [315]. Education in rural France separated the sexes only marginally. Women frequently benefitted from the zeal of nuns to set up schools and marriage register statistics show that female education lagged behind male only slightly.

Millet, in his pictures, gives careful attention to the role of women in the rural population. Pollock and others have suggested that this unnaturally high interest in the female sex was perhaps part of a guilt complex towards his abandonment of his mother and grandmother [316]. They point out also that the domination of the female side of the family in his early recollections is slightly obsessive. In actual fact, however, he is merely producing a record of the tasks which he witnessed his wife and other Barbizon women carry out. Used as we are, to women being under-represented, his pictures provide a rare but important study of female daily life.

The domination of women in the home, and of the house in the lives of women, is clearly shown by Millet. His

female figures are rarely engaged in agricultural tasks, which were a male preserve for the majority of the year. Women might work in the cottage garden and they were required to help out during the harvest, but largely their work revolved around the home. Even when his women are pictured outside they are doing tasks which benefit the home environment, for instance fetching water or wood. The role of women was, however, something of a dichotomy: they were both wife and mother. The two roles frequently ran parallel but held different implications and as such are treated differently by the artist. As wife and homemaker, the woman was part of the family economic unit, a compliment to her husband and essentially a worker. As mother, she assumed an altogether more symbolic role in her monopoly of child-bearing and rearing. Although this concept of motherhood might seem increasingly subordinated to economic criteria in nineteenth century France, as contraception was practised for the financial benefit of the family [417], their role as childbearers gave women special qualities which Millet sought to represent in his art.

Millet was little concerned with rural industry in any of his work and this is equally true of his pictures of women. For his Sewing of 1850 he specifically defined that the women were "not professional sempstresses or housemaids but peasant women sewing for their families" [318]. Equally, despite his pictures of spinning he does not show cottage weaving, which was a traditional way for the rural population to augment their income. It was dying out by mid-nineteenth century France and Barbizon was not a major area for the

industry, but equally, Millet ignores it because it did not conform to his idea of a truly peasant lifestyle.

As is common in Millet's art, his women are solitary figures. He gives the impression of lonely days isolated in the house and completely separated from one's husband. The latter was of course true but few women, including Millet's own wife, were completely alone with extended families, live-in servants and communal activities like washing and wood-gathering. Thuillier speaks of the isolation of women but he reminds us that men in the fields were also increasingly solitary in their agricultural work as common farming decreased [319]: in yet another way the experience of the sexes paralleled each other. Millet perhaps isolated his women for pictorial reasons, to represent the self-contained world of the peasant economy, or because of the personal experience of his family but equally, he does so to depict the tasks as simply as is possible. Thus those which were traditionally carried out in groups he shows as such.

Millet did not paint his women with any concessions towards artistic definitions of prettiness. Even a praised picture like Shepherdess (Fig 9) showed not beauty but simply minimised the plainness of the figure by showing her in shadow and trimming her head-dress with lace. Millet frequently stated that beauty came from within: "it is expression not mere features" [320]. Equally, he criticised Breton, who painted "girls too pretty to stay long in a village" [321]. He was often accused of ugliness: St Victor described the 1861 Woman Shearing: "she delights in her ugliness and glorifies in her affliction" [322]. But for once the Goncourts were the more astute critics: "Millet has

caught the outline of the peasant woman, of hard work and weariness; making her body into a bundle without the provocative lines, no hips, no breast, a worker in a sheath" [323]. The peasant lifestyle was not conducive to preserving good looks and youth. Young viewed with horror the "dung-hills in stockings and shoes" which he saw in the provinces [324]. And Flaubert gave this description of a peasant woman at a fair: "she seemed to have shrivelled inside her clothes. On her feet were heavy wooden clogs and she wore a long blue apron.. with large hands knarled by years of barn-dust, washing soda and wool grease".

Millet also paid great attention to the clothes which his women wore although again, he makes little concession to the artistic fashions of the time. Thuillier records that country dress was surprisingly colourful, although faded with age [325] and this is reflected in a picture like the Grafter (Fig 7). The peasants wear strong coloured garments which nonetheless have taken on the overall tones of the dirt which has become engrained into them. Countryfolk were beyond the reach of fashion, as such. Although they had a "Sunday" outfit, it would last them a lifetime and thus keeping up to date was an impossibility. Guillaumin records that by the end of his life, the influence of fashion gradually reached the villages. He was appalled by the frivolity and impracticality of such clothes, the exact opposite of what was traditionally demanded by country garb [326]. People slept in their underclothes and did all types of work in those they wore everyday, thus looseness, mobility and sturdiness were all priorities. Millet's peasants are almost always pictured wearing the "sabot", the

wooden clog of provincial France. It was useless for walking on paved roads but essential for work in the fields [327].

For women, local variations in dress were important. Regional costume, beloved by artists and writers for giving a supposedly authentic touch, was reserved for special occasions but working clothes did show some differences according to area. Despite the usual criticism that Millet portrayed a universal peasant, he does record these variations. The majority of his women were dressed in the Barbizon style, perhaps best seen in Woman Carrying Water (Fig 20). The figure wears a apron over a front-buttoning pinafore dress with a sleeved shift underneath. She has a small crossed scarf at her neck and the "marmotte", the traditional tight head-scarf of the region, covering her whole hair. Over this basic outfit Millet's shepherdesses (Fig 9) wear a blanket-like cape.

A variation on this is given by Millet's Normandy women. Their costume is perhaps best seen in Norman Milkmaid (Birmingham 1871) but it is equally visible in Buckwheat Harvest (Fig 13). The women wear the same basic dress but with a larger shawl at their neck, crossed at the front before being tied at the waist. Their head-covering is a white starched cap with a flap to protect their neck and a slight brim for shade. Variations on this cap are shown in other pictures, including Millet's 1841 portrait of Madame Romany (Cherbourg) who wears one with a much higher crown. Finally, Millet represents the dress of the Auvergne region, as in Goatherd from the Auvergne (1866 Boston) (Fig 19). Her dress is high waisted; the shawl even larger so that it falls over her upper arm and is tucked into the apron. On

her head the girl wears a straw bonnet with a large brim and high crown, trimmed with a ribbon.

The two major tasks which carried women outside the home were water and wood collecting. Carrying Water, (Fig 20) shown in 1863, was discussed by Millet in a letter to Thore in which he insisted that the figure was simply carrying water for her family as she did everyday. In the background of the picture it is just possible to make out the well set in a wall from which she has drawn the two buckets, the weight of which is apparent from her straight-backed stance and strained arms. Equally, there is a suggestion that the woman is pregnant but going about the strenuous task as normal. The well sunk into a wall was a common feature of Barbizon and can be seen in other pictures by the artist including a 1857 drawing. At other times Millet showed water being drawn from the unique beehive shaped wells of Normandy. (Fig 1).

As a task, this was closely linked with that of faggot gathering, again a regular activity which carried the woman beyond the confines of the home. Weisberg emphasises the symbolism of the tasks which produced fire and water, two of the essential elements for existence [328]. Millet's earliest pictures of faggot-gatherers were of men but increasingly he chose to show women in the role. Juneja suggests that he did so to emphasise the harshness of the work [329] but a simpler explanation lies in the difference between the Paris and Barbizon experience. In the suburbs of the capital it was quite usual to see old men with bundles of faggot for sale, whilst in the village the task was done not for profit but for the family and was hence carried out

by women. Millet shows some pictures of men and women working together in the collection of wood: the man chops and the woman gathers. Perhaps his definitive depiction, however, is Winter: Faggot Gatherers (1874 Cardiff) (fig 15), his unfinished oil for the Four Seasons series, which shows women bent double by the weight of their burdens trudging through the bleak landscape. The bleakness of the scene is not simply a representation of the season but of the burdensome nature of the task, an indication that women worked as hard as men.

A second task which commonly took the women out of the home was that of washing clothes. Millet usually depicted his women washing in a river, which was the most common method among the rural population [330]. Washing was not a regular activity: the peasantry had few clothes and tended to wear those they did have permanently. "There were two sets of clothes between us, a man's wedding suit was expected to last him a lifetime" [331]. The peasantry were not enthusiastic about washing themselves either: "the body, aside from the hands, never feels a drop of water from the moment of birth" [332]. Millet made his wife wear her clothes for weeks on end to give them a more authentic peasant appearance. As a result of its infrequency washing acquired greater significance, becoming a social and communal and almost ceremonial activity, as Millet shows in his pictures. The women are always shown in pairs bending over the water, beating the clothes with the special club-shaped implement known as a "beetle" whilst the washed items hang to drip over a hurdle and the large basket used for carrying the laundry stands by. In a sketch, now in the

Ashmolean, Millet also showed a woman hanging out washing. Laundering was also a way for women to bring in extra money. Guillaumin records that "after my father's death my mother retired to a small cottage, gleaning and taking in washing" [334]. Although Millet rarely shows such non-agricultural activities, it seems likely that his 1854 oil (Louvre) of a woman washing in a large, steaming tub is a depiction of a professional laundress.

Making and mending clothes was an equally important activity. Thompson criticises Millet's peasants for being tidily dressed without noticeable tears or patches in their clothes [334] but this is not surprising. Clothes had to be looked after, women were brought up to be skilled with a needle and the peasantry retained a sense of pride which stopped them going around in rags. Millet follows the process of cloth-making through from the shearing of the sheep to the carding and spinning of the wool. Spinning was one of his earliest memories and he also produced a portrait of his sister, Emilie, at the wheel. He depicts two kinds of spinning wheel: the small seated variety worked by a treadle action and the larger one which required the operator to stand and turn the wheel with her hand. Both demanded the subordination of peasant to machine, the concentration on the women's faces is absolute. After his visits to Vichy, Millet increasingly depicted women spinning with a distaff in the fields (Fig 19). It was a local custom: "Vichy women spin the spindle as they watch the cows, I have not seen that before" [335] and is yet another example of the artist's willingness to use regional variation. Sewing was a nightly activity, as Millet recorded in his many pictures

showing the scene by candlelight (Fig 26). Equally, knitting could be carried into the fields to be done and thus most women would not waste valuable hours of daylight at home on the task (Fig 9).

The most important role for the woman was the preparation of food. This involved not simply work in the kitchen, but the whole cycle of food production. Thus Millet depicts his wife working in the cottage garden (Fig 10) picking cabbages, whilst the children she will feed with her labour look on. It is in this context that the woman's role in keeping the hens should be seen. Excess eggs could be sold and occasionally hens would be slaughtered, but generally they were kept to provide daily for the family. They were restricted to the farmyard and thus the woman was ideally placed to look after them. Millet has a series of pictures on the subject (Fig 1) including the most famous 1866 Lille version. Frequently the woman is shown feeding the chicks whilst looking after her child, thus emphasising why she is carrying out the task.

Equally, milking was a female occupation, although Millet only depicts the scene in a Norman context (1854 Boston). It was the first step in the production cycle of butter, cheese and other dairy goods, as well as representing a possible source of cash. Millet's variations on the theme of churning, culminating in the 1870 Salon picture based on his earlier etching (1855) (fig 21), show one aspect of this supply of dairy-based food. The churn is of a traditional type, also depicted by Chardin, and the woman carries out the task with the same monotonous dedication seen in the spinning pictures. In a single picture he shows bread-

making: this was not an activity which his wife readily engaged in, as Sensier records Millet being in debt to the village baker, but one which many peasant women still carried out. Thabault records that the village baker went out of business because the women preferred to bake their own bread [336].

In several pictures Millet represents the centre of the home and the central role of women within it, by depicting the fire and the cooking of food. The peasant diet was basic; dependent on local produce and what the family could grow for themselves. Guillaumin records: "soup was our chief fare. Bacon was reserved for Sundays and feast days and we ate bread as black as the chimney" [337]. Before 1900 butchers were virtually unheard of in the villages [338] and although the diet was slowly improving - the nineteenth century saw the peasantry trying white bread for the first time - it remained basic. Millet's still-lives give some indication of this: leeks, an earthenware pot and spoons (1860 Hague) and pears and a knife (1866 Boston). Equally, his view of his garden (Fig 10) shows the basic vegetables, cabbage and potato, available. And Bouillie (1857 Ottowan) (fig 22) shows the women tending a single pot of soup or porridge which represented the basic diet.

Bouillie also gives an impression of the interior of the home. Accommodation was basic: as late as 1960 6/7 people shared just 2/3 rooms [339]. Blanqui, in a report to the Academie des Sciences in 1849, described the peasant lifestyle: "the animals are better housed than the humans..utensils are reduced to miserable bowls and spoons and furniture to a bench [340]. "The floor of the cottage is

sometimes paved but more often of beaten earth, the walls smoky and saturated with damp, are often covered with a greasy coating" [341]. In Millet's picture, there is little furniture displayed but the triple function of the fire as heat, light and food source is attested by the neatness with which it is kept. In the background one can make out wooden stools and chairs; the corner of a large bed and a few cooking utensils. In one 1854 picture produced in the kitchen at Gruchy, Millet drew the household dresser with the basic items of crockery it contained. Perhaps the best interior view is given in the picture Charity (1859 Michigan), in which a mother tells her daughter to give some bread to the old beggar who stand in the shadows of the door. The kitchen is bare and plain yet tidy: one gets the impression that it is a place treated with pride by the woman who owns it.

Millet's domestic pictures all conform to the belief in portraying the essential rather than the frivolous. He seems to have set out to show the task rather than the woman who does it. His models are vaguely middle-aged and almost sexless - their gender and role is defined by what they do rather than their appearance. They do the work unemotionally and almost unthinkingly, without excess energy, in a regular rhythm defined by the job in hand rather than any free will on their part. Despite the static nature of the picture, one is always aware of the ongoing nature of the tasks, of which Millet has only sought to capture one frozen second.

All this is in great contrast to Millet's depiction of the woman as mother. Although he frequently just includes children in his pictures of other tasks he imbues them with

a softness which would be absent if the child was not present. "The mother I shall make beautiful because of the love she gives her child" [342]. Partly one can identify this with Millet's love of children, but equally, it is a result of the special role which women achieved when they became mothers. Folkloric custom often gave pregnant women and recent mothers special semi-magic powers [343]. Similarly the church exalted the position of motherhood, as the way woman suffered and redeemed themselves for the sins of Eve. The whole biological and psychological monopoly which women had in this field gave them a special significance. Popular culture which relished tales of women's vice always produced the mother-figure as the contrast [344]. Millet's pictures became fashionable because they captured so well the nurturing ideal of motherhood promoted by the bourgeoisie [345]. Men were superfluous in the delivery of the baby and took little formal role in its early rearing. Whilst Millet's pictures like First Steps (Fig 12) show the joys of fatherhood, his work never involves the male in the everyday life of the child.

The religious significance of motherhood is explored in Millet's variations on the theme of the Knitting Lesson (1869 St Louis) which depicted the close grouping and serene lighting, reminiscent of pictures of the Education of the Virgin. His picture Family at Evening (Fig 26) shows the same serenity which seems to link the peasants with the Holy Family itself. Sewing (1856 Norfolk, Virg) (Fig 23) shows an ordinary task being treated with special care by the artist because of the presence of the child. Equally, the male figure outside the window is separated from the mother-child

relationship by his sex and his occupation. Most usually Millet simply exploits the closeness of the bond between mother and child either by showing the teaching process between the generations or by the symbolic act of feeding. Of La Becquée (1866 Lille) Millet wrote to Thore that he wished to suggest "a nest of birds and their mother" [346] thus emphasising the naturalness of the bond. La Bouillie, (1861 Marseilles) although it does not actually show the baby at its mother's breast, represents the same protective instincts. The child is completely enclosed and sheltered by the mother's form as she feeds it. The role of women as educators was also important: the much derided Maternal Precaution (1857 Louvre) shows a mother teaching her offspring toilet habits. Charity links the educative and religious: the mother must instruct her child how to be a good christian.

## Religion

The church was the dominant feature of any French commune. It towered as a physical presence above the single storey dwellings of the villages; it regulated the seasons, customs, the rites of passage of everyone's lives; its priest was respected for his knowledge in matters far beyond the religious field. Yet the church in the nineteenth century was under threat - its power and dominance were continually weakened. Throughout the period a state of cold war existed between the forces of religion and those of the state and intellectuals. The conflict was waged primarily in urban areas but it succeeded in stripping the Church of its traditional supports and thus weakened its authority throughout the country.

The 1789 Revolution was the start of the process, as well as the most dramatic example of it. The Civil Constitution of the Clergy; the confiscation of church lands; the active programme of Dechristianisation under Robespierre were all events from which the church took years to recover. With the sale of lands which were never fully compensated, the church lost much of its source of revenue, as well as a huge weight of influence in the provinces. The full finance of the priest fell on the commune and as a result people began to question whether it was money well spent. Equally, the Constitution led to a split in the ranks, giving some parishes two priests and others none; allowing renegade clergy to vie for personal support amongst the congregations; depriving

the institution of many of its bishop leaders [354].

The majority of France accepted the changes and swam with the tide but the Revolution had a profound effect on attitudes towards religion. For the first time the church and state which had existed in fairly amicable and mutually supportive harmony throughout the previous century, were at loggerheads; for the first time the state was not backing the message from the pulpit. Perhaps most importantly, for the first time the supposedly infallible clergy, spokesmen of a higher order, were assaulted by the government, mere servants of mortal rule.

Despite Napoleon's pragmatic and essentially political reconciliation with the Papacy, it was not until the Restoration that the church received any kind of boost from the government. During the 1820's religious revivalism spread, the numbers in Orders increased from 37,000 to 190,000 and the government, particularly under Charles X, actively patronised Catholicism. The church became an active converter; preaching to thousands; sending out religious broadsheets; rewriting popular songs with Bible themes [355]. It was increasingly linked to the crown, however, and with the 1830 Revolution found itself discredited along with the monarchy. Liberalism, despite the participation of Catholics like Lamartine, was essentially opposed to a strong state-supported church; scepticism became fashionable and spread to the government. Measures like the Guizot Education Act failed to utilise church resources in the field.

By the time the church was again courted by the state, under the conservative Second Empire, it had

given up all pretensions to solid political power. The once equal partnership between religious and secular rule was now simply a marriage of convenience of two unequal spouses. The 1860's saw the establishment of the "Cult of the Virgin" at Lourdes, proving that the government had no objection to the church increasing its religious role [356]. Falloux encouraged the spread of Catholic schools in his 1850 Education Act, but only as a safer alternative to the liberal tendencies of many soon-to-be purged teachers [357]. Ironically, he allowed the institution a last chance to flower: the church hijacked the state's promotion of education as a means to retaining power. Judt estimates that 41% of Provence schools remained in church hands and the figure was higher for the education of girls [358]. The backlash occurred after 1870 when the 1881 Act banned the teaching of the catechism in school: the church was told to keep in its place.

As ever, the church clung most tenaciously to power in the rural areas. Fashionable ideas of liberalism and scepticism were beyond the ken of congregations there and were easily identifiable with the views of the hated bourgeoisie. Price comments on the strength of church-going in the countryside around Paris, including Barbizon, as if it represented a reaction to the ideas the capital [359]. One of the weaknesses of the clergy was their predominantly peasant origins, but this served them well in the villages. The poor state of rural education lessened the challenge to the church: Perdiguier blames illiteracy for the dominance of

religion [360] and schoolmasters were often the only antidote to priests in the villages. Religion remained too deeply embedded in the lives of the peasantry for them to consider rejecting it.

The church skilfully exploited its traditional dominance over the village: it realised the needs of its parishioners and was not averse to bending the rules in order to keep them within the fold. One such example of this, witnessed by Millet in Barbizon, was the practice of holding dancing and markets on church ground on Sundays. Thus the Mass became not simply a religious occasion but a social one, a chance to meet and gossip, for lovers to court each other, for business transactions to be made. Wylie records that everyone headed for the centre of the village on Sunday even if they were non-attenders at church [361]. The hierarchy had long been prepared to bring on board non-religious festivals which it recognised had a special concern for the rural populations. Harvest Blessing was the most widespread - a mingling of Christian and pagan ritual which associated the bounty of Nature with God. The church was just as prepared to bless a new-born animal, a couple's first home, a new barn. The rural priesthood brought religion to the people rather than expecting them to conform to fixed concepts of Catholicism.

On the subject of morality the rural church was equally pragmatic. Although urban morality was a far greater problem - a 1/3 of Paris births were illegitimate - the countryside had a reputation for being peopled by near savages [362]. Taine was a typical traveller: "the morals

of the Bretons are still very primitive" [363]. Pre-marital sex, conception and even birth were all over-looked as long as the child had a recognised father. Sex was seen as an uncontrollable urge which the church could do little to combat and the wild festivities associated with marriage celebrations went uncriticised [364]. Alcoholism, a growing problem in villages where wine was still not an everyday drink, was treated indulgently. Birth control, although expressly against Catholic doctrine, went unpunished in the confessional. French women were among the first in Europe to limit family size to an average of 2-3 children.

The consequences of such an approach was to keep church attendance fairly regular in rural France. Whilst in Nantes in 1884 only 4% of men and 23% of women went weekly [365], in the countryside figures were much higher. As Restif wrote: "piety that has been reduced to mere show in the towns, still thrives in country areas" [366]. As late as 1960 in Chanzeaux 46% went to church regularly and 33% attended each week [367]. Women were always more frequent attenders although the priesthood used the confessional to persuade them to get their menfolk to go to church. The bias continued in the religious orders, where women reached 54% of the total in 1861 [368]. Yet despite this Guillaumin was perhaps not untypical in saying: "I used to go to Mass almost every other Sunday. I was far from believing all the priest's tales but I firmly believed in the existence of a supreme being who governs all" [369]. Even among non-church goers the influence of religion remained strong: a 1961 survey showed

that 64% of the country considered themselves Catholic regardless of their record of attending Mass [370].

If rural France was so imbued with religion one might well wonder why Millet produced so few obviously religious works. The standard explanation, that he was not a believer himself, will simply not do. His upbringing had too strong an influence of piety both at home and in school for it to be easily lost; the art which he appreciated was heavily religious in context, from Michaelangelo to Murillo; he was a man of conservative opinions who always insisted that his favourite book was the Bible. In fact, if one takes religion in a broad context, than Millet's art can be seen to represent peasant ideas of both God and man. He is not concerned with showing official festivals, but he depicts instead the power and influence of religion on daily life. His various pictures of churches convey the dominance and importance of the building in the village. Both Church at Greville (Fig 2) and Chailly Village, show the imposing presence of the institution. Millet also includes the church as a background to his other agricultural scenes, almost suggesting that it was impossible for the peasantry to get away from the symbol of religion, so deeply did it encroach on their lives.

Mystery was a huge part of the rural religious experience. Whilst witches and magic were dying out in an everyday context, Weber is still able to cite examples from the mid century, and they remained potent images of popular culture [371]. It was impossible to separate religion from the folklore of the village [372] and Nadaud emphasised the superstitious nature of rural religion. "Although they

pretended not to believe it the superstition sent a shudder through their bones: everyone knew that the old woman from Magnolles had changed a cow into a weasel" [373]. Millet himself wrote: "all legends have a source in truth..everything frightens at night" [374] and he produced drawings of ogres and demons to entertain his children. His pictures of twilight with their shadowy figures and highly symbolic imagery of a shepherd and flock or a family returning from the fields on a donkey, hover between the realms of reality and imagination, of religious and secular life. When producing the sketch of the Flight to Egypt (1866 Dijon) (Fig 33) Millet uses the same heavy shaded drawing as he does in the Return from the fields (1866 Boston) (fig 34). Equally, Millet's portrayal of seemingly everyday events is often deeply ingrained with religious significance. In his drawings of the mother and child he implies a spiritual bonding between them and gives the institution of motherhood such seriousness that he seems almost to be depicting the Holy Family itself. It is hardly surprising that Diaz said of his Knitting Lesson "this is Biblical." [375].

If Millet brought religion into everyday life then he equally made the Bible into a book of peasant stories. The ease with which he transposed the title of Harvesters Resting onto his Ruth and Boaz is not the only example of this. Tobit (1861 Kansas), though more of an autobiographical than a religious work, was highly criticised for its peasant qualities. The Biblical title was used on a Norman scene of two aged, ugly and in no way spiritual peasants. His oil sketch of the Good Samaritan (Cardiff) depicts a man given

all the same vigour of movement with which the Winnower goes about his task, but utilising his energies instead towards an act of charity.

This reluctance to separate religion from reality was typical of peasant belief. The trappings of the church were of less appeal in frequently sparse surroundings with a local priest; "it was a church with a single nave, barrel-vaulted and oak panelled but falling into disrepair" [376]. The traditions were so deeply imbued that they went unquestioned and unnoticed as part of one's daily existence. But the mystery and faith were important: an eighteenth century churchman complained "the peasantry are more superstitious than devout" [377]. The peasants needed the belief that a prayer before planting would help the crop and a certainty that God was looking down upon one's stoney patch of ground. Thus Guillaumin wrote: "on beginning to cut a field of wheat I made the sign of the cross with the first sheaf.. I raised my hat at the wayside calvaries and each morning said a bit of a prayer. A good deal of this I did from habit." [278]. Péguy summed it up thus: "everything has a rythmn and a rite and a ceremony, from the moment of rising in the early morning" [279].

In such a context it is possible to see the Angelus, not as a hackneyed piece of devotional nonsense, giving its spectators "a lesson in social and political morality" [380] but as a genuine and touching scene witnessed by Millet on the Barbizon plain. Its inflated price after Millet's death was partly a result of the false reputation which the picture gained, based around the convenient belief that peasants were God-fearing and therefore conservative [381].

What the picture does in fact show, is less the piety of the peasantry, than the influence which the church had over their lives. The Angelus, the ringing of the morning and evening bell, marked out the day, a measure of time as reliable as the sun. At the end of their work the peasants put down their tools and bow their heads almost as a reflex action. Herbert suggests that the woman prays whilst the man stands impatiently twisting his hat but the picture is an unsatisfactory measure of the difference in piety between the sexes, for both are bowing their heads in almost subconscious respect [382]. In its association of agriculture and religion, of the bringing of the church into the fields by sound and action, the Angelus can be seen as one of the most potent images of peasant belief.

## Popular Culture

The Second Empire was wild about rural popular culture. Napoleon III ordered an enquiry into peasant poetry; Leroy collated fireside tales [383]; the Academie Celtique catalogued traditions; in 1880 the Musée d'Ethnographie was established to collect folklore [384]. The interest was sparked off not simply by their discovery of a now politically important rural population, but by a searching and questioning of the bourgeoisie's own life styles. Uncertainty over industrialisation and urban change *and* fear of growing proletarian consciousness made the stability of rural tradition seem very reassuring. As is usually the case with people seeking reassurance, these bourgeois enthusiasts were often highly selective in their approach to popular culture. More than ever they liked the image of happy, hard-working and harmonious peasants which they sought to convince themselves was rural reality.

Interest in popular culture went back to before 1850. The naturalist movement attempted to document rural life in a way which reached beyond the platitudes of the past. Thus in 1845 Souvestre published Le Foyer Bretonne: Traditions Populaires; in 1835 Bouet produced the Galerie Bretonne [385], a collection of prints of regional costume and two years before Curmer edited Les Français par Eux-memes [386], a nine volume collection of essays. The result was still a highly selective image of rural life restricted by a continued adherence to previous views of the peasantry, particularly those of their artistic predecessors, the seventeenth century Dutch and the LeNain brothers. The latter were being rediscovered by Champfleury and Thore', both keen to produce a precedent for

the portrayal of rural life [387]. As Ferrer said: "the peasant was acceptable if clothed in Romantic sentiment" [388].

The emphasis remained on the provinces rather than the peasantry, however. Champfleury's tales like Le Bourgeoisie de Mouchart included peasant characters but they were secondary. Sand wrote rustic novels but her stable of worker poets, including Perdiguier, who wrote about his experiences in his autobiography [389], was urban-based. An attempt to prove her thesis that "literature began in the breasts of the people" [390] rather than to reach into the minds of the lower classes. Tales of low life Paris abounded, picturesque but for all that telling something of the squalor and hardship of life in the capital [391], but no one treated the provinces in a comparable manner. The contemporary attitude was summed up by Balzac: out of the whole *Comedie Humaine* he produced only one novel which truly considered the peasantry. In Les Paysans he puts into the mouth of one character: "we peasants are such stupid creatures" [392].

With 1848 the interest in popular culture increased, not simply as part of the discovery of the peasantry but as a method of winning the votes of the rural populations. Radical campaigners were quick to use Almanacs to carry their message of liberty and equality; and to use old songs as a means of spreading new political slogans. An 1851 almanac cried: "peasants, you are the masters, the kings of your country" [393] and Zola writes of one such publication: "a greasy little book, one of those books of Bonapartist propaganda which every village in France had been flooded with under the Empire, a dramatic history of the peasantry entitled "The

Misfortunes and Triumphs of Jacques Bonhomme"" [394]. The lack of success achieved by such candidates is perhaps a testimony to their lack of understanding of peasant culture. Vevillot may have marvelled: "if only La Bruyère could see the peasant in all the splendour of his political and moral progress" [395] but there was little evidence of it in the 1848 elections. Although the villages had taken on board the rhetoric of past revolutions, they did so with traditional grievances in the forefront of their minds. They voted to plant a Liberty Tree but did not vote for the Republic [296]. Talk of common landholding and self-determination was not part of their agenda.

This basic conservatism of the peasantry, which was only briefly broken in the early 1850's was the root of the bourgeois love affair with the countryside. As Blum recognises, the nationalising process of the Second Empire and after defined "frenchness" in a series of supposedly peasant characteristics [397]. Gambetta attributed the richness of French soil to the labours of the peasant: "they represent the true reserve of national morality" [398]. And Péguy extolled: "when the old French peasant speaks the nation itself speaks through his lips..the nearer you are to the French peasant, the hearer you are to the heart of France" [399]. People increasingly travelled to the country in search of their roots, to get away from the uncertainties of change. There were still some critical views of the rural population [400] but increasingly even these were modified. Thus by 1905 Renard was addressing "Our Savage Brothers". Pictorial travelogues, which had been popular throughout the century, became best sellers. Perhaps the most famous, that edited by Taylor and

Nodier, Les Voyages pittoresques, ran into 24 volumes, 1820-65, and included 2700 lithographs. Few were depictions of the peasantry but they opened people's minds to images of the countryside which went beyond abstract landscapes.

Despite this huge interest, the rural populations were largely misunderstood. The real popular culture was not a parade of Sunday best costume but the everyday; it was not French in any sense but rather localist, hostile to outsiders and anarchic; it included besides so-called picturesque traditions, those of witchcraft, anti-semitism and a belief in the original sin of women. Bollème [401] gives a complete picture of the literature and prints which village populations were offered during the nineteenth century. He stresses that rural popular culture was vastly different from that circulated in Paris which was already highly politicised. Travelling coleporters brought round almanacs, books of tales and educational pieces on health or the social graces. They were frequently read aloud at the veillée, as not all the village would be literate. Rural culture survived in provincial areas despite the encroaching influence of the towns: in 1877 regional dress was still wore regularly in Poitiers [402].

Millet's work incorporates none of the overt imagery which, for instance, Courbet used in his Apôtre Jean Journet of 1850 and perhaps few of his works seem to have any direct link with popular culture. The Death and the Woodcutter (Fig 32), rejected by the 1859 salon but shown independently at the Tillot studio, is perhaps the most obvious borrowing by the artist but also the least typical. Dumas described it as "not the peasant of 1660 but the proletarian of 1859" and it is one

of Millet's few pictures to represent the landless labourer rather than the peasantry. The implication in Millet's image is of the woodman's life time of fruitless labour which has left him without anything to show for it. It is an indictment of landlessness as much as of poverty in general. The image comes not merely from La Fontaine but from the personification of death which was common in many such works, including Bonnehomme Misere [403]. Millet's picture can be compared with the account of the dying ploughman at the start of Sand's La Mere au Diable: "Only one creature in this scene of sweat and toil still looks alert and merry: an imaginary creature, a skeleton with a whip who runs along the next furrow lashing the terrified horses as if he were the old man's ploughboy. This is death" [404]. Whilst she softens the harshness of the description by including an image of the healthy younger generation striding across the field to take over, Millet restricts his picture to the bleak, hopeless image of popular literature.

In one sense it is impossible to talk of popular culture in isolation from the rest of village life, for it represented the mentalité of the peasantry; their whole outlook and existence. Thus in Millet's work the images of popular culture seem almost subconscious, as a few examples will testify. The seasons and hours of day were not simply important in an agricultural sense but were fundamental divisions of life and time. Almanacs recorded the passage of the stars; predicted weather patterns and dabbled in astrology. The seasons and the hours took on a symbolic value. The Four Seasons cycles which Millet did for Feydeau in 1853 and Hartmann in 1871-4, as well as the Lavieille Hours of Day can be seen as part of this. It

was a sense of predictable regularity which got the peasantry through life: the belief that the harshness of winter was balanced by the renewal of spring. Thus Spring (1874 Louvre) (Fig 31) is far less a visual representation of the time of year than a symbolic cry for joy at growth, warmth and longer days. Equally, Millet's representation of Winter (Fig 15) and the Ploughed Field (Fig 17) are uniformly barren and hostile.

A second major feature of popular culture was its attitude to outsiders. Villages were isolated and intensely territorial and visitors, easily distinguished by different accents and dress, were treated with suspicion. This could be a long term phenomenon: "his wife thought him a stranger, a man from another world, born and bred in strange parts" [405]. Throughout the nineteenth century people on the roads were a rare sight: Young remarked on the comparison with England [406] and Edwards saw no one for 30 miles outside Paris [407]. Thus the cult of the traveller, the mysterious outsider, was a common one, perhaps most famously personified by the Wandering Jew [407]. The stranger was said to have almost magical powers [408] and consequently he was treated with both fear and respect. Charity represents the stranger, a shadowy figure crouched outside the house, and equally demonstrates the tradition of rural hospitality as the girl is told to give him bread.

Within the village community some were distinguished as outsiders by their jobs and this was particularly true of the shepherd. The religious connotations of the role were partly responsible for this attitude and encouraged the view that a shepherd had magical powers [409], but equally he was set apart simply by his profession. Millet turned to this subject

perhaps the most often. He depicts his shepherds as lonely, solitary figures, clothed in twilight and striding across the seemingly endless plain. The language of popular culture seems to have filtered into his art. Millet does not depict all sides of popular culture; he is, for instance, uniformly sympathetic in his portrayal of women. But those aspects which touch directly on the peasant life-style can be found throughout his art.

## CONCLUSION

That Millet presents his viewer with images of rural life is not in doubt. That he presents us with an accurate image, and thus one which can be valued for its own sake, is frequently questioned. Certainly, even taking his work as a body, he is neither wholly comprehensive nor objective. This is excusable, considering that he never set himself up as a social historian, a recorder of detail and daily life, in the way in which many nineteenth century writers did. Balzac called himself "the secretary to humanity", producing in the *Comedie Humaine* a set of novels intended to cover every corner of French life. Similarly Zola produced the *Rougon-Macquart* series as part of the vogue for a scientific approach to the arts. And Champfleury promoted the idea of simple tales of provincial life which concentrated not on a story-line but on the accurate depiction of detail.

Millet never claimed and indeed did not achieve such a schematic approach to his art. Many of his plans for serial work, like the Lavieille prints, did not materialise in a complete form. Equally, he returned to some themes many times whilst omitting to record some which could be considered as important or integral. One should remember that he remained an artist and as such approached the portrayal of tasks with an artist's eye. As a result, his oeuvre is far from comprehensive and, taken in isolation, could present a distorted view of village life. Millet always aspired to paint the everyday - festivals, holidays and celebrations were the exception rather than the norm in village life and as such are not the focus of his attention.

His major aim was that "the people I paint should belong to their station" [411], not a statement of political conservatism but of the artist's desire to depict the peasantry as they were.

Commentators criticise the artist's apparent concentration on a limited section of the village population. Barbizon, on the edge of the flat grain producing area which helped to supply the capital, had its share of large landowners whom Millet ignores in his work. Equally, he rarely sought to show the other end of the scale, the landless artisans and workmen who were an equally necessary part of village life. Millet's choice of subject can be defended: he paints the most common group amongst the rural population, those who lived off the land but could only afford to purchase small plots of it. Another complaint is that Millet's work is "loaded", that he concentrated on an increasingly marginalised sector of the population and the tasks which characterised them. Thus he shows faggot-gatherers, gleaners and men digging small plots of land. This belief shows a lack of understanding of the rural situation in France, where traditional rights were not a sign of poverty and stigma, and where land-holding patterns were such that garden-sized farms were the norm. Millet undoubtedly tends towards the traditional, but he does so because it still represented the majority practice.

A more serious criticism is the universalism of Millet's art: he painted "the" peasant rather than "a" peasant and his people were rarely portraits recognisable with specific features and identifiable with a particular time or area. But this point can be overemphasised. If his

peasants do not convey a definite sense of the nineteenth century that is because nothing had greatly changed in rural society to drag them into it. If the shapeless clothes that they wear seem generalised, then one should remember that regional costume was reserved for best and equally, that Millet did distinguish between regional variations in his work. His landscapes are also specific and localist with easily recognisable differences shown between Barbizon, Normandy and the Auvergne. The style of Millet's art may be universal but the subject-matter is not. In many ways this approach can be seen as a more historical one, as Castagnary wrote: "Millet does not seek to portray personages, to study expression, to set the passions in motion" [412] - instead he simply depicts the task.

An unavoidable problem with Millet's pictures is the personal nature of them. Although obvious areas of nostalgia in his work were limited, he nevertheless gives the majority a personal bias. This is particularly true of his treatment of the village and his lack of interest in communal activities within it. Yet although he used his wife as a model he did not depict only the tasks which she would regularly do, hence his inclusion of baking. The strength of Millet's work, perhaps owes something to his personal involvement: his pictures could almost be of the same peasant family engaged in a series of tasks, at different times yet always identifiable.

It must be said that Millet's pictures are not obvious candidates for study as social history. He does not paint detail, provide a full background, or show objects and utensils which one can readily identify as being "of the

time". His work is concerned with a task and the artist shows little interest in what is going on around and beyond it. This is not to say that nothing can be gleaned from the pictures: we can see the different types of well used in Barbizon and Normandy, the shape of Norman milk-churns as well as the unique method of carrying them and types of plough. Realism was often seen as the science of detail and about criticised its exponents for an obsession with material objects at the expense of capturing the soul [413]. The importance of Millet's pictures, however, lies less in the detailed parts than in the whole. He presents us with an image of rural life which is both lovingly recorded and valid.

Equally, his pictures are highly traditional, representing stability rather than change. Change is easier to discuss than continuity, hence historical the emphasis on 1848 or increased landownership. Yet the nineteenth century was not characterised by change in the provinces, it was a highly stable world dominated by traditional values where innovation was obvious only because of its rarity. Millet's pictures represent this unchanging side of rural life: his peasants could belong to any age, the tasks they carry out could almost be from a Medieval representation. But this is surely the artist's strength given the unchanging nature of what he was depicting. Just as he avoided exceptional events in favour of everyday tasks, so too he avoided the innovative in favour of the traditional which was the norm.

Leaving all this aside, perhaps the greatest justification for taking serious consideration of Millet's

art is its uniqueness. At first glance the nineteenth century may appear a boom period for historical research as writers and artists discovered the countryside and its inhabitants, and a realistic portrayal of the world became popular. But a brief survey of such commentators proves how dubious their view of the countryside was. The vast majority were not born and bred in a rural environment but were townsfolk who lived and worked in Paris for the majority of their adult lives. This was true of all the Barbizon artists, of whom only Rousseau made a permanent home in the village and he himself was Paris-born. Breton was a countryman who returned to his native village of Courrières to work, but his pictures of rural life fall down in other ways. The same criticism can be levelled at writers of literature of the period - for all their apparent interest in the countryside they remained city-based.

A huge body of the work produced by artists was interested not in the peasantry but with the environment in which they lived. Landscapists sought out not cultivated areas but wilderness, thus the Barbizon artists sought out Fontainebleau in preference to the plain, and whilst animal pictures were common those of farm land were less so. The other major field of interest was in the provincial bourgeoisie rather than the peasantry. They provided the mainstay of Courbet's early Realist work and writers like Flaubert and Balzac made a living from exposing the petty vices and vicissitudes of this class, to the delight of Paris readers.

Few artists were interested in portraying everyday life although weddings, harvest festivals and such like were

popular topics, used to give local colour to one's work. Just as Gauguin would later get Breton women to dress up in their regional costume [414], so did artists seek out the exceptional in their portrayal of village life. The depiction of women engaged in everyday tasks, originated by Chardin, who was the subject of a revival in the 1860's, and promoted by Bonvin, was gradually becoming more acceptable, as witnessed by the 1857 "genre" Salon, but work in the fields was still ignored. The exceptions were not only pastoral shepherd pictures but large scale pieces like Bonheur's Nivernais Ploughing.

When the peasantry were depicted they fell easily in the traditional categories which did little to promote a historical understanding of their attitudes and lifestyles. Either the artists did not understand their subjects or they were prepared to compromise by producing images of the rural populations which would sell. Jacque, living alongside Millet in Barbizon, produced hundreds of farmyards and shepherd etchings, all of which could represent any period and any place. They bear no relation to the descriptions of farms in the village; they exude picturesque trivia of the kind favoured by collectors of rustic travelogue prints [415]. Equally, Troyon, despite being famed as a painter of cattle, produced oils which showed vaguely eighteenth century peasants in colourful dress, fulfilling a purely decorative role to enliven his landscapes. Courbet was at least more genuine in his portrayal of the peasantry, if hardly more accurate: pictures like Return from the Fair display a typically provincial bourgeois contempt for the rural populations. The picture was condemned as badly drawn

and grotesque but it represented the comic buffoonery which those people associated with the less well-educated and less mannered peasant.

Of the major nineteenth century authors the same criticism can be made. Balzac produced only one novel which gave the main role to the peasantry, his other views of village life, Le Curé du Village and Le Medecin de la Campagne, concentrate on interloping members of a philanthropic middle class who are seeking to improve the conditions under which the miserable peasantry exist. Flaubert produces some excellent cameos of peasants in Madame Bovary but the subject of his novel is not those who live off the land. Sand, famous for her rustic tales, produces a blatantly propagandist picture of life in the countryside. Not only does she fill her books with "local colour" in the form of dances and celebrations but she makes no attempt to deal with the geographical differences of France or the poverty and drudgery of daily life. Her aim is to promote the rustic life style, not to present it accurately. Perhaps Zola gives us the most genuine of these novels for, despite his confusion of the dating of La Terre, setting it in the 1860's but giving it the politics and mechanisation of the 1880's, he did considerable research for the novel and lived for a time in the Beauce where it is set. His book is sensationalist, enough so to have been initially banned in Britain, but in its depiction of tasks and its understanding of peasant mentalité, Zola at least strives towards realism.

Of all the commentators, Breton is perhaps the one to compare most obviously with Millet. They were near-

contemporaries, they were both of rural origin and returned to the countryside after training in Paris, and they both made their names as painters of peasants [416]. There was little love lost between them and Millet considered Breton's woman absurdly classical and idealised. His scenes are colourful, optimistic and sunny; his peasants seem unburdened by cares. Breton perhaps portrays the surface of rural life but he gets no further, his painting is too hampered by the demands of Classical art which he knew in Paris and by the requirements of the Salon.

It is only in the next generation of artists that a naturalist depiction of rural life really comes into being. L'Hermitte and Lepage both portray the mundane and squalid side of the country: it is ironic that they did so in an increasingly changing climate. L'Hermitte's Cottage Weaver (Glasgow) was a scene already becoming rare in Millet's own time as the pressures of factory production put small-scale, part-time weavers out of business. The same criticism can be made of Van Gogh and Pissarro, both influenced by Millet into producing ever more unrepresentative images of rural life, which nonetheless had a faithfulness to reality lacking in the work of Millet's contemporaries.

A false picture of rural reality can of course be as important as a true one. Herbert . has emphasised the value of images of the countryside to convey contemporary attitudes to the city [417] and Nochlin, too, stresses that "the city and country have always existed in mythical dichotomy" [418]. We have seen how urban-based writers exaggerated the scale of rural depopulation because of their own fears of expansion and overcrowding. The problem arises,

however, when these images of the countryside come to be believed and when no distinction is made between these and genuine depictions of rural life. It does Millet no service to include him among the former; neither does it help our own understanding. As Van Gogh wrote: "when people who come from the city paint peasants, their figures cannot but remind one of the suburbs" [419]. Millet did not come from the city and his art was not a comment on it.

This thesis has attempted to give Millet's work a role by appreciating the differences between his art and that of his contemporaries. His country background was central to his outlook on life and to the self-belief that he retained. His residence in, and his observations around, Barbizon were equally important - he studied the peasantry on a daily basis, year after year. He looked on them not as a novelty, nor as a sub-species to be patronised, but as a people he could understand. Thus his art shows them with a definite character, with concerns and ambitions. His work is not a perfectly objective, nor fully comprehensive account but it is accurate. What is more, it is one of the few accounts we have beyond bland statistics and government inspector's reports. In the light of this perhaps it is time the Millet was rehabilitated as the "peasant painter".

NOTES

- 1. J. HERMAN: Related Twilights (1975).
- 2. BOSTON, MUSEUM OF FINE ART: The Barbizon School (1962).
- 3. R. HERBERT: Millet Revisited. Burlington Magazine (1962).
- 4. L. VENTURI: Les Archives de l'Impressionisme (1939).
- 5. C. DEDOOD: The Complete Letters of Van Gogh (1958).
- 6. NEWCASTLE POLYTECHNIC: Peasantries (1981).
- 7. A. TOMSON: J-F Millet and the Barbizon School (1905).
- 8. J. BOURET: The School of Barbizon (1972).
- 9. CLEVELAND, MUSEUM OF ART: The Realist Tradition (1980).
- 10. K. LINDSAY: Millet's Lost Winnower Rediscovered.  
Burlington Magazine (1974).
- 11. G. POLLOCK: Millet (1977).
- 12. E. ZOLA: La Terre (1882).
- 13. S. DALI: Le Mythe Tragique de l'Angelus de Millet (1963).
- 14. B. LAUGHTON: Millet's Hagar and Ishmael. Burlington Magazine  
(1979).
- 15. T. CLARK: The Absolute Bourgeois (1973).
- 16. R. PRICE: Economic Modernisation of Rural France (1975).
- 17. R. GILDEA: Education in Provincial France (1980).
- 18. E. WEBER: Peasants into Frenchmen (1977).
- 19. T. ZELDIN: France 1848-1945 (1973).
- 20. M. JUNEJA: Images of the Peasantry and Agricultural  
Change Journal of Peasant Studies (1988).
- 21. PARIS, PETIT PALAIS: J-F Millet (1975).
- 22. K. CLARK: The Romantic Rebellion (1973).
- 23. R. MUSSET: La Normandie (1960).
- 24. C. YRIARTE: J-F Millet (1855).
- 25. J. LECOEUR: Esquisses du Bocage Normand (1883).

26.R. BACOU: One Hundred Millet Drawings (1978).

27.A SENSIER: Millet, le Paysan et le Peintre (1881).

28.ibid.

29.ibid.

30.G. POLLOCK: Millet (1977).

31.E. MOREAU NELATON: Millet Raconte par Luimeme (1921).

32.J. SPENGLER: France Faces Depopulation (1938).

33.R. ANDERSON: Education in France (1975).

34.ibid.

35.R. GILDEA: Education in Provincial France (1980).

36.E. BONNEMERE: Histoire des Paysans (1856).

37.M. BETHAN EDWARDS: A Year in Western France (1877).

38.E. MOREAU NELATON: Millet Raconte par Luimeme (1921).

39.E. GUILLAUMIN: La Vie d'un Simple (1904).

40.E. WEBER: Peasants into Frenchmen (1977).

41.A. SENSIER: Millet, le Paysan et le Peintre (1881).

42.CHERBOURG, MUSEE THOMAS HENRI: 150 Anniversaire de la Naissance de Millet (1964).

43.E. MOREAU NELATON: Millet Raconte par Luimeme (1921).

44.A.de TOQUEVILLE: L'Ancien Regime et la Revolution (1856).

45.T. ZELDIN: FRANCE 1848-1945 (1973).

46.J-L MENETRA: Journal de ma Vie (1982).

47.STENDHAL: Travels in Southern France (1971).

48.H. WHITE: Canvasses and Careers (1965).

49.A. SENSIER: Millet, le Paysan et le Peintre (1881).

50.J. BLUM: Our Forgotten Past (1978).

51.RESTIF DE LA BRETONNE: La Vie de mon Pere (1778).

52.RESTIF DE LA BRETONNE: Le Paysan Perverté (1775).

53.J-L. MENETRA: Journal de ma Vie (1982).

54.M.NADAUD: Léonard, Maçon de la Creuse (1976).

- 55.A. SENSIER: Millet, le Paysan et le Peintre (1881).
- 56.J-E DELECLUZE: L David, son École et ses Temps (1855).
- 57.A. BOIME: The Academy and French Painting (1971).
- 58.M. NADAUD: Léonard, Maçon de la Creuse (1976).
- 59.J. DUMAY: Memoires d'un Militant ouvrier (1976).
- 60.A. SENSIER: Millet, le Paysan et le Peintre (1881).
- 61.E. MOREAU NELATON: Millet Raconte par Luimeme (1921).
- 62.J. VIDELANC: La Societé Française (1970).
- 63.M. PHAYER: Sexual Liberation and Religion in Nineteenth Century Europe (1977).
64. *ibid.*
- 65.T. CLARK: Image of the People (1973).
- 66.J. PARSONS: Paysan de Paris, Sensier and the Myth of Rural France. Oxford Art Journal (1983).
- 67.A. SENSIER: Millet, le Paysan et le Peintre (1881).
- 68.E. ABOUT: Voyage à Travers l'Exposition des Beaux Arts (1855).
- 69.E. MOREAU NELATON: Millet Raconte par Luimeme (1921).
- 70.DUBLIN, DOUGLAS HYDE GALLERY: The Peasant in Nineteenth Century Painting (1980).
- 71.G. FLAUBERT: Sentimental Education (1869).
- 72.E. MOREAU NELATON: Millet Raconte par Luimeme (1921).
- 73.M. AGHULON: Le Republique au Village (1970).
- 74.R. PRICE: The Second French Republic (1972).
- 75.E. GUILLAUMIN: La Vie d'un Simple (1904).
- 76.E. MOREAU NELATON: Millet Raconte par Luimeme (1921).
- 77.B. LAUGHTON: Millet's Hagar and Ishmael. Burlington Magazine (1979).
- 78.R. PRICE: The Economic Modernisation of Rural France (1975).
- 79.C. SMITH: Barbizon Days (1902).
- 80.A. SENSIER: Millet, le Paysan et le Peintre (1881).

- 81.C. SMITH: Barbizon Days (1902).
- 82.W. LOW: Chronicles of Friendship (1895).
- 83.H. KNOWLETON: The Art Life of William Morris Hunt (1899).
- 84.A. SENSIER: Millet, le Paysan et le Peintre (1881).
- 85.T. McBRIDE: Domestic Revolution (1976).
- 86.H. KNOWLETON: Art Life of William Morris Hunt (1895).
- 87.H. NAEGELY: J-F Millet and Rustic Art (1898).
- 88.E. WHEELWRIGHT: Personal Recollections of Millet (Atlantic Monthly  
1876).
- 89.B. THOMSON: Millet (1927).
- 90.E. DELACROIX: Journal (1965).
- 91.E. WHEELWRIGHT: Recollections of Millet (Atlantic Monthly 1876).
- 92.L. LEPOITTEVIN: Millet (1973).
- 93.E. MOREAU NELATON: Millet Raconte par Lui-même (1921).
- 94.M. DEFORGES: Barbizon (1962).
- 95.H. VINCENT: Daumier and his World (1968).
- 96.A. SENSIER: Millet, le Paysan et le Peintre (1881).
- 97.C. SMITH: Barbizon Days (1902).
- 98.W. LOW: Chronicles of Friendship (1895).
- 99.H. NAEGELY: Millet and Rustic Art (1898).
- 100.A. BILLY: Fontainebleau, Delices des Poètes (1949).
- 101.R. STEVENSON: Across the Plains (1887).
- 102.C. SMITH: Barbizon Days (1902).
- 103.A. SENSIER: Millet, le Paysan et le Peintre (1881).
- 104.T. CLARK: The Absolute Bourgeois (1973).
- 105.E. MOREAU NELATON: Millet (1921).
106. *ibid.*
- 107.A. TOMSON: Millet and the School of Barbizon (1905).
- 108.E. MOREAU NELATON: Millet (1921).
- 109.PARIS, PETIT PALAIS: Millet (1975).

110. E. MOREAU NELATON: Millet Raconte par Luimeme (1921).
111. VIRGIL: Georgics (1982).
112. E. MOREAU NELATON: Millet (1921).
113. *ibid.*
114. A. FERMIGIER: Millet (1977).
115. G. POLLOCK: Millet (1977).
116. E. MOREAU NELATON: Millet (1921).
117. PARIS, PETIT PALAIS: Millet (1975).
118. L. NOCHLIN: Realism (1977).
119. C. GAUSS: Aesthetic Themes in French Artists (1949).
120. J. SLOANE: French Painting, Past and Present (1955).
121. W. HUNT: Talks on Art (1895).
122. T. GAUTIER: Abécédaire du 1861 Salon (1861).
123. DUBLIN, DOUGLAS HYDE GALLERY: The Peasant in 19th Century Painting (1980).
124. E. MOREAU NELATON: Millet Raconte par Luimeme (1921).
125. BOSTON, MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS: Millet (1984).
126. A. SENSIER: Millet, le Paysan et le Peintre (1881).
127. E. MOREAU NELATON: Millet (1921).
128. DUBLIN, DOUGLAS HYDE GALLERY: The Peasant in 19th Century Painting (1980).
129. L. NOCHLIN: Realism and Tradition (1966).
130. C. BAUDELAIRE: Art in Paris (1971).
131. G. BECKER: Paris and the Arts (1971).
132. L. DELBAIL: Le Peintre Graveur (1906).
133. L. LEPCITTEVIN: Millet (1977).
134. P. TURNER: Millet (1910).
135. H. KNOWLETON: The Art Life of William Morris Hunt (1899).
136. E. MOREAU NELATON: Millet (1921).
137. C. DEDCOD: Complete Letters of Van Gogh (1958).
138. DUBLIN, DOUGLAS HYDE GALLERY: The Peasant in 19th Century Painting (1980)
139. RESTIF DE LA BRETONNE: La Vie de mon Pere (1788).
140. A. SENSIER: Millet (1881).

- 141.A. SENSIER: Millet, le Paysan et le Peintre (1881).
- 142.H. MURGER: Scenes de la Vie Bohème (1851).
- 143.L. LEPOITTEVIN: Millet (1973).
- 144.R. BACOU: 100 Millet Drawings (1978).
- 145.A. SENSIER: Millet (1881).
- 146.E. MOREAU RELATON: Millet Raconte par Lui-même (1921).
- 147.J. SPENGLER: France Faces Depopulation (1938).
148. *ibid.*
- 149.E. WEBER: Peasants into Frenchmen (1977).
- 150.L. CHEVALIER: Classes Laboureuses, Classes Dangereuses (1958).
- 151.J. VIDELANC: La Société Française (1970).
- 152.G. WALTER: Histoire des Paysans de France (1963).
- 153.G. DUBY: Histoire de la France Rurale (1973).
- 154.J. VIDELANC: La Société Française (1970).
155. DUBLIN, DOUGLAS HYDE GALLERY: The Peasant in 19th Century Painting (1980).
- 156.R. ANDERSON: Education in France (1975).
- 157.G. DUBY: Histoire de la France Rurale (1973).
- 158.J. SPENGLER: France Faces Depopulation (1938).
- 159.M. TRACY: Agriculture in Western Europe (1964).
- 160.C. TILLY: The Vendée (1964).
- 161.G. DUBY: Histoire de la France Rurale (1974).
- 162.M. AGHULON: La République au Village (1970).
- 163.T. CLARK: The Absolute Bourgeois (1973).
- 164.M. NADAUD: Léonard, Maçon de la Creuse (1976).
- 165.J. PERDIGUIER: Journal de ma Vie (1982).
- 166.T. McERIDE: The Domestic Revolution (1976).
- 167.L. CHEVALIER: Classes Laboureuses, Classes Dangereuses (1958).
168. *ibid.*
- 169.L. WYLIE: Chanzeaux (1966).
- 170.E. ACKERMANN: Village on the Seine (1978).

- 171.G. WRIGHT: Rural Rebellion in France (1968).
- 172.A. SOFOUL: Paysans, Sans-Culottes et Jacobins (1966).
- 173.C. TILLY: The Vendée (1964).
- 174.RESTIF DE LA BRETONNE: La Vie du mon Père (1778).
- 175.K. MARX: Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Napoleon (1914).
- 176.R. PRICE: The Second French Republic (1972).
- 177.C. LABROUSSE: Aspects de la Crise 1848-51 (1956).
- 178.R. THABAULT: Education and Change in a French Village (1975).
- 179.K. MARX: Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Napoleon (1914).
- 180.C. WALTER: Histoire des Paysans de France (1963).
- 181.Y. BERCÉ: Croquantes et Nu-Pieds (1974).
- 182.J. JUDT: Socialism in Provence (1979).
- 183.T. ZELDIN: France (1973).
- 184.P. BARRAL: Les Agriculteurs Français de Melin (1968).
- 185.T. ZELDIN: France (1973).
186. *ibid.*
- 187.G. WRIGHT: Rural Rebellion in France (1968).
- 188.DUBLIN, DOUGLAS HYDE GALLERY: The Peasant in 19th Century Painting (1980).
- 189.T. ZELDIN: France (1973).
- 190.H. TAINE: Journeys Through France (1895).
- 191.E. GUILLAUMIN: La Vie d'un Simple (1904).
- 192.STENDHAL: Travels in Southern France (1979).
- 193.H. BALZAC: Les Paysans (1855).
- 194.A. YOUNG: Travels in France (1792).
- 195.H. BAUDRILLANT: Les Populations Agricoles de Normandie (1880).
- 196.G. DUBY: Histoire de la France Rurale (1973).
- 197.R. PRICE: Economic Modernisation of Rural France (1975).
- 198.C. PÉGUY: Basic Verities (1943).
- 199.G. WALTERS: Histoire des Paysans de France (1963).
- 200.G. WRIGHT: Rural Rebellion in France (1968).

- 201.E. BONNEMÈRE: Histoire des Paysans (1856).
- 202.M. AUGÉ-LARIBÉ: Les Paysans après la Guerre (1923).
- 203.E. ZOLA: La Terre (1882).
- 204.R. THABAULT: Education and Change in a French Village (1975).
- 205.H. CLOUT: Agriculture in France on the Eve of the Railway Age (1980).
206. *ibid.*
- 207.R. THABAULT: Education and Change in a French Village (1975).
- 208.R. PRICE: Economic Modernisation of Rural France (1975).
- 209.A. COBBAN: A History of Modern France (1961).
- 210.R. PRICE: Economic Modernisation of Rural France (1975).
- 211.T. JUDT: Socialism in Provence (1979).
212. R. PRICE: Economic Modernisation of Rural France (1975).
- 213.E. WEBER: Peasants into Frenchmen (1977).
214. RESTIF DE LA BRETONNE: La Vie de mon Père (1778).
- 215.E. ZOLA: La Terre (1882).
216. *ibid.*
- 217.A. de TOCQUEVILLE: L'Ancien Régime et la Révolution (1856).
218. *ibid.*
- 219.E. ZOLA: La Terre (1882).
- 220.H. TAINÉ: Journey Through France (1895).
- 221.A. YOUNG: Travels in France (1792).
- 222.G. LEFEBVRE: Les Paysans de Nord (1965).
- 223.E. ZOLA: La Terre (1882).
- 224.M. TRACY: Agriculture in Western Europe (1964).
- 225.A. COBBAN: A History of Modern France (1961).
- 226.G. CHAPMAN: The Third Republic in France (1962).
- 227.R. PRICE: The Second French Republic (1972).
- 228.K. MARX: Eighteenth Brumaire (1914).
- 229.E. ZOLA: La Terre (1882).
- 230.M. AUGÉ-LARIBÉ: Grandes ou Petites Propriétés (1902).

- 231.C. TILLY: *The Vendée* (1964).
- 232.J. VIDELANC: *La Société Française* (1970).
- 233.G. WALTER: *Histoire des Paysans de La France* (1963).
- 234.E. ZOLA: *La Terre* (1882).
- 235.G. CHAPMAN: *The Third Republic in France* (1962).
- 236.J. DUMAY: *Memoires d'un Militant Ouvrier* (1976).
- 237.M. TRACY: *Agriculture in Western Europe* (1964).
- 238.E. GUILLAUMIN: *La Vie d'un Simple* (1904).
- 239.D. HALÉVY: *Visites aux Paysans de Centre* (1935).
- 240.A. SENSIER: *Millet, le Paysan et le Peintre* (1881).
- 241.G. SAND: *La Mère au Diable* (1849).
- 242.E. ZOLA: *La Terre* (1882).
- 243.A. SENSIER: *Millet, le Paysan et le Peintre* (1881).
244. *ibid.*
- 245.E. MOREAU NELATON: *Millet Raconte par Lui-même* (1921).
- 246.M. JUNEJA: *Images of the Peasantry and Agricultural Change* (JPS 1968).
- 247.G. BACHELARD: *La Terre et le Volonté* (1958).
248. BOSTON, MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS: *Millet* (1984).
- 249.E. BONNEMÈRE: *Histoire des Paysans* (1856).
- 250.E. ZOLA: *La Terre* (1882).
- 251.G. DUBY: *Histoire de la France Rurale* (1976).
- 252.R. THABAULT: *Education and Change in a French Village* (1975).
- 253.E. GUILLAUMIN: *La Vie d'un Simple* (1904).
- 254.L. WYLIE: *Canzeaux* (1966).
255. DUBLIN, DOUGLAS HYDE GALLERY: *The Peasant in 19th Century Painting* (1980).
- 256.E. GUILLAUMIN : *La Vie d'un Simple* (1904).
257. CLEVELAND, MUSEUM OF ART: *The Realist Tradition* (1980).
- 258.G. DUPEUX: *French Society* (1976).
- 259.E. ZOLA: *La Terre* (1882).
- 260.R. ANDERSON: *France* (1977).

261.M. JUNEJA: Images of the Peasantry and Agricultural Change (JPS 1988).

262.E. ZOLA: La Terre (1882).

263.H. CLOUT: The Historical Geography of France (1977).

264.DUBLIN, DOUGLAS HYDE GALLERY: The Peasant in 19th Century Painting (1980).

265.H. CLOUT: Agriculture in France on the Eve of the Railway Age (1980).

266.G. THUILLIER: Pour une Histoire Quotidienne (1977).

267.BOSTON, MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS: Millet (1984).

268.G. DUBY: Histoire de la France Rurale (1976).

269.H. BALZAC: Les Paysans (1855).

270.CLEVELAND, MUSEUM OF ART: The Realist Tradition (1980).

271.M. JUNEJA: Art and Agriculture (Museum Studies 1984).

272.J. CASTAGNARY: Salons 1857-70 (1892).

273.MINNEAPOLIS; Millet's Gleaners (1978).

274.E. WHEELWRIGHT: Personal Recollections of Millet (Atlantic Monthly 1876).

275.G. THUILLIER: Pour une Histoire Quotidienne (1977).

276.A. SENSIER: Millet, le Paysan et le Peintre (1881).

277.G. DUPEUX: French Society (1976).

278.T. CLARK: The Absolute Bourgeois (1973).

279.A. YOUNG: Travels in France (1792).

280.H. CLOUT: Historical Geography of France (1977).

281.T. JUDT: Socialism in Provence (1979).

282.E. MOREAU NELATON: Millet Raconte par Lui-même (1921).

283.E. WHEELWRIGHT: Personal Recollections of Millet (Atlantic Monthly 1876).

284.E. ZOLA: La Terre (1882).

285.G. THUILLIER: Pour une Histoire Quotidienne (1977).

286.E. GUILLAUMIN: La Vie d'un Simple (1904).

287.M. NADAUD: Leonard, Maçon de la Creuse (1976).

288.E. ZOLA: La Terre (1882).

289.R. MUSSET: La Normandie (1960).

- 290.D. HOIMES: A Scot in France and Switzerland (1910).
- 291.BOSTON, MUSEUM OF FINE ART: Millet (1984).
- 292.J. CARTWRIGHT: Millet, his Life and Letters (1906).
- 293.E. GUILLAUMIN: La Vie d'un Simple (1904).
- 294.E. MOREAU NÉLATON: Millet Raconte par Lui-même (1921).
- 295.BOSTON, MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS: Millet (1984).
- 296.A. SENSIER: Millet, le Paysan et le Peintre (1881)
- 297.F. BERANCE: Grandeur Spirituelle (1958).
- 298.E. MOREAU NÉLATON: Millet Raconte par Lui-même (1921).
- 299.E. GUILLAUMIN: La Vie d'un Simple (1904).
- 300.RESTIF DE LA BRETONNE: La Vie de mon Père (1778).
- 301.G. WALTER: Histoire des Paysans de France (1963).
- 302.H. CLOUT: The Historical Geography of France (1977).
- 303.E. MOREAU NÉLATON: Millet Raconte par Lui-même (1921).
- 304.DUBLIN, DOUGLAS HYDE GALLERY: The Peasant in 19th Century Painting (1980).
- 305.E. ZOLA: La Terre (1882).
- 306.M. AUGÉ-LARIBÉ: L'Évolution de la France Agricole (1912).
- 307.L. WYLIE: Chanzeaux (1966).
- 308.RESTIF DE LA BRETONNE: La Vie de mon Père (1778).
- 309.A. PIEDANGEL: Millet, Souvenir de Barbizon (1875).
- 310.PARIS, PETIT PALAIS: J-F Millet (1975).
- 311.W. SICKERT: A Free House (1947).
- 312.G. POLLOCK: Millet (1977).
- 313.E. VAN WALLE: Female Population of France (1974).
- 314.Y. BERCÉ: Croquants et Nu-pieds (1974).
- 315.E. GUILLAUMIN: La Vie d'un Simple (1904).
- 316.G. POLLOCK: Millet (1977).
- 317.M. PHAYER: Sexual Liberation and Religion (1977).
- 318.A. SENSIER: Millet, le Paysan et le Peintre (1881).
- 319.G. THUILLIER: Pour une Histoire Quotidienne (1977).

- 320.A. SENSIER: Millet, le Paysan et le Peintre (1881).
- 321.J. CARTWRIGHT: Millet, his Life and Letters (1906).
- 322.F. MOREAU NELATON: Millet raconte par lui-même (1921).
- 323.G. BECKER: Paris and the Arts (1971).
- 324.A. YOUNG: Travels in France (1792).
- 325.G. THUILLIER: Pour une Histoire Quotidienne (1977).
- 326.E. GUILLAUMIN: La Vie d'un Simple (1904).
327. *ibid.*
- 328.CLEVELAND, MUSEUM OF ART: The Realist Tradition (1980).
- 329.M. JUNEJA: Art and Agriculture (Museum Studies 1984).
- 330.G. THUILLIER: Pour une Histoire Quotidienne (1977).
- 331.E. GUILLAUMIN: La Vie d'un Simple (1904).
- 332.G. THUILLIER: Pour une Histoire Quotidienne (1977).
- 333.E. GUILLAUMIN: La Vie d'un Simple (1904).
- 334.DUBLIN, DOUGLAS HYDE GALLERY: The Peasant in 19th Century Painting (1980).
- 335.A. SENSIER: Millet, le Paysan et le Peintre (1881).
- 336.R. THAEULT: Education and Change in a French Village (1975).
- 337.E. GUILLAUMIN: La Vie d'un Simple (1904).
- 338.T. ZELDIN: France (1973).
- 339.L. WYLIE: A Village in the Vaucluse (1957).
- 340.T. ZELDIN: France (1973).
- 341.E. ROMIEU: Des Paysans et de l'Agriculture de France (1865).
- 342.J. CARTWRIGHT: Millet, his Life and Letters (1906).
- 343.A. VAN GENNEP: Manuel de Folklore Français Contemporaine (1943).
- 344.G. BOLLEME: La Bibliothèque Bleue (1971).
- 345.M. JUNEJA: Images of the Peasantry and Agricultural Change (JPS 1988).
- 346.L. NOCHLIN: Realism and Tradition (1966).
- 347.L. WYLIE: Chanzeaux (1966).
- 348.R. PRICE: Economic Modernisation of Rural France (1975).
- 349.E. GUILLAUMIN: La Vie d'un Simple (1904).

- 350.M. AGHULON: Le Republique au Village (1970).
- 351.M. THABAULT: Education and Change in a French Village (1975).
- 352.E. GUILLAUMIN: La Vie d'un Simple (1904).
353. *ibid.*
- 354.A. COBBAN: A history of Modern France (1961).
- 355.M. PHAYER: Sexual Liberation and Religion in 19th Century Europe (1977).
356. *ibid.*
- 357.R. GILDEA: Education in Provincial France (1980).
- 358.T. JUDT: Socialism in Provence (1979).
- 359.R. PRICE: Economic Modernisation of Rural France (1975).
- 360.J. PERDIGUIER: Agricole Perdiguier (1906).
- 361.L. WYLIE: A Village in the Vaucluse (1957).
- 362.L. CHEVALIER: Classes Laboreuses, Classes Dangereuses (1958).
- 363.H. TAINÉ: Journeys Through France (1895).
- 364.M. PHAYER: Sexual Liberation and Religion (1977).
- 365.G. DALLAS: Imperfect Peasant Economy (1978).
- 366.RESTIF DE LA BRETONNE: La Vie de mon Père (1778).
- 367.L. WYLIE: Chanzeaux (1906).
- 368.A. COBBAN: A History of Modern France (1961).
- 369.E. GUILLAUMIN: La Vie d'un Simple (1904).
- 370.T. ZELDIN: France (1973).
371. E. WEBER: Peasants into Frenchmen (1977).
- 372.M. AGHULON: La Republique au Village (1970).
- 373.E. ZOLA: La Terre (1882).
- 374.A. SENSIER: Millet, le Paysan et le Peintre (1881).
- 375.E. MOREAU NÉLATON: Millet Raconte par Lui-même (1921).
- 376.E. ZOLA: La Terre (1882).
- 377.J. VIDÉLANC: la Société Française (1970).
- 378.E. GUILLAUMIN: La Vie d'un Simple (1904).
- 379.C. PÉCUY: Basic Verities (1943).

- 380.G. CHAPMAN: The Third Republic in France (1962).
- 381.B. DENVER: Millet, the Sour Taste of Success (Art and Artists 1976).
- 382.PARIS, PETIT PALAIS: Millet (1975).
- 383.T. ZELDIN: France (1973).
- 384.M. JUNEJA: Images of the Peasantry and Agricultural Change (JPS 1988).
- 385.M. JUNEJA: Art and Agriculture (Museum Studies 1984).
- 386.E. WEBER: Peasants into Frenchmen (1977).
- 387.S. MELTZOFF: Revival of the LeNains (Art Bull. 1942).
- 388.T. ZELDIN: France (1973).
- 389.J. PERDIGUIER: Agricole Perdiguier (1966).
- 390.G. SAND: Question de l'Art et de la Litterature (1878).
- 391.E. SUE: Mysteries of Paris (1855).
- 392.H. BALZAC: Les Paysans (1855).
- 393.T. CLARK: The Image of the People (1973).
- 394.T. ZELDIN: France (1973).
- 395.T. CLARK: The Image of the People (1973).
- 396.A. SOBOUL: Paysans, Sans-Culottes et Jacobins (1966).
- 397.J. BLUM: Our Forgotten Past (1978).
- 398.M. JUNEJA: Art and Agriculture (Museum Studies 1984).
- 399.C. PÉGUY: Basic Verities (1943).
- 400.J. ROUX: Pensées (1885).
- 401.G. BOLLEME: La Bibliothèque Bleue (1971).
- 402.M. BETHAN EDWARDS: A Year in Western France (1877).
- 403.G. BOLLEME: La Bibliothèque Bleue (1971).
- 404.G. SAND: La Mère au Diable (1849).
- 405.E. ZOLA: La Terre (1882).
- 406.A. YOUNG: Travels in France (1792).
- 407.M. BETHAN EDWARDS: A Year in Western France (1877).
- 408.E. SUE: The Wandering Jew (1855).
- 409.A. VAN GENNEP: Manuel de Folklore Français Contemporaine (1943).

410. DUBLIN, DOUGLAS HYDE GALLERY: The Peasant in Nineteenth Century Painting (1980).
411. A. SENSIER: Millet, le Paysan et le Peintre (1881).
412. *ibid.*
413. E. ABOUT: Voyage à Travers l'Exposition des Beaux Arts (1855).
414. M. JUNEJA: Art and Agriculture, the Peasant in 19th Century Painting (Museum Studies 1984).
415. G. WEISBERG: C. Jacque and Rustic Life (Arts Mag. 1981).
416. J. BRETON: La Vie d'un Artiste (1890).
417. R. HERBERT: City versus Country, the Rural Image in French Painting (Art Forum 1970).
418. L. NOCHLIN: Realism (1970).
419. C. DEDOOD: The Complete Letters of Van Gogh (1958).

## BIBLIOGRAPHY: MILLET

- ALEXANDRE, A: J-F Millet. (Studio Special 1902).
- AMAYA, M: Millet's Agrarian Classicism. (Art in America 1976).
- BACOU, R: One Hundred Millet Drawings. (London 1976).
- Millet, Poète du Quotidien. (Plaisir de France 1975).
- BARTLETT, T: Millet's Return to his Old Home. (Century 1913).
- Millet and Barbizon. (Scribner's Magazine 1890).
- BENEDITE, L: The Drawings of Millet. (London 1906).
- BOSTON, MUSEUM OF FINE ART: J-F Millet. (ex.cat. 1984).
- CARTWRIGHT, J: Millet, his Life and Letters. (London 1906).
- Drawings by Millet in the Forbes Collection.  
(Burl. Mag. 1904).
- CAIN, J: Millet. (Paris 1913).
- CHERBOURG, MUSÉE THOMAS HENRI: 150 Anniversaire de la Naissance  
de Millet. (ex.cat. 1964).
- DALI, S: Le Mythe Tragique de l'Angelus de Millet. (Paris 1963).
- EATON, W: Recollections of Millet. (Century 1890).
- FERMIGIER, A: J-F Millet. (Geneva 1977).
- GAY, P: Millet. (London 1950).
- GSELL, P: Millet. (Paris 1928).
- HENLEY, W: Twenty Etchings by Millets. (London 1881).
- HERBERT, R: La Laitière Normande à Greville. (Revue de Louvre  
1980).
- Millet Revisited. (Burl. Mag. 1962).
- Millet Reconsidered. (Museum Studies 1966).
- Les Faux Millet. (Revue de l'Art 1973).
- KNOX, J: The Peasant and the Painter. (Antique Collector 1976).
- LAUGHTON, B: Millet's Hagar and Ishmael. (Burl. Mag. 1979).
- A Group of Millet's Drawings of Nudes. (Master  
Drawings 1979).

LAUGHTON, B: Millet in Allier and the Auvergne. (Burl. Mag. 1988).

LEBRUN, A: Illustrated Catalogue of Works by Millet. (London 1887).

LEPOITTEVIN, L: Millet (2 vol). (Paris 1973).

LEVEQUE, J: L'Universe de Millet. (Paris 1975).

LINDSAY, K: Millet's Lost Window Rediscovered. (Burl. Mag. 1974).

MARKHAM, E: The Man with the Hoe. (New York 1899).

MEIXNER, L: Millet's Angelus in America. (American Art Journal 1980).

Popular Criticism of Millet in Nineteenth Century  
America. (Art Bulletin 1983).

MOREAU NELATON, E: Millet Raconte par Lui-meme (3 vol). (Paris 1921).

MINNEAPOLIS, ART GALLERY: Millet's Gleaners. (ex.cat. 1978).

NAEGELY, H: Millet and Rustic Art. (London 1898).

PARIS, PETIT PALAIS: Millet. (ex.cat. 1975).

PIEDANGEL, A: Souvenirs de Barbizon. (Paris 1875).

POLLOCK, G: Millet. (London 1977).

POWELL, K: Millet's Death and the Woodcutter. (Arts Mag. 1986).

ROGER-MILES, L: Les Paysans dans l'Oeuvre de Millet. (Paris 1895).

ROSTRUP, H: Millet. (London 1941).

SENSIER, A: Millet, le Paysan et le Peintre. (Paris 1881).

SOUILLIE, L: Les Grandes Peintures aux Ventes Publiques, Millet.  
(Paris 1900).

STALEY, E: Millet. (London 1903).

THOMSON, B: Millet. (London 1927).

TRUMBLE, A: The Painter of the Angelus. (New York 1889).

TURNER, P: Millet. (London 1910).

WELLS, W: Variations on a Winter Landscape. (Scottish Art Review  
1972).

YRIART, C: J-F Millet. (Paris 1885).

## ARTISTIC BACKGROUND

ABOUT, E: Nos Artistes de Salon de 1857. (Paris 1858).

Voyages à Travers l'Exposition des Beaux Arts. (Paris 1855).

ADHÈMAR, J: Les Lithographies de Paysages. (Paris 1937).

BAUDELAIRE, C: Art in Paris 1846-65. (London 1981).

BECKER, G: Paris and the Arts. (Cornell 1971).

BENEDITE, L: La Peinture de Dix-neuvième Siècle. (London 1910).

BENOIT, F: Histoire de Paysage. (Paris 1908).

BERENCE, F: Grandeur Spirituelle. (Paris 1958).

BILLY, A: Beaux Souvenirs de Barbizon. (Paris 1947).

Fontainebleau, Delices des Poètes. (Paris 1949).

BOIME, A: The Academy and French Painting. (London 1972).

BOURET, J: The School of Barbizon. (London 1972).

BOUVIER, E: La Bataille Realiste. (Paris 1913).

BOSTON, MUSEUM OF FINE ART: The Barbizon School. (ex.cat. 1962).

BARBIZON, MUNICIPALITÉ: Barbizon Autemps de Millet. (ex.cat. 1975).

BRETON, J: Nos Peintures de Siècle. (Paris 1899).

La Vie d'un Artiste. (Paris 1890).

BOAS, G: Courbet and the Naturalist Movement. (London 1958).

BURGER-THORÉ, W: Salons. (Paris 1970).

CANADAY, J: Mainstreams of Modern Art. (New York 1959).

CARTWRIGHT, J: Bastien LePage. (London 1894).

CASTAGNARY, J: Salons. (Paris 1892).

CHAMPFLEURY, J: Salons. (Paris 1894).

Le Realisme. (Paris 1857).

CHAMPIGUELLE, B: Promenades dans Fontainebleau. (Paris 1965).

CHERBOURG, MUSÉE THOMAS HENRI: Millet et le Theme du Paysan dans  
le Peinture. (ex.cat. 1975).

CHIARI, J: Realism and Imagination. (London 1960).

CHU, PETRA TEN DOESSCHATE: French Realism and the Dutch Masters.  
(London 1975).

- 119
- CLARK, K: The Romantic Rebellion. (London 1973).
- CLARK, T: The Image of the People. (London 1973).
- The Absolute Bourgeois. (London 1973).
- COUSIN, V: Du Vrai, du Beau et du Bonne. (Paris 1855).
- DALMON, H: Fontainebleau, Forêt Antique de Bierre. (Paris 1931).
- DEDOOD, C: The Complete Letters of Van Gogh. (London 1958).
- DEFORGES, M: Barbizon. (Paris 1962).
- DELECLUZE, J-E: L. David, son École et ses Temps. (Paris 1855).
- DELPREL, L: Le Peintre Graveur (vol I). (Paris 1906).
- DENECOURT, C: Souvenirs Histoires et Pittoresques de Fontainebleau.  
(Paris 1845).
- DENVER, B: Millet, the Sour Taste of Success. (Art and Artists 1976).
- DORBEC, P: L'Art de Paysage en France. (Paris 1925).
- DUBLIN, DOUGLAS HYDE GALLERY: The Peasant in French Painting.  
(ex.cat. 1980).
- DUMESNIL, R: L'École Realiste et Naturaliste. (Paris 1948).
- FINKE, U: French Nineteenth Century Painting and Literature.  
(London 1972).
- FLANARY, D: Champfleury, a Realist Writer as Critic. (London 1980).
- FREMIÈRE, C: Au Pays de Millet. (Paris 1887).
- GASSIÈS, C: Guide Artistique de Barbizon. (Paris 1930).
- Le Vieux Barbizonnière. (Paris 1907).
- GAUTIER, T: Abécédaire du 1861 Salon. (Paris 1861).
- GENSEL, W: Millet and Rousseau. (London 1902).
- GRATE, P: Planche et Thore: Critiques de l'Art. (Paris 1959).
- HASKELL, F: Artist and Writer in France. (London 1974).
- HAUSER, A: The Social History of Art (vol 4). (London 1958).
- HERBERT, R: City versus Country, the Rural Image in French Painting.  
(Art Forum 1970).
- HERMAN, J: Related Twilights. (London 1975).

- HUNT, W: Talks on Art. (New York 1895).
- HUYGHE, R: Millet et Rousseau. (Paris 1942).  
 École Française de Millet. (Paris 1928).
- JUNEJA, M: Art and Agriculture, the Peasant in Nineteenth Century  
 Painting. (Museum Studies 1984).  
 The Image of the Peasant and Agricultural Change from  
 Millet to Gauguin. (Journal of Peasant Studies 1988).
- KNOWLETON, H: The Art Life of William Morris Hunt. (New York 1899).
- LATOURETTE, L: Millet et Barbizon. (Paris 1927).
- LETHEVE, J: La Vie Quotidienne des Artistes Française. (Paris 1968).
- LOW, W: Chronicles of Friendship. (London 1895).
- MARUMO, C: Barbizon et les Paysagistes. (Paris 1975).
- McCONKEY, K: Dejection's Portrait, Naturalist Images of Woodcutters.  
 (Arts Magazine 1986).
- MEGRET, F: Van Gogh, Millet mon Maître. (Oeil 1975).
- MELT OFF, S: Revival of the LeNains. (Art Bulletin 1942).
- MELOT, M: Graphic Art of the Pre Impressionists. (New York 1981).
- MEMPHIS, DIXON ART GALLERY: An International Episode, Millet, Monet  
 and their American Counterparts. (ex. 1982).
- MIGUEL, P: Le Paysage Français (3 vol). (Paris 1975).
- MICHEL, E: Le Forêt de Fontainebleau dans la Nature et l'Art.  
 (Paris 1909).
- NEWCASTLE POLYTECHNIC: Peasantries. (ex.cat. 1980).
- NOCHLIN, L: Realism. (London 1970).  
 Realism and Tradition. (London 1966).
- OMAHA, JOSLYN ART MUSEUM: Breton and the French Rural Tradition.  
 (ex.cat. 1982).
- PARSONS, J: Paysan de Paris, Sensier and the Myth of Rural France.  
 (Oxford Art Journal 1983).
- PROVDHON, P: Du Principe de l'Art. (Paris 1865).

- REVERDY, A: L'École de Barbizon, l'Évolution des Prix des Tableaux. (Paris 1973).
- ROSENTHAL, L: Du Romantisme et Réalisme. (Paris 1914).
- SERULLAZ, M: Van Gogh et Millet. (Études de l'Art 1950).
- SICKERT, W: A Free House. (London 1947).
- SILVESTRE, T: Histoire des Artistes Vivantes. (Paris 1856).
- SLOANE, J: French Painting Past and Present. (Princeton 1955).
- SPENCER, M: Art Criticism of Gautier. (London 1969).
- TABARANT, A: La Vie Artistique autemps de Baudelaire. (Paris 1963).
- TAINÉ, H: The Philosophy of Art. (London 1909).
- THOMSON, D: Barbizon School of Painters. (London 1890).
- THORLEY, A: Flaubert and the Art of Realism. (London 1951).
- TOKYO, SEIKU MUSEUM OF ART: Millet, Corot and the School of Barbizon. (ex.cat. 1980).
- TOMSON, A: Millet and the School of Barbizon. (London 1897).
- VENTURI, L: Les Archives de l'Impressionisme. (Paris 1939).
- History of Art Criticism. (London 1936).
- VERNOIS, P: Le Roman Rustique. (Paris 1962).
- VINCENT, H: Daumier and his World. (Evanston 1968).
- WEINBERG, B: French Realism, the Critical Reaction. (New York 1937).
- WEISBERG, G: The Realist Tradition, French Drawing and Painting 1830-1900. (Cleveland 1980).
- LeLeux, Apostles of Proto-Realism. (Arts Mag. 1981).
- Millet and his Barbizon Contemporaries.
- Jacque and Rustic Art. (Arts Mag. 1981).
- WHITE, H: Canvasses and Careers. (Harvard 1965).
- ZERNER, H: Romanticism and Realism. (London 1984).

## HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

- ACKERMANN, E: The Village on the Seine, Bonnières. (London 1978).
- AGULHON, M: La République au Village. (Paris 1970).
- ANDERSON, R: Education in France. (Oxford 1975).
- France. (Oxford 1977).
- AUGE-LARIBE, M: Grande ou Petite Propriété? (Paris 1912).
- L'Évolution de l'Agricole Français. (Paris 1902).
- BALZAC, H: Les Paysans. (Paris 1855).
- Le Médecin de la Campagne. (Paris 1855).
- Le Curé du Village. (Paris 1855).
- BARRÉS, M: Les Deracinés. (Paris 1873).
- BARRAL, P: Les Agriculteurs Français de Meline. (Paris 1968).
- BAUDRILLANT, H: Les Populations Agricoles de Normandie. (Paris 1880).
- BAZIN, R: La Terre qui Meurt. (Paris 1899).
- BERCÉ, Y: Croquantes et Nu-pieds. (Paris 1974).
- BERGER, S: Peasants Against Politics. (Harvard 1972).
- BIRBECK, M: Notes on a Journey Through France. (London 1814).
- BLOCH, M: French Rural History. (London 1966).
- BLUM, J: Our Forgotten Past. (London 1982).
- The End of the Old Order in Europe. (London 1978).
- BLANCHARD, R: Novulle, un Village Français. (Paris 1953).
- BOLLEME, G: La Bibliothèque Bleue, Littérature Populaire en France. (Paris 1971).
- BOIS, P: Les Paysans de l'Ouest. (London 1971).
- BONNEMÈRE, E: Histoire des Paysans. (Paris 1856).
- BRAME, J: L'Émigration de Campagnes. (Paris 1859).
- CAHM, E: Politics and Society in Contemporary France. (London 1972).
- CARON, F: Economic History of Modern France. (London 1979).
- CAZIOT, P: La Valeur de la Terre. (Paris 1914).
- CHAPMAN, G: The Third Republic in France. (London 1962).

CHEVALIER, L: Classes Laboreuses, Classes Dangereuses. (Paris 1958).  
 Les Paysans. (Paris 1947).

CLOUT, H: Agriculture in France on the Eve of the Railway Age.  
 (London 1980).  
 Themes in the Historical Geography of France. (London 1977).

CORDIER, J: Notes sur l'Agriculture. (Paris 1847).

COBBAN, A: A History of Modern France (Vol 2). (London 1961).

DAUZAT, A: Le Village et les Paysans de France. (Paris 1942).

DALLAS, G: Imperfect Peasant Economy. (London 1978).

DUCHARTRÉ, P: L'Imagerie Populaire. (Paris 1925).

DUBY, G: Histoire de la France Rurale. (Paris 1975).

DUMAY, J: Mémoires d'un Militant Ouvrier. (Paris 1976).

DUPEUX, G: French Society. (London 1976).

DUPONT, P: Chants Rustiques. (Paris 1847).

EDWARDS, M: A Year in Western France. (London 1877).

FAUCHER, D: Le Paysan et la Machine. (Paris 1954).

FOSTER, R: Rural Society in France. (London 1977).

FRAZER, J: The New Golden Bough. (London 1957).

GILDEA, R: Education in Provincial France. (Oxford 1983).

GUILLAUMIN, E: La Vie d'un Simple. (Paris 1904).  
 Panorama de l'Évolution Paysan. (Paris 1936).

HALEVY, D: Visites aux Paysans de Centre. (Paris 1935).

HEMMINGS, F: Age of Realism. (London 1960).  
 Culture and Society in France. (London 1971).

HIGONNET, P: Pont-de-Montvert. (Paris 1971).

HOLMES, D: A Scot in France and Italy. (London 1910).

JUDT, J: Socialism in Provence. (London 1979).

LABROSSE, C: Aspects de la Crise 1846-51. (Paris 1956).

LECOEUR, J: Esquisses du Bocage Normande. (Paris 1883).

LEQUIN, Y: Histoire de France, le Société. (Paris 1983).

- MANSE, P: Merilheu dans mon Enfance. (Paris 1971).
- MARDAGANT, T: Peasants in Revolution. (London 1979).
- MARX, K: The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Napoleon. (London 1914).
- McBRIDE, T: Domestic Revolution in France. (London 1976).
- MENDRAS, H: The Vanishing Peasantry. (London 1970).
- MENETRA, J-L: Journal de ma Vie. (Paris 1982).
- MORAZE, C: Les Bourgeoisie Françaises. (Paris 1946).
- MURGER, H: Scenes de la Vie Bohème. (Paris 1851).
- MUSSET, R: La Normande. (Paris 1960).
- NADAUD, M: Léonard, Maçon de la Creuse. (Paris 1976).
- PARKER, D: Scale and Organisation in French Farming. (London 1975).
- PÈGUY, C: Basic Verities. (London 1943).
- PINCHEMEL, P: France, a Geographical Survey. (London 1969).
- PHAYER, M: Sexual Liberation and Religion in Nineteenth Century Europe. (London 1977).
- PRICE, R: The Second French Republic. (London 1972).
- Economic Modernisation of Rural France. (London 1975).
- RÉNARD, J: Nos Frères Farouches. (Paris 1908).
- ROUX, J: Pensées. (Paris 1885).
- SAND, G: La Mare au Diable. (Paris 1873).
- La Petite Fadette. (Paris 1873).
- SMITH, C: Barbizon Days. (New York 1902).
- SOBOUL, A: Paysans et Sans-culottes. (Paris 1966).
- SPENGLER, J: France Faces Depopulation. (London 1938).
- STEARNS, P: Old Age in European Society, France. (London 1976).
- STENDHAL: Travels in the South of France. (London 1971).
- STEVENSON, R: Across the Plains. (London 1887).
- SUE, E: The Mysteries of Paris. (Paris 1850).
- The Wandering Jew. (Paris 1850).
- TAINÉ, H: Journey Through France. (London 1897).

THEOCRITUS: Idylls. (London 1978).

THABAULT, R: Education and Change in a French Village. (London 1975).

THUILLIER, G: Pour une Histoire Quotidienne. (Paris 1977).

TILLY, C: The Rebellious Century. (London 1975).

The Vendée. (London 1966).

TOCQUEVILLE, A: L'Ancien Regime et la Revolution. (Paris 1856).

TRACY, M: Agriculture in Western Europe. (London 1964).

VAN GENNEP, A: Manual de Folklore Français Contemporaine.

(Paris 1943).

VAN DE WALLE, E: Female Populations of France. (Princeton 1974).

VIDALENC, J: La Société Française (vol I). (Paris 1970).

VIRGIL: Georgics. (London 1982).

WALTER, G: Histoire de Paysans de France. (Paris 1963).

WEBER, E: Peasants into Frenchmen. (London 1977).

WEISBERG, G: Breton, Gleaners of Courrieres. (Art Mag. 1981).

WRIGHT, G: Rural Rebellion in France. (Stanford 1966).

WYLIE, L: A Village in the Vaucluse. (Harvard 1957).

Chanzeaux. (Harvard 1966).

YOUNG, A: Travels in France. (London 1792).

ZELDIN, T: Conflicts in French Society. (Oxford 1971).

France. (Oxford 1973).

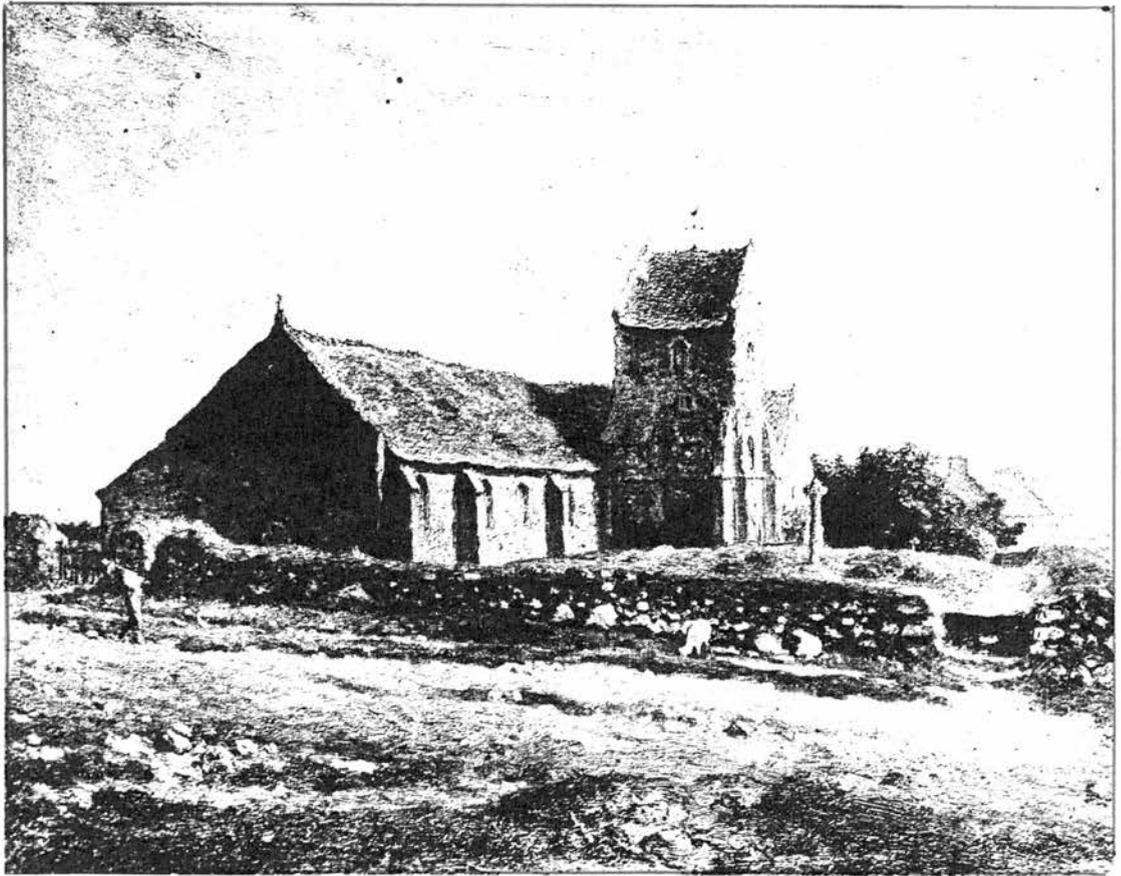
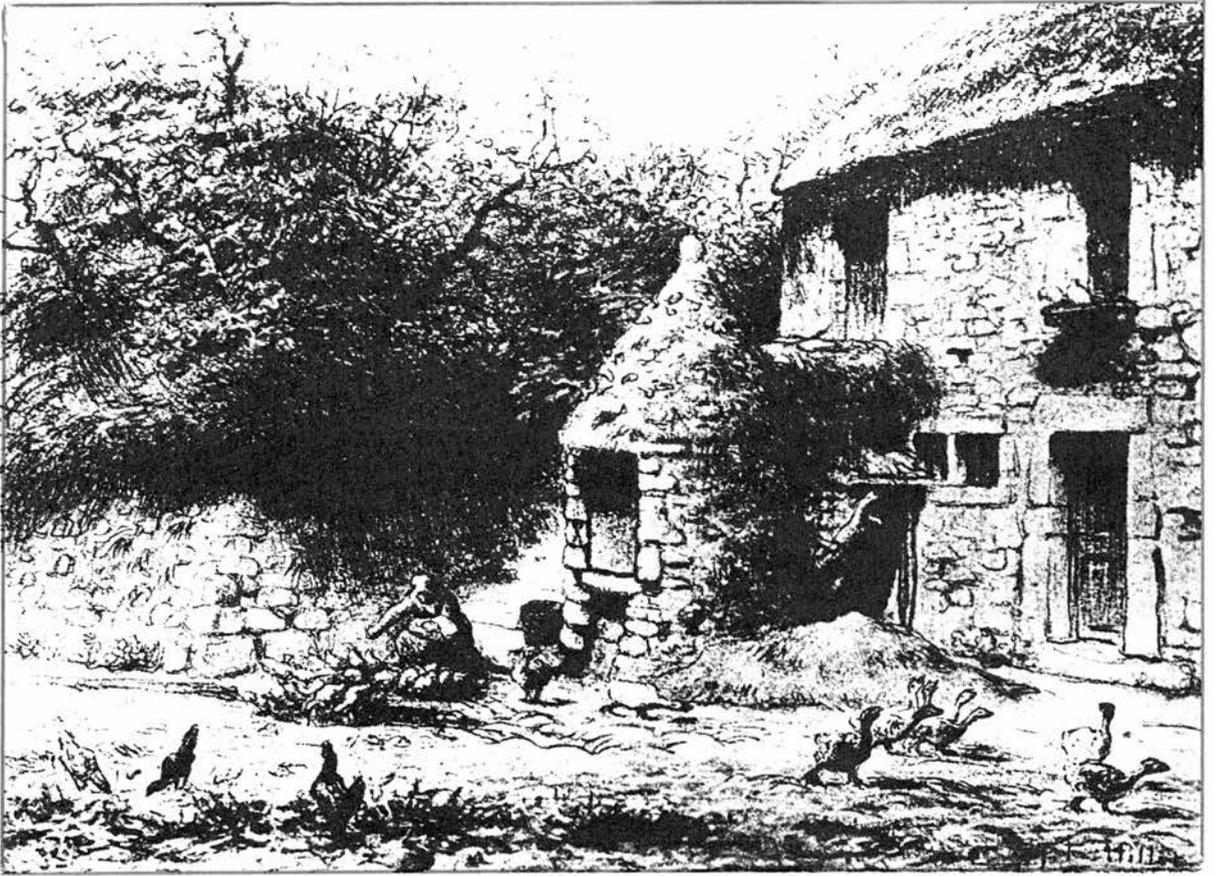




FIG. 3

Self Portrait.  
(1841 Oil. Cherbourg. Musée Thomas Henri.)

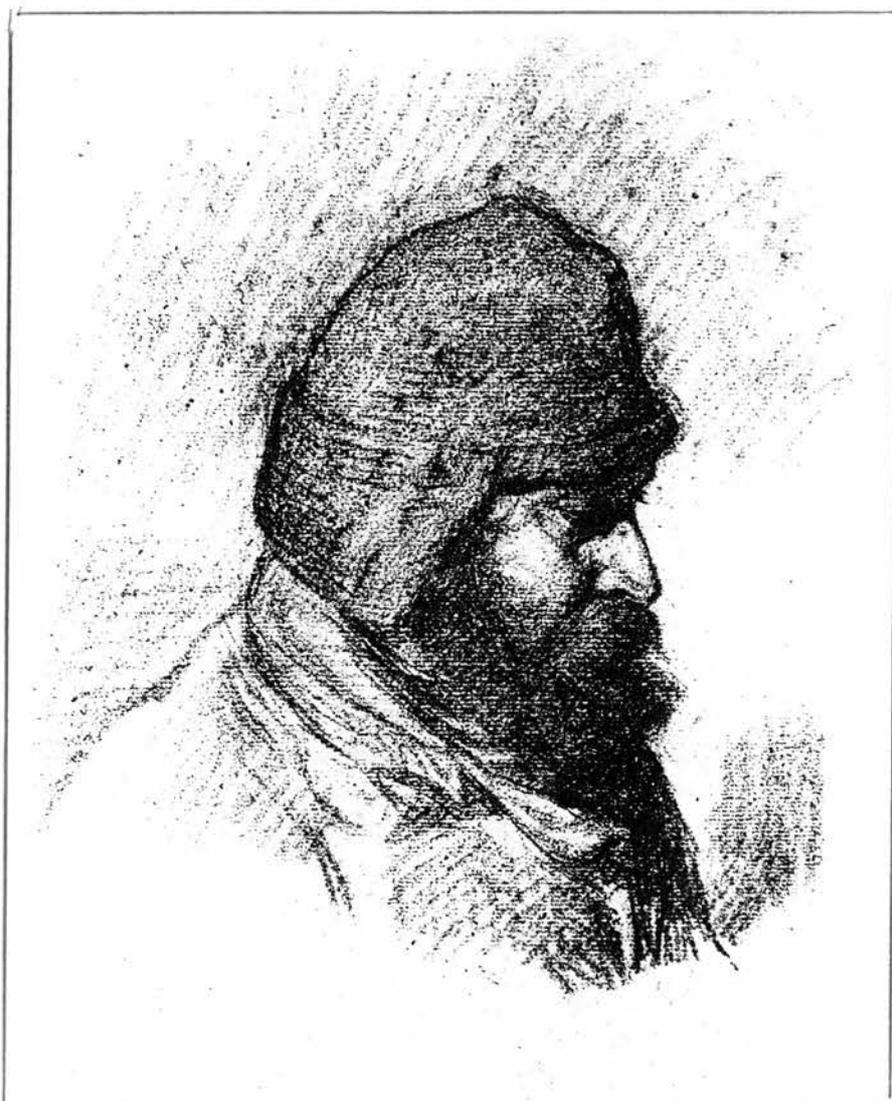


Fig. 4

Self Portrait.  
(1847 Crayon. Paris. Louvre.)



Fig.5

The Sower.  
(1850 Oil. Philadelphia. Provident National Bank.)

Fig. 6

The Sower.  
 (1851 Crayon. Oxford. Ashmolean.)

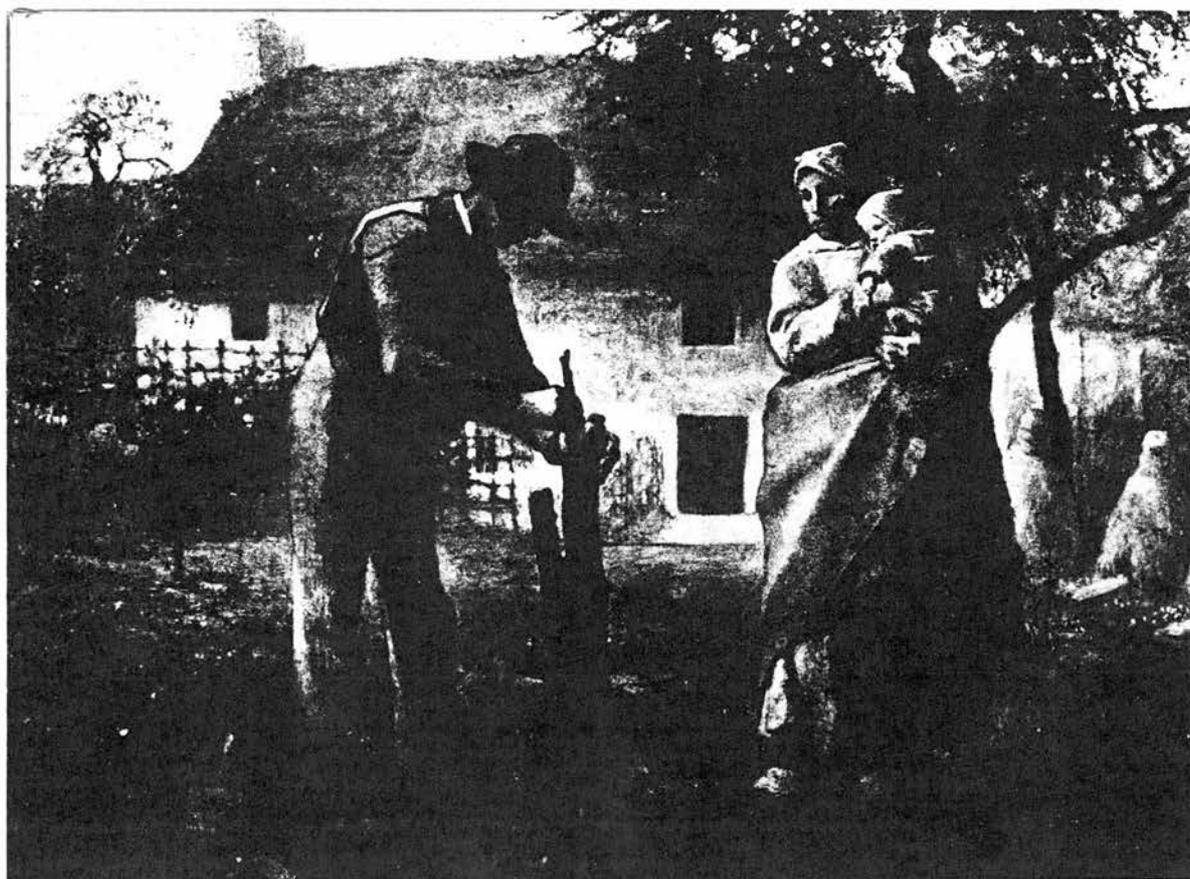


Fig. 7

Man Grafting a Tree.  
 (1855 Oil. Munich.)

Fig. 8

Woman Grazing a Cow.  
(1859 Oil. Bourg-en-Bresse. Musee de l'Ain.)



FIG. 9

The Shepherdess.  
(1864 Oil. Paris. Louvre.)



Fig.10

Millet's Garden.  
(1853 Crayon. Private Collection.)

Fig. II

Man with a Hoe.  
(1862 Cil. San Francisco. Private collection.)



Fig. I2

First Steps.  
(1867 Pastel. Cleveland, Chio. Museum of Art.)

Fig. 13

Euckwheat Harvest; Autumn.  
(1874 Oil. Boston. Museum of Fine Arts.)



FIG. 14

The Corners.  
(1857 Oil. Paris. Louvre.)

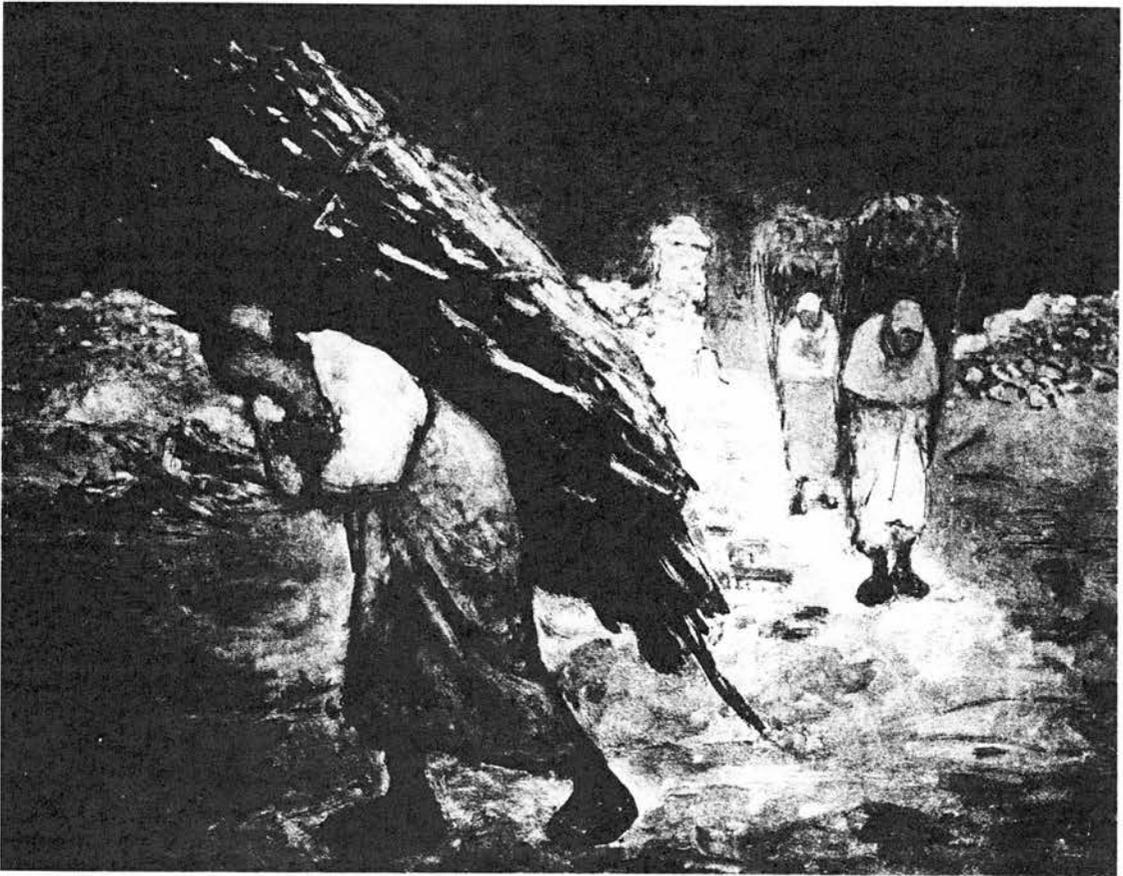


Fig.15

Faggot-gatherers; Winter.  
(1874 Unfinished oil. Cardiff. National Museum of Wales.)

Fig. I6

Path Through a Wheatfield.  
(1867 Pastel. Boston. Museum of Fine Arts.)

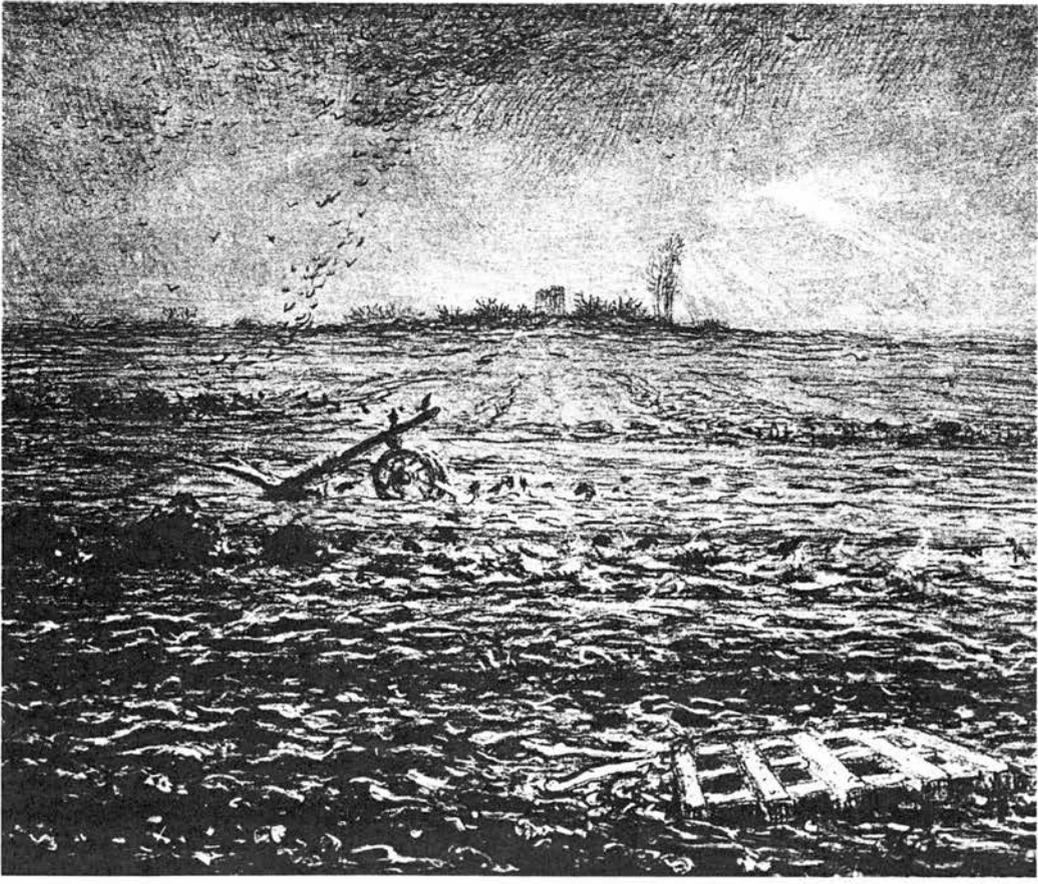
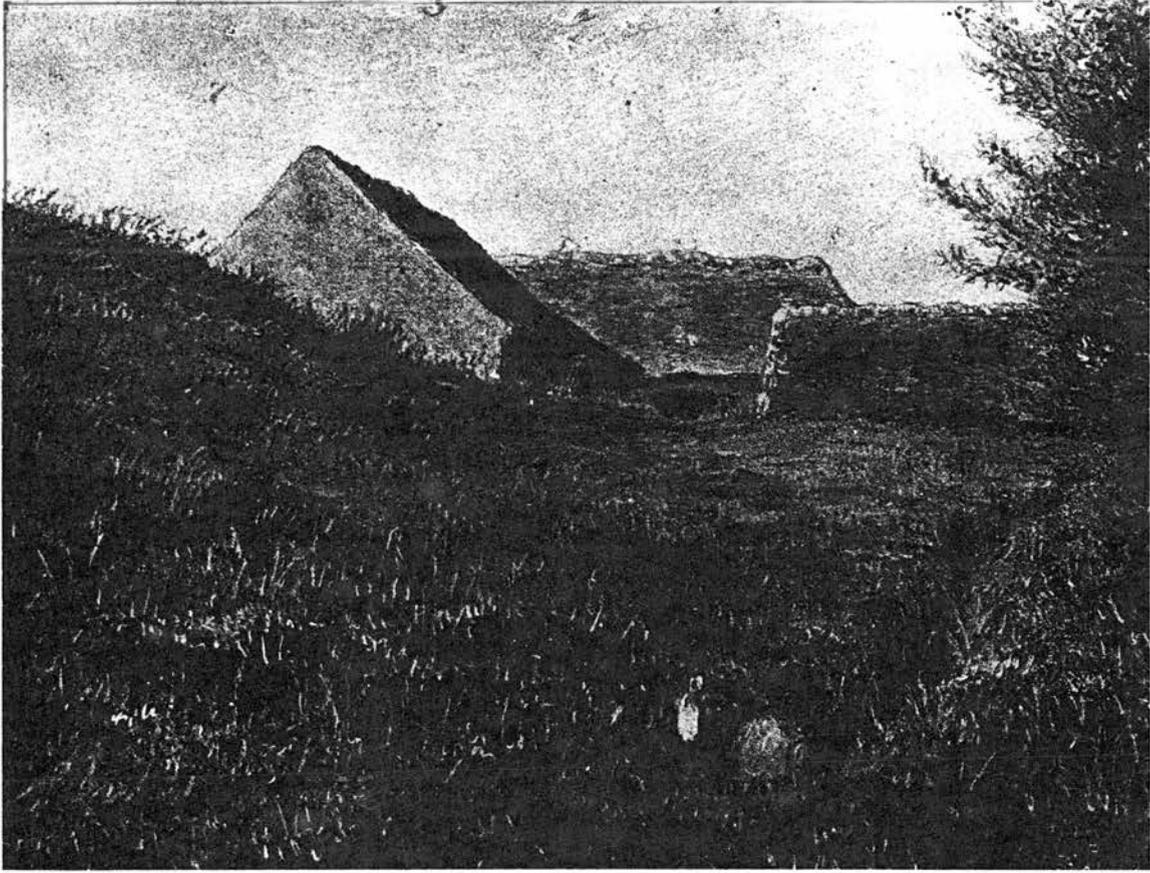


Fig. I7

Winter; The Ploughed Field.  
(1867 Pastel. Glasgow. Kelvingrove.)



Fig.18

Peasant Family.  
(1872 Unfinished Oil. Cardiff. National Museum of Wales.)



Fig.I9

Goatherd From The Auvergne.  
(1966 Pastel. Private Collection.)



Fig.20

Woman Carrying Water.  
(1862 Cil. New York. Metropolitan.)



Fig. 21

Woman Churning Butter.  
(1855 Etching. Glasgow. Melvingrove.)



Fig.22

Bouillie; Making Soup.  
(1851 Crayon. Ottawa. National Gallery of Canada.)



Fig.23

Woman Sewing By A Window.  
(1856 Oil. Norfolk, Virginia.)

Fig.24

Newborn Calf.  
(1864 Oil. Chicago. Art Institute.)

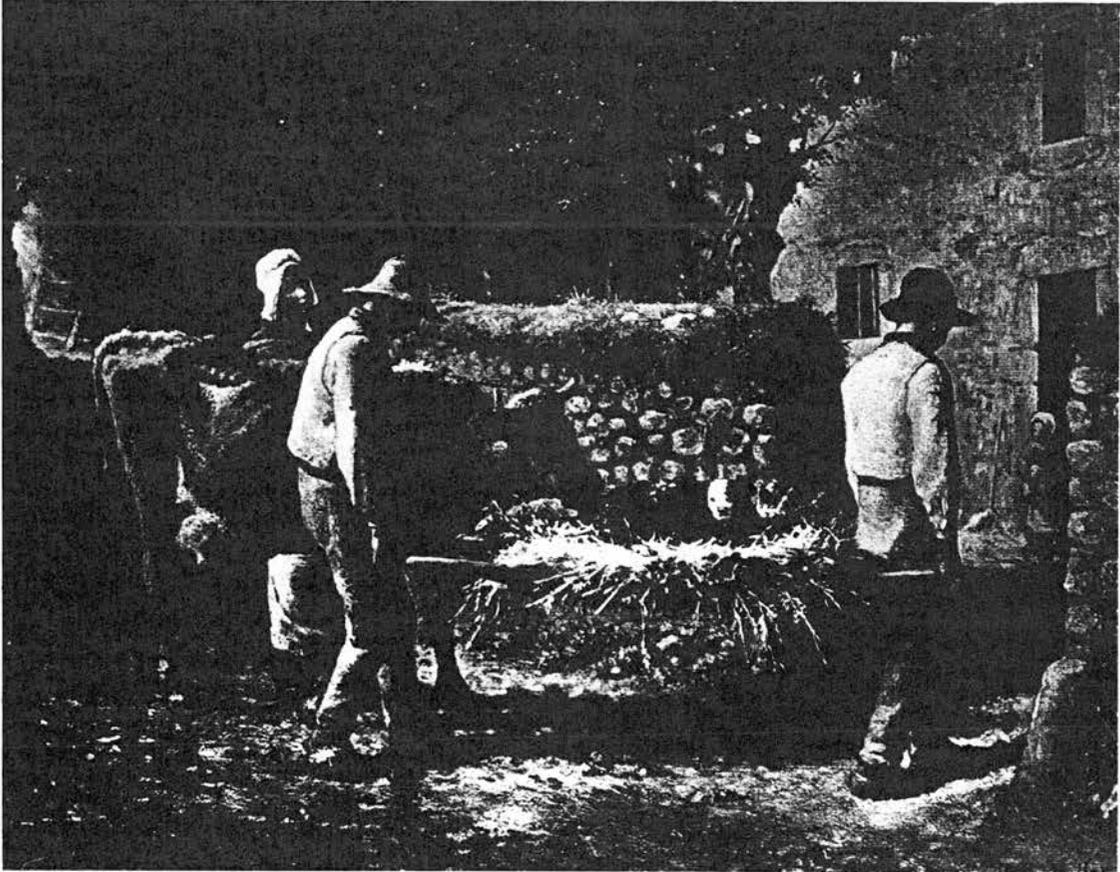


Fig.25

The Sheep-Shearers.  
(1847 Crayon. Plymouth. City Art Gallery.)

Fig.26

Veillee; Family at Evening.  
(1866 Crayon. Birmingham. City Museum and Art Gallery.)

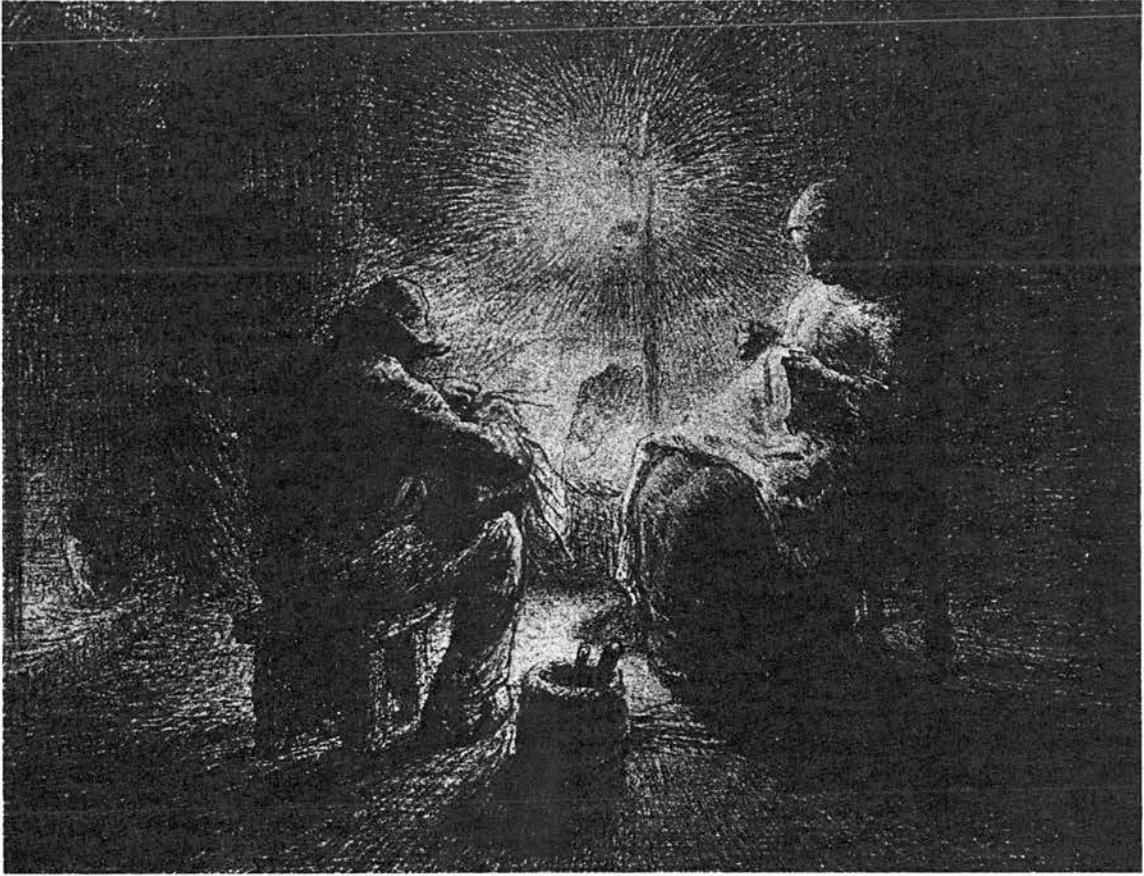


Fig.27

Potato Planting.  
(1861 Oil. Boston. Museum of Fine Arts.)

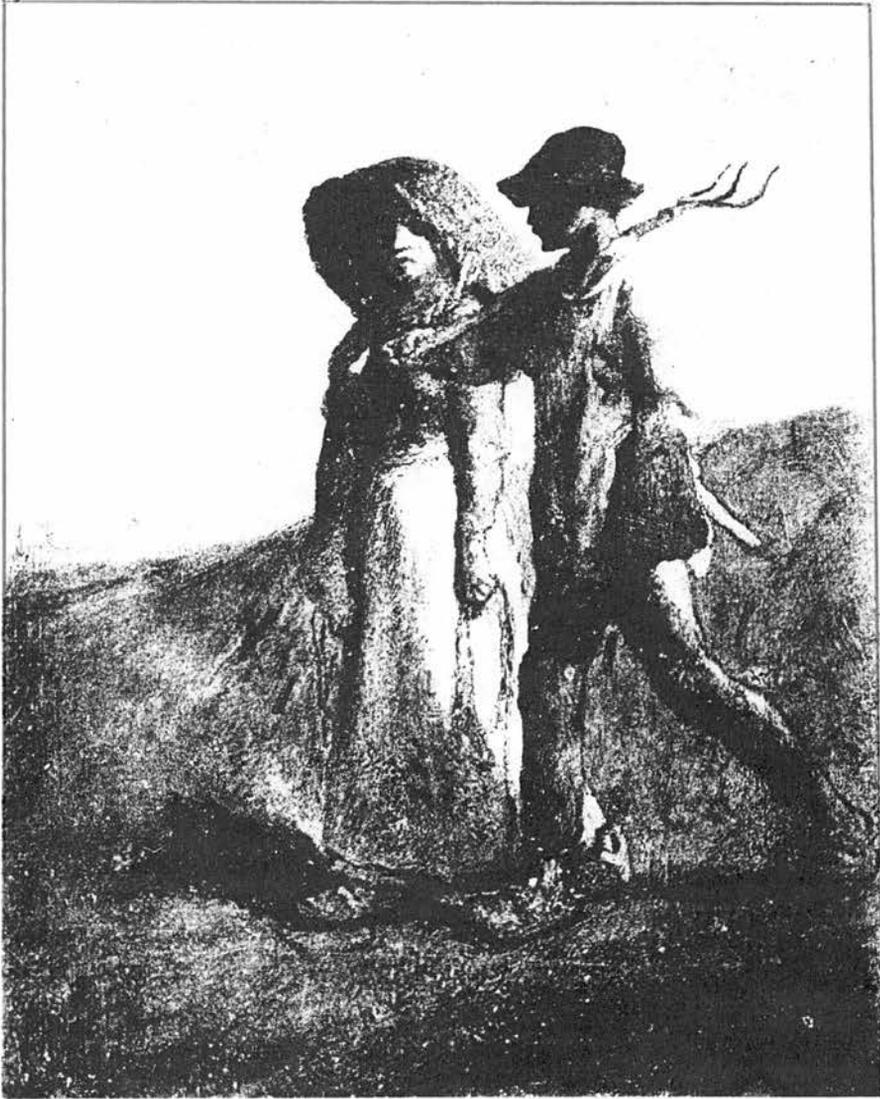


Fig.28

Going to Work.  
(1851 Oil. Glasgow. Kelvingrove.)

Fig.29

The Sneeepfold.  
(1868 Pastel. Glasgow. Kelvingrove.)

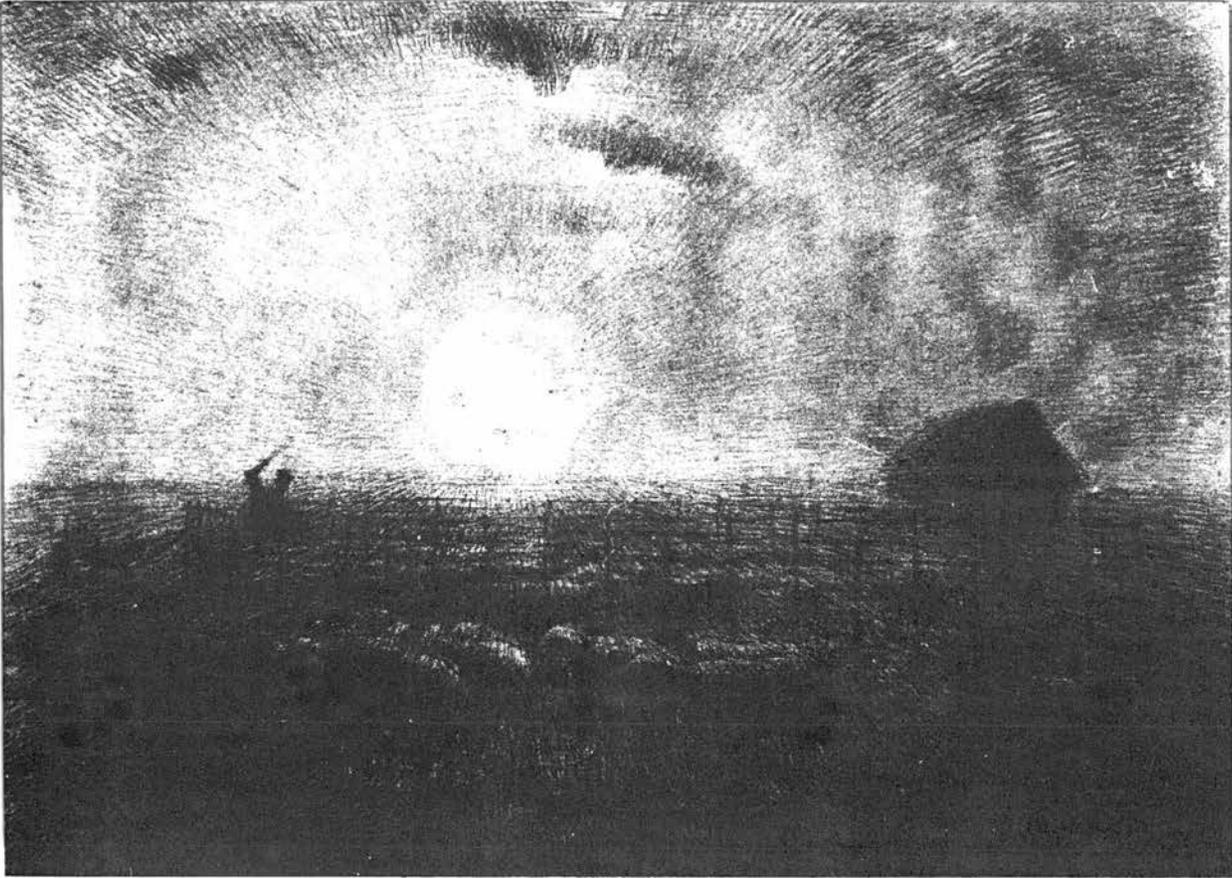


Fig.30

The Angelus.  
(1857 Oil. Paris. Louvre.)

Fig.31

Spring.  
(1874 Oil. Paris. Louvre.)

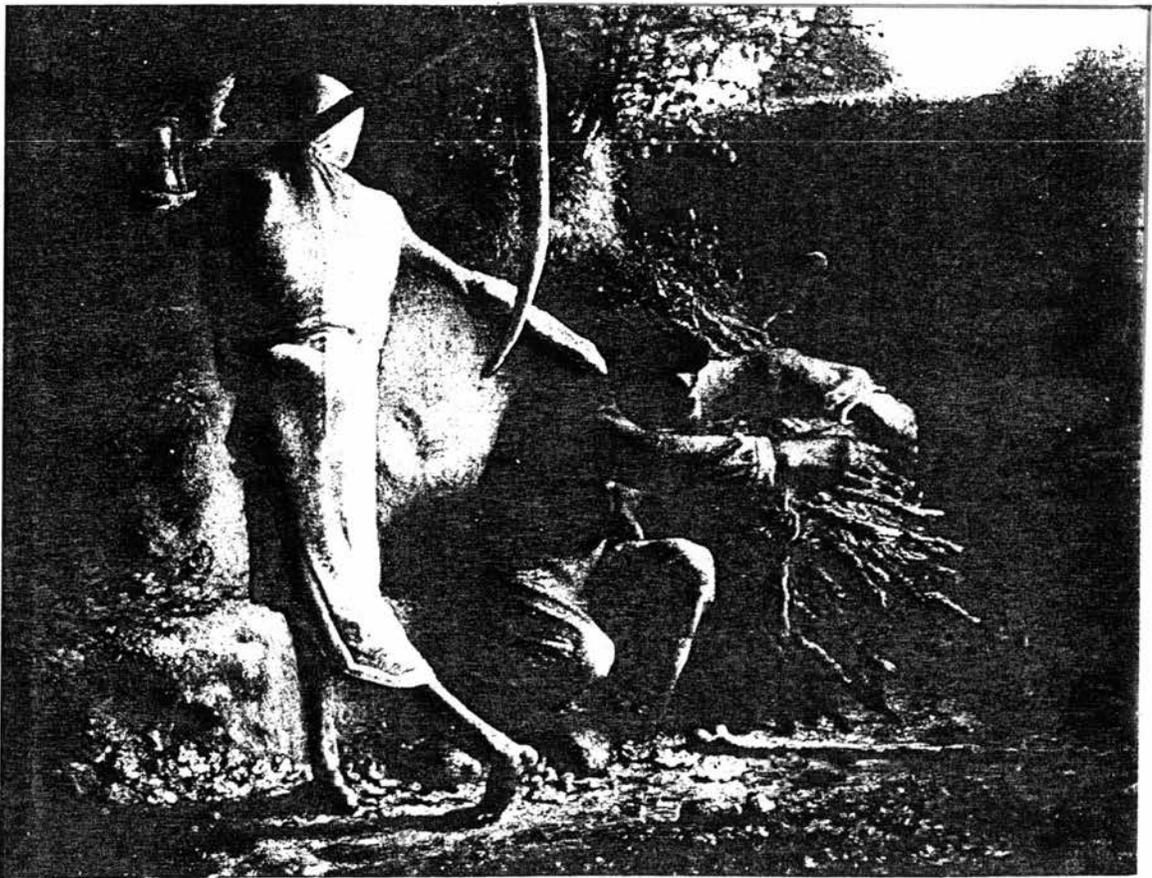
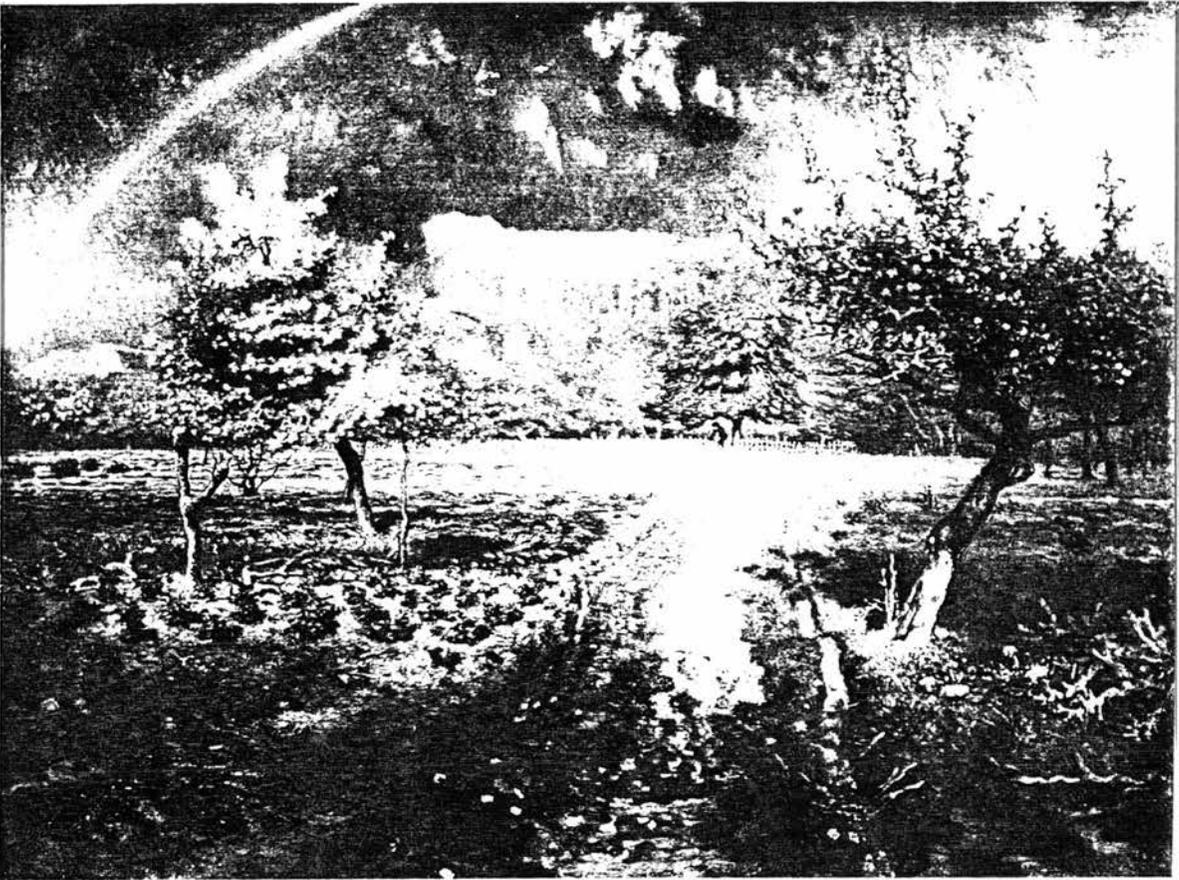


Fig.32

Death and the Woodcutter.  
(1859 Oil. Copenhagen. Carlsberg Glyptotek).

Fig. 33

Flight to Egypt.  
(1864 Crayon. Dijon. Musee des Beaux Arts.)

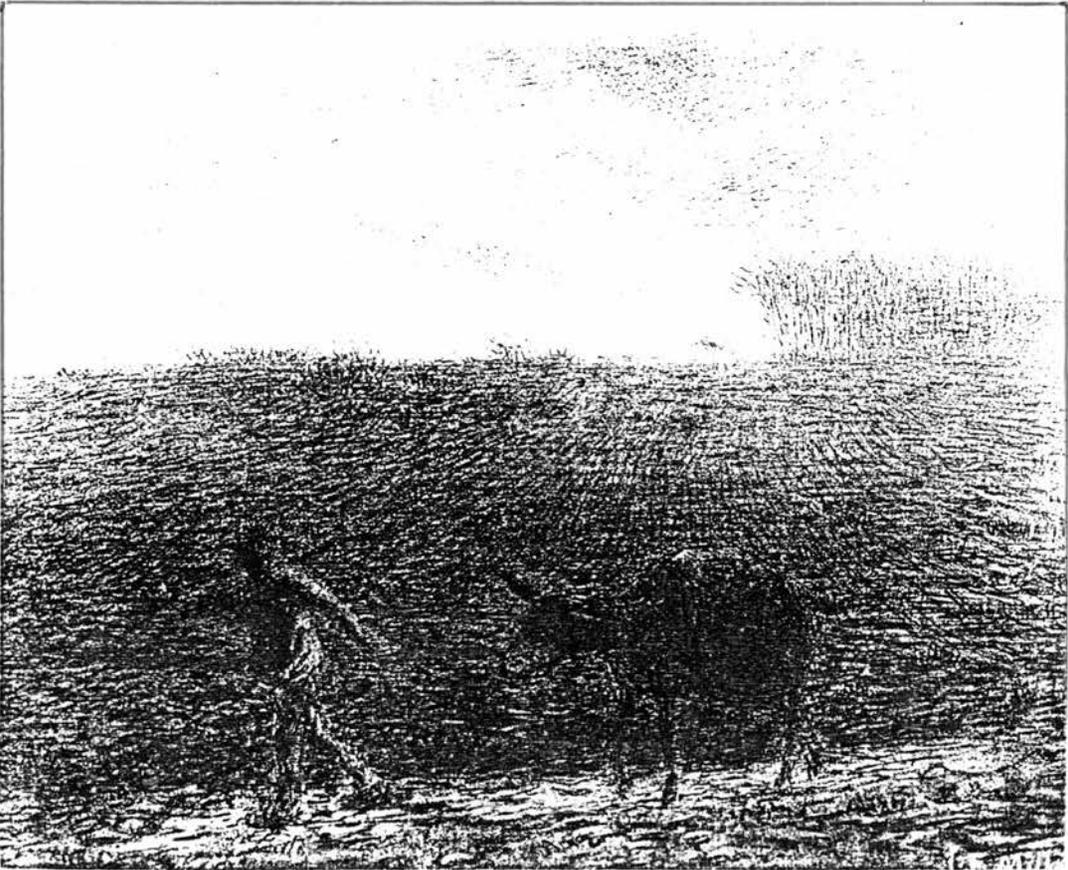


Fig. 34

Return from the Fields.  
(1866 Pastel. Boston. Museum of Fine Arts.)