‘Sèvres-mania’? The Histories of Collecting Sèvres Porcelain in Britain, c.1789-1886

Caroline Mary McCaffrey-Howarth

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Declaration of Authorship

The candidate confirms that the work submitted is her own and that appropriate credit has been given where reference has been made to the work of others.

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Abstract

This thesis positions the histories of collecting pre-Revolutionary French Sèvres porcelain within broader socio-cultural frameworks in nineteenth-century Britain, from the epistemic shift of the French Revolution, until the 1880s. 'Sèvres-mania' is introduced as a legitimate scholarly term that considers the complex processes underpinning a wide range of collecting networks including: collectors, dealers, agents, exhibitions, museum curators, scholars, and auction houses. It considers the different value structures assigned to 'old' Sèvres as objects were transferred, knowledge was exchanged, and new discourses emerged. It opposes previous scholarship that assumes the collecting of Sèvres was a mere continuation of eighteenth-century tradition. Instead it contends that 'Sèvres-mania' emerged at different stages during the 1800s, governed by shifting collecting paradigms and distinct cultural practices, including: as a stimulus to historial consciousness, changing notions of authenticity, as a prize specimen of public exhibitions, as an emergent arena for connoisseurial expertise, and a prize commodity of the late nineteenth-century auction room.

Although at first limited to a select and privileged network of aristocratic collectors, from the 1850s onwards Sèvres occupied a new place in public socio-cultural discourse, influenced by the democratizing role of exhibitions and the dynamic competition of auction houses. Drawing on a significant number of archival sources, many of which have been previously undiscovered or overlooked by scholars, this thesis follows a chronological structure. Using an interdisciplinary approach influenced by object agency, sociology and history of collecting theories, it examines pre-Revolutionary Sèvres porcelain as a materialization of the *ancien régime,* which acted as a social agent amongst

collecting networks engaged in ‘Sèvres-mania’. Throughout it unites socio-historical discourse and theoretical approaches with more connoisseurial methods found in traditional decorative art history. In doing so this thesis situates the histories of collecting Sèvres within wider interventions into the role of decorative arts in art historical discourse, and thus paves a way for a reinvigoration of French porcelain history within wider academic scholarship.

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Abbreviations

Archives Manufacture Nationale de Sèvres (AMNS)

Blythe House Archives (BHA)

Christie's Archives, London (CAL)

Cumbria Record Office (CRO)

Rothschild Trust Archives (RTA)

Thomas Goode & Co. Archives (TGA)

Introduction

This thesis explores the passionate collecting of *pâte-tendre* pre-Revolutionary Royal Sèvres porcelain from c.1789-1886, dispersed into new systems of circulation in nineteenth-century Britain due to the shifting socio-political fabric of the French Revolution.[1] This time frame encompasses the earliest subject of the enquiry —the direct aftermath of the French Revolution and the circulation of Sèvres porcelain between Paris and Britain from 1789 onwards— to its latest, the posthumous auction of the extravagant collector the 1st Earl of Dudley (1817-1885) whose sale held in 1886 showed a decline in the high prices achieved at auction. From the beginning of its manufacture in the 1740s at the disused Royal Château at Vincennes, *pâte-tendre* Sèvres porcelain existed within an overall system of luxury production representative of the power structures and politics of the *ancien régime*.[2] Gaining the *Conseil à privilege du roi* in 1745 which gave them the monopoly over all other French factories, using two interlaced LL's for King Louis XV as their branded mark, moving closer to the Royal residence at Versailles in 1756, and being purchased by Louis XV outright in Autumn 1759, the Sèvres manufactory acted as a manifestation of the monarch's power.[3] Considered to be too closely aligned with monarchial cultural production the Sèvres manufactory was nationalised in 1793,

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[1] Pre-Revolutionary Sèvres here refers specifically to *pâte-tendre* or soft-paste porcelain which was produced at the Sèvres Manufactory from its inception in the 1740s until the beginning of the French Revolution in 1789, when it was superseded by *pâte-dure* or hard-paste Sèvres which was much more stable in the kiln and therefore more cost effective. The collecting of contemporary nineteenth-century Sèvres is not considered, although this has been dealt with in other literature and a wide-range of archival material is extant at the *Archives Manufacture Nationale de Sèvres* (*AMNS*), see for example: Steven Adams, 'Sèvres Porcelain and the Articulation of Imperial Identity in Napoleonic France,' *Journal of Design History*, Volume 20, Issue 3, 1 October 2007, 183–204.

[2] Leora Auslander has written extensively about the political meanings associated with luxury goods as representations of monarchical power in eighteenth-century France: Leora Auslander, *Taste and Power, Furnishing Modern France* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1996), 14.

[3] For a detailed introduction to the French Royal Sèvres Manufactory see: Svend Eriksen and Geoffrey de Bellaigue, *Sèvres Porcelain, Vincennes and Sèvres 1740-1800*, (London: Faber and Faber, 1987).

and in 1804 the decision was taken to discontinue the production of *pâte-tendre* Sèvres indefinitely.[4] Not only were new values assigned to *pâte-tendre* Pre-Revolutionary Sèvres due to its displacement during and following the French Revolution and Napoleonic Wars, its production stopped completely. In rejecting the cultural production of *pâte-tendre* Sèvres, the new regime provided an even greater incentive for nineteenth-century collectors, who acquired objects from the recent historical past which could no longer be produced, and were essentially extinct.

As such this thesis traces the paradigmatic transformation of pre-Revolutionary Sèvres into a historical 'old' object, the specialised and intellectual collecting rhetoric which emerged alongside this, and the discursive frameworks underpinning the emergence of Sèvres connoisseurship and French porcelain history, until the 1886 posthumous auction of Lord Dudley. This is not to suggest that Dudley's death was solely responsible for impacting on the whole market for Sèvres at this time but instead should be seen as symptomatic of a changing collecting rhetoric for 'old' Sèvres more generally. The years preceding Dudley's auction demonstrated a deceleration in the competitive market for Sèvres, encouraged by Dudley's own failing financial situation, the death of several key collectors, the rising financial difficulties faced by the aristocratic classes, and notable auctions including the Hamilton Palace Sale of 1882. The 1880s also bore witness to a shift in the collecting of Sèvres from Britain to America.[5] The intention therefore is not to propose that the British collecting of Sèvres porcelain stopped abruptly in 1886 but to indicate instead that the mania for collecting Sèvres moved at this time to American

[4] Tamara Préaud and Derek E. Ostergard, *The Sèvres Porcelain Manufactory: Alexandre Brongniart and the Triumph of Art and Industry*, (New York: Bard Graduate Center for Studies in the Decorative Arts, 1999), 2.
[5] For more information see, David Cannadine, *The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1990), 90.

collectors such as J.P. Morgan (1837-1913) and Henry Clay Frick (1849-1919) who soon took over the market monopoly for acquiring Sèvres.

Introduced in this study is the concept of 'Sèvres-mania' which I put forward as a legitimate and scholarly term that acts as a discursive framework encapsulating the social, cultural and intellectual practices involved in the histories of collecting Sèvres. The focus throughout this thesis is primarily on British collecting networks, given that French society disassociated itself so intently from tangible reminders of the *ancien régime* during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars.[6] In essence, it views 'Sèvres-mania' as a socio-cultural and anthropological event which in many ways aligns with how Krzysztof Pomian has defined collections: as being 'placed at the crossroads of several different currents of thought'.[7] This thesis situates itself within, and contributes to, the pioneering scholarship surrounding the cultural study of the decorative arts and does this by uniting socio-historical discourse and theoretical approaches with more connoisseurial methods found in traditional French porcelain history. First and foremost, this is an art historical examination, rooted in archival material, as well as textual and visual analysis. A variety of sociological and history of collecting theories also facilitate an interdisciplinary approach by providing a lens with which to uncover the socio-economic and moral dilemmas at play within a collecting mania, as well as the psychological insights and motivations underlying collecting networks. Currently, no study exists which examines the histories of collecting Sèvres within an interdisciplinary framework; this thesis aims to fill this lacuna. Whilst not all scholarship seeks the same categories of

[6] Towards the end of the Bourbon Restoration (1814-1830) collecting networks in France had redeveloped an interest in the cultural importance of 'old' Sèvres as noted by the English diarist Thomas Raikes. Whilst travelling there in 1836 Raikes stated that: 'years ago, when we were buying up with eagerness the buhl, the Sèvres, the bronzes, and other objects of taste, the French would ridicule our fancy for vieilleries and rococo, now they are collecting them with the greatest eagerness'. Thomas Raikes, *A Portion of the Journal Kept by Thomas Raikes, Esq., from 1831-1847,* (London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longman, 1856), 361.

[7] Krzysztof Pomian, *Collectors and Curiosities, Paris and Venice, 1500-1800,* (Oxford: Wiley, 1991), 6.

knowledge, an interdisciplinary approach can help to formulate and structure ideas within a new interpretative milieu.[8] As the former Sèvres archivist Tamara Préaud once declared, 'it is not for me to measure the possible influence of Sèvres in England'; perhaps more to the point, Préaud and other scholars of French porcelain history have overlooked the theoretical and historical tools needed to undertake this type of socio-cultural research.[9] Taking established historiography into account it becomes evident that there has been a lack of critical engagement with the history of collecting Sèvres. Often pursuing more descriptive, linear and empirical accounts of collections, previous scholarship has privileged the role of the collector or dealer as a singular figure thus neglecting the changing socio-political contexts and cultural frameworks underpinning the collecting of Sèvres.[10] Furthermore, scholars have tended to homogenise the taste for Sèvres, treating collectors as mere social emulators who continued to engage in eighteenth-century collecting rhetoric, and have assumed that an intensified interest in Sèvres emerged gradually throughout the nineteenth century.[11] Instead this investigation positions the subject of Sèvres porcelain within wider historical and academic discussions in relation

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[8] For a useful discussion regarding the complex relationships between interdisciplinarity and subjects including art history, history, literary studies and material culture, see: Eugenia Zuroski and Michael Yonan, 'Material Fictions: A Dialogue as Introduction', *Eighteenth-Century Fiction,* Vol. 31, no.1, Autumn, 2018, University of Toronto Press, 1-18.

[9] Tamara Préaud, 'Competition from Sèvres Porcelain', *Derby Porcelain International Society,* Vol IV, 2000, 38-48.

[10] Whereas this thesis situates itself within a wider area of academic discourse, previous scholarship has prioritised a more monographic approach, which is rooted in connoisseurial practice. See for example: Bet McLeod, 'Horace Walpole and Sèvres porcelain. The collection at Strawberry Hill', *Apollo* (Jan. 1998), 42-47; Rosalind Savill, 'The Sèvres Porcelain Collection of the Fifth Duke and Duchess of Buccleuch', Tessa Murdoch, (eds.), *Boughton House: The English Versailles*, (London: Faber and Faber, 1992); Geoffrey De Bellaigue, 'Edward Holmes Baldock', Part I, *The Connoisseur, Vol. 189* (August 1975), 290-9; Part II, Vol. 190 (September 1975), 18-25.

[11] Several scholars have alluded to the enduring taste for decorative art of the *ancien régime* during the nineteenth century. See for example: Adriana Turpin, 'Appropriation as a form of Nationalism? Collecting French Furniture in the Nineteenth Century', *Jan Dirk Baetens and Dries Lyna* (eds.), *Art Crossing Borders, The Internationalisation of the Art Market in the Age of Nation States, 1750-1914*, (Leiden: Brill Publishing, 2019), 220-255, 221; Jon Whiteley, 'Collectors of Eighteenth-Century French art in London: 1800-1850', Christoph Martin Vogtherr, (ed.), *Delicious Decadence: The Rediscovery of French Eighteenth-Century Painting,* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), 46; Carl Dauterman, *The Wrightsman Collections,* Vol.3 and Vol.4, (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1970), 183.

to the impact of the French Revolution and the changing rhetoric of nineteenth-century collecting practices and discourse. By using an interdisciplinary approach and following a chronological structure, this thesis incorporates new archival findings and views the histories of collecting Sèvres as integral to nineteenth-century cultural life in Britain.[12] This is considered through social and commercial networks of reciprocal relations operating within private and public spheres of collecting. The intention here is not to present private and public spheres in nineteenth-century Britain as opposing binaries, rather it views the public sphere as being beyond the private individual.[13] For example collectors often visited other collections, and whilst this could be considered as a public exchange it still occurred within the private and domestic home of an individual. These collecting networks comprised aristocratic and working classes, and a plurality of discrete identities: collectors, dealers, agents, auction houses and from the 1850s onwards, exhibitions, curators, museums and the wider public.[14] Throughout this thesis the phrase 'collecting network' refers to all those individuals involved with the process of collecting

[12] The ever-increasing role played by Paris as a socio-cultural space for British collecting networks will receive some consideration throughout this thesis, particularly in Chapters I and II, however it was necessary to restrict the geographical scope in order to ensure the manageability of the project. It is hoped that future research could include European collecting networks more broadly, as well as American networks, who came to the forefront of the market towards the end of the nineteenth century.

[13] Throughout this thesis the private sphere is conceptualised as being restricted to the private individual and therefore more privileged relationships. On the other hand, museums and exhibitions can be understood as being beyond the private individual, or as Habermas proposes, 'open to all', this notion will receive greater attention in Chapter III.? Jurgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An inquiry into a category of bourgeois society,* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1991), 1.

[14] Towards the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the 1800s the British ruling class was still predominantly aristocratic and plutocratic, with a political monopoly over the House of Lords, and unprecedented wealth through land ownership and the consolidation of estates and titles. Yet as historian Peter Mandler has discussed, from 1800 onwards the aristocracy, whilst retaining economic and social stability, were 'at the core of a more fluid and hybridized ruling class', Peter Mandler, 'Caste or Class? The Social and Political Identity of the Aristocracy since 1800', Jorn Leonhard, (ed.), *What Makes the Nobility Noble? Comparative Perspectives from the Sixteenth to the Twentieth Century*, (Gottingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011), 178-188, 178. See also: Krishan Kumar, *The Making of English National Identity,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 167; John Cannon, *Aristocratic Century, The Peerage of Eighteenth Century England,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 106-114; David Cannadine, *Aspects of Aristocracy*, 12.

Sèvres in its broadest sense, including those who participated in assembling, selecting, selling, and disassembling a collection, as well as those involved in a more extended notion of collecting practice, such as the spectatorship of Sèvres at exhibition. The plurality adopted here by investigating the *histories* of collecting Sèvres enables a broader investigation into changing collecting practices, collaborative processes of collecting, and the shifting cultural identity of collecting networks at different stages in the century.[15] By historically situating collecting networks, this thesis is able to consider for the first time in scholarship the changing value structures of Sèvres and the discourses which emerged as it circulated between collections, exhibitions and auction houses. As anthropologist Fred Myers has revealed, 'art enters into more than a single regime of value'.[16] As pre-Revolutionary Sèvres moves through the exchange processes inherent within nineteenth-century collecting networks, its changing regimes of values can be interrogated. At its core therefore this thesis views collections as potential sites of knowledge production, whereby forms of knowledge were carried in and by material objects through the process of 'Sèvres-mania'.[17]

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[15] By definition the word 'collect' comes from the Latin verb *colligere, col-* meaning 'together' and *lligere* to 'choose'. It is worth noting that scholarship conducted by Mark Westgarth, Barbara Lasic and Diana Davis has started to situate dealers and collectors within wider networks of exchange during the nineteenth century, see for example: Mark Westgarth, *A Biographical Dictionary of Nineteenth Century Antique and Curiosity Dealers* (Glasgow: Regional Furniture, 2009); Barbara Lasic, 'Vendu à des Anglois: the collecting of eighteenth century French decorative arts, 1789-1830', Jonathan Glynne (ed.), *Networks of Design: Proceedings of the 2008 Annual International Conference of the Design History Society,* (California: Universal Publishers, 2010), 183-198; Diana Davis, 'From Private to Public: A Dihl and Guérhard Sabines Vase', *French Porcelain Society Journal,* Volume VII, (London: Gomer Press, 2018), 227-253; Diana Davis, *The Tastemakers: British Dealers and the Making of the Anglo-Gallic Interior, 1785-1865*, (LA: The Getty Research Institute, forthcoming Spring 2020).

[16] Myers advocates that a variety of approaches can be adopted to interrogate the changing meanings ascribed to a single object. Fred Myers, *The Empire of Things: Regimes of Value and Material Culture,* (Sante Fe: School of American Resarch Press, 2001), 28.

[17] The construction of meaning through art collecting has been discussed by Mieke Bal and Susan Pearce; Mieke Bal, 'Telling objects: a narrative perspective on collecting', John Elsner, Roger Cardinal (eds.), *The Cultures of Collecting,* (London: Reaktion Books, 1994), 97-115; Susan Pearce, 'Objects as meaning; or, narrating the past' Susan Pearce (ed.), *Objects of knowledge,* (Athlone Press, London and Atlantic Highlands, 1990), 125-140. For a more recent discussion which is grounded in a more interdisciplinary approach see: Eugenia Zuroski and Michael Yonan, 'Material Fictions: A Dialogue as Introduction', 9.

In principal, one of the main contributions of this thesis is that its interdisciplinary approach enables new questions to be asked of extant archival material in the Wallace Collection, V&A and Blythe House, Christie's Archives, the Rothschild Trust Archives, Historic England Archives, London Metropolitan Archives, Archives Nationales, and Archives Manufacture Nationale de Sèvres, as well as in country house collections including Boughton House, Harewood House, Blair Castle, and Uppark House. In addition to readdressing established literature, an extensive breadth of new archival sources has been examined, many of which have been overlooked or undiscovered previously. Notably much archival evidence pertaining to several collectors and antique dealers, including the 1st Earl of Dudley, the 2nd Earl of Lonsdale (1787-1872), Henry Broadwood (1793-1878), John Jarman, Edward Holmes Baldock (1777-1845) and William Goode (d.1895), have been identified for the first time thanks to extensive archival trips to the Cumbria Record Office in Carlisle, Dudley Archives and Local History Service, and the Thomas Goode archives in London. Throughout this investigation a large number of archival sources have been examined in archives across Great Britain and in Paris; in English, French and Italian, and all translations have been carried out by the author. They have been interpreted and translated with caution, as at times the archive existed only partially, the arrangement of the archive was negotiated at a much later date, or stylistic terms given in the nineteenth century required a different interpretation from those used today in French porcelain history, this occurred frequently with probate inventories and auction sale catalogues. This thesis therefore employs a varied range of visual and archival source materials, which include the objects themselves, letters, diaries, inventories, bills and receipts, photographs, annotated sale catalogues, as well as contemporary published material such as novels, newspapers,

auction sale catalogues, exhibition catalogues, scholarly publications, and an array of secondary literature.[18]

Pre-Revolutionary Sèvres Porcelain

As cultural historian Tom Stammers has stated, scholars need to 'pay more attention to the fate of objects that were *displaced*' due to the French Revolution, a demand which is answered here.[19] Throughout its production pre-Revolutionary Sèvres embodied the political and socio-cultural systems of the monarchial regimes of King Louis XV (1710-1774) and King Louis XVI (1754-1793).[20] Whilst little documentation exists regarding the very beginnings of the factory, Tamara Préaud, the former archivist at Sèvres, and Antoine d'Albis, the former technical director have discovered detailed knowledge concerning its conception.[21] A European desire to replicate successfully the material of porcelain existed from the mid-seventeenth century when hard-paste or *pâte-dure* Chinese porcelain arrived through trade routes, often as export ware. By 1708-1709 Johann Friedrich Böttger (1682-1719) in Dresden, Germany is thought to have discovered that petuntse and kaolin were essential components in the chemical make-up of creating *pâte-dure* porcelain. The newly founded Meissen factory subsequently held the

[18] Whilst the periodical press is used throughout as a key source of primary evidence, it is understood as being embedded with the socio-historical conditions of the time in which it was produced. For a greater discussion regarding the problematic nature of the archive see: Jacques Derrida and Eric Prenowitz, 'Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression', *Diacritics* Vol. 25, No. 2 (Summer, 1995), 9-63; Lyn Pykett, 'Reading the Periodical Press: Text and Context', Laurel Brake, Aled Jones and Lionel Madden, (eds.), *Investigating Victorian Journalism*, (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1990), 3-18.
[19] Tom Stammers, 'The Bric-a-Brac of the Old Regime: Collecting and Cultural History in Post-Revolutionary France', *French History,* 22.3, 2008, 295-315*,* 297.
[20] Leora Auslander, *Taste and Power, Furnishing Modern France Taste and Power,* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1996), 1.
[21] Tamara Préaud and Antoine d'Albis, *Les Porcelaine de Vincennes,* (Paris: Adam Biro, 1991), 7-20.

monopoly for the European production of porcelain until the latter half of the eighteenth century. King Louis XIV of France was particularly keen to discover the secret to creating porcelain but the necessary deposit of kaolin needed to produce *pâte-dure* was not discovered in France until as late as 1768. Nevertheless, the first *pâte-tendre* porcelain factories opened in Saint-Cloud, Mennecy and Chantilly in the early 1700s. In fact, it was a worker from Chantilly, Claude Humbert Gérin who was behind the formation of the Vincennes-Sèvres manufactory.[22] Gérin understood the chemistry behind the creation of *pâte-tendre* porcelain and with two fellow workers, the Dubois brothers, Gilles and Robert, they all left the Chantilly factory and established themselves in 1740 at the Château de Vincennes, which at that time was an abandoned royal residence.[23] Working together at Vincennes they discovered a process that made the *pâte-tendre* very white, hiring more assistants including François Gravant who soon secured a better understanding of the chemical process.[24] Gravant improved the composition of the paste and sought financial backing from Orry de Fulvy, who was the *Intendant au Ministère des Finances.*[25] Whilst Gérin soon left to work at the manufactory at Faubourg Saint-Antoine, by 1745 Gravant had managed to produce a paste that created a fine and white porcelain even after rigorous firing at temperatures of at least 1200°C.[26] From this point onwards Vincennes porcelain had developed the ability to equal and rival that of Meissen, celebrated for its delicate compoisiton and translucency, pre-Revolutionary Sèvres was

[22] Linda Roth, *French eighteenth-century porcelain at the Wadsworth Atheneum: the J. Pierpont Morgan collection*, (Hartford: Wadsworth Atheneum, 2000), 86.
[23] John Whitehead, *Sèvres sous Louis XV*, (Paris: Sèvres, Cité de la céramique, 2010), 22.
[24] Before the manufactory moved to Sèvres, it was referred to as Vincennes porcelain. In this thesis specific objects that are mentioned which date to during the era of Vincennes production (1740s-1756) will be described as such, any pieces post-1756 will be referred to as Sèvres porcelain. To avoid confusion, when referring to pre-Revolutionary Sèvres as a whole I include pieces from the late 1740s to 1789.
[25] Tamara Préaud and Antoine d'Albis, *Les Porcelaine de Vincennes,* 21-25.
[26] *Pâte-tendre* porcelain was a composite of marl clay and a frit, consisting of saltpetre, gypsum, alum, sand, salt and soda of Alicante, and would often need to undergo as many as ten firing sessions in the kiln.

recognised by innovative shapes, vibrant ground colours, delicately painted reserves and detailed gilding.

By 1746 Gérin was called on to return to Vincennes, and it is this period onwards which marks the beginning of steady production as sales continued to grow.[27] From 1750 onwards over 100 workers were employed at the porcelain factory, including 45 women who were supervised by Gravant's wife and specialised in porcelain flowers.[28] Whilst production at the Vincennes manufactory had therefore started from the 1740s onwards, its commercial success and subsequent close relationship to the monarchy truly began on 24 July 1745 when it was granted the *Conseil à privilege du roi,* giving Vincennes market dominance to produce and sell *pâte-tendre* porcelain above all of the other French factories.[29] During this time, the luxury export trade for Vincennes became established, for example in 1751, through the *marchand mercier* Lazare Duvaux, Madame de Pompadour had 'trois vases garnis de fleurs de Vincennes, envoyés en Angleterre'[30] and a year later, the first Englishman to buy from Sèvres, appears to have been the Earl of Huntington who sent porcelain flowers to Lady Chesterfield.[31]

During the summer of 1756 a growing desire for greater production, superior technical workshops and an increased workforce resulted in a move from Vincennes to a newly designed and purpose-built manufactory at Sèvres (Fig.I). Located only five miles from Versailles, the official residence of the King, the connection between the Sèvres manufactory and its Royal and political associations flourished, and in autumn 1759,

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[27] Tamara Préaud and Antoine d'Albis, *Les Porcelaine de Vincennes,* 28-35.
[28] Georges Lechevallier-Chevignard, *La Manufacture de porcelaine de Sèvres, histoire de la manufacture 1738-1876*, (Paris: H. Laurens, 1908), 17.
[29] This privilege specified that the manufactory could exclusively produce 'porcelain in the Saxon manner, painted and gilded', Georges Lechevallier-Chevignard, *La Manufacture de porcelaine de Sèvres, histoire de la manufacture 1738-1876*, (Paris, H. Laurens, 1908), 10.
[30] 'three vases filled with Vincennes porcelain flowers, were sent to England', Louis Courajod, *Livre-journal de Lazare Duvaux, marchand-bijoutier ordinaire du roi, 1748-58*, 99.
[31] Carl Dauterman, *The Wrightsman Collections,* Vol.3 and Vol.4, (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1970), 163.

Louis XV bought it outright and placed the manufactory 'under the control of men chosen by himself: the Minister of State, Henri-Léonard-Jean-Baptiste Bertin, Commissioner Courteille, the Director, Jacques-René Boileau and the Chemist, Jean Hellot, who was assisted by his colleague, Pierre-Joseph Macquer.'[32] From this moment onwards Sèvres porcelain was promoted and supported exclusively by the Royal family and their courtiers, in line with other manufactories and the Parisian Guild systems linked to the Bourbon family, including Gobelins and Chantilly. Notably, from 1759 onwards an annual New Year exhibition was organised on the King's behalf which showcased Sèvres' and reinforced the luxury status of their production.[33] Sèvres porcelain dominated the European porcelain market, as evidenced by the numerous names of aristocrats and dealers which continued to appear in the Sales Ledgers, and the increasing number of factories across England including Chelsea, Derby and Worcester, which sought to replicate shapes, decorative schemes and ground colours in the 'Sèvres' style.[34] Comte de Milly's *L'Art de la Porcelaine* published in 1771 further highlighted the methods of production and manufacture at Sèvres, and as art historian Juliet Carey has observed, Milly presented the Sèvres manufactory as both Royal and supreme in comparison to the other Paris factories.[35] To the rest of Europe, the Sèvres manufactory now represented the power, novelty and the creativity of the French State, which would continue until the beginnings of the French Revolution.

By the 1790s however, Antoine Régnier, the then director of the Sèvres Manufactory came under great pressure to unite production with the ideological aims of the

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[32] Tamara Préaud 'Histoire de la Manufacture Nationale de Sèvres', *Sèvres-1740, Manufacture a Sèvres 1740-2006*, (exhibition catalogue), 2006, 381.
[33] Svend Eriksen and Geoffrey de Bellaigue, *Sèvres Porcelain: Vincennes and Sèvres 1740-1800,* (London: Faber and Faber, 1987), 101.
[34] For example, see: Aileen Dawson, *The Art of Worcester Porcelain, 1751-1788: Masterpieces from the British Museum*, (London: British Museum Publications, 2007), 106-107.
[35] Juliet Carey, 'Aiming High: Porcelain, Sèvres and the Grand Vase', *Art History,* Association of Art Historians, (2008), 721-753, 722.

Revolutionary government.[36] After he hesitated to destroy old models and moulds, Régnier was severely reprimanded and ejected eventually in 1793.[37] It is of utmost importance to recognise that the manufacture of *pâte-tendre* Sèvres gradually declined from the 1790s onwards when their cultural production shifted to symbolise the democratic agenda of the Revolutionary government. From the late 1760s the French public had already been encouraged to appreciate 'the pure forms of the antique' instead of more Rococo-shaped and gilded vases, and this changing taste would only intensify.[38] The political strategies of the Sèvres manufactory therefore changed dramatically when it was nationalised in 1793, and its aesthetic embraced the antique, executing pieces exclusively in *pâte-dure* porcelain, whose chemical composition remained much more stable in the kiln and required 800°C less heat than *pâte-tendre* ware.[39] By July 1793 the *Ministère de l'Intérieur* Dominique-Joseph Garat (1749-1833) demanded that the interlaced LL's and crowns which had marked the porcelain since the early 1750s were replaced with 'Sèvres R.F.', thus distancing the Revolutionary production even further from its former role as a luxury symbol of the *ancien régime*.[40] With this in mind, it becomes apparent that pre-Revolutionary Sèvres was a distinct form of eighteenth-century decorative art whose cultural, aesthetic and historical value was redefined from 1789 onwards.

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[36] Tamara Préaud and Derek E. Ostergard, *The Sèvres Porcelain Manufactory: Alexandre Brongniart and the Triumph of Art and Industry*, (New York: Bard Graduate Center for Studies in the Decorative Arts, 1999), 17.
[37] Tamara Préaud and Derek E. Ostergard, *The Sèvres Porcelain Manufactory*, 17.
[38] Francis Haskell, *Rediscoveries in Art*, 108.
[39] John Whitehead, *Sèvres at the Time of Louis XVI* (Paris: Sèvres, Cité de la céramique, 2010), 22.
[40] John Whitehead, *Sèvres at the Time of Louis XVI*, 119.

Historiography

As Alden Cavanaugh and Michael Yonan proclaimed in *The Cultural Aesthetics of Eighteenth-Century Porcelain,* 'art historians have largely tucked porcelain out of sight'.[41] An extant hierarchy within the discipline of art history, especially within the institution of the university, has long disadvantaged the study of the decorative arts, and in particular, art historian Katie Scott has blamed a widespread contempt for decorative art on art historical discourse itself.[42] Similarly, within the historiography of collecting, neither the decorative arts nor material culture has always received the attention it deserves.[43] In fact, a critical investigation into the histories of collecting decorative arts and a turn towards a more theoretical analysis into the decorative arts within art historical discourse is still being formed.[44] It is necessary for this investigation to first map out the existing historiographical landscapes and discourses of ceramics scholarship, and the history of French porcelain in particular.[45] French porcelain history— for the most part

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[41] Alden Cavanaugh and Michael Yonan, *The Cultural Aesthetics of Eighteenth-Century Porcelain,* (New York: Ashgate, 2010), 3.

[42] Katie Scott, 'Image-Object-Space'*, Art History,* Association of Art Historians, (2005), 136-150, 137.

[43] Frequently, books on the subject have been more interested in charting rising tastes and collecting patterns for paintings and sculpture, rather than the decorative arts. See for example, Charles Sebag-Montefiore, *The British as Art Collectors*, (London: Scala Publishing, 2012); Frank Hermann, *The British as Collectors,* (Delaware: Oak Knoll Press, 1999); Francis Haskell, *Rediscoveries in Art: some aspects of taste, fashion and collecting in England and France,* (New York and London: Phaidon, 1976).

[44] Many scholars working in art history and material culture have embraced 'the cultural study of the decorative arts' especially work by Martina Droth, Katie Scott, Maureen Cassidy Geiger, Erin Campbell, Mimi Hellman, Barbara Lasic, and Michael Yonan. See most recently several articles published in the *Journal of Art Historiography* in December 2014. Three articles emerged from a panel organised for the College Art Association (CAA) annual meeting in New York in 2013 by Christina Anderson and Catherine Futter, which was entitled 'The Decorative Arts within Art Historical Discourse: Where is the Dialogue Now and Where is it Heading?', Christina Anderson and Catherine Futter, 'The Decorative Arts within Art Historical Discourse: Where is the Dialogue Now and Where is it Heading?', *Journal of Art Historiography,* Number 11, December 2014, 1-9.

[45] For a useful introduction on the current ceramics field in scholarship see: Alden Cavanaugh and Michael Yonan, *The Cultural Aesthetics of Eighteenth-Century Porcelain,* (New York: Ashgate, 2010).

located within a context of museum or art market expertise— has remained within a connoisseurial agenda, focused on stylistic methods of investigation in order to establish authorship, attribution, and the authenticity of pieces.[46] Whilst some specialists have recently moved away from a sole focus on the empirical aspect of ceramics, this has been conducted primarily within the realms of material culture or design history, as scholars have sought to better understand the consumption, production and materiality of ceramics.[47] Alden and Yonan for example have repositioned eighteenth-century porcelain within new interpretative frameworks in order to emphasise its capacity for cultural meaning and theoretical analysis, although they do not consider the role played by collectors.[48] As art historian Erin Campbell explains, scholarship is moving towards 'an intervention in the way that scholars encounter, understand, and study what has come to be called the decorative arts in the discipline of art history'.[49] By treating the collecting mania for Sèvres as an important aspect of socio-cultural life in nineteenth-century Britain, this research unites more empirical and conceptual approaches to the study of decorative art within art history and the history of collecting. It is worth noting that whilst this is not a connoisseurial investigation *per se* my knowledge of Sèvres porcelain has

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[46] As Elizabeth Mansfield has explored, scholars that share similar goals contribute towards the formation of a particular discipline. Elizabeth Mansfield, *Art History and Its Institutions: The Nineteenth Century,* (London: Routledge, 2002), 1-2.

[47] Much of this has occurred through global design history, for example design historians Robert Finlay and Stacey Pierson have explored the socio-political and cultural meaning associated with Chinese export porcelains. For example, see: Robert Finlay, *The Pilgrim Art: Cultures of Porcelain in World History,* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010); Stacey Pierson, *From Object to Concept: Global Consumption and the transformation of Ming Porcelain,* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2013).

[48] Alden Cavanaugh and Michael Yonan, *The Cultural Aesthetics of Eighteenth-Century Porcelain*, 5-8.

[49] Erin Campbell, 'Listening to Objects: an ecological approach to the decorative arts', *Journal of Art Historiography,* Number 11, December 2014, 1. Whilst the use of the phrase 'decorative art' is a historically contingent term and in many ways more associated with twentieth-century art history, the term emerged during the nineteenth century in relation to exhibition and museum rhetoric. Notably the exhibitions organised by the Museum of Ornamental Art from 1852 onwards, including a travelling exhibition, and later exhibitions organised by South Kensington Museum used the terms 'ornamental art', 'decorative art' and 'applied art' more or less interchangeably. For the purposes of this thesis the phrase 'decorative art' will take precedence, unless directly quoting from a source which prioritises 'ornamental' or 'applied'.

been central to some primary research undertaken during this thesis. Notably, there were several occasions when I consulted objects in person and examined their materiality, condition and authenticity at various museums, country houses and private collections.[50] This specialist knowledge has underpinned this investigation as I seek to situate 'Sèvres-mania' within both academic and curatorial circles by placing the histories of collecting Sèvres in dialogue with wider transformations in nineteenth-century visual and material culture.

It is important to recognise that the history of collecting exists already within an interdisciplinary space, encompassing art history, history, anthropology, sociology, economic theory, and psychology.[51] Attention will be given to established French porcelain history, which this thesis both reacts against and builds upon, in order to offer a reinvestigation into the historiography of collecting eighteenth-century French decorative art, as well as a reinvigoration of the study of Sèvres within academic

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[50] These included: The Victoria and Albert Museum, The Wallace Collection, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Wadsworth Athenaeum, Winterthur Museum, The Walters Art Museum, le Musée des arts décoratifs, *le Musée national du Céramique,* Harewood House, Goodwood House, Petworth House, Boughton House, Uppark House and Blair Castle.

[51] Many scholars have examined the interdisciplinary nature inherent in the history of collecting, for example please see the work of Krzysztof Pomian who considers collections as anthropological events, Krzysztof Pomian, *Collectors and Curiosities*, 6. Often more theoretical studies on the history of collecting fall into three overarching categories; psychological, social and economic. Although some writers touch on all areas, notably Elsner and Cardinal's *Cultures of Collecting,* published in 1994, draws together various interdisciplinary approaches. Psychological writings are often influenced by psychoanalysis and include Werner Muensterberger, Dianne Sachko Macleod, Donald Woods Winnicott; social perspectives often have Marxian roots and include figures such as Pierre Bourdieu, Jean Baudrillard, Susan Pearce, Michel Foucault, Mieke Bal; and economic works deal with the consumer aspect of collecting including Russell Belk, David Cannadine and Gerald Reitlinger. See for example, Werner Muensterberger, *Collecting, an unruly passion: psychological perspectives,* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1993); Diane Sachko Macleod, *Enchanted Lives, Enchanted Objects,* (California: University of California Press, 2008); Donald Woods Winnicott, *Playing and Reality,* (London: Routledge, 1991 edition)*;* Pierre Bourdieu, *The field of cultural production: essays on art and literature* trans. R. Jones, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993); Jean Baudrillard, *System of Objects; The Consumer Society: Myth and Structure,* (London: Sage, 1998); Susan Pearce, *On collecting: an investigation into collecting in the European tradition,* (London: Routledge, 1995)*;* Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things,* (London: Routledge, 2005 edition); Russell Belk*, Collecting in a Consumer Society,* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995); David Cannadine, *Rise and Fall of the British Aristocracy,* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1990); Gerald Reitlinger, *The Economics of Taste, Volume I, II and II,* (London: Barrie and Rockliff, 1961-1970).

discourse.[52] The interdisciplinary approach adopted here is central to the overall contribution of this doctoral thesis as it has never before been attempted by scholars. In fact, much discourse on the history of Sèvres still relies heavily on scholarly publications and exhibition catalogues from the mid-nineteenth century onwards, when ceramics connoisseurship first evolved.[53] Primarily this discursive framework enables scholars to correctly identify makers, marks and monograms and then undertake provenance research in order to trace pieces back to the original eighteenth-century buyer in the archives at Sèvres.[54] In the twentieth century, significant discoveries have established noteworthy

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[52] Although several scholars including Geoffrey de Bellaigue, Diana Davis, Barbara Lasic, Adriana Turpin and Megan Aldrich have examined the historical and social contexts surrounding the collecting of French eighteenth-century decorative arts, this has often consisted of a broad homogenous approach which relies upon case-studies of individual collectors, see for example: Geoffrey de Bellaigue, 'George IV and the Furnishings of Windsor Castle', *Furniture History,* 8, 1972, 1-34; Geoffrey de Bellaigue, 'George IV and French furniture', *The Connoisseur,* 195, June 1977, 116-25; Megan Aldrich, 'A Setting for Boulle Furniture. The Duke of Wellington's Gallery at Stratfield Saye', *Apollo,* 147, 436, June 1998, 19-27; David Ostergard, (ed.), *William Beckford: An Eye for the Magnificent,* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2001).

[53] See for example: *Traité des arts céramiques* by Alexandre Brongniart, the director of the Sèvres Manufactory (1844); *Collections Towards a History of Pottery and Porcelain* published by Joseph Marryat with two subsequent editions (1850 onwards); by 1866 the antiquarian William Chaffers published *Marks and Monograms on Pottery and Porcelain;* by the 1870s collectors such as George Greaves Brooks, Mrs Bury Palliser and William Prime, and the dealer Frederick Litchfield were publishing texts aimed directly at ceramics collectors including, *The China Collector's Assistant* (1860), *The China Collectors Pocket Companion* (1874), *Pottery and Porcelain of all times and nations: with tables of factory and artists' marks for the use of collectors* (1879), and *Pottery and Porcelain, a Guide for Collectors* in 1879. The subject also received special attention in several publications at the beginning of the twentieth century, including *Histoire des Manufactures francaises de Porcelaine* which Comte X. de Chavagnac and the Marquis de Grollier (1906); Francis Laking, *Sèvres Porcelain of Buckingham Palace and Windsor Castle* (1907); Emile Bourgeois and Georges Lechevallier-Chevignard's *Le biscuit de Sèvres* (1913); and Frederick Litchfield, 'Imitations and Reproductions. Part I, Sèvres Porcelain,' *The Connoisseur,* Vol. XLIX, September (1917).

[54] A vast amount of archives relating to the manufactory, bills, production, and workers remain to this day and are located at the *Archives Manufacture Nationale de Sèvres* (*AMNS*), scholarly efforts are encouraged by two academic societies, *La Société des Amis de Sèvres et du Musée national du Céramique* which was established in Paris in 1930 and The French Porcelain Society which was established in Britain in 1984 and has since produced several key publications, including a biennial peer-reviewed journal. More recent studies of the last fifty years have exploited the *AMNS* archives and include various articles in publications such as *The Connoisseur, Burlington Magazine and Apollo*. See for example the following articles, Geoffrey De Bellaigue, 'Edward Holmes Baldock', Part I, 290-9; Part II, 18-25; 'Sèvres Artists and their sources I: Paintings and Drawings', *Burlington Magazine*, *Vol. CXXII* (October 1980), 667-80; Part II, *Vol. CXXII* (November 1980), 748-59. Hugh Tait, 'Sèvres porcelain in the collection of the Earl of Harewood', Part I: The Early Period: 1750-60,' *Apollo,* Vol.79, June 1964, 474-478*;* and Vol.81, Jan 1965, 21-27.

provenance, although the role of collectors has tended to remain on the periphery.[55] Provenance research as a practice is a viable historical tradition, in particular scholars including Sir Geoffrey de Bellaigue and Dame Rosalind Savill have managed to trace pieces back to patrons such as Madame de Pompadour (1721-1764), Madame du Barry (1743-1793), and the European aristocracy, as well as matching forms to drawings in the *AMNS* archives, and painted scenes to existing artworks and engravings.[56] In the last fifty years several key books have ensured the continuation of the historical discourse of French porcelain, including *Paris Porcelain 1770-1850* by Régine de Plinval de Guillebon (1972), *Sèvres Porcelain*: *Makers and Marks* by Carl Dauterman (1986), *Sèvres Porcelain, Vincennes and Sèvres 1740-1800*, by Svend Eriksen and Geoffrey de Bellaigue (1987), an extensive three-volume series *The Wallace Collection Catalogue of Sèvres Porcelain* by Rosalind Savill (1988), *Vincennes and Sèvres Porcelain: Catalogue of the Collection* at the Getty Museum by Adrian Sassoon (1992), *Sèvres sous Louis XV et Louis XVI* by John Whitehead (2010), and the seminal three-volume *Sèvres Porcelain in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen* by Geoffrey de Bellaigue (2010) published shortly before his death. As Savill notes in de Bellaigue's recent obituary: 'Bellaigue saw an individual object as a conduit to wider connections within the decorative arts, their

[55] Of particular significance is a three-part article by Hugh Tait written for *Apollo* from 1964-1966 which considered the collection of Sèvres porcelain at Harewood House. Whilst Tait gives a detailed analysis of all the various styles, ground colours and painters, he does not mention the actual collector who acquired the Sèvres, Edward Lascelles, until the third and final part of the article. Hugh Tait, 'Sèvres porcelain in the collection of the Earl of Harewood', Part I, 474-478; and Part II-III, 21-27. More recently, whilst a Sèvres exhibition held at Harewood House in 2014 did pay greater attention to Lascelles' role as a collector, neither his motivations for collecting nor his relationships with contemporary collecting networks or dealers were fully considered. See for example: Rosalind Savill, *Sèvres from the Harewood Collection*, from the exhibition: *In Pursuit of the Exquisite: Royal Sèvres, from Versailles to Harewood,* 18 April-2 November 2014.

[56] Many of these achievements can be studied in the Geoffrey de Bellaigue Archive, which exists as part of The Wallace Collection, GB 1807 BELL, *The Wallace Collection Archives, London*. For further scholarship on the importance of provenance research within art and cultural history, particularly its role in the social history of art, see Gail Feigenbaum and Inge Reist (eds.), *Provenance: An Alternative History of Art,* (LA: Getty Research Institute, 2012), 1-4.

design and manufacture, function and display, and patronage and collecting.'[57] In fact, de Bellaigue was one of the first to pay attention to nineteenth-century Sèvres collectors and dealers, but only in relation to questions of provenance, ownership and social status.[58] Following on from de Bellaigue scholars have considered other collectors including: the 2nd, 3rd and 4th Marquess of Hertfords, 2nd Earl of Lonsdale, 5th Duke of Buccleuch (1806-1884), several members of the Rothschild family, as well as dealers, most notably Edward Holmes Baldock and Philip-Claude Maelrondt (d.1824). Nonetheless, these studies have often remained preoccupied with empirical investigation and provenance research, and have not attempted to place the collectors or their objects within wider cultural patterns.[59]

First mentioned in British newspapers as early as 1748, the eighteenth-century British public were intrigued by the Sèvres porcelain manufactory.[60] From the early 1760s it became customary and rather fashionable for visitors to Paris to tour the manufactory, something which the noted antiquarian Horace Walpole (1717-1797) undertook with the

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[57] Rosalind Savill, 'Sir Geoffrey de Bellaigue,' *Biographical Memoirs of Fellows of the British Academy*, XIV, 121–138. © The British Academy 2015, 128. I am grateful to Ros Savill for a copy of this obituary.

[58] Primarily de Bellaigue used his position as the Surveyor of the Queen's Works of Art from 1972-1996 to study the collection of the Prince Regent in great detail.

[59] See for example: Geoffrey De Bellaigue, 'Edward Holmes Baldock', Part I, 290-9; Part II, 18-25; Geoffrey de Bellaigue, 'Philippe-Claude Maelrondt, Supplier to George IV', *Burlington Magazine,* Vol. 146, No. 1215, *Decorative Arts,* (Jun., 2004), 386-395; Rosalind Savill, 'A profusion of fine old Sèvres china': The Collection of the 2nd Earl of Lonsdale (1787-1872), *French Porcelain Society Journal, Volume III,* (London: Trustees of the Wallace Collection, 2007); Barbara Lasic, 'A Display of Opulence. Alfred de Rothschild and the Visual Recording of Halton House', *Furniture History,* Vol. 40, (2004), 135-150*;* Elodie Goëssant, 'The Sèvres Porcelain Collection of George Watson-Taylor', *French Porcelain Society Journal,* Volume VII, (London: Gomer Press, 2018), 73-109, 77. Even the doctoral thesis written by ceramics scholar Bet McLeod which investigated the ceramic collections amassed by the Dukes of Hamilton neglected the histories of collecting these objects and instead focused purely on a connoisseurial description of known ceramics now extant in other museums: Bet McLeod, *The Western Ceramics in the Collections of the Dukes of Hamilton 1700-1920*, University of Glasgow, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, 2014.

[60] 'The French court seems to have very much at heart the promoting of the new manufacture of porcelane, which has lately been set up in the Royal Castle of Vincennes, with a view to equaling that of Saxony'. Monday 21 November, 1748*, The General Advertiser*.

Duke and Duchess of Richmond in September 1765.[61] To Walpole, and others at this time, Sèvres porcelain was a highly fashionable luxury commodity representative of good taste. Since the 1760s Sèvres also circulated on the second-hand English art market, and in fact, this thesis has discovered that it was sold at auction earlier than 1771 as scholarship has claimed previously.[62] In February 1769 Christie's held an auction from a 'person of Distinction; consisting of valuable jewels… some fine matchless pieces of seve' which had over fifteen lots of Sèvres porcelain.[63] Similarly, in January 1770 the Count de Sielern's collection was sold as including 'fine useful and ornamental china, of the Sevé'. Already in February 1770 Christie's started grouping together Sèvres porcelain into its own specific section, separating it from oriental ceramics or other European examples. The first instance of this appears in the auction sale of the 4th Earl of Chesterfield, Philip Stanhope, which grouped together over twenty examples which was given the subheading 'Beautiful Seve Porcelain'.[64]

Whilst the British aristocratic interest in Sèvres in the nineteenth century needs to be seen within a wider historical tradition of buying French luxury goods, this thesis argues that the epistemic shift of the French Revolution and its consequences dominated British society from the 1790s onwards, thus altering established collecting practices. In addition, an oversaturated market for Sèvres as well as political and physical barriers limited trade between Britain and France during the end of the eighteenth century further complicating British collecting practices, a theme which will be addressed in greater detail in Chapter

[61] By the end of the 1765-1766 trip Walpole's list of expenses reveal that he spent 378 livres on items 'bought at seve'. Horace Walpole, *Paris Journals,* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1939), 40.
[62] For example, the catalogue of the *Wrightsman Collection* at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York states that the first time Sèvres appears at an auction in Christie's is 1771 and this date has been repeated throughout scholarship. *The Wrightsman Collection*, Volume 3 and 4, (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1966), 182.
[63] *A Catalogue of a Person of Distinction,* 22 February 1769, London. *Christie's Archive London.*
[64] *A Choice Collection of the Seve, Dresden etc, of Philip Stanhope, esq,* 3 February 1770, London, Fifth Day, Lot 29-39, 20. *CAL.*

I. Similarly, much established scholarship has prioritised the role of the Prince Regent, later King George IV (1762-1830) as integral to this continued collecting rhetoric, and on several occasions, the Prince Regent, is cited as the stimulus for collecting Sèvres porcelain in England.[65] Former Director of the Wallace Collection Rosalind Savill has claimed that collectors were simply 'following the fashion for acquiring Sèvres set by George IV'.[66] However, as design historian Barbara Lasic has argued, whilst as a monarchical figure the Prince Regent may have afforded some influence on taste, 'there is no material evidence of collectors directly emulating the King' and collectors including the antiquarian William Beckford stated that their interest in eighteenth-century French decorative arts was due to a historical interest and admiration for Madame de Pompadour.[67] Certainly, the rise in historical thinking can offer a new interpretative framework through which to consider the alternative motivations of early nineteenth century collectors. Chapter I positions early nineteenth-century collecting networks within the changing socio-political fabric of Britain and France from 1789 to the 1820s. Conceptually, the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars produced a significant epistemic rupture as boundaries between the past and the present blurred and a radical dissimilarity emerged as new expectations opened up new spaces of experience.[68] As historian Stephen

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[65] Rosalind Savill, 'The Sèvres Porcelain Collection of the Fifth Duke and Duchess of Buccleuch', 143; Geoffrey De Bellaigue, 'Edward Holmes Baldock', Part I, 290-9; Part II, 18-25; 'Sèvres Artists and their sources I: Paintings and Drawings', *Burlington Magazine*, *Vol. CXXII* (October 1980), 667-80; Part II, *Vol. CXXII* (November 1980), 748-59; Hugh Tait, 'Sèvres porcelain in the collection of the Earl of Harewood', Part I, 1750-60,' Part II, 474-478*;* and Part III, 21-27. Known as the Prince of Wales from 1762-1811, then Prince Regent up until his accession in 1820, where he reigned as King George IV until his death in 1830, he is referred to throughout this thesis as the Prince Regent.

[66] Rosalind Savill, 'The Sèvres Porcelain Collection of the Fifth Duke and Duchess of Buccleuch', 143.

[67] Barbara Lasic, *The Collecting of eighteenth-century French decorative arts in Britain 1789-1914,* University of Manchester, 2005, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, 42. For a greater discussion of Beckford as a collector see: Clive Wainwright, *The Romantic Interior,* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 109-146; Bet McLeod, 'A Celebrated Collector', David Ostergard, (ed.), *William Beckford: An Eye for the Magnificent,* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2001), 155-175.

[68] See for example, Niklas Olsen, *History in the Plural: An Introduction to the Work of Reinhart Koselleck*, (New York: Berghahn Books, 2012), 175; Reinhardt Koselleck, *Futures past: on the semantics of historical time* trans. K. Tribe, (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1985), 267-288.

Bann has stated, it was 'after the French Revolution when, not only in France but in other countries as well, somehow the sense of the past started to become more concrete than ever before'.[69] Against these cultural ruptures this thesis can therefore question previous scholarship that has maintained that collectors participated in a continued tradition of buying eighteenth-century Sèvres. In doing so it considers the role played by historical consciousness, as pre-Revolutionary Sèvres found new historical importance as something 'old' and contributed towards a reconstruction of the recent history of the *ancien régime*.[70] Chapter I not only investigates the ways in which Sèvres evolved conceptually but sheds new light on its physical transformation, as collectors and dealers often reassembled, repurposed and redecorated examples of pre-Revolutionary Sèvres. This leads us onto a discussion regarding the somewhat complicated notions of nineteenth-century authenticity, as demand soon outweighed supply, and a growing counterfeit market emerged.

The historiographical emphasis that a continued tradition and eighteenth-century collecting rhetoric for Sèvres in nineteenth-century Britain has been reinforced in scholarship, particularly by the economic historian Gerald Reitlinger. For example, in his *Economics of Taste* published in 1961, Reitlinger insisted on a gradual linear progression in the auction value and taste for collecting Sèvres, claiming in a chapter entitled 'The Ascendancy of Sèvres, 1802-1910' that a steady increase in the profitability of Sèvres had occurred.[71] Reitlinger has also maintained that a rising taste for Sèvres was generated

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[69] Stephen Bann, *Interview: The Sense of the Past and the Writing of History: Stephen Bann in Conversation with Karen Lang*, Association of Art Historians Annual Conference, 2011, *Art Bulletin,* December 2013, Vol. XCV, No. 4, 544-556, 545.

[70] Susan Crane has suggested that historical consciousness was a product of intellectual rhetoric that only existed 'through imagination and intuition': Susan Crane, *Collecting and Historical Consciousness in Early Nineteenth-Century Germany,* (Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press, 2000), xi; see also: Susan Crane, 'Story, history and the passionate collector', Martin Myrone and Lucy Peltz (eds.), *Producing the Past: Aspects of Antiquarian Culture and Practice 1700-1850,* (Brookfield, Vermont: Ashgate, 1999), 191.

[71] Gerald Reitlinger, *The Economics of Taste*, in Three Volumes, Vol. II, (London: Barrie and Rockcliff, 1961-70), 157-159.

by 'the competition of the Prince Regent'.[72] Reitlinger adopted an econometrics approach using data from historical auction sales to create a comprehensive and quantitative assessment of sale results and prices, and such a methodology was informed and celebrated by scholarship at the time.[73] Christie's auction catalogues were used exclusively, and often Reitlinger focused on what he deemed to be the most prestigious collections. Notably, much of this information and data was sourced from previous work, including publications by William Buchanan and H.C. Marllier, and it benefitted especially from George Redford's well-known 1888 work *Art Sales.*[74] As economic historian Guido Guerzoni has argued, although Reitlinger is considered a 'canonical source of data' his analysis lacks certain information, including the name or identity of the buyers.[75] Additionally, Reitlinger does not examine private transactions or consider other archival material to corroborate his econometric findings and as such they lack some historical specificity. Furthermore, at times Reitlinger misinterpreted prices and sale results, relying solely on Christie's auction results, and restricting his data to collectors in London. For the first time in scholarship this investigation contests Reitlinger's argument that a progressive collecting paradigm for Sèvres evolved gradually throughout the nineteenth century. In fact it is argued that such an approach has skewed the field of literature, especially given that this position has been reiterated by other scholars, many of whom still maintain that *Economics of Taste* is the most extensive

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[72] See for example, Gerald Reitlinger*, The Economics of Taste*, 157.

[73] George Redford, *Art Sales,* (London: Bradbury, Agnew, & Company, Printers, the "Whitefriars" Press, 1888). An econometrics approach is also celebrated by many scholars of the art market, see for example: William Baumol, 'Unnatural Values: or Art Investment as a Floating Crap Game,' *American Economic Review,* 76, 1986, 10-14; Noah Horowitz, *Art of the Deal: Contemporary Art in a Global Financial Market,* (Princeton: University of Princeton Press, 2014), 10; Ruth Towse, *Handbook on the Digital Creative Economy,* (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing, 2013), 324.

[74] George Redford, *Art Sales,* (London: Bradbury, Agnew, & Company, Printers, the "Whitefriars" Press, 1888).

[75] Guido Guerzoni, 'Reflections on Historical Series of Art Prices: Reitlinger's Data Revisited', *Journal of Cultural Economics,* 19, 1995, 251-260, 251.

survey of decorative art and paintings on the English art market.[76] Building upon criticism by Guerzoni, this thesis argues that not only did Reitlinger negate to mention the individuals involved in the transactions, he also did not consider the wider cultural, political or economic contexts, of which auction results are contingent.[77] Consequently, key notions put forward by Gerald Reitlinger are readdressed, notably his claim that the 1830s witnessed a lull in the taste for Sèvres in Britain after the death of the Prince Regent, and that a lack of interest in collecting Sèvres existed in Paris before 1860.[78]

Frequently in historiography, ceramics scholars have also projected their own assumptions onto the discourse regarding the use and value of Sèvres by nineteenth-century collectors. Although Sèvres, as a category of ceramics, often had the capacity to carry a function, and in the eighteenth-century regularly fulfilled this purpose, by the nineteenth century it came to be upheld as a piece of art in its own right. This was particularly reinforced when Sèvres transferred into exhibitions from the mid-nineteenth century onwards. For example, speaking about French decorative art at exhibitions in the 1850s the scholar J.B. Waring stated that there was an increasing 'appreciation of them as works of art'.[79] However, whilst discussing the Sèvres collection owed by the 10th Duke of Hamilton (1767-1852), the ceramics scholar Bet McLeod has highlighted that the first recorded piece acquired by him was a '1 Dejeuné Porcellaine de Sevres' but

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[76] Howard Coutts, *The Art of Ceramics: European Ceramic Design, 1500-1830*, (London: Yale University Press, 2001); Charlotte Gould, *Marketing Art in the British Isles, 1700 to the Present,* (London: Routledge, 2017), 65; Katherine Haskins, *The Art-Journal and Fine Art Publishing in Victorian England, 1850-1880,* (London: Routledge, 2017); F.J.B. Watson, *The Wrightsman Collection, Volumes 1 and 2,* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1966), xxxi; Adrian Sassoon, *Vincennes and Sèvres Porcelain: Catalogue of the Collection at the Getty Museum*, (LA: Getty Publications, 1992), 176.

[77] Former archivist of the Sèvres Manufactory Tamara Préaud has adopted a similar approach to Reitlinger and has also focused on the ascendancy of Sèvres on the art market in an article based on Parisian auction sale catalogues. However, she overlooks the discourse of collecting and instead is preoccupied solely with identifying Sèvres from auction sale catalogues in the archival records which remain at the factory to this day. Tamara Préaud, 'Sèvres and Paris auction sales: 1800-1847, *International Ceramics Fair',* 1996, 27-34.

[78] Gerald Reitlinger*, The Economics of Taste*, 157-159.

[79] J. B. Waring, *Art Treasures of the United Kingdom, From the Art Treasures Exhibition, Manchester,* (Manchester: Day and Son, 1858), 11-12.

states that this was odd considering that the 'taking of tea was a feminine pursuit'.[80] Firstly, although the gendered connotation which McLeod points towards here is rather beyond the scope of this thesis it is important to briefly unpick such a statement. As early as 1823 the collector Charles Lamb confessed that he had 'an almost feminine partiality for old china,' which suggests that this term is not wholly unusual.[81] However the determined and at times aggressive mania which both men and women experienced as they sought out 'old' Sèvres problematises this gendered narrative.[82] The second assumption put forward by Macleod suggests that the Duke would certainly have used the tea set, however Macleod negates to consider wider notions of display and also rejects the potential aesthetic, historical and cultural value of Sèvres.[83]

At times a hierarchy did exist amongst collections and some pieces such as jardinières were used more frequently according to their original function, although even then some caution was shown.[84] Notably in *The Diamond and the Pearl: A Novel* published by Catherine Gore (1798-1861) in 1848, Lady Hartingham's boudoir is described as being decorated with 'the rarest vases of old Sèvres…filled weekly with exotics by a booby gardener, at the rick of occasional smashes which a hundred guineas would not repay!'.[85] Similarly, tableware was used in celebration of a special occasion, for example, in the

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[80] Hamilton Papers, NRAS2177/BUNDLE 955, *National Records of Scotland*, 332/M12/30, 'No.6'. Also mentioned in Bet McLeod, *The Western Ceramics in the Collections of the Dukes of Hamilton 1700-1920*, University of Glasgow, 2014, unpublished Ph.D thesis, 36.

[81] Charles Lamb, *The Works of Charles Lamb, Volume III,* (London: Edward Moxon, 1838), 213.

[82] The role played by gender amongst collectors of ceramics has been examined by historians including Charlotte Gere, Dianne Sachko Macleod and Moira Vincentelli. Whilst there is much more to be said of the role of gender, particularly notions of masculinity and femininity in relation to the histories of collecting Sèvres it is not possible to achieve a more detailed discussion within the parameters of this doctoral thesis.

[83] As Pomian has observed 'usefulness and meaning are mutually exclusive, as the more an object is charged with meaning the less useful it is, and vice versa'. Krzysztof Pomian*, Collectors and Curiosities*, 30.

[84] In particular, the *Red Book* photographic album created by Ferdinand de Rothschild at Waddesdon Manor in 1897 shows jardinières and wine coolers in use as flower pots, whilst vases, garnitures and déjeuners are displayed on stands, in cabinets, or arranged on chimneypieces and table tops. *Rothschild Trust Archives, London (RTA).*

[85] Catherine Gore, *The Diamond and the Pearl: A Novel,* (London: Henry Colburn, 1849), 62.

novel *Tancred,* published by Benjamin Disraeli (1804-1881) in 1847, one of the characters Sedona, thought to be a fictional realisation of Disraeli's own personality, pleasantly remarks on a dinner:

> served on Sevres porcelain of Rose du Barri, raised on airy golden stands of arabesque workmanship; a mule bore your panniers of salt, or a sea-nymph proffered it you on a shell just fresh from the ocean, or you found it in a bird's nest; by every guest a different pattern.[86]

Disraeli's admiration for the differently patterned and colourful Sèvres porcelain radiates through his language, which not only suggests a reverence for its quality and aesthetic value but also indicates to contemporaries that this was indeed a special occasion, marked by the social status of the Sèvres. Collectors followed suit, for example, in February 1878 Ferdinand de Rothschild (1839-1898) hosted a dinner for the visit of the Crown Prince Rudolf of Austria and celebrated by using a rare Sèvres service, as described in *Vanity Fair:* 'the faultless dinner was much enhanced by the good taste shown in the arrangement of blue Sèvres and orchids on the table'.[87] Similarly, in the 1870s the 1st Earl of Dudley bought a Sèvres dinner service with provenance connected to the Prince of Soubise-Rohan, which he only used once after having paid £10,240 for the service.[88] However when this service was 'inaugurated in a lunch' in June 1879 at Dudley House the risk of using such pieces was further reinforced after a guest almost broke one of the plates.[89] Apart from very rare occasions when a dinner service was used, as the nineteenth

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[86] Benjamin Disraeli, *Tancred,* (London: Henry Colburn, 1847), 140.
[87] 16 February, 1878, *Vanity Fair*, 101.
[88] It is worth noting that throughout this thesis both guineas and pounds are referenced. On 22 June 1816 Lord Liverpool passed an Act which officially changed the value and production of the guinea coin which had previously valued 21 shillings. Instead, a 1pound coin worth 20 shillings was introduced. Although no more guineas were produced many commercial businesses, including auction houses, still continued to charge in guineas, whereby one guinea equalled one pound and one shilling (£1.05). Often money in the nineteenth century was recorded based on pounds, shillings and pennies. For example: one pound, one shilling and one penny would be written £1/1/1 or £1.1.1. John Chown, *A History of Money: From AD 800*, (Brighton: Psychology Press, 1994), 70.
[89] In fact, during the lunch one guest, a Lady Molesworth, arrived late and in a rush to take her seat knocked one of the plates to the floor, and as one newspaper reported it caused quite a stir:

century progressed Sèvres was subjected to innovative modes of display and required a new form of spectatorship, often occupying prominent places of display in the domestic interior.[90] In light of this, nineteenth-century Sèvres collections lend themselves to the work of Krzysztof Pomian who noted: 'the chief distinguishing feature of a collection is the fact that the objects of which it is comprised are kept either temporarily or permanently out of the circuit of utilitarian activities'.[91] The cultural theorist Jean Baudrillard too has argued that once an object is no longer defined by its function, its meaning is assigned by the subjectivity of the collector, and from this point 'all objects in a collection become equivalent, thanks to the process of passionate abstraction we call possession'.[92] Subsequently, the changing nature of display strategies within collecting practices is returned to frequently throughout this thesis, as Sèvres was often placed under glass domes throughout the home or arranged within a wider classificatory system in glass cabinets in the exhibition space, or as a site of commercial spectacle in the auction saleroom. As such Sèvres did not function as originally intended, nor act merely as part of a total decorative scheme but instead gained new cultural significance during nineteenth-century Britain.

'She let fall one of the famous plates of the service of Rohan. Judge the excitement! – Happily the dress of the noble lady had made a cushion to break its fall and the plate was picked up intact'. Monday 30 June, 1879, *Western Times,* 3.

[90] Inventories of the Sèvres porcelain at Harewood House, London, collected by Viscount Lascelles, and the inventory written by the 2nd Earl of Lonsdale for his own Sèvres collection in 1844 attest to this. 'List of China Harewood House', London, 1838, *Harewood House Archives*; D/LONS/L23/1, Carlton House Terrace Inventories, c.1844, *Cumbria Record Office. CRO.*

[91] Krzysztof Pomian, *Collectors and Curiosities*, 260.

[92] Jean Baudrillard, 'The System of Collecting*',* trans. Roger Cardinal, John Elsner and Roger Cardinal, (eds.), *The Cultures of Collecting,* (London: Reaktion Books, 1994), 8.

‘Sèvres-mania’

In a chapter entitled ‘The Ascendancy of Sèvres, 1802-1910’ in *Economics of Taste* published in 1961, the historian Gerald Reitlinger referred to the nineteenth-century English taste for Sèvres as a ‘cult’.[93] This statement has encouraged scholars to reference Reitlinger’s writings on the subject of ‘Sèvres-mania’, although there is no evidence to suggest that he used the term himself. Infrequently scholars, including the celebrated Sèvres connoisseur Rosalind Savill, and the former head of European Decorative Arts at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Carl Dauterman, have mentioned the term as ‘Sèvres Mania’.[94] Yet ‘Sèvres-mania’ has not received serious scholarly treatment nor gained a lasting position in established literature. Although we can only speculate the reasons behind this, it suggests the connoisseurial agenda of French porcelain scholars who did not see the relevance of this supposed mania or who have lacked the methodological tools with which to interrogate such a term. Namely, it confirms the idea revealed through the historiographical mapping that scholarship has previously neglected to analyse critically the histories of collecting Sèvres and the cultural frameworks underpinning the phenomenon of this collecting mania. However, as demonstrated throughout this thesis, during different stages of nineteenth-century Britain a fervour for the collecting of pre-Revolutionary Sèvres developed which dominated privileged collecting networks and even filtered into more public spheres through literature, exhibitions, scholarship and auctions.

‘Sèvres-mania’ should therefore be understood as a complex cultural process which emerged at different moments and in changing forms, symptomatic of an ever-increasing

[93] Gerald Reitlinger, *The Economics of Taste*, 156.
[94] See mentions of the term in Carl Dauterman, *The Wrightsman Collections,* Vol.3 and Vol.4, (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1970), 186-188.

commodified culture of material consumption. It can therefore be positioned within the consumer revolution from the late eighteenth century onwards as documented by the likes of Mc Kendrick, Brewer and Plumb.[95] Building on their work sociologist Colin Campbell has emphasised the historical, sociological and economic frameworks underpinning the cultural processes upon which the 'consumption ethic' was predicated upon.[96] Whilst the purchase of 'old' Sèvres by nineteenth-century collectors should be viewed as a collecting rhetoric, rather than a mode of consumption, 'Sèvres-mania' emerged due to a new form of consumer demand. Although often increased consumer demand is linked intrincisically to increased production, it is the disruption in the cultural production and eventual decline and ultimate extinction of *pâte-tendre* Sèvres which this thesis argues underpins the first emergence of 'Sèvres-mania'. Undoutedly, the French Revolution disrupted a wide variety of eighteenth-century French material culture, including tapestries, painting, silver, and furniture. For example, furniture by André Charles Boulle (1642-1732) became a highly-prized possession, sought after by several British antiquarian collectors including William Beckford (1760-1844), Lord Stuart de Rothesay (1779-1845), the 10th Duke of Hamilton, and the Duke of Wellington (1769-1852).[97] However, the distinct qualities of *pâte-tendre* Sèvres must be recognised, as once it was rejected by the new regimes of the French Government and the factory was nationalised in 1793, it became a finite object, whose status was reinforced even further once production ceased officially in 1804.

In the *Journal of Economic Psychology,* the historian of collecting and consumption Russell Belk proposed:

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[95] Neil McKendrick, John Brewer and J.H. Plumb, *The Birth of a Consumer society the commercialization of eighteenth-century*, (London: Hutchinson, 1983).
[96] Colin Campbell, *The Romantic Ethic and the Spirit of Modern Consumerism,* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1987), 8-9.
[97] David Ostergard, (ed.), *William Beckford: An Eye for the Magnificent,* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2001), 179.

> Collectors often refer to themselves, only half in jest, as suffering from a mania, a madness, an addiction, a compulsion, or an obsession. Because collecting is generally a socially approved activity…but like much humour there is an uneasy fear behind these self-admissions, for some collectors really are out of control.[98]

Historically, the extravagant nature of collectors as suffering from a 'mania' has been the subject of much discussion.[99] In 1829 collecting mania was conceptualised through medical practice and was seen to be 'accompanied with some excitement,' which had the potential to result in delusional behaviour.[100] In their 1858 treatise *Manual of Psychological Medicine* John Bucknill and Daniel Tuke observed that 'while we regard mania as usually having its origin in disordered emotions, we fully admit that the whole mind generally suffers in consequence.'[101] As medical historian David Healy has observed, the mania for collecting objects 'has little link to mental illness. It comes closer to enthusiasm or the use later found in the Netherlands' tulip mania of the seventeenth century that hints at the delusions of crowds'.[102] A mania for one particular object, such as Sèvres porcelain, is by definition, a monomania, understood in the nineteenth century as a 'preoccupation in an otherwise sound mind'.[103] As one late nineteenth-century American newspaper exclaimed 'no wonder that books on ceramics sell…The

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[98] Russell Belk, 'Collecting as luxury consumption: Effects on individuals and households', *Journal of Economic Psychology,* 16(3), 1995, 477-490.

[99] 'Mania' was used regularly to describe a particularly fashionable trend or obsession for an activity, such as 'bibliomania' and 'bric-a-brac mania' as well as more obscure notions. 'Bibliomania' was used as early as 1743 in France as 'une des maladies de ce siècle'; Joseph D. Lewandowski, 'Unpacking: Walter Benjamin and His Library, *Libraries and Culture,* Vol.34, No.2, (Spring, 1999), 151.

[100] Volume 14, 'Dr Burrows and Others on Insanity,' *Museum of Foreign Literature and Science,* (London: E. Littell, 1829), 360.

[101] Bucknill and Tuke, *Manual of Psychological Medicine,* (London: Blanchard and Lea, 1858), 223.

[102] For example, Healy contends that the notion of such euphoric mania can be traced back to writing by the philosopher Plato. In *Phaedrus* (c.370BC) Plato observed the psychological factors of mania and discussed both a euphoric and frenzied mania, which was inspired by the divine, and another more mentally and physically-straining mania. David Healy, *Mania: A Short History of Bipolar Disorder*, (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2008), 9-11.

[103] Jan Goldtsein, *Console and Classify: The French Psychiatric Profession in the Nineteenth Century,* (New York: University of Cambridge Press, 1987), 155.

Bibliomania and the tulip-mania of Holland, are insignificant when compared with the existing China-mania. A few days ago a pair of Sevres china vases…sold for six thousand five hundred guineas (£6,850)'.[104] Collecting manias have therefore constituted significant cultural events which were often embodied by a euphoric mania, such as the seventeenth-century 'tulip-mania' in the Netherlands.[105]

Nineteenth-century literary imagination witnessed a rise in the inclusion of collecting manias, often subjected to ridicule and moral criticism.[106] This occurred particularly in France, with novelists such as Comte Horace Viel-Castel and Honoré de Balzac, especially several works by Balzac including *Eugénie Grandet, Comédie Humaine* and *Cousin Pons*, Émile Zola with the *Rougon-Macquart* series, and Gustave Flaubert with *Bouvard et Pécuchet,* the bric-à-brac collectors who moved from one mania to another.[107] The earliest known instance when Sèvres porcelain is featured in direct reference to the mania of the collector can be found in *The Virtuoso* written by the historian and collector Comte Horace de Viel-Castel in 1839.[108] This short but detailed narrative, with possible

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[104] *The Book Buyer: A Monthly Review of American and Foreign Literature,* Volumes 7-8, (New York: C. Scribner, 1873), 139.

[105] For more information on the phenomenon of 'tulipmania' see: Anne Goldgar, *Tulipmania: Money, Honor, and Knowledge in the Dutch Golden Age,* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007).

[106] For a greater focus on collecting mania in nineteenth-century literature see: Jan Goldstein, 'The Uses of Male Hysteria: Medical and Literary Discourse in Nineteenth-Century France,' *Representations*, 34 (Spring 1991), 134-65; Pierre Marc de Biasi, 'La collection Pons comme figure du probématique', F. Van Rossum-Guyon, Françoise van Brederode (eds.), *Balzac et les parents pauvres* (Société d'Édition d'Enseignement Supérieur, Paris, 1981), 61-73.

[107] Writing *Eugénie Grandet* in 1839, Balzac states that Grandet is afflicted with monomania as he fixates all of his passions on gold: 'son sentiment avait affectionné plus pariculierement un symbole de sa passion. La vue de l'or, la possession de l'or était devenue sa monomanie', Honoré de Balzac, *Eugénie Grandet,* (Paris: Madame Béchet – Charpentier – Furne, 1839), 273; 'his affections had fixated upon one special symbol of his passion. The sight of gold, the possession of gold, had become a monomania'.

[108] Originally issued in installments in France as part of *Les Francais peints par eux-même,* from 1839-1842. The beginning section appeared in English in 1839 in *The Corsair: A Gazette of Literature, Art, Dramatic Criticism*, Volume 1, 502-503, by Nathaniel Parker Willis, Timothy O. Porter. And again a section was shown in the *Belfast Commercial Chronicle* - Wednesday 30 October 1839, 4, Vol.XXXV, No.5,432 and Saturday 09 November 1839, *West Kent Guardian,* London, England. It then appeared in full in 1840 in English in: Jules Janin*, Pictures of the French: a series of literary and graphic delineations of French Character,* (London: W. S. Orr and Company, 1840), 97-103.

elements of self-parody, follows the life of a passionate Sèvres collector known as Monsieur de Menussard, who Viel-Castel describes as someone who:

> only knows one thing—only loves, adores, cherishes one object—and that is the *soft clay* of Sèvres. The rest of the world may fall in, crumble, and he would not pay attention to the ruins… This passion for collecting curiosities—this mania—this idolatry of the *soft clay* of Sèvres—have exiled, as it were, M.de Menussard from the rest of the human species.[109]

Viel-Castel critiques Menussard as a collector so dedicated to finding pieces of *pâte-tendre* Sèvres that he lacks interest in the wider world around him. This trope of the frivolous and morally corrupt collector shares much with Honoré de Balzac's depiction of *Le Pons* published almost ten years later in 1847. Balzac's *Cousin Pons* depicted a tragic and obsessive collector who built up his collection in secret, and from this moment onwards many eccentric collectors have been referred to frequently as 'Pons'.[110] Writing on the psychologies of collecting, Werner Muensterberger noted that 'the passions of both [Balzac and Pons] border on mania'.[111] Cousin Pons also shared Mennusard's particular passion for old *pâte-tendre* pre-Revolutionary Sèvres, as Balzac noted: 'Pons had Sèvres porcelain, pate tendre, bought of Auvergnats, those satellites of the Bande Noire who sacked chateaux and carried off the marvels of Pompadour France in their tumbril carts'.[112] The engravings accompanying Viel-Castel's text illustrate the 'mania' driving such Sèvres collectors; one shows the gentleman grasping pieces of porcelain close to his

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[109] Jules Janin, *Pictures of the French*, 97-103.

[110] Werner Muensterberger, *Collecting, an unruly passion: psychological perspectives*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993, 101-34. On eccentric collectors and monomania, see Miranda Gill, *Eccentricity and the cultural imagination in nineteenth-century Paris*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 240-53. Similarly, in *The Adventures of a Bric-a-Brac Hunter*, the collector Herbert Byng Hall referenced 'Monsieur Pons' as 'a remarkable collector…one passionately devoted to works of art'. Interestingly although this book was first published in Britain in 1868, when it was issued in America in 1875 Byng re-titled it as *Chapters on Chinamania*, Herbert Byng Hall, *The Adventures of a Bric-a-Brac Hunter*, (London: Tinsley Brothers, 1868), 1.

[111] Werner Muensterberger, *Collecting, an unruly passion*, 115.

[112] Honoré de Balzac, *Le Cousins Pons,* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1950), 9.

person, whilst another piece pokes out of his pocket, indicating his protective attitude and need to be physically close to his objects (Fig.II). In the other engraving Menussard is surrounded by porcelain and books examining his treasures: he uses a magnifying glass to inspect marks and the quality, looks underneath at a plate and holds a vase up to the light, possibly to check the translucency of the paste, engaging in a thorough connoisseurial investigation (Fig.III).

This thesis argues that collecting networks in the nineteenth century shared an all-encompassing mania for 'old' Sèvres which emerged at different stages and through distinct forms. To a certain extent such mania may have been fuelled through specific gendered behaviours, particularly in relation to masculine networks of emulation and competitive rivalry. Notably the 2nd Earl of Lonsdale compared the collecting of Sèvres to 'hunting'[113] and the 4th Marquess of Hertford demanded his agent to 'put on your sword & armour & fight for me'.[114] However, several women also comprised the collecting networks examined throughout this thesis, for example Mrs Yolande Lynne Stephens née Duvernay (1812-1895) often succeeded in defeating her male competitors at auction, and Lady Dorothy Nevill's (1826-1913) extensive collection of Vincennes porcelain contributed to scholarly endeavours and the dissemination of knowledge through its inclusion in several exhibitions. As Dianne Sachko Macleod has argued, gendering is a reciprocal process as 'some men embraced a female sensibility when they encountered the curative properties of objets d'art, so did women adopt traditionally masculine characteristics'.[115] Even if women collectors or dealers did embody more masculine traits in order to operate more successfully within the networks of 'Sèvres-mania', they were often criticised as frivolous consumers rather than serious collectors. Notably, a gendered

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[113] DLONS/L1-L25, Lowther Family of Lowther, 2nd Earl of Lonsdale. Paris, Friday 25 November 1836, *Diary 43.* D/LONS/L2/25-44, *CRO.*
[114] 9 May, 1856, Paris. *Hertford-Mawson Letters,* John Ingamells, (London: Trustees of the Wallace Collection, 1981), 83-84.
[115] Diane Sachko Macleod, *Enchanted Lives, Enchanted Objects*, 5.

bias frequently underpinned the notion of mania, especially towards the latter half of the nineteenth century. For example, an 1882 caricature from the *Lippincott's Magazine* illustrated male and female collectors in parallel; yet whereas the man acquires an acceptable 'critical taste in bric-a-brac,' the woman embraces a tactile engagement with her art and is merely described as admiring 'the sweetest thing in old china'.[116] As a social construct, gender is a fluid category, and as such this doctoral thesis considers all collecting networks engaged in 'Sèvres-mania' and does not intend to treat male and female figures as separate caetgories, although this could provide further scope for future incarnations of this research.

It is important to recognise that the representation of obsessive collectors suffering from 'Sèvres-mania' must be viewed with caution and as symptomatic of wider frameworks.[117] It is the ever-changing socio-political and historical contexts which facilitated a passionate mania for collecting Sèvres at distinct moments in the nineteenth century that is the particular focus here. The intention is not to view 'Sèvres-mania' as a homogenous term which is representative of a steady increase in the collecting of Sèvres but instead relates to an all-consuming passion for Sèvres which manifested itself in different ways during the course of cultural life in nineteenth-century Britain. As discussed in Chapters I and II, at first 'Sèvres-mania' manifested itself in the private sphere of interconnected aristocratic collecting networks, who sought to preserve 'old' Sèvres during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars due to its new cultural and historical importance, and ultimately encouraged an unprecedented counterfeit market. By the second half of the nineteenth century 'Sèvres-mania' emerged once again, this time infiltrating the public sphere thanks to the rising number of loan exhibitions, exhibition catalogues and scholarly publications which disseminated knowledge throughout all social classes.

[116] 'Collecting Mania', *Lippincott's Magazine,* January 1882, 29.
[117] Werner Muensterberger, *Collecting, an unruly passion*, 3.

Taking place across Great Britain and Ireland from the 1850s onwards many of these exhibitions, addressed in Chapter III, have been overlooked in scholarship, yet they enabled complex new modes of interpretation and classification to be assigned to Sèvres, establishing its status as an object of cultural capital. Thanks to the widespread socio-cultural status of Sèvres, a growing knowledge of connoisseurship, and a desire for greater authenticity, auctions in the latter half of the nineteenth century encouraged 'Sèvres-mania' and soon bore witness to record-breaking prices for Sèvres. In desperation in 1859 the satirical magazine *Punch* requested a 'Cure for Chinamania' due to growing moral concern.[118] Chapter IV argues that the auction saleroom in fact acted as a socio-cultural space that generated and intensified 'Sèvres-mania' and eventually drove the market to breaking point, culminating in a frenzied, competitive atmosphere and several high profile court cases, thus suggesting that the collecting mania for Sèvres was no longer sustainable. With this in mind, this investigation demonstrates that 'Sèvres-mania' emerged at different stages in the nineteenth century, embedded with distinct cultural practices.

Sites of Knowledge Production

Whilst the field of the history of collecting is still relatively new within academia, from the late nineteenth-century, auto-biographical accounts on collecting emerged.[119] Since then it has evolved to incorporate socio-cultural frameworks, and has also received

[118] 16 April, 1859, *Punch*, 151.

[119] As early as 1868 Major Herbert Byng Hall discussed collecting as an activity in *Adventures of a Bric a Brac Hunter,* (London: Tynsley Bros., 1868). See also: *Notes of an Art Collector* by Maurice Jonas (1907); Douglas and Elizabeth Rigby, *Lock, Stock and Barrel: The Story of Collecting* (1944); Wilmarth Sheldon Lewis' *Collector's Progress* (1951); *Oh! Fickle Taste; or, Objectivity in Art* by Germain Seligman (1952) and *La vie étrange des objets by* Maurice Rheims (1959).

scrutiny as a process of consumption and method of knowledge production.[120] The growing importance of the history of collecting has led scholars to question the ways in which objects interact with humans and come to embody social and cultural values.[121] During an early inquiry into the study of collecting in 1932 the psychoanalyst Walter Durost stated that 'a collection is basically determined by the nature of the value assigned to the objects, or ideas possessed'.[122] Baudrillard has viewed objects similarly, as determined by shifting value structures in society which are coded with complex meanings.[123] Collecting practices therefore shaped the value structures and the systems of knowledge which surrounded pre-Revolutionary Sèvres as it underwent a new life history after the disruption of the French Revolution. Drawing on the work of the sociologist Georg Simmel (1858-1918), who posits that value 'remains inherent in the subject' value can be viewed as a social judgment which is constructed through a process of exchange as opposed to something which already exists inherently.[124] Accordingly,

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[120] In *The System of Objects* Jean Baudrillard is concerned with the underlying systems behind the social order which he also judges to be based on consumption, Jean Baudrillard, *Selected Writings,* edited and introduced by Mark Poster, (California: Stanford University Press, 2001), 2. For more information on consumption as a key feature in social structures see work by Russell Belk, the consumer historian, who argues that 'collecting is a special type of consuming', Russell Belk, *Collecting in a Consumer Society,* (London and New York: Routledge), 65; Mary Douglas and Baron Isherwood, *The World of Goods: Toward a Cultural Anthropology of consumption*, (New York: Basic Books, 1979); McKendrick and Brewer, *The Birth of a Consumer society the commercialization of eighteenth-century*.

[121] Today the history of collecting continues to gain a strong position within academic and museum institutions. For example, The Getty Provenance Index was founded in the early 1980s, since 1989 Oxford University Press have published regular volumes of the *Journal of the History of Collections*, in 2007 The Frick Collection established The Center for the History of Collecting, there are several Masters programmes in the subject including a MA in *The Art Market and The History of Collecting* offered in conjunction with the National Gallery and University of Buckingham from 2015, and finally an international academic society called *The Society for the History of Collecting* formed in 2015 dedicated to establishing an interdisciplinary platform for the study of collections.

[122] Walter Durost, *Children's Collecting Activity Related to Social Factors,* (New York: Columbia University, 1932), 10.

[123] Baudrillard is most concerned with commodities which can be produced as sign value or codes within the wider process of consumption and exchange. Jean Baudrillard, *Selected Writings,* 3 and 82-83.

[124] Georg Simmel, *The Philosophy of Money,* (London: Taylor and Francis, 2011 edition), 65-82. This notion, whereby the subject is the creator of the value structures of an object has its roots in Kantian aesthetics, for a greater analysis of Simmel's sociological and aesthetic foundations please see: Roberta Sassatelli, 'From Value to Consumption. A Social-Theoretical Perspective of Simmel's *Philosophie des Geldes*', *Acta Sociologica,* Vol.43, No.3, 2000, 207-218.

within this thesis Sèvres porcelain is considered as a historical document coded with aesthetic, historical, cultural and political meanings. As art historian Michael Yonan has asserted, 'art-historical practices should play a greater role in the broader scholarly examination of the social lives of objects', and it is the life of Sèvres as it interacted with nineteenth-century collecting networks which is paramount here.[125] Design historian Stacey Pierson has influenced this approach by building on the work of sociologist Arjun Appadurai.[126] Pierson is less concerned with Ming porcelain as a commodity which goes through a 'social life', instead she considers that objects have '*cultural lives* in the sense that objects can change their identities as often as humans do'.[127] Pierson examines the cultural identity of an object, believing that through the social process of consumption it can transform 'from actual object to invented concept'.[128] This notion can be extended to the shifting collecting paradigms which influenced the 'cultural life' of pre-Revolutionary Sèvres. As Michel Foucault has observed, the turn of the nineteenth century experienced an epistemic shift, as a new political system of knowledge emerged it marked a reordering of the grammar of thought, symptomatic of a period of historical change.[129] As the cultural and aesthetic values assigned to 'old' Sèvres changed, it

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[125] Yonan has made a 'call-to-arms' to fuse together art history and material culture: Michael Yonan, 'Towards a Fusion of Art History and Material Culture Studies', *West 86th: A Journal of Decorative Arts, Design History, and Material Culture*, Vol.18, No.2, Fall-Winter, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011), 232-248, 233. Others, including Carolyn Sargentson and Leora Auslander have also situated their work within wider material cultural approaches to the decorative arts, see: Carolyn Sargentson, 'Reading and Writing the Restoration History of an Old French Bureau', (ed.), Anne Gerritson, *Writing Material Culture History,* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2015), 265-272; Leora Auslander, *Taste and Power, Furnishing Modern France,* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1996).

[126] According to the anthropologist Arjun Appadadurai the commodity evolves over time as it undergoes a changing 'life history'. Arjun Appadadurai, *The Social Lives of Things*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 13. See also: John Frow, *Time and Commodity Culture: Essays in Cultural Theory and Postmodernity*, (Oxford: Claredon Press, 1997), 143; Mark Westgarth, *The Emergence of the Antique Curiosity Dealer, 1815-c.1850, the Commodification of Historical Objects*, University of Southampton, unpublished Ph.D thesis, 2007, 72.

[127] Pierson writes from the theoretical terrain of global design history and material culture. Stacey Pierson, *From Object to Concept: Global Consumption and the transformation of Ming Porcelain,* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2013), 2-4.

[128] Stacey Pierson, *From Object to Concept*, 3.

[129] Michel Foucault, *The order of things: an archaeology of the human sciences* (London and New York: Routledge, 2002 [1966]), 330-365.

evolved to represent a materialized concept of the *ancien régime,* specific to the time and place of its cultural manufacture.[130] Through 'Sèvres-mania' it also underwent multiple cultural lives: as an object of historical importance, to one ripe for the counterfeit market, as an object classified by exhibitions and scholarly publications, and as a product of cultural and economic capital. The very process of forming a collection, the methods of display, and the ways in which collecting networks interacted socially and intellectually with these objects therefore established new categories of knowledge. Throughout the social identities and geographical boundaries of these interconnected networks will be considered. As historian of decorative art Deborah Krohn has observed, such an approach allows objects to 'bear witness to a remarkable trajectory in the history of craftsmanship, taste, the art market, and the museum'.[131] Ultimately the changing value structures of 'old' Sèvres and its capacity to carry multiple potential meanings shaped the production of knowledge, particularly in relation to a greater interest in the history and cultural practices of *ancien régime* France, the epistemological formation of Sèvres connoisseurship, and the discourse of French porcelain history. Although specialists and historians of French porcelain have prioritised knowledge of the object's material properties, the formation of Sèvres connoisseurship has never before received any scholarly attention, something which is addressed here.[132] By analysing the epistemological status of connoisseurship amongst private and public collecting networks in Chapters II and III, this thesis seeks to reframe the marginalisation of Sèvres within academic discourse. By uncovering new archival evidence, Chapter II speculates a

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[130] As a term *ancien régime* first appeared in France in 1790 and was defined as: 'the old administration, that which existed prior to the Revolution, and the new regime is that which has been adopted since that time and from which true patriots expect their good fortune'. Pierre Nicholas Chantreau, *Dictionnaire National et anecdotique: pour sevir à l'intelligence des mots dont notre langue s'est enrichie depuis la revolution,* (Paris: 1790), 159.

[131] Deborah Krohn, 'Beyond terminology, or, the limits of "decorative arts", *Journal of Art Historiography,* Number 11, December 2014, 1-13, 12.

[132] For a greater discussion regarding the epistemology of connoisseurship in the nineteenth century see, David Freedberg, 'Why Connoisseurship Matters', Katlijne van Stighelen, (ed.,), *Munuscula Discipulorum: Essays in Honour of Hans Vlieghe*, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), 29-43.

collaborative process of object and knowledge exchange between an art collector, the 2nd Earl of Lonsdale, his close friend and fellow collector Henry Broadwood, and the antiques and curiosity dealer Edward Holmes Baldock. It argues that through collaborative methods of acquisitions and social interactions with other private collections, a collaborative culture of connoisseurship evolved. Chapter III continues an investigation into this epistemology of Sèvres connoisseurship, by analysing the social, cultural and economic frameworks which shaped public discourse through the practice of loan exhibitions featuring Sèvres. In doing so, it adopts a sociological approach to consider the particular kinds of power and knowledge relations produced by loan exhibitions, which valorised the status of 'old' Sèvres in public discourse.[133] This is further explored in Chapter IV, which analyses the competitive late nineteenth-century art market, whereby auctions developed specialised marketing strategies for Sèvres, and prices superseded the cost of paintings and sculpture.

Notably each art collection has its own trajectory, with different individuals involved in the framework of that collection which contributes to how, why, when and for what reasons an object was collected, what it signifies and the various modes of display and interpretation to which it was subjected. Not only are the value structures of an object constantly redefined by the different networks and audeinces with which it interacts, its material agency is also rooted in the intrinsic properties of the object and its relationship with the subject. The concept of object agency offers a theoretical framework with which to examine these transfers of object and knowledge exchange amongst nineteenth-century collecting networks. Such a notion stems from anthropological and sociological investigations, namely this thesis looks to the work of Alfred Gell, Bruno Latour and

[133] Tony Bennett, 'Thinking (with) Museums: From Exhibitionary Complex to Governmental Assemblage', A. Witcomb and K. Message (eds.), *The International Handbooks of Museum Studies: Museum Theory* (Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, 2015), 3-20.

Katie Scott for a greater understanding of agency.[134] By foregrounding the agency of Sèvres we can understand its capacity to act as a social agent that shares agency with the human it interacts with; as such it will be important throughout to consider the complexity of collections themselves, as actors and non-actors interacted. For anthropologist Gell, art has the capacity to act as a social agent which can invoke a response from the individual who encounters it. According to Gell human agency is imbedded within objects and they have the ability to enchant the viewer based on their technical virtuosity:

> We recognize works of art, as a category, because they are the outcome of technical process, the sorts of technical process in which artists are skilled…The enchantment of technology is the power that technical processes have of casting a spell over us so that we see the real world in an enchanted form.[135]

For many collectors in the nineteenth century, 'old' Sèvres was a technical mystery, especially as the factory stopped producing *pâte-tendre* porcelain after the French Revolution and soon the technique was lost for good.[136] Building on Gell's approach to object agency art historian Katie Scott has discussed its potential in relation to eighteenth-century French decorative art objects which she speculates have the ability to 'trap' their audiences.[137] Object agency rejects the Kantian belief that an object is defined by the judgment of the subject, instead an object itself can be an agent which may 'enchant' the

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[134] See for example: Alfred Gell, 'The Technology of Enchantment and the Enchantment of Technology', Jeremy Coote (ed.), *Anthropology, Art, and Aesthetics,* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 40-63; Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory,* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2007); Katie Scott, 'Image-Object-Space', *Between Luxury and the Everyday: Decorative Arts in Eighteenth-Century France,* Association of Art Historians, (2005), 136-150.

[135] Alfred Gell, 'The Technology of Enchantment and the Enchantment of Technology', 43-44.

[136] Tamara Préaud and Derek E. Ostergard, *The Sèvres Porcelain Manufactory*, 124.

[137] Scholars including Katie Scott, Martina Droth, Erin Campbell, Charissa Bremer-David and Mimi Hellman have viewed decorative art within the domestic interior as a means of social performance through the framework of object agency; Martina Droth, *Taking Shape: Finding Sculpture in the Decorative Arts,* (LA: Getty Publications, 2009). For a greater discussion of such art historiography please see Erin J. Campbell, 'Listening to objects: an ecological approach to the decorative arts', 1-23.

subject.[138] As Bill Brown has discussed in relation to object agency, scholarship must 'think beyond (or, more precisely, before) the distinction between subject and object, human and nonhuman…to the point where a subject-object binary no longer makes sense and the object world comes to life'.[139] If we extend this frame of reference, whereby objects come to life to trap and enchant, then this is perhaps another means through which to consider the collecting mania which enchanted collectors of Sèvres. Scott focuses her discussions on the interaction between object and human through the display and arrangement of the domestic interior space of the home, which will receive greater attention in Chapter I and II.[140] Finally, the work of sociologist Bruno Latour and the concept of Actor-Network-Theory has provided a useful lens with which to view the dynamics at play between an object and the actor interacting with it: from maker, dealer, agent, collector or museum viewer.[141] Actor-Network-Theory as put forward by Latour enables an investigation into the interactions and 'flow of translations'[142] which occurred between individuals such as collectors, dealers or institutions, and the objects themselves whereby 'each participant is treated as a full-blown mediator'.[143] As such Latour views objects as social agents which operate in changing networks of exchange and through this interplay agency is shared between humans and objects. In these terms, Sèvres porcelain, as the object and non-human, and the collector or viewer as human can both be considered as actors, who have the potential capacity to interact alongside each other within systems

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[138] Alfred Gell, 'The Technology of Enchantment and the Enchantment of Technology', 44. For a greater discussion regarding the subject-object binary which is central to Kant's aesthetics see: Philip Scuderi, 'On the Subject/Object Distinction in Kant's Aesthetics: A response to Zuckert,' *Florida Philosophical Review,* Vol.XI, (2011), 17-25.
[139] Bill Brown, *Other Things,* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2019), 6.
[140] Katie Scott, 'Image-Object-Space', 139.
[141] Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social.* See also work by Michael Zell which uses Actor-Network-Theory to explore the social networks integral to Rembrandt's artistic production. Zell explains that within art history Actor-Network-Theory can be used 'to trace the ties that bring together people and objects, following the dynamics that unfold as humans and nonhuman entities interact', Michael Zell, 'Rembrandt's Gifs: A Case Study of Actor-Network-Theory', *Journal of Historians of Netherlandish Art,* Vol.3, Issue 2, Summer 2011, 1-30, 8.
[142] Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social*, 131-132.
[143] Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social*, 128.

of knowledge production and object exchange. In fact, Latour sees networks as 'the many entanglements of humans and non-humans'.[144] As art historian Erin Campbell has discussed, Latour's concept of Actor-Network-Theory also enables historians to investigate the role of decorative art objects 'in constituting the social world'.[145] By sharing agency, Sèvres has the capacity to create certain relationships and dialogues with the viewer or collector through social and commercial networks. Therefore, the object and the collector act together within a network which constitutes the social, which Latour defines as that process which underpins and constitutes society: 'I am going to define the social not as a special domain, a specific realm, or a particular sort of thing, but only as a very peculiar movement of re-association and reassembling'.[146] Such interaction gives Sèvres the potential to represent the *ancien régime* and convey cultural meaning. However, it also moves beyond this to add meaning to the intellectual and cultural paradigm of nineteenth-century British society, thereby shaping discourse in the public sphere through the standardization of connoisseurship and the role of Sèvres in wider art historical discourse, as discussed in Chapter III and IV.

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Bearing in mind the discussions raised thus far in this introduction, this thesis examines pre-Revolutionary Sèvres porcelain as an actor which interacted with the social and cultural life of collecting networks engaged in 'Sèvres-mania' as it manifested alongside the shifting socio-cultural frameworks of nineteenth-century Britain. Focusing on the interactions between object and knowledge exchange, this investigation traces the shifting value structures and meaning of pre-Revolutionary Sèvres, and the discourses of historical thinking and connoisseurship which emerged from these. In doing so it

[144] Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social*, 84.
[145] Erin J. Campbell, 'Listening to objects: an ecological approach to the decorative arts', 10.
[146] Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social*, 7.

positions the histories of collecting Sèvres within a larger historiography of eighteenth-century French art and culture in Britain after the French Revolution, and aims to reinvigorate French porcelain history within broader interventions into the cultural study of the decorative arts in current art historical research.

Chapter I: A Mania for 'old' Sèvres

> When the storm of the French Revolution burst over the different countries of Europe, and shook the foundations of the property of states, as well as of individuals, the general distress, and the insecurity of property, brought an immense number of works of art into the market… scarcely was a country overrun by the French, when Englishmen skilled in the arts were at hand with their guineas.[1]
>
> – Gustave Waagen, *Treasures of Art in Great Britain, 1854*

Presented in this chapter is an examination of the taste for pre-Revolutionary Sèvres porcelain amongst emerging collecting networks in Britain after an unprecedented number of Royal and aristocratic collections entered the market during and following the French Revolution.[2] As Pierre Bourdieu has explored, taste should be understood as an embedded social practice determined by wider cultural frameworks and certain 'conditions of existence'.[3] The growing taste for 'old' Sèvres was both determined by social class structures and maintained through the cultural capital afforded by individuals of certain classes who occupied 'a given position in social space'.[4] Wider cultural and social frameworks therefore underpinned the emergence of 'Sèvres-mania' as collecting networks shaped the cultural meaning and value structures of Sèvres as it underwent a

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[1] Gustave Waagen, *Treasures of Art in Great Britain*, (London: John Murray, 1854), 50.

[2] The aftermath of the French Revolution has been considered by several historians of collecting who note the acquisitive urge of the collector to preserve works of art. Notably Francis Haskell situated the collector historically and emphasised their accountability for influencing changing fashions and rediscoveries in taste. See for example, Francis Haskell, *Rediscoveries in art: some aspects of taste, fashion and collecting in England and France*, (London: Phaidon Press, 1976), 165-166 and 202; Sylvia Neely, *A Concise History of the French Revolution,* (New York: Rowman, 2007), 240; Tom Stammers, 'The Bric-a-Brac of the Old Regime: Collecting and Cultural History in Post-Revolutionary France', *French History,* 22.3, 2008, 295-315*,* 296-297.

[3] Pierre Bourdieu, *The field of cultural production: essays on art and literature* trans. R. Jones (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1993)*,* 175.

[4] Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (London: Routledge, 2013[1979]), 468-469.

changing life history, emerging as an object of historical significance.[5] This investigation argues that pre-Revolutionary Royal Sèvres experienced a paradigmatic shift from a fashionable eighteenth-century commodity, to a concept which signified the recent historical past of the *ancien régime*.[6] Emphasised in this chapter are the complex networks of social and commercial relations in which these objects circulated and the ways in which they were perceived, valued and displayed by the affluent early nineteenth-century aristocratic and plutocratic classes.[7] As Bourdieu reminds us, 'a work of art has meaning and interest only for someone who possesses the cultural competence, that is, the code, into which it is encoded'.[8] In light of this an art collection can only produce knowledge if the individuals involved in the collecting systems are engaged in and able to construct its knowledge and cultural meaning.[9] To begin, this chapter will chart the history of Sèvres from its incarnation as a fashionable mid-eighteenth century object, to its reception during the French Revolutionary government. It then presents a detailed summary of the historical context and rise in historical thinking, paying particular attention to the complexity of Anglo-Franco relations during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars. In doing so it re-examines established historiography which upholds that nineteenth-century taste for collecting Sèvres was merely a continuation of

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[5] Arjun Appadadurai and Igor Kopytoff have considered the notion of the commodity in *The Social Life of Things* by noting that such objects are socialized things with 'life histories' and social use values. Arjun Appadurai, *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 17; Stacey Pierson, *From Object to Concept: Global Consumption and the transformation of Ming Porcelain*, (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2013), 3.

[6] Appadadurai does not restrict the commodity to capitalism, instead he advocates that commodities are living social things that move between use value and exchange value, and change their meaning over time. See also: John Frow, *Time and Commodity Culture: Essays in Cultural Theory and Postmodernity*, (Oxford: Claredon Press, 1997), 143; Arjun Appadadurai, *The Social Lives of Things*, 13. For a discussion regarding the commodification of historical objects please see: Mark Westgarth, *The Emergence of the Antique Curiosity Dealer, 1815-c.1850, the Commodification of Historical Objects*, University of Southampton, unpublished Ph.D thesis, 2007, 72.

[7] Peter Mandler, 'Caste or Class? The Social and Political Identity of the Aristocracy since 1800,' Jorn Leonhard, (ed.), *What Makes the Nobility Noble? Comparative Perspectives from the Sixteenth to the Twentieth Century*, (Gottingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011), 178-188, 178.

[8] Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, 2-3.

[9] Pierre Bourdieu, *The field of cultural production: essays on art and literature*, 170-175.

eighteenth-century collecting rhetoric.[10] In particular, it considers emerging British collecting networks from the late 1790s to 1820s who sought out 'old' Sèvres, especially pieces with historical associations that evoked the *ancien régime*. With this in mind, it explores the close relationship between the mania for collecting pre-Revolutionary *pâte-tendre* Sèvres, the rise in historical consciousness and the formation of historical knowledge, particularly through the display of Sèvres. As demand for 'old' Sèvres soon outweighed supply however it gave rise to an abundance of counterfeit examples. Produced across Britain and France such counterfeit production was intended to deceive collectors and dealers alike, and as such this chapter closes with a focus on authenticity.

Historical Context

Cultural historian Tom Stammers has paved the way for a better understanding of how and why —following the French Revolution— objects from material culture were circulated, displaced and collected, and then used to shape historical understanding of recent events.[11] Yet why has this been obscured for so long in art historiography? Notably already in the 1980s the art historian Francis Haskell claimed that 'we still know extraordinarily little about French –or even English– art patronage and collecting at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries, years pregnant with

[10] For example, Reitlinger has argued that taste was simply influenced by 'the glamour of smuggled goods, the competition of the Prince Regent, and an element of wartime inflation', Gerald Reitlinger, *The Economics of Taste*, in Three Volumes, Vol. II, (London: Barrie and Rockcliff, 1961-70), 157. Additionally, in several articles Rosalind Savill has claimed that collectors of Sèvres at the beginning of the nineteenth century were simply 'following the fashion for acquiring Sèvres set by George IV', Rosalind Savill, 'The Sèvres Porcelain Collection of the Fifth Duke and Duchess of Buccleuch', Tessa Murdoch, (eds.), *Boughton House: The English Versailles*, (London: Faber and Faber, 1992), 143.
[11] Tom Stammers, 'The Bric-a-Brac of the Old Regime', 296-297.

enormous changes in both countries'.[12] Whilst scholarship has progressed in this area to a certain extent, there is still much to be said in relation to the collecting patterns for specific categories of objects. The early nineteenth-century collecting of Sèvres is therefore a useful lens with which to view the historical and cultural underpinnings encouraged by the French Revolution and its impact on British collecting taste. Whilst the narrative is reiterated constantly by historians, one should not underestimate the changes in culture ignited by the fall of the French monarchy and the knock-on effect which this had on material culture.[13] This was stimulated in part by the fall of the *ancien régime*, a phrase which was coined as early as 1790 to convey the disintegration of the former order of a feudalist and absolute monarchical society.[14]

King Louis XVI was overthrown in August 1792. Following his execution in January 1793 France declared war on Britain and the Dutch Republic on 1 February that same year.[15] The events of the Revolution were greeted with varied responses in Britain: although many welcomed the freedom of the French Revolution, there was also an anxiety for the violent treatment of the French monarchy, intensified by a Francophobe contingent in Britain, and a growing concern for the longevity of monarchical structures.[16] Long before the French Revolution there had existed significant animosity towards the French, in part strengthened by the establishment of the Anti-Gallican Association in 1745 which gained further support during the Seven Years War (1754-

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[12] Francis Haskell, *Past and Present in Art and Taste,* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), 48.

[13] See Gustave Waagen, *Treasures of Art in Great Britain*, 50; Frank Herrmann, *The English as Collectors A Documentary Source Book*, (Delaware: Oak Knoll Press, 1999), 3; see also Tom Stammers for a more recent investigation: 'The Bric-a-Brac of the Old Regime', 295-315.

[14] In 1790 the term *l'ancien régime* was first included in a dictionary when it was defined as: 'l'ancienne administration, celle qui avoit lieu avant la revolution'; 'the old administration, that which existed prior to the Revolution'. Pierre Nicholas Chantreau, *Dictionnaire National et anecdotique: pour sevir à l'intelligence des mots dont notre langue s'est enrichie depuis la revolution,* (Paris: 1790), 159.

[15] Malcolm Crook, *Revolutionary France: 1788-1880,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 20-21.

[16] David Bindman, *The Shadow of the Guillotine: Britain and the French Revolution,* (London: British Museum Publications, 1977), 10-12.

1763). Primarily the society opposed trade between the two countries and discouraged the import of French commodities by promoting British manufacturers instead.[17] Since the influence of the Finance Minister Jean-Baptiste Colbert's (1619-1683) cultural policies, France dominated the production of luxury goods in Europe, and as Linda Colley has argued, an aristocratic preference for luxury French goods and cultural practices in the eighteenth century shaped British upper class identity.[18] For example, many political figures and intellectuals, notably the Whig party, looked towards French culture.[19] The intellectual rhetoric of Molière (1622-1673), Voltaire (1694-1778) and Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) influenced many, namely David Hume (1711-1776), Edmund Burke (1729-1797), and Charles James Fox (1749-1806); Fox in particular met several key French political figures including the Marquis de LaFayette (1757-1834).[20] The appropriation of French language, taste and cultural practices was also fundamental to British identity at this time.[21] As an extension to this, Carlton House, the main residence of the Prince Regent, was considered by many contemporaries as the ideological 'head-quarters' of the Foxites and Whigs, further intensified by its Francophile and Regency furnishing scheme.[22] Historian Robin Eagles too has aligned British identity with French taste, through the notion of *Francophilia,* remarking that for the British aristocracy 'the

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[17] Eleanor Quince, 'The London/Paris, Paris/London design dialogue of the late eighteenth century', Synergies *Royaume-Uni et Irlande* n° 3 – 2010, 47-58, 50.
[18] Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707–1837*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 165.
[19] Linda Colley has discussed that British identity emerged in the period between the Act of Union of 1707 and 1837 when Queen Victoria ascended the throne due to notions of religion, monarchy, economic opportunity and colonial expansion. Linda Colley, *Britons*, 54; Robin Eagles, *Francophilia in English Society 1748-1815,* (London: MacMillan, 2000).
[20] Robin Eagles, *Francophilia*, 154.
[21] The 2nd Earl of Lonsdale for example wrote frequently on French history, politics and culture, and in the novel *Coningsby,* written by the prime minister Benjamin Disraeli in 1845, the character Lord Eskdale, based on Lonsdale, was portrayed as a true Francophile. M.C. Rintoul, *Dictionary of Real People and Places in Fiction,* (London: Routledge, 1993), 620-621; Christopher Hugh Hely Owen, *The Lowther Family: Eight Hundred Years of 'A Family of Ancient Gentry and Worship,'* (Chichester: Phillimore, 1990), 392.
[22] George Craik, *The Pictorial History of England*, (London: C.Knight, 1844), 220.

only truly certain guarantee of good breeding was a familiarity with French life'.[23] Therefore at its inception many viewed the French Revolution favourably, as the epitome of the French enlightenment, with members of the Whig party believing that France was finally moving towards a more constitutional and liberal government, similar to Britain.[24] However, in 1790 the Anglo-Irish politician Edmund Burke delivered an impassioned speech to Parliament demanding them to reconsider their response to the French situation and contemplate the reality if such an event were to occur on British soil:

> To have mansions pulled down and pillaged, their persons abused, insulted and destroyed…their families driven to seek refuge in every nation throughout Europe, for no other reason than this, that, without any fault of theirs, they were born gentlemen and men of property, and were suspected of a desire to preserve their consideration and their estates.[25]

Whilst this anxiety must have partly manifested from a position of hegemonic privilege and a desire to conserve the existence of social hierarchy itself as a principle, Burke's emphasis on the desire of these men to preserve their estates could also resonate with wider collecting practices to save the French mansions which had been 'pulled down and pillaged' and whose contents had been scattered. Perhaps Burke was referring to the confiscation of the church lands in November 1789, as well as the significant number of treasures which had been and would continue to be taken from palaces and aristocratic collections, with 17,000 objects sold memorably from Versailles in September 1793.[26] Burke's protestations against the atrocity of the French Revolution influenced public

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[23] Robin Eagles, *Francophilia*, 160; Robin Eagles, 'Beguiled by France? The English Aristocracy, 1748-1848,' 60-77, L.W.B. Brockliss and David Eastwood, (eds.), *A Union of Multiple Identities: The British Isles, c.1750-1850,* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), 60.
[24] Ernest Smith, *Whig Principles and Party Politics: Earl Fitzwilliam and the Whig Party*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1975), 117.
[25] Edmund Burke, *Substance of the Speech of the Right Honourable Edmund Burke, in Thr [sic] Debate on the Army Estimates, in the House of Commons, on Tuesday the 9th Day of February, 1790: Comprehending a Discussion of the Present Situation of Affairs in France*, (London: J.Debrett, 1790), 23.
[26] James Barter, *The Palace of Versailles,* (Michigan: Lucent Books, 1999), 91.

opinion and were further disseminated through his book *Reflections on the Revolution in France* which was published in 1790.[27] One of the most shocking episodes of this account was the attack on the Royal family at the French Royal palace during the 'October Days' in 1789:

> This king, and this queen, and their infant children (who once would have been the pride and hope of a great and generous people) were then forced to abandon the sanctuary of the most splendid palace in the world, which they left swimming in blood, polluted by massacre and strewed with scattered limbs and mutilated carcasses.[28]

Burke clearly saw the role of the monarch and his wife as positions which demanded reverence and the emotive language used is striking. In fact, the sentimentality found within Burke's particular political rhetoric can be understood within a wider move within literature and politics from the later 1780s onwards.[29] In part this was adopted in order to reinforce the paternal sentimentality inherent with the structure of a family system, as well as a monarchical system, in order to protect the public perception of King George III.[30] Subsequently, Burke's account must have encouraged a significant empathetic response from his readers, especially for the Queen, who Burke described as a 'morning-star, full of life, and splendour, and joy'.[31] Despite this some contemporaries reacted against the virtuous portrayal of Marie Antoinette as slander of her sexual licentiousness was widespread, encouraged by the numerous *libelles* against the Queen which were circulated from 1789 onwards.[32] For example, when asked to comment on a draft of *Reflections* the politician Philip Francis (1740-1818), a friend of Burke's, stated 'all that

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[27] J. R. Watson, *Romanticism and War,* (New York: Palgrave, 2003), 40. For a greater discussion of Burke's influence on public opinion against the French Revolution see Steven Blakemore and Fred Hembree, 'Edmund Burke, Marie Antoinette, and the Procédure Criminelle', *The Historian,* Spring 2001, 505-520.
[28] Edmund Burke, *Reflections on the Revolution in France,* (London: J.Dodsley, 1791), 106.
[29] For more information on this see John Barrell, *Imagining the King's Death Figurative Treason, Fantasies of Regicide, 1793-1796,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 49-54.
[30] John Barrell, *Imagining the King's Death*, 49-54.
[31] Edmund Burke, *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, 112.
[32] Simon Burrows, *Blackmail*, *Scandal and Revolution: London's French Libellistes, 1758-1792,* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006), 147-148.

you say of the Queen is pure foppery'.[33] Nevertheless, Burke did shock contemporary British audiences with a descriptive report which alleged that the Queen was almost murdered in her bed. Here he presented Queen Marie Antoinette as a vulnerable and sympathetic figure who fled 'almost naked' when Revolutionaries attempted to attack her in her own bedchamber, striking down the guard:

> A band of cruel ruffians and assassins, reeking with his blood, rushed into the chamber of the queen, and pierced with an hundred strokes of bayonets and poniards the bed, from whence this persecuted woman had but just time to fly almost naked.[34]

As the Revolution progressed many came to agree with Burke's opinions, convinced that the execution of the King confirmed the inhumane nature of French politics. As a result, a fear grew amongst the aristocratic and patrician classes for the future of their hegemonic control. Perhaps we could even speculate that for some collecting the remnants of the *ancien régime* was a means by which to hold onto their political and social control. As historian Priscilla Parkhurst Ferguson has observed, although France bore many remnants of the monarchy with buildings, palaces and churches, these were rejected swiftly by a new Revolutionary society which sought to remake the city of Paris.[35] The paradox of the Revolution is also worth noting, although as a political event it sought to separate France from its former Royal restraints, the immediate dismemberment of Royal and aristocratic collections on the art market enabled others to seek out the remnants of the *ancien régime*. Certainly the French Revolution led to an upheaval in the significant number of artworks

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[33] Katherine Binhammer, 'Marie Antoinette was "One of Us": British Accounts of the Martyred Wicked Queen', *The Eighteenth Century,* Vol. 44, No. 2/3, 2003, 233-255, 236.

[34] Edmund Burke, *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, 106. Although the authenticity of this event was questioned by the French politician Charles Chabroud (1750-1816) in Book 4 of the *Procédure Criminelle,* some historians have confirmed that Burke's account was indeed historically grounded: Charles Chabroud, *Procédure Criminelle,* book 4, (Paris: Baudouin, 1790), 65. Simon Schama for example, has revealed that a guard was injured, although not fatally, just outside the Queen's apartments but managed to call out to one of the ladies in waiting for Marie Antoinette to flee, just before he was struck down. Simon Schama, *Citizens: A Chronicle of the French Revolution,* (New York: Penguin Group, 1989), 467

[35] Priscilla Parkhurst Ferguson, *Paris as Revolution: Writing the Nineteenth-century City*, (California: University of California Press, 1997), 12.

distributed across Europe but some agency must be given to the collectors and the antique and curiosity dealers who responded to this circulation of artefacts. The role played by these networks in the formation of early collections of Sèvres therefore needs to be added into the historiography of French decorative art collecting in nineteenth-century Britain.

Historical Consciousness

Although political events facilitated an unprecedented number of Sèvres on the open art market, this chapter argues that the socio-cultural and historical motivations underpinning these collecting networks were framed by wider conceptual shifts.[36] As such, this chapter distances itself from established scholarship which has emphasised that a sustained collecting tradition remained due to British cultural identification with the French.[37] For example, according to art historian Jon Whiteley, the taste for French eighteenth-century art in nineteenth-century Britain 'was not caused by a revival of interest…but by the survival of a taste which had never gone away'.[38] Design historian Barbara Lasic has adopted a similar position viewing the nineteenth-century collecting of *ancien régime* art as a continuation in taste:

[36] Michel Foucault, *The archaeology of knowledge* trans. A.M. Sheridan Smith (Harper Colophon Books, New York and London, 1976), 8-12.

[37] For example, historian of decorative arts Adriana Turpin has argued that 'the enduring taste for the French Ancien Régime style' amongst collectors in nineteenth-century Britain was a form of continued British nationalism, Adriana Turpin 'Appropriation as a form of Nationalism? Collecting French Furniture in the Nineteenth Century', *Jan Dirk Baetens and Dries Lyna* (eds.), *Art Crossing Borders, The Internationalisation of the Art Market in the Age of Nation States, 1750-1914*, (Leiden: Brill Publishing, 2019), 220-255, 220-221.

[38] Jon Whiteley, 'Collectors of Eighteenth-Century French art in London: 1800-1850', Christoph Martin Vogtherr, (ed.), *Delicious Decadence: The Rediscovery of French Eighteenth-Century Painting,* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), 46. Carl Dauterman similarly indicates that whilst the Peace of Amiens marked a renewed interest in Sèvres it was merely a continuation of an already established tradition, Carl Dauterman, *The Wrightsman Collections,* Vol.3 and Vol.4, (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1970), 183-185.

> acquisitions of eighteenth century French decorative arts continued and sustained a collecting tradition which can be traced back to the eighteenth century when British travellers to France bought *objets du dernier cri* from manufactures considered unparalleled in the production of luxury goods.[39]

The assertion of a sustained interest neglects to consider the rising culture of historical thinking in the early nineteenth century, which established new coded paradigms within which to collect and interact with objects. Moreover it does not consider the fact that collecting networks may have engaged in a form of historical preservation by rescuing art which may have otherwise been disregarded.[40] The French Revolution displaced temporality due to its radical political ideologies and the way in which individuals related to time.[41] In an attempt to recount the 'October Days' in 1789, the Revoluntionary activist Jacques-Pierre Brissot de Warville even exclaimed: 'The events that have taken place right in front of us appear almost like a dream…we cannot give a detailed account today of this astonishing Revolution'.[42] According to Billie Melman, the British used the framework of the French Revolution as a means through which to respond to modernity by creating meaning and an understanding of the past through a new formation of history.[43] As historian Susan Crane states, through the realms of subjectivity an individual can become aware of history by having 'a sense of the past at a distance that is neither

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[39] Barbara Lasic, 'Vendu à des Anglois: the collecting of eighteenth century French decorative arts, 1789-1830', Jonathan Glynne (ed.), *Networks of Design: Proceedings of the 2008 Annual International Conference of the Design History Society,* (California: Universal Publishers, 2010), 183-198, 183.

[40] Tom Stammers for example has discussed how 'the bold collector' was able to salvage 'a host of unique, profitable and peculiar historical objects', Tom Stammers, 'The Bric-a-Brac of the Old Regime', 299.

[41] See for example, Niklas Olsen, *History in the Plural: An Introduction to the Work of Reinhart Koselleck*, (New York: Berghahn Books, 2012), 175; Reinhardt Koselleck, *Futures past: on the semantics of historical time* trans. K. Tribe, (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1985), 267-88.

[42] Lynn Hunt, 'The World We Have Gained: The Future of the French Revolution', *The American Historical Review*, 2003, Vol. 108(1), 1-19, 5.

[43] Billie Melman, *The Culture of History: English Uses of the Past 1800-1953*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 13-14.

exactly spatial nor temporal, but a combination of the two that can exist only through imagination and intuition'.[44]

Notably, historians Stephen Bann, Peter Mandler, Susan Crane, and Tom Stammers have all investigated the position of the French Revolution and its subsequent suppression of the former *ancien régime* as integral to the historicised culture of nineteenth-century European society. As Bann and Stammers have observed, due to a French determination to distance itself from its former systems of control, history itself was mourned and feared to be absent.[45] This anxiety over history contributed to a new form of historicised knowledge which emerged through a Foucauldian epistemological shift at the end of the eighteenth century. For Michel Foucault for example, knowledge is shaped by the episteme which produces discursive practices that arise during specific historical moments. In the *Archaeology of Knowledge* Foucault defined *episteme* as 'the total set of relations that unite, at a given period, the discursive practices that give rise to epistemological figures, sciences, and possibly formalized systems'.[46] As the episteme, a political system of knowledge, transitioned from the Classical era Foucault posits it bore witness to a period of historical change.[47] Building on this Foucauldian framework Bann has also asserted that we need to focus on the rising historicism in public consciousness which is linked to and a product of a broader landscape of cultural change.[48] Historical consciousness therefore offers the potential to view early Sèvres collectors as

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[44] Susan Crane, *Collecting and Historical Consciousness in Early Nineteenth-Century Germany,* (Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press, 2000), xi.

[45] Stephen Bann, *Romanticism and the Rise of History,* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1995), 10; Tom Stammers, *Collecting Cultures, Historical Consciousness and Artefacts of the Old Regime in Nineteenth-Century Paris,* University of Cambridge, unpublished Ph.D thesis, 2009, 19. See also, Irena Gross, *The scar of revolution: Custine, Tocqueville and the Romantic Imagination,* (Berkeley CA: University of California Press, 1994).

[46] Michel Foucault, *The archaeology of knowledge*, 181.

[47] Michel Foucault, *The order of things: an archaeology of the human sciences* (London and New York: Routledge, 2002), 330-374; 8-12.

[48] The notion of historical consciousness is an extension of Stephen Bann's belief that too much emphasis has been placed by scholars on the emerging academic discourse of history. Stephen Bann, *The Clothing of Clio: a study of the representation of history in nineteenth-century Britain and France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 2.

contributing to a reconstruction of the recent past and forming a history of the *ancien régime* through objects. As cultural and collecting practices started to categorise 'old' in a new way, pre-Revolutionary Sèvres became a product of broader epistemic shifts and in particular, rising notions of historical consciousness. Crane argues that the cultural shift at the end of the eighteenth century enabled the formation of a new type of collector who gathered objects due to a dedication to historical preservation.[49] As Bann suggests, early nineteenth-century collections, such as Alexandre Du Sommerard (1779-1842) can be considered as an example of a new and highly intellectual and historicized collecting paradigm.[50] Many scholars have emphasised the importance of the emergence of antiquarian and historicist attitudes at this time across Europe, and particularly in Britain.[51] As the French historian Prosper de Barate exclaimed in the preface of *Histoire des Ducs de Bourgogne* in 1824, 'never has curiosity been applied more avidly to the knowledge of history'.[52] Early nineteenth-century Britain bore witness to a greater turn in historical imagination, represented through the works of authors such as Sir Walter Scott, a rising interest in historical tourism, history painting, and a need to legitimately represent historical characters and scenes as authentically as possible on the London stage.[53] Print and literary culture also embraced this historical turn and when *The*

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[49] Susan Crane, 'Story, history and the passionate collector', Martin Myrone and Lucy Peltz (eds.), *Producing the Past: Aspects of Antiquarian Culture and Practice 1700-1850,* (Brookfield, Vermont: Ashgate, 1999), 187.
[50] Stephen Bann, *The Clothing of Clio*, 2.
[51] See for example, Clive Wainwright, *The Romantic Interior, the British Collector at Home 1750-1850* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989); Frank Herrmann, *The English as* Collectors A Documentary Source Book, (Delaware: Oak Knoll Press, 1999), Mark Westgarth, *The Emergence of the Antique Curiosity Dealer, 1815-c.1850, the Commodification of Historical Objects*, University of Southampton, unpublished Ph.D thesis, 2007; Susan Crane, *Collecting and Historical Consciousness in Early Nineteenth-Century Germany*, (Ithaca NY: Cornell Press, 2000), Tom Stammers, *Collecting Cultures, Historical Consciousness and Artefacts of the Old Regime in Nineteenth-Century Paris,* University of Cambridge, unpublished Ph.D thesis, 2009.
[52] Prosper de Barante, *Histories des Ducs de Bourgogne,* (Paris: Ladvocat, 1826), xxii.
[53] Influenced by the antiquarian draftsman William Capon (1757-1827) and the actor John Philip Kemble (1757-1823) who managed Drury Lane Theatre, theatre historians have emphasised that the increasing historical awareness of the audience contributed to the need to legitimately represent historical characters as authentically as possible, see: Richard Schnoch, *Shakespeare's Victorian Stage: Performing History in the Theatre of Charles Kean,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 72. On rising historical imagination see also: Peter Mandler, *The English*

Saturday Magazine was first published in 1832 it endeavoured 'to dig up the great books of the past'.[54] A new coded history, different to that which had come before emerged and this was mirrored in collecting practices. Thus the collecting of Sèvres could be understood as a response to sudden changes, as well as a need to preserve objects that were at odds with the French Revolutionary government. The objective is not to prove that each individual collector or dealer was historically conscious, instead the argument put forward here is that these figures were operating within a historically-minded context which took place at the turn of the nineteenth century. Therefore, by examining the shifting value structures of pre-Revolutionary Sèvres this thesis contributes to extant scholarship by providing a specific example of one collected object and tracing its relationship to wider epistemological shifts.[55]

Against this background this thesis maintains that as pre-Revolutionary Sèvres porcelain transitioned into an 'old' and historical object it can be seen as corresponding to Foucault's notion of the Romantic episteme era.[56] In order to trace this shift it is now useful to consider how pre-Revolutionary Sèvres was perceived during and immediately following the French Revolution. As historian Malcolm Crook maintains 'the French monarchy was not overthrown in 1789; it had already begun to collapse a year earlier

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National Character, 36; Mark Westgarth, *The Emergence of the Antique Curiosity Dealer, 1815-c.1850, the Commodification of Historical Objects*, University of Southampton, unpublished Ph.D thesis, 2007, 56.

[54] Peter Mandler, '"In the Olden Time": Romantic History and English Identity, 1820-50, 78-92, in L.W.B. Brockliss and David Eastwood, *A Union of Multiple Identities: The British Isles, c.1750-1850,* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), 80.

[55] As Westgarth has discussed the changing cultural values assigned to historical objects transformed the 'perspective and scale of collecting activities themselves'. Mark Westgarth, *The Emergence of the Antique Curiosity Dealer, 1815-c.1850, the Commodification of Historical Objects,* University of Southampton, unpublished Ph.D thesis, 2007, 51.

[56] For example, Mark Westgarth has explored the idea that changing attitudes to historical objects mirror Foucauldian shifts. Notably Westgarth situates the emergence of the antique and curiosity dealer as both facilitating and responding to an increasing interest in history and historical objects in the early 1800s. Mark Westgarth, *The Emergence of the Antique Curiosity Dealer, 1815-c.1850, the Commodification of Historical Objects*, University of Southampton, unpublished Ph.D thesis, 2007, 10 and 51.

when it proved incapable of reform'.[57] Changing taste also related to the anxiety of political reform and rising economic difficulties, both of which were worsened by the devastating French harvest of 1788.[58] This was even felt by the *marchand mercier* Dominique Daguerre who admitted in the summer of 1788, 'the words c'est trop cher seem to be exceedingly common in the country…nobody even wants to bother to look'.[59] Even before the French Revolution therefore a lull in the market for earlier Sèvres existed in France. This was possibly due to a repercussion of the disintegration between the power dynamics of the monarchical and constitutional regimes. In Britain, as art historian Judith Anderson has commented, 'by the 1790s the flow of French imports increased, as Sèvres and the Parisian factories struggled to remain open, for the Revolution had resulted in almost a total disappearance of the French porcelain works' traditional clientele'.[60] Understandably Daguerre and other French dealers including the Parisian firm of Martin-Eloi Lignereux, Jean-Henri Eberts and the Treuttel family looked to England to sell their stock by holding auctions in London.[61] As historian Eleanor Quince has argued, communication and trade between Paris and England was actually strengthened in the early days of the Revolution with an influx of aristocratic families arriving in London with the latest news and fashion.[62] Lignereux and Daguerre, had already established a premises on Piccadilly in London in 1787, which enabled them to directly trade between

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[57] Malcolm Crook, *Revolutionary France 1788-1880*, 8.
[58] Malcolm Crook, *Revolutionary France 1788-1880*, 13.
[59] As cited in Tamara Préaud, 'Competition from Sevres Porcelain', *Derby Porcelain International Society Journal*, 4, (2000), 38-48, 42-44. For more information on the importance of the role played by the *marchands merciers* in eighteenth-century France see: Carolyn Sargentson, *Merchants and Luxury Markets, The Marchands Merciers of Eighteenth-Century Paris,* (London: V&A Museum, 1996).
[60] Judith Anderson, *Derby Porcelain and the Early English Fine Ceramic Industry,* University of Leicester, unpublished Ph.D thesis, 2000, 94.
[61] Carl Dauterman, *The Wrightsman Collections*, 183. It is also important to note that by 1787 import duties on French porcelain into England had been lowered to 12 per cent by the Treaty of Commerce and Navigation, otherwise known as the Eden Treaty. See: Diana Davis, 'From Private to Public: A Dihl and Guérhard Sabines Vase', *French Porcelain Society Journal,* Volume VII, (London: Gomer Press, 2018), 227-253, 229.
[62] Eleanor Quince, 'The London/Paris, Paris/London design dialogue of the late eighteenth century', 52.

Paris and London.[63] Although Carl Dauterman has claimed that Daguerre's decision to set up in England 'makes it pretty certain that there was a considerable demand for Sèvres at this date' this does not appear to be the case.[64] Notably, in June 1789 Christie's held a three-day sale on Daguerre's behalf but demand for pre-Revolutionary Sèvres was particularly low, with Joseph Lygo an agent for Derby reporting that French china could be purchased 'for nearly half the price it cost'.[65] Furthermore, ceramics scholar David Peters has revealed that Daguerre made a loss of 17,365 livres from this auction sale.[66] The diminished taste for Sèvres porcelain was further confirmed by Enoch Rittener, a china merchant based at 37 Albemarle Street in London, who bought from the factory frequently, with his name appearing in the Sèvres ledgers as early as 1788, and in 1790.[67] In February 1790 Rittener even referenced Daguerre's mediocre sales in a letter to the Sèvres manufactory declaring 'You will be kind enough not to go above the prices I have asked for in my letter. I have every right to hope so, from the sale you have just had in this city where everything went for very low prices'.[68] Daguerre also organised another sale on 25-26 March 1791 at Christie's which included a recent shipment of French furniture and porcelain, but once again the prices were extremely poor and Daguerre must have made a further loss on this auction.[69] In addition, the French dealer Philippe Claude Maelrondt and his wife visited England in January and March 1791 bringing trunks

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[63] Michel Beurdeley, *La France à l'Encan,* (Paris: Office du Livre, 1981), 29-30.

[64] Such scholarship has contributed towards the false assumption that a continuous taste for Sèvres existed towards the end of the eighteenth century. Carl Dauterman, *The Wrightsman Collections*, 183.

[65] Joseph Lygo, Lygo Letters, 7 June and 22 July, 1789, *Derby Local Studies Library.* Lygo was registered at 23 Bedford Street, Covent Garden, as a 'chinaman' from at least 1788. Joseph Lygo, Records of Sun Fire Office*,* 20 March 1788*,* MS 11936/349/541835. *London Metropolitan Archives, London.*

[66] This would be well over a million pounds in money today, Historical Currency Converter, *The National Archive.*

[67] Archives Carton H 5 letter dated 23.03.1790 from the *AMNS* now located in the Geoffrey de Bellaigue Archive, GB 1807 BELL, *The Wallace Collection Archives.*

[68] *AMNS* Carton H, Reference to 15 March 1790, from the *AMNS* now located in the Geoffrey de Bellaigue Archive, GB 1807 BELL, *The Wallace Collection Archives.*

[69] Carl Dauterman, *Decorative Arts from the Samuel H. Kress Collection,* (New York: Phaidon Press, 1964), 114; Geoffrey de Bellaigue, *French Porcelain in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen*, 3 vols (Royal Collection Enterprises: London, 2009), 10.

containing pictures, porcelain and chandeliers.[70] Sèvres continued to spill onto the market at a growing rate and at increasingly low prices, and Baron Jean-Charles Davillier (1823-83) later lamented that in the 1790s in France 'magnificent furniture, paintings and bronzes, porcelain Sèvres vases, from porphyry and precious stones to engraved settings by goldsmiths, all these princely spoils were exposed at the roadside, even in the lowliest districts.'[71] Following the start of the war against France in 1793 the British government under William Pitt created the *Traitorous Correspondence Bill* as a response to their anxiety regarding French espionage.[72] The 1793 *Alien Act* was ultimately a response to the fact that the Jacobins had now placed all British citizens under imprisonment, not only did the Act tighten security for emigrants arriving from France into England, it also simultaneously restricted the passage of the British public to France.[73] Many rejoiced in this decision from the government, although there were humanitarian concerns regarding the expulsion of French emigrants already in Britain who would be condemned if forced to return to France.[74] From 1793 therefore the British public could not travel to or from France unless a passport or travel licence had been granted by the Crown, not only limiting travel but also the supply of French goods to England. Trade between the two countries was certainly much more difficult, with French objects having to reach Britain through neutral ports such as Hamburg, and restrictions would remain until 1815.[75] Even

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[70] Geoffrey de Bellaigue, 'Philippe-Claude Maelrondt, Supplier to George IV', *Burlington Magazine,* Vol. 146, No. 1215, *Decorative Arts,* (Jun., 2004), 386-395, 389.

[71] Jean-Charles Davillier, *Le cabinet du duc d'Aumont et les amateurs de son temps, accompagné de notes, et d'une notice sur Pierre Gouthière,* (Paris: Aubry, 1870), ix-x.

[72] Clive Emsley, *British Society and the French Wars, 1793-1815*, (London: Macmillan International, 1979), 21.

[73] *The Parliamentary Register; Or, History of the Proceedings and Debates of the [House of Lords and House of Commons*, (London: J. Almon, 1793), 116-117. See also: Juliette Reboul, *French Emigration to Great Britain in Response to the French Revolution,* (Basingstoke: Springer Nature, 2017), 64.

[74] Though as Edmund Burke and others pointed out, the Foxite group actively protected some French emigrants and the *London Packet* announced that the *Alien Act* would discriminate successfully 'between the innocent emigrants and concealed instruments of a foreign invasion'. Juliette Reboul, *French Emigration to Great Britain*, 70-71.

[75] Several sales were held in London in the mid-1790s which were described as 'French Porcelaine…imported from Paris via Hamburg' or as 'recently consigned from Hamburg', Fritz Lught, Nos. 5471, 1796.

though goods were stopped frequently at customs or significant amounts of duty were charged this did not always deter collecting networks.[76] For example, between 1789 and 1799 Christie's and Philips had twenty-one sales of various French and continental porcelains.[77] One of the most notable ones held at Philips centred solely on Sèvres porcelain and pieces from the Duc d'Angoûlème's Dihl et Guérhard Factory.[78] Throughout the 1790s Rittener also continued to purchase old stock directly from the Sèvres Manufactory, and in 1795 the French dealer Madame Lefebure, née le Clercq, passed on Sèvres porcelains to him.[79] However evidently there was not enough demand for these pieces as after Rittener's death in 1798, a significant amount of his remaining stock, as well as pieces that he had probably collected for his own personal use, were sold by the auction house Philips. Such an example, coupled with Daguerre's disappointing auctions, reveal that at this time Sèvres porcelain was no longer perceived by the British as the fashionable, luxury French good which it had been since the 1750s, although it was still desired by some it had not emerged yet as a historical and highly-sought after object. In light of this perhaps we can conclude that during the beginning of the French Revolution there was less of a demand for 'old' *pâte-tendre* Sèvres in England and that the market was much more over-saturated than scholars have previously considered, which suggests that a break in taste had occurred.

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[76] Judith Anderson, *Derby Porcelain and the Early English Fine Ceramic Industry,* University of Leicester, unpublished Ph.D thesis, 2000, 97. Carl Dauterman has also referenced the increasing number of auction sales at this period in London for example in April 1794 the Comte d'Adhémar brought over a large number of pieces 'consigned from the Porcelain Manufactory of Sèvres' with several others listed as 'Porcelaine imported from France' or 'porcelain consigned from Paris', Carl Dauterman, *The Wrightsman Collections*, 183.

[77] Judith Anderson, *Derby Porcelain and the Early English Fine Ceramic Industry,* University of Leicester, unpublished Ph.D thesis, 2000, 94.

[78] Phillips*, An Assemblage of Superb and Magnificent Sève and Angoûlème Porcelane Clocks and Timepieces,* London, 31 May 1796.

[79] AMNS Archives, sales register, Vy11, folio 219 verso (10 germinal an 2)], from the *AMNS* now located in the Geoffrey de Bellaigue Archive, GB 1807 BELL, *The Wallace Collection Archives*.

The Sèvres manufactory led a progressively unstable existence from the beginning of the Revolutionary period until 1800 when Napoleon established the Consulate and Alexandre Brongniart (1770-1847) was elected as the new director.[80] From the very beginning of his tenure and in the hope of raising revenue Brongniart wrote to the *Ministère de l'Intérieur,* Lucien Bonaparte (1775-1840) asking for permission to sell and auction off pieces of pre-Revolutionary Sèvres from the manufactory's warehouses, first on 15 May 1800, and then again in June 1800.[81] Brongniart stated that the: 'grand nombre de vieilles porcelaines qui encombrent nos magasins et qui nuisent à la manufacture en faisant croire à ceux qui viennent la visiter qu'elle fabrique encore de ces choses gothiques'.[82] Not only does Brongniart dismiss and criticise earlier pre-Revolutionary Sèvres explicitly, he also sought to abolish altogether the production of 'ces choses gothiques'.[83] Most importantly for our purposes he adopted the use of the word 'old' in reference to pre-Revolutionary Sèvres, although to him 'old' was not representative of historical value, it was something to be disparaged and cast out. Undoubtedly Brongniart held *pâte-tendre* pre-Revolutionary Sèvres in contempt as an object inextricably linked to the former cultural identity of France. Brongniart's request to sell stock was granted by the government and soon, early *pâte-tendre* examples were auctioned off, often they were sold as undecorated blanks although batches with fired ground colours and some painted decoration also entered the market. The Sèvres manufactory desperately needed to raise money whilst

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[80] Alexandre Brongniart was a French geologist, chemist and the Director of the Sèvres manufactory, who also founded the Musée National de Céramique-Sèvres. Tamara Préaud and Derek E. Ostergard, *The Sèvres Porcelain Manufactory*, 15.

[81] Lucien Bonaparte's reply to this letter is now part of the Alexandre Brongniart archive at the *Archives Nationales* in Paris.

[82] 'a large number of old porcelain cluttering our stores which harm the factory and make those who visit believe that it still makes such Gothic things', Register Vc2, letter dated 9 Messidor year 8, June 28th, 1800, *AMNS*.

[83] 'such Gothic things', Register Vc2, letter dated 9 Messidor year 8, June 28th, 1800, *AMNS*; Brongniart's use of the word 'gothique' is also interesting as although often 'gothique' is reserved for a specific type of architecture, in France it also indicated that something was out of date. Notably a French dictionary in 1842 defined 'gothique' as having two definitions, one as a description for architecture and the other as 'une sorte de mépris, de qui parait trop ancien et hors de mode'; 'A kind of contempt, which seems too old and is out of fashion'. Antoine Sergent, *Grand Dictionnaire Français-Italien*, (Paris: Negretti, 1842), 500.

distancing itself from its previous aesthetic production after the economic uncertainty and turmoil experienced during the Revolutionary period. With this in mind the decision to sell off old stock becomes easier to understand. However, this decision by Brongniart was also coupled with another: to cease *pâte-tendre* production altogether in 1804, despite reservations from some of his contemporaries.[84] In doing so Brongniart openly rejected the knowledge, skills and market superiority that Sèvres had spent over fifty years cultivating and which no other manufactory had managed to duplicate; the technical ingenuity required to create *pâte-tendre* porcelain was lost.

By establishing a greater and more in-depth historical context, this investigation can distance itself from established historiography and therefore better situate the motivations behind the collecting of Sèvres directly following the Revolution. In many ways the lull on the oversaturated market from the late 1780s onwards, the physical separation due to the Revolution, subsequent estrangement between France and England from 1793 onwards and the decision to sell off and cease production of *pâte-tendre* Sèvres threw the temporal era of the *ancien régime* into sharp relief. Soon pre-Revolutionary Sèvres was assigned a new cultural meaning as an 'old' object of the recent historical past.[85] In order to understand this shift it is useful to draw on the work of art historian Alois Riegl and his notion of 'age-value' to better situate the imprecise nature of the term 'old' Sèvres.[86] Reigl defines 'age-value' as different from historical oldness which 'springs from our appreciation of the time which has elapsed since [the work] was made and which has

[84] Tamara Préaud and Derek E. Ostergard, *The Sèvres Porcelain Manufactory*, 2 and 124.
[85] Although Reitlinger has identified that the 'cult' for buying 'old' Sèvres began during the Peace of Amiens he does not consider when Sèvres started to be perceived as 'old'. Gerald Reitlinger, *The Economics of Taste*, in Three Volumes, Vol. II, (London: Barrie and Rockcliff, 1961-70), 156.
[86] Alan Colquhoun, 'Newness and Age-Value in Alois Riegl', *Modernitry and the Classical Tradition,* 1989, 213-221; Joseph Leo Koerner and Lisbet Koerner, 'Value', Robert Nelson and Richard Shift (eds.), *Critical Terms for Art History,* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 292-306, 298.

burdened it with traces of age'.[87] Similarly, as Stefan Muthesius has discussed a 'new kind of antique…does not actually have to be very old in order to be valued'.[88] The significance of pre-Revolutionary Sèvres was not constituted by its age or patina as per Riegl's perspective, but its role as an object of specific cultural production whose value structures changed irrevocably due to socio-political events and the creation of new Revolutionary Sèvres at the manufactory. Archival research has revealed that the use of 'old' in reference to Sèvres first appeared in 1798 by Philips auction house in London in relation to the sale of a Mrs Sturt.[89] This date is particularly interesting as it marks a middle point: a few years have passed since the outbreak of the war in 1793, and the oversaturated market for Sèvres in England, yet it is still three years before a momentary break of peace was established through the Peace of Amiens in 1801. By 1801 the use of the phrase 'old' Sèvres intensified, appearing often in auction house rhetoric as they sold off posthumous property from eighteenth-century collectors.[90] In 1802 the British writer and journalist Mary Berry noted in a diary entry that the 'Old Sèvres china and rich ornaments of all sorts, which had been bought for nothing out of the great hotels, are now selling'.[91] Berry's particular use of the word 'old' to describe Sèvres porcelain suggests that by 1802 in Britain the meaning associated with pre-Revolutionary Sèvres was shifting.[92] During the two-year Peace of Amiens from 1801-1803 a large influx of British collectors and antique and curiosity dealers arrived in France. Paris in particular was described as a 'little England' with at least 5,000 British visitors recorded as early as

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[87] Alan Colquhoun, 'Newness and Age-Value in Alois Riegl', 213.
[88] Stefan Muthesius, 'Why do we buy old furniture? Aspects of the authentic antique in Britain 1870-1910', *Art History,* Vol. 11, No. 2, June 1988, 231-254, 231.
[89] Saturday, 24 March, 1798, *The Times*, Issue 4152, 4.
[90] Wednesday, 18 March, 1801, *The Times,* Issue 5056, 4; Wednesday, 18 March, 1801, *Morning Chronicle,* 4; Saturday, 26 December, 1801, *The Times,* Issue 5299, 4; Wednesday, 15 February, 1804, *The Times,* Issue 5946, 4.
[91] Mary Berry, *Journals and Correspondence,* (London: Longmans, Green, 1865), 146.
[92] Stephen Bann discusses something similar when he charts the change in the word 'specimen' to 'relic', Stephen Bann, *The Clothing of Clio,* 86.

1802.[93] This short opening between the two countries and brief interlude in the war may have contributed to a renewed British desire for French eighteenth-century goods. Many collectors took advantage of the harmony between Britain and France during this time, with both the 3rd Marquess of Hertford (1777-1842) and Viscount Lascelles (1767-1814) visiting Paris to purchase art during 1802.[94] Although Hertford was primarily there to act as an agent on behalf of the Prince Regent, design historian Barbara Lasic and art historian John Ingamells have both surmised that Hertford was probably also acquiring objects for himself, as proven by the series of annotated contemporary sale catalogues in the Wallace Collection archive.[95] In fact, the probate inventory of Hertford's residence Dorchester House taken at his death in 1842 indicated that he owned around 700 pieces of Sèvres porcelain.[96] In political terms the situation during the Peace of Amiens was still fairly complex, notably the British needed to exchange their passports for a *permis de séjour* once they arrived in Paris.[97] And by the end of May 1803, as peace started to disintegrate all Englishmen were regarded as 'prisoners of war' and it took over five months of anxious waiting for visitors, including the diarist Bertie Greatheed and his acquaintances, to pass the frontiers and return home.[98] Nonetheless, as the Napoleonic wars progressed more auctions occurred which were entirely dedicated to or featured specific sections for 'old' Sèvres. In February 1804 Philips auctioned off the collection of a 'man of fashion' from Berkeley Square comprising 'Parisian Elegancies, in Seve

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[93] John Alger, *Englishmen and the French Revolution* (London: Samson Low, 1889), 241.
[94] Both Lascelles and Lord Yarmouth, the 3rd Marquess of Hertford are listed in John Goldworth Alger's *Napoleon's British Visitors and Captives*, *1801-1815*, (London: 1904), 318.
[95] John Ingamells, *The Third Marquess,* (London: Trustees of the Wallace Collection, 1982), 14; F.J.B, Watson, *Apollo,* Vol. 161, (July, 1975), 44; Barbara Lasic, *The Collecting of eighteenth-century French decorative arts in Britain 1789-1914,* University of Manchester, unpublished Ph.D thesis, 2005, 48.
[96] Inventory and valuation of the furniture, plate, pictures, china, books, carriages, horses etc, at Dorchester House, Park Lane, 1842, HWF/INV/9. At least 44 pieces from this collection now exist today in the Wallace Collection. *The Wallace Collection Archives.*
[97] Bertie Greatheed, *An Englishman in Paris: 1803, The Journal of Bertie Greatheed,* edited by J.P.T. Bury and J.C. Barry, (London: Geoffrey Bles, 1953), 79.
[98] Bertie Greatheed, *An Englishman in Paris*, 153 and 183.

Porcelaine. The above were collected during a short residence at Paris, and among them are classed several choice gems of old seve china, particularly an unique specimen of enamelling on porcelaine, selected from history, a pair of magnificence urns and covers'.[99] In February 1807 Messrs. Robins Auction Room auctioned the 'splendid effects of Captain Chambers… and much competition it is naturally presumed will be the consequence, as the Seve Porcelain is understood to be unique'.[100] Additionally at Christies on 2, 3 and 5 May 1817 the property of a Miss Henriette Hotham, the great niece of Lady Suffolk who lived in a cottage at Marble Hill until her death in 1816, was celebrated for its 'very precious and choice collecting of porcelain of the most scarce… comprising dejeunés and cabinet pieces of the old Seve'.[101]

Emerging Collecting Networks after the French Revolution

One of the key early nineteenth-century collectors, Viscount Edward 'Beau' Lascelles (1767-1814), began collecting Sèvres from 1799 onwards.[102] Previously local historian Mary Mauchline has stated that Lascelles' first purchase was on June 3 1801 for '2 Sève china vases' for £8.8.6[103] however further perusal of the archive demonstrates that he was already buying Sèvres, perhaps even as early as 1799. On 12 June 1799 the account states:

[99] Wednesday, 22 February, 1804, *The Times,* Issue 5952, 4.
[100] Saturday, 7 February, 1807, *Morning Post,* 4.
[101] Tuesday, 17 February, 1817, *The Times,* Issue 10068, 4.
[102] Even during his lifetime Lascelles was 'reckoned very like the Prince of Wales. The Prince is not pleased at all. He calls Lascelles the Pretender'. 25 January 1796, *The Farington Diary*, Vol. 1, Joseph Farington, (London: Hutchinson, 1802), 137.
[103] 3 June, 1801, Edward Lascelles, Personal Accounts, (WYL250/3/ACS/190), *Harewood House Archives.* Also cited by Abigail Harrison Moore based on unpublished studies of Lascelles' Sèvres collection by Mary Mauchline: Abigail Harrison Moore, *Imagining Egypt: the Regency furniture collections at Harewood House, Leeds and nineteenth century images of Egypt*, University of Southampton, unpublished Ph.D thesis, 2001, 127. Although these archives are normally held in the West Yorkshire Archives, in January 2016 I examined them at Harewood House.

'to paid Mr Fog for expenses & Walford (?) bill for china £4, 15s, 10d', although the bill does not indicate the type of china it states it was sold by Fogg who was known for supplying Sèvres porcelain at this time.[104] Nonetheless greater certainty is gained from a bill marked 12 March 1801 in Lascelles' personal accounts which indicates that he paid a substantial amount for Sèvres porcelain from a dealer 'To paid Mark (?) Hash (?) for Seve china £15, 6s, 6d'.[105] Whilst in Paris in 1802, according to the writer Lady Harriet Cavendish, a French man commented that 'M.Lascelles achete tout'.[106] Lascelles's personal accounts appear to substantiate this claim as on 22 October 1802 he writes 'To paid… expenses to Paris for the month of travelling' for the total of £603, one can presume that much of this contributed towards his art collecting.[107] It is of interest to note that a practical guide of *London to Paris* published in 1802 states that £30 would cover the expense of a seven week visit, which included hotels, restaurants and sight-seeing.[108] As Lascelles spent twenty times more than this in only one month it gives a real indication of the amount of money he was spending on Sèvres porcelain and other *objets d'art*. This is further reinforced when we consider that Lascelles' total salary per annum was £500.0.0 but during 1802 he spent over six thousand pounds which he borrowed from the family-owned merchant banking house Adam and Company.[109]

Determined to acquire 'old' Sèvres collecting networks transcended the political barriers between France and Britain.[110] For example, Sir Harry Fetherstonhaugh (1754-1846)

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[104] Robert Fogg was particularly well-known for supplying Sèvres porcelain from the 1790s onwards, reinforced by his close working relationship with the French dealer Maelrondt. Edward Lascelles Account Book, April 1798- April 1801. *Harewood House Archives.*
[105] Edward Lascelles Account Book, April 1798- April 1801, *Harewood House Archives.*
[106] 'Mr Lascelles bought all', Harriet Elizabeth Cavendish Leveson-Gower Granville, *The Letters of Lady Harriet Cavendish,* (London: John Murray, 1940 edition), 50.
[107] 22 October, 1802, Edward Lascelles, Personal Accounts, (WYL250/3/ACS/190), *Harewood House Archives*.
[108] *A Practical Guide During a Journey from London to Paris*, (London: R. Philips, 1802).
[109] Abigail Harrison Moore, *Imagining Egypt: the Regency furniture collections at Harewood House, Leeds and nineteenth century images of Egypt*, University of Southampton, unpublished Ph.D thesis, 2001, 128. It is also worth noting that Lascelles was a staunch supporter of slavery, as his family fortune was inextricably linked to sugar plantations in the West Indies.
[110] Linda Colley, *Britons,* 159.

from Uppark House was also collecting in the early 1800s, buying a Sèvres porcelain barometer from the French dealer Lignereux for 1,700 livres in 1803[111] and supposedly spending £10,000 on Sèvres 'in or about 1810' despite the ongoing trade restrictions and conflict of the Napoleonic Wars.[112] Furthermore, the archive of Lord James Murray (1782-1837) from Blair Castle in Scotland indicates that he collected a significant number of Sèvres pieces during 1809 including déjeuners and dinner services.[113] And in 1811, the English poet Anna Letitia Aikin Barbauld (1743-1825), described her long wait for a 'tea equipage of Sèvres China' from Princess Mary (1776-1857), daughter of King George III.[114] By the end of the conflict collectors recommenced their travel to France, for example the young 2nd Earl of Lonsdale stated in a diary entry in 1818 that he 'fait beaucoup de progres dans la langue francaise'.[115] And soon Lonsdale also revealed that Paris was the place where he felt most comfortable,

> where I attend dinners without suffering in my health; where I am well received and my acquaintance courted; greeted with confidence by men of all ranks and situations, ministers of France, ambassadors, bankers; where *ennui* is quickly banished; where novelty cheers; time most plenty; little left to desire.[116]

Fetherstonhaugh similarly looked on France fondly and continued to collect Sèvres after the end of the Wars as indicated by the extant purchase bills which remain in the *West*

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[111] Geoffrey de Bellaigue, 'Martin-Eloy Lignereux and England', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts,* Vol. 71, 1968, 286-294.

[112] When writing about the sale of the Fetherstonhaugh collection in the 1870s, the collector William Carew Hazlitt claimed that the Sèvres purchases made by the Fetherstonhaugh's cost £10,000. William Carew Hazlitt, *The Confessions of a Collector*, (London: 1897), 208, as cited by Christopher Rowell, 'French Furniture at Uppark', *Furniture History,* Vol. 43, (2007), 267-292, 267.

[113] *Lord James Murray China*, accounts from various dealers including Jones, Gordon, and Smith during 1809. *Blair Castle Archives.*

[114] Letter from Anna Letitia Aikin Barbauld to her niece Lucy Aikin, 12 December, 1811, *British and Irish Women's Letters Database online,* [accessed 6 January 2019].

[115] 1818, *Diary 22.* D/LONS/L2/12-21, *CRO*.

[116] *Diary 23-24.* January 1820, D/LONS/L2/12-24, *CRO*. Also cited in; H. Owen, *Lowther Fam*. (Chichester: Phillimore, 1990), 395-6; J.R. McQuiston, 'The Lonsdale Connection and its Defender', *Northern Hist*. xi (1975), 143-97.

Sussex Record Office.[117] In 1819, Fetherstonhaugh spent significant amounts on Sèvres from a Parisian dealer Rocheux including '3 grand vases en porcelaine vieux Sevres fond bleu celeste a oeil de perdrix' and another two 'grand vases aussi en vieux Sevres' which cost 20,000 francs.[118] Not only were collectors faced with paying for their 'old' Sèvres they also faced heavy custom duties which remained even at the end of the 1810s. Remarkably on 25 May 1819 Fetherstonhaugh had purchased 'deux vases porcelain d'ancien Sèvres' which cost 13,000 francs and required 6,000 francs in customs duty.[119]

Despite a clear indication towards a wider British plutocratic interest in acquiring Sèvres, scholars continue to cite the Prince Regent, later King George IV, as the catalyst for collecting Sèvres in England.[120] By placing such a significant emphasis on the role played by the Prince Regent as being one of the 'great exponent[s] of eighteenth-century French taste'[121] historians have isolated his taste and removed his collecting practices from the complex network of wider collecting communities and the cultural frameworks demonstrated here. As a member of the monarchical class, the taste of the Prince Regent was distributed amongst peers of similar cultural capital and many engaged in a shared practice of taste in order to legitimise their social position.[122] Chief among them was

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[117] Fetherstonhaugh Family Papers, Uppark MS.658-97, *West Sussex Record Office.*

[118] '3 large vases of old Sevres of blue turquoise ground and white circular reserves' and another two 'large vases also of old Sevres'. Fetherstonhaugh Family Papers, Uppark MS.658-97. Bill dated 22 April 1819. Costing 20,000 francs these were two *vases cloches:* 'grand vases aussi en vieux Sevres fond bleu du roi richement monté en bronze doré des girandoles a trois branches sont ajustées dans l'interieur pour la somme de vingt milles francs' ('large vases also of old Sèvres of bleu du roi ground richly mounted with gilded bronze girandoles of three branches which are adjusted for the sum of twenty thousand francs'). These *vases cloches* were mounted by the *marchand mercier* Antoine Dulac in Paris in the 1770s and sold in the early 1900s by the Fetherstonhaugh family at Uppark, they are now part of the Huntington Library Collection.

[119] Fetherstonhaugh Family Papers, Uppark MS.658-97. Bill dated 25 May 1819, *West Sussex Record Office.* See also: Anthony du Boulay, 'French Porcelain at Uppark: A Re-Assessment', 4.

[120] Rosalind Savill, 'The Sèvres Porcelain Collection of the Fifth Duke and Duchess of Buccleuch', 143; Geoffrey De Bellaigue, 'Edward Holmes Baldock', Part I, *The Connoisseur, Vol. 189* (August 1975), 290-9.

[121] Hugh Roberts, 'Collecting French Furniture before George IV', *Apollo,* 156, 486, (August 2002), 3-9.

[122] For a greater discussion regarding how the concept of taste can relate to social order see Malcolm Quinn, Dave Beech, Michael Lehner, Carol Tulloch and Stephen Wilson, *The Persistence of Taste: Art, Museums and Everyday Life After Bourdieu,* (London: Routledge,

George Watson-Taylor (1171-1841) an MP and West Indian Absentee Planter who sought to gain greater social status. Although from 1795 onwards Watson-Taylor was already a member of aristocratic circles, and a known collector of Boulle furniture, however in 1815 he received an unexpected inheritance and quickly sought to assemble a collection of Sèvres befitting his new means.[123] This could be interpreted as a means of social emulation, which the economist Thorstein Veblen (1857-1929) has argued involves the process of direct imitation based on the consumer behaviours of the social elite.[124] As Bourdieu would see it, such collecting practices could also reinforce one's position within the habitus as they sought to demonstrate their cultural capital through an internalized structure of logic.[125] Remarkably, the Prince Regent never visited France although he acquired a significant number of objects of eighteenth-century French art, and relied on a number of Franco-Anglo craftsmen and dealers during the Regency period.[126] Moreover, his collecting patterns could be considered in relation to similar collectors like William Beckford and the Duke of Wellington, who looked to French cultural practices during the latter half of the eighteenth century collecting French decorative art, and continued this taste into the nineteenth century.[127] It is essential to realise that these early collecting communities were closely interrelated, frequently using

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2018), 1-19. See also: Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, 468-470.

[123] Elodie Goëssant, 'The Sèvres Porcelain Collection of George Watson-Taylor', *French Porcelain Society Journal,* Volume VII, (London: Gomer Press, 2018), 73-109, 77.

[124] Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class. An Economic Study of Institutions* (New York: Augustus M. Kelley, 1965[1899]), 10-18. For a detailed analysis of the use of the term 'social emulation' in more recent historiography see: John Brewer and Roy Porter, *Consumption and the World of Goods,* (London: Routledge, 2013), 275.

[125] Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, 165-168.

[126] Steve Parissien, *George IV: Inspiration of the Regency,* (London: St. Martin's Press, 2002), 190-199. The Regency tends to be aligned with the beginning of Henry Holland's refurbishment of Carlton House for the Prince of Wales in 1793. For more information on the first use of 'Regency' please also see, Frances Collard, *Regency Furniture*, (London: Antique Collectors' Club, 1995), 11. See also: Hugh Roberts, *For the King's Pleasure, The Furnishing and Decoration of George IV's Apartments at Windsor Castle,* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2002), 27.

[127] David Watkin, 'Beckford, Soane, and Hope', David Ostergard, (ed.), *William Beckford: An Eye for the Magnificent,* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2001), 33-48, 99-115.

the same dealers or agents, who greatly informed their taste. For example the art and curiosity dealers Robert Fogg Snr (1806), Robert Fogg Jnr (1758-1823) and Baldock all dealt with the French dealer Maelrondt, whose posthumous inventory actually included a bundle of fifty letters and accounts written in England from Fogg Jnr.[128] In addition to this, both Fogg and Baldock were also well-known chinamen who sold Sèvres porcelain directly to the Prince Regent, Viscount Edward 'Beau' Lascelles, George Watson-Taylor, William Beckford, Lord Gwydry and Lord James Murray, of Blair Castle.[129] Moreover, this period also marked an increased specialisation of antique and curiosity dealers, many of whom started to dedicate themselves to trading in certain categories of objects, such as ceramics.[130] As early as 1799 Robert Fogg and Son were listed as 'Old Chinamen' on 50, New Bond Street in Lowndes' *London Directory,*[131] and by 1805 Robert Fogg Jnr was listed as a 'Chinaman' at 16 Warwick Street, Golden Square.[132] In 1807 the dealer Gwenapp described himself as specializing in 'old china'[133] and in 1812 Thomas Coutan, of 6 Charles Street Covent Garden was insured as a 'dealer in French porcelain',[134] by at least 1824 the dealer Emanuel Emanuel in New Bond Street was described as a 'French jeweller and porcelain dealer'[135] and by 1831 a John Cochran in Somerset Place in

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[128] Geoffrey de Bellaigue, 'Philippe-Claude Maelrondt', Supplier to George IV', *Burlington Magazine,* Vol. 146, No. 1215, *Decorative Arts,* (Jun., 2004), 386-395, 392.

[129] On occasion collectors would even sell back pieces of Sèvres porcelain to dealers, for example in November 1807, Edward Lascelles sold Fogg a Sèvres vase for £100 in exchange for more Sèvres, perhaps exchanging it for a piece which Lascelles considered to be of better quality. Bills, Robert Fogg, WYS250/ACC4111/4, November 1807, *Harewood House Archives, Harewood House.*

[130] As Mark Westgarth has noted, this was in many ways a response to the specialised collecting economy, Mark Westgarth, *The Emergence of the Antique Curiosity Dealer, 1815-c.1850, the Commodification of Historical Objects*, University of Southampton, unpublished Ph.D thesis, 2007, 32 and 8. Stefan Muthesius has also traced this turn in professionalization and specialisation in relation to dealers of antique furniture from the 1820s onwards, see: Stefan Muthesius, 'Why do we buy old furniture?', 243.

[131] H.Lowndes, *London Directory,* (London: Fleet Street, 1799), 63.

[132] Mark Westgarth, *A Biographical Dictionary of Nineteenth Century Antique and Curiosity Dealers* (Glasgow: Regional Furniture, 2009), 102.

[133] Mark Westgarth, *Dictionary of Nineteenth Century Antique and Curiosity Dealers*, 11.

[134] Thomas Coutan, Records of Sun Fire Office, MS11936/459/873501, 24 August, 1812, *London Metropolitan Archives.*

[135] Friday, 3 December, 1824, *Evening Mail,* 3.

Kennington was listed as a 'dealer in French china'.[136] These classificatory descriptions gained even greater specificity as the century progressed. For example, Emanuel Marks, whose father identified himself as a 'curiosity dealer' had by 1862 changed to an 'importer of antique furniture, Sèvres, Dresden, oriental china and curiosities'.[137] As we shall see, a greater level of specialisation within the discrete identity of the antique and curiosity dealer was also symptomatic of a rising specialisation in collecting practices for 'old' Sèvres.[138]

Reconstructing and Displaying French History

According to the historian of collecting John Elsner, collecting should be understood as a 'cult of fragments'.[139] Perhaps by acquiring 'old' Sèvres collecting networks could reclaim lost fragments of French history from the *ancien régime*. According to art historian Stuart Semmell once some historical distance had been reached following the aftermath of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, contemporaries believed that history could achieve a certain form of objectivity.[140] As the nineteenth century progressed the underlying epistemologies of historical discourse evolved and history gradually formed as a new type of discipline. Notably several English texts were published mapping out the historiography of the French Revolution.[141] With changing

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[136] John Cochran, MS11936/532/1133491, 21 December, 1831, *London Metropolitan Archives.*
[137] Jacqueline Yallop, *Magpies, Squirrels and Thieves: How the Victorians Collected the World,* (London: Atlantic Books Ltd, 2011), 265. Also cited in Mark Westgarth, *Dictionary of Nineteenth Century Antique and Curiosity Dealers*, 135.
[138] As Mark Westgarth has observed, it is important to recognise that many antique and curiosity dealers would still sell a broad range of objects, even if they were known for one particular category. Mark Westgarth, *Dictionary of Nineteenth Century Antique and Curiosity Dealers*, 4.
[139] John Elsner, 'The House and the Museum', Roger Cardinal and John Elsner, (eds.), *The Cultures of Collecting,* (London: Reakiton, 1994), 155-176.
[140] Stuart Semmell, *Napoleon and the British*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 241.
[141] See for example, Hewson Clarke, *The History of the War, from the Commencement of the French Revolution to the Present Time*, (London: T. Kinnersley, 1816); C. H. Gifford, *History of*

attitudes towards history and how best to conceive, consider and record the recent past there was a cultural shift to how the past was preserved and presented, using objects to shape how history could be written and understood.[142] By collecting in the early decades of the nineteenth century, whilst the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars raged on, these collecting networks engaged intellectually with the current political climate and may have also responded to the rising culture of historical thinking.[143] This move towards creating a tangible past through objects was also adopted by several intellectuals and anti-constitutionalists after the Battle of Waterloo as figures such as Anthony Mackenrot and William Oliver collected Napoleon memorabilia, including busts and bronzes.[144] As Stammers posits, many collectors sought to engage in an important public duty by shaping an understanding of the past through their objects.[145] Stammers has asserted that such historically-aware collectors can be understood differently to other collectors of this time as 'collectors-cum-historians'.[146] Certainly some collectors must have embraced a more intellectual reading of history and eighteenth-century French philosophies, for

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the Wars Occasioned by the French Revolution, Volume I and Volume II, (London: W.Lewis, 1817); Edward Baines, *History of the Wars of the French Revolution, in Two Volumes*, (London: Longman, Hurst, 1817); Christopher Kelly, *History of the French Revolution and of the Wars Produced by that Memorable Event*, 1820; *History of the Wars of the French Revolution: Including Sketches of the Civil History of Great Britain and France, from the Revolutionary Movements, 1788, to the Restoration of a General Peace*, (London: T. Kelly, 1820); Edward Baines and William Grimshaw, *History of the Wars of the French Revolution, in Four Volumes,* (London: M'Carty & Davis, 1825); M. Mignet (François-Auguste-Marie-Alexis), *History of the French Revolution from 1789 to 1814*, (Paris: G & C. Carvill, 1826); John James McGregor, *History of the French Revolution: And of the Wars Resulting from that Memorable Event, in Twelve Volumes*, 1828; Sir Archibald Alison, *History of Europe During the French Revolution*, William Blackwood: London, 1833; Adolphe Thiers, Frederic Shoberl, *The History of the French Revolution, in Five Volumes*, 1838; Jules Michelet, *History of the French Revolution*, translated by C. Cocks, 1847.

[142] Stephen Bann too has discussed the epistemological break experienced by historical discourse between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries when historical data increased in value. See for example: Stephen Bann, 'Historical Text and Historical Object: The Poetics of the Musée de Cluny,' *History and Theory,* Vol.17, No.3 (October., 1978), 251-266; Tom Stammers, 'The Bric-a-Brac of the Old Regime', 296.

[143] Stephen Bann, *Romanticism and the Rise of History*, xi.

[144] Stuart Semmell, *Napoleon and the British,* 241.

[145] Tom Stammers, 'The Bric-a-Brac of the Old Regime', 314.

[146] Tom Stammers, 'The Bric-a-Brac of the Old Regime', 309; Susan Crane, 'Story, history and the passionate collector', 187.

example the library inventory of the 2nd Marquess of Hertford from St Dunstan's Villa in Regents Park included 6 volumes of Molière printed in Paris from 1734.[147] His son the 3rd Marquess of Hertford also had a significant book collection including the *Histoire de la Maison de Bourbon* from 1788, all twelve volumes of Edmund Burke's works published between 1801-1812, and an 1801 *Revolution Française* which was most likely the volume of essays published on the history of the Revolution by the historian Guy Marie Sallier Chamont.[148] Additionally Watson-Taylor established a significant collection of historical books and in 1822 was even elected as a member of the Roxburghe Club, a specialist society dedicated to serious bibliophiles.[149] As literary historican Kristian Jensen has noted, historical books fulfilled educational purposes but they were also part of 'an aristocratic pastime in which one could engage to make a display of one's wealth'.[150] The 2nd Earl of Lonsdale who in the 1830s amassed a highly specialised collection of Sèvres porcelain also frequently read French history, and from a young age his archive reveals an engaged intellectual rhetoric of French history, politics and culture.[151] In *Coningsby,* written in 1845 by the then future prime minister Benjamin Disraeli, the character Lord Eskdale, based on Lonsdale, is said to have 'only read French

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[147] Library Inventory, St Dunstan's Villa, Regent's Park, HWF/M3/13, *Wallace Collection Archives*.

[148] Library Inventory, Dorchester house, 45, HWF/M3/14, *Wallace Collection Archives*.

[149] *Catalogue of the Choice, Curious, and Splendid London Library of George Watson Taylor, Esq. M.P.* (Evans: London, 20 March and 14 April 1823).

[150] Kristian Jensen, *Revolution and the Antiquarian Book: Reshaping the Past, 1780-1815,* 135-136.

[151] Many of these collectors could be considered as acting within an antiquarian tradition of collecting, similar to figures such as Ralph Bernal (1784-1854) or William Beckford (1760-1844), all of which belonged to a wider British historical tradition of buying French luxury *objets d'art* and having particular attachments to objects, including Palissy ware and Limoges enamels. For further information regarding antiquarian tradition see for example, Clive Wainwright, *The Romantic Interior, the British Collector at Home 1750-1850* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989). Also see the work of Stephen Bann who has commented that 'antiquarianism validates the attachment to the individual object,' 'Interview: Stephen Bann in Conversation with Karen Lang,' *Art Bulletin,* December 2013, Volume XCV, Number 4, 549.

novels'.[152] As well as travelling to libraries in Paris,[153] Lonsdale's library catalogue also reveals that he owned several French books, as well as the *Life of Napolean Bonaparte* by Sir Walter Scott from 1837 and the *Memoirs of Madame du Barry* by Etienne Léon de la Mothe-Langon from 1829.[154]

By acquiring objects which represented or were associated with particular historical figures collecting networks embraced an intellectual and historical rhetoric of collecting which sought to tell a certain kind of story.[155] Within the home interior Sèvres, as a social agent, existed within a space that could create symbiotic relationships or dialogues with the total environment in which they were located.[156] This furthered the potential for an intellectual collecting paradigm and may have contributed to the historical imagination of the early nineteenth-century British elite. As we have seen, historical consciousness calls for the collector to care about the past and attempt to preserve it because they find it meaningful and want to recreate it for others. Crane, notably discusses the collector's appeal to objects that reference stories, or certain narratives as this can contribute to the knowledge which is produced.[157] Certainly collectors sought out 'old' Sèvres with Royal provenance relating to figures such as Queen Marie Antoinette (1755-1793), Madame du

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[152] M.C. Rintoul, *Dictionary of Real People and Places in Fiction,* (London: Routledge, 1993), 620-621; Christopher Hugh Hely Owen, *The Lowther Family: Eight Hundred Years of 'A Family of Ancient Gentry and Worship',* (Chichester: Phillimore, 1990), 392.

[153] 'went to the library before 12 o clock to read Book on Versailles' (Paris, Tuesday, 1 December 1835, *Diary 41*. D/LONS/L2/25-44, *CRO.*

[154] D/LONS Library Catalogue*, CRO*.

[155] In many ways this was embedded already in antiquarian collecting practices. Michael Pearce for example has discussed cabinets of curiosities as antiquarian spaces 'to contain objects as allegories'; Michael Pearce, *Art in the Age of Emergence,* (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2017), 100.

[156] Erin J. Campbell, 'Listening to objects: an ecological approach to the decorative arts', *Journal of Art Historiography,* Number 11, December 2014, 1-23, 12; Alfred Gell, 'The Technology of Enchantment and the Enchantment of Technology'*,* Jeremy Coote (ed.), *Anthropology, Art, and Aesthetics.* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994)*,* 40-63.

[157] This particularly resonates with Crane's belief that to be historically conscious 'means to have a sense of the past at a distance that is neither exactly spatial nor temporal, but a combination of the two that can exist only through imagination and intuition'. Susan Crane, *Collecting and Historical Consciousness in Early Nineteenth-Century Germany,* (Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press, 2000)*,* xi; see also Susan Crane, 'Story, history and the passionate collector'*,* 191.

Barry (1743-1793) and Madame de Pompadour (1721-1764). Lonsdale for example, often directed his interest towards the Royal family, notably he once composed a list of the mistresses of Louis XIV and Louis XV, although he was confused between which one had an affair with Madame Montespan,[158] and he also compiled an entire list of the Kings of France.[159] Moreover, Lonsdale collected portraits of all three celebrated female figures from the *ancien régime,* including a life-size portrait of Madame de Pompadour from 1756 by François Boucher which was sold in Lonsdale's posthumous sale and now resides in the Bayerische Staatsgemaldesammlungen in Munich (Fig.IV). In the 1820s, George Watson-Taylor and his wife Anna Susanna (née Taylor) created a room dedicated to Sèvres porcelain in their London townhouse at Cavendish Square, and at their country house in Erlestoke Park they constructed a 'Bonaparte Room' adorned with portraits and objects associated with the imperial family members by Robert Lefèvre (1755-1830), along with several pieces of Boulle furniture and a 'Bourbon Room' with pieces dedicated to Louis XIV, Madame Maintenton, Louis XVIII and Charles X.[160] The nineteenth-century tradition of 'period rooms' must be understood within the wider context of antiquarianism, for example as Westgarth has observed, antiquarians such as Sir Samuel Rush Meyrick (1783-1848) at Goodrich Court featured a 'Charles I Room'

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[158] Concluding pages of Diary, *Diary 41.* D/LONS/L2/25-44, *CRO.*

[159] Concluding pages of Diary, *Diary 49.* D/LONS/L2/44-63, *CRO.* When Lonsdale visited the antiquarian art collection of Ralph Bernal with Henry Broadwood he was also struck by the various portraits of French kings, and especially by a 'good picture' of Madame Montespan. London, Sunday, 16 April 1837, *Diary 44.* D/LONS/L2/44-63, *CRO.* This most likely refers to most likely Lot 643 in the 1855 posthumous Bernal sale.

[160] George Robins, *Catalogue of the magnificent assemblage of property at Erlestoke Mansion near Devizes,* 14th day, 24 July 1832, Lots 20-41. Many of these pieces of eighteenth-century French furniture with historical associations were sold in the 1830s, when they were purchased by the 10th Duke of Hamilton. See, Godfrey Evans, *Alexander, 10th Duke of Hamilton (1767-1852) as Patron and Collector,* University of Edinburgh, 2008, unpublished Ph.D thesis, 130 and 148.

and a 'Queen Anne Room' which was symptomatic of rising interests in historical investigation.[161]

Collector interest in the tragic figure of Marie Antoinette is perhaps most indicative of the state of historical awareness during and following the Revolutionary Wars, especially when we bear in mind Burke's glorifications of the Queen, particularly during his 1790 *Reflections*:

> The exalted rank of the persons suffering, and particularly the sex, the beauty, and the amiable qualities of the queen… adds greatly to one's sadness regarding that most melancholy occasion.[162]

And the celebrated speech which Burke delivered upon the execution of Marie Antoinette:

> It is now sixteen or seventeen years since I saw the Queen of France, then the Dauphiness, at Versailles; and surely never lighted on this orb, which she hardly seemed to touch, a more delightful vision. I saw her just above the horizon, decorating and cheering the elevated sphere she had just begun to move in, glittering like the morning star full of life and splendor and joy.
>
> Oh, what a revolution! and what a heart must I have, to contemplate without emotion that elevation and that fall!... little did I dream that I should have lived to see such disasters fallen upon her, in a nation of gallant men, in a nation of men of honor, and of cavaliers! I thought ten thousand swords must have leaped from their scabbards, to avenge even a look that threatened her with insult. But the age of chivalry is gone.[163]

British newspapers, perhaps inspired by Burke, ran articles on the *Anecdotes of the Late Queen of France* which celebrated 'the beautiful but unfortunate Marie Antoinette'.[164]

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[161] Mark Westgarth, *The Emergence of the Antique Curiosity Dealer, 1815-c.1850, the Commodification of Historical Objects*, University of Southampton, unpublished Ph.D thesis, 2007, 58. See also: Clive Wainwright, *The Romantic Interior*, 240-268.
[162] Edmund Burke, *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, 111.
[163] Owen Collins, *Speeches that Changed the World,* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1999), 165.
[164] Tuesday, 19 August, 1800, *Chester Courant*, 4; Saturday 16 August, 1800, *Hull Advertiser and Exchange Gazette,* 4.

Similarly, *Memoirs of the Bastille* published in 1802 by Francis Gibson detailed the final years of Marie Antoinette as a figure who was 'sacrificed to the violence of the French' and extracts of this book were also published throughout various regional newspapers.[165] However not everyone was as captivated and in June 1802 the British government stopped the sale of a book entitled *The Life of Marie Antoinette Queen of France* calling it 'an abomination!' although such incidences may have encouraged further intrigue into the figure of the Queen.[166] Several collectors sought out Sèvres with purported Marie Antoinette provenance: for example Sir Harry Fetherstonhaugh in the 1810s collected a garniture set of three *cuvettes à fleurs à tombeau* with the arms of Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette, which did actually belong to Marie Antoinette and were probably purchased by her in October 1773 (Fig.V).[167] However in 1822 Lord James Murray, the 1st Baron Glenlyon and the de facto 5th Duke of Atholl, who kept a house in London and owned Blair Castle in Scotland, bought pieces from the French dealer Madame Jamar which included an 'old' Sèvres 'bowl & stand painted with flowers and birds' which supposedly 'belonged to Marie Antoinette' along with two small vases with paintings of Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette.[168] There is no evidence to legitimise the provenance of the bowl and stand but the vases were certainly not eighteenth-century examples, as portraits of the Kings and Queens were only added in the nineteenth century, possibly orchestrated by the dealer Jamar herself.[169] Not all collectors were deceived, some were merely mistaken in their historical attributions. For example, the 4th Marquess of Hertford purchased a Sèvres inkstand at the 1843 Baudin sale which was branded with a 'MA'

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[165] Thursday, 28 December, 1802, *Tyne Mercury; Northumberland and Durham and Cumberland Gazette,* 4.
[166] Monday, 21 June, 1802, *London Courier and Evening Gazette,* 2.
[167] Anthony du Boulay, 'French Porcelain at Uppark: A Re-Assessment', 7.
[168] *Lord James Murray China*, 1820-1822, Bowl and stand purchased for £25.0.0 and the vases for £18.0.0 each. *Blair Castle Archives*.
[169] Contemporaries were aware that the dealer Madame Jamar had a reputation for 'doctoring' pieces of Sèvres. See for example: D/LONS/1/2/113, Letters from Henry Broadwood to 2nd Earl of Lonsdale, Friday, 20 November 1835, *CRO*.

monogram thought to represent Marie Antoinette, yet was actually owned by a daughter of France, Madame Adelaide, the third daughter of Louis XV.[170]

Above all, Viscount Lascelles was particularly committed to Marie Antoinette, as revealed by the several pieces of Sèvres with provenance pertaining to the Queen in his collection. This included a *déjeuner 'Paris'* which can be traced back correctly to the manufactory and to the Revolutionary Inventory of the Château de Saint-Cloud made in March 1794 (Fig.VI).[171] This was displayed in the Anteroom in Lascelles' London townhouse, Harewood House alongside a 'cabinet of Sèvres which belonged to Marie Antoinette' including '5 Sevres vases, 4 small pieces' and another 'Sevres cabinet' also belonging to her which consisted of '2 sevres jars, 2 cups and saucers' (Fig.VII).[172] According to an extant architectural plan for Roxburghe House, the former name of Harewood House, all visitors needed to pass through the Anteroom on their way to the largest reception room, the Yellow Drawing Room, which was labelled originally as the Guest Drawing Room with a huge semi-circular bay window (Fig.VIII).[173] We can speculate that as visitors to Lascelles' collection walked through and viewed or perhaps even touched the objects, they could have engaged with 'old' Sèvres based on their own cultural competencies.[174] In many ways this correlates with Bourdieu's belief that cultural practices are defined and sustained by our cultural education which in turn are a reflection of class distinctions. Sèvres, as a form of decorative art, occupied a particular kind of

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[170] Rosalind Savill, *The Wallace Collection Catalogue of Sèvres Porcelain,* Vol.III, (London: Trustees of the Wallace Collection, 1988), 801.

[171] It has been suggested that the déjeuner was either in the apartment of King Louis XVI or Queen Marie Antoinette. Rosalind Savill, *Sèvres from the Harewood Collection*, from the exhibition: *In Pursuit of the Exquisite: Royal Sèvres, from Versailles to Harewood,* 18 April-2 November 2014, 25.

[172] Originally known as Roxburghe House, it was remodelled for the 3rd Duke of Roxburghe in 1776 by Robert Adam, and then bought over by Lascelles. Although no visual evidence of the interiors of Harewood House survives, the architectural plan of Roxburghe House enables a substantial reconstruction of the interior arrangement. Harewood House, London, Inventory, 1838, *Harewood House Archives*.

[173] Harewood House, London, Inventory, 1838, *Harewood House Archives*.

[174] Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, 2.

space in the interior, through its aesthetic and cultural codes, it had the ability to create relationships with other surrounding objects.[175] A close-inspection of the materiality, and the wear and tear of Lascelles *déjeuner 'Paris'* suggests that it was not really used.[176] Alongside this *déjeuner* Lascelles also displayed a set of Sèvres unglazed biscuit porcelain sculptural figures which were situated in the Anteroom on top of a mahogany stand.[177] These included a Sèvres biscuit figure of Voltaire, which was most likely a bust from c.1767-1773 sculpted under the workshop of Jean Jacques Bachelier,[178] and a Sèvres biscuit figure of Molière sculpted by Josse-François-Joseph Le Riche after a model by Jean-Jacques Caffiéri in 1784 which still remains in the Harewood House Collection today.[179] As visitors passed through through the Anteroom they would have been greeted by two sculptural representations of Voltaire and Molière and a déjeuner owned by none other than the tragic Queen of France. We can therefore surmise that as visitors and objects interacted together the historical Sèvres may have shaped conversations and contributed to a contemporary reconstruction of French history.

Objects with provenance relating to Madame de Pompadour and Madame du Barry mistress were also highly sought after.[180] For example, in 1819, the Prince Regent

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[175] Katie Scott, Image-Object-Space', *Art History,* Association of Art Historians, (2005), 136-150, 145.

[176] Several pieces, including the déjeuner which are still extant at Harewood House where examined in person by the author in January 2016. In comparison to the almost untouched quality of the déjeuner, a *vase à dauphins* owed by Lascelles, which would have held flowers, has significant rubbing on the gilding on the inside rim which suggests it must have been used. This vase was sold off by Harewood House at Christie's in 2012 and now belongs to a private collection in London where it was examined in person by the author in March 2019.

[177] Harewood House, London, Inventory, 1838, *Harewood House Archives*.

[178] Seven busts of Voltaire priced at 60 livres each were in the 'magasin du blanc' in January 1768. Manufacture Nationales de Sèvres, Vol I, 7, as cited in Aileen Dawson, *French Porcelain: A Catalogue of the British Museum Collection,* (London: British Museum, 2000), 185-186.

[179] Rosalind Savill, *Sèvres from the Harewood Collection*, 32.

[180] Contemporaries directed similar empathy to the tragic figure of Madame du Barry, whose hysterical screams en route to and during her execution were discussed in various English newspapers including: 23 December, 1793, *Gloucester Journal,* 3 and 27 December, 1793, *The Stamford Mercury,* 3; and later in greater detail by the artist Elizabeth Vigée-Lebrun in her memoirs which were published in the 1830s. Vigée-Lebrun exclaimed that Madame Du Barry was 'the only woman, among all the women who perished in the dreadful days, who could not stand the sight of the scaffold. She screamed, she begged mercy of the horrible crowd that stood

purchased a Sèvres porcelain sunflower clock as having belonged to Madame de Pompadour, although this provenance has never been proven.[181] After displaying their art collection in a new town house 1 Cavendish Square in London, the Watson-Taylor's opened their home to visitors in March 1821 and the diarist Mrs Harriet Arbuthnot (1793-1834) remarked in her journal:

> It was the first time of the house being opened, and it certainly is the most splendid of its size I ever saw. There is a Sèvre china table that was painted for Mme du Barry and containing portraits of herself and Louis the 15th, which is the most beautiful thing that ever was seen.[182]

The *guéridon* in question was created for Madame du Barry by the ébéniste Martin Carlin (1730-1785) and the painter Charles-Nicolas Dodin (1734-1803) and it was a key element of Watson-Taylor's display.[183] Similarly, the historical figure of Madame du Barry captured the attention of Lord Lonsdale. On one occasion he wrote that he passed the greater part of the evening reading the memoirs of Madame de Barry', and he purchased several artworks relating to the famous mistress.[184] For example, in Paris on 28 August, 1836 Lonsdale 'called on Jarman—bought a picture of Madame de Barry'.[185] On another occasion he considered acquiring 'a Bust of Madam du Barry in China'.[186] In Paris in 1836 Lonsdale bought eight old Sèvres plates 'de Mme du Barry' from the dealer Beurdeley.[187] The bill details his purchase of '8 assisettes vieux Sevres de Mme du Barry___ 100… payé un doreur et un peintre pour ce faire les ors et 8 chiffres et

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around the scaffold, she aroused them to such a point that the executioner grew anxious and hastened to complete his task', *Souvenirs de Madame Vigée Lebrun,* Volume 1-3, (Paris: 1835-1837), 160-176.

[181] Geoffrey de Bellaigue, *Sèvres porcelain from the Royal Collection, exhibition catalogue,* (London: The Queen's Gallery, Buckingham Palace, 1979-80), 129-130.

[182] Harriet Arbuthnot, *The Journal of Mrs Harriet Arbuthnot, 1820-1832,* Vol. 1, (London: Macmillan, 1950), 84.

[183] It can be seen today at the Musée du Louvre, Object Number, Inv.OA10658.

[184] London, Friday (Good Friday) 24 March, 1837, *Diary 44*. D/LONS/L2/44-63, *CRO.*

[185] *Diary 42*. D/LONS/L2/25-44, *CRO.*

[186] Most likely this was a Sèvres biscuit porcelain bust sculpture. Paris, 12 August, 1836, *Diary 42*. D/LONS/L2/25-44, *CRO.*

[187] D/LONS/L3/5/218, Beurdeley, November 1836, *CRO*.

lettres___40'.[188] However, as this letter reveals Lonsdale was not simply seeking out pieces with a connection to Madame du Barry, instead he also commissioned the dealer Beurdeley to add gilded cyphers, presumably of the initials DB to further the historical association, possibly for display purposes or as a means of adding historical value, whether or not it was deemed to be genuine. Of course collector interest in French history continued towards the end of the nineteenth century, encouraged in part by the nostalgia associated with Madame de Pompadour and Marie Antoinette by late-nineteenth century collectors including the Goncourt Brothers, Lépolod Double, Empress Eugénie, the Rothschild family, Erneste Cognacq, Lady Dorothy Nevill, Edouard and Nélie Jacquemart-André, and Moïse Nissim de Camondo.[189] Notably Ferdinand de Rothschild participated in a scholarly and professional engagement with historical discourse through art criticism, by delivering lectures and also through his 1896 publication *Personal Characteristics from French History.*[190] Ferdinand described Madame de Pompadour as

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[188] '8 old Sevres plates from Madamde du Barry…1000-paid a gilder and a painter to add gold cyphers and letters onto all 8 plates'. D/LONS/L3/5/218, Beurdeley, November 1836, *CRO*.

[189] For example, according to a contemporary in 1872, Double was preoccupied by *ancien régime* provenance: 'this comes from the château of Fontainebleau; that one is from the château de Maisons; here is the furniture from Louis XIV's bedchamber; there is the piece from Marie Antoinette's bedroom'. P. Lacroix, 'Léopold Double', *Bibliophile Français,* 6 (1872), vol.VIII, 266. The role of nostalgia and a sense of loss amongst nineteenth-century collectors has already been explored by several historians. According to Susan Stewart 'nostalgia is a sadness without an object', although it could be argued that many collectors used objects as a means of reconstructing the past; Susan Stewart, *On Longing,* (Durham NC: Duke University Press, 1993), 23. For more information on the role of nostalgia amongst nineteenth-century collectors see: F.J.B. Watson, 'Lord Hertford and the Musée Retrospectif', *Apollo,* 81, (June 1965), 435-437; C. Duncan, *Pursuit of Pleasure: The Rococo Revival in French Romantic Art,* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1976), 70-73; Barbara Lasic, 'A Display of Opulence. Alfred de Rothschild and the Visual Recording of Halton House', *Furniture History,* 40 (2004), 135-150; Seymour O Smiches, *Le Romantisme et le gout esthetique de XVIIIème siècle* (Paris: Presses universtaires de France, 1964); Juliet Simpson, 'From Exquisite to Transgressive Moderns? The Goncourt's "Decadent" Eighteenth-Century Art Revival', *Nordlit.* 15, 2012, 10.7557/13.2052; Jonathan Conlin, 'Le '*Musée de Marchandises'*. The Origins of the Musée Cognacq-Jay', *Journal of the History of Collections,* 12, 2 (2000), 193-202; N. Sainte Fare Garnot, 'The Jacquemart-André Museum', *Beaux-Arts Magazine*, 14 (1996), 4-32; Alison McQueen, *Empress Eugénie and the Arts: Politics and Visual Culture in the Nineteenth Century,* (Farnham, Ashgate, 2011), 269-319.

[190] See for example, Ferdinand de Rothschild, 'The Expansion of Art', *Fortnightly Review*, January 1885; 'Century for Century', *The Nineteenth Century*, April 1888; 'French Eighteenth-century Art in England', The Nineteenth Century, March 1892; *Three Weeks in South Africa: A Diary*, London, 1895; *Personal Characteristics from French History*, London, 1896.

the 'foremost woman of the day' and remarked on the traumatic legacy of Marie Antoinette.[191] Even Ferdinand's 'first important acquisition' of Sèvres porcelain which he collected in 1861 was a *bleu céleste* Sèvres *vaisseau à mât*, which contained historical imagery depicting two opposing military troops in combat during the Seven Year War (Fig.IXi)-(Fig.IXii).[192]

Authenticity

> 'Yes, I prefer my old sevres vases in royal blue, mounted on copper'[193]
>
> – Madame Tiphaine from Balzac's *Pierrette, 1840*

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the passionate mania for collecting pre-Revolutionary Sèvres owed much to its designation as an old object from the recent historical past, yet as demand gradually outweighed supply it generated an upsurge in the counterfeit production of 'old' Sèvres. In order to interrogate the extent to which the condition of 'old' Sèvres was prevalent to 'Sèvres-mania' it is useful to consider the somewhat fluid and conflicting notions of authenticity in the early nineteenth century. For example, an article published in *The Times* in 1825 warned the public about the number of counterfeit goods available for purchase on the British art market.[194] Yet this stance was countered only a month later with another article that celebrated counterfeits, claiming that unknown forgeries could be advantageous for both the dealer making the

[191] 'We may condone the crimes of the Revolution for the benefits it brought to the French nation, but the execution of Marie Antoinette was a dastardly and profitless murder, which cannot be forgotten or pardoned… By her death she was a glory and reverence'. Ferdinand de Rothschild, *Personal Characteristics from French History,* 77 and 186, 1896, *RTA*.
[192] Although standardised military uniforms were not universal at this date, France and its allies mostly wore off-white, while the Prussians wore blue.
[193] Honoré de Balzac, *Pierrette,* (Maryland: Wildside Press LLC, 2008[1840]), 53.
[194] Friday, 30 December, 1825, *The Times,* 3. Quoted in: Aviva Briefel, *The Deceivers: Art Forgery and Identity in the Nineteenth Century,* (Ithaca: Cornell Press, 2006), 6.

sale and the collector acquiring a supposed masterpiece at a lower cost.[195] Notions of authenticity and its definition vary in art historical scholarship from an aesthetic term, to one signifying cultural heritage, to an idea of sincerity or truthfulness.[196] In relation to the buying of old furniture during the nineteenth century, historian Stefan Muthesius has revealed that authenticity was aligned with objects linked to historical personalities which conformed to or evoked their certain historical period; in keeping with the early Sèvres collectors whom we have already examined.[197] Writing in *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction,* the collector and philosopher Walter Benjamin discussed the 'aura' of an artwork and stated that 'the presence of the original is the prerequisite to the concept of authenticity'.[198] According to Benjamin authenticity exists when an object is deemed subjectively to be an original. Historian David Lowenthal has suggested instead that something can be deemed authentic even if it is not strictly original, as long as it is experienced or represented as such. According to Lowenthal, authenticity is a value constructed by a potential collector or consumer and their views 'of what the past ought to have looked like'.[199] Extending upon this in his later work Lowenthal goes as far to say that authenticity is an illusion as 'no work of art ever remains as it was created'.[200] This was certainly true of 'old' Sèvres during the early nineteenth century as it underwent a shift from fashionable commodity to historical object, which transformed its cultural and conceptual identity, as well as its use value and even its physical form. Throughout the nineteenth century many pieces of 'old' Sèvres were altered, redecorated or

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[195] Wednesday, 1 February, 1825, *The Times,* 4.
[196] For a detailed introduction on the notion of authenticity in scholarship see: Katharina Weiler and Niels Gutschow, *Authenticity in Architectural Heritage Conservation*, (Berlin: Springer, 2016), xvii-xxiii; John Brewer, *The American Leonardo: A Tale of Obsession, Art and Money*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 2-8; David Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 231.
[197] Stefan Muthesius, 'Why do we buy old furniture?', 231.
[198] Walter Benjamin, 'The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction,' trans. H. Zohn, *Illuminations,* (New York: Schocken, 1969), 217-251, 220.
[199] David Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country*, xxiii.
[200] David Lowenthal, 'Authenticity? The Dogma of Self-Delusion', Mark Jones, *Why Fakes Matter,* (London: British Museum Press, 1992), 186.

embellished due to market demand and changing taste. It is worth emphasising that these sort of practices were quite commonplace during the nineteenth century and we should be careful not to project our own modern judgments on Sèvres which was redecorated or repurposed. Many pieces of pre-Revolutionary Sèvres entered the early nineteenth-century market and were subsequently given additional decoration, often known as *surdécorés*. Several enamelling manufactories based in London carried out such work, including *Fletcher's China Enamelling Manufactory* at 32 Great Russell Street in Bloomsbury, William Mortlock who owned the China and Glass Warehouse on 18 Regent Street from 1809 onwards, as well as the French dealer Jean-Louis Pérès, who according to newspaper advertisements seems to have been based in both Paris and in London from the mid-1810s onwards.[201] Such pieces were not always intended to deceive, for example in 1819 the collector Fetherstonhaugh knowingly purchased a couple of recently *surdécorés* pieces of Sèvres including several blue-ground salad bowls which only cost 300 francs to purchase and 200 francs for customs duty, as opposed to the 6000 francs of custom duty he spent on authentic 'old' Sèvres pieces.[202]

Similarly, antique and curiosity dealers would also often *improve* or *doctor* pieces of 'old' Sèvres to produce new forms, uses and styles by changing the original purpose of the object.[203] This involved transforming the objects physically and giving them a new identity, perhaps by adding bronze-gilt mounts or cutting holes for spouts or ladles or changing teapots, cups, water jugs and even chamberpots into vases. Art historian Geoffrey de Bellaigue has discussed the two most active dealers Philippe Claude Maelrondt and Edward Holmes Baldock and has emphasised the 'perfectly legitimate and

[201] 17 July, 1823, *Morning Chronicle,* 4.
[202] Fetherstonhaugh Family Papers, Uppark MS.658-97, *West Sussex Record Office*. Bill dated 25 May 1819, as stated in Anthony du Boulay, 'French Porcelain at Uppark: A Re-Assessment', 4.
[203] The notion of 'doctoring' pieces was a contemporary term used by collectors, including Henry Broadwood in a letter to the 2nd Earl of Lonsdale. D/LONS/1/2/113, Letters from Henry Broadwood to 2nd Earl of Lonsdale, Friday, 20 November 1835. *CRO.*

praiseworthy activity' of creating these new concoctions of Sèvres porcelain.[204] De Bellaigue even likened these to objects produced by the *marchands-merciers* in mid-eighteenth century Paris.[205] Such examples are frequently discussed in a disparaging manner in scholarship, and this is perhaps one of the reasons why nineteenth-century Sèvres collectors have received less attention, so often merely criticised regarding their taste for 'Baldock Sèvres'.[206] Such practices occurred in both England and France, notably in 1801 Benjamin Vulliamy, clockmaker to the King, designed a squat tazza for John the 6th Duke of Bedford at Woburn Abbey which was created from a Sèvres saucer and a gilt bronze structure, and in 1824 the Prince Regent purchased a vase which was composed of a Sèvres cup with gilt bronze mounts from the sale of Maelrondt's remaining stock and possessions, which still exists in the Royal Collection today (Fig. X-XI).[207] There are also examples of vases in the Royal Collection that would have functioned originally as cups which are now decorative ewers and small water jugs called *pot à eau* which have had their handles and spouts sliced off and mounts matching the patterns on the vases have been added. Two others have also been found at Blair Castle, Perthshire, although after examining the archives and pieces at Blair Castle in person there is no extant evidence to suggest that Lord James Murray requested these changes himself. There is perhaps something to be said for the fact that although collectors demanded 'old'

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[204] Geoffrey de Bellaigue, 'Philippe-Claude Maelrondt, Supplier to George IV', *Burlington Magazine,* Vol. 146, No. 1215, *Decorative Arts,* (Jun., 2004), 386-395.

[205] Geoffrey de Bellaigue, 'Philippe-Claude Maelrondt, Supplier to George IV', 389. In her seminal study on the *marchands-merciers* Carolyn Sargetnson examined the Sèvres porcelain plaques which were supplied by the manufactory to *marchands-merciers* from the 1750s onwards including Dominique Daguerre and Simon-Philippe Poirier. Carolyn Sargentson, *Merchants and Luxury Markets*, 48-49.

[206] The phrase 'Baldock Sèvres is used frequently within art market and museum circles to describe Sèvres which has been repurposed, or reformed during the nineteenth century, this is not to say that all such practices were carried out by the dealer Edward Holmes Baldock. See for example: Carl Dauterman, *Sèvres Porcelain: Makers and Marks of the Eighteenth Century,* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1986), 29.

[207] Maelrondt's mounts tended to be made by French craftsmen including Déon, Feuchère or Monvoisin (*aîné* and *neveu*). Tamara Préaud, 'Sèvres and Paris Auction Sales 1880-1847', *International Ceramics Fair and Seminar*, 1996, 27-34, 29; Geoffrey de Bellaigue, 'Philippe-Claude Maelrondt, Supplier to George IV', 389.

Sèvres they were content to add newly-made nineteenth-century mounts to them. This taste was even demonstrated by Madame Tiphaine in Balzac's *Pierrette* when Tiphaine proudly states that she prefers her 'old sevres vases in royal blue, mounted on copper'.[208] Equally, 'old' Sèvres porcelain plaques were frequently added onto recently-finished furniture.[209] Notably, in the 1820s the Prince Regent bought an Adam Weisweiller pier cabinet and commissioned the furniture firm Morel and Seddon to add a new door with an additional Sèvres plaque panel which had been taken from another piece of furniture.[210] And George Watson-Taylor's townhouse at Cavendish Square included a looking-glass framed in rosewood with twenty-six Sèvres plaques which were remounted for him, most likely by the Bellangé firm on behalf of the French dealer Alexis Delahante who had supplied the piece to Watson-Taylor.[211] Additionally, collectors and dealers created hybrids of eighteenth-century Sèvres. Notably at Uppark House a dealer created a pot-pourri vase for the collector Fetherstonhaugh by assembling together a biscuit Sèvres porcelain base dated 1761 (Fig. XII). This was intended to support a sculpted Cupid figure, but now instead supports a late eighteenth-century Sèvres chamberpot with its handle cut off. Covered with French gilt-bronze ormolu featuring rams' heads and tortoises, it was then topped with a painted turquoise putto holding an early 1820s French ormolu bird cage. Examining the Sèvres collection in the 1850s the dealer John Webb noted that the 'centre part belonged to Madame duBarry' (Fig.XIII).[212] The idea that

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[208] Honoré de Balzac, *Pierrette,* (Maryland: Wildside Press LLC, 2008), 53.

[209] Carolyn Sargentson has studied such pieces which are part of the John Jones bequest mostly in the V&A stores and has carefully concluded that many of the redecorated plaques found were decorated at Swansea or Nantgarw and possibly also Mead at the Shelton factory, Staffordshire. Errol Manners, *The French Porcelain Society Report*, Spring 2002, 7-8.

[210] Hugh Roberts, *For the King's Pleasure, The Furnishing and Decoration of George IV's Apartments at Windsor Castle,* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2001), 222.

[211] Described as a 'very magnificent Chimney Glass…with 26 compartments of the finest Sevres china' in the *Erlestoke Park* auction catalogue, sold as Lot 21 on 21 July 1832: George Robins, *Catalogue of the magnificent assemblage of property at Erlestoke Mansion near Devizes*. See also: Caroline Dakers, *A Genius for Money. Business, art and the Morrisons,* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), 109.

[212] *V&A Museum, John Webb Nominal File.* John Webb, Inventory and Sketch of Sundry Sèvres Vases now at Uppark, 1859. *Blythe House Archives (BHA).*

Fetherstonhaugh purchased a Sèvres chamberpot with supposed Madame du Barry provenance and then decided to reassemble it all into a mantlepiece vase further complicates the way in which some collectors perceived 'old' Sèvres. In many ways such an example indicates that during the first half of the nineteenth century collecting networks engaged in 'Sèvres-mania' by acquiring objects which evoked the *ancien régime,* whether these were original eighteenth-century or newly assembled or redecorated pieces.

An upsurge in the market for counterfeit 'old' Sèvres indicates the emergence of a distinct form of 'Sèvres-mania' particularly in the first half of the nineteenth century.[213] Previous scholars have recognised that rising demand amongst collectors encouraged a higher number of counterfeit examples but less attention has been given to the motivations behind and development of such cultural practices.[214] Certainly from the 1760s onwards there was a move towards decorating English porcelain in the French style but this was marked clearly by the English factories. In the 1790s, as Judith Anderson has acknowledged, William Duesbury (1763-1796) manager of the Derby porcelain factory welcomed the taste for French style, as this was considered to be the only factory in England which could produce gilded and painted decoration in the finest Sèvres manner but such production was never intended to deceive.[215] However as early as 1790 Jospeh Lygo who acted as the London agent for Derby, stated that French porcelain was purchased by London chinamen and dealers for decorating in the style of Sèvres.[216] Lygo

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[213] The term 'counterfeit Sèvres' surfaces in the early 1810s, and was used throughout the nineteenth century, especially when more scholarly publications emerged in relation to ceramics. For example, in the 1860s 'counterfeit' was used when discussing the need to distinguish, by means of marks and monograms through ceramics connoisseurship 'between real china and its counterfeit.' 2 September, 1865, *Saturday Review: Politics, Literature, Science and Art, Volume 20*, 311.

[214] Tamara Préaud, 'Sèvres and Paris Auction Sales 1880-1847', 27.

[215] Judith Anderson, *Derby Porcelain and the Early English Fine Ceramic Industry,* University of Leicester, unpublished Ph.D thesis, 2000, 94-95.

[216] It is worth noting that Lygo does not specify that this was Sèvres porcelain and it is quite possible that it was another Parisian or French factory. First mentioned in Judith Anderson, *Derby*

mentions a decorator named Barrystock or Bavistock in 1790 and 1791, and a few years later on 20 February 1795 he discusses a chinaman named 'Retinur' which could also read as Rittener, and may be a reference to Enoch Rittener, who we know was buying blanks or partially decorated pieces —often with *feuille de choux* (feathered blue enamel decoration)— direct from the Sèvres manufactory.[217] Some responsibility for the proliferation of counterfeits must be placed on the onus of the Sèvres manufactory itself. In fact, there were numerous sales of *pâte-tendre* pieces held from 1800, even as late as 1840, many of which were redecorated in England by dealers who would then add counterfeit Sèvres marks onto the pieces. For example, on 10 October 1810, Maelrondt bought 335 pieces of 'blanc porcelaine tendre' and again on 25 August 1812 he purchased 317 pieces which included 200 'assiettes blanches'.[218] Similarly, in July 1817, Baldock bought defective white pieces directly from the manufactory.[219] Certainly, counterfeit Sèvres emerged in response to increasing market demand. *Pâte-tendre* pieces were bought blank direct from Sèvres and redecorated in England; frequently when these pieces arrived in England acid was used to strip them of their decoration and new ground colours and subject paintings were added.[220] In many ways the mania for 'old' Sèvres during the earlier decades of the nineteenth century, whether the object was considered to be authenticate or not, shares much with Lowenthal's assertion that authenticity is a value constructed by a collector as it represents what the past ought to have looked like.[221] On one occasion in July 1823 the dealer Pérès advertised his redecorating services in the

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Porcelain and the Early English Fine Ceramic Industry, University of Leicester, unpublished Ph.D thesis, 2000, 95.

[217] Lygo mentions Barrystock or Bavistock on 11 November 1790 and 19 March 1791 and 'Ritinur' on 20 February 1795, *Derby Local Studies Library.* Quoted in: Judith Anderson, *Derby Porcelain and the Early English Fine Ceramic Industry,* University of Leicester, unpublished Ph.D thesis, 2000, 95.

[218] VZ 1, fol.285 and fol.266v, *AMNS.*

[219] VZ 3, fol.69, 3 July 1817, *AMNS.*

[220] Frederick Litchfield, 'Imitations and Reproductions. Part I, Sèvres Porcelain', *The Connoisseur,* Vol. XLIX, September 1917, 4.

[221] David Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country*, xxiii.

Morning Chronicle explaining that in 1816 he had bought up blanks of 'delicate Porcelaine of the old manufactory of Sevres' from the factory and could redecorate them in the 'style of the ancient' using artists 'previously employed at the manufactory'.[222] However in order to 'prevent counterfeits' Monsieur Pérès assured clients that he would add 'his own cypher d P' to the Sèvres factory mark, perhaps alluding to a growing discontent in the contemporary market for redecorated pieces which were intended to deceive.[223]

In contrast, some artists and dealers purposefully deceived their clientele. Notably, the artist Thomas Martin Randall (1786-1859), carried out a substantial amount of work for dealers such as Edward Holmes Baldock and John Jarman as well as William Mortlock.[224] There is frustratingly little evidence of Randall's production, and although numerous authors have mentioned Randall over the years, as the ceramics historian Roger Edmundson has acknowledged, none of them present firm sources or archives.[225] Thomas Martin Randall, was apprenticed as a porcelain painter at Coalport under John Rose between 1805 and 1807, he then moved to Derby, and afterwards to Pinxton but when the Pinxton works closed in 1813 it is likely that he relocated to London at twenty-seven years old.[226] Although his own nephew suggested that this move occurred four years earlier alongside a 'Mr Robins [sic], a Pinxton Man'.[227] In London, Randall worked as a china decorator for the firm 'China Enamellers and Gilders' which was run by a Mr Richard Robbins and his business partner Mr William Stevens at Hatton Wall in Hatten

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[222] Thursday, 17 July, 1823, *Morning Chronicle,* 1.
[223] Thursday, 17 July, 1823, *Morning Chronicle,* 1.
[224] See for example: Frederick Litchfield, 'Imitations and Reproductions. Part I, Sèvres Porcelain', *The Connoisseur,* Vol. XLIX, September 1917, 4; Rosalind Savill, *The Wallace Collection Catalogue of Sèvres Porcelain,* Volume III, 1167-1177; Geoffrey de Bellaigue, 'Edward Holmes Baldock, Part II', 17-25, 20; Rosalind Savill, 'The Sèvres Porcelain Collection of the Fifth Duke and Duchess of Buccleuch', 143.
[225] Roger Edmundson, 'Thomas Martin Randall: China Decorator and Manufacturer', *Journal of the Northern Ceramic Society,* Volume 10, 1993, 23-24.
[226] Roger Edmundson, 'Thomas Martin Randall', 23-27.
[227] John Randall, 'Madeley China Works', *Salopian Monthly Illustrated Journal*, 1877.

Gardens near Clerkenwell.[228] Here Randall probably decorated English porcelain and Welsh Nantgarw porcelain pieces, notably there are examples of hard-paste French porcelain decorated by Randall which bear his monogram 'TMR', although their location is currently unknown.[229] Primarily, Robbins and Randall were provided with porcelain by Mortlock from Nantgarw, as well as from the Swansea porcelain factory and directly from J.Bradley the china decorator and retailer of Pall Mall, and the dealer Edward Holmes Baldock; supposedly employing 40 people although there is no concrete evidence for this number.[230] In 1820 Randall married, and became a Quaker, moving into newly built houses at Barnsbury Row in Islington, although as his nephew later wrote: 'They still continued to carry on business at Islington, where they erected buildings suitable, and fired the ware in box kilns with charcoal'.[231] It was during this period in the 1820s that an even greater supply of blank *pâte-tendre* Sèvres than ever before were supplied and decorated by Robbins and Randall. This is not surprising as following the end of the Napoleonic Wars trade routes between France and Britain had reopened and the supply of and demand for eighteenth-century French art intensified even further. This frenzied supply of 'old' Sèvres was spurred on by London antique and curiosity dealers who hired agents 'to buy up Sevres…in the white [to be] painted in London' and then supplied these to decorators like Randall.[232] Fluid notions of authenticity led to conflicting views by contemporaries in France and England regarding the English counterfeit market,

[228] An advertisement announcing the dissolution of business between Robbins and Stevens appeared in *The London Gazette* in 1815. Previously it has been thought that in 1813 Randall established an enamelling business in Easton Street, in the Spa Fields area with Robbins, although it is more likely that this partnership occurred when Robbins' previous business with Stevens ended in 1815. 4 February, 1815, *The London Gazette,* 374.
[229] Roger Edmundson, 'Thomas Martin Randall', 23-30.
[230] W.D. John, *Natgarw Porcelain,* (Newport: Ceramic Book Company, 1948), 100 and Bernard and Therle Hughes, *English Porcelain and Bone China 1743-1850,* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1955), 172.
[231] John Randall, 'Madeley China Works', *Salopian Monthly Illustrated Journal*, 1877.
[232] John Randall, 'Madeley China Works', *Salopian Monthly Illustrated Journal*, 1877.

motivated in part by an anonymous report from 3 November 1818 which was produced at Sèvres after a counterfeit déjeuner was presented to King Louis XVIII (1755-1824):

> L'importance que certaines personnes et surtout des étrangers ont mis à la porcelain tendre ancienne qu'est devenue un objet rare et par conséquent très recheré, ayant fair beaucoup monter le prix de cette porcelaine, on employe tous les moyens possibles pour faire passer les porcelains tendres, la pluplart de rebut et nouvellement peintes, pour des porcelains peintes et dorées avant 1790.[233]

Between 1826 and 1828 the partnership between Robbins and Randall dissolved and Randall moved business and set himself up at the Madeley factory in Shropshire, becoming involved in the Coalbrookdale Quaker community.[234] At Madeley Randall employed his extended family as apprenticed artists, including his son George Randall and several nephews, one a John Randall who had worked previously for Coalport as a bird painter, and other artists including George Gray, who later became director of art at the South Kensington Museum, and the figure painter Philip Ballard.[235] Thomas Martin Randall spent around twelve years at Madeley and according to his nephew 'did very much work for Mortlock, Jarman and Baldock—*re*decorating it [Sevres] in the most elaborate and costly manner'.[236] As well as redecorating old Sèvres, Randall also produced his own porcelain and 'erected enamelling, biscuit and other kilns, and *made* and *finished his own wares*'.[237] And according to a local newspaper in June 1835 Randall occupied 'TWO BUILDINGS now used for china manufactory'.[238] As his nephew later explained, Randall experimented and managed to produce 'a fret body with a rich glaze

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[233] 'Some people, especially the English, place such importance on the rare and highly sought-after soft-paste porcelain which has greatly increased its price, they try everything to make this porcelain (most of which are discarded or newly painted) to try and make them pass for 'old' soft-paste examples as if they were painted and decorated before 1790'. Original French cited in Geoffrey de Bellaigue, *French Porcelain in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen*, 3 vols (Royal Collection Enterprises: London, 2009), Vol.1, 63.
[234] John Randall, 'Madeley China Works', *Salopian Monthly Illustrated Journal*, 1877.
[235] Roger Edmundson, 'Thomas Martin Randall', 24.
[236] John Randall, 'Madeley China Works', *Salopian Monthly Illustrated Journal*, 1877.
[237] Italics used by Randall. John Randall, 'Madeley China Works', *Salopian Monthly Illustrated Journal*, 1877.
[238] 27 May Wednesday, 1835, *Wolverhampton Chronicle and Staffordshire Advertiser,* 4.

bearing such a close resemblance to Sèvres porcelain that connoisseurs and famous judges failed to distinguish them'.[239] Randall is thought to have produced approximately a quarter of a million pieces of counterfeit *pâte-tendre* Sèvres and was known for creating the best version of the infamous and expensive *bleu celeste* ground, an example of which is now located at the V&A Museum (Fig. XIV).[240] After Randall's death the factory moved to Staffordshire, and it has been estimated that another quarter of a million pieces were produced here by 1856.[241] Such figures indicate the sheer scale of production achieved by Randall in response to an ever-increasing 'Sèvres-mania' on the market, which he must have undoubtedly contributed towards. Whilst Randall was happy to redecorate pieces in a Sèvres style, he is presented frequently in scholarship as an innocent Quaker, and due to this many have maintained that he did not add counterfeit marks to his pieces.[242] However, as Randall did not become a Quaker until at least the early 1820s his religious beliefs may not have influenced his earlier production and at a later stage the marks and monograms associated with Sèvres, including interlaced L's and date letters, were perhaps added by dealers or other decorators working for Randall.

Randall was not the only figure executing such counterfeit examples, notably John Rose, who ran the Coalport factory, purchased the Swansea and Nantgarw factories in 1820 and it was later reported that Sèvres marks were counterfeited there and several ground

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[239] John Randall, *History of Madeley,* (Madeley: Wreckin Echo Office, 1890), 207.

[240] A close inspection of this Randall *bleu celeste* plaque with a Boucher-style scene which is now part of the permanent collection in the Ceramics Department at the V&A Museum was undertaken by the author in October 2018. Although it does indicate the fairly high quality achieved by Randall, a thorough visual analysis revealed several tell-tale signs which enabled the author to distinguish this counterfeit piece from an original eighteenth-century example: notably the detailing of the painted figures, some black specking on the corners of the plaque which suggest it has been refired, and a patchy block-colour blue ground applied which overlaps with the gilding in a slightly careless manner, the likes of which would never have been produced at Sèvres. Another example of a small déjeuner counterfeit piece thought to be by Randall exists in an English private collection which has particularly stark evidence of being re-fired (Fig.XV).

[241] His nephew John Randall continued the business and wrote several books and articles on porcelain manufactories in the area, including *The Clay Industries on the Banks of the Severn* and a *History of Madeley.* W. Turner, 'Madeley Porcelain: Part I', *The Connoisseur,* Vol.22, Sep.-Dec., 1908, 153-160, 156.

[242] Roger Edmundson, 'Thomas Martin Randall', 23-24.

colours 'especially the rose of Sèvres were admirably produced'.[243] Moreover the Davenport Factory at Longport in Staffordshire were also producing counterfeit Sèvres.[244] In 1831 Henry Davenport received a letter from his father discussing the best way to produce such Sèvres porcelain using Davenport porcelain:

> You would observe that by firing so hard as to sink the colours in the Glaze they have lost much of their brilliancy and intensity—They will need a nicer preparation and they will not allow of being mixed so much in laying out—The Rose color & purple have suffered most—Much will depend on the nature of the flux, the yellow is very poor, but I will produce some pieces of Sevres suitable if you have not got them already in your collection—We cannot sacrifice the Colours.[245]

Certainly, this letter indicates that the Davenports attempted and succeeded in producing counterfeit examples using English porcelain which was fired, glazed and painted to imitate 'old' Sèvres.[246] Motivated by either commercial incentive or aesthetic achievement, it is important to note that they clearly took pride in executing quality pieces which seemed as authentic as possible. Given the rising supply of counterfeit examples it is quite possible that the phrase 'old' Sèvres continued to dominate collecting rhetoric in order to help collecting networks distinguish between authentic and counterfeit examples. As Chapter II demonstrates, collectors started to become more vigilant from the 1830s onwards and sought to improve their knowledge of the properties that constituted genuine examples of old *pâte-tendre* Sèvres.[247] Yet by the 1860s the level of deception was still significant, although a greater awareness now existed that the large number of pieces purporting to be 'old' Sèvres were in fact produced and decorated in

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[243] William Cowper Prime, *Pottery and Porcelain of All Times and Nations: With Tables of Factory and Artists' Marks for the Use of Collectors,* (London: Harper & Brothers, 1878), 363.
[244] B47/S42/IVD/65, letter to Henry Davenport from his father, 27 September 1831. *Herefordshire Archive and Records Centre.*
[245] B47/S42/IVD/65, letter to Henry Davenport from his father, 27 September 1831. *Herefordshire Archive and Records Centre.*
[246] Until the author discovered this letter no one had previously been able to prove that the Davenports were indeed producing counterfeit Sèvres, B47/S42/IVD/65, letter to Henry Davenport from his father, 27 September 1831. *Herefordshire Archive and Records Centre.*
[247] D/LONS/1/2/113, Letters from Henry Broadwood to 2nd Earl of Lonsdale, Friday, 20 November 1835. *CRO.*

England. This was intensified by contemporary accounts, for example after visiting the Paris exhibition in 1867, an English workman wrote a substantial letter to *The Times* detailing the deceptions carried out 'during the rage for old Sevres china'.[248] As he revealed:

> Thirty years ago, when the rage for old Sèvres china was at its highest, a few London dealers in old Sèvres china made large fortunes in purchasing white specimens, or those slightly decorated, and having them repainted and regilt in this country. Their agents in France attended sales and sought every opportunity of buying it; the slight sprigs of flowers were then removed by fluoric acid, and elaborately-painted subjects of flowers, birds, cupids, and figures chiefly from Boucher and Watteau were painted in richly gilt shields, with turquoise, green, and other grounds… In order to deceive the purchaser the sharp touches of the chaser on the gold were rubbed off by the hand; sometimes a dirty greasy rag was employed to make it look as thought it had been a long time in use. To increase the deception the china when finished was sent off, redirected in London in French, and knowing old lovers of Sèvres china, with long purses, were apprised that a package of choice articles bought of Madame ---- or at the Duke of --- ---'s sale had arrived, and they flattered themselves highly in being privileged to see the box opened. Bargains were quickly struck on the spot, lest the article might fall into other hands, the buyer fancying himself fortunate in securing a costly article before others had had a chance even of looking at it. The writer has several times seen specimens of his own painting at noblemen's houses, which he was informed were choice productions of the Royal Sèvres Works, purchased for large sums. In returning through London from the Paris Exhibition the other day he saw in a shop in the Strand similar old acquaintances which the owner values, no doubt, at a high price, and which he believes to have been altogether the productions of the last century at the old Sèvres works.[249]

This thesis can reveal that this anonymous writer was none other than John Randall, the nephew of Thomas Martin, who later recorded in his own name that London dealers working with Madeley had 'been known to have boxes of china from Madeley sent on [by river and sea] to Dover, to be redirected as coming from France, inviting connoisseurs to come and witness them being unpacked on their arrival "from Paris"'.[250] Writing in *The Clay Industries on the Banks of the Severn* Randall expanded upon this and revealed

[248] Saturday, 21 September, 1867, *Chelsea News and General Advertiser,* 4.
[249] 13 September, 1867, 'An English Workman's Visit to the Paris Exhibition', *The Times*, 8.
[250] John Randall, *History of Madeley,* (Madeley: Wreckin Echo Office, 1890), 208.

that it was a Mr F.W. Rose, nephew of John Rose, founder of the Coalport Porcelain Factory, who had purchased an 'old' Sèvres vase painted with birds believing it to be an original but in fact it was painted at Madeley by John Randall, and was actually made of Coalport porcelain.[251] Upon discovering the truth of the deception Rose was supposedly 'astonished on finding he had been duped by a London china dealer with a piece of his own ware'.[252] On another occasion John Randall visited Beaudesert and the collection of the Marquess of Anglesey who upon showing Randall proudly an example of 'old' Sèvres decorated with birds soon discovered that Randall himself had painted the piece at Madeley.[253] What is particularly striking about all of these accounts is the sheer level of dedication to the deception, as redecorators, agents, and dealers attempted to avoid being found out as they counterfeited pieces and attempted to fabricate patina. As French art historian Manuel Charpy has noted in relation to the counterfeit production of decorative art during the nineteenth century, 'patina has to reproduce not only the effects of time but also the marks of previous owners'.[254] Not only were blank pieces of *pâte-tendre* Sèvres redecorated, partially-decorated pieces also underwent a harsh chemical process before applying new marks and decoration; then the gilding was rubbed to create the idea of patina, and pieces were transported with French labels via London to further deceive the collector who was determined to have the first pick of choice 'old' Sèvres thought to have just arrived into London.[255] Such contemporary accounts corroborate the evidence presented here that a form of 'Sèvres-mania' emerged during the early part of the

[251] Saturday 3 February, 1877, *Worcestershire Chronicle,* 3.
[252] As cited in Saturday 3 February, 1877, *Worcestershire Chronicle,* 3, originally from John Randall, *The Clay Industries on the Banks of the Severn,* (Shropshire: Salopian and West-Midland Office, 1877).
[253] W. Turner, 'Madeley Porcelain: Part II', *The Connoisseur,* Vol.22, Sep.-Dec., 1908, 248-254, 252.
[254] Manuel Charpy, 'Patina and the bourgeoisie: the appearance of the past in nineteenth-century Paris', Glenn Adamson, (ed.), *Surface Tensions, Surface, Finish and the Meaning of Objects,* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), 53.
[255] 13 September, 1867, 'An English Workman's Visit to the Paris Exhibition', *The Times*, 8.

nineteenth century, which was further intensified by and contributed to the prolific production of counterfeit pieces.

Throughout the nineteenth century collectors and even dealers were deceived into purchasing counterfeit examples believing them to be true products of pre-Revolutionary Sèvres. For example whilst the collector Lord Lonsdale requested Baldock regularly in the 1830s to cut holes in jardinières or monteiths, or to doctor authentic examples of 'old' Sèvres tureens by 'cutting holes in 2 covers for ladles'[256] he resented when he was 'duped' by dealers into purchasing nineteenth-century modern examples of *pâte-dure* disguised as eighteenth century *pâte-tendre* Sèvres.[257] The 10th Duke of Hamilton (1767-1830) was similarly duped when a dealer purchased an item on his behalf from an auction house which comprised of a counterfeit Sèvres figure placed onto an original eighteenth-century French stand, believing it to all be an example of 'old' Sèvres.[258] Undoubtedly, shifting notions of authenticity provoked a sense of suspicion and increased awareness of the perils of the counterfeit market amongst collectors. Subsequently this encouraged a desire to improve knowledge in order to enable collecting networks to identify 'old' Sèvres proper. As Chapter II and III argue, this growing need for specialised knowledge would contribute towards the construction and standardization of Sèvres connoisseurship.

Having contextualised the collecting networks for 'old' Sèvres in the decades immediately following the French Revolution this chapter has demonstrated that within a broader context of shifting socio-political frameworks and rising notions of historical consciousness new cultural and historical value structures were assigned to Sèvres. Certainly an epistemic shift occurred between France and Britain during the

[256] D/LONS/L3/5/217, 14 April 1836, Baldock, *CRO.*
[257] Lonsdale mentioned this in relation to modern pieces in the collection of the Duchess of St Albans exclaiming that: 'we have been done in the same way', *Diary 42.* D/LONS/L2/25-44, *CRO.*
[258] Bet McLeod, *The Western Ceramics in the Collections of the Dukes of Hamilton 1700-1920*, University of Glasgow, unpublished Ph.D thesis, 2014, 38.

Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars which resulted at first in an oversaturated market which limited the desirability of Sèvres, and as the rising conflict effected trade routes it ultimately influenced taste. Whilst the Peace of Amiens enabled collectors and dealers to visit France once again, it was not until the 1810s when a true 'rage for old Sevres china' occurred, further encouraged by a re-opening of trade routes, the loss of *pâte-tendre* production at Sèvres, and the increasing number of blank or partially decorated pieces on the open market.[259] An increasing taste for 'old' Sèvres contributed to a rise in historical thinking as collectors sought out pieces with significant historical or Royal associations. Old Sèvres was even knowingly redecorated or repurposed to evoke the historical era of the *ancien régime* but nonetheless, soon significant amounts of counterfeit Sèvres were produced with the intention to deceive. The evidence presented thus far refutes previously established scholarship as this chapter demonstrates that a new collecting mania for Sèvres, different to its role as a fashionable object, emerged from the late 1790s, and intensified following the Napoleonic Wars, reinforced by the sheer volume of counterfeit examples circulating the art market. As the century progressed, a greater specialisation developed with regard to the collecting practices and knowledge of dealers and collectors seeking out 'old' Sèvres, perhaps increasingly determined to secure pieces which they deemed to be authentic. An auction advertised by a Mr.Crockford at New Bond Street in July 1829 in the *Globe* for example exclaimed that 'an epitome of the leading articles' for sale 'will suffice to engage the attention of those Noblemen and Connoisseurs who are now forming, or may wish to add to their present Cabinets, in old Sèvres'.[260] It is this level of specialisation and desire for knowledge which the following chapter will now

[259] Saturday, 21 September, 1867, *Chelsea News and General Advertiser,* 4.
[260] Wednesday, 8 July, 1829, *Globe*, 1.

explore through the interconnected collecting networks surrounding the 2nd Earl of Lonsdale and his 'profusion of fine old Sèvres china'.[261]

[261] Thomas Raikes, Sunday 3 April, 1842, *A Portion of the Journal Kept by Thomas Raikes, Esq., from 1831 to 1847,* Volume 4, (London: Longmans & Roberts, 1858), 199.

Chapter II: Collaborative Connoisseurship: The Sèvres Collection of the 2nd Earl of Lonsdale

> 'The choicest collection in England is said to be in the possession of the Earl of Lonsdale'[1]
>
> – *The Stowe Sale Catalogue, 1848*

According to the widely publicised Stowe auction held in 1848, the identity of the 2nd Earl of Lonsdale was framed by the 'choicest collection' of Sèvres porcelain in England.[2] A remarkable feat bearing in mind the significant collections amassed by the likes of Viscount Lascelles, Harry Fetherstonhaugh, the 2nd and 3rd Marquess' of Hertford, and King George IV in the earlier decades of the nineteenth century. The extensive archival sources relating to the 2nd Earl of Lonsdale are located in paper form in Cumbria Record Office, Carlisle.[3] A thorough investigation of Lonsdale's archive reveals that the process

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[1] Born William Lowther in 1787, named Lord Lowther in 1807 and granted the title 2nd Earl of Lonsdale in 1844 after his father's death. For ease and clarity this thesis will refer to him throughout as the 2nd Earl of Lonsdale or Lord Lonsdale. Lonsdale bought several pieces from the Stowe sale including a Sèvres coffee cup for £10.10 listed as Lot 632. Christie, Manson & Wood, Sèvres Porcelain Section, *Stowe catalogue, priced and annotated: by Henry Rumsey Forster*, (David Bogue: London, 1848), 38. *CAL.*

[2] Christie, Manson & Wood, *Stowe catalogue, priced and annotated: by Henry Rumsey Forster,* (David Bogue: London, 1848), 38.

[3] DLONS/L1-L25, Lowther Family of Lowther, 2nd Earl of Lonsdale, *CRO.* Lonsdale's archive is wide-ranging from the early 1810s until the 1860s, and includes: diaries, inventories, bills, and personal and professional correspondence. Much of the archive is written in French, English and Italian, which has involved a great deal of transcription and translation which I undertook from November 2016 onwards. Although the archive has been barely investigated and it is extensive, it is not complete. For instance, the existing bills are sparse and limited to 1835-1843, and do not reflect the number of objects in his collection. Similarly, Lonsdale took three breaks from writing his diary, between 1826-1832, 1842-1844 and 1845-1853. Taking this into account, the archive connects the reader to Lonsdale's past and personal perspective but it is already a reconstruction of his daily life with some gaps, therefore it will never be completely transparent. Nevertheless, it does provide this investigation with substantial material that can be interpreted in order to consider the collaborative networks in which Lonsdale operated. For more scholarship regarding the cultural nature of diaries please see work by Lawrence Rosenwald, *Emerson and the Art of the Diary,* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988); Anne-Marie Millim, *The Victorian Diary: Authorship and Emotional Labour* (London: Routledge, 2013); Catherine

of collecting Sèvres porcelain was a persistent daily obsession for him, often involving a lengthy decision-making process. He constantly visited dealer premises, china shops, auction sales, the Sèvres manufactory itself, and as we shall see, frequently paid social visits to other private collections, commenting on the display, quality and authenticity of their pieces. Even up until his dying day Lonsdale was fixated on enhancing his collection of Sèvres, agreeing to bid for 'three small Sèvres vases' which he examined from the confines of his carriage hours before he passed away.[4] According to extant bills, dating from 17 October 1835 to 12 September 1842 Lonsdale spent £10,139.9.6 in England and 16,770.5 francs in France on Sèvres porcelain.[5] If we consider that in 1844 a surgeon in England was paid an average salary of £69 per annum, it becomes clear that Lonsdale spent substantial amounts of money on porcelain.[6] Lonsdale's specialised collecting practice is also signified in an 1844 probate inventory taken after his father's death, which he conducted himself, where the number of Sèvres totalled an astonishing 2192 pieces.[7] This chapter posits that such a specialised collection could not have been achieved alone, instead using the under-researched archives in Carlisle this investigation considers the broader social, cultural and geographical contexts underpinning Lonsdale's collection

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Delafield, *Women's Diaries as Narrative in the Nineteenth-Century Novel,* (London: Routledge, 2009).

[4] On the day Lonsdale died it was reported widely that he had visited Christie's to inspect three Sèvres vases which he had hoped to purchase: 'on the afternoon of the day on which he died he drove to Christy and Manson's, the well-known auctioneers in King Street, St James's, to inspect three small Sèvres vases, which were to be sold that day. They were brought to the carriage to him to inspect, and he said he would like to have them…after a spirited competition, they were purchased by his lordship's broker for eleven hundred and fifty guineas! When brought home next morning their purchaser was no more'. Saturday 20 April, 1872*, Carlisle Express and Examiner*, 6.

[5] 'Cost of Money Spent on China,' 1842, French and English Lists are separately recorded, D/LONS/L3/5/223, *CRO.*

[6] Irvine Loudon, *Medical Care and the General Practitioner, 1750-1850,* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), 239.

[7] D/LONS/L23/1, Carlton House Terrace Inventories, c.1844, *CRO*. To put this in perspective, the 3rd Marquess of Hertford had at least 700 pieces of Sèvres, a mere third of Lonsdale's collection, Barbara Lasic, 'Vendu a des Anglois: The collecting of Eighteenth Century French decorative arts, 1789-1830', Jonathan Glynne, (ed.), *Networks of Design: Proceedings of the 2008 Annual International Conference of the Design History Society,* (London: Universal-Publishers, 2010), 185.

and speculates a collaborative process.[8] As established previously, scholarship has privileged collectors as singular individuals, often negating the influences of broader cultural contexts and networks.[9] Such a practice exists similarly within the history of collecting, notably Russell Belk has claimed that:

> The collection is the creation of the collector who has brought it into existence, often by either taking objects, out of their former economic circulation or by rescuing them from unappreciative neglect.[10]

Here the onus is placed solely on the collector, yet others involved within the broader contexts of the collecting process are omitted, such as dealers, agents, and fellow collectors.[11] Instead, this chapter suggests that collecting, whilst often a personal and individual activity, can also have collective and social elements depending on the relationships of the identities involved and the specific socio-cultural and historical contexts in which they operated. Accordingly, it considers a network of reciprocal relations between collector (2nd Earl of Lonsdale, 1787-1872), close friend, fellow collector and sometimes agent (Henry Broadwood 1793-1878); dealer (Edward Holmes

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[8] The collaborative nature of Lonsdale's Sèvres collection is predetermined by what the archive holds. As such it can be understood as an interpretation of and negotiation with the knowledge of the past found within the archive itself. Notably Thomas Osborne has proposed that archives be understood as a 'centre of interpretation.' Thomas Osborne, 'The Ordinariness of the Archive', *History of the Human Sciences,* Vol.12, May 1999, 51-64, 52. See also: Marlene Manoff, Theories of the Archive from Across the Disciplines', *Libraries and the Academy,* Vol.4, No.1m (2004), 9-25, 13.

[9] See for example, Bet McLeod, 'Horace Walpole and Sèvres porcelain. The collection at Strawberry Hill', *Apollo* (Jan. 1998), 42-47; Rosalind Savill, 'The Sèvres Porcelain Collection of the Fifth Duke and Duchess of Buccleuch', Tessa Murdoch, (eds.), *Boughton House: The English Versailles*, (London: Faber and Faber, 1992); Geoffrey De Bellaigue, 'Edward Holmes Baldock', Part I, *The Connoisseur, Vol. 189* (August 1975), 290-9; Part II, Vol. 190 (September 1975), 18-25.

[10] Russell Belk, 'Collectors and Collecting', Chris Tilley, Webb Keane, Susanne Kuechle, (eds.), *Handbook of Material Culture,* (London: Sage, 2006), 534.

[11] An empirical study carried out by Rosalind Savill has introduced Lonsdale as a significant Sèvres collector. Although Savill only considers a partial section of the archive and prioritises a connoisseurial investigation of Lonsdale's collection, she does reference his close working relationship with the antique and curiosity dealer Edward Holmes Baldock. Rosalind Savill, 'A profusion of fine old Sèvres china': 'The Collection of the 2nd Earl of Lonsdale (1787-1872)', *French Porcelain Society Journal, Volume III,* (London: Trustees of the Wallace Collection, 2007), 255.

Baldock, 1777-1845) and an interconnected social network of contemporary collectors. Archival evidence, including extant receipts, reveals that at times Lonsdale did refer to Broadwood as his agent and paid him for such services, however this chapter maintains that due to their equal social standing and friendship Broadwood is perhaps best understood as a hybrid collector-agent, or what Anne Helmreich has termed a 'cultural mediator'.[12] A consideration of the backgrounds, motivations, and social class of the discrete identities of Lonsdale, Broadwood and Baldock should reveal that each is a cultural construction, which according to Dianne Sachko Macleod, is based on an amalgamation of 'class origins, wealth, education, occupation, travel, and geographical location'.[13] Towards the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century the British ruling class was still predominantly aristocratic, with a political monopoly over the House of Lords, and unprecedented wealth through land ownership and the consolidation of estates and titles.[14] Yet as historian Peter Mandler has discussed, whilst retaining economic and social stability, from 1800 onwards, the aristocracy were 'at the core of a more fluid and hybridized ruling class'.[15] Whilst hierarchies may have existed between identities, there was also a greater plurality and ambiguity, and even in

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[12] This notion of a 'cultural mediator' derives from Anne Helmreich in her discussion of the art dealer David Croal Thomson (1855-1930), for more information see: Anne Helmreich, 'The Art Dealer and Taste: the Case of David Croal Thomson and the Goupil Gallery, 1885-1897', *Visual Culture,* Vol.6, No.2, Autumn 2005, 31-49, 31. The term 'cultural mediator' is most fitting, especially when Broadwood is compared to other collector-agents such as Thomas Miller Whitehead, John Webb or Charles Fairfax Murray, who often negotiated between museum institutions and the trade in the second half of the nineteenth century. Mark Westgarth, *A Biographical Dictionary of Nineteenth Century Antique and Curiosity Dealers* (Glasgow: Regional Furniture, 2009), 12; 'Receipts from agents', 1848, *Diary 52.* D/LONS/L2/44-63, *CRO.*

[13] Dianne Sachko Macleod, *Art and the Victorian Middle Class: Money and Making of Cultural Identity,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 3.

[14] Krishan Kumar, *The Making of English National Identity,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 167; John Cannon, *Aristocratic Century, The Peerage of Eighteenth Century England,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 106-114; David Cannadine, *Aspects of Aristocracy: Grandeur and Decline in Modern Britain,* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 12.

[15] Peter Mandler, 'Caste or Class? The Social and Political Identity of the Aristocracy since 1800,' Jorn Leonhard, (ed.,), *What Makes the Nobility Noble? Comparative Perspectives from the Sixteenth to the Twentieth Century*, (Gottingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011), 178-188, 178.

the nineteenth century the English found it difficult to define an aristocratic or upper class gentleman.[16]

Discernibly, Lonsdale can be situated within the designated aristocratic class structure of England at this time. Granted the title the 2nd Earl of Lonsdale in 1844, he often divided his time between Carlisle, home to his family seat of Lowther Castle, London, and Paris. He was associated with key figures in nineteenth-century society, including the Prince Regent, later King George IV, Prince Anatoly Demidoff (1813-1870), King Louis XVIII, whose coronation Lonsdale travelled to in Paris in 1814,[17] Lord Yarmouth, later 3rd Marquess of Hertford, Sir Robert Peel (1788-1850),[18] Benjamin Disraeli,[19] and several members of the Rothschild family.[20] A product of a Classical education and upbringing, Lonsdale was educated at Harrow and later Trinity College Cambridge, graduating with an M.A. in 1808.[21] He stood as a Conservative MP politician, was a member of the Privy Council and acted as both Postmaster General and Lord President of the Council.[22] Lonsdale fathered at least one illegitimate child, Fanny Lowther, who lived with her mother, Pierre-Narcisse Chaspoux, a dancer at the Paris Opera, before moving to England

[16] The need to distinguish between higher and lower social classes also permeated literature. For example, in W.M. Thackeray's *The Newcomes* published in 1855, Clive Newcome admits: 'I can't tell you what it is, or how it is, only one can't help seeing the difference. It isn't rank and that; only somehow there are some men gentlemen and some not, and some women ladies and some not'. For more information on the notion of the gentleman in nineteenth-century literature please see: Robin Gilmour, *The Idea of the Gentleman in the Victorian Novel,* 1st ed., 1981, (London: Routledge, 2016). Also quoted in Dianne Sachko Macleod, *Art and the Victorian Middle Class*, 25.

[17] 'Lord Lowther and several other persons of distinction, have left for the French capital, to be present at the Coronation of Louis XVIII.' Friday 29 April, 1814, *Stamford Mercury,* 3.

[18] *Correspondence with Sir Robert Peel, 1827-1845,* MSS:43234-39, British Library: Manuscript Collections.

[19] *Correspondence with Benjamin Disraeli, 1850-1872*, MSS Disraeli, Oxford University: Bodleian Library, Special Collections.

[20] Lonsdale's diaries reveal that he was friendly with several of the Rothschilds, for example he called on Sir Alfred de Rothschild (1842-1918) frequently, London, Friday 21 May 1859, *Diary 58.* D/LONS/L2/44-63, *CRO.*

[21] 2nd Earl of Lonsdale Obituary, Saturday 9 March, 1872*, Grantham Journal,* 3.

[22] Edward Walford, *The County Families of the United Kingdom, or Royal Manual of the Titled and Untitled Aristocracy of Great Britain and Ireland,* (London: Robert Hardwicke, 1864), 628.

to live in Brighton and London.[23] Although Lonsdale never married, throughout his life he enjoyed multiple relationships with various women in London and Paris, writing often of his melancholy or desire of needing a woman to be 'a great comfort to take away the loneliness of the evening'.[24] As psychoanalyst Muensterberger has commented, there are all sorts of modes of collecting, including men who *collect* women one after the other.[25] Indeed, as this chapter explores, Lonsdale's archive reveals that collecting gave him social, emotional and intellectual fulfilment, as he interacted with dealers, agents, and fellow collectors. In London, on 19 May 1840, Lonsdale's daughter Fanny married his friend and fellow art collector Henry Broadwood esq.[26] Broadwood was the youngest son of the owner of the Broadwood piano firm, who had already established themselves as a mercantile middle class in the eighteenth century. Described by his contemporaries as 'a man of large fortune' Broadwood acted as a politician for Bridgewater, was one of the founders of the Garrick Club in 1831, and a lifelong friend of Lonsdale.[27] By receiving a thoroughly Classical education and securing a political role in parliament Broadwood was not required to work in the family business, and instead owned a brewery with fellow French art collector James (1791-1856) and his two brothers Charles and Thomas Goding.[28] Whilst both Lonsdale and Broadwood can be recognised as gentlemen collectors within the patrician class, Edward Holmes Baldock should be viewed as a member of the working class who was listed in the 1830s and 1840s as proprietor of a

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[23] Roger Collins, *Charles Meryon: A Life,* (London: Garton & Company, 1999), 92.
[24] London, Sunday 23 February 1857, *Diary 56.* D/LONS/L2/44-63, *CRO.*
[25] Werner Muensterberger, *Collecting, an unruly passion: psychological perspectives*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 11.
[26] 6 April, 1872*, The Times*.
[27] R.H. Barham, *The Garrick Club: Notices of One Hundred and Thirty Five of its Former Members,* (London: Printed Privately, 1896), 15.
[28] James Goding and Henry Broadwood were insured as brewers on 'Broad Street, Carnaby Market', Records of Sun Fire Office MS11936/471/913676, Royal and Sun Alliance Insurance group, 17 January, 1816*, London Metropolitan Archives*. They worked together from at least 1816 to 1835, when it appears that Broadwood spent £165,000 to buy the brewery outright. 17 January, 1836, *The Satirist, and the Censor of The Time,* 21.

'Foreign China and Antiques Furniture Warehouse' in Hanway Street, London.[29] Although it is worth noting that by the 1840s due to the social and commercial networks which he had developed Baldock had been reinvented as a member of the gentry, and his son, Edward Baldock Jnr sat at the House of Commons as a Conservative representative between 1847 to 1857.[30]

By situating an individual collection within a broader cultural framework of collecting networks in Paris and in London in the 1830s and 1840s, this chapter intends to explore 'Sèvres-mania' as a product of social, commercial and intellectual collaboration. It is further concerned with how commercial and social interactions, methods of acquisition, and modes of display in private collections contributed to systems of knowledge regarding Sèvres porcelain.[31] It analyses how collaborative processes of object and knowledge exchange constructed and circulated knowledge within the private collecting networks in which Lonsdale operated. Divided loosely into two sections, the first part of this chapter considers how a collaborative collecting process shaped Lonsdale's specialised Sèvres collection and generated discourse which led to an emergence of an early form of Sèvres connoisseurship. It then examines the cultural and economic contexts of Paris and London as significant centres of Sèvres collecting at this time. The second part of the chapter will lead onto a discussion of the displays of Sèvres porcelain

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[29] Mark Westgarth, *A Biographical Dictionary of Nineteenth Century Antique and Curiosity Dealers* (Glasgow: Regional Furniture, 2009), 66. According to the *Post Office London Directory* Baldock was located in Hanway Street in 1843, *Post Office London Directory,* (London: Kelly's Directories Limited, 1843), 78.

[30] For the purposes of this investigation and in order to keep consistent and avoid confusion, each time Edward Baldock Jnr is referenced he will be discussed as Baldock Jnr. Geoffrey de Bellaigue, 'Edward Holmes Baldock,' Part I, *The Connoisseur, Vol. 189* (August 1975), 290-9, 290; Mark Westgarth, *Dictionary of Nineteenth Century Antique and Curiosity Dealers*, 67.

[31] The notion of 'private' here can be understood as limited to a domestic sphere that is not for a generalized body of people but instead for certain privileged individuals. However, this is not to suggest that the domestic sphere can only be conceived as being private, considering that much social interaction occurs within this space. For a greater discussion see: Jennifer Barrett, *Museums and the Public Sphere,* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell Publishing, 2011), 2; Lawrence Klein, 'Gender and the Public/Private Distinction in the Eighteenth Century: Some Questions about Evidence and Analytic Procedure', *Eighteenth-Century Studies,* 29: 1, (1995), 93-94.

found in private collections through which Lonsdale encountered a wider array of 'old' Sèvres as he attempted to train his connoisseurial eye.

Collaborative Connoisseurship

Although the role played by Sèvres connoisseurship is embedded implicitly in all previous French porcelain history, its formation and historical epistemological roots have never before received critical attention. Recently art historians Meeghan Clarke and Francesco Ventrella have called for a re-thinking of scholarship on connoisseurship previously emphasized as limited to the expertise of one individual.[32] Instead they have advocated a more collaborative approach which puts 'an emphasis on the culture of connoisseurship, intended as a web of expertise and professional networks'.[33] To better our understanding of this collaborative culture of Sèvres connoisseurship it is useful to consider the work of 'micro-historian' Carlo Ginzburg, who investigated the history of how connoisseurial knowledge is constructed.[34] As historian Anna Davin has discussed in the introduction to her translation of Ginzburg's 'Morelli, Freud and Sherlock Holmes: Clues and Scientific Method,' Ginzburg is concerned 'with how people see the world, how knowledge is acquired and organised, the frameworks into which they fit information, beliefs or observations, and the social structure which contains, influences

[32] Meaghan Clarke and Francesco Ventrella, 'Women's Expertise and the Culture of Connoisseurship', *Visual Resources,* Vol. 33, March-June 2017, 2-10. For more general discussions of connoisseurship within art history see: Iain Pears, *Discovery of Painting,* (Yale: Yale University Press, 1991), 194-198; Catherine Scallen, *Rembrandt, Reputation, and the Practice of Connoisseurship,* (Amsterdam: University of Amsterdam Press, 2004); Anna Tummers and Koenraad Jonckheere, *Art Market and Connoisseurship: A Closer Look at Paintings by Rembrandt, Rubens, and Their Contemporaries,* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2008).

[33] Meaghan Clarke and Francesco Ventrella, 'Women's Expertise and the Culture of Connoisseurship', 2.

[34] For a greater discussion of 'micro-history' please see: István M. Szijártó and Sigurður Gylfi Magnússon, *What is Microhistory?: Theory and Practice,* (London: Routledge, 2013), 1-12.

and is influenced by these aspects of knowledge'.[35] Defending connoisseurship Ginzburg highlighted its significance as a specialized form of knowledge of the wider world which, as art historian David Freedberg too has stated, was essential to the 'central epistemological model in the humanities' which developed in the nineteenth century.[36] Here Freedberg references the increasing desire within the humanities to not only learn how knowledge operated but how it was constructed within history, as discussed by Foucault in his analysis of the changing systems of epistemology.[37] Using Clarke, Ventrella, Ginzburg and Freedberg as a starting point we can consider that the knowledge exchanged between Sèvres collecting networks 'was a complex and collaborative practice' which created a culture of connoisseurship, especially given the increasing specialization in the collecting of 'old' Sèvres and the rising awareness of and suspicion for the counterfeit market.[38] Lonsdale started collecting from the early 1830s onwards, and by this time was already in his late forties.[39] From 1835, starting first in Bordeaux, and then concentrating his efforts on Paris and London, Lonsdale made a conscious effort to seek out pieces of Sèvres porcelain. The first listed purchase is on 5 September 1835, from the English dealer John Jarman of No.130 New Bond Street, who charged him £55

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[35] Carlo Ginzburg, 'Morelli, Freud and Sherlock Holmes: Clues and Scientific Method', *History Workshop,* No.9, Spring, (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 1980, translated by Anna Davin, 5-36, 5.

[36] David Freedberg, 'Why Connoisseurship Matters', Katlijne van Stighelen, (ed.,), *Munuscula Discipulorum: Essays in Honour of Hans Vlieghe*, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), 29-43, 33. For further scholarship defending connoisseurship please see, David Ebitz, 'Connoisseurship as Practice, *Artibus et Historiae,* Volume 9, No. 18 (1988), 207-212; Carlo Ginzburg, 'Inter/disciplinarity. Vetoes and Compatibilitles,' *Art Bulletin,* LXXVII, 1995.

[37] Michel Foucault, *The order of things: an archaeology of the human sciences* (London and New York: Routledge, 2002), 330-374; Michel Foucault, *The archaeology of knowledge* trans. A.M. Sheridan Smith, (Harper Colophon Books, New York and London, 1976), 8-12.

[38] Meaghan Clarke and Francesco Ventrella, 'Women's Expertise and the Culture of Connoisseurship', 5.

[39] Although bills from dealers only exist from 1835 onwards, Lonsdale's diaries indicate that he started art collecting earlier than this. Bills, 17 Oct 1835- 12 Sept 1842, D/LONS/L3/5/217-223. It is interesting to note that another notable collector of Sèvres, the 4th Marquess of Hertford, also did not start collecting until much later in life. *CRO*.

for some 'Sevres knife handles'.[40] From Autumn 1835 and throughout 1836, Lonsdale divided his time between Paris and London, buying from a variety of dealers including: Baldock, Jarman and Joseph in England, and Henry, Max, Glezies, Mme Floral, Mme Jamar, Chauffert, and Josset, in Paris.[41] Frequently dealers sought him out, for example several made social visits: 'Jarman called here in the morning + tempted me with some china—'.[42] Certainly Lonsdale's collecting practices were both self-motivated and encouraged by others. From 1836 onwards, almost every time Lonsdale visited a china shop or an auction sale, if he was not accompanied by Broadwood, he brought Baldock with him, presumably in order to supplement his own knowledge. Writing in his diary on Tuesday 5 January Lonsdale stated: 'j'ai sorte [sic] avec Broadwood nous sommes aller acheter la porcelaine de sevres chez Jarman'[43] Or on other occasions he would visit Baldock, alongside Broadwood: 'Broadwood m'a conduit dans son cabriolet voir chez Joseph et apres [sic] chez Baldock'.[44] Both Broadwood and Baldock brought different kinds of knowledge to Lonsdale's attention. Both possessed extensive experience in handling and judging 'old' Sèvres, and thus must have developed connoisseurial skill through their own individual positions; Broadwood as an already established collector of Sèvres porcelain, and Baldock as a dealer who had sold Sèvres for over thirty years. This can be understood as 'epistemic seeing' which as art historian Elliot Eisner has noted, is a form of connoisseurial knowledge developed and gained from sight.[45] Private collectors

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[40] D/LONS/L3/5/217, John Jarman, 5 September 1835, *CRO*. Jarman was known for dealing in 'old china' and is known to have sold Sèvres porcelain to Ralph Bernal: Mark Westgarth, *Dictionary of Nineteenth Century Antique and Curiosity Dealers*, 125.
[41] Bills, 17 Oct 1835- 12 Sept 1842, D/LONS/L3/5/217-223. *CRO*.
[42] London, Wednesday, 12 April 1837, *Diary 44.* D/LONS/L2/44-63, *CRO*.
[43] 'I went out with Broadwood and we went to Jarman's to buy Sèvres'. London, Tuesday, 5 January 1836, *Diary 42.* D/LONS/L2/25-44, *CRO.*
[44] 'Broadwood brought me in his carriage to go to Joseph's and then afterwards onto Baldock's'. London, Saturday, 21 May, 1836, *Diary 42.* D/LONS/L2/25-44, *CRO.* Most likely this refers to Abraham Joseph who according to Mark Westgarth was recorded as a 'dealer in furniture, pictures, china, jewellery and cigars' at 39 North Audley Street, in *Pigot's London Directory*, 1839 and 1841. Mark Westgarth, *Dictionary of Nineteenth Century Antique and Curiosity Dealers*, 126.
[45] Elliot Eisner, *The Enlightened Eye: Qualitative Inquiry and the Enhancement of Educational,* (New York: Teachers College Press, 2017 edition), 68.

and dealers were also at an advantage as they could engage in tactile connoisseurship, whether in the domestic sphere or at an auction or dealers' premises. At times this may have involved a more systematic approach, as alluded to by Viel-Castel's illustration of the *pâte-tendre* Sèvres collector Monsieur de Menussard (Fig.II). Menussard's haptic treatment of his pieces includes the use of a magnifying glass, an examination of the marks underneath, and a close inspection of the translucency of the ceramic body. Ginzburg suggests that such forms of connoisseurial knowledge developed by a repetition of practice are known as common and implicit knowledge, in the sense that they were 'richer than any written authority on the subject… born of experience, of the concrete and individual'.[46] Freedberg too sees connoisseurs as those who have 'built up years of acquired knowledge about a subject'.[47] Knowledge which is acquired in this way is rooted in and constructed by personal viewpoint. As the polymath Michael Polanyi has observed, these are derived from socially constructed frameworks, and acquired through practice.[48] From a position of personal knowledge and through a network of trust, these identities came together to share, construct and circulate a form of connoisseurship, which emerged from an epistemic as well as haptic engagement with objects. We can speculate that collecting networks sought to develop and improve their object knowledge as they attempted to judge a piece to determine if it ought to be collected. To a certain extent the early formation of Sèvres connoisseurship can therefore also be understood as grounded in principles which were established in 1719 by Jonathan Richardson in relation to

[46] Carlo Ginzburg, 'Morelli, Freud and Sherlock Holmes: Clues and Scientific Method', 21.
[47] David Freedberg, 'Why Connoisseurship Matters', 35.
[48] Polanyi analyses the notion of personal knowledge and connoisseurship in relation to the continued practice of scientific skills and judgments, yet his understanding can be applied to our purposes. Michael Polanyi, *Personal Knowledge: Towards a Post-Critical Philosophy,* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962), 1st ed., 1958, 144-145; Stephania Ruzsits Jha, *Reconsidering Michael Polanyi's Philosophy,* (Pennsylvania: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2002), 264. As the sociologist Harry Collins discusses, Polanyi's notion of personal knowledge must be related to 'the process of making good judgments…that arises out of having stores of tacit knowledge', Harry Collins, *Tacit and Explicit Knowledge,* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010), 148-149.

painting connoisseurship.[49] According to Richardson's *Two Discourses* the principles of painting connoisseurship included firstly being able to judge the quality or 'the Goodness of a Picture'; secondly, an assignment over attribution in terms of the maker or the School; and finally, being able to distinguish between originals and copies.[50] Broadwood especially advised Lonsdale on the authenticity of pieces, revealing in his letters those dealers who were guilty of trying to 'doctor' pieces.[51] Notably, Broadwood claimed that in Paris 'Madame Flaubert … has some very bad' and with 'Madam Jamar's you must take care of- she is a regular do, & makes more **old** sevres & doctors more, — than anyone else in Europe'.[52] The increasing need for such knowledge was shared by several collectors at the time, including the 4th Marquess of Hertford (1800-1870) who instructed his agent Mawson to seek out only old furniture and demanded that if they were 'not **entirely** old, do not buy them'.[53] On another occasion during the auction sale of the Duchess of Bedford in July 1853, Hertford demanded Mawson to 'carefully examine the articles I call your attention to. I should like to know if they are old or whether they are imitations or made up, half new & half old, as is so often the case here & I dare say in London also'.[54] Given this wider context in relation to authenticity, it is unsurprising that Broadwood offered instruction to Lonsdale regarding dealers who were known to be involved in this practice of 'doctoring' and improving pieces which were not always what they were purported to be. For example, in November 1835 Broadwood observed in a letter to Lonsdale:

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[49] Jonathan Richardson, *Two Discourses: I. An Essay on the Whole Art of Criticism, as it Relates to Painting*, (London: W.Churchill, 1719), Frontispiece. See also: David Freedberg, 'Why Connoisseurship Matters', Katlijne van Stighelen, (ed.), *Munuscula Discipulorum: Essays in Honour of Hans Vlieghe*, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), 29-43, 31.
[50] Jonathan Richardson, *Two Discourses: I*, Frontispiece.
[51] 20 November Friday 1835**,** Letters from Henry Broadwood to 2nd Earl of Lonsdale, D/LONS/1/2/113, *CRO*.
[52] 20 November Friday 1835**,** Letters from Henry Broadwood to 2nd Earl of Lonsdale, D/LONS/1/2/113, *CRO*.
[53] John Ingamells, (ed.), *The Hertford-Mawson Letters*, (London: The Wallace Collection, 1981), 28.
[54] 6 July 1853, Letter from Lord Hertford to his agent Samuel Mawson, 45.

> No18[55] is also a great Jew[56], & not to be trusted, he knows me well & if you have any dealings with him make use of my name he may perhaps be a little in fear of me.-- Berthon (?) on the quai Voltaire has often good things, he is rich, & will have good prices, but like Madame Jamar, he has more "defect" than what is really "en tact".[57]

Broadwood's comments are in keeping with the growing awareness of the counterfeit market, which we have addressed already in Chapter I. Bearing this in mind, Lonsdale must have been encouraged by his contemporaries to dedicate himself to developing his object knowledge from the moment he started collecting. Whilst visiting the shop of the French dealer Madame Jamar on one of his first collecting trips to Paris in November 1835 Lonsdale encountered 'a man who was very communicative on the subject of china some helpful notes made at the end of the book'.[58] At the same time he consulted another Parisian dealer Max, specifically about Sèvres porcelain and noted that: 'Max says they cannot discover the clay they made the Sevres [with] there. It was a secret of the monks. It was abolished from causing the deaths of so many people'.[59] Additionally Lonsdale also visited the Sèvres manufactory: 'Went to Sevres… a man there told us some of the tricks of the trade'.[60] From 1817 onwards visitors to the manufactory were greeted with a growing collection of historical ceramics which would eventually become the Musée National de la Céramique and exposure to this must have further encouraged Lonsdale's

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[55] In 'la porte cheminee', Friday 27th November 1835, Letters from Henry Broadwood to 2nd Earl of Lonsdale, D/LONS/1/2/113, *CRO*.

[56] Much more attention needs to be given to the role of Jewish dealers of decorative art in Paris and London during this time but it is worth highlighting that the use of the word 'Jew' here is not necessarily an ethnic marker but more synonymous with avarice and malpractice. For more general information regarding the relationship between the commercial trade and Jewish identity please see Aviva Briefel, *The Deceivers, Art Forgery and Identity in the Nineteenth Century,* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006).

[57] Friday 27th November 1835, Letters from Henry Broadwood to 2nd Earl of Lonsdale, D/LONS/1/2/113, *CRO*.

[58] Paris, Friday 20 November 1835, *Diary 41*. D/LONS/L2/25-44, *CRO*.

[59] It is likely that Max is referring to the death of the French Royal family and the fall of the *ancien régime,* as Sèvres porcelain was so closely linked to their history. Paris, November 1835, *Diary 41*. D/LONS/L2/25-44, *CRO*.

[60] Paris, Tuesday 12 October 1837, *Diary 44*. D/LONS/L2/44-63, *CRO*. From the early 1760s onwards it was a common and fashionable excursion for British visitors to Paris to visit the Sèvres manufactory, see for example: Horace Walpole, *Paris Journals,* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1939), 40.

knowledge and development as a connoisseur.[61] At this time in fact only a few collectors were known for their good sense of judgment, notably in his *Journal* Thomas Raikes discussed the collector Beau Brummell (1778-1840) as being 'a fair judge of paintings, but particularly of Sevres china'.[62] Lonsdale quickly developed his own individual object knowledge and as early as 1836 could identify Vincennes pieces from later Sèvres examples, as he wrote out a list of pieces he had 'sent from Paris' which listed 'an ecuelle—Vincennes'.[63] This level of classification was quite advanced for the time, as Vincennes pieces, dating from the 1740s, are normally unmarked, or only marked with interlaced L's and normally no date mark letter is given as letters were only introduced from 1754 onwards in the final two years before the move to Sèvres.[64] As such the ability to correctly identify Vincennes relied solely on a haptic and visual knowledge of the translucency and soft feel of the early paste, the slightly limited colour palette and the more naturalistic and sparse Rococo decoration used during the early days of the manufactory.

Against this background it is useful to briefly consider Lonsdale's relationships with Broadwood and Baldock in more detail. By the 1830s Broadwood had already established a significant collection of Sèvres porcelain and eighteenth-century French painting, including works by Jean-Siméon Chardin, Jean-Honoré Fragonard, Jean-Marc Nattier and François Boucher.[65] Due to financial difficulties Broadwood held several small sales

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[61] By the nineteenth century, many visitors came to the manufactory to view the hard paste manufacture process as well as the historical collection. See for example: Emma Willard, *Journal and Letters: From France and Great-Britain*, (Paris: N. Tuttle, 1833), 121-125; Francis Coghlan, *Hand-book for European Tourists,* (London: H. Hughes, 1845), 390.

[62] Thomas Raikes, *A Portion of the Journal Kept by Thomas Raikes, Esq., from 1831 to 1847,* published posthumously, 1856-1857, (London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longman, 1856), 326.

[63] 'Sent From Paris', concluding pages*, Diary 42*. D/LONS/L2/25-44, *CRO.*

[64] Date letters were not used on Vincennes porcelain until the end of 1753. From 1754 onwards an alphabetical arrangement was introduced whereby A is 1754, B is 1755, C is 1756, and so on. For more information, please see: David Peters, *Sèvres plates and services of the eighteenth century,* (London: French Porcelain Society, 2015), Vol I.

[65] According to the art historian Jon Whiteley, these painters were much less common amongst collectors in the 1830s and 1840s in comparison with Jean-Antoine Watteau or Jean-Baptiste

in 1831 and 1832, and then larger ones during 1836 and 1837, with Lonsdale purchasing the majority of his collection.[66] On 8 June 1836, Broadwood included some of his Sèvres in a Christie's auction containing 30 lots that were described as being 'an exquisite collection of rare old Sèvres Porcelain'.[67] The original copy of the catalogue held at Christie's Archives in London shows that 'Lord L', which Christie's referred to Lonsdale as, purchased Lots 13 to 30.[68] Therefore by 1836, Lonsdale was acquiring Sèvres porcelain which belonged previously to his friend and advisor, suggesting how highly he viewed Broadwood's judgement. The following year Broadwood also sold his residence No.15 Carlton House, with most of its contents, to Lonsdale.[69] For example, on 15 July 1837 Lonsdale wrote 'Met Baldock at Broadwood house + looked over what I should like-- & discarded that I did not like'.[70] By December that year the process was complete as noted by the periodical *John Bull* who commented that 'the collection of pictures by Watteau, made at vast expense by Mr.Broadwood, are included in the purchase'.[71] In 1844, when he ascended to the title of the 2nd Earl of Lonsdale the decision was made to also purchase No.14 Carlton Terrace and use the two residences together.[72] Writing about the sale of Broadwood's house and collection art historian Whiteley states that 'to what extent Lowther's interest in eighteenth-century painting was formed by Broadwood or vice versa is impossible to say'.[73] Whiteley's interest is in their shared taste for

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Greuze. Jon Whiteley, 'Collectors of Eighteenth-Century French art in London: 1800-1850', Christoph Martin Vogtherr, (ed.), *Delicious Decadence: The Rediscovery of French Eighteenth-Century Painting,* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), 46.

[66] Jon Whiteley, 'Collectors of Eighteenth-Century French art in London: 1800-1850', 47.

[67] The registry list for 1836 in the archives at Christie's lists sale #42 as the property of Henry Broadwood: 8 June 1836, *A Catalogue of a valuable and very interesting collection of chiefly French pictures the property of a gentleman, changing his residence… Also, an exquisite collection of rare old Sèvres Porcelain. CAL.*

[68] Henry Broadwood Catalogue, 8 June 1836, *CAL*.

[69] 'Lord Lowther has purchased the mansion of Mr Broadwood, M.P. on Carlton-terrace, to which his Lordship has removed from Cleveland-row,' Saturday 9 December, 1837, *Kendal Mercury,* 3.

[70] London, Saturday 15 July 1837, *Diary 44.* D/LONS/L2/44-63, *CRO.*

[71] 3 December, 1837, *John Bull*.

[72] D LONS/L23/1 – Inventories, No.14 and No.15 Carlton Terrace, *CRO*.

[73] Jon Whiteley, 'Collectors of Eighteenth-Century French art in London: 1800-1850', 52.

eighteenth-century painting, although as both were collecting Sèvres porcelain as well, his query can be applied to our purposes. An answer to this uncertainty is revealed within a limited number of previously unknown letters in the archive between Broadwood and Lonsdale which provide a significant insight into their friendship and working relationship.[74] Certainly, Broadwood's activities surpassed the traditional role of a collector providing a fellow collector and friend with advice.[75] Frequently Broadwood wrote to Lonsdale about social outings, women, and contemporary news, but his letters are also dominated with detailed advice and information regarding potential purchases of Sèvres. For example, on Friday 27 November 1835 Broadwood stated: 'I will look round the town for what you want in the Sevres way and you may depend upon my not getting any but the very best'.[76] Additionally at one stage Lonsdale notes down a list of 'receipts from agents' and within this Broadwood is listed as being owed £8300 for that year, although it does not indicate if Broadwood ever received commission for orchestrating such transactions.[77] In light of new archival evidence that this thesis has unearthed, it is possible to draw conclusions which not only further extant scholarship but confirm the collaborative nature of Lonsdale's Sèvres collection. By giving Lonsdale advice as a fellow collector, organising visits to other collections, selling directly to him, and receiving money from Lonsdale in the capacity as an agent for £8300 in just one year, Broadwood certainly helped to form, shape and influence Lonsdale's taste and knowledge of Sèvres.

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[74] Letters from Henry Broadwood to 2nd Earl of Lonsdale, D/LONS/1/2/113*, CRO.*

[75] The cultural historian Marika Keblusek has argued that 'the term "agent" should be interpreted as referring to a *function* rather than to a *profession*'. This idea appears relevant to the evidence supplied here, especially if one considers that Broadwood did not need to earn his money in the role of an agent, in opposition to a professional agent such as Samuel Mawson or Charles Redfern, who both worked for the 4th Marquess of Hertford. Marika Keblusek, *Double Agents: Cultural and Political Brokerage in Early Modern Europe,* (Leiden: BRILL Publishers, 2011), 3. John Ingamells, *The Hertford-Mawson Letters*, (London: The Wallace Collection, 1981), 12.

[76] Friday 27th November 1835, Letters from Henry Broadwood to 2nd Earl of Lonsdale, D/LONS/1/2/113, *CRO*.

[77] 'Receipts from agents', 1848, *Diary 52.* D/LONS/L2/44-63, *CRO.*

Although Lonsdale constantly 'dined at Broadwoods'[78] and his diaries reveal that they socialised together often at theatres, clubs or restaurants, there is no record of such a rapport between himself and Baldock. As Pomian has argued, antique and curiosity dealers operating within the commercial sphere belong to a distinct social structure in comparison to collectors: 'a set of objects assembled in a shop or boutique in order to be sold does not constitute a collection'.[79] As such one could question Baldock's potential financial gain from his commercial relationship with Lonsdale. Baldock's social status must have been elevated and legitimized by his position as 'Chinaman by appointment to his Majesty' which suggests his importance in the commercial trade of Sèvres porcelain and other china in the first half of the nineteenth century.[80] Nonetheless a thorough transcription of Lonsdale's diary indicates that again and again, Lonsdale visited Baldock, and at least every other day he 'went a china hunting with Baldock'.[81] Often on these visits Lonsdale would make purchases, for example in January 1836: on 4 January he visited Baldock and 'j'ai acheté plaques vert de porcelains de Sevres vieux',[82] on 16 January 'je suis alle chez Baldock'[83]; on 18 January 'Baldock est venu aussi',[84] on 21 January 'Called at Baldocks',[85] and on 31 January 'Baldock called here'.[86] Notably, in Spring 1836, Lonsdale insisted that Baldock came with him to Paris. It is from this stage onwards when Lonsdale's impassioned collecting for 'old' Sèvres and determination to improve his knowledge intensified, aided by the written advice which he received in

[78] London, Wednesday, 1 March 1837, *Diary 41.* D/LONS/L2/25-44, *CRO*.
[79] Krzysztof Pomian, *Collectors and Curiosities: Paris and Venice, 1500-1800, trans.* Elizabeth Wiles-Portier, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990), 260.
[80] D/LONS/L3/5/217, in his bills to Lonsdale Baldock describes himself as 'Chinaman by appointment to his Majesty', *CRO.*
[81] Paris, Friday 25 November 1836, *Diary 43.* D/LONS/L2/25-44, *CRO.*
[82] 'I bought old green Sèvres plaques', London, Monday 4 January 1836, *Diary 42.* D/LONS/L2/25-44, *CRO.*
[83] 'I visited Baldock', London, Saturday 16 January 1836, *Diary 42.* D/LONS/L2/25-44, *CRO.*
[84] 'Baldock came along too', London, Monday 18 January 1836, *Diary 42.* D/LONS/L2/25-44, *CRO.*
[85] London, Wednesday 21 January 1836, *Diary 42.* D/LONS/L2/25-44, *CRO.*
[86] London, 31 January 1836, *Diary 42.* D/LONS/L2/25-44, *CRO.*

Broadwood's letters, and Baldock's presence as he accompanied Lonsdale around Paris in search of Sèvres. During the trip Lonsdale wrote: 'Met Baldock + so I got through two or three shops without buying anything – so much saved'.[87] It appears that Baldock not only offered knowledge but in some way regulated the amount of money that Lonsdale spent on Sèvres, although this could be motivated by his desire to sell pieces to Lonsdale instead, it does suggest a commitment to helping Lonsdale acquire the best pieces. Frequently Baldock also arranged visits for Lonsdale to dealers or collectors who had particular pieces for sale, including a pair of *Vase des âges à têtes d'enfants* (Fig. XVI):

> Baldock called [……] went with him to see the vases of Houssy[88] at the Porte Chinois opposite. He has two perlé dark blue vases, for which he asked 6500 francs. Some orange flower stands & two fine large plates framed.[89]

Throughout the early nineteenth century Baldock had developed close working relationships with a network of aristocratic collectors built on trust and aided by his expertise of objects.[90] Baldock was often called in to act as a mender, cleaner, or as a removal firm in order to pack or unload china for aristocratic collectors, for example in 1833 he charged the 5th Duke of Buccleuch £8 for a 'man packing a quantity of china at Montagu House'.[91] In August 1837, a bill reveals that Lonsdale used Baldock as a

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[87] Paris, Saturday, 9 April, 1836. *Diary 42.* D/LONS/L2/25-44, *CRO*.

[88] Tamara Préaud has discovered that the two pearl dark blue vases remained unsold in Housset's March 1836 auction sale, most likely due to their price.

[89] Savill has identified that they were definitely purchased by Lonsdale and they are now in the J.Paul Getty Museum. See for example, Tamara Préaud, 'Sèvres and Paris auction sales 1800-1847', *The International Ceramics Fair and Seminar Handbook,* 1991, 27-34; Rosalind Savill, 'A profusion of fine old Sèvres china', 256; Adrian Sassoon, *Vincennes and Sèvres Porcelain,* (LA: J.Paul Getty Museum, 1991), 135-136. Paris, April 1836. *Diary 42*. D/LONS/L2/25-44, *CRO*.

[90] Notably, when Baldock retired from his profession in May 1843, he sent letters to several key collectors including the Duke of Hamilton, Lord Lonsdale, Duke of Buccleuch, amongst others thanking them for their custom, trust and offering low prices for his remaining stock. For example, Baldock wrote to Hamilton: 'expressing a hope that during the time we have been honored with your custom, we have succeeded in giving your grace satisfaction'. Hamilton Papers, NRAS2177/BUNDLE 955, *National Records of Scotland.*

[91] 30 July 1833, Bill from Edward Holmes Baldock to 5th Duke of Buccleuch, charged for a 'man packing a quantity of china at Montagu House- £8'. BS1.27/8, *Boughton House Archives.*

removal firm between Cleveland Row to 15 Carlton Terrace,[92] whilst another indicates that Baldock charged £6 for 'cleaning china'.[93] Notably, Baldock was involved in designing the cabinets for Lonsdale's displays of porcelain in Carlton Terrace and on 18 February 1836 charged Lonsdale £4.5.0 for 'mounting a blue Sevres tea pot as a vase, cutting off handle and spout, mounting and gilding the mounts'.[94] Such a procedure also confirms scholarship put forward by the likes of Rosalind Savill and Geoffrey de Bellaigue who have highlighted the importance of being aware of nineteenth-century descriptions of Sèvres porcelain, as most likely this teapot that was 'doctored' by Baldock into a vase would have been sold in Lonsdale's later auction sales as an original and authentic example of a Sèvres vase.[95] Nonetheless whilst de Bellaigue lays blame on dealers and the lack of reliable descriptions in auction sale catalogues, in our case, responsibility must be attached to the collector as well, once again suggesting a more collaborative form of collecting than scholars have considered previously. When Baldock died in 1845, his son replaced him in continuing to offer advice and support to Lonsdale. Lonsdale and Edward Baldock Jnr developed a friendship, eating dinner together at the Carlton Club,[96] horseracing at Tring with the Rothschilds,[97] and on one occasion Lonsdale wrote that he gave 'Baldock my box at the opera'.[98] It is perhaps not a surprise to see that Lonsdale's relationship with Edward Baldock Jnr was very different due to the latter's involvement in the social practice of politics, considered to be an activity befitting of a wealthy gentleman.

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[92] '2 men with horse & cart… from Cleveland Row to Carlton Terrace'; D/LONS/L3/5/217, 28 August 1837, Baldock. *CRO*.
[93] D/LONS/L3/5/217, 13 March 1841, Baldock. *CRO*.
[94] D/LONS/L3/5/217, 18 February 1836, Baldock. *CRO*.
[95] Geoffrey de Bellaigue, 'Philippe-Claude Maelrondt', *Burlington Magazine*, vol. CXLVI, no 1215 (June 2004), 386-95.
[96] London, 5 June 1855, *Diary 55.* D/LONS/L2/44-63, *CRO*.
[97] 'Went to Tring with Baldock,' London, 2 November 1855, *Diary 55.* D/LONS/L2/44-63, *CRO*.
[98] London, Tuesday, 28 July 1856, *Diary 56.* D/LONS/L2/44-63, *CRO*.

Networks of Acquisition: Paris and London

Now that the collaborative collecting networks between Lonsdale, Broadwood and Baldock have been established, this investigation considers their methods of acquisition within the geographical and economic networks of the Paris and London art markets during this time. In doing so established narrative frameworks regarding the historiography of these art markets will also be problematized. Primarily, scholarship has suggested that Paris showed no interest in eighteenth-century Sèvres until at least the 1860s and that in Britain prices and demand for Sèvres slowed down in the 1820s, culminating in the death of King George IV in 1830.[99]

Paris

A critical engagement of the collaborative networks of Lonsdale, Broadwood and Baldock within the context of the 1830s and 1840s Paris art market, can call into question canonical accounts by historians such as Gerald Reitlinger.[100] Previously in his well-regarded *Economics of Taste*, Reitlinger suggested a lack of interest and low economic value for 'old' Sèvres in Paris at this time, claiming falsely that: 'the Paris market had disdained the English taste for eighteenth-century Sèvres during the first sixty years of the century, and Paris prices had almost invariably been lower'.[101] Instead, the rising price and demand for Sèvres, symptomatic of changing collecting paradigms in Paris, and the competitive rivalry amongst collecting networks shines through Lonsdale's archive. This

[99] See for example: Julia Armstrong-Totten, 'John Smith', Inge Reist, (ed.), *British Models of Art Collecting and the American Response,* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2014), 91; Gerald Reitlinger, *The Economics of Taste*, in Three Volumes, Vol. II, (London: Barrie and Rockcliff, 1961-70), 159.
[100] Gerald Reitlinger, *The Economics of Taste*, 159.
[101] Gerald Reitlinger, *The Economics of Taste*, 157-159.

provides alternative primary evidence which is underpinned by socio-cultural frameworks and situated in greater historical specificity. From the close of the Napoleonic Wars onwards the Parisian art market for eighteenth-century decorative art had grown, encouraged by a number of public auctions and growing competition amongst collecting networks. Many of these auctions took place at the Quai de la Feraille, or at Hotel Bullion which was later moved from 1833 onwards to the Place de la Bourse, at the corner of the rue Notre Dame des Victoires.[102] After attending one auction in Paris in December 1836 Lonsdale explained:

> Went with Lyon to the auction room Rue St Laurents [?] – It was rather good fun. The auctioneer has two pages & things are selected at the choice of the bidders—there was a great cabal against Baldock—one thing they ran him up to a thousand & offered him the same thing at 2000 afterwards--- &another, to 165—not worth above a hundred. I was lucky in getting two cups + saucers + a service within their value.[103]

Here Lonsdale appears to describe 'La Graffinade' which is a French phrase used to describe an auction 'ring'.[104] As the French writer Louis-Sebastian Mercier observed in *Tableau de Paris* in 1781*,* at an auction 'one must always be on the alert' for 'La Graffinade' which:

> consists of a "ring" of dealers who do not outbid each other in the sales...These sharpers thus become masters of the situation, for they manage matters so that no outside buyer can bid above one of their own ring. When a thing has been run up sufficiently high to prevent any outside bidder making a profit, the ring meets privately, and the article is allotted to one of the members.[105]

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[102] Octave Uzanne, 'The Hotel Drouot, and Auction Rooms in Paris Generally, before and after the French Revolution', *The Connoisseur,* May-August 1902, 235-242, 240.
[103] Paris, Thursday, 1 December 1836, *Diary 43.* D/LONS/L2/25-44, *CRO.*
[104] Tom Flyn, *The A-Z of the International Art Market,* (New York: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2016), 74.
[105] For more information, see: Louis-Sebastian Mercier, *Tableau de Paris,* (Virchaux: Paris, 1781); Octave Uzanne, 'The Hotel Drouot, and Auction Rooms in Paris', 237; Shireen Huda, *Pedigree and Panache: A History of the Art Auction in Australia,* (Canberra: The Australian National University Press, 2008), 13-15.

From the late eighteenth century onwards an auction 'ring' was a common practice in Paris and London involving a consortium of dealers who attempted to manipulate the market by agreeing not to bid against each other for certain lots in order to reduce prices, they would then settle the price and subsequent profits during a knockout after the auction had finished.[106] Lonsdale's observations suggest that Baldock was not part of the 'ring' and instead faced competition from several dealers who on this occasion appear to have raised the prices in order 'to prevent any outside bidder making a profit'.[107] Instead, according to Lonsdale, Baldock was given the opportunity to purchase his desired lot at twice the price after the auction had taken place, and any profit from this would have presumably been shared amongst the 'ring'.[108] Such instances must have contributed further to the mania for Sèvres during the 1820s and 1830s in Paris, which was intensified by the increasing presence of French and British collecting networks seeking out 'old' Sèvres.

Whereas from the beginning of the nineteenth century Britain engaged with and actively sought out tangible representations of the *ancien régime,* this was not always the case in Paris. Throughout the first half of the nineteenth century bargains could be found across the city, and Alexandre Lenoir (1761-1839) for instance was known widely for his role in actively acquiring and salvaging objects from the French Revolution.[109] As Tom Stammers has noted, the market for historical objects was encouraged by auction houses such as The Hôtel Drouot which 'acted as the magnet for the refuse of the Revolution,

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[106] For more information regarding this process amongst dealers see: Charles W. Smith, *Auctions: The Social Construction of Value,* (California, The University of California Press, 1990), 70; Mark Westgarth, *The Emergence of the Antique Curiosity Dealer, 1815-c.1850, the Commodification of Historical Objects,* University of Southampton, unpublished Ph.D thesis, 2007, 228.

[107] Louis-Sebastian Mercier, *Tableau de Paris,* (Virchaux: Paris, 1781) quoted in: Octave Uzanne, 'The Hotel Drouot, and Auction Rooms in Paris', 237.

[108] Paris, Thursday, 1 December 1836, *Diary 43.* D/LONS/L2/25-44, *CRO.*

[109] Christopher M. Greene, 'Alexandre Lenoir and the Musée des Monuments Français during the French Revolution', *French Historical Studies* 12.2, Autumn, (1981), 200-222.

sweeping up everything from a cafetiere belonging to Madame du Barry to an edict penned by Fouquier-Tinville'.[110] However it was not until the 1820s when a rising awareness and appreciation for the historical significance of these objects as representative of the *ancien régime* truly emerged. In part this was encouraged by the prosperous stability associated with the Bourbon Restoration from 1814-1830, and the emphasis placed on the former Royals by the current King Louis XVIII, especially with the reburial of Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette at St.Denis and the publication of the memoirs of their only surviving child, Marie-Thérèse, Duchesse d'Angoulême in 1823.[111] A great sense of sadness and loss for the past also permeated the Bourbon Restoration, which may have contributed to a growing desire to save the heritage of France and remember the victims of the *ancien régime* with reverence. Notably, upon seeing some of the living Royal figures in Paris at the beginning of the Bourbon Restoration the writer Emma Sophia, Countess of Brownlow, expressed sympathy for the hardships they had endured, exclaiming that 'I could have wept!'.[112] Similarly, art historian Michael Marrinan has argued that the reclamation of *ancien régime,* Revolutionary, and Napoleonic rhetoric continued during the Orléanist regime from the 1830s onwards, as a political strategy adopted carefully by Louis-Philippe.[113] Writing about the state of collecting in France in 1832 the diarist and traveller Thomas Raikes stated that 'everything now tends to old recollections… Old names, old furniture, old chateaux, old forms and ceremonies, old tapestry, old china, old plate, are now the rage even with the nouveaux riches, and, singular to say, it is English society that has brought about this

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[110] Tom Stammers, 'The Bric-a-Brac of the Old Regime: Collecting and Cultural History in Post-Revolutionary France', *French History*, 22.3, 2008, 295-315, 301.

[111] See for example, Carolyn Harris, *Queenship and Revolution in Early Modern Europe: Henrietta Maria and Marie Antoinette,* (Berlin: Springer, 2016, 199). See for example: Emma Sophia Countess of Brownlow, *Slight Reminiscences of a Septuagenarian from 1802 to 1815,* (London: John Murray, 1867), 84-85.

[112] Emma Sophia Countess of Brownlow, *Slight Reminiscences of a Septuagenarian from 1802 to 1815,* (London: John Murray, 1867), 84-85.

[113] Michael Marrinan, *Painting Politics for Louis-Philippe: Art and Ideology in Orléanist France, 1830-1848,* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), 184-200.

wonderful change here'.[114] By the 1830s at the Sèvres Manufactory, the Director Alexandre Brongniart had received much criticism, both within and outside of France, for his decision to stop the production of *pâte-tendre* pre-Revolutionary porcelain.[115] Brongniart started to regret his treatment of early pieces, especially as he and Denis-Désiré Riocreux sought to establish a ceramics museum at the manufactory. We know from contemporary accounts that there were some examples of 'old' Sèvres on display, for example the writer Emma Willard who visited Sèvres with friends in 1833 explained that they were 'shown a suite of apartments, containing specimens of the porcelain of Sevres as it was made at the commencement of the manufactory; and at different periods since'.[116] However, as discussed in Chapter I, the majority of *pâte-tendre* pieces had been sold off and Brongniart even admitted that if he had acted differently 'this patriarchal part of our museum would not be so impoverished'.[117] Such a shift in taste was symptomatic of a wider change in the cultural framework towards a greater appreciation for the recent historical past within France. From 1833 onwards King Louis Philippe sought to establish a French history museum in Versailles dedicated to 'all the glories of France' and this was opened officially on 10 June 1837.[118] Additionally, in 1838 Alexandre du Sommerard (1779-1842) published *Les Arts au Moyen Age,* the first of several volumes on medieval objects, many of which could be seen in his Musée de Cluny, which had been open to the public since 1834, coinciding with the foundation in the same year of the Commission des Monuments Historiques.[119] An upsurge in historical thinking in Paris, and a growing

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[114] 4 May, 1836, Thomas Raikes, *Portion of the Journal Kept by Thomas Raikes*, 411.
[115] Tamara Préaud and Derek E. Ostergard, *The Sèvres Porcelain Manufactory*, 124.
[116] Emma Willard, Monday 13 December, 1833, *Journal and Letters: From France and Great-Britain*, (Paris: N.Tuttle, 1833), 124.
[117] Tamara Préaud and Derek E. Ostergard, *The Sèvres Porcelain Manufactory: Alexandre Brongniart and the Triumph of Art and Industry*, (New York: Bard Graduate Center for Studies in the Decorative Arts, 1999), 53 and 142.
[118] Jacques Levron, *The Royal Chateaux of the Ile-de-France*, (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1965), 66.
[119] Stephen Bann, 'Historical Text and Historical Object: The Poetics of the Musée de Cluny,' *History and Theory,* Vol.17, No.3 (October., 1978), 251-266, 252; Daniel Sherman, *Worthy*

need to recollect *ancien régime* France through its material culture, could therefore be seen as acting in parallel with a rising interest in 'old' Sèvres. Other contemporaries also noticed this changing taste, including Baron Lionel de Rothschild who in 1831 wrote to his mother Hanna from Paris stating 'Be so good to let me know if you would like some old inlaid furniture, a secretaire or commode made in the time of Louis XV. Here these things are quite the rage, or if you would prefer, some old Sevres China'.[120] Similarly, the diarist Thomas Raikes, travelling in France in 1836 admitted that:

> …years ago, when we [the English] were buying up with eagerness the buhl, the Sevres, the bronzes, and other objects of taste, the French would ridicule our fancy for vieilleries and rococo, now they are collecting them with the greatness eagerness, and the prices are more than doubled.[121]

Likewise, in a diary entry on 25 August 1836 Lonsdale wrote that the English dealer Jarman thought that 'the Sevres china was nearly exhausted at Paris & that he [Jarman] should send his china from London to be sold here'.[122] As the cultural fabric of Paris changed it impacted greatly on British collecting networks, who until this stage had received little competition in Paris. Collectors continued to visit Paris, hoping to find pieces which had not circulated the open market during the French Revolution and Napoleonic Wars. Notably in August 1842 Baron Lionel de Rothschild wrote to his wife that 'I went to Mme. Delaunay for an instant. She has the two green Sevres vases which are pretty good'.[123] French art market historian Manuel Charpy has acknowledged the true *mélange* of objects at auction in Paris during this time which were announced in *la*

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monuments: art museums and the politics of culture in nineteenth-century France (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1989).

[120] 17 April 1831, Letter from Lionel de Rothschild to Hanna de Rothschild, (109/24/42). *RTA.*

[121] Thomas Raikes, *A Portion of the Journal Kept by Thomas Raikes*, 361.

[122] Paris, 25 August 1836, *Diary 42.* D/LONS/L2/25-44, *CRO.*

[123] Letter from Lionel de Rothschild to Charlotte von Rothschild, 18 August 1842, (RFamC/4/33), *RTA.*

Revue des Deux Mondes and frequently included 'vase de Sèvres'.[124] Once collector demand for Sèvres increased, so too did its economic cost. As *Cousin Pons* exclaimed in Balzac's novel of 1847, 'a complete dinner service of Sevres pate tendre for twelve persons is not merely worth a hundred thousand francs, but that is the price charged on the invoice'.[125] By the mid-1850s Charpy states that 'le vieux Sèvres surtout, cet introuvable phénix de la porcelaine, arrive à des évaluations réellement fabuleuses'.[126] With this in mind, it is possible to align the Parisian art market with the growing phenomenon of 'Sèvres-mania' as British and French collecting networks battled against each other to secure the rarest pieces of 'old' Sèvres, at the best prices.

Subsequently, Lonsdale's lengthy and collaborative acquisition process can be better understood when situated within this broader socio-cultural and economic framework of rising prices and greater rivalry amongst collecting networks. In fact, it was whilst visiting Paris that Lonsdale decided to dedicate himself to the collecting of Sèvres in September 1835, when he met an unnamed friend who 'mentioned a beautiful service of china.'[127] From the 8 October 1835 Lonsdale started visiting china shops by himself.[128] His first venture took place in Bordeaux: 'je suis aller avec Des G (?) chez la marchand de curiosités et il avait deux pieces de Sevres'.[129] As the weeks continued Lonsdale viewed a French porcelain collection in an old gentleman's house in Bordeaux,[130] and on 17 October in Paris purchased twenty-four pieces of turquoise blue Sèvres porcelain from

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[124] Manuel Charpy, *Le théâtre des objets. Espaces privés, culture matérielle et identité sociale.* Paris, 1830-1914, Université François-Rabelais de Tours, unpublished Ph.D thesis, 2010, 513-514.
[125] Honoré de Balzac, *Le Cousins Pons,* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1950), 49.
[126] 'Above all, Old Sèvres, that untouchable Phoenix of porcelain, attains the most fabulous evaluations and prices [at auction]'. Manuel Charpy, *Le théâtre des objets. Espaces privés, culture matérielle et identité sociale.* Paris, 1830-1914, Université François-Rabelais de Tours, unpublished Ph.D thesis, 2010, 513-514.
[127] Paris, Wednesday, 22 September, 1835, *Diary 41.* D/LONS/L2/25-44, *CRO.*
[128] France, 8 October, 1835, *Diary 41.* D/LONS/L2/25-44, *CRO.*
[129] 'I went with Des G (?) to the antique shop and I had myself two pieces of Sèvres'. Bordeaux, 8 October, 1835, *Diary 41.* D/LONS/L2/25-44, *CRO.*
[130] Bordeaux, 28 Wednesday October 1835, *Diary 41.* D/LONS/L2/25-44, *CRO.*

Max of 21 Rue Neuve du Luxembourg, who described himself as a *'marchand d'objets d'Art et de Curiosité* (Fig.XVII).[131] On Thursday 5 November 1835 Lonsdale was instructed that the French dealer Madame Jamar had 'made some good purchases near town [Paris]'.[132] This prompted Lonsdale to pay her a visit on Friday 6 November 1835: 'Looked over some old china shops—articles not good prices high—Madame Jamar the best'.[133] The following day Lonsdale claimed proudly that 'I visited some china shops—as yet I have not been extravagant'.[134] Over the coming months, Lonsdale was obsessed with the price of Sèvres, claiming on Wednesday 18 November 1835 that he 'visited the china shops—they are too dear- to even make an offer'.[135] However on 21 November when Lonsdale returned to Madame Jamar's shop he learned that his hesitation had cost him: 'went to to Madame Jamar to get my china—I regretted I did not get her cups, van Demidoff [sic] bought it over my head'.[136] By the middle of November 1835, after having spent over a month collecting alone, and perhaps feeling overshadowed by more experienced rivals, like van Demidoff, Lonsdale sent letters to Broadwood to seek out his advice.[137] The earliest surviving letter from Henry Broadwood to Lonsdale is dated 20 November 1835:

> I have just read your two letters together- Max has the best Sèvres of any of the people in Paris always, but he asks generally expensive prices – on this account I have been un-able to do much with him—He counts before Baldock's taking all off his hands 'en bloc' when he cannot sell at these prices…I have never yet seen any ice pails with more than 35 £ each, I have no doubt that you have seen a very fine, but (not having seen them I should not advise your giving more than 1500 fr. For the complete pair)—I should think Max is too good a

[131] D/LONS/L3/5/218, Max, 17 October 1835. *CRO.*
[132] Paris, Friday 5 November 1835, *Diary 41.* D/LONS/L2/25-44, *CRO.*
[133] Paris, Friday 6 November 1835, *Diary 41.* D/LONS/L2/25-44, *CRO.*
[134] Paris, Saturday 7 November 1835, *Diary 41.* D/LONS/L2/25-44, *CRO.*
[135] Paris, Wednesday 18 November 1835, *Diary 41.* D/LONS/L2/25-44, *CRO.*
[136] Paris, Saturday 21 November 1835, *Diary 41.* D/LONS/L2/25-44, *CRO.* Most likely Lonsdale is referring to Anatole Demidoff, also known as the Prince of San Donato, who was a member of a wealthy Russian family.
[137] These letters have been previously undiscovered until now. For clarity, anything in underlined font reflects what was underlined by Broadwood once in the original letter, and anything in bold font reflects what what underlined twice or something three times by Broadwood in his letter, D/LONS/1/2/113, *CRO.*

> vendre to market them if they are [not] perfect. The **finest** Sèvres always booms in value in that way.
>
> madam jamar's you must take care of- she is a regular do, & makes more **old** sevres & doctors more, — than anyone else in Europe. — Her place makes a great show but she has seldom anything very good I think I recall the plates, that they are good – but 80 fr! Why the very finest bleu I think would hardly bring the money in London! The very outside of what they can be worth is 50 or 55 fr. She had some fine knife handles like those you had but of Jarman for paper knives some time ago.[138]

This previously unknown correspondence between Lonsdale and Broadwood reveals a collective dialogue, as Broadwood offers advice in an amicable and often authoritative way, as a friend and fellow collector, with shared social status. By the time Lonsdale received Broadwood's letter he had already made several purchases from Max, although no ice pails were acquired (Fig.XVI). Lonsdale does mention these at the back of his diary and refers to their Royal associations describing 'Three beautiful ice pails with the initials of Prince Louis de Rohan'.[139] Certainly Broadwood encouraged the purchase, reassuring Lonsdale that good quality Sèvres 'blooms in value'.[140] Revealed here is the collaborative acquisition process undertaken by Lonsdale as his archive indicates that he did indeed take Broadwood's advice.[141] Governed by the changing cultural and social fabric of Paris both Broadwood and Baldock also commented frequently on the economic

[138] 20 November Friday 1835**,** Letters from Henry Broadwood to 2nd Earl of Lonsdale, D/LONS/1/2/113, *CRO*.
[139] Back of Diary, *Diary 41*. D/LONS/L2/25-44, *CRO*.
[140] 20 November Friday 1835*, Diary 40*. D/LONS/L2/25-44, *CRO*.
[141] This set of ice pails are mentioned within the 1844 inventory and in the 1879 posthumous auction catalogue as Lot 107 listed as 'A pair of icepails, covers and liners'. *Fine Pictures, Porcelain, & Decorative Objects, The Property of The Right Hon. The Earl of Lonsdale.* Wednesday 5 March and 3 days following, 1879, *CAL*.

value of Sèvres.[142] In his letters Broadwood condemned the French repeatedly for asking 'such foolish prices'[143] and on one juncture advised Lonsdale:

> You will not find any sevres as good or as cheap as in London—it has all been brought to this country years ago & in changing hands here we may get a bargain sometimes but not often—never in Paris.[144]

Broadwood also informed Lonsdale of the additional costs of transporting porcelain back to England: 'You will do better with Baldock than in Paris without the London ship duty'.[145] Indeed, according to the extant bills, Lonsdale regularly owed Baldock for duty and the cost of transporting his china.[146] In another letter, Lonsdale entrusted Broadwood with the task of helping him find a particularly rare bleu céleste Sèvres dinner service in Paris. Lonsdale spent several months pursuing this service, after a French dealer called Floral told him 'she knew of a good service of blue sevres china to sell'.[147] In his reply to Lonsdale, Broadwood stated:

> I do not know what Louis Philippe has—Perrequaix No. 9 Rue de la Chapelle d/l'antier Berthon to the Duchess de Raquen(?) has some fine good pieces, but I never saw a complete service at his house, at which I have dined at many of his grand parties. The Old Chaufferts also has some little good—but I do not know either of a fine service at any rate I will give you a letter to renew acquaintance with her, & if she knows (which is quite probable(?)) such a service, I am quite sure she will be very happy to get if you like it.[148]

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[142] As the cultural theorist Jean Baudrillard has stated the 'exchange value' or economic value of an object is influenced 'by cultural and social criteria'. Jean Baudrillard, 'The System of Collecting', trans. Roger Cardinal, John Elsner and Roger Cardinal, (eds.), *The Cultures of Collecting,* (London: Reaktion Books, 1994), 11.

[143] 27 November 1835, Letters from Henry Broadwood to 2nd Earl of Lonsdale, D/LONS/1/2/113, *CRO*.

[144] No date, Spring 1836 possibly, Letters from Henry Broadwood to 2nd Earl of Lonsdale, D/LONS/1/2/113, *CRO*.

[145] 20 November Friday 1835, Letters from Henry Broadwood to 2nd Earl of Lonsdale, D/LONS/1/2/113, *CRO*.

[146] For example, at the beginning of 1839 Baldock charged him £7.15 for 'duty and expenses on the cases from Marseilles' and £16.18 for 'duty and expenses on goods from Paris'. D/LONS/L3/5/217, 31 January 1839, Baldock, *CRO*.

[147] Paris, Monday 16 November 1835. *Diary 41*. D/LONS/L2/25-44, *CRO*.

[148] 27 Friday November 1835, Letters from Henry Broadwood to 2nd Earl of Lonsdale, D/LONS/1/2/113, *CRO*.

Broadwood not only offered Lonsdale advice therefore he also orchestrated introductions to particular dealers, as well as families who may have retained pieces in their collections from before the Revolutionary wars. By the end of Lonsdale's first few months collecting in Paris, and despite the competitive rivalry and apparently high prices, Lonsdale amassed a significant collection of Sèvres porcelain, totalling 389 pieces (Appendix I).[149]

London

Using Lonsdale's collaborative collection as a starting point, a close inspection of the economic and cultural networks of London shows several synergies with Paris during the 1830s and 1840s. The 1830s in Britain, we are often told in scholarship, were low periods of economic exchange activity on the art market, since the death of King George IV in June 1830.[150] Even before the King's death, Gerald Reitlinger has argued that significant financial struggles influenced the collecting of art in England.[151] To illustrate this point however Reitlinger relied on the fall in price for a rare *Rose Pompadour* dessert service which was on sale in 1809 priced at £630 for the whole service in the shop window of the china-dealer Robert Fogg.[152] This was then purchased by Lord Gwydry, one can only presume he paid the asking price, and upon his death in 1829 Reitlinger announced that 'seventy-seven survivors of this service were sold at Christie's for £350…. it must not be supposed that the advance of Sèvres in the nineteenth century was continuous.'[153] However Reitlinger did not consider that only some of the service was sold off in 1829, and moreover, the total realised from Gwydry's auction was £3,445 and some of the key

[149] This included garnitures, déjeuners and two extensive Dinner and Dessert services listed in the concluding pages of *Diary 41*. Back of Diary, *Diary 41.* D/LONS/L2/25-44, *CRO.*
[150] Julia Armstrong-Totten, 'John Smith', Inge Reist, (ed.), *British Models of Art Collecting and the American Response,* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2014), 91.
[151] Gerald Reitlinger, *The Economics of Taste*, 157-159.
[152] Gerald Reitlinger, *The Economics of Taste*, 157.
[153] Gerald Reitlinger, *The Economics of Taste*, 157.

lots sold were Sèvres, many of which were bought up by Baldock, on behalf of King George IV.[154] Additionally, Reitlinger, presumably relying on scholarship which has prioritised the Prince Regent as the main exponent in the taste for collecting Sèvres in the early nineteenth century, has claimed that 'the death of the King inaugurated an era of rather more humdrum prices for Sèvres'.[155] However once again, this investigation provides an alternative to the existing narrative structures within historiography by considering transactions which occurred outside of the auctions examined by Reitlinger. In London, Lonsdale frequently spent significant amounts of money to secure his purchases of Sèvres porcelain. For example, in January 1836 alone he paid £291.3.9 for Sèvres, spending £70 on just one 'very fine turquoise jardinière' from Baldock.[156] Yet only a month or so before this Lonsdale purchased an entire set of 'very richly carved Louis XIV chairs with a large sofa and a set of 5 carved and gilt window cornices' for £160.0.0 from S.H. Pratt, 47 Bond Street.[157] This is not to suggest that as prices for eighteenth-century furniture were lower there was less of an interest in them on the art market, but more so to highlight the high prices which Lonsdale was content to pay in order to acquire just one or two pieces of Sèvres. Such evidence further indicates that as a collector Lonsdale was invested in these objects, no matter the price. For instance, that January he also admitted in his diary 'that every time he visits 'chez Baldock, c'est difficile d'aller la, sans depenser cent Louis'.[158] His inability to visit Baldock without making a purchase of a piece of Sèvres is further emphasised by a bill entitled 'China Ornaments' which states that in just one year between 1839 and 1840 Lonsdale spent £1564 on porcelain from Baldock.[159] In London, Lonsdale also developed a close

[154] It is also important to note than Reitlinger does not take into consideration fluctuations in inflation rates or economic growth.
[155] Gerald Reitlinger, *The Economics of Taste*, in Three Volumes, 157.
[156] D/LONS/L3/5/217, 25 January 1839, Baldock, *CRO.*
[157] D/LONS/L3/5/222, 1835, S.H. Pratt, *CRO.*
[158] 'At Baldock's, it's difficult to go there without spending out one hundred pounds'. London, Thursday, 7 January 1836, *Diary 42.* D/LONS/L2/25-44, *CRO.*
[159] D/LONS/L3/5/217, 'China Ornaments 1839-1840', Baldock, *CRO.*

relationship with the dealer John Jarman, thanks largely to Broadwood but perhaps also influenced by the fact that in 1836, Jarman was listed at 30 St James's Street Pall Mall, within close walking distance of Lonsdale's Carlton House Terrace.[160] In Spring 1836 for example Broadwood advised Lonsdale:

> My dear Lord L,
>
> > Jarman has 14 very beautiful dinner plates best work of sevres- which would match the coffee cups and your load of Berri,[161] he has also about as many more, as good, but not quite the same patterns, they have all flowers & birds. He has also a good 'Sucrier' as well as two of the most beautiful tureens I ever saw. – He asks too much for them, I think (about 100 £) they will not be sold before you return & then you will I have no doubt be able to make a bargain with him you (will) like them- The plates he asks £3.10 each for & would take a little less I have no doubt- you will do better here than in Paris with such things & the amateurs are not half so eager to buy- They will all keep until your return.[162]

Broadwood's function as a cultural mediator is evident here as he involved himself directly in the process of sourcing and acquiring suitable pieces for Lonsdale. Indeed, we could speculate that Lonsdale paid Broadwood as an agent for excursions such as these.[163] Here, Broadwood comments on the quality and price of the Sèvres, and additionally makes judgments on Lonsdale's behalf that he will indeed like them. This exchange also indicates the role played by a dealer such as Jarman, whom, as the letter details, Broadwood managed to convince not to sell off this Sèvres until after Lonsdale's return to London. Once the extant bills are consulted it becomes obvious that Broadwood's well-orchestrated arrangement succeeded as on 4 July 1836 Lonsdale bought from Jarman

[160] St James's Street off Pall Mall was just around the corner from Carlton House Terrace, which was also off Pall Mall. Jarman was located there in the 1820s and in 1836: Mark Westgarth, *A Biographical Dictionary of Nineteenth Century Antique and Curiosity Dealers,* (Glasgow: Regional Furniture, 2009), 124.
[161] Here it is likely Broadwood is referring to rose du barry ground Sèvres.
[162] No date, Spring 1836 possibly, Letters from Henry Broadwood to 2nd Earl of Lonsdale, D/LONS/1/2/113, *CRO*.
[163] 'Receipts from agents', 1848, *Diary 52*. D/LONS/L2/44-63, *CRO.*

'Two Sevres Tureens Covers & Stands figures grand medallions' for £84.0.0. and '13 Dinner Plates for £50.8.0'.[164]

Furthermore, the 1830s also saw a number of new collectors who started to develop specialised Sèvres collections, including Lonsdale, Broadwood, Charles Mills, and the 5th Duke and Duchess of Buccleuch. For example, although due to financial restraints George 'Beau' Brummell was forced to sell his Sèvres collection in 1830, many of his pieces were collected for significant sums by other collectors. On the advice of Major Chambre, Brummell had sold his collection to an auctioneer called Mr Crockford junior who travelled to Calais to retrieve the pieces: 'Mr Crockford described the china as "the finest and purest ever imported into England"…some of these rare specimens of porcelain are now in the collection of the Duke of Buccleuch'.[165] In fact, several of these pieces were collected by the 5th Duke and Duchess of Buccleuch from November 1830 to 1833, although according to extant bills in the archives at Boughton House they were sold via Edward Holmes Baldock not Crockford, from whom Baldock presumably purchased the pieces in question.[166]

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Networks of Display: Lonsdale and his Contemporaries

As architectural historian Dana Arnold has discussed, frequently in the nineteenth century the homes of private collections 'became sites of display…sites of cultural value and the

[164] 4 July 1836 Jarman Bill, D/LONS/L3/5/217, *CRO*.
[165] Joseph Marryat, *Collections Towards a History of Pottery and Porcelain*, (London: J. Murray, 1850), 202.
[166] For example, the Buccleuch's purchased 'a splendid turquoise ground sevres dessert service painted in bouquets of flowers' from Baldock in November 1830, which cost £1150. 5th Duke and Duchess of Buccleuch, BS1.27/8. *Boughton House Archives.*

display of material culture of past societies'.[167] In the early nineteenth century the display of Sèvres was restricted to the domestic interiors of the aristocratic classes, and those who occupied such spaces on a social and intellectual basis. As art historian Katie Scott has observed, 'decorative arts, unlike design, necessarily have strong locational value; they belong to particular places'.[168] Scott takes as her starting point the sociological understanding of interior space as a manifestation of the habitus as defined by Pierre Bourdieu.[169] As Bourdieu has stated, the habitus is engrained in ideological societal structures and has the ability to convey social meaning and identity, particularly within the domestic interior: 'home decoration are opportunities to experience or assert one's position in social space'.[170] By viewing the interior domestic space as a means of performing and reproducing the habitus, social structure is created through the practice of display.[171] Building on this we can interrogate the relationship between social meanings of consumption, use and display within the domestic interior. According to Benjamin Disraeli in 1850, Lonsdale's interiors were covered in 'saloons of pink tapestry, Sevres china, Venetian bookcases, & medallions by Watteau and Boucher'.[172] Art historians such as Jon Whiteley have claimed that 'the new interest in Boucher and the artists of his time in this period developed as an adjunct to a deeper enthusiasm for French ceramics'.[173] In fact, Whiteley has also argued that in the 1840s Sèvres porcelain became a necessary addition to collections of eighteenth-century French painting, although in this

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[167] Dana Arnold, *Re-Presenting the Metropolis,* (London: Routledge, 2017 edition), 107.
[168] Katie Scott, 'Image-Object-Space', *Art History,* Association of Art Historians, (2005), 136-150, 137; Orest Ranum has also argued that furniture and other pieces of decorative art can transform intimate domestic spaces, Orest Ranum, 'The Refuges of Intimacy', in *A History of Private Life,* Vol. III, *Passions of the Renaissance,* ed., R. Chartier, (Cambridge MA: 1989), 210.
[169] Katie Scott, 'Image-Object-Space', 147.
[170] Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1984), 57.
[171] Katie Scott, 'Image-Object-Space', 147.
[172] Letter from Disraeli to Lady Londonderry, 2 August 1850, *Benjamin Disraeli Letters: 1848-1851,* (London: University of Toronto Press, 1993, edition by John Gunn), 341.
[173] Although Whiteley sheds light on the importance of French ceramics, as a historian of paintings he does not offer any further commentary on the relationship between the collecting of eighteenth-century French decorative art and painting at this time. Jon Whiteley, 'Collectors of Eighteenth-Century French art in London: 1800-1850', 51-53.

particular case Lonsdale certainly bought Sèvres first.[174] By considering the display of other early nineteenth-century Sèvres collectors alongside Lonsdale, a broader sense of the modes of display for 'old' Sèvres can be established which will also help to reconcile the lack of visual archival evidence for Lonsdale's collection. Collectors often created whole rooms dedicated to Sèvres porcelain, such as the Watson-Taylors in the 1820s whose town house 1 Cavendish Square in London had a 'whole room' according to the diarist Harriet Arbuthnot which was 'ornamented with Sèvre china, and the frames of the glasses are inlaid with it'.[175] On one occasion *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* visited the London residence of George 'Beau' Brummell and noted that 'Brummell sits contemplative in his room in Chapel Street, Park Lane. A gorgeous room, glittering with exquisite Sèvres china and ormolu'.[176] In many ways, with their dedicated porcelain rooms both Watson-Taylor and Brummell looked back to traditional displays of ceramics in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. For example, in 1702 the designer Daniel Marot designed a porcelain room for Queen Mary's apartments in the Water Gallery at Hampton Court and later in the century Queen Charlotte's breakfast room at Buckingham House displayed her collection of Oriental porcelain.[177] Thomas Raikes too noted in his journal a rather amusing anecdote from Madame de Balby who in June 1835 stayed with a 'Madame de D—' and noted that the house was 'so encumbered with valuable old furniture, Sèvres china…that it is really difficult to move through the apartments'.[178] Likewise, at the sale of Lady Sophia Charlotte Howe and Sir Wathen Waller's porcelain collection in 1836, Mary Berry exclaimed that she went 'to see the wonderful collection

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[174] Jon Whiteley, 'Collectors of Eighteenth-Century French art in London: 1800-1850', 51-53.
[175] Harriet Arbuthnot, *The Journal of Mrs Harriet Arbuthnot, 1820-1832,* Vol. 1, (London: Macmillan, 1950), 84.
[176] *Harper's New Monthly Magazine,* Vol. 11, 1855, 189.
[177] Moira Vincentelli, *Women and Ceramics: Gendered Vessels,* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 114.
[178] June 1835, there is no indication given to the identity of 'Madame de D—'. Thomas Raikes, *A Portion of the Journal Kept by Thomas Raikes, Esq., from 1831-1847,* published posthumously, 1856-1857, (London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longman, 1856), 266.

of old Sèvres china at his house at Twickenham, to which he has added I know not how many rooms, all filled with china, the finest I have ever seen, even in France'.[179]

Many other nineteenth-century collectors including the Prince Regent, Viscount Lascelles and Lord Lonsdale also arranged their Sèvres throughout their interiors. In the 1830s at Dorchester House the 3rd Marquess of Hertford distributed his Sèvres vases and Sèvres-mounted furniture almost equally between his three main reception rooms.[180] This practice was also adopted by Viscount Lascelles whose main residence was Harewood House in London, at the corner of Hanover Square and Harewood Place.[181] It was originally known as Roxburghe House, having been remodelled for the 3rd Duke of Roxburghe in 1776 by Robert Adam (Fig.VII), and an extant inventory reveals that his Sèvres collection was distributed throughout the four main reception rooms.[182] Likewise, John Nash's and William Pyne's detailed views of Carlton House and Windsor Castle in *History of the Royal Residences* from 1819 reveal that Sèvres was displayed on furniture and chimney pieces throughout the interior, including a garniture arranged on a bookcase

[179] Mary Berry, *Journals and Correspondence,* (London: Longmans, Green, 1865), Volume III. London, Thursday 13 April 1837, *Diary 44.* D/LONS/L2/44-63, *CRO.*

[180] According to Barbara Lasic, at Dorchester House, which was the residence of the 3rd Marquess of Hertford: 'The third drawing room boasted a pair of vases and a pair of cups and saucers; the second drawing room two pairs of ewers (one of them C286-7) and three flower vases (C227-9); the principal drawing room five vases (C223-4) and two cups and saucers (C447)'. 1842 Probate Inventory, Barbara Lasic, *The Collecting of eighteenth-century French decorative arts in Britain 1789-1914,* University of Manchester, 2005, unpublished Ph.D thesis, 69.

[181] Although no visual evidence of the interiors of Harewood House survives, the architectural plan of Roxburghe House enables a substantial reconstruction of the interior arrangement and display of Lascelles's art collection (Fig.VIII). It is interesting to note that both Lonsdale and Lascelles preferred to display their Sèvres in their London town house as opposed to Lowther Castle in Cumbria and Harewood House in Yorkshire. Although Lascelles died in 1814, the inventory of his Sèvres porcelain collection at Harewood House may have been taken upon his death.

[182] When the inventory of Harewood House and the architectural plan of Roxburghe House are cross-referenced it appears that there were four reception rooms in total, including the Little Drawing Room, the Middle Drawing Room, the Anteroom and finally, the largest, the Yellow Drawing Room. Harewood House, London, Inventory, 1838, *Harewood House Archives, West Yorkshire;* BL17656, Harewood House, English Heritage, photograph by Bedford Lemere and Company, 5 June 1903. *Historic England Archives, Swindon.*

to the right of the fireplace in the Golden Drawing Room of Carlton House (Fig.XVIII).[183] Such modes of display again echoed eighteenth-century traditions established by aristocrats who arranged ceramics throughout their interiors and placed garnitures in front of a mirror on a chimneypiece or alternatively grouped them together on top of cabinets, bonheur du jours and tables.[184] Lascelles positioned his cabinets or bookcases containing Sèvres in a balanced arrangement, a method also adopted by Lonsdale, which framed the space in a symmetrical way, as often cabinets were arranged either side of the chimney piece, or a window bay.[185] Reflective surfaces such as mirrors must have also intensified the visual effect of Sèvres garnitures with painted images that corresponded with other images within the interior. Mimi Hellman has also argued that when positioned on a fireplace an object's capacity for agency is 'doubled by reflection in the mirror behind them'.[186] In fact, in 1838 when Lonsdale decorated 15 Carlton Terrace which he had purchased from Broadwood the previous year, he added several mirror glasses, as well as adding 'ornaments & gilding of lower panels in all the rooms'.[187] In a list entitled 'to complete my house in London', Lonsdale included 'four looking glasses for the long Room', 'two looking glasses in the north Room', and a 'large plate chimney glass set in wall, 61 X 98' in the South Drawing Room, all of which, according to the 1844 inventory, were rooms that displayed Sèvres.[188] Colour also played an important role in creating a display with visual coherency. For example, the Harewood House inventory details that

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[183] Golden Drawing Room, Carlton House. John Nash and William Pyne, *History of the Royal Residences,* Vol.III, (London: A.Dry, 1819), 56-59.

[184] Rosalind Savill, *The Wallace Collection Catalogue of Sèvres Porcelain,* Vol. I (London: Trustees of the Wallace Collection, 1988), 27; John Whitehead, *The French Interior in the Eighteenth Century,* (New York: Dutton Studio Books, 1993), 29.

[185] Harewood House, London, Inventory, 1838, Little Drawing Room, *Harewood House Archives, West Yorkshire;* Lord Lonsdale, 1844, Inventory, Carlton House Terrace, *CRO.*

[186] Mimi Hellman, 'The Decorated Flame: Firedogs and the Tensions of the Hearth', Martina Droth, *Taking Shape: Finding Sculpture in the Decorative Arts,* (LA: Getty Publications, 2009), 180.

[187] 'Lord Lowther has purchased the mansion of Mr Broadwood, M.P. on Carlton-terrace, to which his Lordship has removed from Cleveland-row,' Saturday 9 December 1837, *Kendal Mercury,* 3; *Diary 46.* D/LONS/L2/44-63, 1838-1839*, CRO.*

[188] 'To Complete my house in London', *Diary 46.* D/LONS/L2/44-63, 1838-1839; china inventory from 1844 D/LONS/L2/3/1/62*, CRO.*

throughout the main reception rooms bright, colourful examples of eighteenth-century *pâte-tendre* Sèvres porcelain rested upon or were displayed within cabinets of rich exotic woods, including mahogany and rosewood, which must have created a bright visual scheme.[189] Notably in the novel *Pin Money* whilst describing the art collection of the widow of Lord Derenzy, the author Catherine Gore noted that there were 'specimens of turquoise Sèvres exceeding the rivalship of Harewood House'.[190] At St Dunstan's Villa in Regent's Park the 2nd Marquess of Hertford and his wife displayed their 'beautiful Sevres Dejeune of the rare apple green ground comprising a large Plateau, cream ewer, saucer (no cover) and 2 cups and saucers painted in medallions after Teniers' in the Green Drawing Room, along with richly-coloured Regency furniture and other examples of Green Sèvres cabinet cups and saucers and turquoise Sèvres vases.[191] These were all situated amongst three pairs of Green silk Windsor curtains, an 'ebony library table with 26 plaques of green Sevres china' and 'a small table of green Sevres china painted with birds'.[192] In the South Drawing Room at Carlton Terrace, Lonsdale also arranged porcelain *en suite* with Sèvres-mounted furniture which included a tulip-wood cabinet by Jean-François Leleu from the 1760s decorated with green Sèvres plaques topped with a gilt-bronze clock alongside this several garnitures of *bleu céleste* and pairs of 'blue and gold vases' were displayed.[193] On various occasions several collectors also visited Lonsdale's collection. For example, in 1842, the diarist Thomas Raikes visited No.15 Carlton House Terrace, Lonsdale's London residence, with the 4th Marquess of Hertford

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[189] Lascelles' preference for Regency decoration, which has been discussed in greater detail by art historian Abigail Harrison Moore, suggests that the majority of these cabinets would have been examples of Regency taste. See for example: Abigail Harrison Moore, *Imagining Egypt: the Regency furniture collections at Harewood House, Leeds and nineteenth century images of Egypt*, University of Southampton, unpublished Ph.D, 2001.

[190] Catherine Gore, *Pin Money: A Novel,* (London: Colburn and Bentley, 1831), 154-155.

[191] 'Inventory of the China removed after the death of the late Marquis of Hertford by order of his executors from the Regents Park villa to Dorchester Houses Park Lane', 1834, HWF/M3/12. *Wallace Collection Archives.*

[192] 'Inventory of the valuable effects at St.Dunstan's villa, Regents Park', HWF/INV/7, 23. *Wallace Collection Archives.*

[193] Inventory, South Drawing Room, Lonsdale Inventory, Carlton House Terrace, *CRO*.

and exclaimed that he saw 'a profusion of fine old Sèvres china, among which the splendid service given by Louis XV. to the Empress Catharine'.[194] Throughout Lonsdale's interiors the inventory reveals that the colour turquoise dominated, especially given his collection of 160 pieces of the *bleu céleste* Sèvres service created for Empress Catherine II of Russia in 1779, which was stolen from the Winter Palace during a fire in 1837 (Fig. XIX)-Fig.XX).[195] By displaying a large number of these pieces together, Lonsdale not only created a display which was aesthetically coherent but he simultaneously aligned himself and his collecting practices with his interest in Royal provenance, primarily motivated by his passion for history and eighteenth-century historical figures, as discussed previously in Chapter I.

The display of 'old' Sèvres by nineteenth century collecting networks within their domestic homes, also points towards the shifting value structures assigned to Sèvres at this time. If positioned on top of cabinets or tables it is quite likely that many of these pieces would have been covered with glass domes for further protection and to emphasise their cultural and aesthetic importance. Throughout the nineteenth century glass domes or glass shades were sold for 'ornaments, specimens & c.'.[196] Such a display strategy must have elevated the cultural and aesthetic value of 'old' Sèvres for viewers, no longer used as per its original function but instead positioned to be inspected as a collected object

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[194] Sunday 3 April, 1842, Thomas Raikes, *A Portion of the Journal Kept by Thomas Raikes*, 199.
[195] On 20 July 1840, an agent Ferdinando Civilotti, through the business of the silver craftsmen Storr and Mortimer on New Bond Street, sold £1,300 worth of the service to Lonsdale, including: 'plusieurs objets en Sevres porcelain, et qui comprends d'autres – cet a dire- trois glaciers, trois compotieres, vingt assiettes, cinq pots a glace'. Rosalind Savill, 'Cameo Fever' Six pieces from the Sevres Porcelain Dinner Service made for Catherine II of Russia, *Apollo,* Vol. CXVI no. 249 Nov. 1982, 304-311. Savill states that within a couple of years, Lonsdale had acquired at least 130 pieces of the set, although Joseph Marryat believed it to be 160, Marryat states that Lonsdale owned '160 pieces of the service of turquoise, already mentioned as having been made by order of the Empress Catherine II. of Russia.' Joseph Marryat, *A History of Pottery and Porcelain,* (London: J.Murray, 3rd edition, 1868), 422.
[196] Advertisements appeared across the century in various newspapers, see for example: Monday 21 January, 1833, *Dublin Evening Mail,* 1; 'Round, oval and square' glass shades were also displayed at the 1851 Great Exhibition, *Official Catalogue of the Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations, 1851,* (London: Spicer Brothers, 1851), 133.

worthy of connoisseurial discussion, as an artwork in its own right.[197] For example, at Carlton House the Prince Regent displayed several pieces of pre-Revolutionary Sèvres under protective glass domes including a pair of *vase à monter* from c.1785.[198] And in Cavendish Square and Erlestoke Park George Watson Taylor and his wife arranged their pieces of Sèvres with glass shades, which were sold alongside the objects themselves in the 1832 George Robins auction sale.[199] Similarly at Attingham Park a watercolour from c.1840-1850 shows biscuit porcelain figures on top of ebony console tables, protected by glass domes, many of which had velvet borders around the rim to protect the furniture (Fig.XXI-XXII). This mode of display persisted throughout the nineteenth century and was adopted as a method of early exhibition display. Several photographs also illustrate that by the 1870s collectors including the 1st Earl of Dudley, Sir Richard Wallace and many of the Rothschild family were still arranging their Sèvres under glass domes (Fig. XXIII).[200]

Against this background it is possible to view the display of Sèvres as a means of social performance.[201] As discussed previously, through Actor-Network-Theory this thesis views Sèvres as a social actor able to interact with collecting networks to constitute cultural meaning and contribute towards knowledge production.[202] In particular, one can

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[197] For example, writing about le Palais de l'Eysée-Bourbon the French publisher Galignani noted that in the Great Saloon 'kept under a glass cover, on the centre table, white Sevres vases, adorned with flower paintings', A. and W. Galignani, *Galignani's Paris Guide: Or, Stranger's Companion Through the French Metropolis*, (Paris: Belin, 1822), 141.

[198] See for example, Geoffrey de Bellaigue, *French Porcelain in the Collection of her Majesty The Queen,* 3 vols., (London: Royal Collection, 2009), FP II.113.

[199] George Robins, *Catalogue of the magnificent assemblage of property at Erlestoke Mansion near Devizes,* Monday, 9 July, 1832.

[200] Rosalind Savill, *The Wallace Collection Catalogue of Sèvres Porcelain*, 14; See also: Waddesdon Red Book, Ferdinand de Rothschild, *RTA.*

[201] For a greater discussion of this notion please see Erin J.Campbell, 'Listening to objects: an ecological approach to the decorative arts', *Journal of Art Historiography,* Number 11, December 2014, 1-23.

[202] Actor-Network-Theory as put forward by Bruno Latour enables an investigation into the interactions and 'flow of translations' which occurred between individuals such as collectors, dealers or institutions, and the objects themselves whereby 'each participant is treated as a full-blown mediator'. Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the social*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 128-132.

speculate that as like-minded collectors interacted in these social sites, their epistemic and haptic connoisseurial knowledge developed. Certainly, Lonsdale's knowledge evolved through his conversations and interactions with Broadwood and Baldock, as well as with other contemporary collectors, especially those he considered to be his rival Sèvres 'China Fanciers' (Appendix II). Lonsdale held several of these collections in high regard, including the banker and East India Company Director Charles Mills esq. who had 'a respectable dessert service – a large jardinier—with painted ships—some smaller ones, a green coffre – some vases given him by H Baring'.[203] Lonsdale was also impressed by the 5th Duke of Buccleuch's collection which included 'a fine desert service, several ornamental pieces, a large coffre'.[204] Similarly, Lonsdale approved of Wathen Waller's collection, and during Waller's auction sale Lonsdale stated that 'he has some fine vases—a set of green – some ribbon vases -- & a variety of plates'.[205] On 18 July 1842 Lonsdale also mentioned 'I saw at Ld Harewood's the most beautiful china & I had hardly a notion what fine china was before—it is the finest collection in the world. The whole has been estimated at [£] 30,000, I suppose it is worth about [£] 20,000'.[206] Lonsdale admired many of the Sèvres collections which he visited, and used these opportunities to examine objects in other collections to exercise his connoisseurship. Frequently Lonsdale participated in a more critical judgment regarding the quality of other collections. For instance, on 16 August 1836 whilst in Paris Lonsdale sought out a house to see china but stated that 'the greater part was the Pate Tendre but modern painting and gilding'.[207] On another occasion he called on the Duchess of St Albans to

[203] 'China Fanciers,' 1836, *Diary 42.* D/LONS/L2/25-44, *CRO.*
[204] 'China Fanciers,' 1836, *Diary 42.* D/LONS/L2/25-44, *CRO.*
[205] Incidentally Lonsdale heard about Sir Wathen Waller's collection from Baldock and also visited to see Wathen's Sèvres. Wathen Waller was the Oculist to the Royal Household and a great friend of the Prince Regent. Lonsdale stated that 'il [Baldock] m'a dit que Sir W Wathen avait la plus jolies chose en porcelaine du Sevres', (Baldock told me that Sir W Wathen had the most beautiful pieces of Sèvres porcelain). London, Thursday, 7 January 1836, *Diary 42.* D/LONS/L2/25-44, *CRO;* London, Thursday 13 April 1837, *Diary 44.* D/LONS/L2/44-63, *CRO.*
[206] London, 18 July 1842, *Diary 50.* D/LONS/L2/44-63, *CRO.*
[207] Paris, 16 August 1836, *Diary 42.* D/LONS/L2/25-44, *CRO.*

view her collection and whilst he approved of her '50 good turquoise blue plates with birds & flowers' he believed that 'she has many inferior things & some of the pate dur—as a cream jug- we have been done in the same way'.[208] These observations reveal Lonsdale's expertise as a connoisseur and confirm his ability to decipher between soft- and hard-paste porcelain and tell the difference between original painting or gilding and modern redecoration. Such knowledge was undoubtedly refined through these social interactions with his fellow collectors as he engaged with their displays in a critical and highly-observant manner. Whilst it is likely that many collecting networks encountered Sèvres porcelain in the houses and private collections of their social peers, Lonsdale's determination to seek out Sèvres collections and compile lists of his rivals' collections, points towards an intellectual and passionate collecting rhetoric. Conditioned by his mania for Sèvres porcelain and desire to increase his connoisseurial knowledge Lonsdale sought to earn his role as the owner of the 'choicest collection in England'.[209] Lonsdale's position as a specialised collector is highlighted further in the detailed china inventories of Carlton Terrace which were recorded in 1844 after the death of his father.[210] There are several significant features of Lonsdale's china inventory; firstly, Lonsdale himself conducted the inventory, although he does not appear to have produced one for his paintings or furniture, moreover, he comments on the quality of his pieces and, frequently draws the Sèvres factory marks next to the pieces, which suggests a move towards a more documentary approach to his established knowledge. Such detail is in fact symptomatic of rising interests in deciphering marks, with one of the earliest mentions of such knowledge appearing in a newspaper in 1833 which explained that 'Sèvres porcelain has

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[208] Duchess of St Alban's Sèvres Collection, *Diary 42.* D/LONS/L2/25-44, *CRO.*

[209] Sèvres Porcelain Section, *Stowe catalogue, priced and annotated: by Henry Rumsey Forster,* Christie*,* Manson & Wood, 1848, 38. Lonsdale bought several pieces from the Stowe sale including a Sèvres coffee cup for £10.10 listed as Lot 632. *CAL.*

[210] Of course in many ways an inventory follows several standard procedures listing out objects by room and by their location in that room and it is merely a reconstruction of prior knowledge. D/LONS/L2/3/1/62, 'China Inventories', 1844*, CRO.*

on its under surface a peculiar initial mark in blue, surmounted with the French crown'.[211] This changing grammar of knowledge and the connoisseurial system which started to develop amongst private collecting networks of 'old' Sèvres must therefore be viewed as integral to the distinct practices of 'Sèvres-mania'.

Dispersal of the Collection

From 1848 to 1853 Lonsdale ceased his habitual diary and as such it is difficult to decipher fully his actions and particularly his changing financial circumstances and well-being during this time. Notably, his nerves started to worsen and his eyesight deteriorated as he complained in 1855: 'my eyes bad + avoiding writing'.[212] By 1 June 1855 however it appears that his financial situation caused such great distress that he was forced to consider whether or not to sell off some of his Sèvres porcelain: 'J'étais occupe toute la matiné a estime la valeur de mes porcelaines'.[213] By 4 November that year Lonsdale met with Edward Baldock Jnr to discuss his porcelain collection, and on 8 November Baldock Jnr called 'about sale of china'.[214] He returned the following day along with John Webb, the cabinet-maker, dealer and collector. As Lonsdale stated, '[Baldock Jnr] had been with Webb over the house—I was to consider the proposal. I should'.[215] After a few weeks of negotiations the list of china to be sold was settled upon with a total value of £15,000 and on Saturday 1 December 1855 Lonsdale lamented in his diary: 'I wished to dress before breakfast—as Baldock + Webb were to call. Settled to take the Trianon Service. Webb

[211] Tuesday 8 October, 1833, *Globe,* 3.
[212] London, Tuesday, 12-15 June 1855, *Diary 55.* D/LONS/L2/44-63, *CRO.*
[213] 'I was preoccupied and worried all today trying to estimate the value of my porcelain'. London, 1 June 1855, *Diary 55.* D/LONS/L2/44-63, *CRO.*
[214] London, Thursday 8 November 1855, *Diary 55.* D/LONS/L2/44-63, *CRO.*
[215] London, Friday 9 November 1855, *Diary 55.* D/LONS/L2/44-63, *CRO.*

paid the 15,000… I drank rather too much wine'.[216] In many ways this situation indicates that Lonsdale's specialized collecting of Sèvres porcelain, which had been aided in so many ways due to a collaborative process, had come full circle, as a collective Baldock Jnr and Webb took many of the pieces off his hands. Certainly it emphasises the ephemeral nature of some Sèvres collections during the nineteenth century. A large portion of Lonsdale's pieces entered other significant collections, notably the 4th Marquess of Hertford purchased a large number of the Catherine Great *bleu céleste* service and other pieces were sold off in smaller lots, notably several pieces appear in the Marchioness of Londonderry's auction in 1869.[217]

By investigating the extant archives of the 2nd Earl of Lonsdale, much of which have never before received any scholarly attention, this chapter has examined Lonsdale's specialised collecting network for Sèvres porcelain. It has questioned the idea that individuals make collecting histories and instead posited the notion of collaboration in creating, and indeed dismantling, an art collection. Lonsdale's specialised private collection of Sèvres and increasing need to improve his knowledge can be understood as an outcome of a collaborative collecting process. This was achieved through object and knowledge exchange, amongst commercial and social collecting networks, both in London and Paris. Through Lonsdale, these discrete identities interacted together, connected by a rising mania for 'old' Sèvres in France, as well as in Britain, often enabled by or responding to changing social, cultural, geographical and historical contexts. With this in mind the next chapter examines 'Sèvres-mania' as it manifested within the more public sector of Victorian society from the 1850s onwards, as loan exhibitions acted as a vehicle through which knowledge for Sèvres could be produced and disseminated to wider collecting networks across Great Britain and Ireland.

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[216] London, Saturday 1 December 1855, *Diary 55.* D/LONS/L2/44-63, *CRO.*
[217] Saturday 17 April, 1869, *Morning Post,* 5.

Chapter III: Loaning Sèvres, Exhibiting Knowledge, 1852-1875

> 'Her Majesty's Sèvres… have been conveniently and tastefully arranged'[1]
>
> – The Marlborough House Exhibition, *Morning Advertiser, 1852*

Between 1852 and 1875 at least 1000 pieces of eighteenth-century Sèvres porcelain were displayed in a variety of loan exhibitions across Great Britain and Ireland, enabling Sèvres to occupy a new place in socio-political and cultural networks of object and knowledge exchange (Appendix III). Loan exhibitions provided platforms for the temporary display of pre-Revolutionary Sèvres porcelain, no longer just limited to collectors, agents or dealers, 'Sèvres-mania' infiltrated the public sphere. Notably this was the first time that the majority of working-class people, especially those outside the urban centre of London, had come into contact with Sèvres porcelain. The previous two chapters demonstrated that interactions between collectors, dealers and agents contributed to the construction and circulation of knowledge, as well as new cultural meanings for Sèvres. The intention here is not to suggest that the emergence of Sèvres into the public exhibition space acted in opposition to the sphere of the private collection, in fact given the mechanisms involved in *loan* exhibitions, it was an extension of private collecting networks. As Michel Foucault has rightly expressed: 'there are oppositions that we regard as simple givens: for example between private space and public space'.[2] As this thesis has explored already, often art collections were viewed by people beyond the

[1] Monday 6 September, 1852*, Morning Advertiser*, 6.
[2] Quoted in a lecture by Michel Foucault, entitled '*Of Other Space*' from 1967, cited in: Thomas Dumm, *Michel Foucault and the Politics of Freedom*, (Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 2002), 38.

individual nature of the owner. Objects were visible in domestic homes, in dealer premises, shop window displays, through public auctions, and within arts clubs; although admittedly each of these locations were restricted to certain social classes.[3] United by a vested interest in the subject, such individuals belonged to similar social circles, transferring objects and knowledge within closed networks of cultural and economic exchange. Loan exhibitions shifted this paradigm as objects relocated temporarily from the private display of the individual collector or dealer, to a space which was open to a collective of people. For our purposes the notion of exhibitions as belonging to the public sphere can be understood as being beyond the private individual. In *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* Jürgen Habermas outlined his notion of the 'public sphere' through a conceptualization of differences between private and public space since the Enlightenment.[4] As Habermas explains, the notion of the 'public' sphere is problematized by knowledge-power relations extended from the public authority of the State:

> We call events and occasions 'public' when they are open to all, in contrast to closed or exclusive affairs— as when we speak of public places or public houses. But as in the expression 'public building,' the term need not refer to general accessibility.[5]

Whilst the configuration of the Victorian exhibition space was intended to be public and therefore open to all, a notion which this chapter seeks to interrogate, it was also an extension of the government and its cultural hegemony, complicated by established social

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[3] Private art societies such as the Fine Arts Club, originally known as the Collector's Club, from 1856, and the Burlington Fine Arts Club from 1866, encouraged public awareness for the decorative arts. Although they were limited to affluent members who had to be elected to join. Additionally, women could only attend meetings and were unable to be elected as members. For more information, please see Ann Eatwell, 'The Collector's or Fine Arts Club 1857-1874. The First Society for Collectors of the Decorative Arts', *The Decorative Arts Society,* No.18, 1994, 25-30.

[4] Carole Paul, *The First Modern Museums of Art: the birth of an institution in 18th and early 19th century Europe,* (LA: Getty Productions, 2012), xi.

[5] Jurgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An inquiry into a category of bourgeois society,* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1991), 1.

class structures.[6] As such, Habermas has influenced the idea that museums acted as a manifestation of cultural public space, as they presented themselves as enabling greater accessibility and also generating discourse.[7] Notably, cultural historian Jennifer Barrett has indicated that the public sphere of museums and exhibitions is where 'public discourse occurs'.[8] In a similar vein, cultural theorist Tony Bennett has stated that the nineteenth century reconfiguration of public and private spheres was 'symptomatic of changing notions of power and knowledge'.[9] In light of this, we can consider Sèvres loan exhibitions as belonging to a new type of public arena, symptomatic of extant socio-cultural frameworks, wider knowledge systems and ongoing power dynamics. Were these loan exhibitions exercises in power? And if so, what power, and for what purpose? Taking Antonio Gramsci, Michel Foucault and Tony Bennett as methodological starting points it is possible to reconfigure loan exhibitions as sites of controlled knowledge production which diffused concepts of power through society.[10] As the political theorist Gramsci has proposed, hegemony enabled dominant classes to filter their ideologies through cultural

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[6] Such notions have also been discussed by sociologist Pierre Bourdieu and art historian Carol Duncan, who see museums and the exhibitions within them as macrocosms for established class structures. Duncan has emphasized this further, stating that whilst museums reinforced existing social class boundaries they also managed to 'appear as unifying and even democratizing forces in a culturally diverse society'. Carol Duncan, *Civilizing Rituals: Inside Public Art Museums,* (London: Routledge, 2005), 54.

[7] However, it is important to bear in mind that several scholars have criticized Habermas by suggesting that the public sphere may never have existed, nor been considered in this way by nineteenth-century society. See for example: Geoff Eley, 'Nations, Publics, and Political Cultures: Placing Habermas in the Nineteenth Century', Craig Calhoun (ed.), *Habermas and the Public Sphere,* (London: MIT Press, 1992); Amanda Vickery, 'Golden Age to Separate Spheres? A Review of the Categories and Chronology of English Women's History', *The Historical Journal*, 36: 2 (1993), 383-414.

[8] Barrett states that indeed 'the nineteenth-century museum demonstrates Habermas's concept of public space and its articulation with the public sphere'. Jennifer Barrett, *Museums and the Public Sphere,* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell Publishing, 2011), 20-57.

[9] For example, Bennett indicates that a new public formed which was 'symptomatic of changing notions of power and knowledge'. Tony Bennett, 'The Exhibitionary Complex', *New Formations*, Number 4, Spring 1988, 73-102, 86.

[10] Through public display power and knowledge were exchanged and people were subjected to a new understanding and awareness of these art objects. Tony Bennett, 'The Exhibitionary Complex', 76.

institutions.[11]At this time the hegemony still comprised a highly educated aristocratic demographic, ultimately overseen by the monarchy through parliament.[12] Primarily Gramsci was concerned with the notion that the hegemonic State could democratize by integrating the lower classes into 'its own cultural and economic level…the State has become "educator".[13] In this way, cultural institutions were intended to civilize and create cohesion across social classes by programming and ordering the behaviour of the public, through the production of systems of knowledge.[14] During the Victorian era exhibitions therefore provided a vehicle for the power structures and knowledge systems of the dominant classes.[15] Adopting a Foucauldian perspective, Bennett examines the way in which the knowledge and power relations of hegemony were 'embodied in the exhibitionary complex' through the viewing of artworks in the display.[16] According to Foucault, 'power produces knowledge…there is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute at the same time power relations'.[17] Particular forms of knowledge can therefore be understood as serving political agendas and forms of power relations and control.[18] Bennett states that the 'exhibitionary complex' involved:

> the transfer of objects and bodies from the enclosed and private domains in which they had previously been displayed, (but to a restricted public) into progressively more open and public arenas

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[11] James Martin, *Antonio Gramsci: Intellectuals, culture and the party,* Volume 3, (Oxford: Taylor and Francis, 2002), 196.

[12] For a discussion of the hegemonic role formed by the British monarchy during the Victorian era see: James Loughlin, 'Royal Agency and State Integration: Ireland, Wales and Scotland in a Monarchial Context, 1840s-1921', *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History,* Volume 41, Issue 3, 2013, 377-402.

[13] Antonio Gramsci, 'Hegemony, Intellectuals and the State', *Selection from Prison Notebooks,* (London: Lawrence & Wishart), 1971, 215.

[14] See for example, Barry Smart who discusses Foucault's understanding of hegemonic power as producing apparatuses of knowledge, Barry Smart, *Michel Foucault: Critical Assessments,* Volume III, (London: Routledge, 1994), 210.

[15] Martin Carnoy, *The State and Political Theory,* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2014), 121.

[16] Tony Bennett, 'The Exhibitionary Complex', 79-80.

[17] Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison,* (New York: DoubleDay, 1977), 27.

[18] Stuart Elden, *Foucault: The Birth of Power,* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2017), 21.

> where, through the representations to which they were subjects, they formed vehicles for inscribing and broadcasting the messages of power (but of a different type) throughout society.[19]

It is worth noting that historian Tim Boon has recently used work by Michel de Certeau to argue against the exhibition as a space of audience control in modern times, however as this thesis is concerned with a particular historical period of exhibitions it gives preference to work by Tony Bennett who has framed exhibitions as a tool for hegemonic control.[20] Given this, Bennett has recently called for a greater historical specificity in relation to power-knowledge dynamics in exhibitions, as he argues that the forms of power belong to very particular socio-cultural frameworks.[21] By situating Sèvres loan exhibitions historically this investigation seeks to respond to this call for greater specificity. Borrowing from Bennett therefore it is possible to consider loan exhibitions of Sèvres as belonging to the 'exhibitionary complex' in nineteenth-century Britain.[22]

With this in mind, this chapter is concerned with the discourses which emerged when Sèvres re-located from the collector's home to the systems of relations found in the exhibitionary complex. As Bennett posits, in the latter half of the nineteenth century there was a shift in the emergence of new knowledge and discourses coinciding with a growth of museums and exhibitions of ornamental art.[23] According to Bennett, spaces such as exhibitions 'served as linked sites for the development and circulation of new disciplines

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[19] Tony Bennett, 'The Exhibitionary Complex', 74.
[20] Tim Boon, 'A walk in the museum with Michel de Certeau', *The Museum Journal,* Vol.54, No.4, October 2011, 419-429.
[21] See for example: Tony Bennett, 'Thinking (with) Museums: From Exhibitionary Complex to Governmental Assemblage', A. Witcomb and K. Message (eds.), *The International Handbooks of Museum Studies: Museum Theory,* (Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, 2015), 3-20, 3-4.
[22] Reesa Greenberg, *Thinking About Exhibitions,* (London: Psychology Press, 1996), 81; Tony Bennett, 'The Exhibitionary Complex', 74.
[23] Notably at this time there were several new museums of ornamental art across Europe including the *Musée Céramique de la Manufacture Royal de Porcelaine de Sèvres* from 1824, South Kensington Museum founded in 1857, the Museum of Applied Arts in Vienna which opened in 1867, and the Museum of Decorative Arts in Berlin, established in 1868. See also: Tony Bennett, 'The Exhibitionary Complex', 96.

(history, biology, art history, anthropology) and their discursive formations (the past, evolution, aesthetics, man)'.[24] Whilst a growing form of connoisseurial knowledge for Sèvres had emerged during the first half of the nineteenth century it was limited to a restricted number of people. In light of this, this chapter establishes the cultural and democratic sphere of public loan exhibitions, whereby Sèvres was no longer limited to a select number of highly-educated and affluent collecting networks. By situating Sèvres into the wider framework of exhibition culture in the mid-nineteenth century, we can consider loan exhibitions as sites of socio-political practices which produced knowledge and contributed to changing cultural meanings of Sèvres.[25] Notably, Bourdieu has discussed that 'cultural capital [is] objectified in material objects and media, such as paintings, monuments, instruments etc'.[26] Therefore this chapter will now investigate mid-nineteenth century loan exhibitions as sites of valorisation for 'old' Sèvres as cultural capital.[27] Our attention will then turn to a chronological examination of Sèvres loan exhibitions, emphasis will be placed on the power relations at play, the audience demographic, and how knowledge was constructed, distributed and consumed through these public loan exhibitions. The role which exhibition display, catalogues, scholarly publications, and the contemporary press played in shaping connoisseurial discourse and contributing to an early form of French porcelain history will also be considered. In

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[24] Tony Bennett, 'The Exhibitionary Complex', 73.

[25] The social practices involved in exhibitions and museums have been discussed by various scholars including Helen Rees Leahy, *Museum Bodies: The Politics and Practices of Visiting and Viewing,* (London: Routledge, 2012), 3. The idea that collections produce knowledge has also been discussed in greater detail by Susan Pearce, 'Objects as meaning; or, narrating the past', Susan Pearce (ed.), *Objects of knowledge,* (Athlone Press, London and Atlantic Highlands, 1990), 125-140; Mieke Bal, 'Telling objects: a narrative perspective on collecting', J. Elsner, R. Cardinal (eds.), *The Cultures of Collecting,* (London: Reaktion Books, 1994), 97-115; and curators including Hans Ulrich Obrist: 'Collection-making, is a method of producing knowledge', Hans Ulrich Obrist*, Ways of Curating*, (London: Penguin, 2014), 39; Kenneth Carpenter, 'European Industrial Exhibitions Before 1851 and Their Publications', *Technology and Culture,* Vol.13, No.3, July 1972, 465-486, 465.

[26] Pierre Bourdieu, 'The forms of capital', Richardson, J., (ed.), *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1986), 241–258, 245.

[27] A tradition of displaying cultural capital through art collections and museums had existed since the eighteenth century. Pierre Bourdieu, 'The forms of capital', 245. See also: Carole Paul, *The First Modern Museums of Art*, viii.

particular, through these discussions, this chapter seeks to analyse if a standardization of Sèvres connoisseurship emerged through Sèvres loan exhibitions.

Sèvres as Cultural Capital

The cultural phenomenon of the exhibition has existed since the eighteenth century, with the earliest industrial exhibitions dating back to as early as 1754 in Vienna.[28] Historian Paul Greenhalgh has argued that exhibitions held in France from 1797 onwards paved the way for many nineteenth-century museums.[29] The first of these exhibitions organised by the Marquis d'Aveze, comprised objects from the three former Royal factories: Sèvres, Les Savonneries and Les Gobelins.[30] From 1798 the *Ministère de l'Intérieur* Francois de Neufchateau encouraged these exhibitions, known as the *Manufacture Internationales*, they were held in temporary-built facilities on the Champs de Mars.[31] Between 1797 and 1849 ten of these exhibitions took place in Paris, and individual exhibition catalogues were provided which detailed the items for sale.[32] Such exhibitions influenced British manufactories, who soon created the Mechanics Institute Exhibitions to both celebrate and demonstrate good national design in manufacture and trade.[33] From the 1830s onwards, in part influenced by lectures delivered by Georg Hegel, there was also a desire in Britain to improve ornamental design. Between 1818 and 1831, Hegel continually endorsed the Kantian viewpoint that high art was superior on the grounds that it spoke to

[28] Kenneth Carpenter, 'European Industrial Exhibitions Before 1851 and Their Publications', *Technology and Culture,* Vol.13, No.3, July 1972, 465-486, 466.
[29] Paul Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas: The Expositions Universelles, Great Exhibitions and World's Fairs, 1851-1939,* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), 3.
[30] Paul Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas*, 3.
[31] Paul Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas*, 3.
[32] The exhibition catalogues can still be found in the Sèvres archives, although after 1797 only modern Sèvres was available for sale, *AMNS.*
[33] Tony Bennett, 'The Exhibitionary Complex', 85.

the intellect, unlike art objects used 'to decorate our surrounding, to impact pleasantness'.[34] Following on from the Reform Act of 1832, the government had established a Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1835, whose Report of 1836 encouraged the Board of Trade to open Government School of Designs across the country.[35] As art historian Rebecca Wade has discussed, from 1837 onwards teaching collections of art were circulated across Britain.[36] These efforts to educate the public culturally culminated in the Great Exhibition of 1851, a collaborative venture between Prince Albert (1819-1861), the Government, and Henry Cole (1808-1882) who would later become the first director of the South Kensington Museum. A large number of visitors were attracted to the temporary exhibitionary space of the Great Exhibition, as the organisers attempted to create a pedagogical relationship between the cultural institution of the exhibition and the viewers.[37] Contemporary awareness emerged regarding the potential agency of exhibitions to improve taste and judgment. In particular Ralph Nicholson Wornum, an art historian and lecturer for the Government Schools of Design published 'The exhibition as a lesson in taste' in *The Art Journal Illustrated Catalogue* in 1851 which cited Edmund Burke and emphasised that good taste leads to improved moral judgment.[38] Wornum celebrated the Great Exhibition as an exercise in good taste: 'It is evidence that Taste must be the paramount agent in all competitions involving ornamental design'.[39] Wornum also focused primarily on stylistic

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[34] Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, *Aesthetics: Lectures on Fine Art,* Volume 1, (Wotton-under-Edge: Clarendon Press, 1998), 7.
[35] Jules Lubbock, *The Tyranny of Taste: The Politics of Architecture and Design in Britain, 1550-1960,* (New Haven: University of Yale Press, 1995), 248.
[36] Many of these were later named as 'Schools of Ornamental Art'. Rebecca Wade, *Pedagogic Objects: The Formation, Circulation and Exhibition of Teaching Collections for Art and Design Education in Leeds*, 1837-1857, University of Leeds, unpublished Ph.D thesis, 2012, 16.
[37] Paul Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas*, 1.
[38] Ralph Nicholson Wornum, 'The Exhibition as a lesson in taste', *The Art Journal Illustrated Catalogue: the industry of all nations 1851,* 1851, 5-6.
[39] Ralph Nicholson Wornum, 'The Exhibition as a lesson in taste', 1851, 5-6.

developments, which greatly influenced art writing during the Victorian era.[40] Ultimately, the Great Exhibition led to the formation of the Museum of Ornamental Art at Marlborough House. Later this would be known as the South Kensington Museum which opened in 1857 under the Board of Education as an extension of the Government's hegemonic mission to educate the working classes and simultaneously improve standards of taste.[41] As historian Jules Lubbock has observed, many of the first exhibitions, particularly in the 1850s were intended not only to improve British design but also to exert control on national taste and consumption.[42] This thesis recognizes that nineteenth-century exhibitions were orchestrated by those in power to disseminate a particular world view to all social classes which could democratize and culturally educate the people. Education, according to Bourdieu, is integral to shaping one's habitus, and through this greater cultural capital can be accumulated.[43] Subsequently, the pursuit of attending an exhibition for educational purposes became engrained into cultural paradigms for aristocratic and plutocratic classes. Exhibitions had the potential to improve both the visitor's cultural capital, and simultaneously increase their capacity for moral and aesthetic judgment.[44] Whilst the upper social classes received formal education through school or governesses, they also sought to gain greater cultural and intellectual education through self-development or *bildung,* which was encouraged by philosophers such as John Stuart Mill (1806-1873) and Georg Hegel (1770-1831).[45] For example, the political

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[40] Rachel Teukolsky, *The Literate Eye: Victorian Art Writing and Modernist Aesthetics*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 88.
[41] Barbara Black, *On Exhibit: Victorians and their Museums,* (Virginia: University of Virginia Press, 2000), 10; Paul Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas,* 29.
[42] Jules Lubbock, *The Tyranny of Taste*, 248.
[43] For a greater discussion of the role played by cultural capital in defining the *habitus* inhabited by an individual see: Pierre Bourdieu, (1986), 'The forms of capital', 245; Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1984); Nicholas Brown and Imre Szeman, *Pierre Bourdieu: Fieldwork in Culture*, (New York: Rowman and Littlefield, 2000), 106.
[44] James J. Sheehan, *Museums in the German Art World from the End of the Old Regime to the Rise of Modernism,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 200), 115.
[45] *Bildung* is a process which involves an appreciation in the value of art which can 'elevate and form individuals' capacities'. Joseph Leo Koerner and Lisbet Koerner, 'Value', Robert Nelson

hostess and art collector Lady Dorothy Nevill once exclaimed that '[I] spent time improving my mind by going to museums. After all that is the best education. I have profited from it all my life'.[46] Of course, many of the upper classes who insisted on bettering themselves through exhibitions may have had access to Sèvres porcelain within their intimate circles already. Noticeably, Lady Dorothy was already a significant collector of Vincennes and early Sèvres porcelain, and lent Sèvres to exhibitions including the *Special Loans Exhibition* in 1862, and the *European Porcelain Exhibition* in 1873.[47] As Bennett has commented, 'exhibitions played a pivotal role in the formation of the modern state and are fundamental to its conception as, among other things, a set of educative and civilizing agencies'.[48] Acting as organisers of pre-existing knowledge and collecting practices, loan exhibitions acted as a site where Sèvres could accrue symbolic and cultural value. John Carman has argued, taking his lead from cultural theorists Baudrillard and Bourdieu, that 'it is the transfer from one value-realm to another that lies at the heart of the creation of the museum object'.[49] It is this change in meaning and value structure, and the discourses which emerge from this, which this thesis is particularly interested in. Baudrillard has contended that museums and exhibitions can establish certain values structures for art, often leading to a higher demand for the object in question and a change in their economic and cultural value.[50] Through the exhibitionary

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and Richard Shift (eds.), *Critical Terms for Art History,* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 292-306, 296.

[46] Lady Dorothy Nevill, *The Reminiscences of Lady Dorothy*, (London: Edward Arnold, 1906), 196.

[47] Caroline McCaffrey-Howarth, 'Reclaiming her Scandalous Past: Lady Dorothy Nevill (née Walpole) as a Collector of Sèvres Porcelain', *French Porcelain Society Journal,* Volume VII, (London: Gomer Press, 2018), 203-227.

[48] Tony Bennett, 'The Exhibitionary Complex', 79. Hooper-Greenhill too notes that the function of a public museum was 'that of a utilitarian instrument for democratic education'. Eileen Hooper-Greenhill, 'The Museum in the Disciplinary Society', Susan Pearce (ed.), *Museum Studies in Material Culture,* (Leicester: University of Leicester Press, 1989), 63.

[49] John Carman, 'Promotion to Heritage: How Museum Objects are Made', Susanna Petterson, (ed.), *Encouraging Collections Mobility- A Way Forward for Museums in Europe,* (Helsinki: Finnish National Gallery, 2010), 82.

[50] Jean Baudrillard, *For a Critique of the Political Economy of the Sign*, (St Louis: Telos Press, 1972[1981]), 141-142. See also: Joseph Leo Koerner and Lisbet Koerner, 'Value', 299.

complex cultural, economic, educational, aesthetic, technical and historical values were assigned onto Sèvres porcelain, establishing its status as an object of cultural capital.[51] According to Bourdieu, 'cultural goods can be appropriated both materially—which presupposes economic capital—and symbolically—which presupposes cultural capital'.[52] It is important to mention that Sèvres displayed at exhibition was discussed frequently in relation to its current market value, and as cultural economist David Throsby has stated, 'cultural capital gives rise to both cultural and economic value'.[53] The *Morning Advertiser* introduced the Queen's loan collection of Sèvres at Marlborough House in 1852 as numbering forty-five pieces in total to the value of '12,000l.,'[54] and during the same exhibition the *Illustrated London News* claimed that there were 'several vases which at the present time would fetch at public sale about £1000 each'.[55] Specifically in the first exhibition catalogue dedicated completely to Sèvres porcelain, John Charles Robinson discussed two jeweled cups and saucers as being worth '60 guineas each'[56] and also stated that 'several of the vases would realize from 500l. to 1,000l. each by public auction'.[57] Likewise, as part of the 'Government Travelling Exhibition of Decorative Art' in Leeds in November 1855 pieces of Sèvres porcelain

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[51] Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*, (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1984), 168.
[52] Pierre Bourdieu, 'The forms of capital', 245.
[53] In many ways this was in keeping with the dominance of economic discourse and a rising need to justify capitalism during the mid- to late- nineteenth century. For a good introductory discussion regarding the emergence of economic theory during Victorian Britain see: Gordon Bigelow, *Fiction, Famine, and the Rise of Economics in Victorian Britain and Ireland,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 1-13; David Throsby, *Economics and Culture,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 45.
[54] Monday 6 September, 1852, *Morning Advertiser,* 6.
[55] Saturday 18 September, 1852, *Illustrated London News,* 13.
[56] This evidence directly opposes Lasic who has argued previously that Robinson did not make any reference to rarity or financial worth of Sèvres during this catalogue, Barbara Lasic, *The Collecting of eighteenth-century French decorative arts in Britain 1789-1914,* University of Manchester, 2005, unpublished Ph.D thesis, 107. John Charles Robinson, *A Descriptive Catalogue of a Collection of Oriental and Old Sèvres Porcelain, The Property of her Majesty the Queen*, (London: George E Eyre and William Spottiswoode, 1853), 9.
[57] John Charles Robinson, *A Descriptive Catalogue of a Collection of Oriental and Old Sèvres Porcelain, The Property of her Majesty the Queen*, (London: George E Eyre and William Spottiswoode, 1853), 4.

were discussed in relation to prices that had been paid at the antiquarian Ralph Bernal's (1784-1854) sale which had just taken place.[58] Notably J.B. Waring, writing about the Manchester Art Treasures Exhibition noted the increasing value for eighteenth-century French decorative art which 'arose consequently on the increasing appreciation of them as works of art'.[59] As exhibitions continued therefore the dominance of their economic value and an awareness of Sèvres as cultural capital continued to increase. For example, in 1871 at the Salisbury loan exhibition an écuelle painted by Morin with marine scenes was considered in relation to a small vase, also painted by Morin, which had been purchased by Lord Dudley for 860 guineas two years previously.[60] As Thomas Richards has argued, although objects were not for sale officially at such exhibitions, this did not stop audiences from 'imputing value to the goods they saw'.[61] Exhibitions would only serve to further the economic value of Sèvres on the art market, a topic which will receive greater attention in Chapter IV.

By entering the exhibitionary space, Sèvres porcelain not only received greater economic scrutiny, it also took on a new form of cultural value, undoubtedly influenced by the new modes of interpretation and classification assigned to these objects. As discussed previously, nineteenth-century collectors rarely used Sèvres and according to Baudrillard once an object is no longer defined by its function, its meaning is assigned by the subjectivity of the collector, or in this case the exhibition organisers and audience.[62] Therefore, as these objects transferred to loan exhibitions, their value was assigned by their position within the exhibitionary space. The shifting role of art for the museum

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[58] Saturday 24 November, 1855, *Leeds Intelligencer,* 7.
[59] J. B. Waring, *Art Treasures of the United Kingdom, From the Art Treasures Exhibition, Manchester,* (Manchester: Day and Son, 1858), 11-12.
[60] Saturday 20 May, 1871, *Salisbury and Winchester Journal,* 6.
[61] Thomas Richards, *The Commodity Culture of Victorian England: Advertising and Spectacle, 1851-191,* (California: Stanford Press, 1990), 38.
[62] Jean Baudrillard, 'The System of Collecting*',* trans. Roger Cardinal, John Elsner and Roger Cardinal, (eds.), *The Cultures of Collecting,* (London: Reaktion Books, 1994), 8.

spectator has been discussed extensively, notably historian of museology Helen Rees Leahy references Georg Hegel in questioning when did a nineteenth century viewer learn not to kneel before a Madonna.[63] Moreover, James Clifford has asked what value is 'stripped from an altarpiece when it is moved out of a functioning church?'[64] However the question that could be asked here, is namely when and how visitors learned not to touch the Sèvres porcelain on display? Often in a collection or a private art club, interested individuals were given the opportunity to handle pieces, which may have involved looking at the mark underneath, comparing the touch of the paste, and feeling the painting quality or gilding, or simply determining the original function of the piece.[65] However, the introduction of Sèvres into the exhibitionary space altered the practices of tactile looking and omitted the sensory nature of touch. Instead this new mode of connoisseurial spectatorship required a rigorous and systematic visual analysis, which, as John Brewer has argued, 'was a science of observation'.[66] No longer able to feel the paste or turn the object around to inspect marks, visitors were prohibited from touching the pieces and frequently had to gaze through glass to look at the piece instead. New forms of spectatorship and knowledge production were therefore demanded, as we shall see the first couple of loan exhibitions positioned 'old' Sèvres under glass domes, as an extension of display strategies found in private collections. However, by the mid-1850s, objects entered into a more taxonomic display narrative, primarily arranged chronologically in

[63] Helen Rees Leahy, *Museum Bodies: The Politics and Practices of Visiting and Viewing,* (London: Routledge, 2012), 4.
[64] James Clifford, 'On Collecting Art and Culture, Predicament of Culture', Russell Ferguson (ed.), *Out There: Marginalization and Contemporary Cultures,* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1990), 141-171, 148.
[65] For example, on one occasion Lady Dorothy Nevill and Lady Charlotte Schreiber consulted each other to determine the function of one of their ceramic pieces, Charlotte Schreiber, *Lady Charlotte Schreiber's Journals*, *Confidences of a Collector* (London: John Lane, 1911), 479-480.
[66] Brewer explains that art connoisseurship shifted during the nineteenth century to incorporate a greater scientific approach which involved systematic orders and a more object-based analysis, John Brewer, *The American Leonardo: A Tale of Obsession, Art and Money*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 44.

large glass cabinets.[67] Whilst connoisseurs of Sèvres were now restricted from physically handling the pieces, greater written and documentary resources emerged and many, notably those who had never experienced such decorative art before, suddenly had access to new information, and could associate Sèvres as an important object that belonged to the prestige of exhibitions, thus shaping its value as a form of cultural capital.

Sèvres Loan Exhibitions 1852-1875

Held in London and in towns across Great Britain and Ireland, these exhibitions displayed Sèvres temporarily, offering different modes of interpretation which diffused knowledge through curatorial display, object labels, catalogues, periodicals and books. Some research on the role of decorative arts within loan exhibitions has been carried out by scholars including Rebecca Wade, Barbara Lasic and historian of decorative art Ann Eatwell.[68] Both Eatwell and Lasic have signified the importance of decorative art loan exhibitions in the educational and curatorial display strategies of Victorian museums. By analysing French decorative art at loan exhibitions in the South Kensington Museum Lasic has emphasised the importance of the dealer and collector in the exhibitionary narrative, focusing on their connections with the wider networks of art collecting and thus

[67] Such changing modes of display shared parallels with the emphasis on classificatory and typological arrangements in archaeological discourse, see: Arthur Macgregor, *Curiosity and Enlightenment: Collectors and Collections from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Century,* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 151-152.

[68] Ann Eatwell, 'Borrowing from Collectors: The role of the loan in the Formation of the Victoria and Albert Museum and its Collection (1852-1932)', *The Journal of the Decorative Arts Society*, No.24 *Decorative Art Collecting: passion and fashion*, 2000, 20-29, 21; Barbara Lasic, ''Something old, something borrowed': Loans at the South Kensington Museum, 1865-1872', Mark Westgarth (ed.), *Dealers and Collectors: the Market for Decorative Art, 1815-1945,* (forthcoming), 10; Rebecca Wade, *Pedagogic Objects: The Formation, Circulation and Exhibition of Teaching Collections for Art and Design Education in Leeds*, 1837-1857, University of Leeds, 2012, unpublished Ph.D thesis.

their motivations for participating in these events.[69] Temporary exhibitions depended on the generosity of lenders and subsequently collectors were called upon to loan, many seeing it as an extension of their collecting practice. Collectors may have been influenced by various motivations, including the moral values associated with Victorian philanthropy, ideas of self-glorification, and the belief that the economic value of their objects could potentially increase.[70] Whilst a tension could have arisen between aristocratic collectors and the supposed democratizing intentions of the exhibition space, loan exhibitions were looked upon favourably. As *The Athenaeum* stated in 1853 'the principle of borrowing for temporary exhibition the fine works of Art and *virtu* so profusely scattered throughout the rich mansions of our nobility, has been eminently successful'.[71] Eatwell too has suggested 'the lenders themselves were almost as important to the Museum as their objects in terms of prestige'.[72] Some of the most prominent collectors and dealers from mid-nineteenth century Britain provided Sèvres for these exhibitions, notably Queen Victoria (1819-1901), 5th Duke of Portland (1800-1879), 5th Duke of Buccleuch (1806-1884), Charles Mills esq. (1792-1872), 1st Earl of Dudley (1817-1885), Baron Mayer Amshel de Rothschild (1818-1874), Mrs Yolande Lyne Stephens, Lady Dorothy Nevill (1826-1913), and dealers including Henry Durlacher, Frederick Davis, and Alexander Barker (c.1797-1873).

Sèvres loan exhibitions between 1852 and 1875 relied heavily on a large number of loans

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[69] Barbara Lasic, ''Something old, something borrowed', (forthcoming).
[70] Geoffrey Russell Searle, *Morality and the Market in Victorian Britain*, (Wotton-under-Edge: Clarendon Press, 1998), 180. Paul Greenhalgh has also discussed that Victorian exhibitions were saturated with philanthropy as he states: 'philanthropy, one of the human spin-offs of the industrial system, found its place on exhibition sites'. Paul Greenhalgh, *Fair World: A History of World's Fairs and Expositions From London to Shanghai 1851-2010,* (Berkshire: Papadakis, 2011), 51. Historian Michael Hall has considered the idea that exhibition loans acted as a means to enhance the status of collectors and connoisseurs, and could also generate publicity and increase the potential value of an art collection. See also for example, Michael Hall, *Waddesdon: The Biography of a Rothschild House,* (London: The Rothschild Foundation, 2012), 92.
[71] 1 October, 1853, *The Athenaeum,* 1162.
[72] Ann Eatwell, 'Borrowing from Collectors: The role of the loan in the Formation of the Victoria and Albert Museum and its Collection (1852-1932)', 24.

by the Queen, with two loan exhibitions held at Marlborough House as part of the Museum of Ornamental Art in 1852 and 1853.[73] Not only did Queen Victoria loan forty-four pieces of Sèvres from the Royal Collection in 1852, several pieces came from other collectors including the collector-dealer John Webb, the banker Thomas Baring, and thirty-four pieces from a Miss Clarke who traded in Antique Lace at 154 Regent Street in London.[74] In fact, exhibitions presented opportunities for many aristocratic women to display their collections in the public sphere, thus gaining public recognition, especially as they were unable to become members of the Collector's or Fine Arts Clubs.[75] The Queen gave a larger selection of fifty-eight pieces again in 1853 to Marlborough House. Simultaneously the Queen also loaned a significant number of Sèvres-mounted furniture, alongside the collector Charles Mills to the Gore House *Exhibition of Cabinet Work* held in Kensington. This included two *bonheur du jour* with Sèvres plaques attributed to the French ébéniste Martin Carlin from Mills, seen today as part of the Samuel Kress Foundation at the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Fig.XXIV-XXV), and a rare gilt bronze mounted Vincennes porcelain urn-shaped vase, which was loaned by the Queen (Figures XXVI-XXVII).[76] In Dublin, the Great Exhibition held in 1853 celebrated examples of early Sèvres, these were donated by the Honourable General Lygon, a local collector.[77] From February 1855 until Spring 1858 'The Government Travelling Exhibition of

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[73] Saturday 22 May 1852, *Illustrated London News*, 7; Saturday 5 March, 1853, *Illustrated London News,* 9.

[74] *First Report of the Department of Practical Art*, (London: George E Eyre and William Spottiswoode, 1853), 287. See also: Mark Westgarth, *A Biographical Dictionary of Nineteenth Century Antique and Curiosity Dealers,* (Glasgow: Regional Furniture, 2009), 80.

[75] The role of women as lenders to loan exhibitions is worthy of a much greater discussion but such research lies beyond the scope of this thesis. For more information on the role of women in fine art clubs see Ann Eatwell, 'The Collector's or Fine Arts Club 1857-1874', 25-30. I have examined the role of women collectors of Sèvres porcelain in greater detail elsewhere, see for example: Caroline McCaffrey-Howarth, 'Reclaiming her Scandalous Past: Lady Dorothy Nevill (née Walpole) as a Collector of Sèvres Porcelain', 203-227. Please also see, Dianne Sachko Macleod, *Enchanted Lives, Enchanted Objects,* (Berkley: University of California Press, 2008), 11.

[76] In 1853 the vase was exhibited without its porcelain flowers or the clock face which is in the shape of a gilt-bronze sunflower and can be seen in Fig.XXVI.

[77] John Sproule, *The Irish Exhibition of 1853: A Detailed Catalogue of its Contents,* (Dublin: J.McGlashan, 1854), 406.

Decorative Art' circulated across Great Britain and Ireland. Amongst the exhibition were several pieces of eighteenth-century Sèvres, on loan from the Queen, along with donations by local collectors from a variety of regional towns, and Charles B.Worsnop a representative of the Department of Science and Art accompanied the travelling exhibition delivering lectures at each location.[78] This travelling exhibition hoped to shape art education by stimulating local people to form regional museums and give 'serious attention' to art and manufacture.[79] In the 1855 catalogue John Charles Robinson declared:

> for the first time perhaps in the history of museums of rendering moveable the treasures acquired, and of bringing home to the millions of the land opportunities for the study of the beautiful in art, which have hitherto, at least in some degree, been the privilege only of dwellers in metropolitan cities.[80]

In doing so it was hoped that the distribution of this decorative art would filter down throughout society in order to improve taste, design and culture.[81] As Jules Lubbock has noted, a better understanding of good design principles was imprinted in the aesthetic fabric of Britain throughout the nineteenth century, constituting what he terms 'the political economy of design'.[82] During this period, British manufacturers were continuing to engage with French design, especially several factories in Staffordshire, namely Minton and Spode. At every location it visited the Sèvres porcelain on display was

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[78] Rebecca Wade, *Pedagogic Objects: The Formation, Circulation and Exhibition of Teaching Collections for Art and Design Education in Leeds*, 1837-1857, University of Leeds, 2012, unpublished Ph.D thesis, 201.
[79] Saturday 14 February, 1857, *Worcester Journal,* 3.
[80] 'Government Travelling Exhibition of Decorative Art', 1855, *BHA.*
[81] A wealth of literature already exists on the notion that mid-nineteenth century museums attempted to culturally educate their audiences. For example: Anthony Burton, *Vision and Accident: The Story of the V &* A, (London: V & A Publications, 1999), 41; Julius Bryant, *Art and Design for All: The Victoria and Albert Museum,* (London: V & A Publishing, 2012), 82; George Hein, *Learning in the Museum,* (London: Routledge, 2002), 4.
[82] According to Lubbock, 'the political economy of design' involved the interconnected nature between economics, social policy, morality and design. Jules Lubbock, *The Tyranny of Taste*, xi and 299.

welcomed and celebrated by contemporaries, although there was significant concern for the security and safety of these objects, particularly as Queen Victoria had lent the porcelain.[83] The towns visited included: Worcester, Birmingham, Nottingham, Macclesfield, Norwich, Sheffield, York, Newcastle, Carnarvon, Hanley, Leeds, Aberdeen, Dublin, Limerick and Belfast.[84] Upon the opening of the exhibition in Aberdeen the Lord Provost congratulated the government and exclaimed that 'they know that the public exhibition of articles remarkable for their excellence, will tend very much to improve taste and design, and that it is probably the very best way to educate the eye of the workman—teaching him by example'.[85] Such educational intentions were also reinforced by the exhibition catalogues and the visiting speaker and lectures which accompanied the exhibition as it moved from town to town.[86] Exhibition catalogues were distributed throughout each region with The *Worcestershire Chronicle* observing that the catalogues were:

> Exceedingly cheap, and contain much critical information. By their aid the exhibition will become doubly valuable to visitors; and we recommend those who wish to extend their knowledge in art to lose no time in making themselves minutely acquainted with the multifarious works which enrich and embellish this collection.[87]

These catalogues, for those who could afford them, provided audiences with additional information which was in turn disseminated further through newspaper reports. In fact, when the exhibition travelled to Dublin in 1858, several of the pieces were discussed in great detail and their dates, makers and known painters were all mentioned.[88] This

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[83] Notably in Leeds in 1855 the collection was insured for up to £2,000 and two guards and a policeman were hired to watch the objects throughout the entire exhibition. Rebecca Wade, *Pedagogic Objects: The Formation, Circulation and Exhibition of Teaching Collections for Art and Design Education in Leeds*, 1837-1857, University of Leeds, 2012, unpublished Ph.D thesis, 199.
[84] Saturday 14 February, 1857, *Worcester Journal,* 3.
[85] Saturday 2 January, 1858, *Aberdeen Herald and General Advertiser,* 5.
[86] Stuart Macdonald, *The History and Philosophy of Art Education,* (Cambridge: James Clarke & Co, 2004), 180.
[87] Wednesday 25 February, 1857, *Worcestershire Chronicle,* 2.
[88] Wednesday 7 April, 1858, *The Evening Freeman,* 1.

included a *bleu du roi* vase which was described in the local newspaper *The Evening Freeman* as 'painted with a pastoral subject, and gilded with wreaths of bay leaves, strap work handles, and falling wreaths in relief picked out in gold. This piece is date 1775, and bears the monogram of the painting, Dodin, by whom the figure subject was executed'.[89] As a result of the circulating exhibition many believed that 'the popular taste for decorative art [was] stimulated and improved'.[90] As the exhibition opened in Dublin the Sèvres porcelain was acclaimed for its 'elegance of design and brilliancy of colouring'.[91] The exhibition depended on local generosity and it was stated by the Board of Trade in 1854 that 'the committee of the school endeavour to add to the exhibition by obtaining loans of specimens from the collections of private individuals in the neighbourhood'.[92] An extensive geographical spread of Sèvres collectors donated to these regional exhibitions. Notably pieces of porcelain were given by the 1st Earl of Dudley in Worcester, and the dealer and collector Alexander Barker loaned pieces of Sèvres, including an oval verrière or monteith in Leeds.[93] The 'Government Travelling Exhibition of Decorative Art' was also open to all with 'a moderate charge for admission'.[94] The local organisers in Worcester for example reported that 'we earnestly commend the exhibition to the attention of the public. The terms of admission are so graduated as to place it within the reach of all'.[95] The minimal charge to attend attracted a large number of visitors throughout all of the regions, and in 1857, after touring to nine towns it was thought that over 88,241 people had visited the travelling exhibition.[96]

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[89] Wednesday 7 April, 1858, *The Evening Freeman,* 1.
[90] Wednesday 25 February, 1857, *Worcestershire Chronicle,* 2.
[91] Wednesday 7 April, 1858, *The Evening Freeman,* Dublin, 1.
[92] 11 August, 1854, as cited in: Rebecca Wade, *Pedagogic Objects: The Formation, Circulation and Exhibition of Teaching Collections for Art and Design Education in Leeds*, 1837-1857, University of Leeds, 2012, unpublished Ph.D thesis, 195.
[93] Alexander Barker's contribution to the Leeds exhibition was highlighted in his posthumous auction sale catalogue, Christie, Manson & Woods, *Alexander Barker, esq,* Saturday 6 June and Monday 8 June, 1874, 35, *CAL.*
[94] Friday 14 May, 1858, *Limerick Reporter,* 1.
[95] Saturday 14 February, 1857, *Worcester Journal,* 3.
[96] Saturday 14 February, 1857, *Worcester Journal,* 3.

During 1856, the Art Manufactures Exhibition in Edinburgh featured early Sèvres on loan from the Duke of Portland.[97] Decorative art was also celebrated at the 1857 Manchester Art Treasures exhibition, with the Duke of Portland, the Queen and Charles Mills all loaning pieces of Sèvres (Fig.XXVIII).[98] In London, 1862 marked the opening of the International Exhibition, which coincided with the *Special Loan Exhibition*, organised by John Charles Robinson (1824-1913), the first Superintendent or Curator of the Art Collection of the Museum of Ornamental Art. Held in the newly opened South Court at the South Kensington Museum the *Special Loan Exhibition* dedicated an entire section to Sèvres porcelain, with 282 pieces on display from a range of dealers, collectors and the Queen.[99] In 1868, at least seventy-five pieces of Sèvres were exhibited in Leeds at the National Exhibition of Works of Art.[100] Moreover, from May to July 1871 over 100 pieces were shown for an exhibition dedicated completely to Sèvres at the Salisbury and South Wilts Museum.[101] Finally, in London in 1873 the Burlington Fine Arts Club hosted an exhibition on Continental Porcelain which included 110 pieces of Sèvres porcelain;[102] and from 1872 to 1875 Sir Richard Wallace exhibited his collection at the Bethnal Green Museum, which contained 250 pieces of Sèvres (Fig.XXIX).[103] Notably throughout the

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[97] 'Newspaper Cuttings, August 1855-1858, newspaper cutting on 'Art Manufacture Exhibition at Edinburgh, 26 May, 1857, new newspaper title given; Monday 1 December, 1856, *Glasgow Herald,* 5, *BHA*.

[98] As Elizabeth Pergam has argued, Waring, the lead organiser of the exhibition, wanted to show a 'broad display of decorative arts', Elizabeth Pergam, *Manchester Art Treasure Exhibition, Entrepreneurs, Connoisseurs and the Public,* (London: Routledge, 2017), 36.

[99] John Charles Robinson, 'Section Nine', *Catalogue of the Special Exhibition of Works of Art of the Mediaeval, Renaissance, and More Recent Periods: On Loan at the South Kensington Museum in 1862*, 114-138, *BHA*.

[100] *National Exhibition of Works of Art, at Leeds,* (Leeds: Edward Baines and Sons, 1868), 258-265.

[101] Saturday 20 May, 1871, *Salisbury and Winchester Journal,* 6.

[102] *European Porcelain Exhibition,* Burlington Fine Arts Club. *A Short Description of the English and Continental Porcelain exhibited June 1873,* (London: Spottiswoode & Co., 1873).

[103] Saturday 6 July, 1872, *The Graphic,* 12. For more information on the Bethnal Green exhibition see: Barbara Lasic, 'Going East: the Hertford-Wallace Collection at Bethnal Green, 1872-1875,' *Journal of the History of Collections*, Volume 26, Issue 2, 2014, 249-261.

three years of the Bethnal Green exhibition, there were numerous open days' where free admission was offered, resulting in large audiences (Fig.XXX).[104]

There are several things which are striking about this series of Sèvres loan exhibitions. Firstly, this list is much more expansive than has been discussed in previous scholarship. Notably, Barbara Lasic has stated that 'between 1853 and 1875 over seven hundred pieces of Sèvres porcelain…were displayed in three exhibitions organised by the Department of Science and Art in London'.[105] By overlooking the first Marlborough House exhibition of 1852 and by limiting the geographical location to London, a number of loan exhibitions, their reception and their significance are omitted. By tracing the geographical spread of Sèvres across Great Britain for the first time, this investigation reveals that access to such cultural objects was not limited to a central urban space but travelled as far North as Aberdeen, and somewhere as rural as Limerick, located in the middle of Ireland. Presented in this investigation is an emphasis on the extensive scope of these exhibitions and a need to decentralise the narrative provided by scholars such as Lasic and Eatwell who concentrate solely on decorative art exhibitions in London. Lasic has nodded towards the influence which loan exhibitions exercised on the market for decorative arts in London, although perhaps a greater socio-geographical spread could now also be considered.[106] As such, although a large proportion of people did not live in nor could afford to travel to London, through regional exhibitions they were given the opportunity to encounter Sèvres porcelain, probably for the first time. Although these exhibitions were intended to be open to all, especially those outside of aristocratic and plutocratic circles, this does not mean they were accessed by all. Nevertheless, due to free admission days and cheaper ticket entries, the entire social spectrum of Great Britain and

[104] Saturday 12 October, 1872, *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*, 2.
[105] Barbara Lasic, *The Collecting of eighteenth-century French decorative arts in Britain 1789-1914,* University of Manchester, 2005, unpublished Ph.D thesis, 75.
[106] Barbara Lasic, ''Something old, something borrowed', 14.

Ireland had the opportunity to attend these exhibitions, thus fulfilling the intentions of the power structures at play by the State who wanted to educate the masses on a cultural level. Certainly many of the working classes embraced the opportunity presented by the government and attended such events, although their ability to engage visually and intellectually with the objects on display is debatable. Firstly, not all visitors came for a cultural experience. Exhibition etiquette was encouraged from the beginning of the 1800s, notably the Mechanics Institute exhibitions supplied various instructions and booklets advising working classes how best to present themselves, what clothes to wear, and how to behave.[107] Certain measures were established to ensure that all visitors understood the correct protocol for exhibitions. For instance, in 1832 the *Penny Magazine* even set out a list of 'museum rules' presumably to aid the working classes, the first rule being: 'Touch Nothing'.[108] As Helen Rees Leahy has discussed, during the 1830s the National Gallery recorded several instances of visitors sheltering in the museum, to eat, keep warm and socialise, as opposed to paying attention to the artworks.[109] Likewise, after the close of the 1862 International Exhibition *The Builder* wrote that the exhibition was not entirely successful and that 'the ignorant who should have been struck, by the sight of the collection' were not, due to 'the sense of their ignorance'.[110] On days when entry was less expensive, the appearance of lower classes at exhibitions even attracted much criticism.[111] Observing the crowd at the Bethnal Green Exhibition of Richard Wallace's collection in 1872 the *Sheffield Daily Telegraph* claimed that 'Nineteen-twentieths of them are evidently very poor… A great many of them are dirty. Some even

[107] Tony Bennett, 'The Exhibitionary Complex', 85.
[108] Charles Knight, April 7, 1832, *The Penny Magazine,* 14.
[109] Helen Rees Leahy, *Museum Bodies: The Politics and Practices of Visiting and Viewing,* (London: Routledge, 2012), 20.
[110] November 8, 1862, VOL XX-NO.1031, *The Builder,* 797.
[111] Paul Greenhalgh has revealed that at the Great Exhibition in 1851 when 'shilling people' were allowed, whereby entry was only one shilling per person, the appearance of many of the visitors often caused significant controversy. Paul Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas*, 30.

are ragged'.[112] It is worth remembering that although during this time East London was one of the poorest areas of the city, many locals still attended the exhibition. Between June and October 1872 a reported 700,000 people had visited Richard Wallace's collection, with one newspaper reporting that these were 'chiefly, of course, the inhabitants of this wretched suburb'.[113] The anxious desire of the hegemonic class to educate these working class visitors is evident from the printed press, who tended to congratulate those who attempted to better themselves by attending. Notably, *The Graphic* commented that 'there were unmistakeably hard-handed working men present with their sons and daughters, who conducted themselves with propriety, and paid the greatest deference to the request "Please do not touch".[114]

The question remains however that even if the entire spectrum of the public walked through the door to these exhibitions, as well-dressed individuals who were committed to being well-behaved, were they even able to learn from their surroundings? In other words, how did they react to the information which was categorized and deployed to them in such a controlled manner? Newspapers do indicate some successful responses. The 'hard-handed working men present with their sons and daughters' described by *The Graphic* at Bethnal Green were praised as visitors for whom, 'that day's visit would be repeated again and again'.[115] Other reports highlighted the important reactions from visitors, especially children who:

> stare about them with the same wonderment that a rustic would display if suddenly introduced into some fairy palace…you cannot help thinking that the sight of so much of the highest art,-- of beauty in its highest ideal—must have an elevating, refined influence upon these natures.[116]

[112] Saturday 12 October, 1872, *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*, 2.
[113] Saturday 19 October, 1872, *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*, 2.
[114] Saturday 6 July, 1872, *The Graphic,*12.
[115] Saturday 6 July, 1872, *The Graphic,* 12.
[116] Saturday 12 October, 1872, *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*, 2.

Such comments indicate that contemporaries wanted to believe that they were witnessing the increasing cultural competence of working-class visitors due to such exhibitions. This chapter has taken as its starting point that loan exhibitions were embedded firmly within wider contexts of cultural hegemony during the nineteenth century. Exhibitions offered a site of knowledge production where Sèvres was presented to the viewer for its cultural, educational, and aesthetic significance. The following sections of this chapter pursue these matters in greater detail by closely examining specific Sèvres loan exhibitions. By addressing the differing modes of interpretation symptomatic of the exhibitionary complex, including new forms of display, spectatorship and knowledge production, this investigation will consider how 'Sèvres-mania' emerged in the public sphere from the first 1852 Sèvres loan exhibition onwards. Primarily, it considers how knowledge about Sèvres was constructed and distributed, and if loan exhibitions encouraged a standardization of connoisseurial discourse through exhibition catalogues, scholarly publications and newspaper reports.

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Marlborough House Exhibitions, 1852-1853

The Marlborough House loan exhibitions mark the first instance when old Sèvres porcelain entered the public sphere, with Queen Victoria loaning forty-four pieces in 1852 and fifty-eight pieces in 1853.[117] In geographical terms Marlborough House located on Pall Mall in St James's in London, was closely situated to Buckingham Palace with the monarchy playing a prominent role in the establishment of these exhibitions, and thus

[117] *First Report of the Department of Practical Art*, (London: George E Eyre and William Spottiswoode, 1853), 387.

it is interesting to examine the power dynamics at play.[118] In an announcement for the Marlborough House Sèvres exhibition in October 1852 one newspaper stated that 'the foremost among the depositors being her Majesty the Queen, who contributes a series of the most costly and magnificent productions of Sèvres, perfectly unequalled in their way'.[119] Considering that within a Gramscian framework museums are thought to be 'represented as instruments of ruling-class hegemony' then conceivably Sèvres porcelain on loan from the Royal collection, can be viewed as a manifestation of a monarchical hegemony.[120] This is furthered suggested as the exhibitions catered to the working classes by extending opening hours which enabled workers to attend once factories had closed, and free entry or minimal admission fees on certain days were also implemented to provide further incentive. For example, at Marlborough House in 1852 and 1853 the public were 'admitted *free* on Mondays and Tuesdays each week and on Wednesdays, Thursdays, and Fridays on payment of *sixpence*'.[121] Historically monarchs have been recognised for their art collections which acted as a vehicle by which to demonstrate their power and taste.[122] By electing to include a large proportion of her art in public loan exhibitions, Queen Victoria was not simply exercising her status as a civilized patron of the arts, she also aligned herself with conventional monarchical traditions, and the historical taste championed by other contemporary Royals, including Empress Eugénie and Napoleon III with whom she had developed a political friendship.[123] However, even

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[118] As Bennett has mentioned, objects within the exhibitionary complex 'formed vehicles for inscribing and broadcasting the messages of power': Tony Bennett, 'The Exhibitionary Complex', 74. Similarly, historian Leora Auslander has discussed that exhibitions and museums 'played a distinctive role in the representation and maintenance of power'. Leora Auslander, *Taste and Power, Furnishing Modern France,* (Berkley, CA: University of California Press, 1996), 29.
[119] Saturday 30 October, 1852, *Hampshire Advertiser,* 3.
[120] Tony Bennett, 'The Exhibitionary Complex', 98.
[121] Saturday 11 September, 1852, *The Atlas,* 5.
[122] For a greater discussion on this notion see literature by the likes of Francis Haskell, including: *Rediscoveries in Art: Some Aspects of Taste, Fashion and Collecting in England and France*, (London: Phaidon Press, 1976); *The King's Pictures: The Formation and Dispersal of the Collections of Charles I and His Courtiers,* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013).
[123] The nostalgia for *ancien régime* France during the Second Empire has been dealt with in much greater detail by other scholars, most notably: Alison McQueen, *Empress Eugénie and the Arts: Politics and Visual Culture in the Nineteenth Century,* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 269-319.

more than this, Queen Victoria needed to convey that the monarchy had distanced itself from the licentiousness associated with her predecessor King George IV, whom contemporaries believed had squandered money through his lavish tastes.[124] Whilst, as a constitutional monarch, Queen Victoria was restricted somewhat in terms of legal control, her political power was still extremely symbolical and influential.[125] Consequently, from the late 1840s onwards there was an opening up of the monarchy as a more accessible and constitutional apparatus, encouraged by Queen Victoria's emphasis on Royal ceremonies and the philanthropic tendencies of both the Queen and her husband Prince Albert.[126] During the Victorian era, according to Frank Prochaska, philanthropy was seen as an 'outlet for self-expression' through which the monarchy could project an idealised image onto their public.[127] This was emphasised through State events such as the Great Exhibition of 1851, heavily influenced by Prince Albert, and the annual State Opening of Parliament, the first one of which was attended by Queen Victoria in February 1852. As economist Walter Bagehot claimed in *The English Constitution* written in 1865 and printed in *The Fortnightly Review*: 'The use of the Queen, in a dignified capacity, is incalculable. Without her in England, the present English government would fail and pass away.'[128] In lending to Marlborough House twice in 1852 and 1853, as well as donating Sèvres to the circulating exhibition of decorative arts during the 1850s, and the 50 pieces given in 1862 to the *Special Loan Exhibition*, the Queen consolidated her public role by giving back to her people and allowing them to share in her power through viewing objects which were normally confined to Royal domestic spaces. This was well-received

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[124] F.N. Forman, *Constitutional Change in the United Kingdom,* (London: Psychology Press, 2002), 187.
[125] Margaret Homans, *Remaking Queen Victoria,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 117.
[126] Duncan Bell, 'The Idea of a Patriot Queen? The Monarchy, the Constitution and the Iconographic Order of Greater Britain, 1860-1900', *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History,* Vol.34, No.1, March 2006, 3-21, 7.
[127] Frank Prochaska, *Philanthropy and Women,* (Oxford: Claredon Press, 1980), 5.
[128] Walter Bagehot, *The English Constitution* as it appeared in *Fortnightly Review, 15 August, 1865*. London, Vol. 2, 103-116, 103.

with one newspaper claiming this gesture was a 'liberal act on the part of the Sovereign [and] will enable her subjects to see the best collection of this description of porcelain that probably exists in Europe'.[129] When the travelling exhibition visited Leeds in November 1855 another newspaper congratulated the Royal patronage remarking that:

> the mere fact that the Queen had permitted the Department of Science and Art to select from her private collection whatever they deemed most useful for their purpose, and circulate them for exhibition…was of itself sufficient to ensure for the whole a large share of interest and attention. And could her Majesty have heard the warm and hearty praise which this gracious act elicited from the throng of visiters [sic] during the evening, we are sure she would have felt amply repaid for her condescension.[130]

What knowledge about Sèvres was implicated in these power networks? Arguably the loans given by the Queen encouraged these objects to be perceived as being of cultural importance for British audiences. The fact that they had been saved by the monarchy for the nation, may have also reinforced the global power of the British empire. Especially as they had gained such spoils from the French Revolution and Napoleonic Wars due to their military success and the outcome of the Battle of Waterloo. The position of these artworks, which had been created in a French Royal manufactory, for French aristocracy, and which were now owned by a British Queen and displayed at exhibitions amongst the public sphere must have enforced the stability of British monarchical power. This was celebrated by the *Illustrated London News* which stated that the Sèvres porcelain 'comprises the choicest *morceaux* which adorned the palace of Versailles'.[131] Similarly *The Atlas* exclaimed it was

> the best collection of this description of porcelain that probably exists in Europe. The specimens were originally brought to this country by George IV., who, it is said, spared no expense in order to obtain the

[129] Saturday 11 September, 1852, *The Atlas,* 5.
[130] 20 November, 1855, *Leeds Mercury,* 3.
[131] Saturday 11 September, 1852, *Illustrated London News,* 3.

> finest works of ceramic art which had adorned the halls of Versailles prior to the first revolution.[132]

What is evident here is the acknowledgement that Sèvres was embedded with notions of Royal provenance and power structures. The presence of pieces owned by Queen Victoria at exhibition was reinforced further by the inclusion of a crown symbol on the information placards placed beside each object which emphasised the visible manifestation of power at play: 'the pieces belonging to her Majesty have been distinguished by a crown placed above the numbers'.[133] As Leora Auslander observes, manifestations of a monarch's power occurred not just through objects but the structures in which they circulated.[134] The power dynamics at play further impacted on collecting networks, as the substantial presence of the Queen's Sèvres at various loan exhibitions and her philanthropic tendencies encouraged other collectors to lend their pieces as well, notably as people wished to emulate their monarch. This was recognised by contemporaries, as the *Yorkshire Gazette* reported that 'imitating the Queen's example, Messrs. Webb, Minton, Farrer, T. Baring, M.P., and Copeland, have sent similar collections and specimens of Sèvres'.[135]

Marlborough House was on loan to Henry Cole and the Department of Practical Art and the School of Design from Prince Albert, funded in part by the surplus profit of £186,000 from the 1851 Great Exhibition.[136] An examination of these exhibitions makes it possible to consider in more detail the different modes of interpretation at play, especially in terms of display methods, the circulation of knowledge and an overriding emphasis on aesthetic value and design education. In 1852 the 'old' Sèvres porcelain given by the Queen was

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[132] Saturday 11 September, 1852, *The Atlas*, 5.
[133] London, V and A Museum National Art Library, Special Collections, *First Report of the Department of Science and Art, London*, 289.
[134] Leora Auslander, *Taste and Power, Furnishing Modern France,* (Berkley, CA: University of California Press, 1996), 31.
[135] Saturday 11 September, 1852, *Yorkshire Gazette,* 3.
[136] Jules Lubbock, *The Tyranny of Taste*, 271.

located in one room at Marlborough House alongside other ceramics.[137] According to the *Morning Advertiser* newspaper these pieces of porcelain were arranged 'in a suite of spacious apartments on the southern side of the first floor of Marlborough House, Pall Mall'.[138] The exhibition catalogue reveals that some of the Sèvres was arranged on a shelf over the fireplace with 'illustrations chiefly of the success realized in the pink colour known by the name of the *rose du Barry,* and the *turquoise* and other tints of blue'.[139] By occupying the architectural space of a fireplace, which was normally positioned as the central focal point of an interior, these display strategies aligned with those adopted in private collections as discussed in Chapter II.[140] A newspaper commentary in the *Morning Advertiser* reported that 'Her Majesty's Sèvres… have been conveniently and tastefully arranged, and the most remarkable examples have the advantage of suitable lights to display their many beauties'.[141] Good lighting conditions were not always guaranteed at this stage in exhibition displays, and poor conditions were experienced at the British Museum, the National Gallery and even the top-lit galleries of Dulwich Picture Gallery.[142] The 'suitable lights' mentioned by the *Morning Advertiser* suggest that the Queen's pieces were lit in such a way to give viewers the best opportunity to see the objects. One of the best sources for this exhibition display is a little-known illustration included in the *Illustrated London News* (Fig.XXXI).[143] Located in a lavish interior, the objects were placed on tiered shelving with a railing to deter the visitor from reaching across, and all of the pieces of Sèvres porcelain were placed under glass domes. Here the act of an audience viewing the Sèvres porcelain becomes a spectacle for the illustrator.

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[137] *First Report of the Department of Practical Art*, (London: George E Eyre and William Spottiswoode, 1853), 387.
[138] Monday 6 September, 1852, *Morning Advertiser,* 6.
[139] *First Report of the Department of Practical Art*, (London: George E Eyre and William Spottiswoode, 1853), 387.
[140] John Whitehead, *The French Interior in the Eighteenth Century,* (New York: Dutton Studio Books, 1993), 29.
[141] Monday 6 September, 1852, *Morning Advertiser*, 6.
[142] Elizabeth Pergam, *Manchester Art Treasure Exhibition*, 59.
[143] Saturday 18 September, 1852, *Illustrated London News,* 13.

In this sense it is essential to remember that such an image represents another mode of interpretation and is a representation with its own cultural context. For example, the illustration skews the size of the pieces somewhat as they appear larger than they would do in real life, reinforcing further the philanthropic generosity of the Queen. Nonetheless this illustration enables one to imagine the total visual effect which these pieces must have achieved, as the gilded surfaces, rich ground colours and softly painted scenes glittered under the specialised lighting and were reflected off the glass domes. The overwhelming colour scheme of the display of Sèvres shown here was *bleu du roi* which is demonstrated when the illustrated versions are matched up with the Sèvres pieces still in the Royal Collection today (Appendix IV). This arrangement must have created a theatrical and eye-catching spectacle.[144] Such display methods must have also influenced the modes with which Sèvres was interpreted by the viewer, firstly the Sèvres was singled out by a crown symbol featured on the object information placards, and secondly the use of the domes differentiated Sèvres from the other ceramics on display.[145] This practice of displaying Sèvres porcelain under glass domes was twofold, not only did it add a further layer of protection to the object, as discussed previously, it also aligned with nineteenth-century precedents of display as domes were used within the domestic interior. Not only does this emphasise the idea that the earlier Sèvres loan exhibitions were extensions of contemporary collecting practice, it also suggests that the organisers sought to remove Sèvres from any associations of functional use value, and instead display it as a specimen worthy of close examination and attention. The significance of these modes of spectatorship is further suggested in the *London Illustrated News* (Fig.XXXI) as the

[144] Thomas Richards for example has argued that from the 1851 Great Exhibition onwards, world fairs and exhibitions refined the spectacle of commodity culture through their displays, stating that 'the era of the spectacle had begun', Thomas Richards, *The Commodity Culture of Victorian England: Advertising and Spectacle, 1851-1914,* (California: Stanford University Press, 1990), 4.

[145] *First Report of the Department of Science and Art, London*, 289, *Special Collections, V&A Museum, London.*

viewers are grouped around the objects: some stoop towards the pieces, perhaps to get a closer look and the man on the left clutches either a catalogue or a notebook in his hand. A consideration of the knowledge produced and disseminated through the Marlborough House exhibition catalogues enables us to better understand the role played by Sèvres in socio-cultural discourse at this time. For example, the *Morning Post* commented that:

> next in value to the articles exhibited is the catalogue itself; for, under the title and value of each specimen, are written critical remarks, in a style admirably adapted to render the beauties and defects easily comprehended by artisans, with the view of establishing a practical national taste among them, and of improving the judgment of the people in general.[146]

Confirmed here is the idea that exhibition catalogues were welcome vehicles for circulating knowledge through the public sphere, for both 'artisans' and 'people in general.[147] Before 1852 the Sèvres porcelain in the Royal collection had never even been subjected to an inventory. The first Marlborough House exhibition catalogue written by John Charles Robinson in 1852 contributed towards an improvement in connoisseurial knowledge, offering some information regarding dates, the various ground colours, and the stylistic development of the manufactory. The *Morning Advertiser* remarked that 'her Majesty's Sevres have not been catalogued, but they have been conveniently and tastefully arranged'.[148] By 1853 however Robinson had created a more detailed record of the Queen's second loan of fifty-eight pieces, which shaped the beginnings of a catalogue of the Sèvres collection.[149] Writing retrospectively, Henry Cole, one of the key individuals who had secured the Queen's loan of Sèvres porcelain stated that: 'the exhibition of this china made a great sensation, and led afterwards to it being properly

[146] Monday 6 September, 1852, *Morning Post,* 4.
[147] Monday 6 September, 1852, *Morning Post,* 4.
[148] Monday 6 September, 1852, *Morning Advertiser,* 6.
[149] This featured in: John Charles Robinson, *A Descriptive Catalogue of a Collection of Oriental and Old Sèvres Porcelain, The Property of her Majesty the Queen*, (London: George E Eyre and William Spottiswoode, 1853).

arranged in Buckingham Palace, and an inventory made'.[150] Notably, French porcelain experts Geoffrey de Bellaigue and Rosalind Savill have expressed the belief that this loan exhibition led to the creation of a curator or surveyor for the porcelain in the Royal Collection, with the painter Richard Redgrave (1804-1888) in 1856 being 'charged with the task of classifying the objects of *vertu* and cataloguing the pictures' in the Royal Collection'.[151] The creation of Redgrave's role later led to the appointment of Guy Francis Laking (1975-1919) who in 1907 published a detailed and illustrated catalogue of the entire collection of the Sèvres porcelain, which remains one of the most seminal texts in French porcelain history.[152] This is surely a tangible example of object loans at exhibition leading to the dissemination and professionalization of knowledge. It also indicates that a more connoisseurial approach to Sèvres developed within and outside of the exhibitionary complex. Of course this is not to say that inventories had not existed before, but in this case the appearance of these objects at exhibition, their reception in the press and the perception of their importance by contemporaries generated a desire for Sèvres to be catalogued and subjected to critical evaluation, demonstrating that 'Sèvres-mania' contributed to shaping public discourse.[153]

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[150] Henry Cole, *Fifty Years of Public Work of Sir Henry Cole,* (London: G. Bell, 1884), 285.

[151] Rosalind Savill, 'Geoffrey de Bellaigue, 1931-2013, *Biographical Memoirs of Fellows of the British Academy,* The British Academy, XIV, 2015*,* 121-138, 127. It is worth noting that in the mid-1820s Nicholas Morel, the furniture supplier to King George IV had appointed Augustus Charles Pugin and a team of art students to create 230 watercolour drawings of clocks, candelabra, furniture and vases from the Royal Collection. These were turned into a Pictorial Inventory used at the time by the King's Inventory Clark, Benjamin Jutsham, however only a couple of pieces of Sèvres were featured. See: Geoffrey de Bellaigue, *Sèvres Porcelain from the Royal Collection,* (London: The Queen's Gallery, Buckingham Palace, 1979-1980), 133.

[152] Sir Guy Francis Laking, *Sèvres Porcelain of Buckingham Palace and Windsor Castle,* (London: 1907).

[153] For example, as this thesis has discussed already, Lord Lonsdale collated his own specialised inventory of the Sèvres porcelain in his collection in 1844. China inventories had existed since the eighteenth century, although most of these were created for probate purposes. There were other attempts to systematize ceramic collecting through publications, including Joseph Marryat's *History of Pottery and Porcelain* first published in 1850, and Henry Bohn's 1856 *Illustrated Lecture on Pottery and Porcelain*.

As well as contributing towards a more standardized form of knowledge, both Marlborough House loan exhibitions also sought to culturally educate, improve taste, and most importantly advance British design. By delivering a democratising agenda which prioritised educating manufacturers, craftsmen and designers, these exhibitions revealed the didactic approach of what would soon become the South Kensington Museum.[154] After the opening of the Queen's collection of Sèvres porcelain in 1852 *The Atlas* reported that 'the museum will be the means of extending a knowledge of the principles of ornamental art amongst the large class of operatives who will eagerly benefit by the instruction which they can here obtain'.[155] Most likely, it was the educational aspect of painting on porcelain for art students which this comment references as Queen Victoria had donated Sèvres for the purposes of public education and the improvement of painting onto ceramics.[156] Announcements were circulated that the Queen's artist a Mr. Simpson, who 'originally came from the potteries', would assist a class of students, both male and female, in the art of painting on porcelain'.[157] In June 1852 the architect Owen Jones (1809-1874) delivered a series of lectures at Marlborough House entitled *On the True and the False in the Decorative Arts* which outlined rules and principles for good taste.[158] In fact, during both exhibitions in 1852 and 1853 the cultural or historical importance of Sèvres, which as we have seen was so significant to private collections, was barely referenced. As John Charles Robinson declared in the 1852 catalogue; 'it is chiefly for the great excellence of their workmanship and technical skill that these Sèvres specimens

[154] Barbara Lasic, ''Something old, something borrowed', 10.
[155] Saturday 11 September, 1852, *The Atlas,* 5.
[156] Friday 27 August, 1852, *Chelmsford Chronicle,* 4.
[157] Saturday 18 September, 1852, *Illustrated London News,* 13.
[158] Owen Jones, *On the True and the False in the Decorative Arts, Lectures Delivered at Marlborough House,* June 1852, (London: B. Quaritch, 1863). Such remarks were influenced by the Scottish painter William Dyce (1806-1864), the director of the London school of design, who in 1849 had also strongly condemned the direct imitation of nature in lectures given to his students. William Dyce, 'Lecture on Ornament Delivered to Students of the London School of Design', *Journal of Design and Manufactures,* 1, (London: 1849), 65.

are valued'.[159] This may also explain why the following year, when the second selection of Sèvres porcelain came from the Royal collection, there was an even greater variety in aesthetic styles given by the Queen. As the *Illustrated London News* commented: 'this series is more numerous and varied, and in some respects even finer than that recently removed…an extensive series of Sèvres illustrating the styles of different epochs of that Royal manufactory'.[160] Speaking at a lecture at Marlborough House in 1853 Henry Cole stated that 'in order to improve manufactures, the earliest work is, to educate the Art-Education of the whole people'.[161] In doing so, pieces of Sèvres were also appraised for their lack of good design. Notably, writing in the 1853 catalogue Robinson critiqued the elaborate nature of the Sèvres ship vase given by the Queen (Fig.XXXII).[162] Robinson argued:

> The shape of those vases are too often laboriously contorted, the decoration in relief wrested into a false imitation of metal work, in short the true principles of art, as applied to pottery are in many ways violated.[163]

Robinson's reservations are not entirely surprising when contemporary aesthetic debates are taken into consideration. Both Cole and Jones condemned elaborate decoration on ornamental art and reproached the direct imitation of nature stating 'there can be no greater proof of the low state of the Decorative Arts than this abominable practice of direct imitation of Nature'.[164] Such beliefs also ran in parallel with objects in the so-called Chamber of Horrors which included a number of pieces of poor design and bad taste

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[159] *A Catalogue of the Articles of Ornamental Art in the Museum of the Department of Practical Art*, (London: George E. Eyre and William Spottiswoode, 1852), 92.
[160] Saturday 5 March, 1853, *Illustrated London News,* 9.
[161] Henry Cole, *An Introductory Lecture on the Facilities Afforded to All Classes of the Community for Obtaining Education in Art,* (London: 1853), 12.
[162] The ship form, known as *pot pourri à vaisseau* or *vase vaisseau à mat*, was modelled by the sculptor Jean-Claude Duplessis and only twelve of these very original forms were ever produced.
[163] John Charles Robinson, *A Descriptive Catalogue of a Collection of Oriental and Old Sèvres Porcelain, The Property of her Majesty the Queen*, (London: George E Eyre and William Spottiswoode, 1853), 4-5.
[164] Owen Jones, *On the True and the False of the Decorative Arts, Lectures Delivered at Marlborough House,* June 1852, (London: 1863), 37.

exhibited at Marlborough House in 1852.[165] Objects were grouped together as 'examples of False Principles of Decoration' and Henry Cole included a glass flower-headed gilt-brass gas lamp made in 1848 by the Birmingham company R.W. Winfield & Co. which was criticized for being a direct imitation of nature with 'gas flaming from the petal of a convolvulus!- one of a class of ornaments very popular but entirely indefensible in principle'.[166] Evidently such remarks did not deter nineteenth-century collectors, as all ten of the Sèvres ship vases whose design Robinson had criticised belonged in English collections at this time.[167]

The Standardization of Sèvres Connoisseurship: John Charles Robinson

With this in mind it is useful to consider the pre-existing knowledge re-ordered by John Charles Robinson through his systematic 1853 catalogue for the Marlborough House loan exhibitions. Notably, in the catalogue Robinson described the Queen's Sèvres loan collection at Marlborough House as having 'a peculiar interest to the connoisseur'.[168] As historian Harry Mount has argued connoisseurship as we think of it today only existed from the nineteenth century onwards when the skills involved were defined more formally.[169] Whilst Robinson does not specify how to identify date-letters or artists for

[165] Deborah Cohen, *Household Gods: The British and their Possessions,* (New Haven: University of Yale Press, 2006), 20.
[166] This particular example can be viewed today in the British Galleries at the V&A Museum, Object No. M.20-1974.
[167] See Rosalind Savill, *The Wallace Collection: Catalogue of Sèvres Porcelain*, 3 vols, (London: Trustees of the Wallace Collection, 1988), vol.1, 191-97, C256.
[168] John Charles Robinson, *A Descriptive Catalogue of a Collection of Oriental and Old Sèvres Porcelain, The Property of her Majesty the Queen*, (London: George E Eyre and William Spottiswoode, 1853), 4.
[169] Harry Mount, 'The Monkey with the Magnifying Glass: Constructions of the Connoisseur in Eighteenth-Century Britain', *Oxford Art Journal,* Volume 29, Issue 2, 1 June 2006, 167-184, 184. As Jaynie Anderson has noted, much nineteenth-century connoisseurship sought to save artistic heritage. Jaynie Anderson, 'The Political Power of Connoisseurship in Nineteenth-Century

each piece, he does outline some brief practical advice regarding how best to distinguish eighteenth-century Sèvres porcelain from other European examples stating:

> Sèvres china is generally marked with a device or cypher, being two L's interlaced on the "exergue" or under side of the piece. In the centre of the space formed by the cypher Roman capital letters are frequently found; these indicate the date of the piece…underneath the cypher is sometimes found a monogram, which is that of the painter or gilder.[170]

The question remains, where did Robinson access his knowledge from? And is there tangible evidence to suggest that these loan exhibitions led to more standardized forms of Sèvres connoisseurship? From the mid-nineteenth century onwards an area of scholarly investigation emerged which focused on classifying and systemizing historical objects including furniture, silver and ceramics.[171] This documentary-based systematic approach to ceramics facilitated collecting networks to identify factories, time periods, designers, and the style of particular artists. As the founder and prominent member of the Fine Arts' Club, later known as the Burlington Fine Arts' Club, Robinson had access to a great number of art collectors and some dealers, from whom he gained connoisseurial knowledge, when members participated in social networks of object exchange.[172] Additionally, Robinson must have relied heavily on the *Traité des arts céramiques* published in 1844 by Alexandre Brongniart, the director of the Sèvres Manufactory, a copy of which existed in the South Kensington Museum Art Library.[173] Brongniart's was

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Europe', *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen, 1996, Kolloquium zum Isosten Geburtstag con Wilhelm,* 107-119, 109.

[170] John Charles Robinson, *A Descriptive Catalogue of a Collection of Oriental and Old Sèvres Porcelain, The Property of her Majesty the Queen*, (London: George E Eyre and William Spottiswoode, 1853).

[171] See for example, Mark Westgarth, *The Emergence of the Antique and Curiosity Dealer, 1815-c.1850, the Commodification of Historical Objects*, University of Southampton, unpublished Ph.D thesis, 2007, 12 and 31.

[172] Interestingly, dealers were not allowed to become members of the Fine Arts Club. This was indicated as Rule II in the *Fine Arts' Club Rule Book* of 1857 which stated that 'professional dealers are ineligible as members, but may be invited to the Conversazioni by the Committee', *Rules of the Fine Art's Club,* (London: G.Barclay, 1857), 1.

[173] In 1845, a catalogue raisonné, *Description Méthodique du Musée Céramique de la Manufacture Royal de Porcelaine de Sèvres*, written by Brongniart and DD. Riocreux was

the first publication which presented a professionalized form of knowledge relating to the history and production of Sèvres porcelain. Written in French, the publication circulated widely throughout France and England, and contained detailed knowledge about the chemical and artistic processes behind its manufacture; appealing to chemists and geologists, as well as ceramic makers, collectors, and enthusiasts. The creation of Brongniart's museum at Sèvres in 1824 demonstrated the increasing desire in France for a chronological history of ceramics. This is also emphasised through my archival findings at Sèvres which indicate that as early as 1839, Denis-Désiré Riocreux (1791-1872), the first curator of the museum, was creating lists of makers, marks and monograms to identify and authenticate European porcelain (Fig.XXXIII).[174] The way in which Brongniart and Riocreux's publication united archival and empirical evidence with scientific and artistic knowledge undoubtedly influenced the ways in which texts relating to the decorative arts were written about and researched. For example, the historian and ceramics scholar Baron Jean-Charles Davillier (1823-1883) who had served an apprenticeship under Riocreux, adopted an archival approach to developing knowledge of past artistic styles and in 1863 even dedicated a publication on faience to Riocreux.[175] From the 1850s onwards, scholarly texts aimed more directly at collectors of ceramics started to appear in greater number. One of the first produced in England was published in 1850 by Joseph Marryat as *Collections Towards a History of Pottery and Porcelain,* with a second edition appearing in 1857 and the final edition in 1868. Whilst this text did consider how to identify Sèvres porcelain, it concentrated on the history of the manufactory and the notable collections established by British individuals, in fact its

published alongside this. John Charles Robinson, *Catalogue of the Art Library, South Kensington Museum,* (London: George E Eyre and William Spottiswoode, 1862), 32.

[174] Musée de Sèvres Expositions, Fichier, 1839, *ANMS.*

[175] Tom Stammers, 'Historian, Patriot and Paragon of Taste: Baron Jean-Charles Davillier (1823-83) and the Study of Ceramics in Nineteenth-Century France', *French Porcelain Society Journal,* Volume VII, (London: Gomer Press, 2018), 1-27, 5.

publication in 1850 was significantly early, occurring two years before the 1852 Marlborough House exhibition of Sèvres.[176]

For the Queen's loan exhibition at Marlborough House in 1853, Robinson compiled *A Descriptive Catalogue of a Collection of Oriental and Old Sèvres Porcelain.* The rhetoric of the language used by Robinson in this catalogue constructed particular meaning to each piece which conveyed the luxury and grandeur of Sèvres. This was not only fitting for the Royal status of the owner but also resonated with language found in painting catalogues from this period by writers such as the German art historian Gustav Waagen (1794-1868), or those published by the National Gallery.[177] Notably, Robinson discussed the painting of No.34 a turquoise Sèvres cup from 1766 as being 'very spirited, the colouring of the flesh being particularly rich and brilliant'[178]; and No.45 a vase painted by Dodin is praised for being the finest piece in the collection due to it's 'jewel-like richness of effect' as 'the execution is exquisitely clear, sharp and delicate and the colour brilliant and luminous'.[179] Robinson frequently considered the painting of 'old' Sèvres through the more familiar lens of fine arts. In the introduction to the Sèvres section of the 1862 *Special Loan Exhibition* Robinson exclaimed: 'the old pate tendre has a beautiful impasto like the richest oil painting, and a gem like depth and suavity of tone, appreciable

[176] In particular Marryat claimed: 'porcelain was brought to perfection at Sèvres…Little more need be said as to the value and rarity of the genuine soft paste…The beauty of the painting, the richness of the gilding, and the depth of colour, determine the value of the Sèvres porcelain'. Joseph Marryat, *Collections Towards a History of Pottery and Porcelain*, (London: J. Murray, 1850), 189-197.

[177] See: Henry G. Clarke, *The National Gallery, it's pictures and their painters: a handbook for visitors.* (London: H.G. Clarke & Company, 1845.

[178] Notably Waagen discussed various paintings as being 'spirited', Gustav Waagen, *Treasures of Art in Great Britain*, (London: John Murray, 1857), 173 and 203; John Charles Robinson, *A Descriptive Catalogue of a Collection of Oriental and Old Sèvres Porcelain, The Property of her Majesty the Queen*, (London: George E Eyre and William Spottiswoode, 1853), 11.

[179] John Charles Robinson, *A Descriptive Catalogue of a Collection of Oriental and Old Sèvres Porcelain, The Property of her Majesty the Queen*, (London: George E Eyre and William Spottiswoode, 1853), 13.

even on the most cursory examination'.[180] Robinson elevated Sèvres to art historical discourse by comparing it to fine art, using similar vocabulary to describe the aesthetic experience, this highly-descriptive rhetoric persisted through other exhibition catalogues authored by Robinson, and suggests that he held decorative art and fine art in the same regard. Was this an attempt on Robinson's part to rise against Georg Hegel and support the belief that intellect could be achieved through decorative art, as expressed by the Government Schools of Art? [181] For example, in 1849 the *Morning Chronicle* published an article entitled 'Decorative Art' which called for 'young and aspiring' artists to improve design by producing works 'that shall represent ideas worthy of an intellectual and highly civilized people'.[182] At this point it is important to mention that whilst Robinson trained as a painter in Paris during his youth, his first professional appointment was as the Master of the Government School of Art in Hanley and the Staffordshire Potteries.[183] As Robinson himself admitted: 'From the outset of my early studies, I had an especial predilection for decorative art or ornamentation, for archaeological pursuits, and for collecting books, engravings, and works of Art in general'.[184] As art historian Charlotte Drew has acknowledged, Robinson's expertise was very much in keeping with the South Kensington Museum's determination to raise the status of decorative arts.[185] This approach may have paved the way for a greater standardization of Sèvres connoisseurship as Robinson disseminated knowledge and gave people the tools with

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[180] John Charles Robinson, 'Section Nine', *Catalogue of the Special Exhibition of Works of Art of the Mediaeval, Renaissance, and More Recent Periods: On Loan at the South Kensington Museum in 1862*, 114-138.
[181] Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, *Aesthetics: Lectures on Fine Art,* Volume 1, (Wotton-under-Edge: Clarendon Press, 1998), 7.
[182] Monday 19 February, 1849, *Morning Chronicle,* 6.
[183] John Charles Robinson, Letter of application of J. C. Robinson for the office of Slade Professor of Art in the University of Oxford, and testimonials in his favour, (London: Whittingham and Wilkins, 1869), 4.
[184] John Charles Robinson, Letter of application of J. C. Robinson for the office of Slade Professor of Art in the University of Oxford, and testimonials in his favour, (London: Whittingham and Wilkins, 1869), 4.
[185] Charlotte Drew, 'The colourful career of Sir John Charles Robinson: collecting and curating at the early South Kensington Museum', *Journal of Art Historiography*, Number 18, June 2018, 2.

which to engage in a connoisseurial judgement of Sèvres porcelain, just as they would have done with paintings. This growing form of connoisseurial knowledge and exhibition rhetoric for Sèvres also began to appear in other forms of art writing, especially scholarly publications and newspaper journalism.[186] For example, at the 1871 Salisbury and Wilts Museum loan exhibition of Sèvres, an écuelle with cover and stand of *bleu du roi* from 1778, painted by Morin was discussed by a reviewer:

> This is to our thinking the finest piece shown. It is decorated with sea port marine views, and is executed in such a manner as no other artist of the factory could approach. It is Canaletto in miniature, and when the irregular surface on which the work is placed is considered the admirable perspective and relation of the distance amaze us.[187]

Furthermore, in 1872 when discussing the Bethnal Green exhibition of Sèvres the writer from the *Sheffield Daily Telegraph* stated that:

> the original paintings on all these objects add to their perfection. Here you have medallions of children, then sketches of marine subjects, exotic birds and charming groups or wreaths of flowers; military scenes are common, so are allegoric subjects; nymphs, young girls, cupids – are found in infinite variety; and in all there is a delicacy and softness of touch, and a sense of the imperishable in colour which belongs to "things of beauty" in this fragile material.[188]

Once again, these pieces are discussed in direct correlation to paintings. Certainly an exhibition rhetoric for Sèvres had developed which was formative for art writing, particularly for decorative arts within emerging art historical discourse. In light of this, the celebrated position of Sèvres within these loan exhibitions, in scholarly publications and in periodical writing, could help art historians to reframe the marginalisation of

[186] It is worth noting that Elizabeth Pergam has argued that a rise in art criticism coincided with the 1857 Manchester Treasures Exhibition but perhaps more attention could be given to Robinson's contribution during the *Marlborough House* exhibitions as early as 1852 and 1853. Elizabeth Pergam, *Manchester Art Treasure Exhibition*, 94.
[187] Saturday 20 May, 1871, *Salisbury and Winchester Journal,* 6.
[188] Saturday 2 November, 1872, *Sheffield Daily Telegraph,* 2.

decorative arts within art historiography, and ultimately provides future scope for this thesis.[189]

William Chaffers

At the Manchester Art Treasures exhibition in 1857, Robinson, tasked with cataloguing the ceramics collection, emphasised once again the importance of Sèvres in his introduction to the 'Ceramic Art' section:

> The artistic decoration of the Sèvres porcelain would furnish an appropriate theme for lengthened disquisition; it is often frankly entitled to the qualification of fine art, and the beauty of the glaze and the enamel colours combine to render it unquestionably the most perfect art porcelain ever produced.[190]

What is most striking here is Robinson's call for a 'lengthened disquisition' on Sèvres in art historical discourse, once again he raises the status of Sèvres porcelain to 'the qualification of fine art', and calls for a more in-depth and more practical discussion of this category of decorative art. Soon scholarly publications appeared which allocated greater attention to the history of the Sèvres manufactory as well as methods of Sèvres connoisseurship using a documentary approach. By 1862 the French ceramics scholar Albert Jacquemart, published *Histoire artistique, industrielle et commerciale de la porcelaine* which featured a more extensive list of makers and painter's marks at Sèvres than that of Brongniart's, although as it was written in French, its audience was limited

[189] For example, Katie Scott has argued that art history as a discourse has contributed to the marginalization of the decorative arts within scholarship. Katie Scott, 'Image-Object-Space', *Art History,* Association of Art Historians, (2005), 136-150, 137.
[190] J. B. Waring, *Art Treasures of the United Kingdom, From the Art Treasures Exhibition, Manchester,* 'Ceramic Art' by J.C. Robinson, (Manchester: Day and Son, 1858), 23-32, 31.

to the highly educated.[191] In particular, in 1863, Robinson's call for greater scholarly attention to Sèvres connoisseurship was answered in the form of the antiquarian William Chaffers (1811-1892). Chaffers' publication *Marks and Monograms on Pottery and Porcelain* in 1863 was one of the first works to detail the artistic techniques of Sèvres and outline practices of Sèvres connoisseurship in English.[192] It presented clear guidelines for collectors and various tables which illustrated the makers and painters marks associated with the Sèvres manufactory (Fig.XXXIV). In fact, in 1862, Chaffers and Robinson had collaborated on the Sèvres porcelain section of the 1862 *Special Loan Exhibition* held at the South Kensington Museum. In *Marks and Monograms* Chaffers illustrated a full list of marks and makers, which explained the necessary connoisseurial knowledge needed to distinguish between *pâte-tendre* and *pâte-dure*, and how to ascertain if the decoration and style matched the year given according to the Sèvres date-letter mark.[193] Revealed here is the idea that whilst anyone could identify a mark, technical knowledge was essential to distinguish eighteenth-century porcelain from counterfeit examples. This increasing need for a more strategic and systematic connoisseurship was symptomatic of a move towards technical art history at this time, as opposed to a mere reliance on tacit connoisseurial knowledge.[194] Such scholarship was surely a response to an increasing need to assess the authenticity of Sèvres, particularly given the number of counterfeit pieces circulating the art market. Chaffers' publication was well-received by the press, and the *Saturday Review* claimed that 'a man in his position, making good use of his opportunities, is likely to know more of the technical

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[191] Albert Jacquemart, *Histoire artistique, industrielle et commerciale de la porcelaine* (Paris: J. Techener, 1862), 541-543.

[192] By 1870 Chaffers had already published a second, more extensive edition of *Marks and Monograms on Pottery and Porcelain*.

[193] William Chaffers, *Marks and Monograms on Pottery and Porcelain*, (London: J.Davy, 1863), 217-230.

[194] Technical art history has its roots in figures such as Giovanni Morelli (1816-1891) who adopted a scientific approach to connoisseurship in the mid-nineteenth century. Carlo Ginzburg, 'Morelli, Freud and Sherlock Holmes: Clues and Scientific Method', *History Workshop,* No.9, Spring, (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 1980, translated by Anna Davin, 5-36.

varieties of pottery and porcelain than any private collector'.[195] Exhibitions and the scholarly publications which emerged from them not only constructed knowledge of Sèvres, they aided its dissemination and encouraged greater expertise. A concentration on Sèvres connoisseurship is also suggested in the rising number of collectors either cataloguing their own collections or commissioning them to be done on their behalf. For instance, Robinson created catalogues for individual collectors, notably in 1865 he compiled a catalogue of the 'Works of Art' collected by Robert Napier, which included a significant collection of Sèvres porcelain, and in 1859 John Webb had been called into collections, including Uppark House, to make visual and textual records of the Sèvres.[196] And a private collector's catalogue dating from the early 1860s exists now in the Minton archives, whereby each piece of Sèvres is recorded according to the date letter, maker and in many cases the monogram is drawn beside the entry (Fig.XXXV).[197] Upon Chaffers' second edition of his publication *The Graphic* noted that 'the most obvious use of Mr.Chaffers' volume will be that of a handbook for determining the date and workmanship of any rare or choice specimen of the potter's art…it will charm them if they are more advanced in connoisseurship'.[198] Such a comment supports the notion that there was a growth in small collectors, who may have only purchased one or two pieces of Sèvres porcelain, along with other ceramics, as much as their finances would allow.[199] Additionally some periodicals published instructive articles about Sèvres porcelain, notably one appeared in *The Art Journal* in 1876 by Lucy H. Hooper which provided a

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[195] 8 August, 1863, *Saturday Review: Politics, Literature, Science and Art, Volume 16*, 198.
[196] John Charles Robinson, *Catalogue of the Works of Art Forming the Collection of Robert Napier,* (London: Privately Printed, 1865); *V&A Museum, John Webb Nominal File.* John Webb, Inventory and Sketch of Sundry Sèvres Vases now at Uppark, 1859. *Blythe House Archives (BHA).*
[197] It is most likely that this belonged to Herbert Minton, *Minton Archives, Stoke-on-Trent City Archives*.
[198] Saturday 9 July, 1870, *The Graphic,* 15.
[199] Notably the ceramics collector Lady Charlotte Schreiber once exclaimed, in reference to an old Sèvres porcelain cup, it was 'the loveliest thing I ever saw, but the prices were beyond us'. Charlotte Schreiber, *Lady Charlotte Schreiber's Journals*, *Confidences of a Collector* (London: John Lane, 1911), 51.

detailed summary of the production at Sèvres and cautioned that collectors should be aware that 'the amount of genuine Sèvres-ware that is offered for sale must be extremely small'.[200] Such publications were closely connected to the upsurge of popular collecting in Britain at this time, as confirmed by periodicals such as *Bazaar, Exchange and Mart* established in 1868.[201] By the 1870s, collectors such as George Greaves Brooks, Mrs Bury Palliser and William Prime, and the dealer Frederick Litchfield, had published texts directly aimed at ceramic collectors and ceramic enthusiasts including, *The China Collector's Assistant* in 1860, *Marks and Monograms on Pottery and Porcelain* in 1863, *The China Collector's Pocket Companion* in 1874, *Pottery and Porcelain of all times and nations: with tables of factory and artists' marks for the use of collectors* in 1879, and *Pottery and Porcelain, a Guide for Collectors* in 1879.[202] Upon publication of her *China Collector's Pocket Companion* Mrs Bury Palliser highlighted the importance of connoisseurship to the private collector explaining in the preface that 'a portable book of marks and monograms is a necessary complement to the extensive ceramic works of the present day'.[203] Through such texts, the knowledge and practice of Sèvres connoisseurship was embedded into late Victorian culture.

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[200] Lucy H. Hooper, 'Sèvres Porcelain', *The Art Journal,* 1876, Volume Two, 27-29, 29. As an art writer and journalist for *The Art Journal,* Lucy Hooper (1835-1893) wrote several significant articles on bric-à-brac collecting, art exhibitions, French decorative art and art auctions in late nineteenth-century Paris. However, Hooper's work has been severely overlooked by scholars but further analysis could contribute towards a greater understanding of the formation of art historical discourse for the decorative arts during this period.

[201] For a greater discussion of this see: Heidi Egginton, *Popular Antique Collecting and the Second-Hade Trade in Britain, c.1868-1939,* University of Cambridge, unpublished Ph.D thesis, 2017, 185-239.

[202] See for example, Mark Westgarth, *The Emergence of the Antique and Curiosity Dealer, 1815-c.1850, the Commodification of Historical Objects*, University of Southampton, unpublished Ph.D thesis, 2007, 31.

[203] Bury Palliser, *The China Collector's Pocket Companion*, (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Low, & Searle, 1875), the preface.

1862 Sèvres Exhibition, South Kensington Museum

Conceived by John Charles Robinson the *Special Loan Exhibition*, also known as the *Art Wealth of England,* was a loan exhibition held in Spring 1862 with over 900,000 visitors, (Fig.XXXVI).[204] One of the main motivations for this loan exhibition was to fill gaps temporarily in the permanent museum collections as the institution was still unable to purchase or acquire such objects for themselves.[205] Having bought their first French porcelain purchases in 1853 from the Bandinel Sale, as well as two pieces from the Bernal sale in 1855, the museum could not afford to compete with fervent collectors on the open art market.[206] As Henry Cole exclaimed in *The Art Journal* in 1862, 'in more costly purchases such as Sèvres, we do not at present feel confident enough to spend a thousand pounds for a vase; but I should like to see a few thousands spent in Sèvres china'.[207] In fact, until the significant donation of John Jones (1798-1882) in 1882 the South Kensington Museum only owned a few pieces of Sèvres porcelain.[208] In light of this, during the 1862 *Special Loan Exhibition* the 282 pieces of Sèvres porcelain on loan were granted their own section, as Section Nine.[209] Here pieces were exhibited by themselves and not alongside other ceramics, this enabled Robinson and Chaffers to present a total history of the Sèvres manufactory through a chronological display, in keeping with wider

[204] John Charles Robinson, Letter of application of J. C. Robinson for the office of Slade Professor of Art in the University of Oxford, and testimonials in his favour, (London: Whittingham and Wilkins, 1869), 5.
[205] John Charles Robinson, *Catalogue of the Works of Art Forming the Collection of Robert Napier,* 1865, 258.
[206] Aileen Dawson, 'Sèvres porcelain in the V&A', *French Porcelain Society Journal,* Volume II, (London: Trustees of the Wallace Collection, 2005). Former V&A ceramics curator Aileen Dawson has discovered that a Vincennes cup and saucer of c.1752 (inv.3435 & a-1853) and a Sèvres mustard pot c.1756-7 (inv.342&a-1853) were purchased from the Bandinel Sale in 1853, and two lobed plates c1756-7 and c.1758-9 (inv.2011a-1855) and (inv.2012-1855) from the Bernal Sale in 1855.
[207] *The Art Journal,* 1 February, 1862, 35.
[208] Victoria and Albert Museum, MA/1/J721/1-2, John Jones Nominal File, 1882-1883, *BHA*.
[209] John Charles Robinson and William Chaffers, 'Section Nine', *Catalogue of the Special Exhibition of Works of Art of the Mediaeval, Renaissance, and More Recent Periods: On Loan at the South Kensington Museum in 1862*, 114-138.

museum practices which sought a more classificatory arrangement.[210] Additionally, this display strategy enabled new display techniques, including the use of glass cabinets in favour of glass domes, which had been implemented already during 'The Government Travelling Exhibition of Decorative Art' from 1855 to 1858.[211] Pieces of Sèvres were also displayed onto Sèvres-mounted furniture creating a visual synthesis. A newspaper celebrated pieces on loan from Charles Mills which were arranged in such a harmonious way:

> There is also a cabinet of tulip wood, profusely decorative with ormolu, and ornamented with plaques of Sèvres porcelain in green, with three fine jardinières to correspond; this cabinet with its garniture of Sèvres, lent by Mr.Charles Mills, is a most dainty specimen of what the best French artists could produce in this way.[212]

The colorful displays were also celebrated by others including the *London Daily News* who reported:

> The Sèvres china is one of the great features of the Exhibition; it is an array of gorgeous beauty of colour and luxury of fantastic form, such as has never been seen. Opinions of the virtuosi will be divided as to which is the most beautiful, the splendid examples in every colour… the pieces lent by Lady Dorothy Neville… are particularly rare.[213]

Again, there was a great deal of emphasis given to the colourful spectacle and overall decorative scheme created by Robinson's display. As museum historian Christopher Whitehead has suggested 'the South Kensington interiors were not without didactic purpose – the focus of the display lay not only in the objects as single entities, but in the

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[210] This type of display practice emerged in the nineteenth-century museum, Tony Bennett has observed that more historicized and classificatory principles developed from the transition from the classical to the modern episteme at this time. For a greater discussion please see: Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics*, (London: Routledge, 2013), 33.
[211] Saturday 24 November, 1855, *Leeds Intelligencer,* 7.
[212] As so much of Charles Mills' collection has ended up as part of the Samuel Kress Foundation collection at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York it is possible to visually reconstruct two of these green jardinières (Fig.XXXVII) which were arranged on top of a Sèvres-mounted cabinet designed by Martin Carlin (Fig.XXXVIII). 9 August, 1862, Volume 7, *Once a Week,* 179.
[213] Thursday 5 June, 1862, *London Daily News*, 2.

atmosphere they created in sets, allowing the cultivation of a specific form of aesthetic appreciation on the part of the visitor.'[214] Here, visitors were presented with a pleasing visual arrangement of Sèvres through which straightforward comparative studies could be undertaken so they could compare styles, forms and decoration, thus training their connoisseurial eye. In fact, several pieces loaned by Mills were selected as part of *The Art Wealth of England a series of photographs, representing fifty of the most remarkable works of art* (Fig.XXXIX) and are now part of the Samuel Kress Foundation collection at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (Fig.XL-XLI).[215]

Together, Chaffers and Robinson were responsible for the written introduction and catalogue of Section Nine of the *Special Loan Exhibition.*[216] Similarly to his previous catalogues, Robinson bestowed a great deal of praise onto eighteenth-century *pâte-tendre* Sèvres porcelain in the introductory comments. In particular, highlighting its rarity and claiming that the production of 'old' Sèvres ceased at the start of the nineteenth century due to a 'general decline of taste [in France]' thus suggesting his approval that much of it was saved by British collectors.[217] A newly developed interest in the histories of collecting Sèvres porcelain is also evident in Robinson's introduction.[218] For example, he discussed 'the personal tastes of the Prince Regent and several of his intimate associates'

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[214] Christopher Whitehead, 'Enjoyment for the Thousands', Cinzia Sicca and Alison Yarrington, (eds.), *The Lustrous Trade*, (New York: Bloomsbury, 2001), 225.

[215] John Charles Robinson, *The Art Wealth of England a series of photographs, representing fifty of the most remarkable works of art contributed on loan to the special exhibition at the South Kensington Museum, 1862 / selected and described.*

[216] John Charles Robinson and William Chaffers, 'Section Nine', *Catalogue of the Special Exhibition of Works of Art of the Mediaeval, Renaissance, and More Recent Periods: On Loan at the South Kensington Museum in 1862*, 114-138.

[217] John Charles Robinson and William Chaffers, 'Section Nine', *Catalogue of the Special Exhibition of Works of Art of the Mediaeval, Renaissance, and More Recent Periods: On Loan at the South Kensington Museum in 1862*, 114.

[218] As Mark Westgarth has noted, Robinson was interested in the taste for collecting more generally, particularly the role which museums played in this. The taste for collecting Sèvres was also noted by other exhibitions, including a review of the Bethnal Museum loan exhibition which discussed that Lord Hertford, 'from his long residence in Paris, would have [had] opportunities of collecting any quantity of Sèvres porcelain', Saturday 2 November, 1872, *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*, 2. See for example, Mark Westgarth, *A Biographical Dictionary of Nineteenth Century Antique and Curiosity Dealers* (Glasgow: Regional Furniture, 2009), 10.

for French decorative art and also highlighted the importance of being able to identify eighteenth-century pieces due to 'the falsification of specimens'.[219] Section Nine in the 1862 exhibition is probably the best example of a truly standardized form of Sèvres porcelain scholarship and connoisseurship. Alongside Robinson, Chaffers was tasked with the responsibility of categorising almost 300 pieces of Sèvres porcelain. Presumably Robinson respected Chaffers' knowledge as an antiquarian and a china dealer, especially given that Chaffers must have been writing the manuscript for *Marks and Monograms on Pottery and Porcelain* during this time. Despite this collaboration however Robinson did have an ambivalent relationship with Chaffers, as Mark Westgarth has noted, Robinson accused Chaffers of 'habitual indiscretion…make him unsuitable to be associated with the expenditure of public money'.[220] Whatever their personal differences it is worth stating that from 1862 onwards, the majority of Sèvres knowledge constructed and disseminated through exhibitions, originated through the scholarship of Robinson and Chaffers, once again suggesting the importance of collaborative collecting networks in their broadest sense. Building on the established classificatory systems introduced by Brongniart and Riocreux, the 1862 loan exhibition at the South Kensington Museum marked a turning point in the standardization of knowledge systems for Sèvres porcelain.

Thanks to Chaffers' contribution it is possible to differentiate the 1862 exhibition catalogue from earlier examples conducted solely by Robinson. Notably, there is a greater depth of detail, not only in terms of attention to aesthetic value, or identities of the makers, but also a stronger emphasis on the provenance of the piece. For example, No. 1,371 a turquoise plate loaned by Robert Napier and No. 1,372 a cup and saucer loaned by Samuel

[219] *Catalogue of the Special Exhibition of Works of Art of the Mediaeval, Renaissance, and More Recent Periods: On Loan at the South Kensington Museum in 1862*, 115.
[220] Mark Westgarth, *Dictionary of Nineteenth Century Antique and Curiosity Dealers*, 79.

Addington, are noted as coming from the same service, both decorated with the initial 'E' interlaced with 'II' to signify Empress Catherine II of Russia.[221]

> No. 1,371. Plate, turquoise ground, with the letter E in the centre, formed of flowers, and the Roman number II interlaced (Ekatherina II) surmounted by an imperial crown, enclosed by two branches of palm and laurel; the turquoise border has cameo medallions of portraits and antique gems on a jasper ground, and two narrow borders of white with flowers and gilding; the whole covered with gold ornamentation. The marks of all the artists engaged are on the back of the plate, viz, Dodin for the cameos, Niquet, who painted the initial letter, Boulanger the detached bouquets, and Prévost the gilding. Dated 1777.[222]
>
> No. 1,372. A cup and saucer of the same service, and decorated by the same artists, with the initial of the Empress Catherine II. of Russia. The magnificent service of which these specimens formed part was made at Sèvres for the Czarina Catharine II. of Russia about the year 1778. One hundred and sixty pieces of it were subsequently brought to England, but were re-purchased (with the exception of a few of the minor pieces) by the late Emperor Nicholas, a short time before the Crimean war, and taken back again to Russia.[223]

Several observations can be drawn from these detailed entries by Chaffers. Firstly, Chaffers' role as an antiquarian evidently influenced his grammar of knowledge and the importance of the historical value of 'old' Sèvres. This is very much in keeping with the idea put forward by Stephen Bann that the nineteenth-century public were increasingly interested in such historical information.[224] Chaffers not only emphasised the Royal provenance of Sèvres but also its journey through collections, from France to Russia to England and back again to Russia. Therefore, the historical and cultural value of these objects takes precedence, as well as the significant taste for collecting these objects in Britain. Moreover, the knowledge which Chaffers presents indicates a wider public

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[221] *Catalogue of the Special Exhibition of Works of Art of the Mediaeval, Renaissance, and More Recent Periods: On Loan at the South Kensington Museum in 1862*, 125-126.
[222] *Catalogue of the Special Exhibition of Works of Art of the Mediaeval, Renaissance, and More Recent Periods: On Loan at the South Kensington Museum in 1862*, 125-126.
[223] *Catalogue of the Special Exhibition of Works of Art of the Mediaeval, Renaissance, and More Recent Periods: On Loan at the South Kensington Museum in 1862*, 125-126.
[224] Notably Bann has emphasised the epistemological break experienced by historical discourse between the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries when historical data increased in value. Stephen Bann, 'Historical Text and Historical Object: The Poetics of the Musée de Cluny', *History and Theory,* Vol.17, No.3 (October., 1978), 251-266.

interest in developing more technical skills. Notably in 1865 *The Saturday Review* explained that 'the establishment of the South Kensington Museum made connoisseurship a much easier acquisition' as 'at one time… it cost a man some pains to learn the difference between one kind of ceramic ware and another, and to distinguish, by means of marks and monograms…or between real china and its counterfeit'.[225] As this thesis has discussed previously, a greater awareness in the counterfeit market from the 1820s onwards resulted in a growing desire to differentiate between authentic examples and counterfeit ones intended to deceive, an anxiety which would continue to grow throughout the nineteenth century.

1871 Salisbury and South Wilts Museum Sèvres Exhibition

In May 1871 at the Salisbury and South Wilts Museum exhibition, one hundred pieces of Sèvres were arranged in a chronological display showcasing the stylistic development of the Sèvres manufactory: 'the series begins with the Vincennes period, and the latest date 1832'.[226] Unfortunately, very little archival information remains about this exhibition.[227] It is useful therefore to consider how many antique china dealers operated in Salisbury during this time. Lady Charlotte Schreiber for example recorded buying Bow porcelain from the dealer Thomas Targett in September 1869, and Mark Westgarth has noted that a J. Alexander & Son were listed as 'antique china dealers' at 49 Canal, Salisbury in *Kelly's Directory* in the 1870s.[228] In addition, in 1874 an announcement of 'Mems. of

[225] 2 September, 1865, *Saturday Review: Politics, Literature, Science and Art, Volume 20*, 311.
[226] Saturday 20 May, 1871, *Illustrated London News,* 19.
[227] Unfortunately, neither the Salisbury Museum nor the Wiltshire & Swindon History Centre have any records or archives relating to this exhibition.
[228] Mark Westgarth, *Dictionary of Nineteenth Century Antique and Curiosity Dealers*, 62 and 172.

Chinamania (by a half-cracked collector)' appeared in *Punch* stating that 'having dreamt that Salisbury Plain is a very likely place for picking up old Sèvres, I take lodgings for a week in a mouldy old farm-house'.[229] In light of this, the Sèvres collection was reviewed and reported on extensively by local newspapers, who commented on the importance of Sèvres for its 'educational point of view, besides being, from the purity of its colours and its exquisite decoration, a remarkably pleasing object to look upon'.[230] A detailed article reviewing the exhibition was also included in the *Salisbury and Winchester Journal* which provided a meticulous history of the Sèvres manufactory, outlined the various ground colours, and also explained how to understand the system of marks, monograms and date letters.[231] The level of detail surpassed any previous newspaper reporting on Sèvres loan exhibitions and illustrates that in a smaller town such as Salisbury such connoisseurial expertise was now embedded into the cultural capital of a democratized public. The article even instructed the viewer how to interpret the knowledge presented to them on the given placards: 'two names are given in connection with a piece the *first* is that of the painter, the *second* that of the gilder, and when only one occurs it is that of the *painter* unless otherwise specified'.[232] Not only did the exhibition produce knowledge it was circulated even further through the newspaper article enabling readers to deepen their understanding of Sèvres connoisseurship.[233] At one stage the writer even declared that Sèvres porcelain should be 'recognised by the connoisseur in the dark by merely feeling the paste of the piece. Its soft saponaceous surface and the perfect incorporation

[229] 'Mems. of Chinamania (by a half-cracked collector)', 16 May, 1874, *Punch*.
[230] Thursday 25 May, 1871, *Devizes and Wiltshire Gazette,* 4.
[231] Saturday 20 May, 1871, *Salisbury and Winchester Journal,* 6.
[232] Saturday 20 May, 1871, *Salisbury and Winchester Journal,* 6.
[233] Also discussed in detail are the colours and artistic decoration found on the pieces. Notably, it is explained that there is no actual difference between the 'rich deep cobalt blue, called "bleu du Roi,"' and what had previously been called "gros bleu". Saturday 20 May, 1871, *Salisbury and Winchester Journal,* 6.

of the painted objects with the glaze, produce an effect to the finger incapable of imitation'.[234]

What also sets this Salisbury loan exhibition apart from previous examples is its connoisseurial strategy regarding contemporary notions of authenticity, as a counterfeit piece of Sèvres was exhibited beside an original, genuine example of pre-Revolutionary Sèvres:

> in which all the diagnostics of Sèvres porcelain are counterfeited… with regret we mention that one or two factories in this country have been guilty of counterfeiting foreign trade marks on china…It is a most excellent attempt, as good as could be well imagined, and the date letter C, 1755, as well as the monogram of the painter Ledoux, and of the gilder Theodore are all present, but the appearance, and above all the feel of the paste, the date considered, at once reveal the imposture.[235]

What is suggested here is the role played by exhibitions once again in shifting perceptions of value structures for historical objects such as Sèvres. In this case the notion of authenticity is questioned, both symptomatic of the awareness of the market for counterfeits and a growing desire to shape contemporary object knowledge. Notably in 1875 *The Times* suggested that instead of advice books on how to purchase china there should be a 'handbook which should teach them how not to buy. It is by far the more difficult art to master'.[236] It could be argued that whilst the Salisbury exhibition on the one hand aligned with the established frameworks of previous exhibitions and scholarly publications, it also superseded them by demonstrating Sèvres connoisseurship in practice. In light of this the public were empowered, even in a provincial town such as Salisbury, and a smaller collector or more amateur ceramics enthusiast could use this information and apply it to their own collecting practices.

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[234] Saturday 20 May, 1871, *Salisbury and Winchester Journal,* 6. One must of course question if a general reader would understand the meaning of 'saponaceous'.
[235] Saturday 20 May, 1871, *Salisbury and Winchester Journal,* 6.
[236] Aviva Briefel, *The Deceivers: Art Forgery and Identity in the Nineteenth Century,* (Ithaca: Cornell Press, 2006), 9.

This chapter has maintained that by examining a broader range of collecting networks involved in loan exhibitions the role of Sèvres can be recognised for its changing cultural meaning, which shaped, and was shaped by, emerging discourses. Through hegemonic power and knowledge structures inherent within the mid-nineteenth century exhibitionary complex, Sèvres became an object of cultural capital which reinforced its cultural, aesthetic and educational significance. An examination of Sèvres loan exhibitions has revealed that through the dissemination of controlled knowledge a more standardized form of Sèvres connoisseurship emerged. Loan exhibitions were therefore another key stage in the narrative of the histories of collecting and displaying Sèvres porcelain in the nineteenth century. Furthermore, they indicate that 'Sèvres-mania' can be considered as a form of social practice which infiltrated the public sphere, across Britain and Ireland, just as much as the collecting practices of the aristocratic and plutocratic classes. Above all, this chapter has demonstrated that as controlled tools of hegemonic power, mid-nineteenth century loan exhibitions acted as key agents in the valorisation of 'old' Sèvres porcelain as cultural capital. As the next and final chapter explores, this impacted greatly on the economic value of Sèvres on the art market and encouraged the mania amongst collecting networks during the latter half of the nineteenth-century who competed ferociously against one another at auction.[237]

[237] It is worth noting that whilst Sèvres porcelain was displayed frequently at dealers' premises throughout the nineteenth century, exhibitions of Sèvres held within the galleries did not occur until the close of the nineteenth century and really remains outside the parameters of this investigation. Nonetheless one of the most notable exhibitions was organised by the dealer Asher Wertheimer at his shop in Bond Street in Spring 1906 when an extraordinary 525 pieces of Sèvres of the Cheremeteff Collection, a Russian family were displayed. The *Minton Archives* hold an original example of the *Cheremeteff Collection* Exhibition Catalogue from 1906, *The Minton Archives, Stoke-on-Trent City Archives.*

Chapter IV: Auction Mania, c.1848-1886

> The first sale I can remember was that of Mr Bernal's collection in 1854 or '55, and it was the one at which sensational prices were first given, by Lord Hertford chiefly, who purchased six Sèvres vases, at a figure that revolutionised the market. I may mention that he gave these vases to Mdlle Oger, who, after his death in 1870, placed them in the hands of a broker from whom, two years later, they were acquired by my cousin Adolphe and myself.[1]
>
> – Ferdinand de Rothschild, *Reminiscences, 1896*

Thus far this investigation has considered the changing cultural meanings and value structures of pre-Revolutionary Sèvres porcelain as it moved throughout private and public collecting networks during the nineteenth century in Britain. This chapter seeks to build on this by foregrounding auctions, especially in the latter half of the century, as competitive social and ideological events where the significance of Sèvres was determined, together with new economic, knowledge, power and value structures.[2] As sociologist Charles Smith has stated 'auctions are social processes capable of defining and resolving inherently ambiguous situations, especially questions of value and price'.[3] The price paid at auction was contingent, underpinned by broader contexts and often facilitated by the collectors or dealers in the saleroom who shaped the value of the object

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[1] Michael Hall, 'Ferdinand de Rothschild, *Reminiscences* or *Bric-a-Brac: A Rothschild's memoir of collecting 1896*', *Apollo,* No.166, July 2007, 50-77, 65.

[2] As Mark Westgarth has discussed participation in auctions 'can be seen as a privilege of those in power', as well as opportunities to create new value and knowledge structures, Mark Westgarth, "Florid Speculators in Art and Virtu": the London Picture Trade c. 1850', Pamela Fletcher and Anne Helmreich (eds.), *The Rise of the Modern Art Market in London, 1850– 1939*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011), 26-46; Additionally, Baudrillard has referred to auctions as part of a wider 'ideological matrix'. Jean Baudrillard, 'The Art Auction: Sign Exchange and Sumptuary Value', *For a Critique of the Political Economy of the Sign,* (St Louis: Telos Press, 1972[1981]), 112.

[3] Charles Smith, *The Social Construction of Value,* (Berkley: University of California Press, 1990), 3.

in question.[4] Once Sèvres entered the economic field of the ascending bid system its value structure shifted, as Baudrillard has emphasised, through the process of the art auction 'money, is exchanged there for a pure sign, the painting [or object]' which ultimately converts into sign value.[5] Commenting on this process the collector and writer Herbert Byng Hall (1805-1883) observed in *The Bric a Brac Hunter* published first in 1868 and then again in 1875 with the new title *Chapters in Chinamania,* that those present in the auction room frequently influenced the outcome of Sèvres: 'A Sèvres vase, in one instance, may be priceless, in the other, valueless'.[6] Evident here is the ephemerality of money and indeed value, as Georg Simmel once declared, 'money is the most ephemeral thing in the external-practical world'.[7] Similarly, Baudrillard has argued that the auction acts as a 'crucible of the interchange of values, where economic value, sign value and symbolic value transfused according to the rules of the game'.[8] Here one can suggest that the 'rules of the game' refers not only to the determined potential buyers competing within the saleroom but all mechanisms involved within the auction house process. Many of these mechanisms will be considered here: from the description of Sèvres in the sale catalogue; to the implementation of new marketing strategies; the display strategies and handling of objects during the viewing day; and the theatrical selling process encouraged by the auctioneer and the crowded auction room.

Auctions provided a structure through which Sèvres collecting networks could further engage in object and knowledge exchange, and broadened the social and commercial processes of collecting. From the highly-publicised Stowe Sale of 1848, until the mid 1880s, shifting cultural contexts impacted on commercial practices, which produced a

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[4] See for examples, Charles Smith, *The Social Construction of Value,* 4; Jean Baudrillard, 'The Art Auction: Sign Exchange and Sumptuary Value', 117.
[5] Jean Baudrillard, 'The Art Auction: Sign Exchange and Sumptuary Value', 112.
[6] Herbert Byng Hall, *The Bric a Brac Hunter, or, Chapters in Chinamania*, (London and New York: Chatto and Windus, 1875), vii.
[7] Georg Simmel, *The Philosophy of Money,* (London: Taylor and Francis, 2011 edition), 511.
[8] Jean Baudrillard, 'The Art Auction: Sign Exchange and Sumptuary Value', 112.

distinctly specialised and competitive market for Sèvres porcelain. The particular mechanisms involved in this show many synergies with themes explored already in this thesis, as auctions were grounded in intellectual and aesthetic discourses of connoisseurship, authenticity and display. An examination of the late nineteenth-century auction house dominates this chapter as it aims to shed light on how auctions marketed Sèvres and contributed to its knowledge production through a dissemination of their connoisseurial expertise. By focusing on several high-profile sales which contributed to a growing moral anxiety over the mania for Sèvres, 'china-mania' and the high economic prices achieved at auction, it argues that through shared processes of object agency the socio-cultural sphere of the auction room acted as a vehicle for the manifestation of 'Sèvres-mania'. This will lead onto a discussion regarding the role played by the 1st Earl of Dudley who in 1874 broke the record for the highest price paid for a piece of Sèvres at auction.[9] As the market moved towards the end of the nineteenth century it started to transition and this competitive form of 'Sèvres-mania' and the interdependent relationships between the commercial market, collecting networks, and those engaged in connoisseurship could be sustained no longer. As such this chapter closes with an examination of a forgotten court case between the dealers Samson and Asher Wertheimer and the tradesman and ceramics collector William Goode in 1882 regarding the authenticity of two pieces of Sèvres. This court case involved a key number of dealers, scholars, collectors, and craftsmen, and challenged the reliability of Sèvres connoisseurship that had developed throughout the nineteenth century thus revealing wider concerns for authenticity amongst collecting networks.

Writing retrospectively in his *Reminiscences* in 1896, Baron Ferdinand de Rothschild (1839-1898), clearly points towards a particular shift in the role played by collecting

[9] Christie, Manson & Woods, *Catalogue of Old Sèvres and Chelsea porcelain and other decorative objects,* Friday, 12 June, 1874, *CAL.*

networks at auction from the 1855 Ralph Bernal sale onwards. A prominent member of the Rothschild banking family and the owner of a remarkable collection of decorative art at Waddesdon Manor, Ferdinand later recalled the 'sensational prices' of Sèvres porcelain as it circulated the art market.[10] Encapsulated by Ferdinand is a contemporary awareness of the shifting economic values associated with Sèvres at auction from the 1850s onwards, although his insistence that one single auction and collector 'revolutionised the market' must be treated with caution and situated within wider contexts, namely, the increasing role played by loan exhibitions, and shifting cultural and economic frameworks of the time. As discussed in the last chapter, during the mid- to late-nineteenth century the number of exhibitions featuring Sèvres, and the dominance of exhibitions and museums of ornamental art had validated and valorised the status of pre-Revolutionary Sèvres porcelain. Not only did this give rise to a greater standardization of Sèvres connoisseurship, it also contributed to the historical discourse of Sèvres porcelain, typified by the rising number of scholarly publications dedicated to the history of ceramics. As one newspaper asked in relation to the high prices achieved for Sèvres at the 1855 Bernal sale:

> Has the taste for ornamental art spread itself over a wider circle during the last twenty years? Are the effects of the numerous recent publications upon the subject, of the journals devoted to art, of the Marlborough House exhibitions, showing themselves in this practical manner?[11]

Whilst loan exhibitions were thought to have encouraged a greater 'taste for ornamental art' these exhibitions were only ever temporary, and so when pieces returned to the private collectors who had bestowed the loans, the value and status of the object had changed irrevocably.[12] Not only was Sèvres now associated with the exhibitions in which

[10] Michael Hall, 'Ferdinand de Rothschild, *Reminiscences*, 65.
[11] Saturday 17 March, 1855, *Leeds Intelligencer,* 12.
[12] Saturday 17 March, 1855, *Leeds Intelligencer,* 12.

it had featured, it was also connected even more closely to the collector whose philanthropic gesture of loaning to an exhibition had in many ways glorified their position. The value of these pieces would shift once again if and when they entered the commodity system of the late nineteenth century art market.[13] As art historian Dianne Sachko Macleod has asserted, 'the link between art and money is inscribed in the unfolding saga of the cultural life of nineteenth-century England'.[14] This was all further encouraged by an ever-growing population, and a rapid increase in industry, including steam-powered technology, steel industry and railway construction, which created new types of collecting networks.[15] Russell Belk has emphasised the link between art collecting and the escalating consumerism towards the end of the nineteenth century and its capitalist economy.[16] Whilst historian Dror Wahrman maintains that the significant socio-cultural and economic changes influencing Britain after the French Revolution related to an increasingly capitalist industry, it can be argued that the rupture experienced in the latter half of the nineteenth century related much more directly to capitalist ideology.[17] Underpinning these changing economic contexts therefore were several factors: from a greater agricultural depression, an increasing fragility of landed estates effected by various Acts of Parliament, including the improvement of Land Act of 1864,

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[13] It is important to note that the historical art market and its particular mechanisms has gained momentum in more recent scholarship: Pamela Fletcher, 'Creating the French Gallery: Ernest Gambart and the Rise of the Commercial Art Gallery in Mid-Victorian London', *Nineteenth Century Art Worldwide*, vol.6, no.1, 2007, online; Frances Fowle, *Van Gogh's Twin. The Scottish Art Dealer Alexander Reid 1854–1928*, (Edinburgh: National Galleries of Scotland, 2010); Barbara Pezzini, 'Art Sales and Attributions: the 1852 National Gallery Acquisition of The Tribute Money by Titian', *Journal of Art Historiography*, December 2017, online.

[14] Similarly, art historian Anne Helmreich has observed that the nineteenth century art market encouraged 'the definition of art as part of luxury retail trade'. Dianne Sachko Macleod, *Art and the Victorian Middle Class,* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 1; Anne Helmreich, 'Traversing Objects: The London Art Market at the Turn of the Twentieth Century', C. Gould and S. Mesplede (eds.), *Marketing Art in the British Isles, 1700 to the Present: A Cultural History* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2012), 140.

[15] Richard Tames, *Economy and Society in Nineteenth Century Britain,* (London: Taylor and Francis, 2005), 21-22.

[16] Russell Belk, *Collecting in a Consumer Society,* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), 36.

[17] Dror Wahrman, *The Age of Cultural Revolutions: Britain and France, 1750-1820,* (California: University of California Press, 2002), 3.

the Settled Estates Act of 1877 and the Settled Land Act of 1882, and a growing industrialised capitalist society.[18] Alongside this, political tension intensified across Europe triggered by the Franco-Prussian War and the Siege of Paris in the 1870s, which was also responsible for relocating the geographical nucleus of the art market from Paris to London.[19] As consumerism expanded, society witnessed a professionalization in the art market through a growing number of commercial galleries, an increased number of auction sales and a dedicated coverage of auction sale prices and the activities of dealers, agents and collectors in the press.[20] Such expansion facilitated a larger number of individuals who vied to secure the best pieces at auction, namely dealers, collectors and museums.[21] As the French ceramics scholar and historian Baron Jean-Charles Davillier once observed 'the porcelain of Sèvres is without doubt the most beautiful that exists, as it is also the most expensive and most sought after'.[22] Dealers especially continued to drive up prices on the market, for example, at the Stowe sale in 1848 Henry Foster reported 'that it was no use to offer personal biddings as the brokers attended for the purpose of buying and would outbid any private individual'.[23] Again in 1853 at a Select

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[18] J. de Villiers, *The History of the Legislation Concerning Real and Personal Property in England,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 60.

[19] Agnès Penot, *La maison Goupil: Galerie d'art internationale au XIXe siècle* (Paris: mare & martin, 2017), 121. Additionally, in 1860, the government duty on European porcelain had been abolished by William Gladstone (1809-1898) which reduced greatly the cost of importing ceramics into England, this aided the shifting art market even further. Aileen Dawson, *Collecting the Nineteenth Century British Museum*, (London: British Museum Research Publications, 1997), 200-220.

[20] For more information: Pamela Fletcher and Anne Helmreich, 'Selected Galleries, Dealers and Exhibition Spaces in London, 1850– 1939', Pamela Fletcher and Anne Helmreich (eds.), *The Rise of the Modern Art Market in London, 1850– 1939*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011).

[21] Mark Westgarth has noted that as consumerism expanded the role of dealers and auction houses increased as they acted as key components in wider art market structures. Mark Westgarth, "Florid Speculators in Art and Virtu": the London Picture Trade c. 1850', 29.

[22] Baron Jean-Charles Davillier, *Les Porcelaines de Sèvres de Madame du Barry, diapers les mémoires de la manufacture royales, Notes et documents inédits sur le prix des porcelains de Seevres au XVIIIe siècle,* (Paris: Aubry, 1870), 1 and 32; originally quoted in: Tom Stammers, 'Historian, Patriot and Paragon of Taste: Baron Jean-Charles Davillier (1823-83) and the Study of Ceramics in Nineteenth-Century France', *French Porcelain Society Journal,* Volume VII, (London: Gomer Press, 2018), 1-27, 15.

[23] Henry Foster and Henry Rumsey, *The Stowe Catalogue Priced and Annotated*, (David Bogue: London, 1848), 102.

Committee held at the National Gallery in London the auctioneer James Christie admitted that dealers would compete against museums at auction.[24] By the 1860s collectors such as Ferdinand de Rothschild remarked that at this time the presence of dealers made it fruitless to bid during the auction process, or even attend.[25] On another occasion Ferdinand also noted in awe 'the profits these fellows make', citing the dealer Davis in particular who 'paid £600 for his [Sèvres] vase and asked us £1600'.[26] As the curator John Charles Robinson observed in 1865 with regard to Sèvres porcelain, 'no other category of works of art are specimens so eagerly fought for, or their possession so keenly contested,-- fabulous prices are in consequence given'.[27] Despite this, other collectors emerged at this time who were willing to compete with the dealers and museums, often representing themselves or using an intermediary agent in the saleroom. Many of whom appeared to have almost limitless budgets and included: the 1st Earl of Dudley, Henry Thomas Hope (1808-1862),[28] Samuel Addington (1806-1886), John Jones, Mrs Yolande

[24] James Christie's Testimony, *Report from the Select Committee on the National Gallery together with the Proceedings of the Committee Minutes of Evidence, Appendix and Index, Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed on 4 August 1853* [hereafter cited as *1853 Report*], 390–391, [NG 15/10], NGA. Originally quoted in Barbara Pezzini, *Making a Market for Art: Agnews and the National Gallery, 1855-1928,* University of Manchester, unpublished Ph.D thesis, 2018, 90.

[25] Whilst viewing Princess Galilizin's collection in St Petersburg in September 1867 Ferdinand de Rothschild wrote in a letter to Lionel de Rothschild: 'The only friends I met were a trio of curiosity dealers, Durlacher, Spritzer and Wertheimer. I hear that Davis and Joseph are living two streets off. Considering the presence of these Bond St. robbers I shall not even attempt to look out for curiosities, and shall be glad to save both time and money. They have all come to buy Princess Galiltzin's Collection. Durlacher is to take me to see it.' 10 September 1867, letter from Ferdinand to Lionel (000/26/20), *RTA*.

[26] Ferdinand de Rothschild, 18 September, 1867, (000/26/21), *RTA*.

[27] John Charles Robinson for Robert Napier, *Catalogue of the Works of Art Forming the Collection of Robert Napier,* 1865, 258.

[28] Henry Hope had inherited his father Thomas Hope's entire art collection, including the London residence Duchess Street, Deepdene House in Surrey and the much celebrated Hope Diamond.

Lyne Stephens née Duvernay (1812-1895)[29] and even family members who competed against each other, especially the several strands of the Rothschild family.[30]

With this in mind, we can better historically situate Ferdinand's observations of the Ralph Bernal auction sale in 1855. Perhaps what is most striking is the considerable number of individuals who he mentions were involved in the history of collecting these six Sèvres vases.[31] Several figures operated in this network of object exchange, including the antiquarian collector Ralph Bernal, the auction house Christie's, the 4th Marquess of Hertford, his mistress Mademoiselle Oger, who in turn had given them to an unspecified antiques and curiosities dealer, and Ferdinand and his cousin Adolphe de Rothschild (1823-1900) who eventually acquired them. In relation to the Sèvres vases referred to by Ferdinand, Lord Hertford spent 1942 *guineas* 10 *shillings* for Lot 469 and 1417 *guineas* 10 *shillings* for Lot 470 during the Bernal auction.[32] Bernal had actually purchased Lot 469, a pair of rose ground *vase à oreilles* in the early 1830s from the dealer Henry Baring for only 200 *guineas*.[33] In twenty years, the value of Sèvres porcelain had increased exponentially, almost by 900% and as this chapter argues this mania would continue to grow. In fact, it was Ferdinand's uncle Baron Lionel de Rothschild (1808-1879) who had

[29] Originally called Pauline Duvernay, Mrs Lynne Stephens was an actress in Paris and London who married Stephens Lyne Stephens, a glass factory merchant. Upon his death in 1860 she was granted £300,000 and made the sole executor of almost £700,000, Saturday 14 April, 1860, *York Herald,* 3. Upon her death in 1895 newspapers reported on 'an apparently inexhaustible array of priceless Sèvres', Friday 10 May, 1895, *St James's Gazette,* 13.
[30] It is worth noting that after the death of Lionel de Rothschild in 1879 his Sèvres collection was divided equally amongst his three sons by the dealers Frederick and Charles Davis; Nathaniel, Alfred and Leopold de Rothschild all gained several key pieces from Lionel's collection which reinforces that the collecting of Sèvres was indeed a shared family obsession. 'Division of Baron Lionel de Rothschild's Will, divided by consent of the Baroness Lionel de Rothschild between the three sons', 000/176/11, *RTA.*
[31] Michael Hall, 'Ferdinand de Rothschild, *Reminiscences*, 65.
[32] Christie, Manson & Woods, *Catalogue of the Celebrated Collection of Works of Art, from the Byzantine Period to that of Louis Seize, by Ralph Bernal,* March 1855, *CAL.*
[33] Henry George Bohn, *A Guide to the Knowledge of Pottery, Porcelain, and Other Objects of Vertu comprising and illustrated catalogue of the Bernal collection*, 1857, 35.

originally bid against Hertford for these pieces, given this it is not surprising that such a competitive atmosphere stayed with Ferdinand so vividly. As the *Morning Post* reported:

> Messrs. Christie's rooms have probably rarely presented a scene of more interesting excitement than on Thursday, during the competition for the possession of two pairs of Sèvres vases, numbered respectively 469 and 470 in the catalogue of the Bernal collection… eagerly competed for at a sum scarcely less than £1,000 each. This remarkable fact was realised, on Thursday – the Marquis of Hertford, Baron Lionel Rothschild, and Mr. Henry Hope, personally contending up to that amount for the ownership.[34]

Remarking upon the rarity of Bernal's 'old' Sèvres, the newspaper justified the strong competition amongst collectors as 'the art of this beautiful manufacture [is] comparatively lost'.[35] Coverage of the Bernal auction was widespread through numerous periodicals and later commemorated by the British publisher Henry George Bohn (1796-1884) who annotated the Bernal sale catalogue in 1857 which was subsequently published. In fact, art historian James Stourton has credited Ralph Bernal and the auction catalogue by Bohn as responsible for generating a more specialised collecting rubric defined by a 'shift of interest from the work of the artist to the product of the craftsman'.[36] Certainly, Bohn's published auction catalogue demonstrated growing contemporary attention to art market results.[37] Many contemporary newspapers therefore celebrated 'the remarkable skill of Mr.Bernal as a collector, and showing that the purchases of articles of *vertu,* guided by good taste and judgment, may prove an admirable means of investment'.[38] However, others indicated a moral anxiety due to the amount of money being spent at auction. Such sentiments were expressed by several newspapers; *John*

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[34] Saturday 10 March, 1855, *Morning Post,* 6.
[35] 'The Bernal Collection', Saturday 10 March, 1855, *Morning Post,* 6.
[36] James Stourton, 'The Revolving Door: Four Centuries of British Collecting', Inge Reist, (ed.), *British Models of Art Collecting and the American Response. Reflections Across the Pond*, (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2014), 37.
[37] As Mark Westgarth has noted, the Strawberry Hill Sale in 1842 and the Stowe 1848 Sale also featured significant publications of sale results. See: Mark Westgarth, "Florid Speculators in Art and Virtu": the London Picture Trade c. 1850', 39.
[38] 'The Bernal Collection,' Monday 26 March, 1855, *London Evening Standard,* 1.

O'Groat's Journal, a Christian periodical condemned auction sales, with one correspondent writing a letter entitled 'Bernal Madness' which criticized the 1855 Bernal auction and 'the passion for lavishing money on old articles of "vertu"…the freaks of madness being next to realised in the facility of the buyers'.[39] Emphasised here is the lack of Christian moral value shown by collectors whose 'money was expended in the gratification of a frivolous, morbid, unchristian passion'.[40] The *Builder* also alleged that there had been a 'Cocker among the Crockery' at the Bernal sale as 'a pair of vases realised the value of a fine house'.[41] Such comments reveal a complex moral landscape underpinning collecting practices at this time. As Peter Mandler has revealed, during the mid-Victorian period 'the British retained a stubborn attachment to the view that there was one human nature and thus one ideal human morality towards which all peoples were tending, only the British more rapidly than everyone else'.[42] Literary texts by the likes of Honoré de Balzac and Comte Horace Viel-Castel earlier in the nineteenth century had revealed already an element of moral judgment through the ridicule of collectors. Notably in *The Virtuoso* published in 1840, the main character and obsessive *pâte-tendre* Sèvres collector Menussard is criticised by Viel-Castel as someone who 'would see a whole quarter of the town burning before he would stir an inch from his own door, or suffer himself to experience the slightest emotion at the catastrophe'.[43] Similarly *The Encyclopaedia of Anecdotes* stated that 'it has been the fashion, of late, perhaps in some

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[39] 'Bernal Maddness', Friday 25 May 1855, *John O'Groat's Journal,* , 4.
[40] 'Bernal Maddness', Friday 25 May, 1855, *John O'Groat's Journal,* 4.
[41] 'Bernal Maddness', Friday 25 May, 1855, *John O'Groat's Journal,* 4; also reported in Wednesday 4 April, 1855*, The Ulsterman, 3*; and in 7 April, 1855, *Galway Vindicator, and Connaught Advertiser*, 4.
[42] Peter Mandler, *The English National Character,* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 76.
[43] As discussed in the Introduction, *The Virtuoso* was written by Comte Horace de Viel-Castel in 1839 and followed the life of a passionate Sèvres collector known as Monsieur de Menussard. Originally issued in installments in France as part of *Les Francais peints par eux-même,* from 1839-1842 it appeared in full in 1840 in English as part of Jules Janin, *Pictures of the French: a series of literary and graphic delineations of French Character,* 97-103.

instances not very unjustly, to laugh at the mania of collecting'.[44] Although this element of ridicule endured to a certain extent, as the nineteenth century progressed there was a move towards a greater level of suspicion and anxiety for collecting networks who pursued such extravagant pieces of decorative art. One newspaper noted: 'there is no use in marvelling at the absurdities of men with a mania for collecting!...there is no end to the absurdities of men who have more money than wit. I only wish they would turn their rage for collecting to more useful purposes'.[45] Aristocratic spending was the subject of criticism for several years, notably the notoriously satirical publication *Punch* which often mocked the aristocracy pleaded in July 1847 for 'a stop to the absurd mania for hunting after curiosities'.[46] Similarly *The Times* in reference to the infamous Stowe Sale in 1848 condemned the 'folly' and 'degenerate aristocracy' of the now bankrupt Dukes of Buckingham.[47] At another auction the 4th Marquess of Hertford bought three blue-ground Sèvres vases dated c.1780 and was criticised in *Revue Universelle des Arts* as being 'le riche amateur'—'cette home est vraiment exorbitante, et dépasse de beaucoup tout ce que peut faire concevoir la passion de bric-à-brac'.[48] And *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* said—'Où s'arrentorent ces folles enchères?'[49] Patriotism also dominated the moral landscape as the collecting of French art was seen as opposing the desire to support local British manufacture and design, as championed by the Schools of Art. Writing in *The Art-Union* in June 1844 one critic noted 'I would suggest to a connoisseur, instead of giving immense prices for the name of reality of the foreign article, to first ascertain whether its equal cannot be produced at home'.[50] Prompted by a growing anxiety over the frivolity of the aristocratic classes, a rising concern over political pressures across

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[44] George Ramsay, *The Encyclopaedia of Anecdotes*, (London: 1828), 94.
[45] 'The Night Auction', *The Metropolitan Magazine,* Volume 24, 1839, 288-289.
[46] July, 1847, *Punch,* 2.
[47] 3 June, 1848, *The Times*.
[48] 'the rich amateur', 'this man is too extravagant and far exceeds anything that could be conceived as a passion for bric à brac', *Revue Universelle des Arts,* 1864.
[49] 'When will these crazy auctions stop?', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts,* 1864, 392.
[50] June 1844, *The Art-Union,* Vol.6, 146.

Europe, and writings by figures such the painter William Dyce and the art critic John Ruskin, late nineteenth-century Britain bore witness to a staunch moral landscape. As Robinson argued when speaking more directly about a forthcoming sale of Sèvres porcelain in a report for the South Kensington Museum in 1863: 'this object will be eagerly competed for by several dealers and private collectors and that is likely to fetch a sum entirely beyond what I should feel justified in recommending to be given for the museum'.[51] Dyce and Ruskin were both particularly vigilant that public money from museums should 'no longer be played with like pebbles in London auction-rooms'.[52] Championed by Ruskin, late nineteenth-century society viewed economic value as something which should be influenced by moral values on a permanent basis.[53] Against this moral landscape it is perhaps unsurprising that some plutocratic families like the Rothschilds adopted a much more cautious attitude when it came to their art collecting. Memorably, after the purchase of his 'first important acquisition' of Sèvres porcelain in 1861, which was a *bleu celeste* Sèvres *vaisseau à mât* in the shape of a ship, Ferdinand de Rothschild hid it in his cabinet away from the prying eyes of his family who presumably would have condemned the price for which he had paid the dealer Alexander Barker.[54] On another occasion in November 1867 Baroness Charlotte de Rothschild (1819-1884) cautioned her son Leopold of the dangers associated with aristocratic spending habits warning him of the 'sinful and wicked gambling transactions of the

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[51] John Charles Robinson, 14 May 1863, South Kensington Museum Report, 303412, *Special Collections, V&A Museum, London.*

[52] John Ruskin, *Ruskin's Works: Volume 18,* (London: D.Estes, 1899), 55.

[53] Jules Lubbock, *The Tyranny of Taste: The Politics of Architecture and Design in Britain, 1550-1960,* (New Haven: University of Yale Press, 1995), 295.

[54] This was one of ten treasured Sèvres 'ship' vases which circulated the art market in the nineteenth century, of which Ferdinand collected three examples, please see Fig.L. According to Ferdinand's *Reminiscences*, the dealer and collector Alexander Barker 'had bought it many years previously from a Neapolitan dealer who had had it from the Prince of Salerno, a member of the Royal House of Naples, to whose ancestor it had been given by Louis XV…I had the "ship" in a cabinet, afraid to own it lest I should be scolded for my extravagance by my Uncles'. Michael Hall, 'Ferdinand de Rothschild, *Reminiscences*, 60.

Dukes of Hamilton and Newcastle, Lord Hastings'.[55] Notably in 1876 *The Star* newspaper reported a lawsuit on the theft of some Sèvres, indicating it was an act of 'china-mania' as a person, a Mr Samuel Charles Phillips, had been found guilty and 'charged with conspiring to obtain by fraud a quantity of Sèvres china, worth £4,500, the property of the Prince Nicholas Repnine'.[56] According to the court proceedings, a Mr Matthew Vehovar, a literature professor from Vienna had travelled to England on 17 March 1874 with '105 pieces of Sevres china, a complete dessert service, the property of Prince Repnine, a Russian nobleman—I was employed to sell the service… 15,000*L.* in English money'.[57] Philips was 'indicted for unlawfully conspiring to obtain from Matthew Vehovar' and sentenced to eighteen months in jail.[58] Perhaps contemporaries were right to be concerned about the intense mania surrounding the collecting of Sèvres in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

Auctions: c.1848-c.1886

From the 1840s onwards a number of significant profile auctions featuring Sèvres porcelain captured public interest, including: Strawberry Hill sale in 1842, Stowe Sale in 1848, the Earl of Pembroke's sale in 1851, Duchess of Bedford's sale in 1853, Ralph Bernal's sale in 1855, 2nd Earl of Lonsdale's sale in 1856, 1859 and his posthumous sale in 1879,[59] the Marchioness of Londonderry's sale in 1869, Count Anatole Demidoff's sale at San Donato in 1870, and the sales of William Goding, Alexander Barker, and Lord

[55] November 1867, Letter from Charlotte to Leopold, (000/22). *RTA.*
[56] Saturday 11 March, 1876*, The Star*, 4.
[57] February 1876, 'trial of Samuel Charles Phillips, Isaac Cohen, (t18750228-197), *Old Bailey Proceedings Online,* [accessed 12 January 2019].
[58] February 1876, 'trial of Samuel Charles Phillips, Isaac Cohen, (t18750228-197), *Old Bailey Proceedings Online,* [accessed 12 January 2019].
[59] It is worth noting that Lonsdale also orchestrated at least one private sale, in 1855, by collaborating with Edward Baldock Jnr and John Webb, *Diary 55*. D/LONS/L2/44-63, *CRO.*

Crewe which all occurred in 1874. By this stage, collecting networks and the British public had developed a greater interest in auction prices, which were discussed frequently in newspapers and then again in auction catalogues which were published retrospectively.[60] Whilst scholars of French porcelain consider nineteenth-century auction catalogues frequently in order to substantiate provenance and comment on the prices achieved on the art market, a more critical analysis of the connoisseurial knowledge and commercial strategies adopted by auction houses in relation to Sèvres has never received any attention.[61] As sociologist Juan Pardo-Guerra has explained, throughout the history of the art market 'the auction catalogue attempts to make explicit the (cultural) value of an object in order to justify (and not despite of) its future (market) price'.[62] By providing both textual and visual evidence auction catalogues promoted their most significant lots on an international scale, and in doing so attempted to shape the potential art market price. Similarly, art historian Elizabeth Pergam has argued that an examination of auction catalogues can contribute to an 'evolving understanding of art knowledge, both aesthetic and economic, and the interdependence of the market and connoisseurship'.[63] In regard to Sèvres, nineteenth-century auction catalogues offered written information on form, style, and quality, which often varied in detail. An overly descriptive, and at times hyperbolic language for Sèvres porcelain was adopted, which made use of different font styles to draw attention to certain lots and included additional judgements on the quality or rarity of a piece. For example, in 1856 at a Christie's auction

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[60] Collectors were also eager to understand prices, for example several exchanges occurred between various members of the Rothschild family regarding the cost value of Sèvres which could differ greatly at auction and through private transactions. On one occasion in February 1868 Baron Lionel de Rothschild wrote to his wife Charlotte that 'I suppose you saw in the papers that the sevres vase fetched £1,000 and the two small ones £700, nice prices', 29 February 1868, (RFamC/4/88), *RTA*.

[61] See for example: Tamara Préaud, 'Sèvres and Paris auction sales: 1800-1847', *International Ceramics Fair,* 1996, 27-34, 28.

[62] Juan Pardo-Guerra, 'Priceless Calculations: Reappraising the Sociotechnical Appendages of Art', *European Societies,* vol.15, no.2, 2013, 196-211, 200.

[63] Elizabeth Pergam, 'Selling Pictures: the illustrated auction catalogue', *Journal of Art Historiography,* Number 11, December 2014, 1-25, 2.

of Lord Lonsdale's collection, Lot 57 was described as a 'BEAUTIFUL CABARET, white, with decorations in colours and gold; consisting of oblong tray, teapot, sucrier, and cup and saucer. *Of exquisite quality.*'[64] At times certain pieces were also chosen to be illustrated. At this stage, illustrated sale catalogues were much more common in Paris, for example the Housset auction in March 1836 included reproductions of Sèvres porcelain, yet this technique was not adopted in Britain until the mid nineteenth century.[65] From this stage onwards auction houses embraced reproductive prints and photographs as key marketing strategies for 'old' Sèvres porcelain.[66] Notably in 1842 the celebrated Strawberry Hill auction organised by George Robins featured an illustrated frontispiece that included Sèvres.[67] Illustrations were expensive and therefore it is important to consider why certain objects were chosen above others. From the 1850s onwards, facilitated by technological advancement in engraved and lithographic reproductions, illustrations of Sèvres appeared more frequently within the sale catalogue than any other decorative art or sculpture.[68] This not only gives an insight into the marketing mechanisms of the auction house, it also reinforces the systems of knowledge and value

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[64] Christie, Manson & Woods, *Catalogue of a portion of the choice collection of old pate tendre sevres porcelain, formerly the property of a nobleman'*, Friday May 30, 1856. *CAL.*

[65] Housset Sale, 16-19 March 1836, Tamara Préaud, 'Sèvres and Paris auction sales: 1800-1847', 28. A tradition for engraving paintings in French catalogues existed from much earlier on in the eighteenth century, for more information see: Emile Dacier, 'Les Catalogues de Ventes Illustrés au XVIIIe Siècle', *Le Portique*, 3, 1946, 104- 120. In addition, Krzysztof Pomian has focused specifically on eighteenth-century French auction catalogues, particularly the language used and their influence in shaping taste, Krzysztof Pomian, *Collectors and Curiosities: Paris and Venice, 1500-1800, trans.* Elizabeth Wiles-Portier, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990), 139-168.

[66] Patricia de Montfort has touched upon the marketing strategies which raised the profile of certain categories of art and artists towards the end of the nineteenth century through: 'exhibition packaging, catalogues, publicity and gallery events'. Patricia de Montfort, 'The Fine Art Society and Rise of the Solo Exhibition', Charlotte Gould and Sophie Mesplède, (eds.), *Marketing Art in the British Isles, 1700 to the Present,* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), 147-165, 148.

[67] Bet McLeod, 'Horace Walpole and Sèvres porcelain. The collection at Strawberry Hill,' *Apollo* (Jan. 1998), 42-47.

[68] Advances in printing technology were aided by the emergence of steam-powered cylindrical presses, lithographic techniques and the use of color chromolithography, these enabled a marked rise in the availability of printed visual sources, see for example: Victor Margolin, *World History of Design,* (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), 188. Interestingly, the relationship between image and text which W.J.T. Mitchell considers to be a new 'pictorial turn' in the 1980s and 1990s emerges, he argues, due to new image technologies. For a greater discussion on this see, Kresimir Purgar, *W.J.T.Mitchell's Image Theory: Living Pictures,* (London: Taylor and Francis, 2016), 126.

structures associated with Sèvres as an object of significant cultural, aesthetic, historical and economic meaning. In addition, such marketing decisions also had the capacity to reinforce object hierarchies for certain categories of Sèvres, as only jardinières, vases or sculptural figures were chosen for illustration, presumably as these could generate the greatest revenue. An examination of these printed illustrations reveals a strong connection between the placement of the text and the image, a relationship which W.J.T Mitchell would view as 'a dialectical struggle' governed by the ideological power systems of the auction house.[69] Both text and image represent the same piece of Sèvres, whilst greater detail is presented through the text, the image allows the reader to visualise the piece, classify its decoration and form based on their own knowledge, and therefore the object is more likely to be remembered visually.[70] In fact, when auctions chose to illustrate Sèvres, often in close proximity to the Lot in question, they tended to position them towards the end of the sale, presumably to encourage anticipation as the auction gained momentum.

It is of interest to note that the vases which attracted so much attention at the Bernal sale –as discussed at the start of this chapter in Ferdinand de Rothschild's *Reminiscences*– were both illustrated in the catalogue produced by Christie's in the lead up to the sale (Fig.XLII).[71] Given that only thirty illustrated plates were included in the catalogue of 4294 Lots this suggests that Christie's used their knowledge of the objects in question, the widespread taste for Sèvres, and Bernal's position as a well-regarded Sèvres collector to anticipate that these pieces would be highly sought after. Both Lots were auctioned off as the final pieces on the fourth day of the sale, and the printed picture plate was inserted

[69] Kresimir Purgar, *W.J.T.Mitchell's Image* Theory, 126.
[70] For a greater discussion regarding the image-text relationship with regard to visual object perception and memory, see: Thomas Palmeri and Michael Tarr, 'Visual Object Perception and Long-Term Memory', S. Luck and A. Hollingworth (eds.), *Visual Memory,* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 179.
[71] Christie, Manson & Woods, *Catalogue of the celebrated collection of works of art, from the Byzantine period to that of Louis Seize, of that distinguished collector Ralph Bernal*, 33-34.

into the second page of that sale day. A potential buyer could have opened up the catalogue to the fourth day and seen the illustrations straight away, and subsequently read the accompanying Lot text. Here the auction house engineered the inclusion of the visual representation to come before the text, indicating a belief in the transcending power of design over words. Notably, design historian Penny Sparke has commented that designs have the ability to express identity and ideas on an international level, 'whether for personal, political or commercial ends'.[72] For both Lots the text comprised little information regarding the form and style of the vases, especially as Lot 469 only stated it had 'curved leaf-shaped lips forming handles' and whilst Lot 470 mentioned that the vases were 'of very elegant form', no other information was given.[73] Certainly such marketing strategies produced a new form of visual knowledge which could be cross-referened with the text, and these would have acted as visual aids and connoisseurial tools for potential buyers. Nevertheless, the engravings were not always of the best quality and were often rather small in size. With Lot 470 for example, the quality of the print may have made it more difficult to differentiate between the ceramic and the ormolu base, of course neither captured the colours of the piece, and only one side of the object could be shown (Fig.XLII). In 1874 at the auction sale of the collector William Goding the final eight lots in the sale were all illustrated examples of Sèvres, which included several jardinières and vase garnitures. Notably, Lot 100, the final one of the day, which was a pair of vases, had belonged previously to the Duchess of Cleveland, who had exhibited them in 1862 at the *Special Loan Exhibition.*[74] According to the catalogue description,

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[72] Penny Sparke, *An Introduction to Design and Culture: 1900 to the Present,* (London: Routledge, 2013), 6. For more information on the use of visual representation instead of textual representation in the marketing strategies of decorative arts during the mid- to late- nineteenth century in Britain please also see Caroline McCaffrey-Howarth, 'Visual Representations of Nineteenth-Century Furniture', (ed.), Christina Anderson, *A Cultural History of Furniture,* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2019, forthcoming).

[73] Christie, Manson & Woods, *Catalogue of the celebrated collection of works of art, from the Byzantine period to that of Louis Seize, of that distinguished collector Ralph Bernal,* 33-34.

[74] Christie, Manson & Woods, *Old Sèvres Porcelain, The Property of a Known Collector,* March 19, 1874, 6-10. Written in the original ledger is the name of the collector: William Goding, *CAL.*

Lot 100 comprised 'a pair of vases, with covers and stands forming jardinieres, of very rare and beautiful form, the sides fluted in six compartments, green ground, with rose du barri foliage' and these were purchased by 1st Earl of Dudley for £6825.[75] This Lot information was positioned directly opposite the illustration for better examination, although once again the images were fairly small and this may have compromised any detailed connoisseurial investigation (Fig.XLIII). As such, it was still important to examine objects in person, and whilst the introduction of photography acted as a new supplementary marketing and connoisseurial tool, it did not substitute the advantages of an in-person physical inspection. Notably the 4th Marquess of Hertford in June 1859 mentioned in passing to his agent Mawson that 'On Friday some fine sevres vases are to be sold/at Christies/& a beautiful upright secretaire Mr Wallace has the photographs'.[76] It appears that these photographs were sent by Christie's in addition to the auction sale catalogue, perhaps due to rising demand and collector interest in Sèvres. Such photographs would have been lighter than a sale catalogue to carry around and could have been posted across Europe and even to America with greater ease. As Hertford had seen Wallace's photographs it also suggests that they could be exchanged easily amongst collecting networks, furthering the connoisseurial potential of such marketing mechanisms. Although photographs were even more expensive than lithographs to produce, Christie's must have justified this cost in the anticipated potential of greater income. Whilst the early photographer William Henry Fox Talbot, who reproduced a photograph of 'Articles of China' from a private collection in 1844, stated that 'the more strange and fantastic the forms of his old teapots, the more advantage in having their

[75] Christie, Manson & Woods, *Old Sèvres Porcelain, The Property of a Known Collector,* March 19, 1874, 6-10, *CAL.*

[76] 21 June 1859, Letter from Lord Hertford to his agent Samuel Mawson, John Ingamells, (London: Trustees of the Wallace Collection, 1981), 113. Although such archival evidence indicates that these photographs did exist, unfortunately no extant ones remain today in The Wallace Collection archive.

pictures given instead of their descriptions',[77] such a belief was not ubiquitous. In May 1861 Hertford remarked that 'Messrs Christie & Manson are often good enough to send me photographs which are of the greatest use to me'.[78] However, by June 1861, even Hertford was not satisfied with these photographs complaining that 'They are so very bad & so small that it is impossible to observe the details'.[79] Akin to the printed illustrations, these photographs were of varying quality, perhaps unsurprising as this technology was still undergoing significant development at this stage, and presumably the shiny reflections from *pâte-tendre* porcelain must have been difficult to avoid.[80] Nonetheless, such marketing strategies evidently attracted buyer interest for example, Hertford was tempted enough to demand that Mawson or another authoritative figure conducted a thorough connoisseurial investigation in person:

> I am extremely obliged to you for your very kind communication respecting the vases & prices of Louis XVI furniture. I rely much more on your good description than on the Photographs Messrs Christie & Manson were good enough to send me.[81]

The visual documentation and marketing strategies adopted by auction houses such as Christie's enabled them to promote specific pieces and anticipate buyer interest as they attempted to control the market. Moreover, such illustrated catalogues and photographs also comprised a form of knowledge production, as auction house connoisseurship was diffused to wider collector networks, albeit with commercial undertones. Nonetheless, it was still paramount for collecting networks to attend auction sales. A frequent visitor to

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[77] William Henry Fox Talbot, *The Pencil of Nature*, 1844, as quoted in Hannah Tavares, *Pedagogies of the Image,* (Springer: Berlin, 2016), 33.
[78] 30 May 1861, Letter from Lord Hertford to his agent Samuel Mawson, 130.
[79] 11 June 1861, Letter from Lord Hertford to his agent Samuel Mawson, 130.
[80] This is a relatively unexplored area of research in terms of the decorative arts, for more information on the use of photographs in painting catalogues and in the art press during this time please see: Elizabeth Pergam, 'Selling Pictures: the illustrated auction catalogue', 1-25; and Anthony Hamber, 'Facsimile, Scholarship, and Commerce: Aspects of the Photographically Illustrated Art Book (1839-1880)', Stephen Bann, (ed.), *Art and the Early Photographic Album*, (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 2011), 142-3.
[81] 11 June 1861, Letter from Lord Hertford to his agent Samuel Mawson, 130.

Christie's, the collector Lady Dorothy Nevill believed that 'one of the best ways of learning how to distinguish the good from the bad is to make a practice of frequenting Christie's…a constant attendance at these famous auction-rooms becomes an artistic education in itself'.[82] Given this, the auction house can be viewed as a space where knowledge could be exchanged, connoisseurship exercised, and collectors, dealers and agents could socialise together.

'Sèvres-mania' at Auction

Drawing on Actor-Network-Theory, it is possible to consider the dynamics at play within the socio-cultural sphere of the mid- to late- nineteenth-century auction saleroom.[83] By this stage the firmly established role of the auctioneer manipulated and energised the auction audience as collecting networks crowded together.[84] As Smith posits, 'an auction is seldom simply held; rather, it is staged'.[85] According to one art critic in 1850, as an auction unfolded 'the Auctioneer's voice grows twice as big—his hammer knocks twice as loud'.[86] Similarly the auctioneer also held a unique position of power as he possessed detailed knowledge regarding the lots which would attract the most attention and the bidders most unwilling to admit defeat. As the auction began and the bidding process

[82] Lady Dorothy Nevill, *The Reminiscences of Lady Dorothy*, (London: Edward Arnold, 1906), 237.
[83] Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory,* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 128. See for example work by art historian Michael Zell who has viewed Actor-Network-Theory not as a theoretical framework *per se* but as a 'method of conceptualizing social ties' and the dynamics between artist, patron, collector and artwork. Michael Zell, 'Rembrandt's Gifts: A Case Study of Actor-Network-Theory', *Journal of Historians of Netherlandish Art*, 3, Issue 2, Summer 2011, 1.
[84] Much has been written about the theatricality and drama of the auction as a social event, see, for example, Jeremy Cooper, *Under the hammer: the auctions and auctioneers of London,* (London: Constable, 1977).
[85] Charles Smith, *The Social Construction of Value,* 109.
[86] Nooks and Corners of Character—the Capitalist of the Mock-Auction', *Punch*, Vol.XVILL, No.443, 1850*,* 44.

occurred Sèvres porcelain and the potential owner engaged in 'the many entanglements of humans and non-humans'.[87] Suggested here then is the idea that the space of the auction saleroom is not exclusively a place of human interaction. Once Sèvres is considered as an actor with agency it can embody a new social network as it interacts with the viewer and elicits the collector's desire. With this in mind it is not exclusively the exchange between the collectors, dealers, agents or auctioneers which generated social ties during auction proceedings, but also the presence of the objects themselves. Such interactions I argue encouraged the emergence of 'Sèvres-mania' within the socio-cultural sphere of the time-pressured auction saleroom. Arjun Appadurai for example has underlined the contested, yet tactical nature of the auction when he discussed it as a 'tournament of value',[88] such a description clearly aligns with Baudrillard who upholds that 'like the game (poker, etc.), the art auction is always both a ritual and a unique event'.[89] Baudrillard has explained that during an auction the exchange value, the art object, is in fact 'wagered (miser en jeu)'.[90] Here the original French likens the process to a gambling bet, involved in playing a game. Such analogies to battles and games were not unfamiliar to contemporaries at auctions in the nineteenth century. Notably, in 1856 in reference to the Angerstein Sale Lord Hertford wrote to his agent Mawson that 'I should like to have the little Cabinet, no 96, with the plaques of Sevres china & if you are good enough to put on your sword & armour & fight for me I shall, as always, be very grateful'.[91] Hertford's comment suggests a growing awareness of the competitive nature of the auction room and need to ready oneself in order to overpower a competing rival.

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[87] Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social*, 84.
[88] Arjun Appadadurai, *The Social Lives of Things*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 21.
[89] Jean Baudrillard, 'The Art Auction: Sign Exchange and Sumptuary Value', 116.
[90] Jean Baudrillard, 'The Art Auction: Sign Exchange and Sumptuary Value', 116.
[91] 9 May, 1856, Paris. *Hertford-Mawson Letters,* John Ingamells, (London: Trustees of the Wallace Collection, 1981), 83-84.

Often displayed in sight of the collectors, Sèvres can be understood as a social agent which activated the space of the auction sale room, as object and actor interacted together, sharing agency. Contemporary writings and illustrations reveal that potential buyers were placed in close proximity to the objects for sale. For example, a drawing by John Doyle from 1838 entitled *Auction Extraordinary* from an imaginary George Robins auction for a 'Prime Minister Viscount' shows decorative art in the saleroom (Fig.XLIV).[92] Included in the supposed sale was 'A matchless Bachelor's luncheon-service of Sèvres porcelain, ornamented with beautiful illustrations from classic literature', and the image demonstrates that two tureens, most likely made of Sèvres, were carried around by the auction house workers as attendees appraised the pieces as closely as possible to determine if they were worthy of acquisition. Collecting networks had the opportunity to handle and discuss the pieces, whilst passing judgment before the auction sale commenced, and this is corroborated in other contemporary accounts. For example, writing about auctions in *Punch* in 1850 one writer discussed that assistants were used 'to hand the tray to the gentleman for his inspection'.[93] Another art critic writing on Parisian and London auctions at a much later date of 1902 for *The Connoisseur* mentioned the 'murmur of the crowd, passing the articles from hand to hand, inspecting them or disdaining them'.[94] Breakages must have been inevitable, particularly if the auction room was busy and frenzied. Given this it is perhaps unsurprising that in 1881 *The Artist* highlighted that at an auction preview, 'each view day has been crowded, and while the second portion was on view an unfortunate accident happened by a clumsy visitor dropping the cover of a Sevres vase and breaking it'.[95] Contemporary visual imagery

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[92] *Extraordinary Auction*, 1838, part of the Bowes Museum, #2010.11.68. Presumably this image referenced Lord Melbourne who was losing favour and eventually lost office in 1839.
[93] 'Nooks and Corners of Character—the Capitalist of the Mock-Auction', *Punch*, Vol.XVILL, No.443, 1850, 44. Octave Uzanne, 'The Hotel Drouot, and Auction Rooms in Paris Generally, before and after the French Revolution', *The Connoisseur,* May-August 1902, 235-242, 237.
[94] Octave Uzanne, 'The Hotel Drouot, and Auction Rooms in Paris Generally, before and after the French Revolution', *The Connoisseur,* May-August 1902, 235-242, 237.
[95] *The Artist,* 1881, 212.

alluded to this frenzied behaviour of collecting networks in the auction saleroom at this time (Fig.XLV-XLVI).[96] Such images should be used with caution as they were often coded critiques of a specific type of social practice of the auction, and part of a wider trope of the collector more generally as demonstrated through the moral concerns of fictional literature and the written press. More contemporary studies have approached the auction through the lens of behavioural economics: Richard Thaler for example emphasises the behaviour of the collector as they participate in the bidding process, and Atanu Sinha and Eric Greenleaf have demonstrated that such crowded spaces encouraged 'bidding aggressiveness'.[97] Although the nature of the crowded auction sale depicted in the *Cornhill Magazine* in 1861 and the *Illustrated London News* have been exaggerated somewhat they do indicate the confrontational experience which emerged from face-to-face and object-to-object interactions at auction.[98] Newspapers emphasised the growing 'animated competition' at auctions for example at the 1855 Bernal sale one lamented that 'the enormous prices bid for many of these objects have astonished those most familiar with their value…15 years ago who could have foreseen the height to which the mania for these things would rise?'.[99] Notably in the *Picture Sale in London* (Fig.XLVI) one man peers through his binoculars to inspect the object in question, as others clutch bills and catalogues, possibly deliberating over whether to bid or not. Whilst a picture sale is depicted in the *Cornhill Magazine* image it is still possible to see decorative art objects grouped around the outside, particularly on the lower right-hand corner where a variety

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[96] 'Bird's-Eye Views of Society, No.VIII, The Picture Sale', *Cornhill Magazine,* vol.IV, July-December, 1861, 470; ; 'Picture Sale', *Illustrated London News,* 1872.

[97] For a greater discussion of this please see Richard Thaler, 'The Endowment Effect,' *Misbehaving: The Making of Behavioural Economics*, (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2015); Atanu Sinha and Eric Greenleaf, 'The Impact of Discrete Bidding and Bidder Aggressiveness on Sellers' Strategies in Open English Auctions: Reserves and Covert Shilling', *Journal of Marketing Science,* Volume 19 Issue 3, July 2000, 244-265.

[98] 'Bird's-Eye Views of Society, No.VIII, The Picture Sale', *Cornhill Magazine,* vol.IV, July-December, 1861, 470. As shown in Mark Westgarth, "Florid Speculators in Art and Virtu": the London Picture Trade c. 1850', 43; 'Picture Sale in London', *Illustrated London News,* 1872.

[99] Saturday 17 March, 1855, *Leeds Intelligencer,* 12.

of ceramic vases and vessels sit, once again suggesting opportunities for objects to attract collectors through processes of shared agency. In examining this image one cannot help but be reminded of Baudrillard's statement that 'the auction, like the fête or the game, institutes a concrete community of exchange among peers'.[100] Although collectors including the 2nd Earl of Lonsdale and Henry Broadwood had revealed concern over the rising prices for Sèvres as early as the 1830s, the significant economic value established at auctions from the 1850s onwards was by all accounts unprecedented.[101] After the Pembroke Sale in 1851 the 4th Marquess of Hertford expressed his surprise to his agent Samuel Mawson concerning a Sèvres-mounted secretaire: 'I never heard of any thing equal to the price of the secretaire. I know Pembroke considered it immensely sold if it had attained 400 & he did not expect it'.[102] After corresponding directly with the 12th Earl of Pembroke, Hertford remarked, once again to Mawson, that 'P. was quite surprised his things fetched such high prices especially the famous secretaire'.[103] Similarly at the same sale Mrs Lynne Stephens spent £1,020 on three *bleu du roi* Sèvres vases, after a competitive bidding process against Charles Mills and Lionel de Rothschild.[104] By the late 1850s however, a greater awareness had developed that in order to secure a piece of prestigious 'old' Sèvres collectors must compete more ferociously than ever before. As the nineteenth-century economist Alfred Marshall observed, 'the price at which each is sold, will depend much on whether any rich persons with a fancy for it happen to be present at its sale'.[105] Collectors including Hertford complained about the 'tremendous

[100] Jean Baudrillard, 'The Art Auction: Sign Exchange and Sumptuary Value', 117.
[101] As discussed in Chapter II figures including Lonsdale, Broadwood, Jarman and Baldock mentioned frequently the 'foolish prices' for Sèvres. 27 November 1835, Letters from Henry Broadwood to 2nd Earl of Lonsdale, D/LONS/1/2/113, *CRO*.
[102] 11 May 1851, Letter from Lord Hertford to his agent Samuel Mawson, 31. In fact, the secretaire 'of marqueterie [sic] in tulip and Ringwood, with plaques of Sèvres on the fall-down front and drawers' went for £682.10. Saturday 17 May, 1851, *The Atlas,* 7.
[103] 16 May 1851, Letter from Lord Hertford to his agent Samuel Mawson, 33.
[104] Wednesday 14 May, 1851, *Dublin Evening Mail,* 3. See also: Joseph Marryat, *Collections Towards a History of Pottery and Porcelain*, (London: J. Murray, 1857), 315.
[105] Alfred Marshall, *Principles of Economics,* (London: by author, 1890), 276.

prices these things [sevres] fetch'.[106] Similar notions were also expressed by contemporaries, notably Baron Jean-Charles Davillier in 1870 remarked that Sèvres had encouraged the '*folies* of bidding unleashed by nineteenth-century collectors'.[107] And in 1875 *The Graphic* criticised the behaviours of collectors at auction:

> It is in the mania for collecting, not in the collection itself, that the pleasure or excitement is found; there is also the pleasure of exhibiting and lecturing on the treasures; and, perhaps most welcome of all, the meaner of delight of exulting over the fact that the opulent collector has not a similar article, or possesses an inferior specimen, "for which he had paid *three times as much at Christie's"*.[108]

In light of this, from the 1850s onwards the notion of 'china-mania' emerged as a condition associated with the extravagant nature of Sèvres collectors, who were destined to be both ridiculed and seriously critiqued. 'Mania' was applied regularly to describe a particularly fashionable trend or obsession for a variety of activities, such as 'bibliomania' and 'bric-à-brac mania'.[109] As Muensterberger has revealed, 'collecting can become an all-consuming passion'.[110] In April 1859 *Punch* even requested a 'Cure for Chinamania':

> Were we possessed by Chinamania, there is no saying what we might give to possess such curiosities; but while we are in our senses, we shall never dream of paying 210 guineas for the sake of ascertaining what a "kylin," or "compotière," or a "coquille" may resemble, nor of wishing to be one of the fourteen lucky bidders, who between them paid the

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[106] 4 July 1859, Letter from Lord Hertford to his agent Samuel Mawson, 118.
[107] Baron Jean-Charles Davillier, *Les Porcelaines de Sèvres de Madame du Barry*, 1 and 32; originally quoted in: Tom Stammers, 'Historian, Patriot and Paragon of Taste: Baron Jean-Charles Davillier (1823-83) and the Study of Ceramics in Nineteenth-Century France', 15.
[108] Saturday, 17 April, 1875, *The Graphic,* 15.
[109] 'Bibliomania' was used as early as 1743 in France as 'une des maladies de ce siècle' and in 1811 the six-part volume *Bibliomania or Book Madness: a bibliographical Romance in Six Parts* was published by Thomas Frognall Dibdin discussed the history of book-collecting; Joseph D. Lewandowski, 'Unpacking: Walter Benjamin and His Library', *Libraries and Culture,* Vol.34, No.2, (Spring, 1999), 151; in 1896 the physician Max Nordau in his cultural history *Degeneration* paid critical attention to the 'buying craze' associated with 'bric-a-brac' mania, Max Nordau, *Degeneration,* (London: William Heinemann, 1895), 27.
[110] Werner Muensterberger, *Collecting: An Unruly Passion- Psychological Perspectives,* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 6.

> sum of £235 for so precious a possession as an old Sèvres dessert service, mounted with cupids and other "fabulous animals".[111]

Several other newspapers reported on the 'mania for attending auctions'[112] and stories celebrated those who could resist temptation, including someone's wife in America who was successfully 'cured of her auction mania'.[113] The London periodical *The Graphic* in 1875, for example, talked of the 'very comic side to this china mania' describing a husband and wife at an auction sale at Christie's as both being 'crazed by china' due to their frenzied excitement.[114] Although many of these visual and textual accounts were intended to entertain, they were also emblematic of the rising anxiety that auctions created, especially the aforementioned moral objections to spending so much money. Moreover they could also be viewed as symptomatic of rising interests into crowd psychology, first alluded to by Charles Mackay in 1841 in *Extraordinary Popular Delusions and the Madness of Crowds* and later discussed as a 'consciousness of a crowd of such men' by Herbert Spencer in *The Principles of Psychology* in 1870.[115] Spurred on by human behaviour in riots and how individuals acted in closely crowded and intensely wrought situations, studies were executed by scientists, psychologists and anthropologists.[116] As the anthropologist Gustave Le Bon would later suggest in *La*

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[111] 16 April, 1859, *Punch*, 151. In America, the concept of a 'china mania' also infiltrated visual and literary culture, notably the American edition of *The Adventures of a Bric-a-Brac Hunter*, by the collector Herbert Byng Hall first published in Britain in 1868, was re-titled as *Chapters on Chinamania* when published in America in 1875.
[112] *Godey's Magazine,* Volume 74, 1867, 147.
[113] 'Bought at a Bargain,' *The American Micellany,* Volumes 1-2, 254.
[114] Saturday 17 April, 1875, *The Graphic*, 379. It is also worth noting that scholars of the Aesthetic Art Movement discussed the notion of 'china-mania' in relation to the widespread interest in collecting blue and white porcelain from the 1850s onwards, see for example: Lionel Lambourne, *The Aesthetic Movement,* (London: Phaidon Press, 1996), 117.
[115] Herbert Spencer, *The Principles of Psychology,* Volume 1, (London: Williams and Norgate, 1870), 178.
[116] Other significant writers in this field of mob psychology include Boris Sidis and Eduoard Jones, *The Journal of Mental Science,* Volume 39, 1893, 156. Additionally, the medical historian David Healy has discussed the problematic 'delusion of crowds' in regard to 'tulip mania' in the Netherlands, David Healy, *Mania: A Short History of Bipolar Disorder*, (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2008), 11.

Psychologie des Foules, first published in 1895, crowd mentality influenced individuals, often encouraged by limited personal space and the claustrophobic nature of an urban environment.[117] Certainly, auctions provided a space which could be crowded, claustrophobic, and fraught with tension between the collecting networks present. Subsequently, auction sale rooms can be viewed as a distinct cultural space for a new manifestation of a highly-competitive 'Sèvres-mania' during the second half of the nineteenth century. An example of such 'Sèvres-mania', uncovered here for the first time by this investigation, occurred at a posthumous sale of the effects of the collector Thomas Winter, who lived at Teneriffe Park in Beckenham in London and whose collection was sold by Messrs Greene & Horwood in March 1876.[118] Rising tensions during the auction led to a physical dispute regarding the ownership of Sèvres porcelain, with two collectors believing they had both been successful in their bid for a Lot. This fight interrupted proceedings and resulted in the permanent damage of one of the pieces.[119] One newspaper reported the 'angry mêlee' between two rival collectors who 'bade fiercely against each other…and in the uproar one of the vases was knocked over and smashed'.[120] Another periodical condemned this form of auction mania stating:

> When lot 10, which consisted of a small pair of Sevres vases, for which the bidding closed at 1800 guineas, had been disposed of, a dispute arose between two gentlemen in regard to the purchase, each claiming it… During the dispute some hustling took place, and one of the vases in question came to grief, and was smashed into fragments.[121]

As literary historian Andrew Miller has claimed, the auction can be considered as a 'highly visible theatre of competing desires', which in this particular case manifested into

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[117] Gustave Le Bon, *The Crowd: A Study of the Popular Mind,* (London: T F Unwin, 1903[1895]). See also for example Jeffrey Thompson Schnapp and Matthew Tiews, *Crowds,* (California: Stanford University Press, 2006), 73.
[118] 'The Bric a Brac Mania', 11 March 1876, *The Architect,* 162.
[119] Saturday 11 March, 1876, *Morpeth Herald*, 7.
[120] Thursday 9 March, 1876, *Edinburgh Evening News,* 2. Unfortunately the names and identities of the two collectors could not be traced.
[121] Saturday 11 March, 1876, *Morpeth Herald*, 7.

a physical confrontation and fight.[122] Undoubtedly these collectors must have been motivated by a desire to own the pieces of Sèvres which were located close enough to them during the bidding process to be broken during the argument. According to one newspaper, others in attendance 'uproariously insisted upon the decision of the auctioneer being accorded in one or the other's favour'.[123] If indeed the auctioneer had shown a greater preference for one of the men, then this must have surely encouraged an even greater competitive atmosphere. Notably, at the same sale of Thomas Winter's collection, the Earl of Dudley's agent bought two 18-inch-high Sèvres vases for 7,500 guineas and three others were purchased by the Duke of Portland for 5,000 guineas.[124] The 'enormous price for Sevres China' was condemned by the *Edinburgh Evening News* who also revealed that another £4,500 was spent on an ebony cabinet inlaid with Sèvres plaques.[125] As Le Bon observed, 'in the case of men collected in a crowd all emotions are very rapidly contagious'.[126] This contagious mania was in many ways out of control, it ultimately resulted in the destruction of one of the lots, and was reprimanded on a large scale across Britain. Notably, the *Wiltshire Times and Trowbridge Advertiser* even remarked that 'the mania for old china is growing to an ungovernable degree'.[127]

By the end of the nineteenth century one newspaper reflected on the state of the art market and declared: 'duels between collectors of the antique are frequent. One of the most sensational was that between a member of the Rothschild family and the late Lord Dudley over a Sèvres vase'.[128] Whilst no specific auction details are given, such a statement could

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[122] Andrew Miller, *Novels Behind Glass, Commodity Culture and Victorian Narrative,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 21.
[123] 11 March, 1876, 'The Bric a brac Mania', *The Architect,* 162.
[124] Saturday 11 March, 1876, *Morpeth Herald,* 7.
[125] Thursday 9 March, 1876, *Edinburgh Evening News,* 2.
[126] Gustave Le Bon, *The Crowd: A Study of the Popular Mind,* (London: T F Unwin, 1903[1895]), 143.
[127] 'The Value of Old China,' Saturday 11 March, 1876, *Wiltshire Times and Trowbridge Advertiser,* 4.
[128] Wednesday 12 October, 1898, *Suffolk and Essex Free Press,* 6.

relate to a variety of auctions, as the 1850s onwards saw significant competition between several members of the Rothschilds, especially Lionel, Leopold and Ferdinand, and the 1st Earl of Dudley, amongst others.[129] Dora Thornton, the former Curator of the Waddesdon Bequest at the British Museum, has discussed the Rothschild's generational collecting style and has noted their motivation to emulate and compete with each other.[130] In fact, in 1874 before the Goding Sale Ferdinand de Rothschild and his two cousins Alphonse and Edmond were all vying for the same pieces of Sèvres, to avoid the unknown outcome of an auction and the determination of other collectors, they decided collectively to arrange a private transaction instead:

> Alphonse settled the deal with Madame Ogen the day before Goding's sale but the transaction could only be considered really settled yesterday afternoon. I retain the dark blue vase and the two light blue ones, Alphonse keeps the three others… Edmond also wanted to buy the vases and Alphonse told me his brother made an offer for them the very day after he had made his.[131]

Morality must have also been a mitigating factor in the decision to avoid the public sphere of the auction saleroom, and the prying eyes of the British public. For example, on an earlier occasion Ferdinand stated that Rothschilds 'prefer admiring what is easily viewed… what we can purchase in Bond Street with every ease facility and comfort'.[132] Other collectors were less preoccupied with appearing extravagant, notably, the 1st Earl of Dudley requires a detailed examination, as one could go as far to argue that he was the epitome of 'Sèvres-mania' in the latter half of the nineteenth century, criticised as someone who was 'found fault with for having plenty of money'.[133]

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[129] At several auctions various collectors competed against Dudley including Lord Hertford and the Rothschilds, Saturday 2 April, 1870, *Cardiff Times*, 7; Wednesday 12 October, 1898, *Suffolk and Essex Free Press,* 6.
[130] Dora Thornton, 'From Waddesdon to the British Museum', *Journal of the History of Collections,* Vol.13, Issue.2, 2001, 191-213, 194.
[131] Friday morning, 1874, Paris, (000/26/56), *RTA.*
[132] 11 September 1867, (000/26/21), *RTA.*
[133] Wednesday 21 March, 1860, *Worcestershire Chronicle,* 4.

1st Earl of Dudley

After the death of a distant cousin, William Ward inherited the title Lord Ward in 1835, and subsequently engaged in a number of philanthropic activities in and around Worcestershire, supporting local industry including the Kidderminster carpet manufactory and providing for soldiers who had suffered during the Crimean War.[134] In 1860 Queen Victoria bestowed a new creation of Earldom, and he became known as the 1st Earl of Dudley of the second creation, later marrying the Scottish Georgina Elizabeth Moncrieffe (1846-1929) in 1865.[135] A closer inspection of Dudley's acquisitions and motivations for collecting points towards a desire to replicate aristocratic taste. Dudley first appears as a significant buyer at auction from the late 1840s onwards, notably at Stowe in 1848, where he purchased Lot 1094, 'a large Sèvres bowl—turquoise, with subjects of cupids on the outside, and fruits and flowers, and a subject after Watteau' for £48.6.0.[136] Soon Dudley started to build up a significant art collection, and from the 1850s specialised in collecting Sèvres and Old Master paintings, visiting Paris frequently on buying sprees.[137] It is also worth noting that Dudley was very friendly with Henri d'Orléans the Duc D'Aumale, often shooting together at Dudley's country house Witley Court in Worcestershire.[138] Not only does this suggest a connection with the Orléanists it also adds another motivational layer to his collecting and display of eighteenth-century

[134] Obituary, 'The Late Lord Dudley', Saturday 9 May, 1885, *Worcestershire Chronicle,* 5.
[135] 'The Dudley Family', Wednesday 22 November, 1865, *Worcestershire Chronicle*, 3.
[136] Henry Foster and Henry Rumsey, *The Stowe Catalogue Priced and Annotated,* (London: David Bogue, 1848), 70.
[137] According to extant archival material, Dudley travelled to purchase art in Paris in August 1855, July-August 1856, October 1856, and April-May 1857, unfortunately no bills or documents relating to these trips exist in the archive. 1st Earl of Dudley, DE/15/1/4/4-13. *Dudley Archives and Local History Service.*
[138] Here an Orléanist refers to an individual supporting a constitutional monarchy in France, as opposed to support for the traditional monarchy associated with the House of Bourbon. Saturday 26 December, 1863, *Northampton Mercury,* 3.

French decorative art. In fact, the political motivations of Sèvres collectors at this time is particularly interesting, notably Lady Dorothy Nevill showed much support for Bonapartists and developed significant friendships with Napoleon III and Empress Eugénie, whilst still actively collecting remnants of *ancien régime* France.[139] Whilst attending the Great Exhibition in 1851 Dudley became acquainted with Denis-Désiré Riocreux (1791-1872) the first Curator of Le Musée National de Céramique de Sèvres, who later visited Dudley's London House, which one could speculate furthered Dudley's interest and knowledge of Sèvres porcelain.[140] In 1869 at the celebrated Marchioness of Londonderry sale the majority of Frances Anne Vane's Sèvres collection was purchased by Dudley, including pieces with provenance pertaining to celebrated collections of Ralph Bernal and the 2nd Earl of Lonsdale.[141] The following year at the Prince Anatole Demidoff de San Donato auction in 1870 Dudley was subjected to much attention in the press when he acquired a Sèvres service comprising 86 pieces for 256,000 francs or £10,240 which had been made originally for Cardinal de Rohan, the Prince of Soubise.[142] By 1874 Dudley was therefore already well-known by contemporaries for his passion for Sèvres porcelain, and at the Goding sale in March 1874 he spent £6,825 on just two Sèvres vases after a significant competition in the auction saleroom.[143] As Charles Smith has revealed, participation in auctions afforded individuals the opportunity to gain

[139] The links between political beliefs and Sèvres collecting networks is potentially a very fruitful avenue for further research but one which is currently beyond the scope of this doctoral investigation. See also: Caroline McCaffrey-Howarth, 'Reclaiming her Scandalous Past: Lady Dorothy Nevill (née Walpole) as a Collector of Sèvres Porcelain', *French Porcelain Society Journal,* Volume VII, (London: Gomer Press, 2018), 203-227, 212.

[140] Riocreux's file of notes and documents from the 1851 Great Exhibition mentions Dudley and includes the address card for Dudley House, Park Lane, London. Unfortunately, Riocreux does not make any reference to Dudley's art collection. Riocreux, U 9 Laisse 4, *ANMS.*

[141] Saturday 17 April, 1869, *Morning Post,* 5-8.

[142] Interestingly at the same sale Dudley also bought a François Boucher painting of *Venus' Toilet* for 23,000 francs. Monday 28 March, 1870, *Morning Advertiser,* 5; Wednesday 9 March, 1870, *Worcestershire Chronicle,* 3. Several newspapers reported on the 'enormous price' paid out by Dudley, see for example: Monday 28 March, 1870, *Morning Post,* 5; Thursday 31 March, 1870, *Devizes and Wiltshire Gazette,* 4; Tuesday 29 March, 1870, *Pall Mall Gazette,* 7.

[143] As one newspaper reported, 'after a competition such as has never been surpassed in interest and excitement, were finally knocked down at the enormous bid of 6,560 guineas (£6,825)'. March 23, 1874, *Birmingham Daily Post,* 8.

prestige, assert themselves into a particular social order and integrate into a specific type of network.[144] This could suggest a need for self-definition and a desire to demonstrate wealth amongst a particular social network, as the noted book collector Walter Benjamin himself stated, often a collector will keep raising their bid, 'more to assert himself than to acquire the book'.[145] Furthermore, Benjamin in *Unpacking My Library*, talks of the anticipation which objects at auction 'arouse in a genuine collector' as 'the final thrill, the thrill of acquisition passed over them'.[146] The economic value structures of Sèvres were defined continually by the dynamic exchange between collecting networks at auction. Yet in relation to Dudley one cannot help but think of the anthropologist Krzysztof Pomian's belief that 'a collector is only taken seriously when he manipulates large sums of money'.[147] As Walter Benjamin once admitted, in his determination to possess a volume of Balzac's *Peau de Chagrin,* at certain times a collector could be carried away by the frenzied atmosphere of the auction room to 'bid a somewhat higher amount' due to an 'ardent desire to hold on to it [the object] forever'.[148]

Dudley House, located in Park Lane in London housed Dudley's prized collection of eighteenth-century French art which included Gobelins tapestries, paintings by François Boucher and Jean-Baptiste Greuze, and a significantly large collection of Sèvres porcelain, some of which can be seen in a photograph of the Boudoir (Fig.XLVII).[149] Perhaps of most interest, this photograph shows a garniture of three vases under glass domes, comprising a pink Sèvres *vase vaisseau à mât* in the shape of a ship, and two

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[144] Charles Smith, *The Social Construction of Value,*3-5.
[145] Walter Benjamin, 'Unpacking My Library: A Talk About Booking Collecting'*, Illuminations,* (New York: Schocken Books, 1969*),* 64.
[146] Walter Benjamin, 'Unpacking My Library', 59-60.
[147] Krzysztof Pomian, *Collectors and Curiosities*, 1.
[148] Walter Benjamin, 'Unpacking My Library', 64-65.
[149] After visiting Dudley in 1876 a writer from *Le Figaro* exclaimed if 'I wish to describe the marvels of Dudley House, a volume would not suffice for the purpose…the ball-room, which is approached by a splendid staircase of white marble, is hung throughout with Gobelins tapestry. On either side of it are two smaller saloons, one of which contains fifteen *chef d'oeuvres* of Boucher; the other is decorated with the works of Greuze'. Published in June 1876 in *Le Figaro,* and translated into English by the *Worcestershire Chronicle,* 1876, 3.

vases hollandaise. Only shortly before this photograph was taken Dudley had played an active role in a record-breaking auction featuring this Sèvres garniture, at the sale of Lord Crewe, the 7th Earl of Coventry, at Christie's on 12 June 1874.[150] Featured as Lot 150 Dudley paid £10,500 for this *vase vaisseau à mât,* which was the highest price ever paid at auction for a piece of Sèvres (Fig.XLVIII).[151] Several newspapers reported on this record, with one London correspondent writing 'that greater prices have ever [never] before been paid for such articles, even at Christie's'.[152] Similarly, the *Norwich Mercury* admitted that 'it was not so very long ago thought that some 6,000 guineas was a long price to give for a set of old Sèvres vases. Lord Dudley who was then the purchaser, has, however, excelled himself'.[153] In fact, the original ledger book for the auction which exists in Christie's archives had a final total of £9,550 which appears to have been written down hastily and then crossed out and replaced with £10,000, suggesting that a competitive battle for the Lot continued until the very last moment.[154] There is something to be said for the market value which decorative arts such as Sèvres achieved at this time in contrast to the prices paid for paintings. Notably, at the Alexander Barker sale the National Gallery spent almost £10,000 on thirteen paintings including work by Botticelli

[150] Although this sale was conducted officially in an anonymous capacity and merely described as 'the property of a NOBLEMAN' archival records confirm it was Lord Crewe and this seems to have been widely known by contemporaries. Christie, Manson & Woods, *Catalogue of Old Sèvres and Chelsea porcelain and other decorative objects,* Friday, 12 June, 1874, *CAL.*

[151] This would be £694,939.35 in today's money, Historical Currency Converter, *The National Archive*.

[152] Saturday 13 June, 1874, *Edinburgh Evening News,* 2.

[153] Wednesday 17 June, 1874, *Norwich Mercury,* 4. The purchase of Sèvres for '6,000 guineas' references the price paid by Dudley at the William Goding sale on 19 March 1874. Here, Dudley purchased the last Lot of the sale which comprised two Sèvres vases with covers and stands that were formerly in the collection of the Duchess of Cleveland and which had been exhibited at the *Special Loans Exhibition* in the South Kensington Museum in 1862.

[154] According to Lynda MacLeod, Christie's Associate Director and Head Librarian, this was quite uncommon but could occur during the most heated competitive auctions as the clerk rushed to keep up with the final decision. I am grateful to Lynda MacLeod for her support throughout this thesis and for our fruitful discussions in the archives at Christies. Christie, Manson & Woods, *Catalogue of Old Sèvres and Chelsea porcelain and other decorative objects,* Friday, 12 June, 1874, 12.

and Signorelli, whereas Dudley spent the equivalent amount on one Sèvres garniture.[155] Perhaps a more detailed investigation into this would help to reframe the marginalised role of the decorative arts within art historiography and its position today within art historical scholarship.

Dudley's determination to secure the ship vase at the Coventry sale caused *The Graphic* to condemn the mania for Sèvres, which they felt had reached its zenith: 'A good test of how monstrous is this extravagance can be found in the Sevres jardinieres which became Lord Dudley's at the cost of some 10,000*l*'.[156] Equally, the London *Daily Telegraph and Courier* exclaimed that 'prices rule high in the old china market. Sèvres is El Dorado'.[157] On the catalogue frontispiece the 'Rose-du-Barri *Vaisseau à Mât*' was the first featured object listed as being a special lot included in the sale.[158] Described in the catalogue as:

> A MATCHLESS GARNITURE DE CHEMINEE: consisting of a vase and cover, formed as a "Vaisseau *à Mât*" (the arms of the city of Paris)—14¾ in.high; and a pair of éventail jardinieres and stands—8½ in.high, the ground rare rose-du-Barri, with bands of green richly gilt and exquisitely painted with subjects of peasants and flowers in medallions by Morin—*marked with the letter G. for the date, 1759.* See Illustration.[159]

Once again the ship vase was positioned deliberately as the final Lot in the auction sale, perhaps when tensions would have been at their highest. Illustrations were also included, with an inserted printed lithograph by 'Eargues & Co Litho.Warwick St, Regent St W'

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[155] To put this cost into context it is useful to first consider that a London doctor at this time earned about £80 per year and whilst in terms of the art market prices of paintings really varied, paintings of the highest calibre tended to sell for only a couple of thousand, notably in 1874 the National Gallery bought *The Nativity* by Pierro della Francesca for £2415 at the Alexander Barker sale. I am grateful to Barbara Pezzini for the information that thirteen celebrated paintings were considered equal in cost to that of one Sèvres garniture, for more detail on the purchases of the National Gallery at the Barker sale see: Barbara Pezzini, *Making a Market for Art: Agnews and the National Gallery, 1855-1928,* University of Manchester, unpublished Ph.D thesis, 2018.
[156] Saturday, 17 April, 1875, *The Graphic,* 15.
[157] Thursday 18 June, 1874, *Daily Telegraph and Courier*, 5.
[158] Christie, Manson & Woods, *Catalogue of Old Sèvres and Chelsea porcelain and other decorative objects,* Friday, 12 June, 1874, 1.
[159] Christie, Manson & Woods, *Catalogue of Old Sèvres and Chelsea porcelain and other decorative objects,* Friday, 12 June, 1874, 12.

(Fig.XLIX).[160] The way in which the auction house disseminated information about the Sèvres ship vase through marketing and display strategies in the lead up to the auction on 12 June 1874 also provided further incentive for collecting networks. In the days preceding the sale Christie's displayed the set in a glass cabinet, which would have featured in the 'Great Room' where viewings and sales occurred.[161] As one newspaper observed:

> for some days past the lovers of Sèvres china have been going in crowds to feast their eyes on three very moderate sized vases, carefully shut up in a glass cabinet in the room of Messrs, Christie, Manson, and Woods, which were expected to bring some fabulous sum to their owner.[162]

This display strategy required a familiar form of spectatorship, as viewers examined the Ship vase much in the same way as they would have done when it featured in the *Special Loans Exhibition* in 1862. Demonstrated here is the role exercised by Christie's in establishing the status and value structures of an object, they both anticipated their market and also adopted modes of display which were influenced by exhibition rhetoric.[163] Christie's therefore secured the status of Sèvres as an object of cultural capital, which was deserving of significant economic value and collector attention.[164]

It is also worth considering the motivating factors behind the competition for this particular ship vase. The ship form, known as *pot pourri à vaisseau* or *vase vaisseau à*

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[160] Christie, Manson & Woods, *Catalogue of Old Sèvres and Chelsea porcelain and other decorative objects,* Friday, 12 June, 1874, 12.
[161] Alison Clarke, *The Spatial Aspects of Connoisseurship: Agnew's and the National Gallery, 1874-1916,* University of Liverpool, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, 2018, 87-90.
[162] Saturday 20 June, 1874, *Worcester Journal,* 3.
[163] Whilst the commercial motivations behind such displays should be understood as distinctly different to exhibitions, there is a suggested elision between the two. For a greater discussion of the importance of display strategies used by auction houses such as Christie's during the latter part of the nineteenth century in England please see: Alison Clarke, *The Spatial Aspects of Connoisseurship: Agnew's and the National Gallery, 1874-1916,* University of Liverpool, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, 2018, 87-90.
[164] As discussed previously in Chapter III, through the exhibitionary complex cultural, economic, aesthetic, technical and historical values were assigned to Sèvres porcelain, establishing its status as an object of cultural capital.

mât, was modelled by the sculptor Jean-Claude Duplessis in 1758, only twelve were successfully produced, and of the ten known about today, all could be found in British collections during the nineteenth century.[165] For example, many members of the Rothschilds were eager to collect a ship vase, which they discussed in their letters, with Ferdinand de Rothschild purchasing three in total (Fig.L), and Alphonse buying a pink ship, now at the Louvre with provenance associated with Madame de Pompadour.[166] Produced during the Seven Years' War (1756-63), this sculptural piece was charged with a variety of ideological meanings. Firstly, its form directly referenced the Coat of Arms for the City of Paris (Fig.LI), which incorporated a ship, secondly, the shape also derived from the nef, a table decoration in the form of a ship, usually made of precious metals, which had been used by the French monarchy since medieval times (Fig.LII). Additionally, a naval victory at Mahon in 1756 marked one of the most significant triumphs of this war for France.[167] Several newspapers and the Alexander Barker auction catalogue celebrated the historical associations and symbolism of the ship vase, as opposed to its aesthetic qualities.[168] This interest in the historical and cultural values of the object suggests an alternative to what the sociologist Thorstein Veblen has insisted was an emulative form of consumerism connected to the 'canon of expensiveness' which he linked explicitly to the beauty of an object. [169] Undoubtedly, this *vaisseau à mât* was

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[165] These vases were extremely difficult to fire; the multiple openwork piercings in the body often weakened the overall structure, causing it to collapse in the kiln. Contemporaries were aware of the importance of this particular form as it was mentioned and illustrated by Joseph Marryat, *History of Pottery and Porcelain,* (London: Marryat, 1857), 74-75.

[166] Notably in February 1875, Baron Lionel de Rothschild wrote to his son Leo in Paris: 'I had a long letter from Ferdy. He writes Alphonse bought a pink ship, and adds we know it, is it Lord Dudley's?' 21 February 1875, (RFam/C/4/372). *RTA.*

[167] The naval theme is emphasized by the fact that it is shaped like a ship with battering rams in the mouths of the marine masks, and a Royal connection is indicated by the *fleurs-de-lis* of France gilded on the billowing pennant. For more information on the naval battle at the Mahon Port please see Daniel Marston, *The Seven Years War,* (London: Routledge, 2013), 26-27.

[168] See for example: 'Old Sevres Porcelain' *Illustrated London News,* Saturday 27 June, 1874, 13; and in the auction catalogue Lot 150, Christie, Manson & Woods, *Catalogue of Old Sèvres and Chelsea porcelain and other decorative objects,* Friday, 12 June, 1874, 12.

[169] Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class: An Economic Study of Institutions,* (New York: New American Library, 1953), 97.

a cultural and political representation of the power of the French crown, which suggests why nineteenth-century collecting networks in Britain would have been attracted to these pieces. Another motivating factor may have been its inclusion in the *Special Loans Exhibition* held by the South Kensington Museum in 1862 when it was loaned by Lord Crewe as a highly-celebrated example of 'old' Sèvres. As previously discussed in Chapter III, such exhibitions were well-attended, particularly by the wider collecting communities, and it likely that those who furiously bid against Dudley had viewed the object on display in the museum during this exhibition, perhaps desiring to add it to their collection ever since.[170]

In addition to the rose-ground version, Dudley also purchased a gros-bleu ground *vaisseau à mât* from the collector and dealer Alexander Barker (Fig.LIII i)-(Fig.LIII ii).[171] Whist we can assume that Dudley proudly displayed both ship vases, by the early 1880s he experienced some financial difficulties, in part due to the amount of money he had spent collectively on Sèvres porcelain over the years, as well as the increasing damages suffered by his mining business.[172] In fact, in February 1885, only a few months before he died Dudley decided to sell his pink ship vase to Thomas Goode & Co., at that time managed by William Goode who was one of the main retailers of Minton and a well-known collector of Sèvres porcelain. Although Dudley had suffered a stroke in 1879 he

[170] It is also important to note that Charles Mills esq. had exhibited his *vase vaisseau à mât* in 1862, therefore collectors would have been able to compare visually these two rare pieces, whose value structures had been altered from their inclusion in the exhibitionary space. Please see (Fig.XL).

[171] It is not known when Dudley purchased this set from Barker, a thorough investigation of Barker's auction sale catalogue held in the Christie's Archives shows that they were not included then and must have been purchased before his death. Alexander Barker Sale, *Catalogue of the renowned collection of Works of Art formed by that distinguished connoisseur, Alexander Barker, esq,* Saturday 6 June and Monday 8 June, 1874, Christie, Manson & Woods. This garniture was then sold as Lot 193 in 1886 at the posthumous auction of Lord Dudley held at Christie's, *The Catalogue of the Splendid Collection of Old Porcelain formed by the Right Honourable the Late Earl of Dudley,* Friday 21 May, 1886.

[172] For example, in January 1881 Lord Dudley attempted to claim back over £25,000 in damages for his mining operation, Saturday 15 January, 1881, *Sheffield Independent,* 7. And in February 1885 it was suggested that he could be forced to shut his mines altogether 'without anyone but himself being a penny the worse', Saturday 7 February, 1885, *Dundee Evening Telegraph,* 2.

had been in good health supposedly until a few days before his death.[173] According to the extant bill, William Goode paid Dudley £10,740 for the ship.[174] It was then sent to the Minton pottery company in order for a reproduction to be made on Dudley's request in order to offer 'some solace to Lady Dudley for the loss of the originals from her drawing room' (Fig.LIV).[175] Since the 1840s Minton had started to reproduce 'old' Sèvres forms in order to satisfy a growing middle-class market, symptomatic of the place secured by 'Sèvres-mania' in late nineteenth-century British public and socio-cultural life. Based on Veblen's notion of 'conspicuous consumption' historians Neil McKendrick and John Brewer in *Birth of a Consumer Society* have suggested that consumer behaviour from the end of the eighteenth century onwards operated on a framework of social emulation and a 'trickle down' effect as taste disseminated down the social scale.[176] Certainly, the taste for collecting Sèvres by the mid-nineteenth century had filtered down to the lower classes of society, encouraged by the rising affluence of the Victorian middle class. Contemporaries were required to seek out more affordable means of reproducing the 'Sèvres style'. Whilst the production of Minton lies outside the realms of this thesis, it is still useful to recognise that the taste for Sèvres porcelain in the highest echelons of society was somewhat mirrored in the increasing popularity of Minton's production throughout the latter decades of the nineteenth century.[177] In particular, in 1842 Herbert Minton and his business partner Michael Daintry Hollins had received designs direct from

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[173] Obituary, 'The Late Lord Dudley', Saturday 9 May, 1885, *Worcestershire Chronicle,* 5.
[174] The bill for this transaction, no.Z48055 still exists in the Thomas Goode & Company archives today. Thomas Goode held an exhibition of his 'old' Sèvres collection inside his store in 1882, a catalogue of this compiled by Goode still exists today in the Goode Archives, I am thankful to the archivist Claire Jackson and the new owners of Thomas Goode & Co. for allowing me special access to their archives in November 2018, *TGA*.
[175] Letter from Dudley to Goode, *TGA*.
[176] For a greater discussion of social emulation see: Neil McKendrick, John Brewer, & J. H. Plumb, *The Birth of a Consumer Society: the Commercialization of Eighteenth-century England* (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1982).
[177] For more information on Minton's production in relation to Sèvres design please see: Rebecca Wallis, 'The French Connection: Minton and Sèvres in the Nineteenth Century', *The French Porcelain Society Journal,* Vol.VI, (Gomer Press: London, 2016), 259-272.

the Sèvres manufactory of 'the whole of the old Sèvres vases sent to us by M. Brongniart' and by the end of the nineteenth century Minton had re-created Sèvres from the collections of Alfred de Rothschild and Sir Richard Wallace.[178]

Due to increasing financial difficulties Dudley was no longer such a dominant figure in the auction saleroom competing against other collectors, and by the 1880s some of the more significant Sèvres collectors were also much less active on the market. For example, several key collectors had died including the 4th Marquess of Hertford in 1870 and the 2nd Earl of Lonsdale in 1872, John Jones had bequeathed his collection of Sèvres porcelain to the South Kensington Museum in 1882; Mrs Lynne Stephens had turned to a life of piety and dedicated herself to the church; and many aristocratic collections had been dispersed, including the well-publicised Hamilton Palace Sale in 1882. Moreover, the 1880s bore witness to a significant but previously overlooked court case involving the authenticity and connoisseurship of 'old' Sèvres porcelain, which this chapter will now consider during its final section.

'The "Cause Célèbre" Sèvres China, Wertheimer versus Goode'[179]

Having now established the distinctly competitive market for 'old' Sèvres and the culture for Sèvres connoisseurship exercised by collectors, dealers and auction houses, during the latter half of the nineteenth-century this final section considers a lawsuit over the authenticity of two Sèvres vases. The *Wertheimer versus Goode* court case and trial

[178] Rebecca Wallis, 'The French Connection: Minton and Sèvres in the Nineteenth Century', 261 and 263.
[179] 'The "Cause Célèbre" Sèvres China, Wertheimer versus Goode', (London: H J Hall, 25 South Molton Street, 1882). This booklet was discovered in the Thomas Goode & Co. archives and appears to have been specially-commissioned by Goode to commemorate the trial, *TGA*. Unfortunately, no official court transcript has been discovered.

occurred in February 1882 and involved a disagreement over the authenticity of a pair of Sèvres *rose du barry* seaux which were sold as genuine by the Jewish dealer Samson Wertheimer (1811-1892) and his son Asher Wertheimer (d.1918) to William J. Goode (1831-1892) for Goode's private Sèvres collection in December 1880.[180] As *The Artist and Journal of Home Culture* reported, this case 'for some weeks past has been much discussed by all those who follow the market prices of rare and valuable porcelain.[181] Although the court case was known as a *cause célèbre* at the time, it has been subsequently forgotten in scholarship (Fig.LV).[182] Nonetheless it opens up new lines of enquiry regarding the epistemology, and indeed reliability of Sèvres connoisseurship and offers an opportunity to explore the sustainability of Sèvres collecting practices during the 1880s in Britain.

Samson Wertheimer had established himself and his family as 'dealer[s] in china, curiosities & antiques, by special appointment to the Queen & the Royal Family'.[183] The Wertheimer family were highly-respected in the art and antiques market, yet historians have argued that Samson and his son Asher in particular never overcame their association as Jewish dealers.[184] Notably Asher was considered and represented as a stereotypical Jew by contemporaries, particularly in a portrait painted by John Singer Sargent in

[180] Samson Wertheimer was a dealer in china, curiosities and antiques from 1854, and along with his sons Asher and Charles Wertheimer traded at 154 New Bond Street, Mark Westgarth, *A Biographical Dictionary of Nineteenth Century Antique and Curiosity Dealers* (Glasgow: Regional Furniture, 2009), 184.
[181] 1 March, 1882, *The Artist and Journal of Home Culture,* 75.
[182] 'The "Cause Célèbre" Sèvres China, Wertheimer versus Goode', *TGA*.
[183] *Post Office London Directory, 1882. [Part 2: Commercial & Professional Directory],* (London: Frederic Kelly, 1882), 935.
[184] For a more detailed discussion regarding the identity of Jewish dealers and their treatment during the nineteenth-century see: Aviva Briefel, *The Deceivers: Art Forgery and Identity in the Nineteenth Century,* (Ithaca: Cornell Press, 2006), 207; and also see Kathleen Adler, 'John Singer Sargent's Portraits of the Wertheimer Family*',* Tamar Gard and Linda Nochlin (eds.), *The Jew is the Text: Modernity and the Construction of Identity,* (London: Hames, 1995), 83-96.

1898.[185] William Goode, a dealer and a successful ceramics tradesman favoured by Queen Victoria ran Thomas Goode & Co., which was listed in the 1882 *London Directory* as a 'depôt for Minton's china, artists & designers in porcelain to Her Majesty the Queen…The largest china establishment in Europe'.[186] Interestingly, many contemporary accounts viewed both Goode and Wertheimer as having similar positions as 'dealer[s] in articles of vertu'.[187] As *The British Almanac* observed, the Wertheimer-Goode court case was 'a good illustration of the vicissitudes of porcelain', once again indicating contemporary suspicion surrounding the extravagant prices for Sèvres.[188] The court case focused solely on two Sèvres seaux or flower pots, it lasted three days, involving a variety of individuals, and eventually Wertheimer emerged victorious. The press coverage which this court case received and extant private letters discovered in the Thomas Goode archives reveal it is ripe for analysis, especially as the prevalent notions of authenticity and connoisseurship have been central to this investigation. It is also worth noting that this case reveals some synergies with the much-publicised Shrager-Dighton court case in 1923, where once again the court favoured the side of the dealer, Dighton & Co., over the collector Aldoph Shrager, although in this example the Jewish Shrager lost, whereas the Wertheimer's prevailed.[189]

The Wertheimer-Goode court case took place in the Court of Queen's Bench from Monday 20 February 1882 until Wednesday 22 February 1882 under the auspices of Mr. Justice Denman, and both sides were represented by counsel, with Sir H.Giffard, Q.C.,

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[185] Kathleen Adler, 'John Singer Sargent's Portraits of the Wertheimer Family', 83-96.
[186] *Post Office London Directory, 1882. [Part 2: Commercial & Professional Directory],* (London: Frederic Kelly, 1882), 1347.
[187] According to the *Globe*, 'Wertheimer is a dealer in articles of vertu, in New Bond-street, and the defendant, Mr. William James Goode, carries on a similar business in South Audley-street'. Tuesday 21 February, 1882, *Globe,* 6.
[188] *The British Almanac,* Vol.56, (London: Stationers' Company, 1883), 50.
[189] This fascinating court case has been reconstructed in greater detail than can be afforded here. Aldoph Shrager, a Jew, lost the first trial and the appeal despite having significant evidence against the English gentleman dealer Basil Lewis Dighton, for more information: Abigail Harrison Moore, *Fraud, Fakery and False Business: Rethinking the Shrager versus Dighton 'Old Furniture Case',* (London: A&C Black, 2011).

Mr. Russell, Q.C., and Mr. Kingsford acting on behalf of the plaintiff the Wertheimers; and Mr.Finlay, Q.C., Mr.Day, QC., and Mr. Longstaffee representing the defendant William Goode.[190] Goode had purchased the two pink Sèvres seaux for £950, along with a green vase for £150 from Wertheimer in December 1880, however he soon 'began to doubt the genuineness of the pink vases; he came to the conclusion, and various experts agreed with him, that the vases had been "made up," had been re-decorated, painted, and passed through the fire'.[191] Goode's suspicion was further aroused by the market history of the pair, which were sold for only £100 at the Marquis of Hastings' sale on 15 November 1880 and then again for £450 at Sotheby's later that month when they were bought by a dealer William Wareham, who then sold them onto Wertheimer for £750, making a substantial profit. Wertheimer then sold this pair to Goode and declared that as the pair 'cost him £800 at the auction' he was asking £950 for the pair from Goode.[192] Not only did Goode begin to believe the vases were counterfeit, he also discovered than the pair actually only sold for £450 at the Sotheby's auction and with no knowledge regarding the transaction between Wareham and Wertheimer he saw the latter as increasing the profit unfairly, and refused to pay. Subsequently, Goode was taken to court by Wertheimer for withholding the agreed amount of £950 for the two Sèvres pieces, and despite his protestations that the pieces were not genuine, Goode eventually lost to Wertheimer.[193] Goode, along with other experts, accused the Wertheimer's of selling counterfeit pieces of Sèvres which were deemed to be redecorated. Ultimately Goode lost, yet the professional reputations of both parties were jeopardised, especially as both businesses had developed close working relationships with Queen Victoria and the Royal family. Furthermore, the reliability of their connoisseurial judgement was also put on

[190] 1 March, 1882, *The Artist and Journal of Home Culture,* 75-76.
[191] Friday, 24 February, 1882, *The Times,* as featured in 'The "Cause Célèbre" Sèvres China, Wertheimer versus Goode', 6, *TGA.*
[192] Friday, 24 February, 1882, *The Times,* 7, *TGA.*
[193] In many ways the cost of the transaction at only £950 was fairly minimal, in comparison to what we have examined previously.

trial, although as Wertheimer was victorious we must assume instead that Goode's credible reputation as a known connoisseur and collector of Sèvres received the most damage. Notably Goode's lack of ability to determine the authenticity of the pieces may have impacted on the financial value of his private Sèvres collection.

What is perhaps most interesting about this case are the identities of the numerous experts who were invited to appear in court, including included dealers, tradesmen and scholars. The vases in question were brought into the courtroom and examined in person by various witnesses for both the defence and the plaintiff, as well as by members of the public and the press who were present.[194] Given Goode's role as a tradesman with Minton and the wider potteries community within Stoke-on-Trent it is perhaps not surprising that *The Pottery Gazette* favoured Goode and celebrated the 'well-known members of the trade, who were the chief experts in the matter' and who testified that the pair were indeed counterfeit.[195] Several experts from the trade were determined to support Goode, including: Colin Minton Campbell the director of Minton's, Mr. Arnoux the art director of Minton's factory, Monsieur Le Roy chief artist at Minton, R.W. Binns from the Worcester Porcelain Company, Mr. Bernard Moore the art potter, Bros., Longton a pottery firm based in Stoke-on-Trent, and the only dealer on Goode's side, Frederick Litchfield.[196] As a dealer and ceramics scholar it is useful to consider briefly the implications of Litchfield's support. Litchfield was the son of the antique and curiosity dealer Samuel Litchfield, and had joined his father's business at Hanway Street in London from 1866 onwards.[197] By 1882 he had already established himself as a scholar and an

[194] Notably the reporter from *The Pottery Gazette* stated proudly: 'We had the opportunity of examining the vases in court'. 1 March, 1882, *The Pottery Gazette,* as featured in 'The "Cause Célèbre" Sèvres China, Wertheimer versus Goode', (London: H J Hall, 25 South Molton Street, 1882), 11, *TGA*.
[195] 1 March, 1882, *The Pottery Gazette*, 11, *TGA*.
[196] 1 March, 1882, *The Pottery Gazette*, 11, *TGA*.
[197] Mark Westgarth, *A Biographical Dictionary of Nineteenth Century Antique and Curiosity Dealers* (Glasgow: Regional Furniture, 2009), 130.

authority figure on ceramics, having published *Pottery and Porcelain, A Guide for Collectors* in 1879.[198] Given that the court case had the potential to severely tarnish Litchfield's reputation as a ceramics scholar and dealer, his decision to side with Goode suggests that he was certain the vases were counterfeit, although it could also point towards a market rivalry with the Wertheimer dealer family. Goode's witnesses believed wholeheartedly that the vases in question had been 'doctored' and as the *Globe* reported they livened up the courtroom with their emphatic declarations:

> The learned counsel contended that certain 'nasty eruptions' showed this doctoring. Another thing which showed this was that the vases were full of 'spittings' (laughter). He also asserted that symptoms showing the 'doctoring' could be easily seen, and others could be felt by a blind man (a laugh).[199]

In addition, Colin Minton Campbell delivered detailed observations on the quality of the painting which he believed 'were original Sèvres paintings heavily and badly touched up. In some places the paint had been plastered on. There were scratched across the paintings, which had been in some places painted over and rebaked'.[200] In the end Campbell stated: 'that these vases were old Sèvres china, but that their original state had been tampered with'.[201]

On the other hand the Wertheimers were backed by several long-standing and experienced dealers including George Durlacher, Edward Joseph, Frederick Davis, Mr.Myers, Mr.Currie and Mr.Wareham, who all 'declared positively that these are genuine old Sèvres'.[202] Many of these figures held established positions in the

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[198] Litchfield would also later publish several key texts in the discourse of furniture history, namely *The Illustrated History of Furniture* in 1892 and *How to Collect Old Furniture* in 1904.
[199] Tuesday 28 February, 1882, *Globe,* 5.
[200] Wednesday 22 February, 1882, *Morning Post,* 7.
[201] Wednesday 29 February, 1882, *London Evening Standard,* 6.
[202] 'Report of the Trial,' Thursday, 23 February, 1882, *The Times*, as featured in 'The "Cause Célèbre" Sèvres China, Wertheimer versus Goode', (London: H J Hall, 25 South Molton Street, 1882), 14, *TGA*.

London art and antiques market, notably, George Durlacher was the son of a family of art and curiosity dealers who had leased 113 New Bond Street from c.1857-1878,[203] Edward Joseph was listed as 'dealer in works of art' at 158 New Bond Street in 1882,[204] and Frederick Davis had worked as an antiques and curiosity dealer from the 1850s and in 1868 had loaned 25 pieces of 'Old' Sevres China to the National Exhibition of Works of Art at Leeds.[205] Moreover, William King, an established art collector based at Ovington Gardens in London also testified on behalf of Wertheimer. As the *Globe* reported:

> Mr. William King, who had charge of the collection of china of the Princess Sophia, said he had had forty years' experience of Sèvres china, and entertained no doubt whatever about the genuineness of the vases in this case.[206]

Once the defence had given their opinion on the 'spurious' quality of the vases, it was William King upon whom the jury called to return to the witness stand to give further evidence. Perhaps due to his Royal connections and position as a collector, rather than a member of the trade, King had garnered a greater respect from the jury. Whatever the case, King remained steadfast in his support of Wertheimer and his belief that these vases were indeed genuine 'old' Sèvres, as the *Morning Post* reported:

> Mr. William King, who had given evidence in support of the plaintiff's case, was recalled, and said that nothing he had since heard altered the opinion that he had already given as to all the painting being perfectly genuine. Many of the remarks were ridiculous, as it was evident that the vases had only passed through one process and been painted by one artist.[207]

[203] Mark Westgarth, *Dictionary of Nineteenth Century Antique and Curiosity Dealers*, 90.
[204] Mark Westgarth, *Dictionary of Nineteenth Century Antique and Curiosity Dealers*, 126.
[205] Mark Westgarth, *Dictionary of Nineteenth Century Antique and Curiosity Dealers*, 86.
[206] Tuesday 21 February, 1882, *Globe,* 6.
[207] Wednesday 22 February, 1882, *Morning Post,* 7.

Despite being presented as authorial figures on the subject of ceramics these individuals reached extremely different conclusions. Further complicating matters the well-known connoisseur William Chaffers was also invited into the courtroom to give evidence as an independent advisor. In fact, Chaffers had catalogued the pieces when they were originally part of Lord Hastings' collection. Chaffers declared that he had actually advised Lord Hastings to either dispose of the vases or to sell them 'without reserve'.[208] As discussed previously in Chapter III, Chaffers had established his role in the wider discourse of the history of ceramics, and was viewed as an recognised authority on Sèvres porcelain.[209] Not only had Chaffers published *Marks and Monograms on Pottery and Porcelain* in 1863 with subsequent re-editions, in 1872 he wrote two volumes of *The Keramic Gallery of Pottery and Porcelain,* and had also acted as a superintendent for several exhibitions, including the *Special Loans Exhibition* in 1862 and the 'Museum of Ornamental Art' at the National Exhibition of Works of Art at Leeds in 1868.[210] Newspaper reports also revealed that during the court case Chaffers remarked on the market for 'old' Sèvres more generally and stated that most 'of the sumptuous ware passed off as genuine Sèvres is thoroughly spurious, and that most of the painting, gilding, and rose-coloured grounds are manipulated in this country', a statement which may have damaged severely the market for 'old' Sèvres.[211]

The evidence from Goode's defence appeared to be overwhelming, especially given Chaffers' belief that the pieces were 'spurious' and the fact that the tradesmen supporting Goode possessed specialist knowledge regarding the history and manufacture of such ceramics.[212] Nonetheless, ultimately the jury sided with the expertise of the collector

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[208] 'Report of the Trial,' Thursday, 23 February, 1882, *The Times*, 14, *TGA*.
[209] John Charles Robinson and William Chaffers, 'Section Nine, Sèvres Porcelain', *Catalogue of the Special Exhibition of Works of Art of the Mediaeval, Renaissance, and More Recent Periods: On Loan at the South Kensington Museum in 1862*, 114-138.
[210] Mark Westgarth, *Dictionary of Nineteenth Century Antique and Curiosity Dealers*, 79.
[211] Friday 24 February, 1882, *Birmingham Mail,* 2.
[212] 'The "Cause Célèbre" Sèvres China, Wertheimer versus Goode', *TGA*.

William King and Wertheimer's fellow dealers deeming the vases to be authentic genuine pieces of 'old' Sèvres.[213] The court found Wertheimer 'not guilty of false warranty and Mr.Goode is [was] condemned to keep his purchase and to make the best of it'.[214] Furthermore, an application for an appeal trial made on Wednesday 1 March was later denied.[215] Soon, Goode surrendered to his defeat and attempted to reframe the court case into a publicity attraction. Firstly, Goode put the vases in question on display in his shop, and secondly he circulated pamphlets entitled *The "Cause Célèbre" Sèvres China, Wertheimer versus Goode'* which invited the public to decide for themselves and visit his shop on South Audley Street in London to judge the authenticity of the vases. Goode declared that: 'These ROSE DU BARRY SEAUX [which] can be seen on presentation of address card to the Defendant'.[216] Several questions concerning this case remain unanswered, especially regarding the motivations behind Goode's decision to refuse to pay Wertheimer even when faced with a public trial.[217] It is likely that Goode was motivated by market jealousy, but there is also reason to believe that he acted due to anti-Semitic feelings, notably in a letter to William Goode from his son Minton Goode, his son discussed his shock in the judge's decision to side with the Jewish Wertheimers.[218] In this letter Minton Goode revealed that after having spoken to Mr Longstaffee, one of Goode's representatives in court, he admitted that they were all particularly surprised with the outcome as 'the feeling of the jury was against the Jews'.[219] Disclosed here is a

[213] Friday, 24 February, 1882, *The Times*, 5, *TGA*.
[214] Friday, 24 February, 1882, *The Times*, 5, *TGA*.
[215] Friday, 24 February, 1882, *The Times*, 5, *TGA*.
[216] This advertisement features as the final page, The "Cause Célèbre" Sèvres China, Wertheimer versus Goode', 23, *TGA*.
[217] It is also worth noting that the current location of these vases is unknown.
[218] 25 February 1882, Letter from Minton Goode to his father Thomas Goode, 4, *TGA*. Although this court case pre-dates texts such as Joseph Bannister's *England Under the Jews* published in 1901 which criticised the growing number of Jewish immigrants, the end of the nineteenth century was underpinned by widespread growing anti-Semitic sentiment. For more information, see: Abigail Harrison Moore, *Fraud, Fakery and False Business: Rethinking the Shrager versus Dighton 'Old Furniture Case',* (London: A&C Black, 2011).
[219] 25 February 1882, Letter from Minton Goode to his father William Goode, 4, *TGA*.

suggestion into the more under-hand practices of the antiques and curiosity trade, as well as the significant social prejudices prevalent in the late nineteenth and early twentieth-century commercial art market, particularly in relation to Wertheimer's Jewish identity. In a similar vein, one newspaper concluded: 'on the one side, Wertheimers were represented to be eager for profits and not very particular in the means to obtain it; on the other side, Mr.Goode, it was urged, jealous of their high reputations, had deliberately tried to injure the plaintiffs'.[220] Certainly the reputation of Goode was damaged, not only did contemporaries believe he had 'deliberately tried to injure the plaintiffs' his own connoisseurial knowledge was deemed to be insufficient. As *The Times* noted, how would others manage to continue their collecting practices 'if so experienced a judge as Mr.Goode is either taken in, or believes himself to be taken in'.[221] Perhaps such comments and the overall verdict motivated Goode to prove the validity of his knowledge and secure the future of his collection if he ever decided to sell. A personal catalogue for Goode's Sèvres collection which he put together during the 1880s now exists in the Thomas Goode & Co. archives and suggests Goode's determination to improve his object knowledge, with detailed drawings of marks, shapes and artist monograms (Fig.LVI-LVII). This desire is revealed again in 1890 when Goode published *A Paper on Old & Modern Sevres China* which was authored by one 'Brother Goode'.[222] Goode's decision to call himself 'Brother Goode' in this publication requires further investigation but it could suggest his determination to be recognised as a figure of reverence, worthy of being an authority on eighteenth-century Sèvres porcelain. Similarly, Frederick Litchfield, whose reputation also must have suffered due to the trial, would later go on to publish a two-part article in *The Connoisseur* in 1917 which was entitled 'Imitations and Reproductions: Sèvres Porcelain', perhaps to confirm his position as an authority on the

[220] 1 March, 1882, *The Artist and Journal of Home,* 76.
[221] Friday, 24 February, 1882, *The Times*, 10, *TGA.*
[222] Brother Goode, *A Paper on Old & Modern Sevres China,* (London: T.Pettitt & Co., 1890).

subject. Here Litchfield revealed that the most unwelcome part of being an expert and 'art valuer' is 'to tell the collector who consults him that his "swans are only geese"'.[223] Although Litchfield mentions several court cases relating to the authenticity of Sèvres porcelain, including one in the early 1900s and another in 1911, he does not reference the Wertheimer-Goode case, which could imply that this particular loss had influenced his role and still angered him even 35 years later.

Against this background the Wertheimer-Goode court case can be viewed as symptomatic of a turning point in the infallibility of ceramics connoisseurship. Even though the final verdict revealed that these pieces were indeed genuine, several experts including collectors, dealers and scholars reached different conclusions about the authenticity of the two vases. Certainly, both parties had high stakes in the reliability of their connoisseurial knowledge and despite over eighty years of specialised Sèvres collecting networks who had engaged in and disseminated connoisseurial expertise, specialists including Chaffers, Goode, Litchfield and Campbell were not able to agree or unanimously differentiate between authentic or counterfeit examples of Sèvres. On the one hand this was clearly a trial about the authenticity and economic value of two pieces of 'old' Sèvres and the reliability of connoisseurship. It is worth bearing in mind that the 1880s bore witness to a turning point in paintings connoisseurship and methods of attribution, with a move from the more documentary approaches of Joseph Archer Crowe (1825-1896) and Giovanni Battista Cavalcaselle's (1819-1897) who had published *A History of Painting in North Italy* in 1871, to Giovanni Morelli's 1880 publication which offered a more 'scientific' approach to connoisseurship.[224] In relation to shifting

[223] Frederick Litchfield, 'Imitations and Reproductions: Part 1 – Sèvres Porcelain', *The Connoisseur*, vol.XLIX, September 1917, 3–4.
[224] For a greater discussion regarding this shift in paintings connoisseurship and the significance of Morelli's *Die Werke italienischer Meister in den Galerien von München, Dresden und Berlin* see: Catherine Scallen, *Rembrandt, Reputation, and the Practice of Connoisseurship,* (Amsterdam: University of Amsterdam Press, 2004), 87-103; Luke Uglow, '"New" Giorgione:

discourses in connoisseurship, the historian John Brewer has revealed that at the end of the nineteenth century although 'scholarly expertise could live with probabilities…what the market demanded was certainty, the security of individual attributions'.[225] As more scientific connoisseurial processes emerged, which were coupled with an even greater specialisation in art historical discourse, the supremacy of decorative art on the market was changing.[226] As *The People* newspaper reported the month following the trial, 'connoisseurship in Sèvres china is as wholly untrustworthy as it is in most other matters from Stradivarius violins up to pictures by Michelangelo'.[227] Such disparaging comments confirm that the revered knowledge system of connoisseurship as the most secure judgment was in a stage of transition. Revealed here is a settlement in the grammar of knowledge in relation to Sèvres connoisseurship, as collecting networks had reached a limit in their technical analysis of 'old' Sèvres porcelain. As one newspaper declared 'the perils of picture buying are great enough, but they are nothing, it would seem, compared to the pitfalls presented by the old china trade to an unwary enthusiast'.[228] Consequently one could also argue that the whole market for Sèvres was in effect on trial during the Wertheimer-Goode court case. After the verdict declared that Wertheimer was correct and the pieces were deemed to be genuine, one newspaper asked in desperation if 'neither Mr. Minton Campbell nor Mr. Chaffers can tell real Sèvres when he sees it? If so, what chance has the poor amateur collector?'[229] On a similar note *The Times* observed that

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Crowe and Cavalcaselle, Pater, and Morelli', University of Edinburgh, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, 2012.

[225] John Brewer, *The American Leonardo: A Tale of Obsession, Art and Money*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 42.

[226] In fact, it is only in recent decades that a scientific technical connoisseurship for the decorative arts has emerged, whilst several processes have been successful, the most useful for European porcelain is the X-Ray Fluorescence XRF Analysis for Porcelain, championed by Cranfield University, amongst others. See for example: Kelly Domoney, X-ray fluorescence (XRF) analysis of porcelain: Background paper Analytical Methods Committee AMCTB No. 77, *Royal Society for Chemistry,* 2017, 2371-2374.

[227] The writer here is referring to a well-known court case involving the dealer David Laurie who in the late 1870s had sold a made-up Stradivarius violin as genuine. Sunday 5 March, 1882, *The People,* 10.

[228] Friday 24 February, 1882, *Birmingham Mail,* 2.

[229] Friday 24 February, 1882, *Birmingham Mail,* 2.

'many people will begin to reflect that this collecting passion, if it expends itself on objects like old Sèvres, is somewhat dangerous'.[230] Perhaps one can speculate that this instability in connoisseurship led to an gradual decline in the commercial market for Sèvres, as experts struggled to determine with accuracy whether a piece of Sèvres was authentic or not. In short, the security of connoisseurship as a viable discourse of French porcelain history was undergoing a significant transition. Moreover Chaffers' belief that established pieces of 'old' Sèvres were still somewhat 'spurious' must have encouraged an even greater sense of suspicion amongst collecting networks.[231] Ultimately, Chaffers condemned the subjectivity of individual connoisseurial attribution and intuitive art expertise. This was a growing opinion shared by others scholars, including the ceramics connoisseur Edouard Garnier who stated later in 1887 that 'in general one must often mistrust the alleged origin of old porcelain, especially when it is said to be old Sèvres'.[232] Soon scholars including Garnier attempted to reframe the more subjective knowledge systems associated with Sèvres connoisseurship, notably Garnier's *The soft porcelain of Sevres: with an historical introduction* which was published in 1892 dedicated a section to 'Imitations and Counterfeits of Soft Porcelain'. Here Garnier demanded that the practiced Sèvres connoisseur embrace a more systemic and scientific analysis by examining the colours and also the gilding in greater detail.[233] For example, Garnier stated that connoisseurs should look for 'the presence of *chrome green* in the coloring of the bouquets and landscapes…chrome green is warmer in tone, more yellow' whereas 'the oxide of chrome, discovered only in 1804' is a much richer copper green.[234] Nevertheless, Garnier's connoisseurial method was still based primarily on documentary

[230] Friday, 24 February, 1882, *The Times*, 10, *TGA.*
[231] Friday 24 February, 1882, *Birmingham Mail,* 2.
[232] Edouard Garnier, 'Soft Sevres Porcelain', *The Connoisseur,* Vol. 1, No. 4, (Jun., 1887), 22-27, 24.
[233] Edouard Garnier, *The soft porcelain of Sevres: with an historical introduction,* (Paris and London: John C. Nimmo, 1892), 30-31.
[234] Edouard Garnier, *The soft porcelain of Sevres*, 30-31.

evidence and visual analysis, and the exemplary pieces which he deemed to be authentic were validated by their provenance and their inclusion in a particular private collection or museum. Although further research is needed one could speculate that from the 1880s onwards there was a move towards a more rigorous dedication to provenance research which superseded the subjectivity of tactile and visual connoisseurship.[235]

Given the mania for Sèvres and the significant economic values achieved at auction up until this point, its dominant position on the British market underwent a significant transition from the 1880s onwards. By the mid-1880s, symptomatic of rising economic, social and political instabilities, as well as aesthetic and commercial difficulties, a rising preference for English decorative art,[236] and a movement towards the American collector's market, the widespread taste for Sèvres porcelain in Britain started to slowly dissipate. The posthumous auction of 'The Splendid Collection of Old Porcelain' owned by Lord Dudley which was held at Christie's in 21 May 1886 is just one example of the ephemeral nature and changing market value of Sèvres.[237] As the *St James's Gazette* announced the day following sale:

> Lord Dudley's sale shows that the palmiest days of the chinamania are past. Times are bad just now, and there is no so much money going for luxuries as there was in the years when the late peer was amassing his treasures.[238]

Similarly, although *The Graphic* announced that 'Chinamaniacs had a splendid field-day at the recent sale of Lord Dudley's famous Sèvres' they also noted that 'now collectors

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[235] This is not to suggest that provenance information was ignored before the 1880s but from this stage onwards auction catalogues tended to dedicate larger sections to the provenance of a piece and this was similarly adopted in scholarly publications. See for example: Eduoard Garnier's *The soft porcelain of Sevres: with an historical introduction,* (Paris and London: John C. Nimmo, 1892).

[236] For a greater discussion of the rising Nationalistic style in art, especially for English furniture, see: Abigail Harrison Moore, *Fraud, Fakery and False Business*, 132-133.

[237] Christie, Manson & Woods, *The Catalogue of the Splendid Collection of Old Porcelain formed by the Right Honourable the Late Earl of Dudley,* Friday 21 May, 1886, *CAL.*

[238] Saturday 22 May, 1886, *St James's Gazette*, 4.

seem hardly willing to bid the exorbitant sums of former years'.[239] The end of the nineteenth century in Britain was marked by increasing death duties which resulted in a great number of aristocratic auction sales, including the Hamilton Palace Sale of 1882 and the Duke of Marlborough Blenheim Palace Sale of 1886. This changing collecting landscape occurred gradually, and in 1897 American collectors were hindered somewhat by the introduction of *The Revenue Act* in America which imposed a twenty percent tariff on imported works of art.[240] Nonetheless the market dominance of British collectors continued to subside, further prompted by the death of Queen Victoria in 1901, a rising Liberal government in the early 1900s, and a Bill which was passed by the American Congress in 1909 to repeal all duty on imported works of art which were more than 100 years old.[241] Notably, Dudley's record-breaking pink Sèvres ship vase soon found its way into the collection of the American banker and financier J.P. Morgan in c.1908-1909 after transactions between Asher Wertheimer and the Duveen Brothers.[242]

By positioning the Wertheimer-Goode court case within broader social, commercial and scholarly practices surrounding the collecting of 'old' Sèvres in Britain in the 1880s, this short case study has confirmed a widespread public interest in the histories of collecting Sèvres, which was intensified by the mania shared by collectors and dealers alike. Despite a shifting grammar of knowledge and the questionable reliability of connoisseurship, the discourse of French porcelain history which developed throughout the twentieth century continued to prioritise connoisseurial investigation, although provenance research also gained greater validity. With this in mind future research into the development of the

[239] Saturday 29 May, 1886, *The Graphic*, 3.
[240] F. W. Taussig, 'The Tariff Act of 1897', *The Quarterly Journal of Economics,* Vol. 12, No. 1 (Oct., 1897), 42-69.
[241] For example, see: Peter Mandler, *The Fall and Rise of the Stately Home,* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 168-175; Nancy Einreinhofer, *The American Art Museum: Elitism and Democracy,* (New York: Continuum International Publishing Group, 1997), 44.
[242] Adrian Sassoon, *Vincennes and Sèvres Porcelain: Catalogue of the Collection at the Getty Museum*, (LA: Getty Publications, 1992).

discipline of French porcelain history during the twentieth century, in both Europe and America, could yield a greater understanding of the epistemological system of Sèvres connoisseurship and its interrelationship with the art market and wider collecting networks.

Conclusion

> 'What is more delightful than to have a mania,
> and what is more attractive than a china mania?'[1]
>
> – *The Spectator*, *1879*

By endeavouring to reinvigorate the study and position of eighteenth-century French Sèvres porcelain in wider academic discourse, this thesis has introduced for the first time in scholarship the complex cultural processes underpinning 'Sèvres-mania'. It has viewed 'Sèvres-mania' as a product of social, commercial and intellectual collaboration, which has both helped to shape discourse, and been shaped by, broader socio-political and cultural structures. By providing a focused study on the changing value structures of one collected object and tracing its relationship to wider epistemological shifts, this investigation has contributed to extant scholarship on the displacement of objects during the French Revolution and has viewed the histories of collecting Sèvres as integral to collecting networks across the private and public spheres of nineteenth-century Britain. A comprehensive and critical investigation into the histories of collecting pre-Revolutionary Sèvres from c.1789-1886 has traced the significance of 'old' *pâte-tendre* Sèvres from its manufacture as a luxury commodity of *ancien régime* France, to its eventual displacement caused by the French Revolution and the subsequent termination of its production in 1804.

This thesis has considered collections as sites of knowledge production, whereby 'Sèvres-mania' has contributed towards a rise in historical thinking, a greater standardization of connoisseurship, and an emerging discourse of French porcelain history. In doing so, it has questioned the idea that individuals make collecting histories and instead posited the

[1] *The Spectator,* Volume 52, 1879, 1075.

notion of collaboration in creating, and indeed dismantling, an art collection, as well as collaborative knowledge production, firstly through interconnected social circles and then through more documentary and archival approaches to Sèvres connoisseurship. Throughout, this thesis has sought to reconsider established historiography which suggested that a homogenous taste for 'old' Sèvres evolved steadily in the nineteenth century, merely as a continuation of eighteenth century collecting tradition and due to the influence of the Prince Regent. Instead, by discovering new archival sources and interrogating a broad range of interrelated collecting networks, including collectors, dealers, agents, scholars, curators and auction houses, this thesis has demonstrated that 'Sèvres-mania' emerged at different stages and in various manifestations over the century, embedded with distinct cultural practices which were shaped by epistemic shifts and changing collecting paradigms.

At first a passion for 'old' Sèvres was limited to a select number of highly educated and privileged networks, comprising aristocratic and plutocratic classes. These early nineteenth century collecting networks assigned new values structures and cultural meaning onto Sèvres as it evolved into a tangible representation of *ancien régime* France. Often engrained with historical associations and Royal provenance, 'old' Sèvres both mirrored and shaped a rise in historical thinking and intellectual collecting rhetoric. As Chapter I discussed, whilst a passionate collecting for 'old' Sèvres developed throughout the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, demand soon outweighed supply. Due to a rising counterfeit market and changing notions of authenticity, an anxiety emerged amongst collecting networks as they sought to purchase pieces which were genuine examples of 'old' pre-Revolutionary *pâte-tendre* Sèvres. From the 1830s onwards therefore collectors embraced a growing desire to improve object knowledge and gain connoisseurial expertise. Collaborative networks of commercial and social interaction, as represented through the case-study of the 2nd Earl of Lonsdale, Henry Broadwood and

Edward Holmes Baldock in Chapter II, not only contributed to a more specialised collecting practice, but also shaped an early form of Sèvres connoisseurship. As we have seen, this collaborative culture of connoisseurship relied on object and knowledge exchange and embraced an epistemic and haptic knowledge system. Certainly the link between the market in Paris and London, the new historical sympathies for 'old' Sèvres and an emerging form of expertise helped to shape 'Sèvres-mania' in the first half of the nineteenth century.

By the 1850s the mania for collecting 'old' Sèvres porcelain shifted once again, this time influenced by the pivotal role played by collecting networks in public loan exhibitions which took place not just in London but also across Great Britain and Ireland. As Chapter III explored, these exhibitions encouraged new display strategies and classificatory modes of interpretation and spectatorship, and through the hegemonic exhibitionary space the value structures assigned to Sèvres were valorised as cultural capital. A highly descriptive grammar of knowledge was soon established and used to categorise Sèvres, sharing its rhetoric with the treatment of paintings in art historical discourse, as the likes of John Charles Robinson sought to raise the status and knowledge systems of decorative art.[2] As public loan exhibitions continued, a standardized formation of Sèvres connoisseurship emerged which adopted a systematic, archival and documentary approach to the historical production of pre-Revolutionary Sèvres. This new form of knowledge production was disseminated further through exhibition catalogues, scholarly publications and newspapers, championed by scholars, dealers and curators, notably John Charles Robinson and William Chaffers. Even in a provincial town such as Salisbury, which in 1871 exhibited over 100 pieces of Sèvres at the Salisbury and South Wilts

[2] As noted previously, this was in keeping with wider strategies across the South Kensington Museum, see for example: Charlotte Drew, 'The colourful career of Sir John Charles Robinson: collecting and curating at the early South Kensington Museum', *Journal of Art Historiography*, Number 18, June 2018, 2.

Museum, a specialised interest in 'old' Sèvres and connoisseurial expertise had become embedded into the cultural capital of a democratized public.[3] As 'Sèvres-mania' infiltrated cultural life in the public sphere of the second half of nineteenth-century Britain, it also gave rise to a moral anxiety in relation to the unprecedented prices achieved at auction which even surpassed the sale of fine art. As Chapter IV revealed, auction houses not only encouraged 'Sèvres-mania' as collecting networks competed furiously against one another, they also acted as a space where connoisseurship could be exercised and through targeted marketing and display strategies for 'old' Sèvres, visual and textual object knowledge was distributed even further. Perhaps there is more to be said about the scholarly apparatuses that underpinned Sèvres connoisseurship and the competitive rivalry adopted by collectors such as Lord Dudley, Mrs Lynne Stephens, and several members of the Rothschild family, who were determined to purchase pieces at whatever the cost. This is not to suggest that the passionate and euphoric behaviour behind 'Sèvres-mania' was at odds with a more scholarly approach to collecting practices but future work could interrogate the extent to which a tension was produced in relation to the money spent at auction and the increasing dissemination of connoisseurial knowledge. Likewise, the significant role played by gender and the gendered behaviours of collecting networks in relation to the wider concept of 'Sèvres-mania' could also be investigated further. As Sachko Macleod has considered, in order to position themselves as true collectors often women demonstrated more traditional masculine characteristics associated with a competitive and aggressive ambition.[4] In particular, this strand of future research could interrogate the male and female aspects of Sèvres collectors, in relation to presumed notions of femininity in the collecting of ceramics and the masculinity

[3] Saturday 20 May, 1871, *Salisbury and Winchester Journal,* 6.
[4] Dianna Sachko Macleod, *Enchanted Lives, Enchanted Objects,* (California: University of California Press, 2008), 5.

expressed by collectors who compared their processes of acquisition to gambling, hunting, or military action.

By the 1880s a growing anxiety in the unprecedented number of counterfeit and 'spurious' Sèvres circulating the market highlighted the problematic nature of the reliability of Sèvres connoisseurship. As the court case held between Goode and Wertheimer in 1882 demonstrated, several experts were unable to reach the same conclusion regarding the authenticity of two pieces of Sèvres which was symptomatic of a turning point in the infallibility of ceramics connoisseurship. Even though collecting networks since the earlier half of the nineteenth century had participated in object and knowledge exchange, contributing towards an evolving discourse of Sèvres connoisseurship and French porcelain history, the authority of the connoisseur was jeopardised. Even the well-established ceramics scholar William Chaffers, who was responsible for constructing a more standardized and professionalised form of Sèvres connoisseurship in the 1860s and 1870s, had condemned the market for Sèvres in the 1880s claiming: 'of the sumptuous ware passed off as genuine Sèvres is thoroughly spurious, and that most of the painting, gilding, and rose-coloured grounds are manipulated in this country'.[5] For the first time in scholarship this investigation has revealed the epistemological formation of the connoisseurial knowledge systems embedded within the histories of collecting Sèvres in nineteenth-century Britain. However, it has also revealed that by the end of the nineteenth century, underpinned by broader cultural frameworks, a rising desire for authenticity, and a changing market for the supremacy of Sèvres porcelain, collecting networks had reached a limit in the sustainability of their implicit and systematic analysis of Sèvres porcelain and a settlement in the grammar of knowledge started to occur. In contrast, the rising scientific analysis of paintings connoisseurship and the formalization of art historical discourse at

[5] Friday 24 February, 1882, *Birmingham Mail,* 2.

the end of the nineteenth century may have paved the way for a more ostracized treatment of the decorative arts. Nonetheless, several key texts did emerge which indicate that although the market may have levelled off somewhat an interest still remained in the scholarly discourse of French porcelain history. This was perhaps encouraged by a rising number of mass-produced publications in which decorative arts featured prominently, including *Country Life* from 1897, *The Connoisseur* from 1901, and *The Burlington Magazine* from 1903 onwards. Furthermore, Comte de Chavagnac and Georges Lechevallier-Chevignard's 1906 *La manufacture de la porcelaine à la Manufacture nationale de Sèvres* and Guy Francis Laking's 1907 *Sèvres porcelain of Buckingham Palace and Windsor Castle* both demonstrated a growing interest in the historical formation of the Sèvres manufactory and its extant archival resources. Although these scholarly texts were distinctly removed from the connoisseurial agenda that had permeated earlier publications, the importance of provenance research, the danger of counterfeit production, and the history of the manufactory continued to dominate. With this in mind, the scope of further research might be broadened by a critical investigation into the system of Sèvres connoisseurship and the discourse of French porcelain history as it evolved throughout the twentieth century.

Whilst the crowded and competitive auction saleroom acted as a vehicle for 'Sèvres-mania', its dominance on the art market could not be sustained, especially given the changing political and social frameworks which marked a time of great insecurity for the plutocracy and landowning classes. By choosing to conclude this study during the 1880s this thesis has demonstrated that by the end of the nineteenth century the collecting paradigm for 'old' Sèvres had shifted once again. Notably, established Sèvres collections started to transfer into museum collections on a more permanent basis, as illustrated by the John Jones bequest to the South Kensington Museum in 1882 and the opening of the Wallace Collection in 1897. Nonetheless a great deal of Sèvres porcelain still continued

to circulate the art market, encouraged by several high profile sales including: Dukes of Hamilton in 1882, 1st Earl of Dudley in 1886, Mrs Lynne Stephens in 1895, and Thomas Goode in 1895, to name but a few. As briefly acknowledged in the closing section of Chapter IV, by the turn of the twentieth century, the monopoly for collecting Sèvres gradually shifted to North American collectors. A line of potential enquiry would be to expand the historical and geographical parameters of 'Sèvres-mania' in order to consider and analyse this rise in North American collecting taste for 'old' Sèvres from the late nineteenth century onwards, as this is an area ripe for further research. As the nineteenth century evolved so too did the systems of knowledge engrained within collecting networks, responsible for the formation of Sèvres connoisseurship, to which much French porcelain history today remains indebted. An examination into the different manifestations of 'Sèvres-mania', the emergence of Sèvres connoisseurship, and a more critical understanding of the art market for Sèvres during the nineteenth century, has situated itself within the emerging scholarship of the cultural study of the decorative arts. This thesis has conducted the first ever critical analysis into the epistemological formation of Sèvres connoisseurship, which can be adopted beyond the parameters of this project in order to contribute to current discussions regarding the marginalisation of the decorative arts. By uniting a socio-cultural, art historical and theoretical approach this interdisciplinary thesis has reclaimed the importance of pre-Revolutionary Sèvres porcelain amongst a broad range of collecting networks within the socio-cultural life of the nineteenth century. Moreover, it has laid a foundation with which to reframe the position of Sèvres, as a category of decorative art, within wider art historical and history of collecting discourses, which remains fertile ground for future scholarship.

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Appendix

Appendix I

Dinner

2 soup tureens blue (cupids) oval
1 long shape
2 large turquoise Watteau sceaux
10 soup plates with birds
2 of different patterns
48 blue ribbon festoon plates
47 turquoise knife handles
1 turquoise stand
1 mustard pot and dish
3 large dishes 2 watteau, 1 cupid—
4 salt cellars
36 sceau 32 trianon 2 madame du barry 2 watteau
4 pistol handle knife

Dessert

2 ice pails—Watteau
2 fine apple dishes—Cupids
2 bowls
4 shell dishes
6 round
2 octagon
4 oval on stands
1 tray shape
2 sucriers with birds
10 large plates Watteau
10 DO [large plates] birds centre
19 of Jarnac – birds side
24 DO- lots of different plates
7 of different patterns all good
6 small turquoise blue festoon and flowers
26 knife 12 forks—turquoise blue handles
4 pistol hand knife
2 glaciers Watteau
1 plateau on a stand – Watteau

2 large pomade for power but beautiful Boucher paintings
2 triangular pepper and salt stands 1 birds the other flowers
1 green and flower egg cup with a ? table

1 green snuff box painted dogs and flowers
2 candlesticks
2 small plateaus
7 turquoise blue [plateau]. Watteau bucher and cupids
1 green DO [plateau] –Watteau
1 turquoise blue snuff box—and birds
bleu du roi—basin & ewer
2 green & turquoise vases
5 inkstands, 2 beautiful, one Watteau and the other cupid and Watteau
1 turquoise blue basin & ewer
3 dejeuner- one large turquoise blue & flowers 1 bleu du roi –teapot & sugar dish.
melon shape. 1 very pretty Boucher & turquoise blue
2 small sceaux Watteau
6 DO birds
1 large punch [bowl?]
2 very large 1 Watteau 1 chinese subject—
1 bleu du roi—teapot
1 basin DO
1 sugar basin DO—
1 vase blue du roi & Teniers
2 turquoises tea pots. 1 watteau. 1 flowers
1 bleu du roi tea pot
15 different descriptions of cups—all beautiful some better than others
1 green coffee pot festooned
1 flower stand bottle shape – Bucher paintings

1 long dish turqouse blue,
1 cup a saucer DO
a better cup- two handles
a cream jug & cupids
a little ice cup—R L de Boucher
a milk pot—original shape—
9 egg cups
2 white and gold cups
1 plateau, cupid, beautiful
4 small sorbet pots- Cupids
1 large turquoise blue jardinière

Appendix II

2nd Earl of Lonsdale's list of 'China Fancier's, 1836, 1 Jan 1836- Aug 1836, *Diary 42, CRO*

'China Fanciers'

Sir Wathen Waller

Charles Mills—a respectable desesrt service – a large jardinier—with painted ships—some smaller ones, a green cooffre – some vases given him by H Baring.

Lord Harrington

Lord Eden

Duchess of St Albans

Captain Ricketts

Broke Grenville

Lord Castlevaugh- a fine service 60 pieces- bought at Ld Gwdyrs Sale

Lord Harewood

Lord Melbourne- a fine desert service

Lady Grenville

The King a fine dark blue service

Duke of Buccleuch- a fine desert service, several ornamental pieces, a large coffre,

Lord Dudley & Ward- a part of green service of Ld Gwdyrs'

Sir H Goode – some good pink sceaus & jardinier of old sevres

Appendix III

Sèvres Porcelain at Loan Exhibition

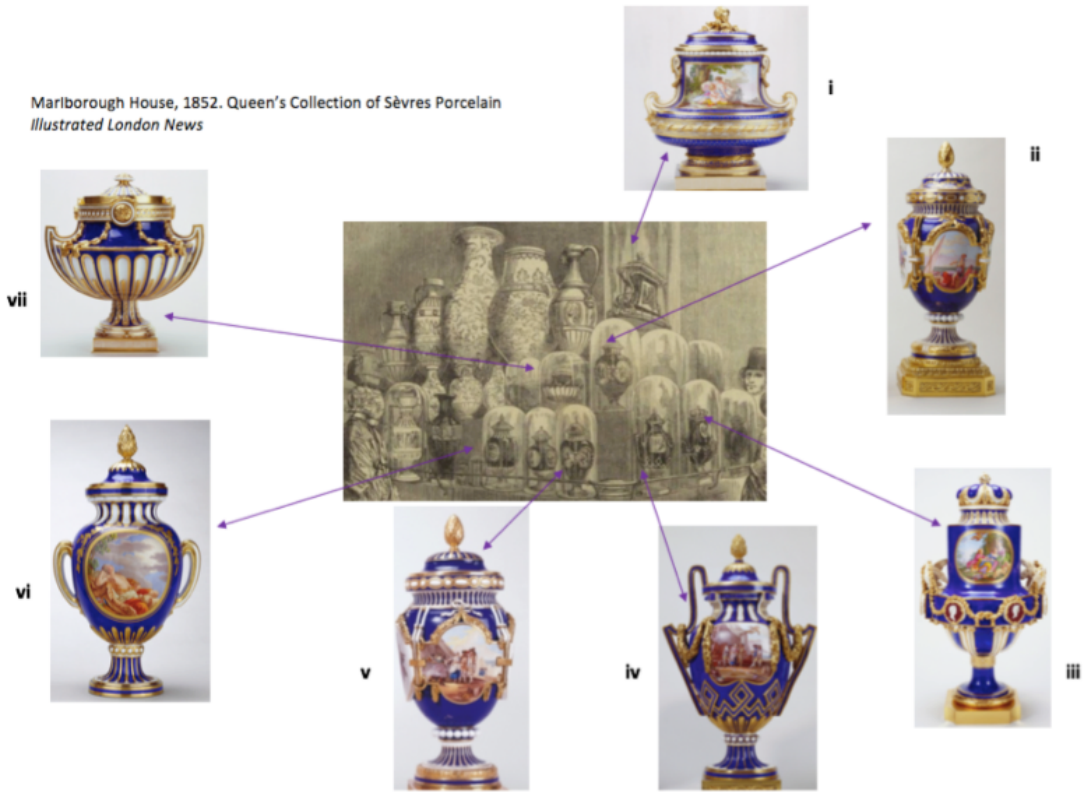
1852	Marlborough House, London. Queen's Collection of Sèvres Porcelain given on loan, comprising 45 objects John Webb also exhibited Miss Clarke also exhibited 34 pieces
1853	Marlborough House, London. Queen's Second Collection of Sèvres Porcelain given on loan, comprising 58 objects Lord Faversham also exhibited a collection of bleu-celeste Sèvres porcelain
1853	The Irish Exhibition of 1853, Dublin. Sèvres porcelain donated by the Honourable General Lygon. Gore House Exhibition
1855 - 1858	'The Government Travelling Exhibition of Decorative Art'- included several pieces of eighteenth-century Sèvres, on loan from the Queen, along with donations by local collectors from a variety of regional towns:

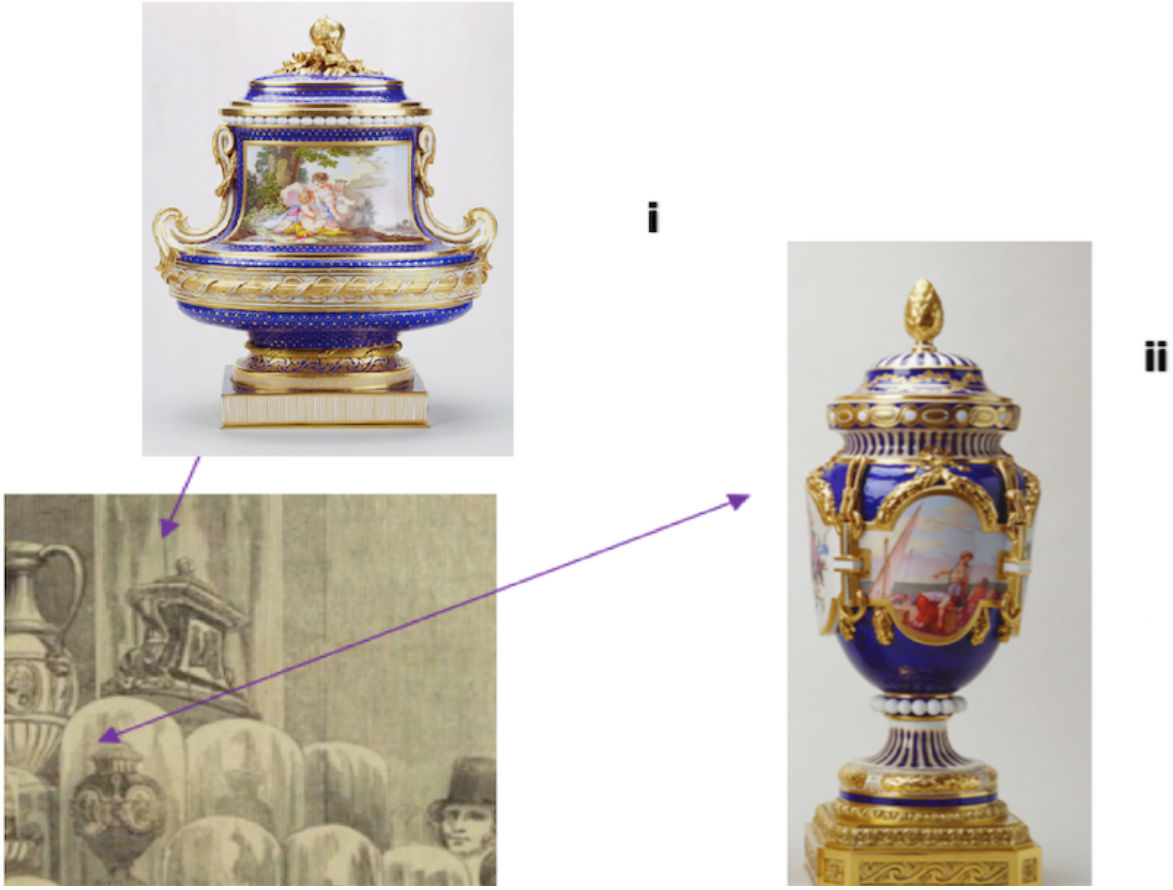
Birmingham (February-April 1855)	Norwich (October 1855)
Sheffield (December 1855)	Worcester (February 1857)
Leeds (November 1855)	Newcastle
York (March 1856)	Carnarvon
Hanley (September 1856)	Macclesfield
Edinburgh (December 1856)	Aberdeen (January 1858)
Belfast (February 1858)	Nottingham
Dublin (April 1858)	Limerick (May 1858)

1856	Art Manufactures Exhibition, Edinburgh. Sèvres porcelain given by the Duke of Portland
1857	Manchester Art Treasures art exhibition, Manchester. Sèvres porcelain on loan from the Duke of Portland, the Queen and Charles Mills esq.
1862	*Special Loans Exhibition,* South Kensington Museum, London. 282 pieces on loan from a variety of collectors
1871	Salisbury and South Wilts Museum, Salisbury. 100 pieces on loan from a variety of local collectors
1873	Continental Porcelain Exhibition, Burlington Fine Arts Club, London. 110 pieces on loan from a variety of collectors
1872-1875	Bethnal Green Exhibition, London. 250 pieces on loan from Richard Wallace

Appendix IV

Marlborough House, 1852. Queen's Collection of Sèvres Porcelain, *Illustrated London News*





i) Vase and Cover, 1772, The Royal Collection Trust, #RCIN 2288

ii) *Vase ferré,* c.1780 [one of a pair], Royal Collection Trust, #RCIN 5000055

iii) *Vase royal*, 1768, The Royal Collection Trust, #RCIN 2283

iv) *Vase à bâtons rompus*, sculpted by Falconet, 1764, The Royal Collection Trust, #RCIN 5000059

v) *Vase ferré,* 1764 [one of a pair-painted by Morin], The Royal Collection Trust, #RCIN 2289

vi) *Vase à bâtons rompus*, 1772, [one of a pair], The Royal Collection Trust, #RCIN 36103

vii) Vase and cover, c. 1779, The Royal Collection Trust, #RCIN 2277

Illustrations

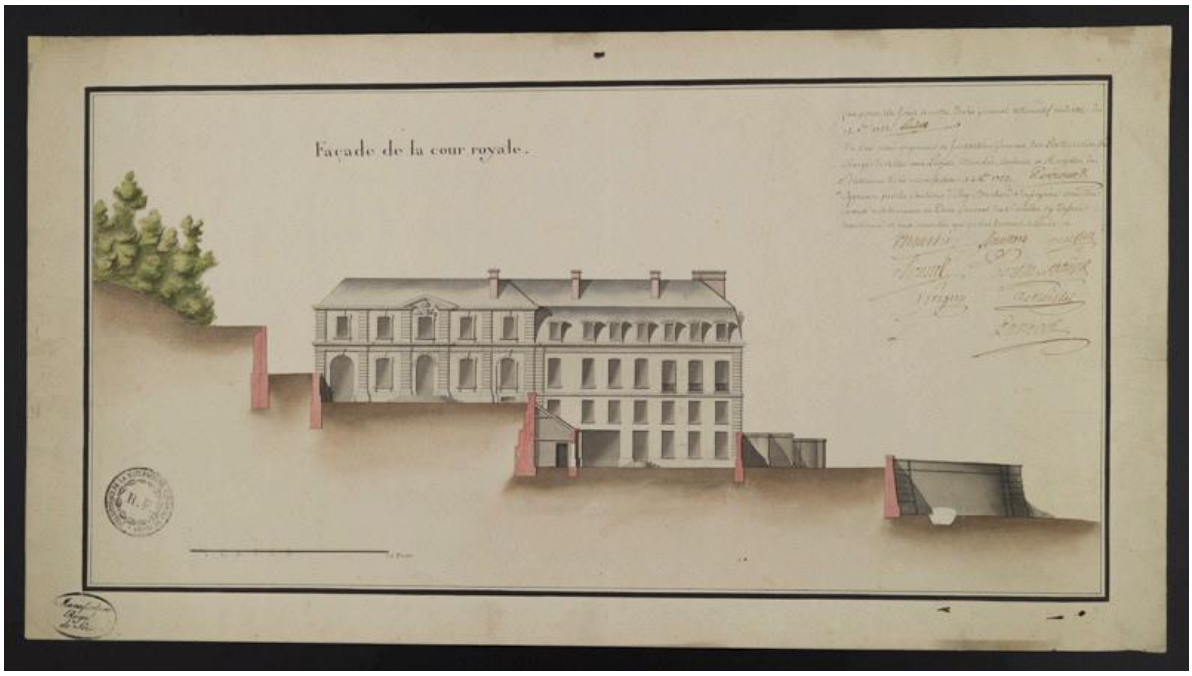


Fig.I, Design of the New Factory at Sèvres, Archives Manufacture Nationale de Sèvres, c.1755, *AMNS*

Fig.II, *The Virtuoso*, Comte Horace de Viel-Castel, 1839

Jules Janin, *Pictures of the French: a series of literary and graphic delineations of French Character,* (London: Orr & Co.,1840)

Fig.III, *The Virtuoso*, Comte Horace de Viel-Castel, 1839
Jules Janin, *Pictures of the French: a series of literary and graphic delineations of French Character,* (London: Orr & Co.,1840)

Fig.IV, Madame de Pompadour, François Boucher, 1756,
Bayerische Staatsgemaldesammlungen, Munich, #Inv. Nr. HUW 18

Fig.V, A *cuvette à fleurs à tombeau* with the arms of Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette, c.1774, Uppark House, National Trust, #NT 137424.1

Fig.VI, *beau bleu déjeuner 'Paris'*, c.1779
Harewood House, Yorkshire

Fig.VII, Harewood House, London

Historic England Archive

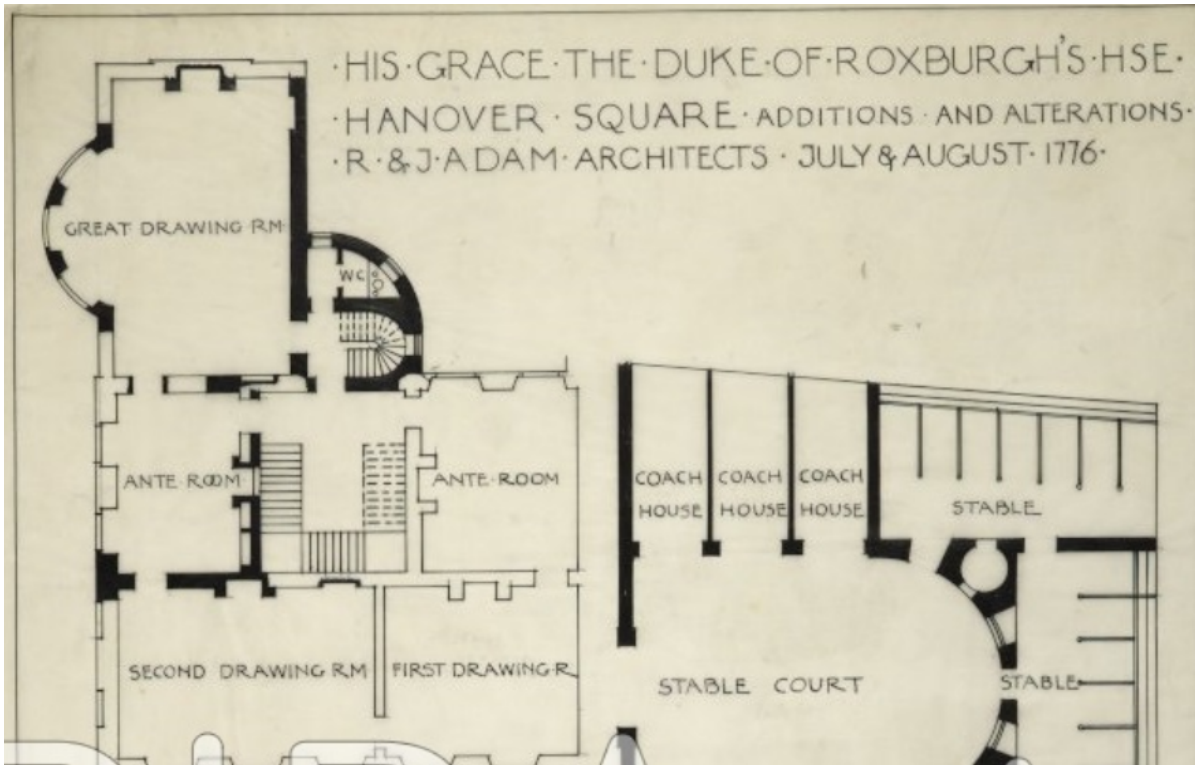


Fig.VIII, Architectural Plan of Roxburghe House, c.1776

RIBA Archicture, [accessed August 21 2018]

Fig.IX i), Pot-pourri *vase vaisseau à mât*, 1762
Waddesdon Manor, Rothschild Foundation

Fig.IX ii), Close-up view showing a battle between two armies, one side in white coats, the other in blue, Waddesdon Manor, Rothschild Foundation

Fig.X, Two vases, originally a *gobelet Bouillard*, which has been transformed subsequently into a ewer by removing the porcelain handle and adding
The Royal Collection Trust, #RCIN 10888

Fig.XI, the cup with the mounts removed, this cup was originally a *gobelet Bouillard*,
The Royal Collection Trust, #RCIN 10888

Fig. XII, A 'Baldock' Pot Pourri Vase, Sèvres porcelain c.1760-1770, French gilt-bronze mounts c.1820, Uppark House, National Trust, #NT 137434

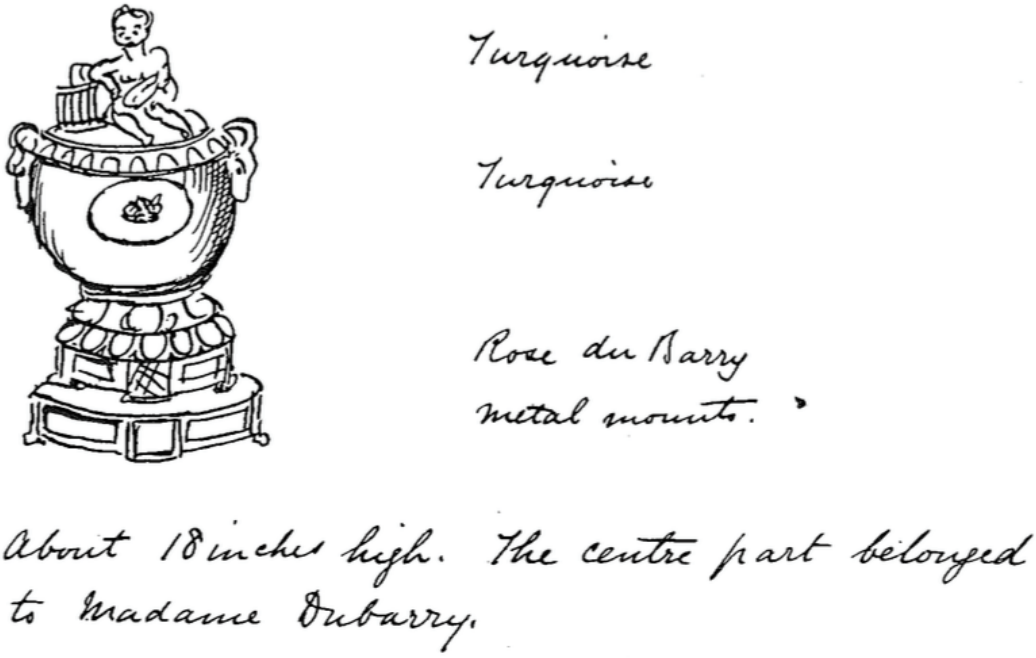


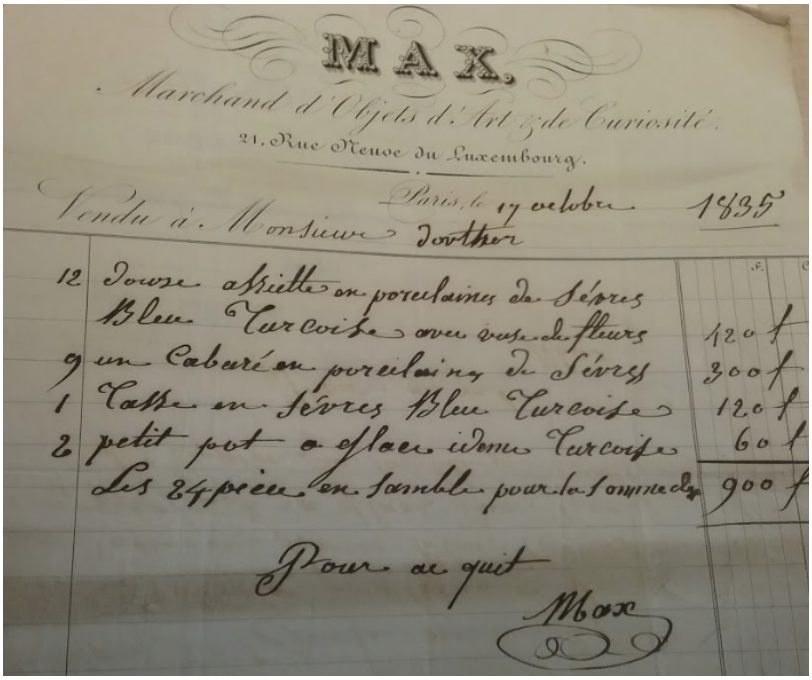
Fig.XIII, John Webb, Inventory and Sketch of Sundry Sèvres Vases now at Uppark, 1859, V&A Museum, John Webb Nominal File, *Blythe House Archives*

Fig.XIV, Thomas Martin Randall Plaque, Madeley Porcelain, V&A Museum, #1173-1903

Photograph taken by author

Fig.XV, Redecorated Randall piece of a small déjeuner tray. Here the black specks from the re-firing process are clearly visible, Private Collection

Fig. XVI, *Vase des âges à têtes d'enfants,* c.1781,
J. Paul Getty Museum, #4.DE.718



MAX,
Marchand d'Objets d'Art et de Curiosité.
21, Rue Neuve du Luxembourg.

Paris, le 17 octobre 1835

Vendu à Monsieur Dorther

12	douze assiettes en porcelaines de Sèvres bleu turcoise avec vues de fleurs	120 f
9	un cabaret en porcelaine de Sèvres	300 f
1	tasse en Sèvres bleu turcoise	120 f
2	petit pot à fleur idem turcoise	60 f
	Les 24 pièces ensemble pour la somme de	900 f

Pour acquit
Max

Fig.XVII, *Bill from Max 'marchand d'objets d'Art et de Curiosité':* which notes that Lonsdale purchased '12 Sèvres porcelain plates of blue turquoise decorated in flowers, 9 Sèvres tea sets, and one blue turquoise coffee cup'. D/LONS/L3/5/218, Paris, 17 October 1835. Photograph taken by author

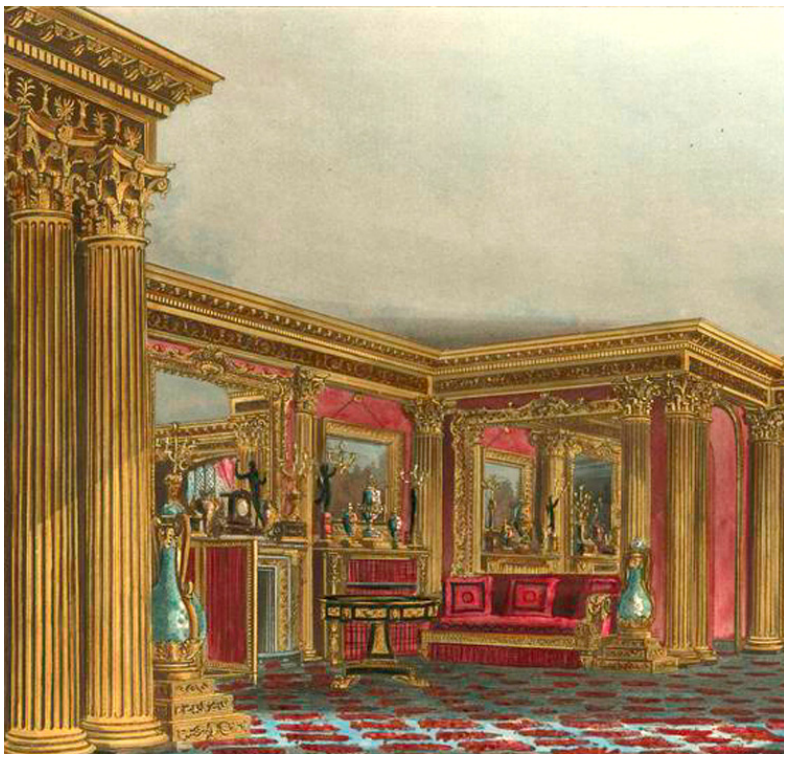


Fig. XVIII, The Golden Drawing Room, Carlton House, John Nash and William Pyne, *History of the Royal Residences,* Vol.III, (London: A.Dry, 1819), 56-59

Fig.XIX, Plate, Catherine Great 'Cameo' Service, 1778
V&A Museum, #C.449-1921

Fig.XX,

Seau à glace, (ice-cream cooler), Catherine Great 'Cameo' Service, 1778

Formerly in the collection of the 2nd Earl of Lonsdale, The Wallace Collection #C 476-9

Fig.XXI

Attingham Park a watercolour from c.1840-1850

Private Collection

Fig. XXII, Nineteenth-century glass dome with gold velvet border around the rim, Attingham Park, The National Trust, #NT607797

Fig.XXIII, Lady Wallace's Boudoir, Hertford House

The Wallace Collection Archives, London

Fig. XXIV, Jewel coffer on stand (petit coffre à bijoux), attributed to Martin Carlin, c.1775

Metropolitan Museum of Art, #58.75.42

Fig. XXV

Bonheur du jour, attributed to Martin Carlin, c.1768

Metropolitan Museum of Art, # 58.75.48

Fig.XXVI

'Commode in Boule work, French, 1700 and Group in ormoulu and Sevres porcelain, time of Louis XV' 1853, Gore House Exhibition, V&A Museum

Fig.XXVII, Vincennes Sunflower clock c. 1752

The Royal Collection Trust, #RCIN 30240

Fig.XXVIII, Manchester Treasures Exhibition, engraving of Sèvres porcelain. J.B. Waring, *Art Treasures of the United Kingdom, From the Art Treasures Exhibition, Manchester* (Manchester: Day and Son, 1858)

Fig.XXIX, 'Art Connoisseurs at Bethnal Green Museum', *The Graphic Supplement,* 1873

Fig. XXX, Visitors to the Bethnal Green Museum

The Illustrated London News, 29 June 1872

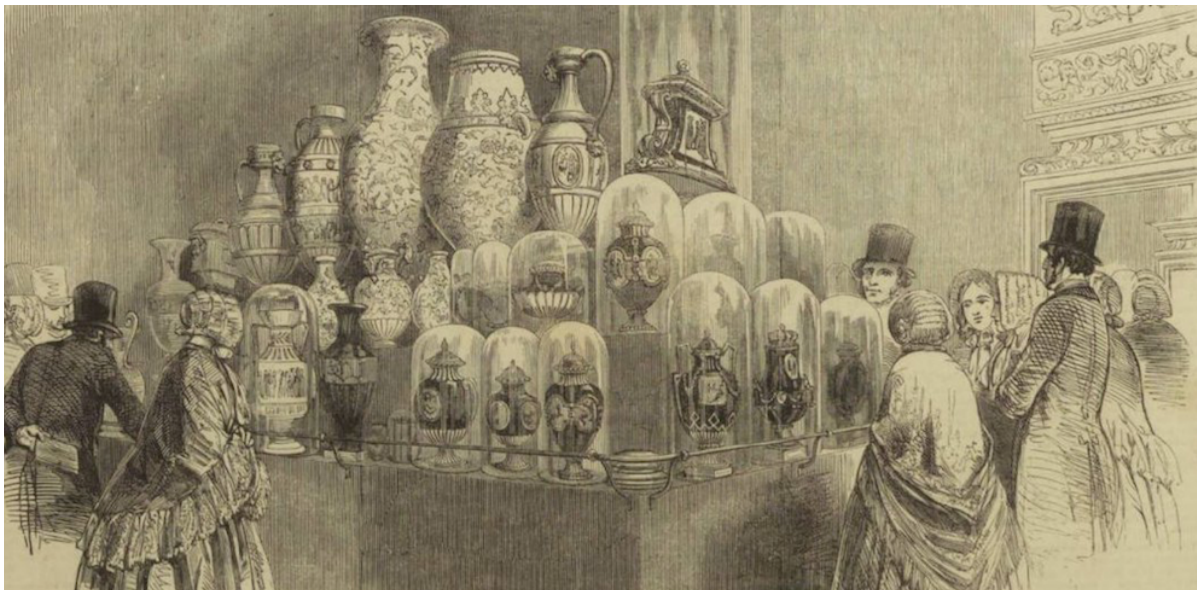
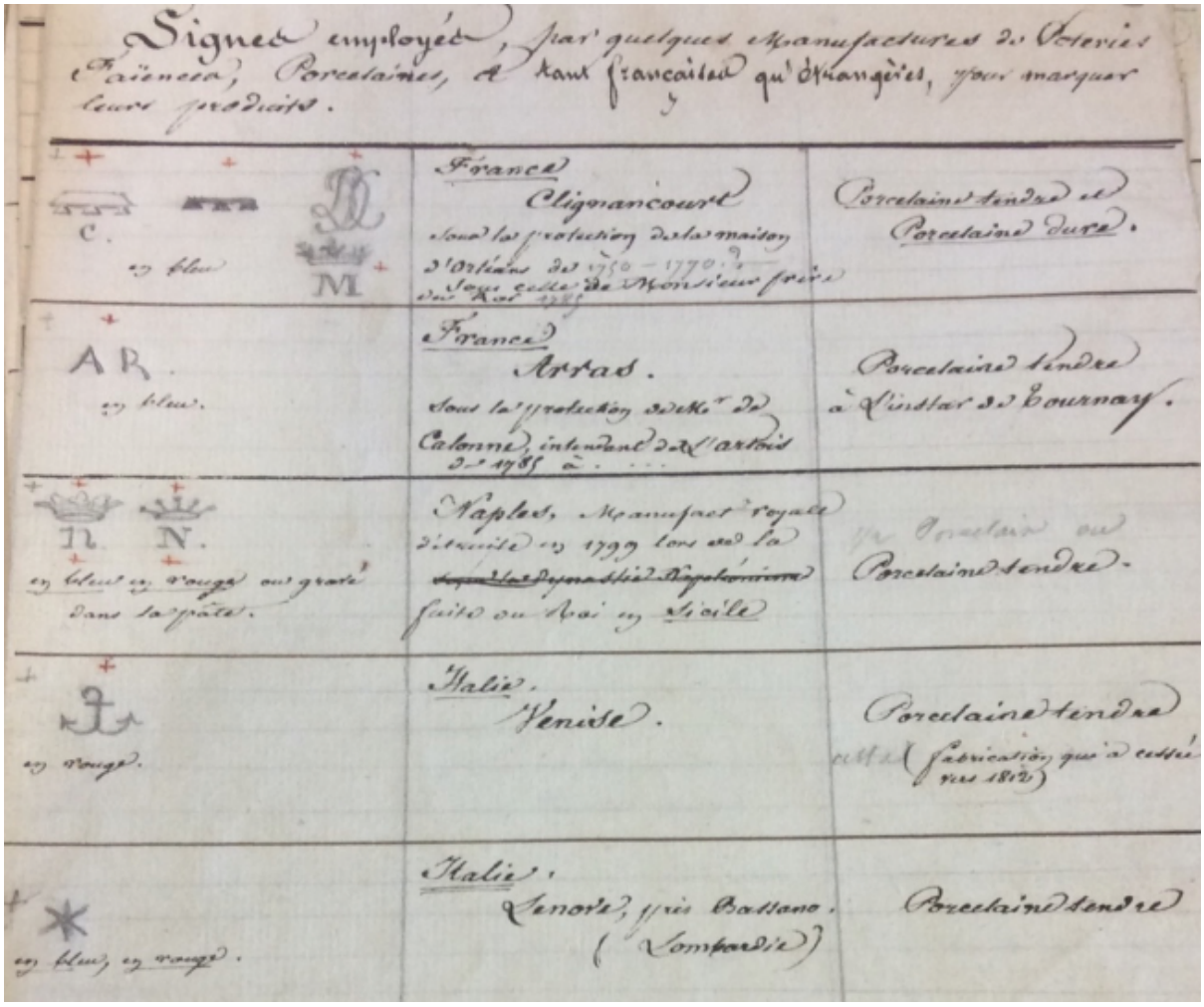


Fig.XXXI

Marlborough House, 1852. Queen's Collection of Sèvres Porcelain

Illustrated London News

Fig.XXXII, Pot-pourri *vase vaisseau à mât*, 1758-59, The Royal Collection Trust, #RCIN 2360



Signes employés par quelques Manufactures de Poteries Faïences, Porcelaines, tant françaises qu'étrangères, pour marquer leurs produits.

C. M en bleu	France Cliguancourt sous la protection de la maison d'Orléans de 1750 – 1770 ? sous celle de Monsieur frère du Roi 1785	Porcelaine tendre et Porcelaine dure.
AR. en bleu.	France Arras. sous la protection de M. de Calonne, intendant de l'artois de 1785 à . . .	Porcelaine tendre à l'instar de Tournay.
N. N. en bleu et en rouge ou gravé dans la pâte.	Naples. Manufact. royale établie en 1799 lors de la ~~dynastie Napoléonienne~~ faite au Roi en Sicile	Porcelaine ou Porcelaine tendre.
en rouge.	Italie. Venise.	Porcelaine tendre (fabrication qui a cessé vers 1812)
en bleu, en rouge.	Italie. Lenore, près Bassano. (Lombardie)	Porcelaine tendre

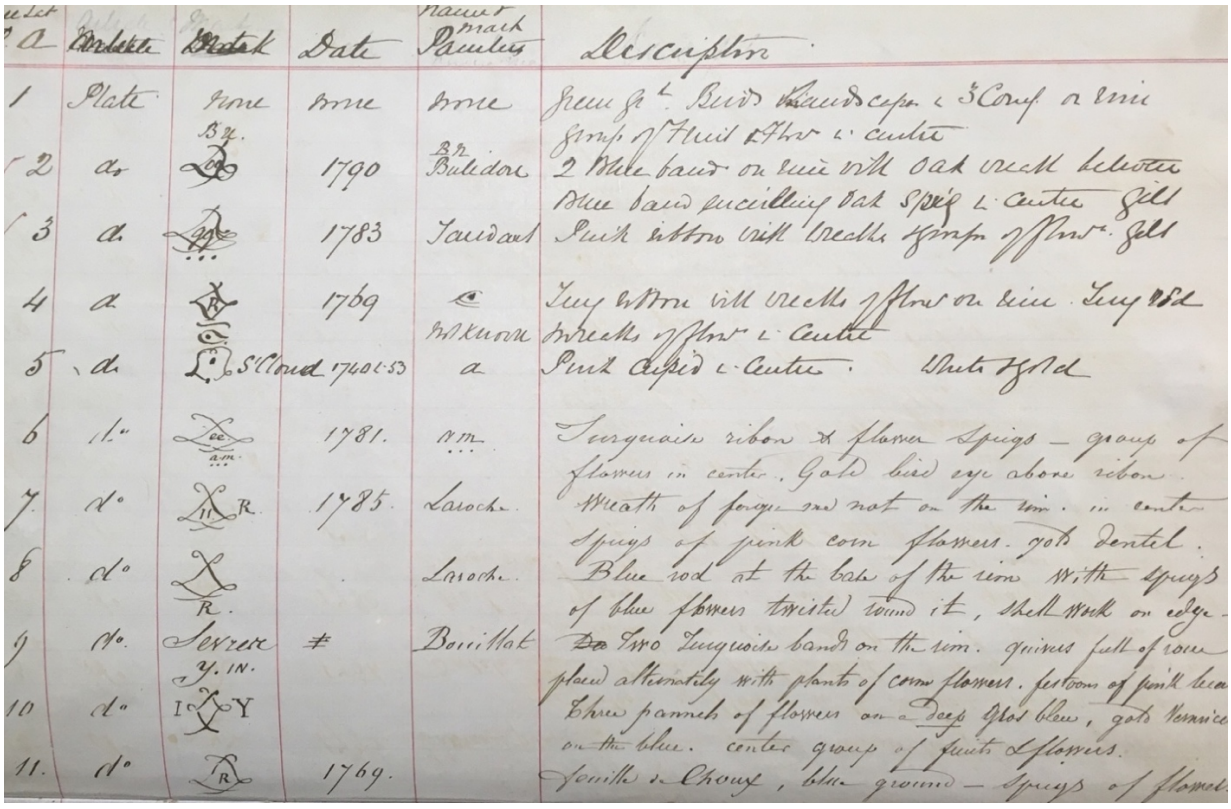
Fig.XXXIII, A section showing lists by Riocreux to determine marks, makers and monograms of European porcelain. Musée de Sèvres Expositions, Fichier, 1839, *ANMS*

TABLE OF MARKS AND MONOGRAMS
OF
PAINTERS, DECORATORS, AND GILDERS OF THE ROYAL
MANUFACTORY OF SEVRES FROM 1753 TO 1800.

Marks.	*Names of Painters.*	*Subjects.*
N	ALONCLE . .	Birds, flowers.
	ANTEAUME . .	Landscapes and animals.
	ARMAND . . .	Birds, flowers, &c.
As or A	ASSELIN . . .	Portraits, miniatures.
	AUBERT ainé .	Flowers.
B	BAR	Detached bouquets.
BB.	BARRAT . . .	Garlands, bouquets.
BD	BAUDOIN . .	Ornaments, friezes.
6.	BERTRAND . .	Detached bouquets.

Fig.XXXIV, A section showing a table of marks and monograms by William Chaffers.

William Chaffers, *Marks and Monograms on Pottery and Porcelain*, (London: J.Davy, 1863), 221



1	Plate	None	None	None	Green gr. Birds & Landscape & 3 Comp. on rim Group of Fruit & flow. in center
2	do	BZ.	1790	BB Baudoin	2 Blue bands on rim with Oak wreath between Blue band encircling Oak sprig in center gilt
3	do		1783	Taudoin	Pink ribbon with wreath & group of flow. gilt
4	do		1769	⊂ Unknown	Grey ribbon with wreath of flow. on rim. Grey gold wreath of flow. in center
5	do	St Cloud	1700-53	a	Pink dipped in center. White gold
6	do		1781.	AM	Turquoise ribon & flower sprigs — group of flowers in center. Gold bird eye above ribon.
7	do	R	1785.	Laroche	Wreath of forge-me-not on the rim. in center sprigs of pink corn flowers. gold dentel.
8	do	R.		Laroche	Blue rod at the base of the rim with sprigs of blue flowers twisted round it, shell work on edge.
9	do	Sevres Y. IN.	#	Barillat	~~Do~~ Two Turquoise bands on the rim. quivers full of rose placed alternately with plants of corn flowers. festoons of pink bea
10	do	I Y			Three panels of flowers on a Deep Glos blue, gold Vernice on the blue. center group of fruits & flowers.
11.	do	R	1769.		Vermilion & Chrome, blue ground — Sprigs of flowers

Fig.XXXV, A section of a detailed porcelain catalogue, from c.1860. *Minton Archives, Stoke-on-Trent*

Fig.XXXVI, The Loan Collection of works of art at South Kensington Museum, 6 December 1862, *The Illustrated London News*

Fig.XXXVII, Flower vase with stand, Vielliard, 1761
Formerly in the collection of Sir Charles Mills
Metropolitan Museum of Art, # 58.75.85 a and b

Fig.XXXVIII

Cabinet with Sèvres Plaques, designed by Martin Carlin, c.1775-1880

Formerly in the collection of Sir Charles Mills

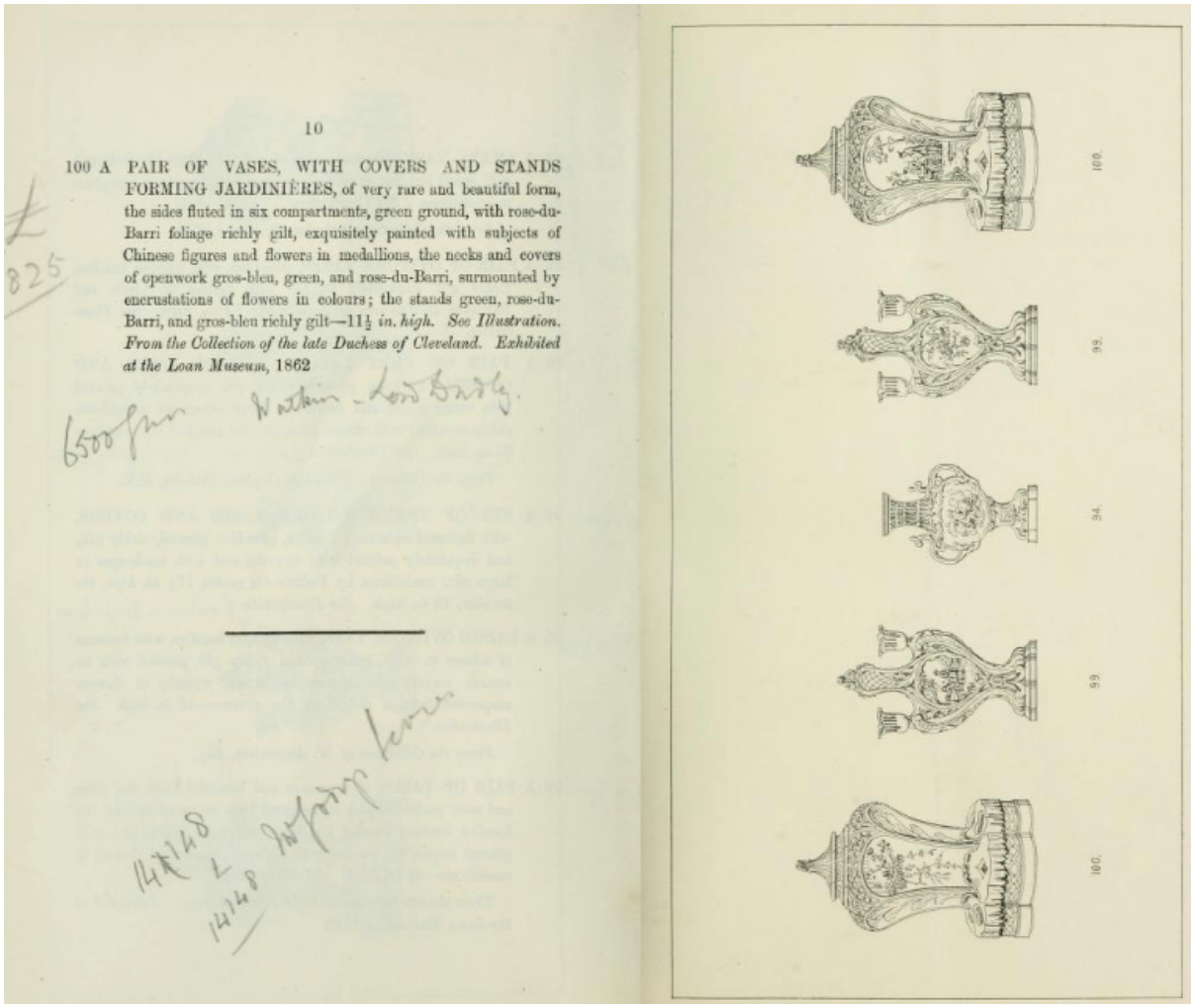
Metropolitan Museum of Art, # 58.75.51

Fig.XXXIX, Photograph by Charles Thurston Thompson, 'Specimens selected from the Special Exhibition of works of Arts on Loan at the South Kensington Museum in 1862, V&A Museum

Fig.XL, Pot-pourri *vase vaisseau à mat*, c.1757
Formerly in the collection of Sir Charles Mills
Metropolitan Museum of Art, #58.75.89a

Fig.XLI, Vase à tête d'éléphants, c.
Formerly in the collection of Sir Charles Mills
Metropolitan Museum of Art, #58.75.91a and b

Fig.XLII, Lot 469 and 470, Christie, Manson and Woods, *Catalogue of the celebrated collection of works of art, of that distinguished collector Ralph Bernal*, 33-34



10

100 A PAIR OF VASES, WITH COVERS AND STANDS FORMING JARDINIÈRES, of very rare and beautiful form, the sides fluted in six compartments, green ground, with rose-du-Barri foliage richly gilt, exquisitely painted with subjects of Chinese figures and flowers in medallions, the necks and covers of openwork gros-bleu, green, and rose-du-Barri, surmounted by encrustations of flowers in colours; the stands green, rose-du-Barri, and gros-bleu richly gilt—11½ *in. high. See Illustration. From the Collection of the late Duchess of Cleveland. Exhibited at the Loan Museum*, 1862

Fig.XLIII, Christie, Manson and Woods, *Old Sèvres Porcelain, The Property of a Known Collector,* March 19, 1874, 10-11

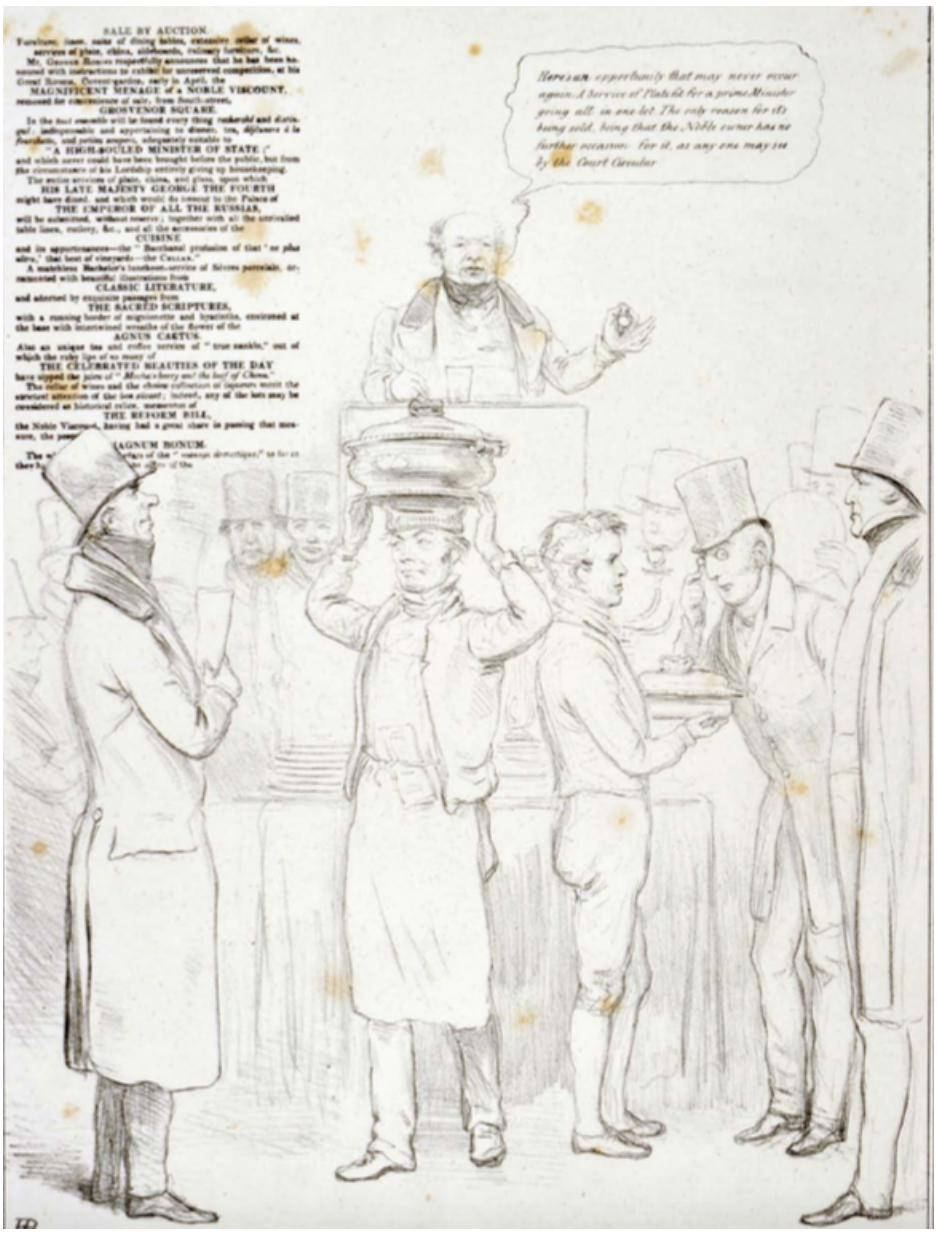


Fig.XLIV

Extraordinary Auction, 1838

Bowes Museum, #2010.11.68

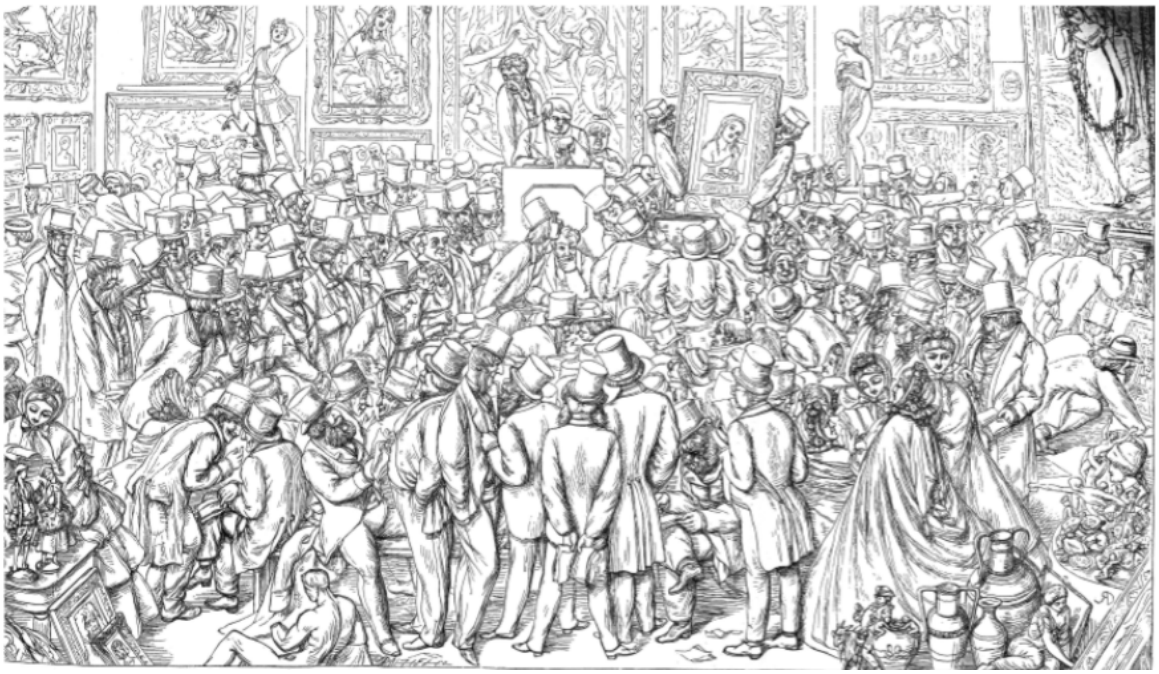


Fig.XLV

Bird's-Eye Views of Society, No.VIII, *The Picture Sale*, *Cornhill Magazine,* 1861

Fig.XLVI

Picture Sale, *Illustrated London News,* 1872

Fig.XLVII, Boudoir, Dudley House, London, c.1875. *Historic England Archive*

Fig.XLVIII, Pot-pourri *vase vaisseau à mât,* c.1758, sold to J. Piermont Morgan in 1908-10, bought by J. Paul Getty in 1975, J.P. Getty Museum, #75.DE.11

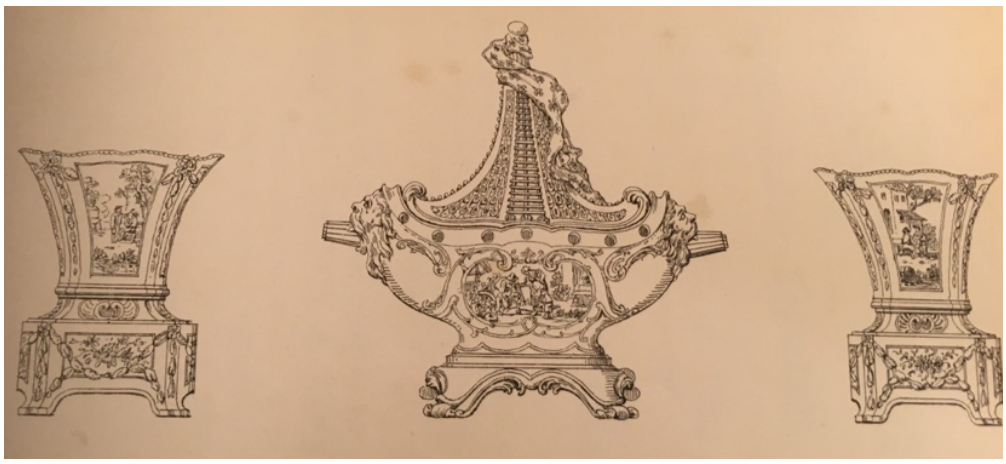


Fig.XLIX

Christie, Manson & Woods, *Catalogue of Old Sèvres and Chelsea porcelain and other decorative objects,* Friday, 12 June, 1874, 12, *Christie's Archives London*

Fig.L, Three pot-pourri *vase vaisseau à mât,* c.1757-1761

Collected by Ferdinand de Rothschild, Waddesdon Manor, Rothschild Foundation

Fig.LI, Coat of Arms, *Armes symboliques de la ville de Paris*, (Paris: C. Meryon, 1854)

Fig.LII,

Louis XIV nef, René-Antoine Houasse, 1683

Decorates entrance room to the *Cabinet des Medailles* at Versailles

Versailles

Fig.LIII i)

Photograph showing the other gros-bleu ground *vaisseau à Mât* sold as Lot 193 in 1886,

at the posthumous auction of Lord Dudley

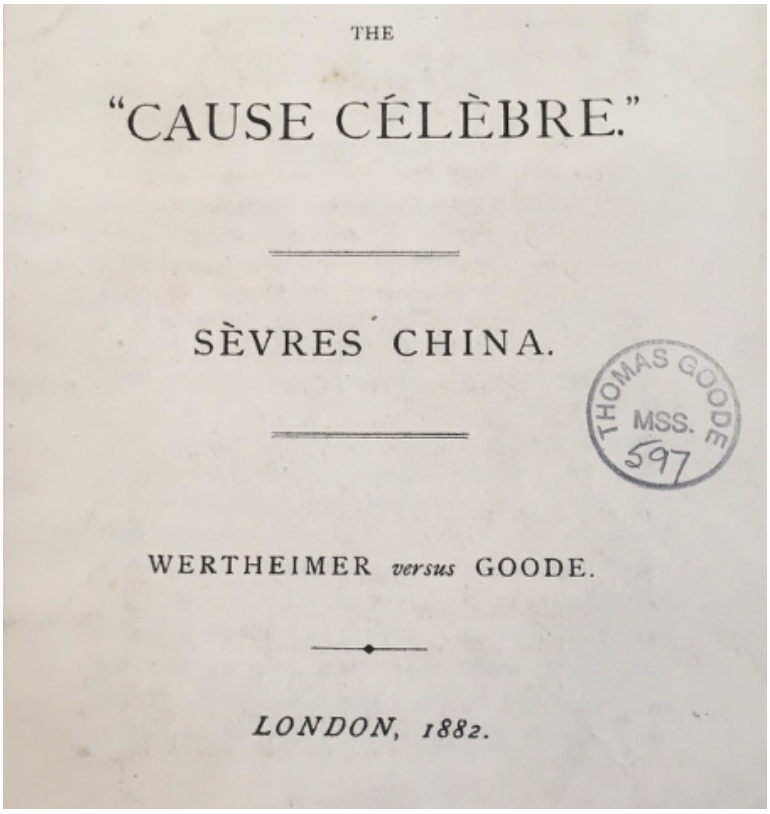
Christie's Archives London

Fig.LIII ii)

Vase vaisseau à mat, now located at the Frick Collection in New York

Frick Collection, #1916.9.07

Fig.LIV, Detailed watercolour drawing featuring the pink Ship Sèvres owned by Dudley, *Minton Archives, Stoke-on-Trent*


THE

"CAUSE CÉLÈBRE."

SÈVRES CHINA.

WERTHEIMER *versus* GOODE.

LONDON, 1882.

Fig.LV, 'The Cause Célèbre'. A Pamphlet published by William J.Goode after the court case, 1882. *Thomas Goode Archives, London*

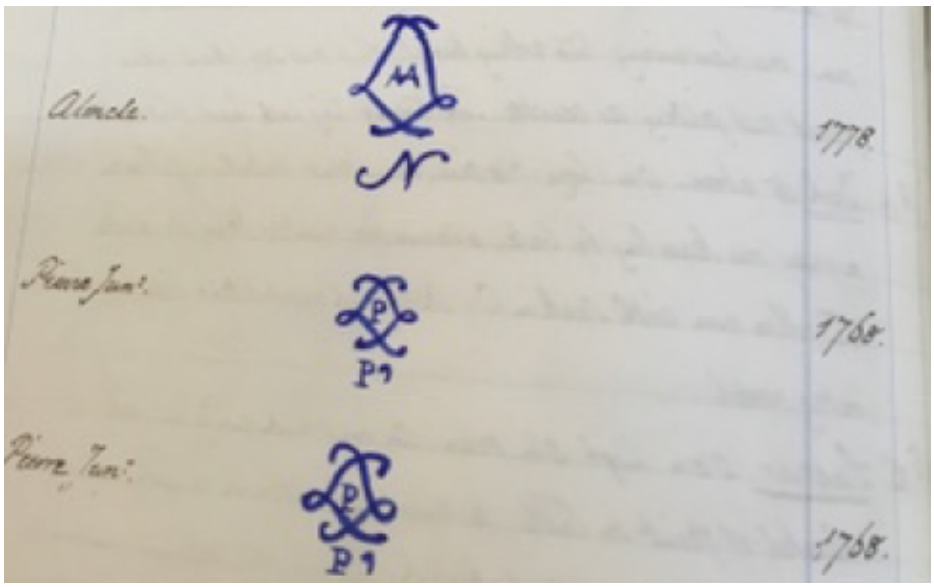


Fig. LVI, A page showing Marks and Monograms from William J.Goode's private collection of Sèvres porcelain, showing a piece painted by Aloncle with marks AA, at this time dating to 1778 and Pierre Jeune with marks P, dating to 1768, c.1882-1890. *TGA.*

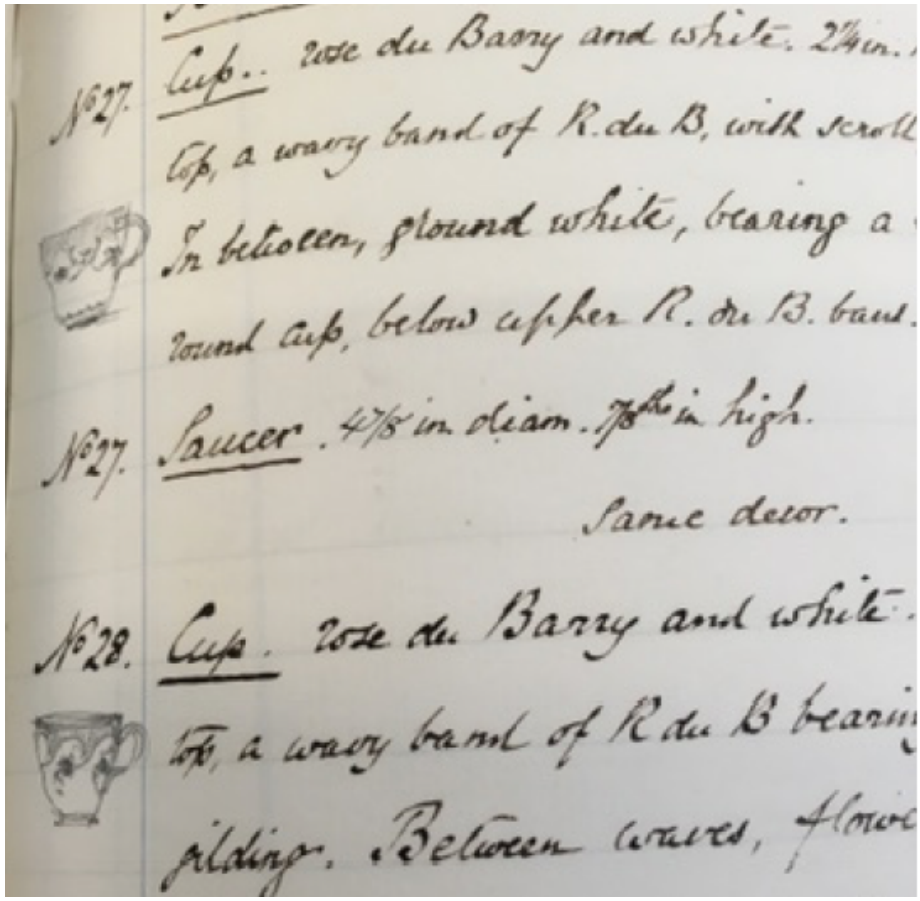


Fig.LVII, A page showing 'Rose du Barry' pieces from William J.Goode's private collection of Sèvres porcelain, detailing the form and decoration of the pieces, along with pencil drawings, c.1882-1890. *TGA*