

A FORCED ACCORD
THE *DISPOSITIF* OF INDUSTRIAL ART IN THE
WORKS OF THE MANET-WHISTLER CIRCLE,
1858-68

VOLUME 1 of 2

NICHOLAS BOYD SHADDICK

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Abstract

This thesis explores the relationship between French and British painting in the decade 1858-1868, a period in which progressive artistic practices in both France and Great Britain were concurrently transformed in style and subject matter. The scholarly literatures concerning the visual cultures of both nations in the mid-nineteenth century are substantial, yet comparatively few attempts have been made to reconcile their narratives of vanguardist practice in the 1860s. The thesis demonstrates that existing accounts of the development of early modernist painting in England and France may be more closely aligned by attention to the contemporary discourse of industrial art. The significance of this cultural apparatus, or 'dispositif', has hitherto been largely obscured both by modernism's disputed claims for painting's discovery of its own medium and by the fragmentation of the polyvalent activities of industrial art amongst many modern academic disciplines.

By identifying a pattern of pictorial phenomena evident simultaneously within the works of English and French painters and by describing this pattern as a contiguous, international discursive formation, the thesis proposes the existence of a coherent configuration of knowledge and state power that modified progressive practices in similar ways in both countries. Four case-studies are presented that map the characteristics of this discourse as it can be inferred from formal and iconographic relationships within and between paintings.

The research suggests that international state collaborations in exhibition, museology and photography served to construct a universalist and predicative model of stylistic change that was subsequently appropriated by a distinct but similarly international vanguardist grouping, here identified as the Manet-Whistler Circle, within which the materials of industrial art came to inform a range of innovative critical positions. The discursive object thus identified has not previously been considered a theoretically-coherent determinant on the formation of modernist painting.

Table of Contents

Abstract	Page 5
Table of Contents	Page 7
List of Figures	Page 10
List of Illustrations	Page 11
Acknowledgements	Page 25
Declaration	Page 27
Introduction	Page 29
Chapter One Gottfried Semper at the boundary of the <i>Société des trois</i>	
1.1 Whistler's 'reform' of the <i>Société des trois</i> in 1865	Page 75
1.2 Alphonse Legros: Two versions of <i>Le Lutrín</i>	Page 82
1.3 Albert Moore: An English Realist?	Page 90
1.4 Semper's Ideal Museum: <i>Pomegranates</i> (1866)	Page 97
1.5 Conclusions	Page 117
Chapter Two Producing Incongruity: Two paintings and 'anti-objective' photography in 1859	
2.1 Realism at the <i>Salon</i> of 1859	Page 123

2.2 *L'Angélu*: Industrial Art and “la pensée populaire” Page 132

2.3 *At the Piano*: Page 165

2.4 Conclusions Page 195

Chapter Three Industrial Art as Method and History at the *Salon des Refusés*

3.1 Introduction Page 199

3.2 Whistler’s Practice 1859-62: photographic
pictoriality and existing genres Page 203

3.3 *Old Battersea Bridge to The Coast of Brittany* Page 206

3.4 The Photographic Genealogy of *The White Girl* Page 217

3.5 Manet’s *Salon des Refusés* ‘Array’ Page 234

3.6 Representing Painting’s boundary with
‘Photographic Art’ in 1863 Page 262

Chapter Four The Museology of Ceramics as an International Iconography

4.1 Introduction Page 269

4.2 Majolica in *At the Piano* Page 281

4.3 The ‘Virtual’ Ceramics of *Lieder ohne Worte* Page 287

4.4 The Ceramic Surface as *forced accord*:
The Lange Leizen of the Six Marks Page 300

4.5 ‘Faience Patriotique’: Manet’s *Portrait d’ Émile Zola* Page 310

4.6 *Le Déjeuner*: The Allegory of Choice ‘retappé’ Page 322

4.7 Conclusion Page 341

Conclusion Page 343

Bibliography Page 353

List of Figures

- Figure 1. Sketch Plan of the 'Ideal Museum', re-drawn from Gottfried Semper, *Practical Art in Metals*. Page 111
- Figure 2. Frequency of stereographic images proposed by Denis Pellerin as having been remediated from *Punch* cartoons Page 190

List of Illustrations

1. Alphonse Legros, *L'Ex-voto*, 1861, oil on canvas, 174 x 197 cm, Musée des Beaux Arts de Dijon
2. Carolus-Duran (Charles Durand), *La Dame au Gant (Portrait de Mme ***)*, 1868, oil on canvas, 228 x 164 cm, Musée D'Orsay, Paris
3. Christopher Dresser and the students of the Female School of Art, *The Art of Decorative Design*, 1862, National Art Library, London
4. Alphonse Legros, *Chanteurs espagnoles*, 1865, etching, plate: 27 x 36.8 cm, sheet: 35.6 x 47 cm, Detroit Institute of Arts.
5. Alphonse Legros, *Le Lutrin*, 1865, oil on canvas, 101.5 x 106 cm, Musée D'Orsay, Paris.
6. Alphonse Legros, *La vocation de St François*, 1861, oil on canvas, 140 x 190 cm, Musée des Beaux-Arts et de la Dentelle, Alcnçon
7. Édouard Hamman, *La Messe d'Adrien Willaert*, 1854, oil on canvas, 145 x 207.5 cm, Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Bruxelles
8. Alphonse Legros, *The Communion*, 1865, oil on canvas, 86.3 x 73 cm, William Morris Museum, Walthamstow
9. Albert Moore, *Study of an Ash-Trunk*, 1858, watercolour and gouche with gum-arabic, 30.4 x 22.8 cm, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford
10. Albert Moore, *Elijah's Sacrifice*, 1863, oil on canvas, 99 x 175.1 cm, Bury City Art Gallery
11. Alphonse Legros, *The Tinker*, 1874, oil on canvas, 115 x 132 cm, Victoria & Albert Museum, London
12. Albert Moore, *The Marble Seat*, 1865, oil on canvas, 73.6 x 47 cm, whereabouts unknown (reproduced from Baldry, *Albert Moore*)
13. Albert Moore, *The Four Seasons*, 1864, tempera on plaster panel, whereabouts unknown (reproduced from Baldry, *Albert Moore*)
14. Albert Moore, *Dancing Girl Resting*, 1863-64, oil on canvas, 57.1 x 40.6 cm, private collection

15. Albert Moore, *Pomegranates*, 1864-65, oil on canvas, 25.4 x 35.5 cm, Guildhall Art Gallery, London
16. Albert Moore, *Pomegranates*, frame
17. William Nesfield, The Dairy at Croxteth Hall, Liverpool, 1864-65 Photograph
© Crown copyright. NMR Reference Number: BB93/27867
18. John Pollard Seddon, *King René's Honeymoon* cabinet, 1861, oak, hardwood inlays, cast and chased brass and painted panels, 133.4 x 252 x 87 cm, Victoria & Albert Museum, London
19. Dante Gabriel Rossetti, *Music*, from *King René's Honeymoon* cabinet, oil(?) on oak panel, detail
20. Albert Moore, *Pomegranates*, detail
21. Gottfried Semper, Illustrations of knotting techniques, *Der Stil in den technischen und tektonischen Künsten oder praktische Ästhetik, ein Handbuch für Techniker, Künstler und Kunstfreunde*, Vol I, pp.180, 186, Munich, 1860, University of Heidelberg
22. Gottfried Semper, *Der Stil in den technischen und tektonischen Künsten oder praktische Ästhetik: ein Handbuch für Techniker, Künstler und Kunstfreunde*, Vol. I, pp.189, 429, Munich, 1860, University of Heidelberg
23. Gottfried Semper, *Der Stil in den technischen und tektonischen Künsten oder praktische Ästhetik: ein Handbuch für Techniker, Künstler und Kunstfreunde*, Vol. II, pp.4-5, Munich, 1863, University of Heidelberg
24. Gottfried Semper, Plan of an Ideal Museum of Decorative Art, in *Practical Art in Metals and Hard Materials*, 1852, manuscript, MAK – Austrian Museum of Applied Arts / Contemporary Art, Vienna
25. William Eden Nesfield, Plate No.8, *Specimens of Mediaeval Architecture: chiefly selected from examples of the 12th and 13th centuries in France & Italy and drawn by W. Eden Nesfield*, 1862, National Art Library, London
26. Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin, *The Chest*, 1832, folio, ink on paper, binding 23.2 x 18.5 cm, paper 21.8 x 17.5 cm, Victoria & Albert Museum, London
27. Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin, *True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture*, 1841, 26 x 21 cm, authors collection
28. Charles Locke Eastlake, *Hints on Household Taste*, 1868, p.186 and plate XXV, opp. p.116, British Library

29. Christopher Dresser, *The Art of Decorative Design*, 1862, p.82, plate V, National Art Library, London
30. Christopher Dresser, The geometric order of spiral growth, *The Art of Decorative Design*, 1862, pp.78-79, National Art Library, London
31. Albert Moore, Design for the kitchen frieze at Coombe Abbey, 1863, (destroyed)
32. L to R: Ottoman 'Isnik' jug, c.1600 with blue pomegranate motif, Turkish cotton embroidery, 17th century, Venetian 'pomegranate pattern' silk velvet with gold thread, c.1480, and North Italian Brocatelle woven silk, c.1700. Victoria & Albert Museum, London
33. William Morris and Jane Morris, *Pomegranate Tree* embroidery, c.1860, and William Morris for Morris, Marshall, Faulkner and Co, *Pomegranate* wallpaper (later called *Fruits*) 1865-66. Victoria & Albert Museum, London
34. Jean-Léon Gérôme, *Ave, César imperator, Morituri te salutant*, 1859, oil on canvas, 93.1 x 145.4 cm, Yale University Art Gallery
35. Alphonse Legros, *L'Angélu*, 1859, oil on canvas, 64.5 x 80.9 cm, private collection
36. Henri Fantin-Latour, *Les Deux Sœurs*, 1859, oil on canvas, 98.4 x 130 cm, St. Louis Art Museum
37. Henri Fantin-Latour, *Self-Portrait*, 1859, oil on canvas, 101 x 83 cm, Musée de Grenoble
38. James McNeill Whistler, *At the Piano (Piano Picture)*, 1859, oil on canvas, 67 x 91 cm, The Taft Museum, Cincinnati
39. James McNeill Whistler, *La Mère Gérard*, 1858-59, oil on canvas, 30.5 x 22.5 cm, private collection
40. James McNeill Whistler, *La Marchand de Moutarde*, 1858, and *Portrait de femme*, now usually known as *Fumette*, 1858. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge
41. Édouard Manet, *Beuveur d'absinthe*, 1859, oil on canvas, 108 x 105 cm, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen
42. Hugo Ven de Goes, *The Monforte Altarpiece*, c.1470, oil on panel, 147 x 242 cm, Gemäldegalerie, Berlin
43. Henry Monnier, *La Femme de Menage*, in *Les Français peints par eux-mêmes, Encyclopédie Morale Du XIXe Siècle*, Vol I, facing p.527, 1842

44. Gavarni, Plates from *Le Diable à Paris* 1845-46: L. facing p.218, Vol. I, and facing p.310, Vol. II p.311
45. L to R: *La Halle*, in *Les Français peints par eux-mêmes*, Vol. IV, 1842, facing p.269. *La Portiere*, in *Les Français peints par eux-mêmes*, Vol III, 1841, p.33
46. *Les Petits Metiers de Paris*, Plate 17, *Le Diable à Paris*, Vol. II, .1845.
47. Alexandre David, *Le Petit Lavater Français, Ou L'art De Connaître Les Hommes Par La Physionomie ... Édition Illustrée De Quinze Portraits De Personnages Célèbres*, 1854
48. Nadar, *Supérieure des Soeurs de l'Espérance*, photographic print, 19 x 11 cm, Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Estampes et photographie
49. Disdéri et Cie, *Carte de visite*, c.1858,
50. Alphonse Legros, *La procession du caveau St. Medard*, 1859, etching, plate: 18.6 x 39.9 cm, Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Estampes et photographie
51. James McNeill Whistler, a) *Arthur Haden*, 1858, etching, and b) *Annie Haden*, etching, 1858
52. Hugh Welch Diamond, *An Inmate of the Surrey County Asylum*, before 1858, collodion process photographic print, Royal Photographic Society, Bath
53. *Religious Melancholy*, *Medical Times and Gazette*, 2nd January 1858. Harvard University Library
54. Hugh Welch Diamond, *An Inmate of the Surrey County Asylum*, before 1858, collodion process photographic print, Royal Photographic Society, Bath
55. Henry Peach Robinson, *Fading Away*, 1858, collodion process print from multiple negatives, 23.8 x 37.2 cm, Royal Collection, United Kingdom
56. Top: *Fading Away*, p.9, *The Illustrated Times*, 30th October 1858, (United Kingdom). Bottom: *Fading Away*, p.9, *Harper's Weekly* 20th November 1858, (United States of America)
57. Oscar Rejlander, *The Two Ways of Life*, 1858, composite photographic print from collodion glass plates, 40.6 x 76.2 cm, Victoria & Albert Museum, London
58. Alphonse Legros, *La Communion dans l'église Sainte-Medard*, etching, Plate: 36.2 x 26.8 cm, Auckland Art Gallery
59. Armand Gautier, *Les Folles de La Salpêtrière*, 1857, lithograph, 18.6 x 27.6 cm, John Hay Whitney Medical Library, New Haven, Connecticut

60. Armand Gautier, *La Promenade des sœurs de charité*, 1859, oil on canvas, 106 x 187 cm, Palais des Beaux-Arts, Lille
61. *Le tombeau de B. François de Pâris, diacre de l'Église de Paris Mort 1^{er} May 1727*, in Louis-Basile Carré de Montgeron, *La vérité des miracles de M. de Pâris démontrée contre M. l'Archevêque de Sens*, 1737, Bibliothèque nationale de France
62. Anne Augier, in Louis-Basile Carré de Montgeron, , *La vérité des miracles de M. de Pâris démontrée contre M. l'Archevêque de Sens* 1737, Bibliothèque nationale de France
63. *La Discipline patriotique ou le fanatisme corrigée : époque arrivée dans la semaine de la passion 1791 par les dames de la halle. D'après un relevée exacte, il s'est trouvé 621 fesses de fouettées; total 310 culs et demie, attendu que la tresoriere des Miramiones n'avoit qu'une seule fesse*, 1791, engraving and watercolour, 15 x 21.5 cm, Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Estampes et photographie
64. *Une religieuse qu'on fouette*, 1792, engraving, Plate: 14 x 10 cm, Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Estampes et photographie
65. *Une Folle à la Salpêtrière Evénement malheureux arrivé à une jolie actrice de la Comédie-Française, en allant à la Salpêtrière* 1815-1860, engraving, 45.5 x 34.2 cm, Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Estampes et photographie
66. Jan Steen, *The Harpsichord Lesson*, 1660-69, oil on oak panel, 37.4 x 48.4 cm, Wallace Collection, London
67. James McNeill Whistler, *Harmony in Green and Rose: The Music Room*, 1860-61, oil on canvas, 96.3 x 71.7 cm, Freer Gallery of Art, Washington D.C.
68. Diego Velázquez, *The Toilet of Venus ('The Rokeby Venus')*, 1647-51, 1220 x 1770 cm, National Gallery, London
69. James McNeill Whistler, *Self-portrait, Little Arthur, Annie with Books, Seymour Seated, Seymour Standing and Annie*, February – April 1858, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge
70. James McNeill Whistler, *La Mère Gérard, Fumette, La Rétameuse, La Marchande de Moutarde The Kitchen, The Unsafe Tenement and La Vieille aux Loques*, August-October, 1858, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge
71. François Bonvin, *Paysanne tricotant*, 1855, oil on canvas, 34 x 24 cm, whereabouts unknown
72. Rembrandt van Rijn, *Clememt de Jonghe*, 1651, etching, 21x 17 cm, British Museum, London

73. James McNeill Whistler, *Trees in a Park, The Wine Glass, The Music Room, A Lady Reading and Annie, Seated*, 1858-59, etchings, British Museum, London
74. Francis Seymour Haden, *Dasha and A Lady Reading (Deborah Haden)* 1858-59, etching, 13 x 10 cm, British Museum, London
75. Francis Seymour Haden and James McNeill Whistler, *Trees in a Park*, 1858-59, etching, 20 x12.4 cm, whereabouts unknown.
76. Francis Seymour Haden, *A Lady Reading*, 1858-59, proof etching, Albright-Knox Art Gallery, Buffalo, New York
77. John Leech, *THE COMET* and *GREAT CHESS MATCH (UPON THE MORPHY SYSTEM)*, *Punch*, 16th October, 1858
78. John Leech, *CRINOLINE AGAIN!*, *Punch*, 9th October, 1858
79. John Leech, *AN INTERESTING QUESTION*, *Punch*, 25th December, 1858
80. John Leech, *Juvenile Etymology*, *Punch*, 9th January, 1859
81. Charles Keene, *SNAPDRAGON*, *The Illustrated London News*, 25th December, 1858
82. *REFORM SNAP-DRAGON*, *Punch*, 1st January, 1859.
83. *STEELE AND HIS CHILDREN*, *The Illustrated London News*, 15th January, 1859
84. *IN-DOOR MUSIC*, *The Illustrated London News*, 22th January, 1859
85. Alexis Gaudin, untitled stereoscopic card (after *The Order of Release* by J.E. Millais), 1855-57, and James Robinson, *Chatterton*, coloured stereoscopic card, 1859, Brian May Collection
86. Robert Braithewaite Martineau, *The Last Day in the Old Home*, 1862, oil on canvas, 117 x 144 cm, Tate Britain, London
87. *One Week After the Derby, The Last Look and Sold Up*, coloured stereoscopic cards, May 1859, Brian May Collection
88. Francis Seymour Haden, *La Belle Anglaise*, 1864, etching, Plate: 21 x 14 cm, British Museum, London
89. Lady Clementina Hawarden, photograph, 457:394-1968, collodion print, Victoria & Albert Museum, London
90. Francis Seymour Haden, *The Assigination*, 1865, etching, 21 x 13 cm, British Museum. Lady Clementina Hawarden, *Isabella Grace and Clementina Maud, 5 Princes Gardens*,

- 300-1947, 1862 photograph 457:31-1968, 1858, photograph 457:163-1968, 1864, collodion prints, Victoria & Albert Museum, London
91. Lady Clementina Hawarden, *Elphinstone Agnes Maud barefoot*, 457:311-1968, 1859-61, collodion print, Victoria & Albert Museum, London
 92. Lady Clementina Hawarden, photograph 457:499-1968, c.1861-62, collodion stereoscopic print, Victoria & Albert Museum, London
 93. Lady Clementina Hawarden, *Isabella Grace in a Spotted Dress* 457:444-1968, c.1858, collodion stereoscopic print, Victoria & Albert Museum, London
 94. Ferdinand Joubert, *The Playground*, after Webster, 1858, coloured engraving, Image: 46 x 92 cm, private collection
 95. James McNeill Whistler, *The White Girl*, 1862, oil on canvas, 213 x 107.9 cm, National Gallery of Art, Washington D.C.
 96. Alphonse Legros, *Portrait de E.M.*, 1862-3, oil on canvas, 62 x 50 cm, Petit Palais, Paris.
 97. Henri Fantin-Latour, *La Liseuse (Marie Fantin-Latour)*, 1863, oil on canvas, 100 x 80 cm, Tournai, Musée des Beaux-Arts
 98. Henri Fantin-Latour, *La Féerie*, 1863, oil on canvas, 98.5 x 131.5 cm, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Montreal
 99. Édouard Manet, *Le Déjeuner sur l'herbe*, 1863, oil on canvas, 208 x 264.5 cm, Musée d'Orsay, Paris
 100. Édouard Manet, *Jeune homme en costume de majo*, 1863, oil on canvas, 188 x 125 cm, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
 101. Édouard Manet, *Mademoiselle V. en costume d'Espada*, 1862, oil on canvas, 165.1 x 127.6 cm, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
 102. Édouard Manet, *Philippe IV d'après Velasquez*, 1862, etching, 31.5 x 19.8 cm, and *Lola de Valence*, 1862, etching and aquatint, 26.4 x 18.1 cm, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
 103. Édouard Manet, *Les petits cavaliers d'après Velasquez*, 1862, etching, 24.9 x 39.1 cm, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
 104. James McNeill Whistler, *Liverdun*, 1858, etching, 11 x 16 cm, Freer Gallery of Art, Washington D.C.

105. Lady Clementina Hawarden, *Dundrum House* 457:133-1968, 457:58-1968, 457:3-1968 and .457:412-1968, 1857-58, collodion photographs, Victoria & Albert Museum, London
106. James McNeill Whistler, *The Kitchen*, 1858, etching, Plate: 23 x 19 mm, The Art Institute of Chicago
107. Lady Clementina Hawarden, photographs PH.457:557-1968, PH.457:18-1968 and PH.457:471-1968 collodion photographs, Victoria & Albert Museum, London
108. James McNeill Whistler, *Brown and Silver, Old Battersea Bridge*, 1859-64, oil on canvas, 64 x76 cm, Addison Gallery of American Art, Andover, Massachusetts
109. Philip Delamotte, *Progress of the Crystal Palace at Sydenham*, 1854, silver albumen print, 35 x 48 cm approx, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
110. Robert Howlett, *The Great Eastern at Blackwall*, 1858, silver albumen print, Historic England
111. James McNeill Whistler, *Black Lion Wharf*, 1859, etching, Plate: 15 x 23 cm, Freer Gallery of Art, Washington D.C
112. James McNeill Whistler, *The Thames in Ice*, 1860, oil on canvas, 74.6 x 55.3 cm, Freer Gallery of Art, Washington D.C.
113. Rev. Calvert Richard Jones, *Head and Bows of the Ellen Simpson barque* (1840-50) Calotype print, 21 x 16 cm, and *Swansea Harbour, Ships unloading at Cobra Wharf*, Calotype print, 21 x 16 cm, National Maritime Museum, London
114. James McNeill Whistler, *The Coast of Brittany (Alone with the Tide)*, 1861, oil on canvas, 87.31 x 115.57 cm, Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford
115. John Dilwyn Llewelyn, *Caswell Bay, 1853 (Waves Breaking)*, 1853, Salted paper print from collodion on glass negative, 15.5 x 16 cm, Victoria & Albert Museum, London
116. Gustave Le Grey, *The Great Wave, Sète*, 1857, Albumen silver print from glass negative, 33.7 x 41.4 cm, Victoria & Albert Museum, London
117. John Dilwyn Llewelyn, *Monk Nash Point from Dunraven*, 1845-50, salted paper print from collodion on glass negative, George Eastman Museum, and *The Great Tor from Caswell Bay*, salted paper print from collodion on glass negative, Science Museum, London.
118. John Dilwyn Llewelyn, *Rhossili*, 1845-50, salted paper print from collodion on glass negative, George Eastman Museum

119. Richard Parkes Bonington, *A scene on the French Coast*, c.1825, watercolour and graphite on paper, 21 x 34 cm, Tate Britain
120. Eden Upton Eddis, *Robert Palmer Esq.*, 1857, oil on canvas, 237 x 126 cm, Berkshire Record Office
121. Henry Weigall Jnr., *The 9th Earl of Airlie*, 1861, oil on canvas, 205 x 130 cm, Trustees of the Airlie Estates Heritage Trust
122. Henry Weigall Jnr., *The Countess of Airlie*, 1860, oil on canvas, 205 x 130 cm, Trustees of the Airlie Estates Heritage Trust
123. Lady Clementina Hawarden, *Isabella Grace Maude standing in three-quarter profile moving towards a door*, 1864, albumen print from Collodion glass plate, 11.2 x 9 cm, Musée D'Orsay, Paris
124. John Everett Millais, Illustration for Rosa Mulholland, *Irene*, 1862, wood-engraving, 10 x 7.5 cm, and Lady Clementina Hawarden *Isabella Maude 5, Princes Gardens*, 457:410-1968, 1862, albumen print from collodion glass plate, 11.2 x 9.4 cm, Victoria & Albert Museum, London
125. John Everett Millais, Frontispiece illustration for Wilkie Collins, *No Name*, 1864, wood-engraving, 10 x 7.5 cm, and Lady Clementina Hawarden photographs, 457:424-1968 and 457:244-1968 albumen prints from collodion glass plate, 11.2 x 9.4 cm, Victoria & Albert Museum, London
126. Lady Clementina Hawarden *Clementina Maude, 5 Princes Gardens*, 457:344-1968, albumen print from collodion glass plate, 11.2 x 9.4 cm, Victoria & Albert Museum, London
127. Lady Clementina Hawarden *Clementina Maude, arms raised, 5 Princes* 457:454-1968, albumen print from collodion glass plate, 11.2 x 9.4 cm, Victoria & Albert Museum, London
128. Lady Clementina Hawarden, photograph, 457:222-1968, albumen print from collodion glass plate, 11.2 x 9.4 cm, Victoria & Albert Museum, London
129. Lady Clementina Hawarden, photograph, 457:277-1968, albumen print from collodion glass plate, 11.2 x 9.4 cm, Victoria & Albert Museum, London
130. Wood-engraving after Murillo's *Immaculate Conception*, from William Lake Price 'On Composition and Chairo'scuro', *The Photographic News*, 11th May 1860
131. James McNeill Whistler, *The Artist in His Studio*, 1865/66, oil on paper mounted on board, 62.9 x 46.4 cm, Art Institute of Chicago

132. Lady Clementina Hawarden, photograph, 307-1947, albumen print from collodion glass plate, 25 x 28 cm, Victoria & Albert Museum, London
133. Manet's 'array' at the *Salon des Refusés*, 1863
134. Camille Silvy, *Fanny Stirling as Mrs Smylie in Tom Taylor's Nine Points of the Law*, 1860 albumen print, 8.9x 5.9 cm, Victoria & Albert Museum, London
135. Camille Silvy, *Caroline Agnes (née Horsley-Beresford), Duchess of Montrose*, 1860. Albumen print mounted in daybook (vol. 1, no. 1251), 8.4 × 5.5 cm, and *Lady Emily Peel, née Hay*, 1860. Albumen print mounted in daybook (vol. 1, no. 507), 8.5 × 5.4 cm, National Portrait Gallery, London
136. Cruces y Campa, *carte-de-visite* from *Types D'amérique Du Sud*, 1860-70, albumen print from collodion glass plate, Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Estampes et photographie
137. *Carte-de-visite* depicting Virginie Déjazet, c.1868, albumen print from collodion glass plate, Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Estampes et photographie
138. Camille Silvy, *The Princess Theatre Rifles in Jack the Giant Killer*, 1859-60, albumen print from collodion negative, 18 x 24 cm, private collection
139. Lady Clementina Hawarden, *Clementina and Isabella Grace Maud, 5 Princes Gardens*, 287-1947, 1863-64, albumen print from collodion negative, 21 x 28 cm, Victoria & Albert Museum, London
140. *Portraits De Prestidigitateurs, Illusionnistes, Artistes De Cirque, Phénomènes, Types Ethnologique*, 1860-1900, album of 123 *carte-de-visite* photographs, Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Estampes et photographie
141. Marcantonio Raimondi, *The Judgement of Paris (after Raphael)*, 1510-20, engraving, 29.1 x 43.7 cm, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
142. Giorgione, *The Pastoral Concert*, 1508-09, oil on canvas, 110 x 138 cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris
143. Gustave Courbet *Les Demoiselles des bords de la Seine (été)*, 1857, oil on canvas, 174 x 206 cm, Musée du Petit Palais, Paris
144. Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres, *Portrait du compositeur Luigi Cherubini (1760-1842) béni par la muse de la poésie lyrique Terpsichore*, 1842, oil on canvas, 105 x 94 cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris
145. Félix-Jacques-Antoine Moulin, *Nude at Well*, 1853-56, hand-coloured stereoscopic daguerreotype, 6.4 x 5.7 cm, Detroit Institute of Arts

146. Simon Vouet, *The Muses Urania and Calliope*, c.1634, oil on panel, 80 x 125 cm, National Gallery of Art, Washington D.C.
147. Jean-Pierre-Marie Jazet, *Louis XVI recevant le duc d'Enghien au séjour des bienheureux, dédié à S.A.R. Monsieur Frère du Roi* (after Roehn 1814) 1816, hand-coloured engraving, 47 x 69 cm, Musée Carnavalet, Paris
148. Jean-Pierre-Marie Jazet, *Louis XVI recevant le duc d'Enghien au séjour des bienheureux*, detail
149. Anne-Louis Girodet, *L'Apothéose des héros français morts pour la patrie pendant la guerre de la Liberté*, 1802, oil on canvas, 192 x 184 cm, Château de Malmaison
150. Key to Jazet, *Louis XVI recevant le duc d'Enghien au séjour des bienheureux*, Musée Carnavalet, Paris
151. Lady Clementina Hawarden, 457:384-1968, 457:199-1968 and 457:256-1968, albumen prints from collodion plates, 21 x 28 cm, Victoria & Albert Museum, London
152. Lady Clementina Hawarden, 457:341-1968, 243-1947 and 321-1947, albumen prints from collodion plates, 21 x 28 cm, Victoria & Albert Museum, London
153. Jules Ziegler, *Formule analogique, Études céramiques*, 1850, Bibliothèque nationale de France
154. Jean Charles Develly, two designs for the *déjeuner Arts Industriels; Tapisserie des Gobelins* Pen and watercolour, 1825, Musée de Sèvres
155. John Sparkes, *Marlborough House; Fourth Room*, 1856, watercolour, 31.7 x 30.7 cm, Victoria & Albert Museum, London
156. Frederic Leighton, *Lieder ohne Worte*, 1861, oil on canvas, 102 x 63 cm, Tate Britain
157. Frederic Leighton, *Captive Andromache*, 1888, oil on canvas, 197 x 407 cm, Manchester Art Galley
158. Frederic Leighton (designer), *Tomb Monument for Elizabeth Barratt Browning*, 1861-64, marble and mixed media, Protestant Cemetery, Florence
159. Frederic Leighton, *Electra at the Tomb of Agamemnon*, 1869, oil on canvas, 150 x 75.5 cm, Ferens Art Gallery, Kingston-upon-Hull
160. Painter of Louvre G501, Lacanian Pelike depicting Electra, Orestes and Hermes at the tomb of Agamemnon, ceramic, 430 mm high, c.370 bce, Musée du Louvre
161. Guilio Romano and Gianfrancesco Penni, *The Fire in the Borgo* (after Raphael), c.1514, fresco, 670 cm at base, Apostolic Palace, Rome

162. Detail of *Lieder ohne Worte*: x: Symmetry understood relative to gravity. y: 'Vital force' in the sense of organic direction of growth producing *proportionality* z: Predominant *directionality* of design or 'will'. Doric (white) and Polyclitan (red/green) canons compared
163. Thomas Armstrong, *The Lesson*, 1865, oil on canvas, 79.4 x 58.8 cm, Wadsworth Atheneum Museum of Art, Hartford
164. James McNeill Whistler, *Purple and Rose: The Lange Leizen of the Six Marks*, 1864, oil on canvas, 93.3 x 61.3 cm, Philadelphia Museum of Art
165. James McNeill Whistler, *Caprice in Purple and Gold: The Golden Screen*, 1864, oil on canvas, 50 x 68 cm, Freer Gallery of Art, Washington D.C.
166. James McNeill Whistler, *Symphony in White No.2, The Little White Girl*, 1864, oil on canvas, 76.5 x 51 cm, Tate Britain
167. James McNeill Whistler, *Symphony in White No.3, The Little White Girl*, 1864, oil on canvas, 76.5 x 51 cm, Barber Institute of Fine Arts, Birmingham
168. Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres, *Comtesse d'Haussonville*, 1845, oil on canvas, 131.8 x 92 cm, Frick Collection, New York
169. Dante Gabriel Rossetti, *The Tune of the Seven Towers*, 1857, watercolour on paper, 31.4 x 36.5 cm, Tate Britain, London
170. Alexandre Brongniart and Denis-Desire Riocreux, Chinese Porcelains and Tonkin-ware, from *Description méthodique du musée céramique*, 1845, Bibliothèque nationale de France
171. John Pollard Seddon, wardrobe, c.1870, oak, cast brass furniture, mirror plate, fruitwood inlays and banding, 211 x 198 cm, Patch Rogers
172. James McNeill Whistler, *Eagle Wharf*, 1859, etching, 14 x 21.7 cm, Freer Gallery of Art, Washington D.C
173. *Palais de L'Exposition universelle de Londres, l'Illustration*, 6th April 1861, Bibliothèque nationale de France
174. Édouard Manet, *Vase de pivoines sur piédouche*, 1865, oil on canvas, 90 x 70 cm, Musée d'Orsay
175. Édouard Manet, *Portrait d'Émile Zola*, 1868, oil on canvas, 146 x 114 cm, Musée d'Orsay

176. Albert Jacquemart, Histoire des Faiences Patriotiques, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, November 1867
177. Les Collectionneurs, *Les Français Peints Par Eux-Mêmes*, 1841, British Library
178. Inkwells, a) Central France 1750-1800 and b) Pas de Calais, 1750-1780, glazed earthenware, private collection
179. Alfred Kampmann, Schneider's Inkwell, held at Strasbourg library, *Faiences Patriotiques*, 1867
180. Édouard Manet, *Le Déjeuner (dans l'atelier)*, 1868, oil on canvas, 118 x 54 cm, Neue Pinakothek, Munich
181. Plates from Édouard de Beaumont, L'Art Industriel de Armurier et Fourbisseur en Europe, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, August 1867
182. No. 75. G Renard del., d'après un dessin conservé au Musée de Sèvres (*Dans un coin est écrit: Pour remplir l'angle du plateau*) from *Faiences Patriotiques*, 1867
183. French Tripod Chocolatière, 1770-80, silver and lignum vitae, 29.5 x 28 cm, Farella Frank, Paris
184. A Set of 191 Earthenware Pieces from the *Rousseau Service*, by *Lebeuf et Milliet Manufacture*, Creil-Montereau, and *Toy et Léveillé Manufacture*, Paris, Late 19th Century, Sothebys, Paris
185. Félix Bracquemond, *Motifs pour le décor d'un service de table en faïence de la maison Rousseau N° 19, Grand poisson*, 1866, etching, 24.5 x 34.5 cm, Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Estampes et photographie
186. *Assiette de fabrique Lorraine, Faiences Patriotiques*, 1867
187. No.17. Saladier polychrome de nevers, *Faiences Patriotiques*, 1867
188. Félix Bracquemond, design for *L'assiette républicaine*, 1868, gouache on paper, 46 x 29 cm, Musée Carnavalet, Paris
189. Robert Brandard, *Snow-Storm*, 1861, engraving, Tate Britain, London
190. William Hogarth, *Captain Lord George Graham in his Cabin*, c.1746, oil on canvas, 68.5 x 88.5 cm, National Maritime Museum, London
191. Edwards McInnes, after Thomas Lawrence, *Henry Dundas, 1st Viscount Melville*, 1843, mezzotint, National Portrait Gallery, London

192. Thomas Lawrence, *Sir Robert Peel*, c.1810, oil on canvas, 75 x 62 cm, Glyn Vivian Art Gallery, Swansea

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Declaration

I declare that this thesis entitled “A Forced Accord: The *Dispositif* of Industrial Art in the Works of the Manet-Whistler circle, 1858-68” is a presentation of original work and I am the sole author. This work has not previously been presented for an award at this, or any other, University. All sources are acknowledged as References.

Introduction

This thesis explores the relationship between French and British painting in the decade 1858-1868, a period in which progressive artistic practices in both France and Great Britain were concurrently transformed in style and subject matter. The scholarly literatures concerning the visual cultures of both nations in the mid-nineteenth century are substantial, yet comparatively few attempts have been made to reconcile their narratives of vanguardist practice in the 1860s. The thesis demonstrates that existing accounts of the development of early modernist painting in England and France may be more closely aligned by attention to the contemporary discourse of industrial art. The significance of this cultural apparatus, or 'dispositif', has hitherto been largely obscured both by modernism's disputed claims for painting's discovery of its own medium and by the fragmentation of the polyvalent activities of industrial art amongst many modern academic disciplines.

By identifying a pattern of pictorial phenomena evident simultaneously within the works of English and French painters, and by describing this pattern as a contiguous, international discursive formation, the thesis proposes the existence of a coherent configuration of knowledge and state power that modified progressive practices in similar ways in both countries. Four case-studies are presented that map the characteristics of this discourse as it can be inferred from formal and iconographic relationships within and between paintings.

The research suggests that international state collaborations in exhibition, museology and photography served to construct a universalist and predicative model of stylistic change that was subsequently appropriated by a distinct but similarly international vanguardist grouping, here identified as the Manet-Whistler Circle, within which the materials of industrial art came to inform a range of innovative critical positions. The discursive object thus identified has not previously been considered a theoretically-coherent determinant on the formation of modernist painting.

The *forced accord* that prefaces the title of this thesis was Edmond Duranty's judgement on Alphonse Legros's peasant genre painting *L'Ex-voto* in 1864 [fig.1] and described a visual effect of the painting, a pattern of stylistic disjunctures that revealed the construction of the picture from multiple visual references.¹ This phenomenon of deliberate oppositions and paradoxical representation has long been recognised as a characteristic strategy of progressive Realist painting in France in the period from the early 1860s to the fall of the Second Empire in 1870. The strategy can be most clearly demonstrated by looking at an artwork in which its 'mechanism' can be seen in operation, using an example in which the visual configuration can be easily be isolated and described. One such example is a painting in which stylistic disjuncture was included amongst a suite of Realist pictorial 'effects' applied a more conservative naturalism; *La Dame au Gant (Portrait de Mme ***)* (1869) by Charles Auguste Émile Durand, better known as Carolus-Duran [fig.2]. This was a work of officially sanctioned Realist practice in portraiture, comparable in its eclectic approach to Jean-Léon Gérôme and William-Adolphe Bougereau's established solutions for modern

¹ Edmond Duranty, "Ceux Qui Seont Les Pientres," in *Almanach Parisien, 6e Année*, ed. Fernand Desnoyers (Paris: 1867), pp.13-18.

genre historique.² *La Dame au Gant* was attentive both to female costume and self-presentation and to recent stylistic developments in painting; the treatment of the silk flower in the figure's elaborate veil was reminiscent of Henri Fantin-Latour's floral still-lives, while the black satin skirt and artful dot of red at the marking the axis of the dress's bodice were comparable in style to the practices of James Tissot, Alfred Stevens or John Everett Millais. Other passages of painterly facture recalled the notational brushwork of Édouard Manet. The conventions of *La Dame au Gant* were therefore well-established throughout its pictorial space; academic modelling, modern facture and realist-derived attention to the depiction of contemporary fashions and manners were all integrated with a degree of showmanship.

However, into this 'coherent' pictorial space intruded an element entirely at odds with these carefully-orchestrated illusionistic effects. A band of flat pattern, apparently stencilled onto the wall behind the figure, entered from the right-hand edge of the canvas. This abstract repetition of looping, organic forms, painted in a pale *grisaille*, was suggestive of architectural ornament. This ornament was stylistically 'Persian', although the application of the flat patterning to the wall recalled the techniques favoured by the Gothic Revival architects of the 1840s. The track of the ornamental repeat ran into an otherwise arbitrary profile of the elegantly-draped skirt, drawing attention to the lace edge of the elaborate satin ribbon at the back of the dress, although no didactic or narrative connection between 'bands' and 'ribbons' was otherwise suggested. Strangely, the stencilled ornament did not reappear on the other side of the figure, as if the density of the body blocked the rhythmic

² James Kearns, "The Official Line? Academic Painting in Gautier's Salon of 1859," *Journal of European Studies* XXIV (1994), pp.290-294.

extension of the ornamental pattern. The precise form of this disjuncture was evidently a matter of what Michael Baxandall has called 'intentional visual interest'; both the illusionistic painting of textile and the emphatically flat, graphic drawing of ornament were executed with scrupulous care.³ *La Dame au Gant* brought together two entirely different approaches to representation within a single pictorial space and opposed them in ways that deliberately contrasted their conventions of viewing. The competition between different 'languages' for the observer's attention produced a visual dissonance that may be figured as a somewhat mannered example of the pictorial strategy of *forced accord*.

To modern viewers schooled in the developmental narrative of 'design history', the band of stenciled ornament replicated by Carolus-Duran on the surface of his painting evokes a familiar formal and theoretical genealogy; the rationalizations of ornament developed within the British design reform movements of the mid-nineteenth century. In the canon of modernist precursors established by Nicolaus Pevsner's 1948 *Pioneers of Modern Design*, this genealogy has conventionally been described as a line of descent from the publications of Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin (for instance *Floriated Ornament*, 1849) and Owen Jones (*Plans, Elevations, Sections and Details of the Alhambra*, 1842). The aims of publications inflected the design manuals of the 'Cole Circle', firstly Jones's *Grammar of Ornament* of 1856, and subsequently the systematic abstraction of plant forms to geometric pattern proposed by Christopher Dresser in *The Art of Decorative Design* in 1862. The band of ornament depicted in *La Dame au Gant* closely resembled Dresser's 'art-botanical'

³ Michael Baxandall, *Patterns of Intention: On the Historical Explanation of Pictures* (New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 1985). p.41-42.

designs [fig.3],, suggesting that the picture enacts an encounter between several of the stylistic tropes conventionally associated with the formation of modernism in the visual arts.

Although in general the relationship of nineteenth-century painting to the 'decorative' has been treated with caution by art historians, encounters between proximate fields of visual research such as that evinced by *La Dame au Gant* have been recognized within earlier scholarship. A notable attempt to account for the emergence of the graphic surfaces of decorative art into nineteenth-century painting was made in 1976 by the American art historian Joseph Masheck in an article in *Arts* magazine entitled 'The Carpet Paradigm: Critical Prolegomena to a Theory of Flatness'.⁴ The immediate motivation for Masheck's piece was defensive; a response to Tom Wolfe's mocking disparagement of modernist rhetoric in his essay 'The Painted Word', published in the April 1975 issue of *Harper's Magazine*.⁵ Against Wolfe's journalistic accusations of mannerism and elitism in contemporary painting and artwriting, *The Carpet Paradigm* (both in 1976 and in its expanded 2010 republication) argued for the sincerity of modernist procedures by offering a revised account of the context within which pictorial and critical attention to surface had first developed. The foundation of Masheck's account was the proposition that British and German design theory offered an independent historical context for the development of modernism's self-referential planarity; essentially a pre-existing discourse of ornament with its own well-developed formal logic had 'led' to the so-called flat image associated with modernism. In an expanded, book-length republication of his argument in 2010, Masheck proposed that;

⁴ Joseph Masheck, "The Carpet Paradigm, Critical Prolegomena to a Theory of Flatness," *Arts Magazine* 51, no. 1 (1976), pp.82-109.

⁵ Tom Wolfe, "The Painted Word; What You See Is What They Say," *Harper's Magazine* 1975 pp.75-92

the origins of this idea lie well beyond the lofty Hegelian realm of absolute fine art: for the main features of it originated in nineteenth-century design theory, and when they came to affect painting they retained essential characteristics of their origins in the applied arts.⁶

In this later context, Masheck described *The Carpet Paradigm* as “something of a history of ideas enquiry into carpet, textile and related figures for integral flatness in surface design as they emerged out of the early modern design movement to serve the modernist cause” - the cause being a Greenbergian self-reflexivity, or as Masheck expressed it, that the “literal, concrete flatness” of the support that “demanded [...] an integral planarity of whatever forms [were] inscribed or in any way ‘figured’ upon it”.⁷ Masheck complicated the Greenbergian account of Modernist painting by substituting, for the self-critical and apparently autogenic production of the Idealist gesture, a genealogy of nineteenth- and early-twentieth century statements on ornament and planarity that might be indexed against the modernist sequence of stylistic developments in painting.

This was exactly the convergence of master-narratives apparently suggested by *La Dame au Gant*, but Masheck’s strategy was limited both by its aims - essentially the identification of decorative arts metaphors in criticism as a confirmation of the same principles in painting - and by its unfortunate timing. Interest in the ‘modernist cause’ was being radically re-thought at that moment by the pioneers of the new art history; T J Clark’s scholarship on

⁶ Joseph Masheck, *The Carpet Paradigm, Integral Flatness from Decorative to Fine Art* (New York: Edgewise Press Inc, 2010), p.19.

⁷ Ibid. p.9.

Courbet and the art of the Second Republic called for a general re-contextualization of early modernist iconography that specifically took issue with the Greenbergian valorization of planarity. In his subsequent book on Manet, *The Painting of Modern Life*, Clark described the issue disparagingly as “the notorious history of modernism’s concern with “flatness””.⁸

As he later put it;

On various occasions...flatness was imagined to be some kind of analogue for the “Popular”[...] It was therefore made as plain, workmanlike, and emphatic as the painter could manage; loaded brushes and artisans’ combs were held to be appropriate; painting was therefore honest manual labour [...] Or flatness could signify modernity, with the surface meant to conjure up the mere two dimensions of posters, labels, fashion prints and photographs. There were painters who took the same two dimensions [...] to represent the simple fact of Art, from which other meanings were excluded...And finally, unbrokenness of surface could be seen – by Cézanne par excellence – as standing for the evenness of seeing itself, the actual form of our knowledge of things. That very claim, in turn, was repeatedly felt to be some kind of aggression on the audience, on the ordinary bourgeois. Flatness was construed as a barrier put up against the viewer’s normal wish to enter a picture and dream, to have it be a space apart from life in which the mind would be free to make its own connections.⁹

For Clark, each instance of planarity was constructed by an immediate social context – resemblances between planarities were deceiving; there was no unitary meaning to the phenomena Masheck concatenated under the rubric of ‘design theory’.

⁸ T. J. Clark, *The Painting of Modern Life: Paris in the Art of Manet and His Followers* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1984), p.12.

⁹ Ibid. p.13.

The notion of a threshold between the master-narratives of vanguardist Realist practice and 'design reform' has been more extensively addressed in the scholarship of late nineteenth-century British painting, in which the example of Dante Gabriel Rossetti's simultaneous engagement with picture-making, poetry, decorative art and collecting has been pre-eminent; the engagement of both Rossetti and Whistler with schemes of decorative art has always been recognized. The attention to decorative concerns in the English 'new painting of the 1860s' has generally assumed to have been related to the canonical genealogy of 'design theory', yet surprisingly little scholarship has described the relationship between English painting and the theories of 'South Kensington', instead figuring the presence of decorative art as evidence (*pace* Clark) of the bourgeois projection of meaning onto the sensuous surfaces of luxury commodities, implicitly a strategy justified *post-hoc* by claims of detached aesthetic contemplation in 'Aestheticism'.¹⁰

The 'post-modernist' critical heritage indicated above has largely discouraged scholarly investment in the exposition of the formal mechanisms of canonical progressive practices. A notable exception in this regard was Michael Fried's trilogy of investigations into the formation of modernist 'stylisticality'; (*Absorption and Theatricality* (1980), *Courbet's Realism* (1990) and *Manet's Modernism* (1998)) which reasserted the central importance of the pictorial surface as a source of meaning in the development of progressive French painting against the prevailing 'social history of art', with which his writing explicitly

¹⁰ See, for instance, T. J. Barringer, "South Kensington Museum and the Colonial Project," in *Colonialism and the Object: Empire, Material Culture and the Museum* (London: Routledge, 1998), pp.14-15, Jason Edwards and Imogen Hart, eds., *Rethinking the Interior, C.1867-1896: Aestheticism and Arts and Crafts* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), p.6.

engaged. In the early years of the twenty-first century, Fried's attention, in *Manet's Modernism*, to the strange surfaces produced by the 'Generation of 1863' prompted a series of responses that revisited the phenomenon of forced accord as worthy once more of critical attention. An important moment in this development was the exhibition *Manet Face to Face*, held at the Courtauld Gallery in London and the Neue Pinakothek in Munich in 2005. This exhibition was organized around two of Manet's Salon paintings, *Le Déjeuner (dans l'atelier)* (1868) and *Un bar aux Folies Bergère* (1881). The book published to accompany the exhibition included an important essay by John House, whose discussion of *Le Déjeuner* reconsidered the iconographic significance of the 'still-life' of arms in the left foreground of the picture, a motif that was recognized by Manet's contemporaries as 'intruding' into an otherwise coherent account of contemporary social life in ways comparable to that identified in the more derivative *La Dame au Gant*. House's attention to such incongruous juxtapositions was shared by Stephen Bann, who noted that in *Le Déjeuner sur l'herbe* the simultaneous presence of multiple sources of historical and contemporary representation were fixed "in a kind of dynamic stasis", a description that might equally be applied to the forced accords produced in other Realist paintings. Bann agreed that the historical determination of these simultaneously-available pictorial languages was highly significant. He continued;

I agree with Elkins that Fried's writings – from his early investigation of Manet's sources to his later incorporation of these findings into a more substantial analysis – point the way to a synoptic view of Modernism and its antecedents, which is capable of incorporating and subsuming other models. In other words, I believe that we can now achieve new insights into Modernism, and the entire Western tradition in painting, by rightly

identifying those particular trace elements that were obfuscated as a result of the mythic effect of novelty propagated by Modernism.¹¹

Bann has continued to identify significant instances of incongruity produced by encounters between reproductive media and earlier conventions of representation. He notes, for instance, the stakes of Phillippe Burty's re-statement of the contest of authority between reproductive print and photography, beginning as he points out; "with a restatement of Hugo's by then notorious phrase: 'This will kill that,' murmurs one of the poet's characters. Photography will kill engraving, we may now state with no less certainty."¹²

A similar interest in detecting the intertextuality behind the 'modernist surface' was expressed by the French philosopher Jacques Rancière in *The Politics of Aesthetics* (2000). Rancière's argument also proposed a 'synoptic view of Modernism' and pointed once again to design and media history as potentially-significant genealogies for modernist pictorialities. Rancière proposed a relationship of political and artistic practices as interrelated phenomena within a succession of overarching cultural paradigms that he nominated as the 'distribution of the sensible'. Rancière identified only three 'regimes' of representation within which the alignment of artistic and political practices might be understood; the 'ethical', the 'representative' and the 'aesthetic'. Rancière argued that in the visual arts of Europe from Classical Greece to the Renaissance, ideologies that defined the community of citizens were reiterated in cultural materials that invited original audiences of the 'mute signs' of civic art or of the tragic theatre to identify with the ethical

¹¹ Stephen Bann, *Ways around Modernism* (New York; London: Routledge, 2007) p.58

¹² *Distinguished Images: Prints in the Visual Economy in Nineteenth-Century France* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2013), p.6.

rationales of the state. From the early sixteenth century, this ethical intention was superseded by the 'representative regime' in which increasingly formalised and refined formulae of mimetic representation represented claims for the universal 'intelligibility of human actions', producing artworks in which the mimesis of such action was codified within academic hierarchies of genre and procedure, including that which prescribed the separation of the 'liberal' and 'mechanical' arts, and of 'taste' from 'fashion'. Lastly, in the philosophical, technological and political revolutions of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries the representative regime was overthrown by artworks that systematically undermined such codified expositions of human action. As Rancière put it *The Future of the Image*, 'Words no longer prescribe, as story or doctrine, what images should be.'¹³ Within the modernist practices that constituted the most declarative material expressions of this substitution, two apparently contradictory strategies existed in tension; the claim for the aesthetic 'purity' in an artworks was no longer determined by the re-presentation of moral action. This turn was accompanied by projects to reconcile those components of visual culture that the representative regime had forced apart (the elite and the popular, the canonical and the peripheral, the eternal and the contingent, 'fine' and 'decorative' art, etc.), an apparent paradox that Rancière argued as the distinctive dialectic position of the 'aesthetic regime'.

In discussing the new 'democratic' novels of Gustave Flaubert (so-called because of their lack of an overtly 'moral' authorial position), Rancière suggested;

¹³ Jacques Rancière, *The Future of the Image* (London: Verso, 2007), p.45.

There is also, however, the knowledge concerning typography and iconography, the intertwining of graphic and pictorial capabilities, that [...] was revived by Romantic typography through its use of vignettes, culs-de-lampe and various innovations. This model disturbs the clear-cut rules of representative logic that establish a relationship of correspondence at a distance between the sayable and the visible. It also disturbs the clear partition between works of pure art and the ornaments made by the decorative arts. This is why it played such an important - and generally underestimated - role in the upheaval of the representative paradigm and of its political implications. I am thinking in particular of its role in the Arts and Crafts movement and all its derivatives¹⁴

A few paragraphs further on, this claim was elaborated:

To a large extent, the ground was laid for painting's 'anti-representative revolution' by the flat surface of the page, in the change in how literature's 'images' function or the change in the discourse of painting, but also in the ways in which typography, posters and the decorative arts became interlaced. The type of painting that is poorly named abstract, and which is supposedly brought back to its own proper medium, is implicated in an overall vision of a new human being surrounded by new objects. Its flatness is linked to the flatness of pages, posters and tapestries. It is the flatness of an interface.¹⁵

Within Rancière's description of historical change were embedded propositions which both echoed Masheck's assertion of the derivation of modernist 'planarity' from design theory and proposed a 'synoptic' view of modernism such as that proposed in Bann's *Ways around*

¹⁴ *The Politics of Aesthetics: The Distribution of the Sensible*, Bloomsbury Revelations (London, New York: Bloomsbury, 2004), p.10.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* p.11.

Modernism. For many reviewers and interpreters of Rancière's thought, his account of high modernism has been received as a radical move against both the hegemony of Greenbergian notions of paintings' discovery of its own material means and 'postmodern' positioning of artworks as infinitely-mutable texts, barely moored to their formation within specific historical contexts. But in a sceptical review of Rancière's subsequent development of this proposition in his book *Aisthesis*, Hal Foster pointed out that Rancière's schema might appear a familiar one to art historians;

His description of the representative regime is similar on the one hand to accepted accounts of academic decorum in art history, and to the other, to theoretical expositions of the 'classical episteme by Michel Foucault and Louis Marin [...] The description of the shift from the representative regime to the aesthetic is also familiar: the undoing of the hierarchy of subjects and genres is conventionally regarded as the foundational act of the nineteenth century avant-garde... That Rancière brings together the imperatives of purity and worldliness might be an advance in aesthetic philosophy, but it is one already achieved in modernist studies.¹⁶

The terms of Rancière's assertions do indeed have a broad familiarity that evokes the 'influence' of *Imagerie d'Épinal* on Courbet's practice or Félix Fénéon's valorisation of Seuret's *Grande Jatte* as a 'patient tapestry', even if many aspects of the 're-mediation' of these disparate materials into painting still remain under-theorised within the modernist studies to which Foster alluded. Rancière's argument nonetheless made a theoretical connection concerning the convergence of the fine and decorative arts that was claimed to

¹⁶ Hal Foster, "What's the Problem with Critical Art," *London Review of Books* 35, no. 19 (2013), p.14-15.

underpin the moment of modernist 'rupture' in his inference that an *international* relationship between the activities of a predominantly French vanguardism in literature and painting and British design practices (insufficiently differentiated under the capacious sign of the 'Arts and Crafts movement') was significant in the 'upheaval of the representative paradigm', a configuration to which the *forced accord* of *La Dame au Gant* apparently *alluded*. However, such totalizing interdisciplinarity and 'discursive' international connections have often been subject to critical scepticism, as Foster also noted in his critique of *Aistheis*:

Like Althusser, Rancière wants to avoid a grand Hegelian arc to history, and opts for categories of regimes in resistance to the 'teleologies inherent in temporal markers' as he puts it in *The future of the Image*. This approach does help him to taxonomise the artistic discourses of the modern period but also makes it difficult to understand how they are determined. It is an old complaint against this method – often made against Foucault – that it turns discourse not only into its own cause but also into an agent in its own right. A related complaint is that it does not grasp historical change very well: epistemes, regimes and the like seem to come from nowhere, and to vanish just as suddenly, as if catastrophically.¹⁷

The questions that will be addressed by this thesis are produced in the triangulation of the propositions of Bann, Rancière and Foster: Bann's suggestion that a synoptic account of modernism will be derived from attention to the 'dynamic stasis' of intertextuality in Manet's practice is supported by Rancière's proposal that the comparative and non-descriptive iconographies of modernism might be a productive site of analysis. Like

¹⁷ Ibid. p.15.

Masheck, Rancière nominates the decorative arts and reproductive media as important models informing this conceptual shift in representation. Foster's critique usefully reiterates both the relationship of Rancière's model to the shapes of existing art-historical narrative, and identifies the need for historical specificity in the description of 'determinations' by which ideas circulating within in the wider culture were transmitted or resisted in modernism, a view recently reiterated by Clark in his essay 'Art History in an Age of Image Machines'.¹⁸

This thesis therefore seeks to reconsider the historical determinations of the distinctive pictoriality of the *forced accord* by addressing three inter-related questions: Firstly, to what extent may the phenomenon of *forced accord* be confirmed as a symptom of the attention to 'design theory' proposed by Masheck and additionally suggested in the intrusion of 'decorative' iconographies onto the surfaces of paintings? Secondly, if the *forced accord* was a strategy shared amongst a group of painters, how can its operations be described both within paintings and between paintings? Or, to put it another way, what 'work' can the *forced accord* be observed to perform within Realist discourse, and in relationship to the existing conventions of Rancière's representative regime? Lastly, how can attention to these formal and technical concerns be understood as 'historical' determinations? Another way of framing this last question is by reference to Karl Mannheim's formulation of the same problem, a statement recently re-visited by Clark:

¹⁸ T. J. Clark, "Art History in an Age of Image Machines," *EurAmerica* 38, no. 1 (2008), pp.1-30.

Whose mentality is recorded by art objects? What action, situation and tacit choices furnish the perspectives in which artists perceive and represent some aspect of reality? If works of art reflect points of view, who are the protagonists and who the antagonists? Whose reorientation is reflected in changes of style?¹⁹

The third question might therefore be summarised as ‘*whose* reorientation was reflected in the appearance of the *forced accord*?’ This enquiry returns discussion once more to Rancière’s statements on the surfaces of the ‘aesthetic regime’; the reconfigured relationship between cultural practice and other “modes of discourse, forms of life, conceptions of thought and figures of the community”.²⁰

To address these questions requires a corpus of visual and textual material in which the key terms identified above; an apparent relationship between fine and decorative art, a set of pictorial practices attentive to one another, and an episode of modernist epistemic ‘rupture’, may be identified in exceptionally close and richly-documented proximity; for these reasons, the paintings made by the ‘Manet-Whistler circle’ in the years immediately prior to and following the famous *Salon des Refusés* of 1863 will form the subject of this study. The term ‘Manet-Whistler circle’ has been chosen in preference to Fried’s ‘Generation of 1863’. While both groupings include the members of the *Société des trois* and Édouard Manet, a grouping defined by *shared* attention to the discourse of industrial art becomes a more populous and a more international cohort, and for the first time includes at least one photographer within its boundaries. Defined by the emergence of this discourse in their

¹⁹ Karl Mannheim, Paul Kecskemeti, and Ernst Manheim, *Essays on the Sociology of Culture ... Edited by Ernest Manheim in Cooperation with Paul Kecskemeti* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1956) p.33

²⁰ Rancière, *The Politics of Aesthetics: The Distribution of the Sensible*, p.5.

works, members of the Manet-Whistler circle can be enumerated as Thomas Armstrong (1832-1911) Felix Bracquemond (1833-1914), Fantin-Latour (1836-1904), Francis Seymour Haden (1818-1910), Clementina Hawarden, (1822-1865), Alphonse Legros (1837-1911), Frederic Leighton (1830-1896), Manet (1832-1883), Albert Moore (1841-1893), Edward Poynter (1836-1919), Auguste Delâtre (1822-1907) and Whistler (1834-1903).

This group engaged with a number of men and women whose relationships to the network above are not closely examined by this study. This wider constituency included William Bell Scott, Jules Dalou, Edgar Degas, George Du Maurier, Clementina Maud Hawarden, Jo Hiffernan, Victorine Meurent, John Everett Millais and Marc-Louis Solon, and future scholarship is highly likely to identify further individuals attentive to aspects of this discourse.

Industrial Art and Decorative Art

In Rancière's summative statements on the sources of modernist planarity cited above, it is notable that apparently quite disparate visual forms, 'pages, posters and tapestries' are concatenated with commercial illustration and ornament as models of flatness. The enumeration of such disparate surfaces might seem to the best evidence with which to support Foster's case against discourse; for under what rubric might such a heterogeneous assortment of objects be considered to share a common planarity?

The term 'industrial art' emerged within the institutional context that culminated in the *Great Exhibition* of 1851. Following this event, both the British and French states hastened to establish new bureaucratic structures in order to research and disseminate programmes of 'design reform' suggested by the Crystal Palace displays. The institutional character chosen for these new bureaucracies was distinctive, and certain characteristics were common to both nations. Both the British and French programmes were under the direct patronage of the court, and were publically associated with the 'progressive' values of the Prince Consort and Prince Napoleon. Para-state associations such as the *Royal Society of Arts* and its French counterpart, the *Union Centrale des Beaux Arts appliqués aux industries*, brought together technical experts from many disciplines and promoted state-approved models for contemporary design to producers and consumers alike. Both governments considered it appropriate to consolidate their authority over the emergent technology of photography within this larger discourse.

The multiple and simultaneous contexts in which the term 'industrial art' appeared in print in the 1860s was a direct consequence of these state initiatives. Forefront in the minds of the leaders of design reform was the formulation of theoretical principles that would confer a 'predicative systemacity', as Arindam Dutta has put it, to the design and decoration of previously unimagined objects of industrial production.²¹ Dutta's description of the British project of industrial art will be discussed below, but his characterisation of the inherently predictive assumptions adopted by the Department of Science and Art in South Kensington is useful here;

²¹ Arindam Dutta, *The Bureaucracy of Beauty: Design in the Age of Its Global Reproducibility* (New York; London: Routledge, 2006), p.5.

Rhetoric of reform aside, the incredible reach of the DSA's colossal corpus of practice, its pedagogical critiques, its theorisations of the aesthetic, its patronage by industrialists and manufacturers, its innovations of policy and financing, its strategies of display, its demographic understanding, and its proliferating schools can be pared down to one overwhelming conundrum that underlay its entire enterprise; *how do economic markets move?*

Dutta's description of the 'bureaucracy of beauty' tends to the sublime, especially in his attempts to encapsulate the multi-faceted 'British' enterprise as the 'DSA juggernaut', an estimation that surely misrepresents the material resources of this financially-constrained Victorian bureaucracy.²² However, Dutta's rhetoric usefully summarises the density and ambition of the project of industrial art. The complexity of industrial art's agency and its intention to influence directly proximate cultural fields need to be recognised as the behaviours of a self-aware discourse that pursued specific social and cultural objectives.

To maintain the sense of this discursive coherence, the thesis will refer to Foucault's term *dispositif*. Foucault described the *dispositif* as:

a thoroughly heterogeneous ensemble consisting of discourses, institutions, architectural forms, regulatory decisions, laws, administrative measures, scientific statements, philosophical, moral and philanthropic propositions – in short the said as much as the unsaid. Such are the elements of the apparatus [*dispositif*]. The *dispositif* itself is the system of relations that can be established between these elements.²³

²² Ibid. p.4.

²³ Michel Foucault and Colin Gordon, *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972/1977* (Brighton: Harvester Press, 1980), p.194.

The concept of *dispositif*, a relatively minor refinement within Foucault's own thought, has recently been rehabilitated and extended by media historians including Joseph Vogl, Rebecca Horn, Nick Coudry and Noam Elcott as a concept with which to describe the effects of the 'meta-capital' of the media on proximate fields of professional knowledge (for instance the effects of 'health media' on the professional status of the medical profession).²⁴ Industrial art in mid-nineteenth century England and France can clearly be described as such a network of knowledge and power, a configuration that meets Foucault's criteria for the *dispositif* quite precisely. Rancière's heterogeneous list of surfaces, spanning commercial illustration, ornament, advertising and pre-industrial luxury craft, can only be managed as a single corpus of theory and practice within such a discursive collectivity.

The term 'industrial art' itself aimed to reunite the liberal and mechanical aspects of the production of art which had been forced apart by the hierarchies of eighteenth-century academies in Rancière's 'representative regime', and in both Great Britain and France the notion of 'art and industry' was initially promoted by state and para-state institutions specifically in order to signal the reconciliation of 'thinking and making' or 'taste and manufacture' that was required to improve the quality of industrially-processed commodities. The contexts in which 'industrial art' was invoked were therefore extremely diverse and debates over the appropriate relationship between art, technology and manufacture frequently retained the flavour of partisan allegiance in the cultural sphere

²⁴ Nick Coudry, "Media Meta-Capital: Extending the Range of Bourdieu's Field Theory," *Theory and Society* 32, no. 5-6 (2003) pp. 653-677, Eva Horn, "There Are No Media," *Grey Room*, no. 29, *New German Media Theory* (Fall, 2007) pp.7-13, Joseph Vogl, "Becoming-Media: Galileo's Telescope," *ibid.* (2007), p.14-25.

that had characterised the *romantique-classique* debates of the 1820s and 30s.²⁵ The currency of the term 'industrial art' was also a reflection of the phrase's evocation of a fluid 'contact-zone' between the cultural and the technological.²⁶ As both terms in the formulation were perpetually-evolving and encountering each other in new combinations, so the phrase 'industrial art' referred to contingent proximities of knowledge rather than fixed practices. The bureaucracies and commentators of industrial art specifically directed their attention to aspects of visual production in which new technological processes were observed to be modifying conventional forms, a form of attention that might as easily be ascribed to the field of progressive painting during the same period.

The purposes and characteristics of photography, not mentioned by Rancière in this context, was perhaps the most intensively debated boundary between the artforms of the 'representative regime' and the pictoriality of the emerging 'aesthetic' disruption at this period. After the Great Exhibition, photography was widely-regarded as the paradigm of industrial art; an unprecedented cultural phenomenon that was entirely dependent on the application of recently achieved knowledges of physics and chemistry to problems of representation. The public reception of photography largely began within the *dispositif* of industrial art, but during the period under consideration photographic practices began to exceed the bounds established by the technology's 'elite-amateur' founders and formed a proximate configuration of power and knowledge in which commercial efficiency and the taste of consumers were more fully acknowledged. Indeed, the lively debate concerning the

²⁵ Bradford R Collins, "The Poster as Art; Jules Chéret and the Struggle for the Equality of the Arts in Late Nineteenth-Century France," *Design Issues* 2, no. 1 (Spring) (1985), pp.41-50.

²⁶ Claire Jones, *Sculptors and Design Reform in France, 1848 to 1895: Sculpture and the Decorative Arts* (2014), pp.30-31.

cultural status of photographs that took place in Great Britain in the early 1860s might be considered as the negotiation of the boundary between the status of photography inside and outside the *dispositif* of industrial art.

In both France and Great Britain, the elite craft production of textiles, ceramics, metalwork and woodworking constituted a historical 'canon' for study and emulation within the state bureaucracies of industrial art. The canon of decorative art had emerged through multiple European genealogies of connoisseurship developed in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries that not only included the widespread Enlightenment taste for portable archaeological antiquities but which had also absorbed a scholarship on architectural ornament that responded to the publication of increasingly detailed evidence for the widespread use of polychromy on classical and medieval architectural monuments. In England, antiquarian, connoissuerial and architectural discourses converged in the late 1830s in the publications of Jones's *Plans, Elevations, Sections and Details of the Alhambra* between 1836-1845, and A. W. N. Pugin's *True Principles of Pointed, or Christian Architecture Set Forth* (1841) and *Floriated Ornament* (1849), while in France Théophile Gautier and Théodore de Banville enthused about the unified contributions of multiple craft skills in rococo *décor*.²⁷ French conceptions of the status of the decorative were also informed by the heritage of the *ancien régime's* investment in the *Manufactures royales*, the network of factories originally founded to demonstrate Louis XIV's absolutist self-sufficiency in the products of the most technically-demanding luxury trades. The roster of sites of the *Manufactures royales* had changed continually according to the needs of the state and Royal

²⁷ Collins, "The Poster as Art; Jules Chéret and the Struggle for the Equality of the Arts in Late Nineteenth-Century France," p.45.

household, but in the mid-nineteenth century was largely focused on the manufactories for porcelain at Sèvres and tapestry at the Gobelins and Aubusson, which had preserved elite craft manufacturing processes in ceramics, tapestry and carpet-weaving as an expression of state power and to provide a reservoir of prestigious objects for use in international diplomacy. The *Manufactures royales* had survived the collapse of monarchical institutions during the Revolutionary period to be extensively reformed during the Empire and Restoration as a showcase for the technocratic prowess of the modern state. Particularly important in this context was the reorganisation of Sèvres under Alexandre Brongniart between 1800-1833.²⁸ Amongst Brongniart's wide-ranging and often transformative innovations at Sèvres was the establishment of a study collection at the manufactory known as the Musée Céramique. Within the Musée Céramique, Brongniart attempted to gather a 'universal' collection of ceramics that included representative examples of production from every known culture and historical context. The aim of such museological analyses of materiality was in the first instance pragmatic; the state was to offer models against which modern industries might judge their progress, to provide examples of excellence for the training of artisans and to provide an accessible technical archive for manufacturers. However, the historicist intellectual structures that aimed to offer a coherent map of *past* configurations of material, technique and cultural regime also proposed the possibility of extrapolating *future* 'universal' principles of design and ornament from the global archive of decorative art. Once described, these principles would be applicable to the problems then perceived as generated by modern manufacturing techniques. At the beginning of the

²⁸ Tamara Préaud and Derek E. Ostergard, *The Sèvres Porcelain Manufactory: Alexandre Brongniart and the Triumph of Art and Industry, 1800-1847* (New Haven; London: Published for The Bard Graduate Center for Studies in the Decorative Arts, New York by Yale University Press, 1997), pp.25-65.

1860s, the most comprehensive and fully-articulated theory for the practical application of such universal principals, intended as a guide to future relationships between technology, forms of social life and visual form or style, was to be found in the writing of the German architect and theorist Gottfried Semper, whose work drew extensively from recent French and British researches in the field of decorative art.

Gottfried Semper

Arriving in London as a refugee from the 1848 Dresden uprising, the architect Semper had been recruited by Cole to assist in the organisation of the Great Exhibition. By 1851 Semper had already begun to develop a novel theoretical approach to the analysis of historical ornament and its relationship to architectural form, founded in his study of the polychromy of Classical Greek architecture.²⁹ In a radical reassessment of the sources of Greek architecture, Semper used an anthropological model to argue that tectonics – textile screening – was the primordial form of architectural elevation and that the sophisticated structural and symbolic system of the Classical Orders ultimately derived from the functional technologies of the ancient world. Semper's analysis of the Great Exhibition, published as *Wissenschaft, Industrie und Kunst: Vorschälge zur Anregung nationalen Kunstgefühls* in 1852 (a title which was certainly reflected in the name of the new 'Department of Science and Art' in 1853) had concluded that the modern technologies of industrial Europe and North America would similarly lead to the development of a

²⁹ See Alina Payne, *From Ornament to Object: Genealogies of Architectural Modernism* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press), pp.40-46.

distinctive contemporary visual language in which existing models would be radically modified:

“Yes” I hear it said, “our monuments with their frescos, painted glass, statues, pedimental fields, and friezes will always remain the hoard of true art!” Yes, that would be true, if they were not borrowed or stolen! They do not belong to us. From the undigested elements out of which they are assembled nothing new has taken shape, nothing we can call our own. They have not become part of our own flesh and blood. Although they are presently being collected with great care, they have not yet been disintegrated sufficiently.

*This process of disintegrating existing art types must be completed by industry, by speculation, and by applied science before something good and new can result.*³⁰

Semper’s foundational proposition was that all visual language was derived from the forms of simple objects of daily use (such as vessels, tools and bodily ornaments) which had been refined over millennia of development. He argued that, as in the natural world, visual art therefore depended on a very few ‘root-forms’ which were then endlessly elaborated within different cultural contexts. These root-forms – the ‘vessel’ would be one example – were implied even in the most sophisticated and enriched objects, and constituted a basic language of ‘form-as-symbol’ resemblances on which aesthetic judgements were based.

³⁰ Gottfried Semper, *The Four Elements of Architecture and Other Writings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p.143-144. Italics reproduced from the original text.

For Semper the derivation of root-forms was social, a dialectical consequence of unchanging human need, function and material. Semper therefore emphasised the defining character of technical processes (pot-throwing, weaving, metal-smithing, etc.) over the emulation of finished products. However, rather than offering a purely materialist model of stylistic development, Semper argued that successful root-forms so closely corresponded to their social function (in the vessel's formal suggestion of containment, transportation and pouring out, for instance) that they became symbolic of their function. This relationship between function and symbolism in root-forms, being a response to universal human needs, constituted an ahistorical aesthetic category. Materials and technologies, on the other hand, were culturally specific, and their geographic and historical variation constituted the history of style. But style was not re-invented from a *tabula rasa* by successive cultures. Rather, every culture inherited a vocabulary of symbolic forms from earlier civilisations, which were then adapted into new configurations by exposure to new materials or technologies. This adaptation of root-forms to new circumstances both ensured the continuation of that form's 'primal' aesthetic relevance and added a new level of complexity to its symbolic potential. In complex cultural forms such as architecture, the symbolic signification of root forms was acknowledged in several ways – in the depiction of root-form as ornament (for instance the acknowledgement of woven textile forms in the polychromatic decoration of stone walls or timbered ceilings) and also in the construction of complex composite forms (such as the Classical column) which combined a number of root-forms. Semper regarded the precise ways in which these simple forms were joined together to create complex structures as the source of foundational principles of visual composition and the root of all architectural symbolism.

This architectural genealogy, as Caroline van Eck has written, “in one clean sweep...broke with the neo-classical tradition of considering the *petite cabane rustique*, that is, a building, as the origin of architecture and instead located these origins in the human mind”.³¹ Semper had effectively produced a substitute explanation for the systematic logic of classical architecture, which he first elaborated in *Die Vier Elemente der Baukunst*, written in London between November 1850 and January 1851 immediately after his arrival from Paris. Van Eck explains that *Die Vier Elemente* proposed that the screening function of woven materials divided:

interior from exterior, inner life from outer life or the hearth from the vast undefined spaces surrounding it, gave way to curtains and tapestries [...] Such representations of enclosed space into architecture. were transformed or as he [Semper] put it, transfigured, into monumental architecture when its founders changed ephemeral festival apparatus, scaffoldings decked out with festoons and garlands, bands and trophies – into durable buildings because they wished to leave a permanent memorial of important religious or political acts.³²

Semper’s theory of the development of style was fully expounded in *Der Stil* between 1860 - 1863, but was based on lectures delivered in London between 1852 and 1856.³³ In 1852, in *Wissenschaft, Industrie und Kunst*, Semper had argued that “Basic form, as the simplest expression of the idea, is modified in particular by the materials that are used in developing the form as well as by the tools used to fashion it”.³⁴ Semper was concerned with first

³¹ Caroline A. van Eck, "Figuration, Tectonics and Animism in Semper's *Der Stil*," *The Journal of Architecture* 14, no. 3 (2009) p.325.

³² *Ibid.* p.326.

³³ See Gottfried Semper, "Prolegomenon to *Der Stil*," in *The Four Elements of Architecture*, ed. Harry Francis Mallgrave (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1860).

³⁴ *The Four Elements of Architecture and Other Writings*, p.137.

principles, and went back even beyond prototypical functional form to argue that visual language was “always be found to be in accordance with the laws which regulate the distribution of form in nature”.³⁵ Semper’s model of change proposed that the stylistic modification of visual forms occurred within innumerable instances of the application of new technological and cultural requirements to functional problems. Such a process of stylistic change within a culture was, in the narrow terms dictated by the academies of the ‘representative regime’, beyond prescription, while perpetual recourse to the reproduction of works produced within other regimes produced cultural incoherence, the mis-application of styles produced within entirely different configurations of circumstance to those of the contemporary moment. In the Semperian model, style emerged through attention to the specific encounter between the materiality of new techniques and materials and the existing cultural symbol.

Semper’s thought therefore offers a productive interpretative frame for the ‘forced’ characteristics of progressive paintings in the 1860s. Semper’s thought has recently been described by Alina Payne in *From Ornament to Object, Genealogies of Architectural Modernism* and most significantly, has been subject to a major re-evaluation by Mari Hvattum in *Gottfried Semper and the Problem of Historicism*.³⁶ Hvattum’s synopsis of Semper’s theoretical programme has to a significant degree made it possible to identify Semperian thought as both an iconography and as a description of ‘process’.

³⁵ John Kresten Jespersen, "Originality and Jones' *Grammar of Ornament* of 1856," *Journal of Design History* 21, no. 2 (2008), p.3.

³⁶ Mari Hvattum, *Gottfried Semper and the Problem of Historicism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

Anglo-French Internationalism

The international relationship between progressive French and British painting in the 1860s remains a one of the least discussed aspects of cultural internationalism in mid-nineteenth century Europe. Conventionally, the Anglo-French dynamics suggested by such phenomena as the residence of the members of the *Société des trois* concurrently in London and Paris and the hanging of Whistler's *White Girl* (1863) adjacent to Manet's *Déjeuner sur l'herbe* (1863) at the *Salon des Refusés* have been described either in terms of professional contingency - London being the 'inevitable' choice for displaced metropolitans in need of a market for their works and the rule of law - or as a trope within the history of style, one of a series of similar Cross-Channel 'vignettes' that punctuate the canonical history of Western painting across the 'long nineteenth century'. Amongst these narrative set-pieces, the most fully described to date have been from within the periods from the Bourbon Restoration to the July Monarchy and at the fin de siècle.³⁷ These moments at which the visual cultures of Europe's two most powerful nation-states were in productive dialogue were openly visible to contemporary observers, yet even within these encounters in which the hypothesis of 'Anglo-French' engagement was, as Patrick Noon has put it, "neither new nor necessarily disputed", such developments have only been tested comparatively recently, largely through the scholarship generated by a series of major survey exhibitions of contemporaneous British and French painting and decorative art held in the opening years

³⁷ See especially Patrick J. Noon, *Constable to Delacroix : British Art and the French Romantics, 1820-1840* (London: Tate, 2003), pp.12-37. Anna Gruetzner Robins and Richard Thomson, *Degas, Sickert and Toulouse-Lautrec: London and Paris 1870-1910* (London: Tate, 2005), pp.19-30. Anna Gruetzner Robins, *A Fragile Modernism: Whistler and His Impressionist Followers* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2007), pp.123-159.

of the current century. In the Prologue to the catalogue for the 2003 exhibition *Constable to Delacroix, British Art and the French Romantics*, Noon summarised the paradox represented by Anglo-French internationalism; potentially foundational for the modernist tradition – “Impressionism and Post-Impressionism...trace their genesis to this liberating infusion of British theory and practice half a century earlier.”³⁸ – yet also “fleeting”; a succession of isolated moments of aesthetic and technical rapprochement in which the concerns of British and French practitioners found themselves temporarily in sympathy. The implication of Noon’s description was that the more urgent claims of normative national traditions and local market conditions pulled each nation’s representatives back into more familiar and easily-described orbits with little resistance. Within Noon’s narrative British painting is assigned the subaltern role later ascribed to primitivism, providing one of the regular “liberating infusions” required to propel French pictorial practices forward through the nineteenth century.

Following the work of Daniel Wildenstein and John Rewald, the canonical scholarship of Clark, Albert Boime, Linda Nochlin and Juliet Wilson-Bareau were all silent about the conjunction of ‘disruptive’ contemporary practices simultaneously conceived in London and Paris. British art was regarded by these authors as immaterial to the development of a specifically Parisian response to ‘modernity’, and while Fried partially addressed the historiographic bias towards French exceptionalism in his formulation of the ‘Generation of 1863’ as a trans-national professional and critical network, this mild act of revisionism was framed within his extended exploration of the pictorial innovations crucial to a

³⁸ Noon, *Constable to Delacroix : British Art and the French Romantics, 1820-1840*, p.10.

Francocentric narrative of modernism.³⁹ In this narrative, James McNeill Whistler's London-based contribution to the formulation of a shared stylistic programme in the 1860s remained 'fleeting' and outside the main trajectory of modernism; as Charles Marriott had argued:

Whistler stood for that impossible thing, a cosmopolitan art; it is art divorced from life and depending entirely upon culture, lacking the imagination, or perhaps the courage, to translate the facts of nature boldly into terms of his medium, he waited for or reinvented conditions in which the facts would not be too obvious, and made them "decorative" by arrangements that were entirely lacking in the logic of design.⁴⁰

The language of yearning and claims for the elusiveness of dialogue that have so often characterised descriptions of the relationship between French and British art may be traced back to such assertions of the inadequacy of British responses to modernity. Indeed, almost no consideration of any conjoined Anglo-French perspective was possible until the advent of a widespread critical reassessment of British nineteenth-century painting spearheaded by ground-breaking approaches to the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, a significant adjustment to the nineteenth-century canon that only reached its apogee as recently as the late 1990s. With the notable exceptions of Elizabeth Prettejohn and Jerome McGann, historians of British art have nonetheless frequently avoided difficult issues of visual resemblance, or even comparable subject-matter, in preference for the description of professional and social

³⁹ The notion of '*effacement*' was adopted by Fried from Georges Bataille's writing on Manet. See Fried, *Manet's Modernism*, p.354.

⁴⁰ Robin Spencer, *Whistler: A Retrospective* (New York: Hugh Lauter Levin Associates, 1989), p.370-371.

networks.⁴¹ This strategy has held the potential to describe a radically different model of the relationship between French and British painting, but in practice has generally been confined to re-descriptions of already well-known instances of exhibition, dealership and expressions of mutual esteem amongst painters. However, while such surveys have provided a vital foundation for subsequent scholarship, they have arguably failed to establish progressive French and British pictorial practices as intertwined to any significant degree in the 1860s. This corpus, while usefully enumerating the myriad social, professional and commercial connections between the cultural elites in France and Great Britain has largely baulked at moving beyond this position except in those cases where primary textual sources make the case for 'influence' unquestionable.⁴² Mention must also be made here of the work of the late Robin Spencer, whose close and sustained attention to the 'cosmopolitanism' of the Manet-Whistler circle was until very recently the sole description of the social network through which both artists negotiated their internationalism. In an occasional series of journal articles produced from the early 1980s until the end of the twentieth century, Spencer diligently described the fine grain of cross-Channel correspondence, travel and commercial opportunity that characterised the extended network around the *Société des trois*, as far as it could be apprehended through the

⁴¹ See discussions of the shared themes of British and French painting in Elizabeth Prettejohn, "From Aestheticism to Modernism, and Back Again," *19: Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century*, no. (2) (2006), <http://www.19.bbk.ac.uk/index.php/19/article/view/440>., pp.7-8, *Art for Art's Sake: Aestheticism in Victorian Painting* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2007), pp.211-215, and Jerome J. McGann, *Dante Gabriel Rossetti and the Game That Must Be Lost* (London ; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000) p.6, 20-21.

⁴² See, for Whistler and his associates, Edward Morris, *French Art in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2005), pp.259-270.

evidence of textual statements involving Whistler and his French and British professional circles.⁴³

More recently, the work of two North American historians, Brigit Alsdorf and Melissa Berry, have attempted to describe some of the same international networks from positions informed by gender studies and queer theory. Both Alsdorf's *Fellow Men* (2015) and Berry's *Société des trois in the nineteenth century* (2018) invoke the notion of homosociality to explore the dynamics of masculine association amongst some of the painters who constitute the subject of this thesis.⁴⁴ The critical yield of these studies, both of which attend closely to the determinations of the professional network, has been somewhat disappointing. While Alsdorf and Berry have addressed in some important omissions in previous accounts of the *Société des trois*, neither work has produced a new account of the relationship between these forms of association and the 'forced' strategies of Realist depiction. (What should be understood, for instance, by Fantin-Latour's organisation of *L'hommage à Delacroix* (1864) around a massively-enlarged, painted reproduction of Nadar's 1853 *photograph* of Delacroix?). It is the second proposition of the thesis that by focusing on the interrelationship between pictorial statements, unities might be perceived that have eluded biographically-dependent descriptions of an Anglo-French discourse, and I suggest that more than any other social or intellectual construct, it was industrial art which constituted the discursive 'bridge' between progressive practices in Paris and London between 1858-68.

⁴³ See Robin Spencer, "Whistler's Subject Matter: 'Wapping' 1860-64," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 100, no. 24 (1982), "Manet, Rossetti, London and Derby Day," *The Burlington Magazine* 133, no. 1057 (1991) and "Whistler's 'the White Girl': Painting, Poetry and Meaning," *The Burlington Magazine* 140, no. 1142 (1998).

⁴⁴ See Bridget Alsdorf, *Fellow Men: Fantin-Latour and the Problem of the Group in Nineteenth-Century French Painting* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2013), and Melissa Berry, *The Société Des Trois in the Nineteenth Century: The Translocal Artistic Union of Whistler, Fantin-Latour, and Legros* (New York: Routledge, 2017).

Methodology

As an interdisciplinary and synoptic account, this thesis must be attentive to an unusually broad historiography that includes the history of painting, the historiography of modernism and the histories of design, photography and media. Much of this historiography, as Masheck, Bann and Rancière have all observed, constitutes the veil of modernist and post-modernist criticism that has obfuscated the object of study. The archive of earlier scholarship is substantial and offers an exceptionally rich corpus of cultural production and textual exchange, an essential precondition for the mapping of the *dispositif* proposed here. Accounts of specific works within this corpus confirm that the pictorial materials identifiable through twenty-first century regimes of viewing were also visible in the nineteenth century; all the visual phenomena discussed in this thesis have been observed before, either by contemporaries of the Manet-Whistler circle or by subsequent critics of their works. This thesis frequently appeals to these earlier observations for confirmation of the availability of specific visual phenomena, but defers their author's conclusions concerning the cultural implications of these visibilities as only partial recognitions of a contiguous discursive object. It is therefore an argument of this thesis that the interpretive consensus constructed by earlier generations of artwriting is both so familiar and so contested that the 'synoptic view of modernism' is inevitably blunted by attention to their categories.

As Bann indicated, Fried's *Manet's Modernism* holds an interstitial position between this historiography and the question of the historical determinations of progressive painting.

The relation of this research to that of Fried is analogous to the statement of the Russian Formalist critic Yuri Tynyanov:

[In formalist historiography,] the prime significance of major social factors is not at all discarded. Rather, it must be elucidated to its full extent through the problem of the evolution of literature. This is in contrast to the establishment of the direct “influence” of major social factors, which replaces the study of *evolution* of literature with the study of the *modification* of literary works—that is to say, their deformation.⁴⁵

If *Manet's Modernism* offers an ‘evolutionary’ account of the formation of progressive pictorial practice in the 1860s, then the account that follows offers a map of the ‘modification’ of those same practices – often the literal ‘deformation’ of their pictoriality - by emergent structures of cultural power.

In order to circumvent the obfuscation caused by the thick curtain of scholarship that interposes between the works of Manet-Whistler circle and the present, a strategy of ‘defamiliarisation’ is required. This strategy must defer established iconographic and philosophical conclusions in preference for the opportunity to re-describe the patterns of attention, intention and reception suggested both within the pictorial spaces of specific artworks and in the social space between artworks; their specific proximity in textual statements, exhibitionary contexts and shared orientation to tasks of representation. For this, an ‘inductive’ process is required, a procedure that builds outward from the

⁴⁵ Tynyanov; Yuri, "On Literary Evolution," in *Readings in Russian Poetics: Formalist and Structuralist Views*, ed. Ladislav Matějka and Krystyna Pomorska (Los Angeles: MIT Press, 1971), p.67.

observation of pictorial phenomena to argue for the systemacity of these phenomena's emergences.

In the first instance, the method applied to the production of de-familiarization is that outlined by Foucault in *The Archaeology of Knowledge*. There are three reasons why this approach has been chosen. Firstly, Foucault explicitly articulated the problematic faced by this research and was unequivocal in his solution; writing in *The Archaeology of Knowledge* about the theoretical problems raised by descriptions of change in the history of ideas, Foucault proposed the stripping out of insufficiently rigorous concepts of historical change - spirit, tradition, the book, the *oeuvre* and other superficial unities - in favour of the project of 'a pure description of discursive events' that might, through the detailed mapping of the dispersions of statements within a discursive domain, 'discern a regularity' on the surfaces where such statements emerge.⁴⁶ This strategy has the advantage of momentarily 're-setting' the historiographic succession that masks alternative pathways within the network. The temporary rejection of previous frames of reference is not merely a convenient justification for silencing the claims of revered scholarship; it is also an important precondition for the comparison of materials drawn from different academic disciplines, including the history of art, design history, the history of photography and media studies, each of which brings inevitable theoretical and procedural biases and blindnesses towards proximate fields of scholarly production. The 'pure description' avoids the trap of making certain terms in the description subservient to better-known or more critically-invested individuals, institutions or objects of study. Interdisciplinarity was also implied by Foucault's

⁴⁶ Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, ed. James Fitzpatrick and Alan Sheridan (London: Tavistock Publications, 1972), p.29-31.

assertion that 'any series of signs, figures, marks or traces, can constitute the basis on which one may decide whether they 'make sense' either 'through analysis or intuition' - which sanctioned the creation of new groupings 'that cut across the domain of structures and possible unities, and which reveals them, with concrete contents, in time and space'. Such visible configurations of polyvalent discourse were described by Foucault as 'regularities'. A discursive regularity was clearly defined by criteria to which he returned time and again in his historical work; order in succession, correlations in simultaneity, assignable positions in space, reciprocal functioning, linked and hierarchized transformations.⁴⁷ Foucault's five descriptive axes underpin the model of the relationship between objects offered below.

Foucault's consideration of "any series" as the potential subject of historical research usefully summarises the advantage of his thought over that of Pierre Bourdieu, whose model of the 'field of cultural production' also holds the potential to describe the boundary between professional fields. Recent interpretations of Bourdieu by Ciaran Cronin and Nick Coudry have both considered the productivity of 'field theory' in describing the contested limits of authority between proximate institutional power-structures.⁴⁸ However, Bourdieu's work tends to sociological taxonomy in ways that I believe are less well-suited to the comparison of dissimilar visual media than Foucault's notion of discourse.

A further attraction of Foucault's thought lies in its extension; within academic media studies the 'archaeological method' has recently been rehabilitated in order to emphasise

⁴⁷ Ibid. On the open series of signs constituting the statement, see pp.95-98. On the strategy of the pure description of discursive events, see pp.31-32.

⁴⁸ Coudry, "Media Meta-Capital: Extending the Range of Bourdieu's Field Theory,"; Ciaran Cronin, "Bourdieu and Foucault on Power and Modernity," *Philosophy and Social Criticism* 22, no. 6 (1996), pp.2-8.

relational rather than object-centred description such as that described by the German media historian Eva Horn:

The notion of the “medium” reduces to a fragile and even ephemeral state of “in-between-ness,” as much a moment [let alone an object] of separation as of mediation, a moment taken by a virtuality becoming an actuality, a moment of structuring and encoding and thus of the creation of order, but also the source of disruption and “noise.” Theorising media means not so much analysing a given, observable object as engaging with processes, transformations and events. Media are not only the conditions of possibility for events – be they the transfer of a message, the emergence of a visual object, or the re-presentation of things past – but are in themselves events; assemblages or constellations of certain technologies, fields of knowledge and social institutions[...] Regarding media as processes and events, observing their effects rather than their technological forms or ideological contents, also implies a broadening of their analytical frame, which becomes a certain type of questioning than a discipline in itself.⁴⁹

A similar form of network description to Horn’s “moment taken by a virtuality becoming an actuality” has recently been used by Noam Elcott in his study of the dark spaces produced by visual art and cinema, *Artificial Darkness*, one of several recent works of photographic history that have offered models of writing concerning the dynamics of the moment of actualisation. Elcott usefully identifies the term *dispositif* as the best descriptor for the polyvalent agency of such entities as ‘media’ (and ‘industrial art’).⁵⁰

⁴⁹ Horn, “There Are No Media,” p.8.

⁵⁰ Noam Elcott, *Artificial Darkness: An Obscure History of Modern Art and Media* (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 2016), pp.11-12.

Another significant investigation of the construction of the *dispositif* has been Steve Edwards's *The Making of English Photography: Allegories*. Edwards identifies key debates in British photographic journalism concerning the identity of photography as simultaneously an industry of banal documentation and an aesthetic form comparable with existing practices of both decorative and fine art. His analysis is especially productive in his consideration of the construction of backgrounds in *carte-de-visite* photographs in the early 1860s, the problematics of which, Edwards has argued, went to the heart of matters of institutional authority and professional identity within the photographic field of production. Edwards identifies a widespread social anxiety over the accidental production of what he calls 'grotesque space', caused by poorly-painted backcloths, papier-mâché properties and other attempts to suggest a grandiose or Romantic *mise en scène* within mass-market photography. Edwards's work therefore isolates the phenomenon of incongruity (a synonym of *forced accord*) as an object of study:

The descriptions of photographic backgrounds that we have been looking at are saturated with these concerns. "Incongruity" is a key term in debates on the grotesque; whenever it appears, this aesthetic mode all too probably lurks nearby. The discrepancies in scale, the strange objects that seem to protrude from the body (or merge with it), the unnatural mixing of artifacts and views: all suggest grotesque figures that open the subject out. Think back to the "elephant in silk stockings" and "a mermaid with a parasol" [...] ⁵¹

⁵¹ Steve Edwards, *The Making of English Photography: Allegories* (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006), p.263.

Edwards's insights in *Allegories*, especially his attention to the construction of diverse new forms of pictorial space made by different forms of the photograph, will inform several descriptions of the thresholds between tradition and innovation evident in the works of Legros, Manet and Whistler.

More recently, Jordan Bear's book *Disillusioned; Victorian Photography and the Discerning Subject* has also argued for the overlooked cultural significance of specific forms of the photograph - composite prints, stereoscopic images, *tableaux-vivants* - that "created images that readily sacrificed the conventional guarantee of photographic realism in order to activate their viewers' primed capacities for visual discernment."⁵² It was these manipulated forms of the photographic image that were often cited by commentators as proof that photographers might claim the status of 'artists', precisely because their productions required the intellectual engagement of their producers, rather than the mere operation of a technical apparatus. The notion of a pictoriality *intentionally* constructed to engage the visual interest, and by extension the political discernment, of the recently-franchised, liberal male citizen (an 'imagined audience' *pace* Thomas Crow) is a useful one for thinking about the presence of incongruity in innovative paintings in the 1860s as works that also required the viewer to attend to the constructed, composite nature of pictoriality.⁵³

⁵² Jordan Bear, *Disillusioned: Victorian Photography and the Discerning Subject* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2015), p.5.

⁵³ Thomas E. Crow, *Painters and Public Life in Eighteenth-Century Paris* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1985), pp.1-22.

If the strategy of *forced accord* in progressive painting represented a turn to the principles of industrial art theory, then Mannheim's question "Whose reorientation is reflected in changes of style?" can be applied to the cultural authority of the *dispositif* of industrial art. Two important contributions from architectural and design history must also be included in the survey of methodological models. The first is Dutta's *The Bureaucracy of Beauty*, which presents a superb post-colonial reading of the industrial art project. Dutta, mentioned earlier for his recognition of the *dispositif*-like characteristics of the Department of Science and Art, has produced an important re-description of the programme of British industrial art which demonstrates that 'design reform' should be interpreted as the project of the Liberal Utilitarian circle of John Stuart Mill, from which Cole had emerged. Dutta fully acknowledges the sincerity of the DSA's reforming mission but argues that, in common with other aspects of Liberal governance, South Kensington's universalist theories assumed a parochial, Eurocentric 'minimal anthropology' in their evaluation of other cultures. Following Uday Singh Mehta's post-colonial analysis of political Liberalism, Dutta figures the universalism of industrial art theory as in fact a 'cognitive technology', a procedure constructed in order to naturalise uneven economic development within Great Britain's sprawling imperial possessions. The emergence of the visual materials of industrial art in progressive painting must therefore reflect these original purposes; as Masheck put it "when they came to affect painting they retained essential characteristics of their origins in the applied arts", characteristics that must include their orientations towards the cognitive technology of *laissez-faire* capitalism.⁵⁴

⁵⁴ Masheck, *The Carpet Paradigm, Integral Flatness from Decorative to Fine Art*, p.19.

Another work offering a specific methodological precedent for this study has been Caroline Arscott's book *William Morris and Edward Burne-Jones – Interlacings*.⁵⁵ Arscott interprets the 'decorative' art of William Morris with an absolute parity of attention to that which she applies to the painting of Burne-Jones, both visual forms being assumed to be equally worthy of rigorous critical scrutiny: This is an approach to nineteenth-century decorative art that has been relatively uncommon both within the procedures of mainstream art history and the history of design. The demonstration of how, for instance, repeated pattern might yield a similar degree of interpretive complexity as figurative painting is an important breakthrough that significantly reconfigures the questions made available by such pictorial phenomena as the band of ornament in *La Dame au Gant*.⁵⁶

Chapter Outline

Following the implications of Foucault's archaeological methodology, the structure of this thesis emphasises the description of discourse over more conventional 'linear' narratives. Foucault describes how the discursive formation emerges into visibility on 'surfaces' of its own creation. Each chapter therefore focuses on a specific 'surface of emergence' on which the characteristics of the discourse of industrial art become especially visible. The progression between chapters also follows the logic of description of discourse, seeking to

⁵⁵ See Caroline Arscott, *William Morris and Edward Burne-Jones: Interlacings* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2008)

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* pp.87-103.

verify that description by demonstrating the continuity of discourse between separate instances of emergence.

Chapter One applies the descriptive methodology of Foucault's *Archaeology of Knowledge* to a context where the *forced accord*, ornament and internationalism can be seen to coincide. Within the *Société des trois*, Whistler's written justification for Legros's ejection from the group is proposed as a Foucauldian 'statement' that indicates the boundary on which these terms meet. Whistler's statements concerning the *Société des trois's* artistic identity and pictorial aims are shown to discriminate between the practices of Legros and Moore in ways that infer an equivalence between Fried's notion of 'radical incompleteness' and the deferred resolution of style proposed by Semper's theory of stylistic change.

Chapter Two traces the discourse of industrial art from within the correspondence of the *Société des trois* in 1865 to the group's earliest publicly-exhibited pictures. The chapter revisits the moment of the *Société des trois's* formation in 1858-59 in order to describe the agency of reproductive media in the genre paintings submitted by Legros and Whistler to the Paris Salon of 1859. Following the account of Legros's stylistic development offered in Chapter One, this chapter describes the discursive potential of formal strategies of 'radical incompleteness' in the genre paintings submitted by the *Société des trois* to the Salon of 1859. The 'radical incompleteness' or *forced accord* of these pictures is thereby demonstrated to be an earlier configuration of the discursive relationship identified in Chapter One. To this end, both Legros's *L'Angélu* (1859) and Whistler's *At the Piano* (1859) are subjected to close iconographic readings with the aim of identifying the metaphoric transformations produced by the introduction of industrial arts materials to Realist 'peasant

genre' and 'bourgeois genre' subject-matter. I propose that the configuration of these paintings was structured by the *mimesis* in painting of 'pictorialities' (using Whitney Davis's term) derived from contemporary commercial illustration and photographic forms, and that these materials were significantly implicated in the emergence of the strategy of *forced accord*.⁵⁷ I read the mimesis of the surfaces of industrial art as evidence of the group's shared interest in the *metaphoric* transformation of earlier pictorial conventions through their encounters with emerging media, a Semperian concern with the processes by which functional techniques became culturally-weighted significations.

Chapter Three considers the pictorial representation of the contest of authority between the *dispositif* of industrial art and 'The Academy' in London and Paris. *The White Girl* is interpreted as a response to the Royal Academy's earlier resistance to practices informed by the *dispositif*. The display of *The White Girl* near Manet's 'array' of three paintings at the *Salon des Refusés* is considered in order to contrast their response to contemporary debates on the status of the photograph as document and 'artwork'. It is proposed that Whistler and Manet's pictures attempt the same discursive move, but were oriented quite differently in their valuation of industrial art. While *The White Girl* emphasised photography as a powerful agent of pictorial and metaphoric change, Manet's *Le Déjeuner sur l'herbe* represented a moment of choice or equivocation on the same boundary between pictorialities, suggesting the concurrent existence of more than one valuation the *dispositif* of industrial art within the Manet-Whistler circle.

⁵⁷ Whitney Davis, *A General Theory of Visual Culture* (Princeton, New Jersey; Woodstock: Princeton University Press, 2011), pp.150-155.

Chapter Four investigates the extent to which such differentiation amongst pictorial responses to the *dispositif* of industrial art can be inferred as representing divergent political orientations within the Manet-Whistler circle. The pictorial representation of ceramic objects, a trope shared by progressive painting in both Great Britain and France during the 1860s, is analysed in support of this proposition. It is argued that the iconography of ceramics depicted in the paintings of the Manet-Whistler circle acknowledged a taxonomy rooted in the state's support for elite ceramic production within the 'representative regime' that had preceded the *dispositif* of industrial art. This construction of a museological archive of elite ceramics was foundational to the project of industrial art. Progressive painting reproduced this archive pictorially, thereby positioning its accounts of process against the perceived authority of the new, state-sponsored, museology.

Chapter One

Gottfried Semper at the boundary of the *Société des trois*

1.1 Whistler's 'reform' of the *Société des trois* in 1865

In October 1858, the *Société des trois* was founded in Paris by Fantin-Latour, Legros and Whistler. To date, art historical descriptions of the *Société* have turned to accounts of this moment of formation to explain the purposes and characteristics of the group, producing explanations that have accordingly emphasised the brief convergence of the three individuated biographies of its members, a position perfectly articulated by Alexander Seltzer's comment that "For a few critical years, Les Trois had similar goals and artistic values and their association marked a transition from experimentation to artistic maturity by the late 1860s."⁵⁸ More recent reconsiderations of the *Société des trois*, particularly those formulated by Alsdorf and Berry, have applied the critical insights of male homosociality and transnational networks to the interpretation of the group but have only reached similar conclusions to Seltzer, all writers concurring that the *Société* was essentially an instrument of professional self-interest.⁵⁹

⁵⁸ Berry, *The Société Des Trois in the Nineteenth Century: The Translocal Artistic Union of Whistler, Fantin-Latour, and Legros*, p.132.

⁵⁹ See also Alsdorf, *Fellow Men: Fantin-Latour and the Problem of the Group in Nineteenth-Century French Painting*, p.33-34.

This reductive narrative of the *Société des trois* was produced by modern commentators from their reconstruction of the correspondence of the protagonists and from the later memoirs of those who had encountered the group. Both these textual resources were biased by their attention towards a homosocial account of events. The correspondence of Fantin-Latour, Whistler and their circle was characterised by declarations of exceptionalism and rhapsodic excitement over the speed of developments, reflecting the imaginative hold that the ideal of Parisian bohemian sociality (as articulated by Henri Murger or Paul Gavarni) still held over the group in the late 1850s. Later British memoirists emphasized tropes of polite bohemianism popularized by a subsequent generation of sympathetic satirists such as George du Maurier, who in his 1894 novel *Trilby* offered extensive descriptions of the brokerage of introductions, expressions of fellow-feeling and instances of camaraderie framed as entertaining studio anecdotes, while the technical aspects of painting - rarely addressed at all - were approached obliquely and in a heavily coded form of language that alluded to the canon of past masters.⁶⁰

In order to produce an account of pictorial innovation, Seltzer, Alsdorf and Berry were forced to map a largely unconnected narrative of stylistic development over the corpus of homosocial statements that defined the *Société des trois*. The results of this indexing appeared to demonstrate that, while during the group's formative phase there had appeared to be some degree of initial stylistic correspondence between the members, this was followed by a much longer period of divergent pictorial development that seemed to be reflected in comparable social estrangement. Attention to the textual production of

⁶⁰ George Du Maurier, *Trilby*, 3 vols. (London: Osgood & McIlvaine, 1894)

homosociality has therefore done little to identify conceptual coherence *between* artworks produced within the *Société*. Berry tellingly describes the group as ‘informal’ – quite literally lacking a coherent institutional or stylistic identity: “[...] many have been quick to dismiss this group as informal and therefore inconsequential in the development of those now-revered artists. The disparities amongst the members have also made them a difficult trio to comprehend”, a view she reiterates in her larger argument that the sum of divergent works and performativities speaks of a highly-individuated ‘trans-localism’ as the characteristic behaviour of the *Société*: “Fantin, Legros and Whistler are rarely considered a cohesive unit, due in large part to their palpable dissimilarities in style and personality”.⁶¹ While a steady divergence of trajectories amongst the group is evident with regard to both professional development and subject-matter, the investment of all three painters in strategies of *forced accord* indicates that claims that the *Société des trois* possessed no theoretical identity may be open to challenge. This chapter argues for the existence of a shared approach to pictoriality in the *Société*; I propose that such a shared approach becomes visible at a moment when the *Société* was compelled to articulate its purposes; not the moment of group formation on which earlier scholarship has largely focused but a moment of possible dissolution. This was the occasion on which Whistler proposed the substitution of Moore for Legros in the triad, the better to secure the prize of being first to configure a new form of painting.

By relinquishing the attempts to establish a teleology founded on foundational narratives in preference for attention to this second moment at which the group considered its purposes,

⁶¹ Berry, *The Société Des Trois in the Nineteenth Century: The Translocal Artistic Union of Whistler, Fantin-Latour, and Legros*, p.5-6.

it becomes possible to construct a fuller description of the association's intellectual and stylistic coherence. A particularly useful moment through which to reconsider the relationship between the participant's stylistic configurations, and thereby to identify something of the group's absent 'shared' formal dynamic, occurred at the moment of Whistler's proposed 'reform' of the *Société* in 1865, in which he suggested the substitution of the English painter Moore for Legros, whose practice Whistler now considered to have diverged from the aims of the group. The terms of this divergence were outlined by Whistler in a letter written to Fantin-Latour in August 1865:

Your letter gave me real pleasure - Basically the two of us are taking the lead - it's like at the races - like at the Derby - it's the thoroughbred that wins - I think that we can now be sure of it - the field is ours - the ideal man* reappears in us - Alphonse is already in the rear - he is a bit of a bastard! - *Le Lutrin* revisited - no that's not what is needed by way of progress! - And now he's going to make a "Prodigal Son" - a Greek paterfamilias posed for it - you can just imagine it! He hasn't shown it to me but I think I can picture it in advance. There is only one other worthy of us This third one is the young Moore about whom I have so often spoken to you - and it's good to see in this way Russia England and America each providing a continuation of the real traditions of painting in the 19th century⁶²

⁶² Margaret F. MacDonald, et al., "The Correspondence of James McNeill Whistler 1805-1903, including the Correspondence of Anna McNeill Whistler 1855-1880" (Glasgow: University of Glasgow). This author's admittedly broad translation of 'le race pur' as 'ideal man' is intended to shift interpretation of what was at stake for Whistler in 1865 away from the distraction of its overtly racist construction and towards consideration of the professional ambitions of the group. This is not to ignore the racist and imperialist aspects of Whistler's construction of artistic progress, the implications of which will be more fully signposted in later chapters of this thesis.

The first point to be made, against Seltzer's and Berry's interpretation of the *Société*, is that Whistler clearly stated that the professional and stylistic aim of the group was the continuation of 'the real traditions of nineteenth-century painting', locating the purpose of the *Société des trois* firmly in a discourse of pictorial succession, a discourse that until very recently in France had been authoritatively shaped by partisan affiliations of style.

Whistler's statement clearly contradicts the view that the *Société des trois* might best be understood as an ephemeral phenomenon appealing to Bohemian affectation or a professional flag of convenience for its members. Instead it suggests that for Whistler in 1865 the aims of the *Société* could still be encapsulated in a formulation that recalled the Realist rhetoric of Courbet and Baudelaire's contemporary demand for *l'art etre de son temps*. Whistler was also evidently delighted by the prospect that a reformed *Société des trois* might assert an international perspective: he evoked a scenario in which the American Whistler, the British Moore and Fantin-Latour - nominated 'Russian' by virtue of his Russian mother Hélène de Naidenoff - could be cast as representatives of three non-French cultural contexts that might potentially inform the construction of a 'real art' of the moment. Such a reading might therefore seem to support an especially 'heroic' modernist master-narrative in which individual stylistic innovation was to be put to the description of urban modernity. Such an ambition was indeed supported by other arguments in Whistler's statement, but his comments earlier in the passage also identify a less-commonly discussed phenomenon of competition *between* innovators to be the first to identify such an art: "Basically the two of us are taking the lead - it's like at the races - like at the Derby - it's the thoroughbred that wins - I think that we can now be sure about it - the field is ours". The metaphor of the Derby suggests the existence of a recognised goal, towards which other painters were also urgently striving. The notion that the members of the *Société des trois* were in a 'race' for

something *as yet not achieved* but that was becoming increasingly apparent to Whistler will be argued as a highly significant implication of this statement for both the interpretation of works made within the *Société*, and in relation to the production of progressive painting in the wider *milieu* of the early 1860s.

Whistler apologized to Fantin-Latour that his letter was already 'old', perhaps commenced weeks or even months earlier when the Royal Academy Annual Exhibition, which had opened on 1 May, was still 'news'. The works of the *Société des trois* had been very visible at this exhibition; Whistler showed three new paintings and one commenced many years previously; the recent works were *The Golden Screen* (1864), *The Little White Girl (no.2)* (1865), and *The Scarf* (date and present whereabouts unknown), whereas *Old Battersea Bridge* no. 343 (1859-64) had originally been commissioned by Frederic Leyland in 1859. Fantin-Latour exhibited two of the still-lives he now regularly sold to British collectors through Edwin Edwards: *Fruit and Flowers* and *Flowers and Fruit*. Legros showed one etching, *A Spanish Choir* (1861) [Fig.4] and a work based on Tennyson, "*Oh! 'Tis Well for The Fisherman's Boy, as He Shouts with his Sister at Play.*" (date and present whereabouts unknown), the watercolour *A Study of a Head* (1864) and *Le Lutrin* (1865) [Fig.5].⁶³ This last painting, described as '*Le Lutrin* refurbished' was the focus of Whistler's dissatisfaction with Legros's increasingly austere and patriarchal subject-matter. The re-working of *Le Lutrin* seemed to confirm existing reservations about Legros's recent direction of travel - 'no that's not what is needed by way of progress!' - and following some dismissive comments concerning the likely outcome of yet another of Legros's religious subjects, *Le retour du Fils*

⁶³ *Le Lutrin* appears to have been selected too late for inclusion in the catalogue and is omitted from the list of Legros's Royal Academy pictures compiled by Algernon Graves.

prodigue (1865), Whistler abruptly suggested his replacement by “the young Moore whom I’ve frequently discussed with you”. Whistler’s statement therefore represents an unequivocal triangulation of specifically pictorial concerns; a coded, but nonetheless urgently-pursued objective concerning the ‘real art of the nineteenth century’, the recent divergence of Legros’s increasingly conservative practice from such an objective and the timely appearance of Moore (‘the *only one*’ whose practice Whistler regarded as compatible with his and Fantin-Latour’s strategy) as a painter whose recent ‘decorative’ works could therefore be regarded as highly significant for the ongoing project of the *Société des trois*.

Whistler’s letter therefore notated a constellation of positions that are unusually clearly demarcated and which present a model of Foucauldian regularity; indeed his text efficiently marks out a relationship of pictorial statements defined by their order in succession, correlations in simultaneity, assignable positions in space, reciprocal functioning and linked and hierarchized transformations just as Foucault prescribed.⁶⁴ In these discursive terms, Whistler’s text suggested that matters of central concern to both his own practice and those of his close professional colleagues accreted on the boundary between specific paintings made by Legros and Moore. Whistler made comparison between two simultaneous instances of stylistic change; that of Legros’s paintings whose recent interests had produced his exasperated condemnation and the new works of Moore, also the consequence of a significant stylistic ‘turn’ that now brought them into dialogue with the *Société*. A more detailed description of these parallel shifts will establish the limits of the *Société des trois*’s

⁶⁴ Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, pp.24-33.

purported stylistic individualism, and will identify Whistler's enthusiasm for Moore's appropriation of 'decorative art' in painting as the refinement and clarification of earlier pictorial strategies in the Manet-Whistler circle. By bringing the works of Legros and Moore into critical proximity, this analysis also circumvents some of the difficulties encountered by previous scholarship in its attempts to discern contemporary relationships between progressive British and French artworks at a significant moment in their concurrent development.

1.2 Alphonse Legros: Two versions of *Le Lutrin*

The archaising religious genre scenes painted by Legros between 1859-63 have long been considered within the trajectory of French painting as indicating an intermediate stylisticity between the foundational Realist practice of Courbet and the pictures of the group which Fried termed the 'Generation of 1863'.⁶⁵ Fried argued that works such as *L'Ex-voto* synthesised the materialist objectivity of Courbet with the 'hyperabsorptive' representation of popular piety characteristic of Millet.⁶⁶ However, this construction of Legros's *oeuvre* is perhaps unnecessarily narrow, taking neither sufficient account of the stylistic development evident in Legros's paintings between 1859 and 1863, nor acknowledging his debt to contemporary practices outside the ambit of Courbet and Jean-

⁶⁵ Michael Fried, *Manet's Modernism, or, the Face of Painting in the 1860s* (Chicago ; London: University of Chicago Press, 1996) See especially pp.186-197.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.* p.190.

François Millet, such as his appropriation of motifs from the works of the Belgian 'Pre-Rubénists' described by Alexander Seltzer.⁶⁷

Chapter Two will establish that in 1859, Legros's *L'Angélu* (1859) was procedurally closely comparable with the pictorial practices of Whistler in *At the Piano* (1859), as well as sharing certain aspects of its approach to subject-matter and iconography with of Fantin-Latour's *Les Soeurs* (1859). However, by 1863 such programmatic alignment as may have existed between the members of *Société des trois* at its inception had diminished. Legros's painting had become increasingly concerned with the depiction of a conservative and emphatically masculine popular spirituality. The subject-matter of such depictions were frequently the performance of Catholic liturgical rituals which, although apparently not intended as representations of the dogma of the Catholic Church, nonetheless explored tropes of 'transcendence though discipline' redolent of seventeenth-century Counter-Reformation works by Francisco de Zurbarán and Jusepe de Ribera. Legros's interest in such subjects can easily be traced back to *L'Angélu* and *L'Ex-voto*, but in these earlier works the example of Courbet's representation of the material surfaces of contemporary life had to some extent complicated or problematized Legros's suggestion of that *longue durée* of submissive popular piety which Duranty described as "a particular world".⁶⁸

The watershed between Legros's early scenes of women at prayer and the works that Whistler would describe as 'not what is needed by way of progress' appears to have occurred shortly after the Salon of 1861 with *La vocation de St François* [fig.6], a painting

⁶⁷ Alex Seltzer, "Alphonse Legros: Waiting for the Ax to Fall," *Arts Magazine* 62, no. 5 (1988)

⁶⁸ Duranty, "Ceux Qui Seont Les Pientres," p.14.

first exhibited at the Galerie Martinet in the winter of the same year. As Timothy Wilcox usefully suggested in 1988, *La vocation de St François* may have been intended as a 'masculine' pendant to *L'Ex-voto* (1861), an intriguing suggestion that serves to locate the genesis of Legros's subsequent 'conservatism' in close relation to his treatment of gender.⁶⁹

The correspondences between the two pictures was noted by Baudelaire:

M. Legros, always in love with the bitter pleasures of religion, provided two magnificent paintings, one of which was admired at the last exhibition at the Champs-Élysées (women kneeling before a cross in a landscape concentrated and bright); the other, a more recent production, representing monks of different ages, prostrate before a holy book which they humbly apply to interpret certain passages. These two pictures, the last of which is reminiscent of the most solid Spanish compositions, are both close to a famous painting by Delacroix, and yet there, in this dangerous territory, they live their own life. That's all that needs to be said.⁷⁰

Whereas *L'Ex-voto* achieved a complicated interplay between the representation of enduring custom and the depiction of contemporary rural society, *La vocation* avoided any direct reference to the present moment in favour of an essentially atemporal context that decoupled Legros's Realist representation of male bodies from any interest in the description of a 'modern' social order. After 1861, the attention to modern physiologies that had been a significant indicator of Legros's alignment with pictorial Realism was increasingly superseded by depictions of enclosed, 'monastic' ritual presented as recursions of enduring

⁶⁹ Timothy Wilcox, *Alphonse Legros, 1837-1911* (Dijon: Mairie de Dijon, 1988), p.65.

⁷⁰ Jacques Crépet and Claude Pichois, *Œuvres Complètes De Charles Baudelaire*, 3 vols., vol. Juvenilia, Œuvres posthumes, Reliquiæ. II (Paris: Éditions Louis Conard (Jacques Lambert, libraire-éditeur), 1952), p.41.

masculine interiority. While Legros's representations of patriarchal masculinity were cautiously welcomed by both French and British critics throughout the 1860s, this aspect of his work was subject to far less critical comment than the emphatic formal organization of his pictures. The distinctive spatial and compositional concerns of *L'Angélu*s and *L'Ex-voto* remained a frequent point of reference for critics.

Legros's formal innovations have been discussed by Fried as proposals for the compositional resolution of the 'problem of the *tableau*'. The term *tableau*, Fried has proposed, "denoted the achievement of a sufficiently high degree of compositional and coloristic unity (the latter mainly the work of chiaroscuro) to produce a powerful and instantaneous effect of formal and expressive *closure*"⁷¹. Fried continues; "And with the Advent of Courbet...exactly what was at stake in the critical valorisation of the *tableau* became more difficult to pin down even as the notion itself continued to dominate certain reflections on painting among critics and painters of widely disparate points of view"⁷². In contemporary French critical thinking about painting, the unified, harmoniously balanced composition of the *tableau* was contrasted with Gustave Courbet's repeated production of virtuoso passages of painting (often on an ambitious scale) that nonetheless lacked this essential quality. If Courbet often emphasised material and social specificity over formal unity, paintings made by his Realist colleagues often demonstrated a compensatory concern with stylistic formalism; François Bonvin, Jules Ribot and Legros all tended towards pictorial practices in which formal unity deliberately effaced the specificity of the depicted moment.

⁷¹ Fried, *Manet's Modernism, or, the Face of Painting in the 1860s*, p.267.

⁷² *Ibid.* p.268.

Following *La vocation de St François*, Legros exhibited a picture called *Le Lutrin* at the *Salon de 1863*. The painting is now lost, but apparently maintained Legros's interest in the depiction of modern figures performing spiritual or ritual acts; Zacharie Astruc, in his *Salon de 1863*, provided a useful ekphrasis that emphasised the painting's formal qualities:

The arrangement of *Le Lutrin* is very simple. A priest officiates; he is standing in front of a desk, his back turned, wearing a chasuble embroidered with pink flowers. Behind him, a young man, with bowed head, holds a double-bass in his arms, ready to make it sound. Two little choirboys, in red robes and white surplice, are standing at his side. In the foreground sits the beadle – black-clad, a religious raven more serious than a line of plain-chant. Behind a second desk, on which rests a large missal with lilac-edged leaves, some pompously dressed singers – some deacons – raise their voices. The church falls away in a slender white colonnade that ends in stalls of beautiful burnished oak. On the floor, a carpet is laid out. This picture has surprising qualities and great flaws – these are very salient. First, a certain indecision in the distribution of light – a uniform plane – a lack of concentration in the effect – fragment added to fragment – the method too visible and which makes the whole thing insubstantial; heads which are not striking enough to be interesting – something in the realization of the work as far from feast as from famine, but which seems ultimately to be a faulty strategy. The beautiful things are striking – they are absolutely right. So: the red robes of the children – the church floor, the altar, everything about the priest, the young man, the instrument which is masterfully executed – heads that live: a host of details studied and constructed with a charming taste: the book, for example.⁷³

⁷³ Zacharie Astruc, "Grand Salon De Gauche, Alphonse Legros No. 1155 Le Lutrin No 1156 Discussion Scientifique," *Salon de 1863, Feuilleton Quotidien*, no. 11 (1863), p.3.

Seltzer has argued that Legros quoted freely from Édouard Hamman's *La Messe d'Adrien Willaert* (1854) [fig.7] in the earlier *La vocation de St François* and, from Astruc's description, it may be proposed that the figure of bass-playing young man in *Le Lutrin* might well have been a similar appropriation.⁷⁴ Comparison might also be made with Legros's later *Communion* (1865) [fig.8] which like *Le Lutrin* organized its principle figures close to the picture plane, depicted a carpet and described an architectural interior receding into indistinct space, albeit in a gloomier ambience than that described by Astruc. It may therefore be argued that *Le Lutrin* displayed some degree of formal correspondence with *The Communion*, *La vocation de St François* and the earlier *L'Angélu*s. The characteristic pictorial organization of these early pictures was usefully described by Fried as 'curiously poised between radical incompleteness and absorptive closure'.⁷⁵

Legros exhibited a second picture entitled *le Lutrin* at the Royal Academy in 1865. This was an entirely different painting, undoubtedly the work dated 1865 now in the Musée D'Orsay. This second picture condensed the representations enumerated by Astruc into a single emblematic motif of comparative physiognomic responses to the reading of the Gospel, organized within a severe, 'archaizing' armature of vertical and diagonal elements. In his letter to Fantin-Latour, Whistler noted that *Le Lutrin* had been 'retappé' in London; not 're-hung' as has frequently been suggested by earlier translators of Whistler's text but 'refashioned' or re-visited' in a new version that he condemned as irredeemably retrogressive.

⁷⁴ Seltzer, "Alphonse Legros: Waiting for the Ax to Fall," p.41.

⁷⁵ Fried, *Manet's Modernism, or, the Face of Painting in the 1860s*, p.273.

The painting also received a notably lukewarm response from British critics. Press reports of the Royal Academy Exhibition only mentioned Legros's 1865 *Le Lutrín* in passing, and usually as a diminution of the impact of *L'Ex-voto* which had been exhibited at the RA the previous year; Legros was indeed 'falling behind' as Whistler's letter put it. William Michael Rossetti, writing in *Frazer's Magazine* offered the fullest contemporary description:

Mr. Legros exhibits also an oil painting, 'Le Lutrín' (the Chantry), and a water-colour 'Study of a Head' of a priest who holds the chalice and wafer. The former, which consists of four half-figures very inartificially arranged, is painted with considerable breadth; and the latter is a very fine work of life-size, more in the manner of fresco than water-colour as understood by English painters[...] These coloured works, however, are overshadowed by our recollection of the artist's noble picture of last year, the 'Ex-Voto'.⁷⁶

The critic of *The Athenaeum* was also disappointed by *Le Lutrín*:

M. Legros, whose picture of last year made some impression, will not advance in public estimation by *Le Lutrín* (435), - priests at the lectern - although it has a large and broad style; it is flat; the faces are needlessly dull in expression.⁷⁷

The Art Journal also assessed the picture in comparison with *L'Ex-voto*, but considered *Le Lutrín* to be a continuation of the same manner:

⁷⁶ William Michael Rossetti, "The Royal Academy Exhibition," *Frazer's Magazine* 71, no. June (1865), p.750.

⁷⁷ "Royal Academy," *The Athenaeum*, no. 1959 (1865), p.658.

This year he maintains the same unmitigated power and breadth in a composition which he calls 'Le Lutrin' (435). The picture would be improved by the infusion of delicacy and detail.⁷⁸

Such assessments within the context of the Royal Academy would remain of the common currency of critical comment on Legros's practice until the end of the decade.

Whistler's letter was quite specific in presenting the second version of *Le Lutrin* as the immediate cause of Legros's summary dismissal from the *Société des trois*. The implication is that certain pictorial qualities evident in earlier paintings such as *L'Angélu*s and *L'Ex-voto* and, according to Astruc's ekphrasis, still visible in the 1863 version of *Le Lutrin* were no longer available in the second version of Legros's picture; this omission disqualified the second *Le Lutrin* from consideration as a 'progressive' work. That Legros's new approach was about to be repeated in a depiction of the prodigal son no doubt compounded Whistler's doubts; It is evident from the same letter that Carlylian dramas of timeless submission to patriarchal authority which increasingly characterised Legros's emerging style were not to Whistler's taste and may never have been, even in 1859 where such imagery was plausibly redeemed by other issues of pictoriality. The implicit contrast between the two versions of *Le Lutrin* provided the confirmation that Legros's practice had decisively shifted across a boundary between 'progressive' and 'conservative' strategies that was evidently crucial to Whistler's understanding of the identity of the *Société des trois*.

⁷⁸ "The Royal Academy," *Art Journal* 27, p.163.

Fried's notion of 'radical incompleteness' is a useful shorthand with which to describe the patterns of spatial incongruity and deliberate stylistic *gaucherie* that were set against conventional pictorial decorum in Legros's early works. In the 1865 version of *Le Lutrin* such qualities were now heavily constrained in favour of a strategy that proposed the formal closure of the *tableau* as the picture's dominant visual interest. Discursively, Whistler's rejection of *Le Lutrin* leads to the unexpected conclusion that Legros's 'radical incompleteness' was evidently so significant to his contemporaries that its absence precluded him from further consideration as 'progressive'. Equally significant is that in Whistler's estimation, this crucial lost quality of Legros's practice might be replaced by the new 'decorative' pictoriality of Moore. Evidently this puts the terms 'radical incompleteness' and 'decorativeness' into proximity in unfamiliar ways; the one the substitute for the other and both strategies for a possible (but yet to be achieved) 'real art of the nineteenth century'. This relationship may be further described by considering the discursive proximity of works by Legros and Moore produced immediately before the Royal Academy of 1865 and the terms of Moore's final alignment with the practices of the *Société des trois*.

1.3 Albert Moore: An English Realist?

Unlike Legros, whose professional identity has generally been understood as related to the immediate circumstances of both French and British art worlds in Berry's 'trans-local context', Moore's work has previously been described entirely within the parameters of

British nineteenth-century painting.⁷⁹ The most complete biographic descriptions of Moore's professional development, by Alfred Lys Baldry in 1894 and Robyn Asleson in 2000, concur in tracking Moore's early development from the example of family members in York, through the passing influence of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood evinced by his submission of a Ruskinian watercolour, *Study of an Ash Trunk* (1858) [fig.9] to the Royal Academy in 1858 to the development of a series of distinctive drawings and paintings on subjects drawn from the Old Testament produced between 1860-63.⁸⁰ This abrupt turn to Biblical subject-matter is ascribed by Asleson to the influence of Simeon Solomon, and by Allan Staley to Moore's intention to reject Holman Hunt's ethnographic Pre-Raphaelitism, exemplified by the recently-exhibited *Finding of the Saviour in the Temple* (1854-60).⁸¹

In the winter of 1862-3, Moore travelled to Italy with his brother, the painter John Collingham Moore. While there he began work on a large composition on the subject of *Elijah's Sacrifice* (1862-63) [fig.10], a motif that Tim Barringer has recently proposed was probably identified by Moore in the libretto of Felix Mendelssohn's popular oratorio *Elijah* of 1847.⁸² When considering the significance of Moore as Whistler's candidate for the replacement of Legros, it is important to acknowledge a significant degree of similarity in both subject and treatment between *Elijah's Sacrifice* and Legros's contemporary works: *Elijah's Sacrifice* also illustrated a moment of heightened spiritual experience shared amongst an exclusively masculine group in which each figure was depicted as an un-

⁷⁹ Melissa Berry, "Translocal Artistry, James McNeill Whistler's Wapping," *Victorian Review* 38, no. 2 (2012).

⁸⁰ Alfred Lys Baldry, *Albert Moore: His Life and Works* (London: Bell, 1894) Robyn Asleson, *Albert Moore* (London and New York: Phaidon Press, 2000).

⁸¹ Allen Staley, *The New Painting of the 1860s: Between the Pre-Raphaelites and the Aesthetic Movement* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2011), p.123.

⁸² T.J. Barringer, 'Aspiring to the Condition of Music: Albert Moore and Synaesthesia', Keynote lecture, Rethinking Albert Moore, University of York and York Art Gallery, York, 14 July 2017.

idealised, self-consciously modern physiognomy. Also like Legros, *Elijah's Sacrifice* displayed bodies posed within a shallow pictorial space, constructed from sparse details and broad expanses of flat colour. Moore also combined these bodies into frieze-like patterns anchored by a patriarchal figure. Like *Le Lutrín*, the culmination of *Elijah's Sacrifice* was a male figure in which Moore attempted to align austere physical appearance with the depiction of profound psychological interiority. The colouration of *Elijah's Sacrifice* was also, as Staley has observed, "almost monochromatic, with colour employed not for the sake of naturalistic depiction but manipulated for expressive and compositional purposes", an approach also widely evident in Legros's practice, in which narrow rods of flat colour (red in *La vocation*, white in *The Communion*) emphasised the presence of organising formal principles in pictorial space.⁸³ In both Legros and Moore's pictures, these 'realist' qualities were subsumed into an archaising, emblematic composition ultimately based on historical precedents. Moore's work, as Baldry noted, alluded to his interest in the recently displayed Nineveh reliefs in the British Museum. In Legros's practice "[...] the Primitives Holbein, the Germans, the people with hands pressed together and everything naïve{...}" constituted a similar pattern of allusion to the recent developments within the museological canon.⁸⁴ An especially close correspondence between the works of Moore and Legros may be seen in their comparable treatments of pictorial space and foreground objects, which present formal solutions so similar as to raise the possibility of an intertextual interrelationship between their practices. Within the interpretive conventions of visual Realism, Moore's handling of the turned earth at the edges of the makeshift altar in *Elijah's Sacrifice* would

⁸³ Staley, *The New Painting of the 1860s: Between the Pre-Raphaelites and the Aesthetic Movement* p.123

⁸⁴ Henri Fantin-Latour. Letter to Whistler and Legros, 11 July 1863, quoted in Berry, *The Société Des Trois in the Nineteenth Century*, p.87. On the contemporary reception of Early German painting, see Nicola Sinclair, "Nineteenth-Century British Perspectives on Early German Paintings: The Case of the Krüger Collection at the National Gallery and Beyond" (University of York, 2016).

undoubtedly be described as demonstrating an interest in materiality consonant with the un-idealised anatomy of his figures, an intention clearly relayed by the associated representation of the indisputably-modern metal churn and tools placed on the ground nearby. These elements of the painting have been broadly understood as derivatives of British Pre-Raphaelite practice, but their handling in *Elijah's Sacrifice* is equally comparable to French Realist works such as Courbet's *Les Casseurs de pierres* (1849) or Legros's later painting *The Tinker* (1874) [fig.11] in which similar objects are depicted in similar configurations against local areas of carefully-described plants and ground-surface. Moore's treatment of the foreground flora in *Elijah's Sacrifice* as simultaneously local (European) description and passages of flattened leaf-pattern is also reminiscent of the similarly-flattened depiction of wayside plants found in the lower left quadrant of Legros's *L'Ex-voto*. Moore's treatment of plant-form performs a similar pictorial function to its counterpart in *L'Ex-voto*, re-establishing the material painted surface in order to constrain or complicate the representation of depth, resulting in the 'tilt' of the ground-surface plane towards the viewer and thereby producing the archaising effects often noted in contemporary criticism. In its productive tension between materialist detail and formal archaism, Moore's picture tends to the same pictorial qualities which Astruc had described as 'fragment on fragment' leading to a 'method too visible' in *Le Lutrin*, or that Duranty in his response to the *L'Ex-voto* had judged a *forced accord*. Both in its strategies and effects, *Elijah's Sacrifice* may therefore be placed in a correlated, possibly reciprocal, relationship with contemporary works by Legros such as *L'Ex-voto* and *La vocation de St François*. This relationship was visible to the critic of the *Saturday Review*, one of several who identified *Elijah's Sacrifice* as an innovation at the Royal Academy in 1865;

Adoration and awe are admirably painted in the attitude and expression of these figures; the prophet is less forcibly conceived, being too little above the common Arab type; but the landscape is well imagined, though coloured in a low key, which strikes us rather as an attempt in the modern French style than as a true piece of that species of gradation which the French artists have reduced to a system.⁸⁵

Another reciprocal tendency was noted by Asleson; from 1863, the 'preponderance of masculine themes' in Moore's practice was 'steadily replaced with feminine imagery', a development she associates with the transition to a Phidian classicism that Moore shared with Leighton and Poynter.⁸⁶ At the same moment Legros's imagery was becoming steadily more 'masculine' and his stylistic precedents more closely identified with a conservative Franco-centric classical canon that included Titian, Poussin and Ingres.⁸⁷ The oppositional symmetry of this development raises the question of the extent to which Legros's mature style was shaped as a response to the emergence of the British 'Phidian' proposal for modern painting.

Clearly then, for a short period in 1863, works by Legros and Moore could be regarded by contemporaries as closely discursively-related, even positioning Moore as a British 'follower' of French Realist practices. But this proximity was momentary; the conceptual genealogies that underpinned each painter's practice were on trajectories that, from Whistler's perspective, led to entirely different analyses of the formulation of style. His suggestion that

⁸⁵ "The Royal Academy Summer Exhibition (Second Notice)," *The Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science and Art*, 27th May 1865, p.635.

⁸⁶ Asleson, *Albert Moore*, p.33.

⁸⁷ Berry, *The Société Des Trois in the Nineteenth Century: The Translocal Artistic Union of Whistler, Fantin-Latour, and Legros*, p.117.

Moore join the *Société des trois* was articulated at exactly the point where this potentially oppositional divergence had recently emerged. Although most biographical accounts of Whistler's association with Moore suggest that Whistler's interest was engaged by the presence of Moore's Phidian *The Marble Seat* [fig.12] at the Royal Academy Exhibition of 1865, Whistler's comment in his letter to Fantin-Latour that he had, by August 1865 or earlier, 'often' discussed Moore with Fantin-Latour supports Asleson's suggestion that the two men had first encountered each other either at Moore's exhibition at his Newman Street studio in February 1864 or at the recently-established Arts Club, which opened in March 1864. It is therefore likely that an association between Moore and Whistler developed from the early spring of 1864, shortly before the selections for the Royal Academy exhibition where both men hoped to exhibit.⁸⁸

Although *Elijah's Sacrifice* was rejected by the Royal Academy Jury in 1864, Moore's confidence in the picture was suggested by its display together with three other works at an exhibition he held in his studio in Newman Street in February of that year. The timing of this exhibition, around six weeks before the submission of both *Elijah's Sacrifice* and the fresco *The Four Seasons* (1863-4) [fig.13] suggests that the Newman Street exhibition was intended to influence his reception at the Royal Academy. The works shown alongside *Elijah's Sacrifice* at Newman Street were stylistically different both from that painting and from each other. *The Four Seasons* had been painted on a plaster slab, an idiosyncratic exercise in the evocation of the type of Roman wall-painting that Moore must have

⁸⁸ A view also supported by Moore's assertion at the 1878 Whistler-Ruskin trial that he had known Whistler for 14 years. See Linda Merrill, *A Pot of Paint: Aesthetics on Trial in Whistler V Ruskin* (Washington, London: Smithsonian Institution Press in collaboration with the Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, 1992), p.158.

observed during his trip to Italy. Despite its apparently last-minute acceptance and obtuse categorisation outside the bounds of 'painting' (it was catalogued as the single entry under 'Fresco' but displayed with the sculpture) *The Four Seasons* would attract positive reviews at the Exhibition of 1864, where Whistler was concurrently exhibiting *Wapping* (1861-64) and *The Lange Leizen of The Six Marks*, (1863-4).

The final two paintings Moore showed in February 1864 were depictions of single female figures; *A Girl Dancing* and *Dancing Girl Resting* (both 1863-64) [fig.14]. These last paintings may be considered the first iterations of a familiar trope, the single female figure in an 'eclectically' decorative interior, that was to become a major component of Moore's mature style, and through which his practice became linked with that of Whistler at the end of the decade. In this apparently pendant pair, Moore formulated a new conception of the figure in pictorial space, in which an idealised, eroticised female figure was placed amongst a selection of painstakingly-described material objects and ornamental patterns. Together, *The Four Seasons*, *A Girl Dancing* and *Dancing Girl Resting* were stylistically distinct from Moore's previous practice and represent a turn that Asleson has argued as a significant advance.⁸⁹ Given his diminishing valuation of Legros in 1864, it is likely that Whistler also perceived an important turn in Moore's new style. While Asleson reads *Elijah's Sacrifice* as less technically progressive than its association with French Realist practice would imply, it must nonetheless be the case that Whistler's high valuation of Moore before May 1865 was founded either on his encounter with *The Four Seasons* at The Royal Academy in 1864 or from his familiarity with works including those exhibited at the Newman Street exhibition

⁸⁹ Asleson, *Albert Moore*, p.39.

shortly beforehand. Given the stylistic character of Whistler's later appropriations from Moore, it seems plausible that *A Girl Dancing* and *Dancing Girl Resting* underpinned that valuation. The potential relevance of *A Girl Dancing* to Moore's new style will become apparent, but the absence of the picture (current whereabouts unknown) limits the work's utility as evidence of a programmatic reorientation by Moore. However, similar pictorial relationships can be observed in an associated work, a painting that condenses and extends the configuration depicted in the extant *Dancing Girl Resting*. This picture is the small work *Pomegranates* (1866) [fig.15], a painting that reunites the components of *A Girl Dancing* and *Dancing Girl Resting* in a more 'archaising' and fresco-like presentation no doubt indebted to *The Four Seasons*.

1.4 Semper's Ideal Museum: *Pomegranates* (1866)

Writing on *Pomegranates* in his comprehensive survey of the *New Painting of the 1860s*, Staley considered that "Since the title hardly explains the picture, and the figure's activity, or lack thereof, provides no more guidance, the subject is somewhat opaque".⁹⁰ This judgement renders *Pomegranates* compliant to Staley's view of Moore as an early articulation of the *art pour l'art* formalism of British Aestheticism but is a claim that will be demonstrated to be analytically premature when the painting is considered within the frame of industrial art theory. Conversely, Asleson argues for the same pictorial qualities of *Pomegranates* as an essay in stylistic 'eclecticism':⁹¹ In this estimation, the picture reflects

⁹⁰ Staley, *The New Painting of the 1860s: Between the Pre-Raphaelites and the Aesthetic Movement*, p.129

⁹¹ Asleson, *Albert Moore*, p.86.

the critical concatenation of Romantic nationalism, capitalist commodity fetishism and spectacular cultures of imperial expropriation as interdependent positions which many historians have argued were deliberately masked by same British Aestheticism figured as a bourgeois ideology of ecstatic connoisseurship.⁹²

But *Pomegranates*'s co-presentation of heterogeneous stylistic exemplars is perhaps too specific for 'mere' formalism, and their atemporal presence within a single pictorial space has little in common with the notion of stylistic eclecticism as it is generally applied to European painting before Moore.⁹³ In the works of the *Juste Milieu* in France and historical genre painters in Great Britain, eclecticism had previously implied a reasoned choice between equivalent, but self-sufficient, historical image-worlds. In the early work of Ford Madox Brown or the historical genre scenes of Hendrik Leys, for example, archaeological *milieux* were reconstructed from the burgeoning archive of material and archaeological fragments, and reconstituted in forms that pretended to a historical materiality consonant with their subjects, including selective allusions to obsolete historical pictorialities and the adoption of obsolete forms of display such as the polyptych or devotional image. Such an 'artefactual' aspect of *Pomegranates* is perhaps proposed by the picture's dimensions. At 25 x 36 cm, *Pomegranates* appears a small canvas within which to contain a complicated iconography, its scale deliberately and inconveniently reduced to the threshold at which observed detail and the differentiation of the objects would require the most minute

⁹² Anne Anderson, "'Fearful Consequences...of Living up to One's Teapot': Men, Women and 'Clutchah' in the Aesthetic Movement," in *Rethinking the Interior C.1867-1896*, ed. Jason Edwards and Imogen Hart (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), pp.111-130, Penny Sparke, "Furnishing the Aesthetic Interior: Manuals and Theories," in *The Cult of Beauty, the Aesthetic Movement 1860-1900*, ed. Stephen Calloway and Lynn Federle Orr (London: V&A Publishing, 2011), pp.126-130.

⁹³ See for example Stephen Bann, "Paul Delaroche's Early Work in the Context of English History Painting," *Oxford Art Journal* 29, no. 3 (2006), pp.348-350.

attention. This quality of intensity was further intensified by the picture's frame, which featured narrow but widely-spaced bands of bead and egg-and-dart moulding that proposed to its viewers a concentrated, lens-like view of its subject [fig.16].

The planar formal characteristics of *Pomegranates* and comparable works have been argued by Asleson as deriving from the schemes of decorative painting that Moore had recently undertaken in collaboration with the architect and William Eden Nesfield: firstly, the decoration of the Dairy at Shipley Hall, (1860) where, fresco technique being impossible, Moore painted onto canvas panels subsequently installed within a coffered timber ceiling. Although the much of his work is lost, Moore's gouache designs survive for the similar ceiling of a second dairy commission at Croxteth Hall (1861) [fig.17], in which each coffer of the originally contained a 'classicised' emblematic design of the months of the year. Moore also designed a series of stone panels, executed in black incised work by the sculptor Thomas Earp, that decorated the exterior of a monumental fountain designed to stand in the centre of the dairy.⁹⁴

The 'Croxteth Fountain' was displayed at the International Exhibition of 1862 as part of the medieval court that William Burges and the architect William Slater had organised on behalf of the Ecclesiological Society, where it was enthusiastically praised by Burges in both *The Gentleman's Magazine* and *The Ecclesiologist*.⁹⁵ Moore's decorative work was also represented in Burges's *Great Bookcase*, to which Moore, Edward Poynter and other

⁹⁴ See Asleson, *Albert Moore*, pp.43-58.

⁹⁵ William Burges, "The International Exhibition," *Gentleman's Magazine*, June 1862, p.668-669, "The Late Exhibition," *The Ecclesiologist*, December 1862, p.368.

members of the 'Paris Gang' had all on occasion contributed.⁹⁶ Also on display in the Medieval Court were specimens of the work of Morris, Marshall, Faulkner and Co., notably the painted architect's drawing cabinet designed by John Pollard Seddon for his own office and decorated by 'the firm' with eight panels on the theme of 'King René's Honeymoon' [fig.18]. This programme, which had been proposed to Seddon by Ford Madox Brown, was interpreted by Rossetti and Burne-Jones as a meditation on the relationship between desire and art, most notably in Rossetti's panel *Music* [fig.19], which overtly enacted the Rossettian 'sensuous operation of intelligence' that proposed a route from 'carnal' longing to its sublimation in idealism.⁹⁷ In the *Music* panel this transformation was indicated by depicting a transition from embodied desire to creative engagement. Moore's painting may be considered as depicting a similar process, but one informed by a different ideology of stylistic transformation.

Pomegranates depicted three young women in shallow pictorial space, giving three different forms of attention to the apparently simple task of removing objects from, or perhaps replacing them into, a painted wooden cupboard. A central kneeling figure reached into the interior of the cupboard, handling some small vessel that the viewer cannot clearly see. To her left, a companion paid close attention to this action, the proximity of their two heads suggesting shared curiosity or perhaps a verbal exchange concerning the moment. Meanwhile the third figure looked on, her languid pose, lowered gaze and gesture of eating a cherry offering an unmistakable image of contemplation, interiority and sensual intensity.

⁹⁶ Eric Denker, *In Pursuit of the Butterfly: Portraits of James McNeill Whistler* (Washington, D.C. ; London: Published by the National Portrait Gallery in association with the University of Washington Press, 1995), pp.34-38.

⁹⁷ McGann, *Dante Gabriel Rossetti and the Game That Must Be Lost*, p.XV.

The close similarities of dress and hairstyle of the three figures and their formal arrangement within a configuration that echoed the circular motif presented on the cupboard doors enhanced an impression of sequential movement within an atemporal space, inviting the viewer to imagine themselves as the spectators of a repeated cycle of agency, questioning and reflection.

The three figures were represented sharing their space with a diverse group of objects. A woven textile, of which only a fragment can be seen, hung on the wall, depicted as flat pattern but balanced at the extreme left of the picture by a branch, of pomegranate or peach, painted as an organic three-dimensional structure that cast its shadow on the wall. On top of the cupboard stood a porcelain bowl, a Japanese form decorated with the stylised representation of a carp. The bowl contained fruit, their distinctive 'crowned' forms suggesting that these might be the pomegranates of the title. On a leopard-skin in front of the cupboard was placed an undecorated earthenware jar of the classical type known as a *hydria*. The leopard-skin itself was pushed back to reveal the floor, patterns of reflected light near the foot of the left-hand figure suggesting that this was mosaic. Within the interior of the cupboard could be seen a book, apparently bound in contemporary nineteenth-century olive green boards and with gilded edges [fig.20]. On the lower shelf, in the hand of the kneeling figure, was a bellied vessel possibly made of silver or glass, and behind this, under the same figure's sleeve, could be glimpsed a large and impressive metal charger. As Staley notes, Moore gave at least as much attention to these objects, especially to the ceramic vessels, as to his figures; they were certainly more painstakingly differentiated.⁹⁸

⁹⁸ Staley, *The New Painting of the 1860s: Between the Pre-Raphaelites and the Aesthetic Movement*, p.129.

By what logic did this diverse group of objects come to be in the virtual space of a painting under the rubric of *Pomegranates*? What agency did these artefacts possess that would claim the endlessly-repeated attention of the tripled figures? An alternative interpretation to those dependent on *art pour l'art* formalism or stylistic eclecticism may be proposed by aligning Moore's representation with the most developed theoretical statements on stylistic change developed in the ambit of the Department of Science and Art at South Kensington, the lectures and writing of the German architectural theorist and DSA teacher Semper. The productivity of this reading is suggested by the co-presence of two pictorial configurations in *Pomegranates* that corresponded directly with Semper's explanation of the relationship of stylistic change to organic, technological and social factors; the first of these was Moore's association of woven textiles with the creation of architectural space and the second his identification of a conjunction between functional ceramics and Dionysian ritual.

While previous scholarship has always acknowledged the significance of Moore's 'decorative' work in the formulation of his new pictorial style around 1864 and has noted his close relationship to progressive architects such as Nesfield and Burges, the theoretical underpinnings of this convergence between architecture and painting has not been explored.⁹⁹ However, contemporary industrial arts analyses both investigated this boundary extensively and described a flexible theoretical model of interchange between architecture and visual art, predicated on a materialist universalism. In Part II of his magnum opus *Der Stil*, published in 1863, Semper wrote: "When man adorns, all he does, more or less

⁹⁹ See Asleson, *Albert Moore*, pp.44-75. Chapter two describes Moore's architectural decorations in extensive detail.

consciously, is to make the laws of nature evident in the object he adorns."¹⁰⁰ For Semper and his colleagues at Sèvres and South Kensington, the empiricist development of visual world-ordering was common to every human culture, but in the most materially-impoverished societies the origins of this universal predisposition became evident in the quintessentially-human habit of bodily adornment, an observation that led Semper to the conclusion that more elaborate cultural production was founded on bodily decoration and ritual practices. Crucially, the junction between activities of 'adorning' and 'making'; the boundary at which the universal urge to bodily adornment was extended into material culture, was textile production: Developed from the primordial technology of the knot [fig.21], Semper regarded textiles as the *Urkunst* and the root of all ornamental motifs. As Hvattum has recently explained;

being simultaneously a functional technique and a symbolic means of representation, the knot was a mediating figure between the ritual act, the technique of making and the{Semper, 2004 #690} actual work of art or craft. In time, the technique of the knot was developed further in the more complex techniques of the braid, the wreath, the seam and the weave; all constituting primordial symbols of ordering.¹⁰¹

The ubiquity of knot-derived surface ornament, Semper asserted, was evident in the products of every culture. However, the universality of textile carried within it an even more potent affordance in that the primordial origin of architecture itself lay in the woven fence

¹⁰⁰ Gottfried Semper, "Theorie Des Formell-Schoenen, Ms 179," in *Gottfried Semper, in Search of Architecture*, ed. Wolfgang Hermann (MIT Press, 1984), p.219.

¹⁰¹ Hvattum, *Gottfried Semper and the Problem of Historicism*, p.67.

or screen; “the beginnings of building coincide with those of weaving” Semper wrote.¹⁰² The implications of this assertion were extensive – weaving, for Semper, became the origin of the social space of architecture, and the memory of the textile screen was at the root of many decorative wall treatments, whether sculpted, modelled, painted or papered. Both these aspects of textile ornament had been extensively-discussed and illustrated by Semper in Volume 1 of *Der Stil*, published in 1860.¹⁰³ The wall-hung textile in *Pomegranates* evoked this Semperian formulation, demonstrating both the technology of the knot through its knotted and tasselled fringing and the primal relationship of textile to architecture in its cornice-like striped border and compartmentalised motif [fig.22].

This didactic iconography of textile was not an isolated instance but was relayed in a second pictorial configuration in which the undecorated and functional Greek *hydria*, in itself a materialist depiction comparable in approach to the foreground objects of *Elijah’s Sacrifice*, was placed on the ‘ritual’ leopard-skin associated with Dionysian festivals, an object which was depicted with an ambiguous status in the picture, appearing alternatively as a domestic rug or as part of the collection of ‘treasures’ to be stored in the cabinet. In Semper’s explanation of stylistic change, both weaving and ceramics were *ur-forms* of material culture, their development long predating every archaeological example and therefore constituting essentially ahistorical metonyms for the creative process; human societies had reinterpreted these technical processes according to their specific environmental and technological conditions, eventually raising their unique formulation of *ur-formen* to the

¹⁰² Gottfried Semper, *Style: Style in the Technical and Tectonic Arts, or, Practical Aesthetics* (Los Angeles, Calif.: Getty Research Institute, 2004), p.213.

¹⁰³ Ibid. The illustrations mentioned support discussion of compartmentalisation in an Assyrian stone relief ‘undoubtedly a limestone carving in imitation of an Assyrian carpet’, pp.139-143, and the discussion of decorative plaiting and lace-knotting as variations on the primordial form of *the seam*, pp.222-25.

status of cultural symbols. In the most successful of these transformations, the archaic genealogy of the *ur-form* remained visible in the new object which now also described the material and technological transformations produced by the encounter between invariant human needs and culturally-specific configurations of ethical, political and scientific knowledge. While Semper's definitive account of this theory of transformation was not published until after he relocated from London to Zurich in 1856, the key elements of his theory of stylistic change were already evident in the manuscript for a lecture he gave at the Government School of Design at Marlborough House in London on 11th November 1853.¹⁰⁴ Semper proposed the construction of a taxonomy of forms comparable that assembled at the *Jardin des Plantes* by Baron Cuvier; the genealogies of material objects could also be interpreted:

like those of nature, connected together by some few fundamental Ideas, which have their simplest expression in *types*. But these normal forms have given and give rise to an infinite number of varieties by development and combination according to the exigencies of specialities, according to the gradual progress in invention and so many other influences and circumstances which are the conditions of their embodiment.¹⁰⁵

Semper's preferred case-study of his taxonomic and materialist approach to cross-cultural comparison was a comparison of two ceramic vessels from the classical Mediterranean: the Egyptian *situla* and the Greek *hydria* [fig.23]. Semper explained the contrasting forms of these devices for the collection of water as in the first instance the consequence of

¹⁰⁴ Gottfried Semper, "London Lecture of November 11, 1853," *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetic*, no. 6 (1983), p.8.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.* p.8.

environmental and social factors. The *situla* was a vessel adapted to scooping water from the River Nile and being transported in pairs on a yoke, while the *hydria* was designed to facilitate access to springs and exhibited other features appropriate to the carrying of water jars on the human head;

Two such vessels were carried by the Egyptian Water-carriers on yokes, so that one hung before and the other behind. The heaviest part is very properly the bottom, as a precaution to prevent spilling. We feel the fitness of this form to its use which is the opposite to that of the Greek Hydria, which is a Vessel, for catching Water, as it flows from the fountain. Hence the funnel shaped feature of the mouth and the neck, which is rigorously prescribed by the object in view.¹⁰⁶

Semper extended this straightforwardly materialist interpretation of form by arguing that the functional adaptation of ceramics had developed in both cultures into widely-dispersed cultural symbols and ultimately into canonical proportional systems.¹⁰⁷ Indeed, the proportional harmonies of the *hydria* had been extrapolated into the canon of the Doric architectural order and were therefore sublimated within a wider Classical culture as a ‘method of inventing’ that remained relevant despite periodic technological transformations:

The two nations were certainly well-aware and conscious of the high significance of these forms, in making them national and religious Emblems.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid. p.10.

¹⁰⁷ Hvattum, *Gottfried Semper and the Problem of Historicism*, p.110.

The Nile-Pail was the holy vessel of the Ægyptians and in like manner the Hydria of the Greeks was the sacred Vase, carried by Virgins in their religious processions.

It may be added that the fundamental features of Ægyptian Architecture seem to be contained in Embryo in the construction of the Nile-Pail, and in the same proportion we are allowed to recognise in this Hydria the Key to the Doric Order of Greek Architecture.¹⁰⁸

The *hydria* in *Pomegranates* might therefore stand as the archaic precursor to the canonical Doric system of proportion and ornament. However, in Semper's view, the lesson to be derived from the *hydria* was not to be found in its culturally-specific form but in the *process* of development from technological determination to cultural symbolism that was suggested by his narrative. Semper believed that the metaphoric transformation from functional to symbolic form occurred in two highly specific environments; that of the conscious repetition and re-interpretation of functional form within traditions of elite craft and in instances of the ritual re-presentation of significant functional objects in 'heterotopic' moments in which transcendent significance became attached to certain material forms: As he would famously explain in 1860;

I think that the *dress*ing and the *mask* are as old as human civilization and that the joy in both is identical to the joy in those things that led men to be [...] artists. Every artistic creation, every artistic pleasure, presumes a certain carnival spirit, or to express it in a modern way, the haze of carnival candles is the true atmosphere of art.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁸ Semper, "London Lecture of November 11, 1853," p.10.

¹⁰⁹ *Style: Style in the Technical and Tectonic Arts, or, Practical Aesthetics*, p.438, n.85.

The simultaneous presence of wall-textile, hydria and Bacchic leopard-skin in *Pomegranates* suggests that Moore was alluding to a specifically Semperian discourse of material culture. The cyclical attention of the figures, understood as occurring in the context of these three foundational wellsprings of creativity, locates interpretation of the picture as oriented towards these themes of origin and change.

However, while the specific objects depicted in *Pomegranates* alluded to accounts of the developmental processes of visual forms in Semper's November 1853 lecture and later in *Der Stil*, another Semperian text potentially informed a similarly materialist reading of the configuration in which these objects were situated. Originally commissioned by Cole as a preliminary to Semper's appointment as Instructor in Metalwork at the National Art Training School, *Practical Art in Metals and Hard Materials* was a manuscript, part report, part manifesto, written by Semper in 1852 and described by him as 'a sort of illustrated catalogue raisonné of the field of metallurgy'.¹¹⁰ The document remained unpublished until the 21st century, but its foundational assumptions underpinned Semper's Marlborough House lectures, while the manuscript itself was subsequently passed by Semper to Rudolf von Eitelberger where modern scholarship suggests it informed the design of the Imperial Royal Museum of Art and Industry in Vienna. While much of *Practical Art in Metals* is, as Harry Mallgrave has put it, "little more than an inventory of books and museum collections" the project also contained Semper's outline proposal for an ideal museum of decorative art [fig.24], organised in relation to a foundational taxonomic schema of four *ur-formen*, a

¹¹⁰ "Gottfried Semper to Eduard Vieweg, May 20 1852," in *Gottfried Semper. In Search of Architecture*, ed. Wolfgang Hermann (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1984). p.60.

quadripartite schema derived in turn from *Die Vier Elemente der Baukunst*, published in Berlin in 1851 as a synthesis of German debates on the derivation of architectural polychromy and Semper's own observation of the displays of the Great Exhibition.¹¹¹ Sketched in pencil with numerous annotations, Semper devised a schema based on the spatial organization of examples of the four 'fundamental motives' of all human works; weaving, carpentry, techniques of clayworking and stereometry (the shaping of 'hard' mineral materials such as stone) [ill.1]. Moore's pictorial space included products of all four of these fundamental techniques; the representation of textiles and ceramics has already been established, while carpentry was depicted by the painted wooden chest and stone-cutting by the mosaic floor on which the objects stand. The confined space of *Pomegranates* may therefore be argued as offering a microcosm of the materialist ideal museum.

In Semper's museum, the display of material objects was not organised on the principle of diachronic stylistic series such as that which would be proposed by Gustav Waagen and George Scharf for the 1857 Art Treasures exhibition in Manchester, but was intended to function as a site of synchronous comparison between objects, a comparative critical resource in which different material configurations were to be understood as the results of differing contexts of process:

A Complete and Univeral (*sic.*) Collection must give, so to speak, the longitudinal Section, the transverse Section and the plan of the entire science of Culture; it must show how things were done in all times; how they are done at present in all Countries of the earth; and why they are done in one or

¹¹¹ Peter Noever, ed. *The Ideal Museum: Gottfried Semper's Practical Art in Metals (Mak Studies)*, Mak Studies (Los Angeles: MAK Center for Art and Architecture, 2007), p.9.

another Way. According to Circumstances; it must give the history, the ethnography and the Philosophy of Culture.¹¹²

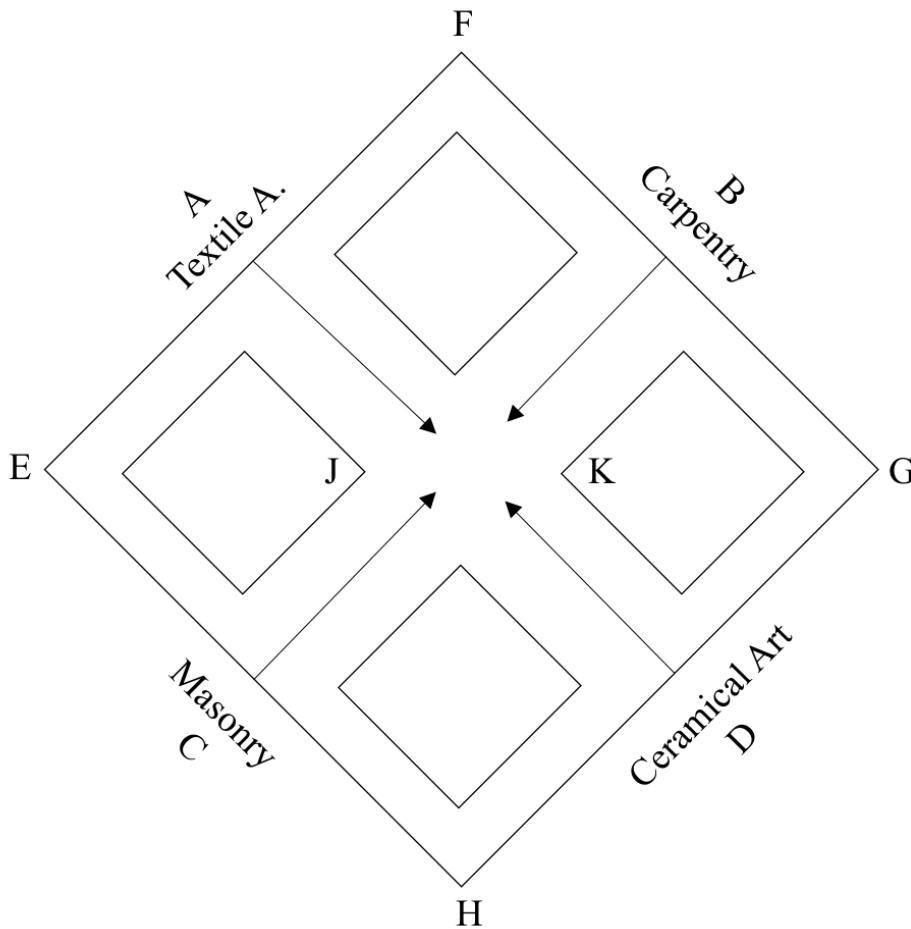
The Semperian ideal museum was a model in which forms were shaped by the rules observable through a promiscuous logic of materiality, holding within it both foundational technologies and objects that represented their divergent development in different forms of social life. As Semper noted:

Most of the productions of Art and Industry wear a Mixed Character, and are related to more than one of the above families. They must be placed and arranged together in the Collection so as to form the intermediate Members between the extremities or limits of the Collection, which are formed by the objects representing the pure fundamental motives.¹¹³

If the virtual space of *Pomegranates* was figured as an example of the Ideal Museum of materialism then it becomes apparent that the painted wooden cupboard which dominated Moore's composition performed a double service, being both representative of the 'fundamental motive' of carpentry and the focus of the exchange between the heterogeneous artefacts that were gathered around it. It was this *process* of exchange to which Moore's three figures attended so diligently and to which they drew the viewer's attention through their formal configuration. The visual genealogy of Moore's brightly-painted cabinet is therefore worth exploring in more detail. Moore's use of the cupboard or chest as a metaphor for the exploration of the decorative arts has interesting precedents; most proximately in an illustration to William Nesfield's recently-published *Specimens of*

¹¹² Ibid. p.55

¹¹³ Ibid. p.56.



- A. Textile Art (base of style),
- B. Carpentry Do
- C. Masonry Do
- D. Ceramical Art Do

F
G
H
I
J
K } Places for objects having different bases of style in Common Instances

Baskets belonging to A und D
Therefore to be classified at K

Mosaics belonging to A and C
Being imitations of Textile
Work executed with a system
of hard pieces, cut out of hard
materials therefore to be
placed at E

The roots or Fundamental Motives of all human Works are identical with the first Elements of human Industry, which are the same every where, namely

- (A) Twisting, Weaving and Spinning (production of thin and pliable tissues by Art)
- (B) Ceramical Art. Working out the forms in Soft Plastic Materials and hardening them afterwards
- (C) Carpenters Art. (combinations of bars into Systems of construction)
- (D) Masonry. (Cutting of hard Materials into given forms and combining small hard pieces into objects of construction.

Figure.1. Sketch Plan of the 'Ideal Museum', re-drawn from Gottfried Semper, *Practical Art in Metals*. See also [fig.24]

Medieval Furniture; Plate N^o 8, *Bayeux Cathedral Armoire in the Upper Sanctuary* [fig.25].

Moore had accompanied Nesfield to northern France in the summer of 1859 to research this work, and Asleson has suggested that the youth depicted considering the dark recesses of the Bayeux *armoire* may be a 'reminiscence of his travelling companion.'¹¹⁴ However, the conceit of the unpacked chest as a metaphor for the investigation of historical style also recalls the early work of Pugin: In 1831, aged 21 and at the very moment of his transition from precocious teenage Gothic decorator to archeologically-informed revivalist, Pugin had produced a folio of pen and ink drawings entitled *The Chest* [fig.26], a fantasised document of the imaginary examination of a collection of ecclesiastical objects in his favoured fifteenth-century idiom.¹¹⁵ While no connection between this obscure early folio and the depiction of the cupboard in Moore's picture can be proven, Pugin's work was entirely familiar to the Burges-Nesfield circle. Pugin was famously described by Charles Locke Eastlake in 1872 as the "one architect whose name marks an epoch in the history of British art", and was undoubtedly a talismanic figure for the closely-networked community of British Gothic Revival architects and designers. The intergenerational influence of the Pugin dynasty was also suggested by the title of Nesfield's 1862 *Specimens of Medieval Architecture* (for which Moore also provided illustrations) which recalled *Specimens of Gothic Architecture* by Pugin's father Augustus, published in 1825. It would therefore be consistent within the terms of this analysis to speculate that the book glimpsed within the cupboard might well be Pugin's *True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture* [fig.27], first published in 1841 in embossed green boards and gilt-edged leaves, and the source of the foundational propositions of the British Gothic Revival that there were "two great rules

¹¹⁴ Asleson, *Albert Moore*, p.27.

¹¹⁵ Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin, "The Chest," (Department of Prints and Drawings, Victoria and Albert Museum, 1832).

for design, (1st, that there should be no features about a building which are not necessary for convenience, construction, or propriety; 2nd, that all ornament should consist of enrichment of the essential construction of the building.)"¹¹⁶

As a piece of virtual furniture design, however, Moore's cupboard had little in common with the 'archaeological' revivalism of Pugin, Burges or Nesfield. Rather, the 'revealed' construction, the emphasis given to functional metalwork and the reeded treatment of the framing are characteristic stylistic features of contemporary 'Reformed Gothic' furniture which demonstrated the rationalization of the Puginian principles cited above for the contemporary domestic context by designers such as Bruce James Talbot and Charles Locke Eastlake, whose own manual of design, *Hints on Household Taste*, was then in preparation [fig.28]. The example of William Butterfield's work may also have been significant; in 1853 Butterfield had designed a quantity of children's furniture for a commission at Milton Ernest Hall, described as 'white with stripes and cinquefoil stars picked out in red'. According to Butterfield's biographer Paul Thompson, Moore's contemporary Philip Webb was familiar with this furniture.¹¹⁷

Despite its historicist references, Moore's cupboard was therefore an essentially contemporary object whose design acknowledged the diffusion of progressive principles from British architectural circles into the wider visual culture at the moment of *Pomegranates* production. A contemporary equivalent, and potential source, for the

¹¹⁶ *The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture, Set Forth in Two Lectures Delivered at St. Marie's Oscott* (London: John Weale, 1841), p.1.

¹¹⁷ See Jeremy Cooper, *Victorian and Edwardian Furniture and Interiors : From the Gothic Revival to Art Nouveau* ([London]: Thames and Hudson, 1987), p.79.

distinctive orange-red roundels on Moore's furniture panels also derived from the bureaucracy of the Department of Science and Art and was to be found in Christopher Dresser's 1862 *Art of Decorative Design* [fig.29].¹¹⁸ The derivation of the 'art botany' that Dresser taught at the Government School of Design in South Kensington has been usefully delineated in Barbara Whitney Keyser's genealogy of the 'indirect imitation of nature', a product of the 'hybrid of romantic nature aesthetics and a British tradition of practical Platonism'.¹¹⁹ In the period between its creation in 1853 to the International Exhibition of 1862, the Department of Science and Art had struggled to articulate its vision and to implement a programme of design training that might capitalize on the huge diplomatic and cultural *coup* represented by the Great Exhibition. However, during the 1860s Dresser synthesized many of the principles proposed in preceding decades by David Hay and Dresser's DSA colleagues Semper, Jones and Richard Redgrave into a systematic technical procedure for the geometric stylization of natural forms. Moore's ornaments were closely comparable with one of Dresser's key illustrations of the transformation of organic form into pattern, a diagram that abstracted the radial symmetry observed in spiral patterns of leaf development [fig.30]. The extent to which this example was appropriate to the specific botanic structure of the pomegranate plant is unclear, but Dresser's demonstration of the relationship between the naturalistic bough and the formalized description of spiral growth was clearly echoed by Moore's inclusion of both observed nature at top left and formalized pomegranate forms on the cupboard doors.

¹¹⁸ Christopher Dresser, *The Art of Decorative Design* (London: [s.n.], 1862), p.79.

¹¹⁹ Barbara Whitney Keyser, "Ornament as Idea: Indirect Imitation of Nature in the Design Reform Movement," *Journal of Design History* 11, no. 2 (1998), p.127.

The discussion of *Pomegranates* began by noting a cycle of agency, questioning and reflection occasioned by the task of *either* removing objects from, *or* replacing them into, Moore's stylistically *avant-garde* cupboard: Notwithstanding the critical opportunities made available by the preservation of this ambiguity, the destination of the objects does matter if the original didactic conception of Moore's image is to be recognised. An interpretation based on the conceit of discovery, such as that implied by Pugin's *Chest*, might suggest that structures of design theory, by revealing 'universal principles', would permit the enlightened viewer to perceive the historical artefact as a newly discovered object of contemplation, a position close to Walter Pater's dictum that "instruments of criticism may help us to gather up what might otherwise pass unregarded by us" thereby offering an expanded and unified horizon of comprehension as a basis for judgements of taste, a familiar trope of connoissuerial Aestheticism.¹²⁰ However, In *Wissenschaft, Industrie und Kunst*, (*Science, Industry and Art*), his famous 1852 pamphlet on the Great Exhibition, Semper had suggested a different and more radical discursive flow, that in which the "*process of disintegrating existing art types must be completed by industry, by speculation and by applied science before something good and new can result.*"¹²¹

If Moore's cupboard represented the didactic core of an imaginary museum, it may be proposed that its function was that of 'disintegrator'; the action depicted by the kneeling figure was comparable to that of charging of a kiln or the tending of an oven. For Semper, the arts of the past evidently needed to be thoroughly cooked, while for Moore,

¹²⁰ Walter Pater, *Studies in the History of the Renaissance* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1873), p.211-12

¹²¹ Semper, *The Four Elements of Architecture and Other Writings*, p.144.

preparations for feasting were a trope the ‘haze of carnival candles’, as he had wittily suggested in his 1863 designs for the *Dairy frieze* at Coombe Abbey [fig.31].

Reading the picture off against the Semperian theory of style, *Pomegranates* may be figured as a representation of the ‘ideal museum’ in action, a discursive space in which the foundational importance of technical and cultural *process* in generating the formulas of visual ‘style’ was elaborated. Far from representing archaeological anachronism or escapist reverie, the juxtapositions of Moore’s objects figured the longitudinal and transverse intertextuality of all ‘successful’ material culture.¹²² The formal logics of Classical, Renaissance, Gothic and Japanese art were intended to be seen as engaged within a system of universal meta-principles visually summarised by contemporary British furniture design. Within this schema Islamic art was apparently omitted from Moore’s material allegory, but was in fact another signpost to the picture’s meaning. Staley, puzzled by Moore’s choice of title, threw out the suggestion that as the pomegranate was a species of middle-eastern origin, Moore’s title might be an ‘orientalist’ reference.¹²³ Formalized pomegranate patterns were indeed one of the fundamental motifs of Persian textile design, circulated globally through international trade and reproduced countless times in Western European textiles from at least the fifteenth century onwards [fig.32]. In this context, it should be noted that the well-known *Pomegranate* or *Fruits* wallpaper [fig.33] designed by Morris also dates to 1865, its appearance almost simultaneous with Moore’s painting. In Moore’s picture, naturalistic pomegranates indeed sit in an oriental porcelain bowl, a conjoined sign for non-Western traditions in design. But Persian pomegranate-patterned textiles notably exhibited

¹²² See Owen Jones, *The Grammar of Ornament: Illustrated by Examples from Various Styles of Ornament*, 2 vols., vol. 1 Text (London: Day & Sons, 1856), pp.4-6.

¹²³ Staley, *The New Painting of the 1860s: Between the Pre-Raphaelites and the Aesthetic Movement*, p.129.

similar 'distanced imitation' of natural forms to those found in Dresser's art-botany, presumably suggesting to South Kensington theorists that the response to nature most recently rationalized by Dresser's scientific procedure had been empirically established in historical cultures that preceded the insights of Western idealism. In *Pomegranates*, the material cultures of the human past and present were about to be transformed once again in order to produce, in Semper's words, something 'good and new'. Far from representing an indolent Greco-Roman Idyll into which certain indulgent and anachronistic elements had strayed without apparent logic or purpose, the moment depicted was instead an image of technological accelerationism. Moore's three figures, tending their crucible of stylistic change, might therefore be read as the muses of Semper's museological project; allegorical representatives of History, Ethnography and Philosophy, or more simply as Science, Industry and Art, the unsentimental agents of an unrealized future style.

1.5 Conclusions

The iconographic reading of *Pomegranates* is proposed above as offering an equivalent of materials already visible Moore's *A Dancing Girl Resting* in a slightly later and more fully-articulated emblematic configuration. If *A Dancing Girl Resting* was indeed the pendant to the lost *A Girl Dancing*, then it seems plausible that a complimentary iconography in *A Girl Dancing* would have contextualised the depiction of a figure performing a 'Bacchic' dance, a motif commonly repeated in the works of British 'Phidian' painters such as Frederic Leighton, Lawrence Alma-Tadema and Edward Poynter over subsequent decades. Certainly,

the objects and surfaces brought together in *A Dancing Girl Resting* correspond to the Semperian programme described above. It is also significant that after Moore's abrupt turn from 'pseudo-French' realism to the principles of decorative art in 1864, his practice repeated this configuration of the sublimation of process (the passage from crafted object to ideal body) in works produced up until his death in 1893. The commitment to Moore's pictoriality also evident in Whistler's response in the *Six Projects* and *The Balcony* is well-established.¹²⁴ It is however, important to note Whistler's own proximity to the institutions from which Semper's description of stylistic change emerged.

Whistler himself had had privileged access to the Department of Science and Art through his brother-in-law Haden, who was professionally and socially closely connected to the DSA and offered Whistler several points of access to the institutional network of British design and decorative art: Haden was a close friend of Cole, physician to the Cole family¹²⁵ and from 1852-69 was the official surgeon to the DSA and a Juror for both the Great Exhibition and the International Exhibition, in both events having responsibility for the subclass of surgical instruments. Living in Sloane Street, Haden lived close to the museum and technical education district of 'South Kensington' then under construction as the legacy of the 1851 exhibition.

By the mid-1850s, when Whistler arrived in London on his way to begin life as an art student in Paris, the Cole's Department of Science and Art had already brought together its coterie

¹²⁴ Ibid. p.175.

¹²⁵ Robin Spencer, "Whistler's Early Relations with Britain and the Significance of Industry and Commerce for His Art. Part I," *The Burlington Magazine* 136, no. 1093 (1994), p.224.

of experts in architecture, science and technology (included Jones, Semper, Richard Burchett, Richard Redgrave, Dresser and Matthew Digby Wyatt) based on the original organising executive of the Great Exhibition of 1851.¹²⁶ The Great Exhibition had demonstrated the potential of the interdisciplinary exchange and co-operation later enshrined in the name of the 'Department of Science and Art' and, as Roger Taylor (2007) has identified, the notion of 'working in union' had become something of a catch-phrase for both Cole's activities at the Society of Arts and the Department of Science and Art in the years that followed 1851.¹²⁷ Most of members of Cole's circle were polymaths; trained as architects but fluent as theorists, historians, educators and publicists for their ideas. Haden himself demonstrated these broad interests; a leading surgeon, a notable etcher and an important connoisseur who was also involved in the public dissemination of knowledge through his involvement with the Commissioners of the 1851 exhibition. The model of multi-faceted creativity suggested by the South Kensington network was evidently of interest to Whistler, who had already constructed his own professional identity in notably polyvalent terms in Paris and whose childhood experience and family background had been shaped by a similar technocratic culture through his father's involvement in military engineering and railway-building.

This investigation began by suggesting that Whistler's statement in support of Moore and against Legros might be regarded as a discursive 'object', the close examination of which would reveal relationships to issues of principle within the wider discourse of the

¹²⁶ Jeffrey A. Auerbach, *The Great Exhibition of 1851: A Nation on Display* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1999), p.124.

¹²⁷ Roger Taylor and Larry J. Schaaf, *Impressed by Light: British Photographs from Paper Negatives, 1840-1860* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art; Washington: National Gallery of Art; New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2007), p.47.

Société des trois. Such a reading was intended to clarify the relationship between the stylistic genealogies concurrently visible in the works of Legros and Moore and to identify an iconography that might be secured as a pictorial manifestation of the *dispositif* of industrial art. Describing the stylistic boundary between the closely contemporary works of the two painters suggests that their practices apparently converged in 1864-65, but that Moore's practice, which Whistler evidently esteemed very highly from 1865 until his own death in 1903, quickly moved towards an allegorical exposition of Semperian principles of stylistic change, while Legros, by invoking a 'heroic' atemporal masculinity, increasingly sought solutions closer to conventional conceptions of the *tableau*. There is, underlying these apparently contrasting developmental narratives, a significant territory of conceptual correspondence. As previously noted, Legros's early painting - before the second *Le Lutrin* - was described by Fried as suggesting 'radical incompleteness' while Dutta, whose work offers so many useful insights on South Kensington, considers that a key aim of the industrial art *dispositif* was 'the perpetuation of the moment of process'.¹²⁸ The context of Whistler's proposed 'turn to the decorative' in 1865 brings these formulations into proximity in ways that allow them to be seen as complimentary perspectives on a single phenomenon.

Extending this figure only slightly, the stakes of Whistler's choice become coherent; by abandoning 'radical incompleteness', the second *Le Lutrin* seemed to propose a premature and anachronistic formulation of style. Conversely, the iconography of Moore's allegories celebrated the perpetual moment of process, repeatedly re-imagining the optimum

¹²⁸ Dutta, *The Bureaucracy of Beauty: Design in the Age of Its Global Reproducibility*, p.5.

preconditions for stylistic change in 'virtual spaces' that combined the functions of 'dancing floors', 'artificer's workshops' and other heterotopic, visionary environments. With this interpretation in mind, it is striking that Whistler first connected Moore with the *Société des trois's* 'race' for innovation at the very moment Moore formulated his didactic articulation of South Kensington's principles of stylistic change. The attractions of industrial arts theory for Whistler were, hypothetically, considerable: South Kensington's exposition of the relationship between technologies, forms of social life and style offered a clear set of principles with which to approach the problematics of a 'real art of the nineteenth-century'. Semper's emphasis on technological processes, and especially his close attention to the moment of symbolic transformation within such processes, suggested the possibility of procedures that would offer 'predicative systemacity' to the problem of the Realist *tableau*, and that would move painting beyond the binarism of '*classiques et romantiques*', a debate that had anyway been forcefully silenced by the *Exposition des Beaux-Arts* in 1855. Indeed, the British Department of Science and Art's institutional aim of 'perpetuating' the agency of process stood in contrast both to the French *Académie's* dependence on the mechanistic formalisation of earlier historical processes *and* to Realism's resort to an alternative historicism in Dutch and Spanish art, strategies that in Semperian terms could only ever reproduce earlier configurations of technology and culture. Bourdieu has also noted the emergence of this 'third position', which he described as the art of a 'double-rupture' from both academic and realist traditions evident amongst the *avant-garde* generation that succeeded Courbet in the 1860s.¹²⁹

¹²⁹ Pierre Bourdieu, *The Rules of Art* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1996), pp.77-81.

This is not an interpretation of Whistler or the 'Generation of 1863' that has been offered before, and at this point these propositions derive only from a reading of two works produced by Legros and Moore over a few months in 1865. If Whistler was indeed proposing that the *Société des trois* should ascribe to a Semperian conception of stylistic change in 1865, the discursive field from which Semper's statements emerged must also be mapped from other viewpoints. The overarching question raised by the identifications of an 'industrial arts discourse' remains that articulated by Karl Mannheim: *whose reorientation* rendered the *Société* alert to this ideology?¹³⁰ To answer this question the successions, reciprocities and institutional affiliations reflected in the statements of the *Société des trois* must be further examined, in order to establish how shared iconographic and formal attention to industrial art might be recognised beyond the presence or absence of Fried's 'radical incompleteness', and to investigate the force these materials brought to bear in shaping pictoriality or 'style' within progressive practices.

¹³⁰ Mannheim, Kecskemeti, and Manheim, *Essays on the Sociology of Culture ... Edited by Ernest Manheim in Cooperation with Paul Kecskemeti*, p.33.

Chapter Two

Producing Incongruity: Two paintings and 'anti-objective' photography in 1859

2.1 Realism at the *Salon* of 1859

The significance of the *Salon* of 1859 in the canonical history of French painting has generally been defined in two ways. Chronologically the event has been understood to occur midway between the *Exposition Universelle* of 1855 and the *Salon* (and *Salon des Refuses*) of 1863, events recognised by contemporaries as representing significant shifts in the development of the visual arts in nineteenth-century France. The 1859 exhibition is also closely associated with Baudelaire's *Salon* de 1859, the series of articles published in *La Revue française* in which he presented an extended theoretical defence of Delacroix culminating in the famous proposition of Imagination as 'la reine des faculties' and within which he denounced the relationship between photography and contemporary painting in terms that, within the modern history of photography, have come to stand as evidence of the reactionary rejection of industrial image-making, a position paradoxically ascribed to the *Académie des Beaux-Arts* and to Baudelaire himself in a seemingly unlikely alliance of official and dissident positions.

That the Paris *Salons* of the late 1850s permitted an informed audience to perceive the future direction of French art was widely accepted by contemporary writers from across the

critical spectrum. The Realist critic Jules-Antoine Castagnary asserted that 1857 “marks the precise point that separates an elapsed period from a nascent period”.¹³¹ Eugène Fromentin identified the emergence of a new ‘mixed’ painting “between genre and landscape” and urged the regime’s “official art critic” Théophile Gautier to emphasize practices “whose value has been recognized unfortunately late”.¹³² In turn, Gautier singled out Jean-Léon Gérôme, whom he had considered in 1855 “deserves first place amongst the new generation” as the exemplar of an officially-sanctioned realism informed by “the ethnographic sensibility of the modern painter”.¹³³

As James Kearns has convincingly argued, Gautier, writing in the government journal *Le Moniteur Universel*, (therefore, if not acting as the regime’s mouthpiece certainly reflecting an officially-approved position) identified a group of academic painters whose practices aligned with the need of the state to reconcile the authority of the academy with the materialist instincts of the public. The favoured painters of the rising generation in 1859 were Gérôme, Ernest Hébert, Paul-Jacques-Aimé Baudry, Alfred de Curzon and William-Adolphe Bouguereau. All were alumni of the academic system, were winners of the Prix de Rome, had previously been patronized by the state and were socially connected to the formal and informal cultural institutions of the regime. Central to Gautier’s analysis was the increasing centrality of historical genre painting, a category, that as Kearns put it

¹³¹ Jules Antoine Castagnary and Séraphin Eugène Spuller, *Salons, 1857-1870. Avec Une Préface De Eugène Spuller, Etc*, five vols., vol. 1 (Paris, 1892), p.12.

¹³² Théophile Gautier, "Letter 2641 (7 May 1859)," in *Correspondance Générale*, ed. C Lacoste-Veysseyre (Geneva: Droz, 1992), p.127.

¹³³ *Exposition De 1859*, ed. Wolfgang; Reicher Drost, Ulrike (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1992), p.10.

had the advantage of combining the prestige and formal practices of history painting with the accessible narratives of genre which relieved the spectator of the obligation to address the abstract and supposedly universal truths which history painting had always claimed as its special province.¹³⁴

The policy, with which Gérôme's *Ave, César imperator* (1859) [fig.34] conformed, has been described by Boime as "a subtle conspiracy organised by the Bonapartist regime to fashion a visual style appropriate to its ideological position." Boime makes a convincing argument for the proposition that the "Second Empire's official taste was predominantly realist" and goes on to state that:

Louis-Napoleon, both as prince-president and as emperor, fostered this official style in several ways. He and his administration won over a younger generation of academically-trained painters, encouraged the rise of alternative realist styles to rival the radical tendencies, and, through *Salon* criticism and high influence, managed to blunt and neutralise the realist style of the Left. The Bonapartist government aimed at a consensus realism, which meant forcing concessions from both the Academy and the painters perceived as leftists. By making academic models conform to new molds and progressive tendencies conform to traditional ones, the administration succeeded in establishing what we may call an "official realism".¹³⁵

Boime's position is supported by other scholars, notably Kearns and Patricia Mainardi, that suggests that the key objectives of this cultural policy were to neutralise the association in the visual arts between the Revolutionary government of April-July 1848 with the leftist

¹³⁴ Kearns, "The Official Line? Academic Painting in Gautier's Salon of 1859," p.288.

¹³⁵ Albert Boime, *Art in an Age of Civil Struggle, 1848-1871* (Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press ; Bristol : University Presses Marketing [distributor], 2007), p.577.

realism of Courbet and Millet, and to de-politicise the stylistic partisanship of the July Monarchy, characterised by the association of the *Classique-Romantique* schism of the 1820s with Orleanist and Legitimist sympathies.¹³⁶ Prince Napoleon's address, given at the opening of the *Palais des Beaux Arts* in 1855, had made the diagnostic intention of the fine art exhibition explicit: The Emperor's nephew stated that

In the arts as in all manifestations of intelligence and progress, it is useful at certain times to retrace one's steps, to measure the ground covered, to compare the present to the past, so that we can better understand where we have come from and where we are going and prepare more confidently the ground for the future.¹³⁷

It is now widely accepted that the exhibition of pictures held within the *Paris Exposition Universelle* of 1855 deliberately made visible several important developments in the historical situation of French painting. Mainardi has argued that Napoleon III's regime reconciled contradictory previously antagonistic aesthetic and political positions under an officially-sanctioned policy of 'eclecticism' and rewarded the publically-recognised leaders of the major recent trends in art with medals at the close of the *Exposition*, an abrogation of preference that 'outraged' the more conservative academicians. Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres, Delacroix, Horace Vernet and Alexandre-Gabriel Decamps were also acknowledged by the state in retrospective exhibitions that isolated their works from those of their contemporaries. The exhibitions of Ingres and Delacroix intentionally historicised the stylistic and political schisms between 'Classicism' and 'Romanticism' that had dominated

¹³⁶ See Kearns, "The Official Line? Academic Painting in Gautier's Salon of 1859," pp. 283-298.

¹³⁷ Patricia Mainardi, *Art and Politics of the Second Empire: The Universal Expositions of 1855 and 1867* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1987), p.66.

cultural debates from the 1820's until the appearance of Courbet's pictorial Realism at the *Salons* of the early 1850s, and as Mainardi, Francis Frascina and Anne McCauley have argued, the narrative of individualism suggested by these displays would shape a new critical focus on authorial identity in painting. The 'positivist, scientific and industrialist proclivities of the regime' placed the *Académie des Beaux-Arts* under further pressure in 1855 by applying the logic of Liberal capitalism to the cultural sphere; although French decorative art had proved its primacy in the international environment of 1851, the same test had not yet been applied to French painting, and direct comparison served to relativize the Académie's claims of national cultural exceptionalism. The substance of the Bonapartist state's imposition of a new 'official style' became increasingly visible at the Salons of 1857 and 1859, and in this context the regime's choice to relocate the biannual Salon from the Louvre to the Palais de l'Industrie is perhaps even more significant than has been generally acknowledged. The decision in 1859 to attempt the inclusion of photography within the remit of the event was another development consistent with a project to modernise high culture in line with the Utilitarian instincts of Napoleon III's senior bureaucrats. The Salon of 1857 offered the first opportunity to assess the extent to which the *Exposition Universelle* had successfully disrupted the continuities of academic dogma, and it became clear that both the state and the public were turning away from the conventional religious and mythological depictions of history painting and towards the representation of the material world and the psychological truth of human relationships, matters for which the devalued subject categories of 'genre' and landscape painting were ideal vehicles.

The direction of travel implied by the *Exposition Universelle* and Salon of 1857 - official tolerance of stylistic heterogeneity together with the re-description of the masters of the

post-Napoleonic period as ‘historical’ entities - had indeed created a discursive space within which new pictorial responses to demands for self-representation by both the state and the bourgeois public might be proposed. It was into this space that the three members of the *Société des trois* submitted their début works in 1859. Legros, who had already exhibited his *Portrait de M. L...* (1857) at the Salon of 1857, submitted only the genre painting *L’Angélu* (1859) [fig.35], while Fantin-Latour sent a genre painting, *Les Deux Sœurs*, (1859) [fig.36] and a self-portrait [fig.37]. Whistler also submitted a genre painting; *At the Piano* (1859) [fig.38], his portrait of *La Mère Gérard* [fig.39], (1858-9) and two etchings, *La Marchande de Moutarde* and *Portrait de femme*, now better known as *Fumette* [fig.40]. Only Legros’s *L’Angélu* and Whistler’s etchings were accepted by the Salon Jury. These were all ‘realist’ subjects – Legros’s *L’Angélu* and Whistler’s *La Mère Gérard* gave accounts of the physical appearance of the urban underclass (as did Manet’s *Beuveur d’absinthe* [fig.41]) while Fantin’s *Les Deux Sœurs* and Whistler’s *At the Piano* were depictions of bourgeois female interactions in interior spaces evoked through sparse but socially-specific details.

A comparison of the three genre paintings presented by the *Société des trois* immediately suggests a pattern of visual correspondences and paradoxical differences within this network of subject-matter that, while revealing an intertextual dialogue, proposes no immediate form of continuity; *Les Deux Sœurs* depicted a similar subject of bourgeois domesticity to *At the Piano*, but *L’Angélu* described public space and working-class bodies. Yet *L’Angélu* was painted on a canvas of nearly identical dimensions to *At the Piano* and offered a similar construction of pictorial space, neither of which were adopted in the much larger and more tightly-cropped *Les Deux Sœurs*. Further, Whistler’s *At the Piano* will be

shown in this chapter to have been researched and conceived in London and then painted in Paris, while both *L'Angélu* and *Les Deux Sœurs* were entirely Parisian constructions.

The stylistic basis for an association between the pictures of the *Société des trois* and the pictorial Realism of Bonvin and Courbet with which they sought comparison was most evident in their treatment of genre, which appeared to follow the procedures developed by older Realists who demonstrated an ideologically-justified preference for 'non-Italian' models. In Realist literature and painting popular manners and customs were conventionally the material of a call to Republican order in the face of increasing inequalities of wealth and morality, and were therefore the material of history, and examples of peasant genre from the national 'schools' of France, Flanders, Holland and Spain were regarded as especially appropriate models for the dignified representation of subaltern social groups or individuals. By 1859, allusion to such sources was a well-established procedure in Realist practice, but the subject-matter of the *Société des trois's* genre paintings diverged in significant ways from earlier Realist tropes. The paintings of the *Société* addressed subject-matter that did not easily conform to the ethical assumptions of French 'Leftist' Realism.¹³⁸ Their largely sympathetic depictions of haute-bourgeois or reactionary subjects such as the privileged world of middle-class domestic interiors depicted by Whistler, or Legros's sardonic representation of urban working-class women submitting to the inertia of peasant custom, sat uncomfortably with the deeply rooted Realist valorisation of *Le Peuple* as a cultural bulwark against the vested interests of both capital and Royalist 'superstition'.

¹³⁸ Stephen Eisenman, "The Rhetoric of Realism: Courbet and the Origins of the Avant-Garde," in *Nineteenth-Century Art: A Critical History*, ed. Stephen Eisenman (New York; London: Thames and Hudson, 1994), pp.212-220.

The established relations between the tradition of genre painting and Realism can be understood within the framework provided by Petra ten-Doesschate Chu's authoritative study of 1977. Chu argued that the example of Dutch genre painting to French Realist artists was significantly complicated by the issue that there 'were several realist genre schools that could play the same part', and that Dutch models were commonly elided with the national traditions of Flemish realism and the historical Spanish interest in materiality within religious painting and portraiture. Chu traced the roots of 'bourgeois genre' pictures such as *At the Piano* not primarily to Dutch 'Golden Age' paintings, but to a split in eighteenth-century French genre painting between the 'elegant genre' of Jean-Antoine Watteau, François Boucher and Jean-Honoré Fragonard and the tradition of Jean-Baptiste-Siméon Chardin, Nicolas-Bernard Lépicié and Jean-Baptiste Greuze which depicted 'the daily life of the bourgeoisie'; French 'bourgeois' genre persisted into the Restoration, when a second modification occurred in which the *function* of genre was taken up by satirical prints while its *forms* were appropriated by historical genre and orientalist painters.¹³⁹

However, Chu points out that French Romantic painting frequently elided Dutch realism with aspects of historical Spanish works, a shift in which the example of Louis-Phillipe's *Musée espagnol* had played a central part. The creation of the *Galerie Espagnole* at the Louvre by Louis Philippe in 1838 had brought hundreds of Spanish pictures to the attention of the Parisian public, building on French painters' previous awareness of a distinctive 'Spanish School' at least since the Napoleonic occupation of Spain at the beginning of the

¹³⁹ Petra ten-Doesschate Chu, *French Realism and the Dutch Masters: The Influence of Dutch Seventeenth-Century Painting on the Development of French Painting between 1830 and 1870* (Utrecht: Haentjens Dekker & Gumbert, 1974), pp.32-33.

century. The collection of Spanish painting purchased in the mid-1830s by Baron Taylor on behalf of Louis Philippe was somewhat unbalanced; a large number of paintings acquired were then thought to be by Zurbarán, while Ribera, Bartolomé Esteban Murillo and Diego Velasquez were comparatively under-represented in French collections, a bias that was inevitably reflected in French interpretations of Spanish painting.¹⁴⁰ Critics such as Gautier, Thoré-Burger and Laverdant all identified qualities of naturalism tending towards the brutal or barbaric, absence of anecdote and broad facture as the dominant characteristics of Spanish art, criteria based mainly on their observation of the religious paintings of the *Galerie Espagnole*, and all considered the same vigorous naturalism to be equally applicable to modern painting.¹⁴¹ Contemporary French painters might be associated with the available Spanish examples; for instance Jules Ziegler was considered “the head of a Franco-Spanish school bound to do well” in 1838 on the basis of such comparisons.¹⁴² This chapter will proceed by re-considering the art-historical sources for *L’Angélu* proposed within previous artwriting, particularly the interpretation of *L’Angélu* as primarily an allusion to the style of fifteenth-century devotional art that was initiated by Baudelaire’s comment that the picture evoked the ‘ardent *naïvité* of the primitives’.¹⁴³ It will be argued that the allusions to past painting proposed by earlier scholarship fail to offer a sufficient explanation for some of the picture’s most striking visual characteristics.

¹⁴⁰ See Jeannine Baticle, *The Galerie Espagnole of Louis-Phillippe*, in Gary Tinterow and Genevieve Lacambre, *Manet/Velasquez: The French Taste for Spanish Painting* (New York; New Haven; London: Metropolitan Museum of Art; Yale University Press, 2003), pp.175-189.

¹⁴¹ See Stéphane Guégan, *From Ziegler to Courbet: Painting, Art Criticism, and the Spanish Trope under Louis-Phillippe*, in *ibid.* p.191.

¹⁴² *Ibid.* p.192.

¹⁴³ Charles Baudelaire and Jonathan Mayne, *Art in Paris, 1845-1862: Salons and Other Exhibitions Reviewed by Charles Baudelaire* ([London]: Phaidon, 1965), p.165.

2.2. *L'Angélu*: Industrial Art and “la pensée populaire”

L'Angélu has long held significance both as the first of Legros's extended series of archaizing religious genre scenes and as a work that bridges the foundational Realist practice of Courbet and the pictures of the group which Fried termed the 'Generation of 1863'. Previous interpretations of the picture, notably the formal-iconographic scholarship of Gabriel Weisberg and Linda Nochlin, were extensively shaped by Baudelaire's account of *L'Angélu* from his *Salon de 1859*, in which *L'Angélu* was presented as an account of authentic popular belief – the “moral grandeur” of working class piety. These values were relayed, Baudelaire explained, by the formal organization of the picture, its power to recall “ardent naïvité of the primitives” However, the primitives that *L'Angélu* invoked were a different historical resource to the Dutch and Spanish models popular amongst Legros's Realist colleagues: The rigid and planar disposition of figures with their sharply-angled draperies suggested allusion to late Gothic religious painting. As Alex Seltzer noted in his 1988 article *Alphonse Legros: Waiting for the Ax to Fall*, Hugo van de Goes's *Monforte Altarpiece* (c.1470) [fig.42] might have been the prototype to which Baudelaire referred.¹⁴⁴ But Seltzer challenged the assumptions of Legros's recourse to the 'archive'; not only was the *Monforte Altarpiece* was not available to Legros in 1859 (although a copy then in Antwerp may have been) but that Legros's pictorial models were more likely to have been appropriated from *modern* works by the 'Pre-Rubensist' Belgian artists of the Antwerp School, painters such as Hendrik Leys, Edouard Hamman and Charles de Groux. Seltzer noted the extremely close correspondences between motifs found in contemporary Belgian

¹⁴⁴ Seltzer, "Alphonse Legros: Waiting for the Ax to Fall," p.41.

historical genre paintings and those seen in Legros's early practice, suggesting that the archaism visible in Legros's work was substantially a reproduction of a recent Belgian response to early Netherlandish Painting. *L'Angélu*s therefore adopted a 'modern-Flemish' construction of archaism rather than an unmediated reference to a past historical style.

Baudelaire's ascription of primitivism to *L'Angélu*s occurred within, and was partially intended to support, a 'physiological' reading of the picture; one that referred to the taxonomy of social types reproduced in the popular press as 'physiologies'. This ephemeral form of social commentary had been drawn into Realist discourse first by Stendhal's *Le Rouge et Le Noir* (1830) and most notably in Honoré de Balzac's panoramic *La Comédie humaine* (1830-42). Like the authors of the essays that were the preferred form of the *physiologies*, Baudelaire introduced Legros's contemporary social 'types' to his readers through their relationship to commodities, gathering in the material details of *L'Angélu*s; "their velvets, cottons, chintzes and prints [...] their clogs and umbrellas [...] vulgar accessories", and organizing these observations as symptomatic of a wider social milieu (the "look of the village", "this complete little world", the "poor faubourg-dweller"). It was a strategy that echoed his own model, described in the first section of Salon de 1859, of the imaginary 'German peasant's' requirement that his portrait should be a picture that communicated an imaginative extension of his painted material representation through a materialist iconographic programme.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴⁵ Baudelaire and Mayne, *Art in Paris, 1845-1862: Salons and Other Exhibitions Reviewed by Charles Baudelaire* p.149.

Alongside their appropriation into the Realist novel, the *physiologies* had acquired a much wider degree of social and critical esteem in the early 1840s, when expensively-produced and bound compendia of physiologies were produced to meet the tastes of the affluent bourgeois domestic reader. *Les Français peints par eux-mêmes*, (published in Paris by Léon Curmer between 1840-42) [fig.43] and *Le Diable à Paris* (published in Paris by Hetzel between 1845- 1846) [fig.44] offered essays by respected authors accompanied by illustrations commissioned from leading exponents of lithography, such as Daumier, Monnier and Garvani. In 1939, in *The Paris of the Second Empire* in Baudelaire, Walter Benjamin had described these luxury *physiologies* as “the salon attire of a literature that was basically designed to be sold on the street”; essentially an industrial form of publishing masquerading as ‘art’.¹⁴⁶ The specific social types depicted by Legros corresponded closely to depictions found amongst the plates of such publications, usefully indexing Baudelaire’s metonymic identifications against a pre-existing bourgeois discourse of physiological description.

The central figure of *L’Angélu*, from whom all the other individuals in the picture were calibrated in their degrees of difference, was therefore clearly identifiable as a member of the Parisian working-class community: The plates of *Les Français peints par eux-mêmes* suggested that Legros was depicting a woman socially equivalent to ‘La Halle’ [fig.45a], ‘La Femme de Ménage’ [fig.45b] or ‘La Portiere’ [fig.45c] while a similar vignette in *Le Diable à Paris* identified a representative of the ‘*petits métiers*’, an opportunist or semi-skilled worker or trader who survived at the economic fringes of contemporary Parisian society

¹⁴⁶ Walter Benjamin and Michael William Jennings, *The Writer of Modern Life: Essays on Charles Baudelaire* (Cambridge, Mass. ; London: Belknap, 2006), p.67.

[fig.46]. Although this female body might therefore easily have been read by bourgeois viewers as a thoroughly urban type, Baudelaire described the collection of figures in *L'Angélu*s successively as simultaneously 'of the village', of 'from our great cities' and from the 'faubourg'.¹⁴⁷ This fluidity of cultural identities between urban and rural settings echoed a conventional perception of popular physiological literature; that modern society was witnessing a progressive breakdown of the barriers between country and city and throwing up new social identities in which the traditional and the immediate co-existed in novel ways. This dialogue between country and city was a key area of investigation for Courbet and his circle and it was a widely-held Realist assumption that contemporary reality was historically momentous and that the identities of anonymous individual were synecdoche of the socio-political form of modern life. *Le peuple*, popular manners and customs were the material of history. The Realist literary interest in the popular constituted a historical anthropology of the working classes. Such connections between the physiologies and Realist painting have long been recognised, a genealogy adequately indicated by Lauren Weingarden's 2013 article *Imaging and Imagining the French Peasant; Gustave Courbet and Rural Physiologies*. Weingarden notes the historiography of physiognomic reference in Meyer Shapiro and in Nochlin's attention to Courbet's "use of popular imagery" but proposed to go "beyond iconographic analyses to demonstrate Courbet's participation in the *word-and-image dynamic* that characterises *Les Français* publications", a boundary that might plausibly be described as a parallel encounter between a pre-industrial 'representative' form and the *dispositif* of industrial art represented by print media.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁷ Baudelaire and Mayne, *Art in Paris, 1845-1862: Salons and Other Exhibitions Reviewed by Charles Baudelaire*, p.164.

¹⁴⁸ Lauren Weingarden, "Imaging and Imagining the French Peasant: Gustave Courbet and Rural Physiologies," *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide* 12, no. 1 (2013) p.1. (NS italics). pp.1-2

Physiological viewing offered an account of social change observed from elsewhere, and was closely aligned with the Romantic view that the authentic values and traditions of the countryside were in danger of disappearing in modernity. Max Buchon and Pierre Dupont had introduced Champfleury (Jules Fleury-Husson) to the study of this vulnerable popular culture around 1848-50. Unlike the more conservative commentators amongst the Romantic 'Generation of 1830', Champfleury argued that the pre-industrial rural cultures of France were resilient in the face of change, organic and able to adapt to new circumstances while preserving their essential qualities, or else concerned with such matters as love and marriage that provided social continuity even in times of political and economic upheaval. In 1860, he addressed the breakdown of the barriers between country and city in the context of popular song, pointing out that:

The peasants sing all the love-songs of the towns, and by a peculiar balance, the town-dwellers are thirsty for peasant songs. The one is after a taste of the sugary fruits of civilization, the other, bored by civilization, longs to refresh itself by consuming the green fruits of the countryside.¹⁴⁹

Champfleury saw certain advantages in this situation: the taste for regional rural culture might revive metropolitan artists, and it was possible that popular imagery could be modernised as a resource for a contemporary literary culture. Champfleury's scholarly study of popular visual forms such as woodblock prints and regional ceramics were similarly grounded in his belief in their value in reinvigorating contemporary art. Baudelaire freely

¹⁴⁹ Amal Asfour, *Champfleury: Meaning In the Popular Arts in Nineteenth-Century France*, vol. 367, European University Studies Series (Frankfurt am Main, New York, Oxford: Peter Lang, 2001), p.51.

acknowledged Champfleury as the driving force behind Realist painting: “In the case of Courbet, he’s the Machiavelli to this Borgia, in the historical sense of *Michelet*.”¹⁵⁰

Baudelaire’s writing about *L’Angélu*s certainly addressed the stoicism of the urban poor and the consolations of Catholic ritual and popular custom rhetorically, rehearsing the conventional view of popular culture as the repository of patient and enduring belief largely untouched by urbanization or market forces. But Baudelaire’s “Champfleuryian” statement of the virtues of proletarian conservatism and the comforts of organized religion nonetheless seem somewhat ingenuous for a writer so doggedly contrarian and, in other contexts, so unsentimental about both his own interior life and that of the Parisian underclass. But although Baudelaire appeared to offer a conciliatory interpretation of *L’Angélu*s, his writing also contained direction to his readers concerning other dynamics of legibility in Legros’s image:

He [M. C—, Baudelaire’s companion while viewing *L’Angélu*s] was evidently subject to that French mood, that fear of being made a dupe, and which was most cruelly satirised by the French writer who was himself most singularly obsessed by it. Nevertheless, the spirit of the true critic, like the spirit of the true poet, should be open to every beauty; it’s just as easy for him to enjoy the dazzling grandeur of Caesar in triumph and the grandeur of a poor *faubourien* on his knees in the presence of his God.¹⁵¹

¹⁵⁰ Crépet and Pichois, *Œuvres Complètes De Charles Baudelaire*, Juvenilia, Œuvres posthumes, Reliquiæ. II, p.823-824.

¹⁵¹ Baudelaire and Mayne, *Art in Paris, 1845-1862: Salons and Other Exhibitions Reviewed by Charles Baudelaire*, P.164. Mayne’s translations have been modified to clarify their argument. ‘Il obéissait évidemment à cette humeur française qui craint surtout d’être dupe, et qu’a si cruellement raillée l’écrivain français qui en était le plus singulièrement obsédé. Cependant l’esprit du vrai critique, comme l’esprit du vrai poète, doit être ouvert à toutes les beautés; avec la même facilité il jouit de la grandeur éblouissante de César triomphant et de la grandeur du pauvre habitant des faubourgs incliné sous le regard de son Dieu.’

Baudelaire here opposed conventional physiological reading to a 'true spirit' of criticism. Those subject to the 'fear above all of being made a dupe' could not read such images rightly precisely because response to works like *L'Angélu*s required the viewer to deploy a universal standard of criticism that separated subject-matter from formal interests, to perceive a system of value that underpinned both the grandeur of Caesar and the grandeur of popular piety. Baudelaire's assertion that physiological viewing duped its audience once again anticipates Benjamin, who discusses the *physiologies* as "from the ground up" a petty-bourgeois exposition of contemporary society. For Benjamin, the true function of the *physiologies* was to help the bourgeoisie to negotiate the unknowability of the strangers against whom they might be thrown in the urban environment by presenting them within a legible taxonomy of the social order, a development Benjamin argued was presented by publishers "as a gift which the good fairy lays in the cradle of the big city dweller".¹⁵² Benjamin further explained that an initial, hopelessly affable model of social 'types' was too implausible to be effective and was soon modified by recourse to a vulgarised version of the eighteenth-century pseudo-science of Physiognomy derived from the work of Johann Kaspar Lavater. The vulgarisation of eighteenth-century Lavaterian physiognomy both refined and complicated the affordances of the *physiologies*; *physiology* might make the matrix of class identity available, but *physiognomy* promised to make the sincerity of strangers visible. Thus refined, *physiologies* became a popular, flexible and totalizing tool for the bourgeois city-dweller, promising to decode both the complexities of the social hierarchy and the relations of interpersonal power in an urban commodity culture. The *physiologies* were therefore a self-imposed and self-referential cognitive technology that in

¹⁵² Benjamin and Jennings, *The Writer of Modern Life: Essays on Charles Baudelaire*, p.70.

Benjamin's words 'constituted the blinkers of the 'narrow minded city animal' and naturalised the immiserated condition of the working class and rural peasantry within conventional narratives of eccentricity or simplicity.¹⁵³ Despite their bourgeois materiality and totalising intentions, the *physiologies* also constituted a coded substitute for political commentary, becoming a form that aped the light comedy of the *feuilleton* to move public political discourse away from the boulevards and into new private (or phantasmagoric) spaces by celebrating local cultural resistances to the social homogenization of consumer capitalism. Citing Eduard Fuchs, Benjamin further pointed out that the beginnings of the *physiologies* coincided with the Laws of September 1835 that 'summarily forced out of politics an array of capable artists with a background in satire'.¹⁵⁴

The notion that physical appearance and religious faith each reconnected the female subject with their place in an enduring rural social order certainly appeared to be echoed by the 'Champfleuryian' reading of *L'Angélu*. But Baudelaire had also suggested that physiological reading on its own was a solipsistic and incomplete critical strategy. 'True criticism' required the viewer to maintain two registers of attention to representation simultaneously; an 'inner standing point' that Baudelaire encoded within an allusion to the British eighteenth-century satirist Lawrence Sterne:

By a mysterious association of ideas which subtle wits will understand, the grotesquely-attired child who is awkwardly twisting his cap in the temple of God made me think of Sterne's donkey and the macaroons. The donkey's comic appearance while eating a cake does nothing to diminish

¹⁵³ Ibid. p.69.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid. p.67.

the feeling of compassion we feel when we see the miserable slave of the farm receiving a few dainties at the hand of the philosopher.¹⁵⁵

Baudelaire here referred to the literary trope known as ‘Sterne’s Macaroons’ found in *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy* (1759–67): Sterne’s protagonist encountered an ass in the stable-yard of an inn and declaring himself sympathetic to asses as a species, engaged the beast in playful conversation. Shandy noticed that the ass was eating the stem of an artichoke – ‘as bitter as soot’ – and suggested to the ass that he ‘hast not a friend perhaps in all this world, that will give thee a macaroon’.

In saying this, I pull’d out a paper of ’em, which I had just purchased, and gave him one – and at this moment that I am telling it, my heart smites me, that there was more of pleasantry in the conceit, of seeing how an ass would eat a macaroon – than of benevolence in giving him one, which presided in the act.¹⁵⁶

The intention of Baudelaire’s earlier remarks concerning the limitations of physiological viewing were here made clear – while the subject of *L’Angélu*s was indeed open to sentimental Champfleuryian constructions of peasant authenticity, Legros’s mode of depiction or ‘conceit’ signalled to sensitive viewers that they needed to look beyond the banalities of physiological eccentricity and conservative continuity and consider the implications of Legros’s mode of representation.

¹⁵⁵ Baudelaire and Mayne, *Art in Paris, 1845-1862: Salons and Other Exhibitions Reviewed by Charles Baudelaire*, p.164-65.

¹⁵⁶ Laurence Sterne, *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman*, vol. VII (London: T. Becket & P.A. De Hondt, 1765), p.420.

Baudelaire had evidently recognized the relationship of *L'Angélu*s to the physiological gaze. A significant strategy in the painting was the presentation of 'physiognomic' profiles above 'physiological' bodies, on occasion in ways that directly reproduced the well-known engraved illustrations to Lavater, recently republished in Alexandre David's 1854 *Le Petit Lavater Français, Ou L'art De Connaître Les Hommes Par La Physionomie ... Édition Illustrée De Quinze Portraits De Personnages Célèbres*: In particular, Legros's depiction of the women seated in a high-backed chair immediately behind the central figure had significant formal resonances with an illustration in *Le Petit Lavater français* (1854) [fig.47], that as the opening lines of Lavater's description made clear, identified female weakness, introspection and self-delusion as 'all the weakness of their sex'.¹⁵⁷

*L'Angélu*s was particularly emphatic in announcing the technical derivations of its imagery from reproductive sources, resulting in a pictorial space in which the figures appeared 'pasted on' to the picture plane as Baudelaire acknowledged, in some instances confounding the unifying logic of the depicted interior space; the kneeling child in the foreground and the figures of the bourgeois woman and working-class child on the right side of the painting all appeared slightly 'un-moored', disengaged from the space in which they were placed, making the image seem as if assembled from 'pre-fabricated' elements. Together with appropriations from engraving, attention to photographic images can be identified in *L'Angélu*s both in specific passages of painting and in the overall spatial organization of the picture. One such local allusion may be suggested by the unexpected

¹⁵⁷ Alexandre David, *Le Petit Lavater Français, Ou L'art De Connaître Les Hommes Par La Physionomie ... Édition Illustrée De Quinze Portraits De Personnages Célèbres.*, Petite bibliothèque du destin ed. (Paris: Passard libraire-éditeur, 1854), p.27.

density of detail offered by Legros's representation of the central figure's starched bonnet.¹⁵⁸ In a contemporary photographic portrait by Nadar of the *Supérieure des Soeurs de l'Espérance* (1854-70) [fig.48], the brilliant surface of the Mother Superior's goffered white coif produced an intensely-patterned local surface that partially bleached into the flat whiteness of the glazed paper. Together with reflective surface of the simple, suspended metal cross on the sitter's chest (another detail repeated in *L'Angélu*), the surpluses of the photographic process worked to undermine the conventional attention of portraiture to the features of the sitter. Such unexpected reconfigurations of attention were partly due to an accident of chemical sensitivity that often overwhelmed the physiognomic intentions of photographic portraiture. Silver nitrate's exceptional sensitivity to the blue spectrum 'burnt out' out the blue component of the black dyes that defined the masculine *habit noir* and the 'mourning-dress' of adult bourgeois women, and the dispassionate oxidation of silver salts seemed to estrange the relationship between textile and wearer, highlighting aspects of textile construction normally passed over by the human eye. *Carte-de-visite* photographs [fig.49] were widely recognised as distorting the social signification of costume, their de-familiarised forms acquiring the status of major visual interests; Steve Edwards quotes Robert Cecil in the *Quarterly Review* in 1864, describing a *carte-de-visite* portrait of an acquaintance as "giving prominence to his best coat and trousers".¹⁵⁹ The pictorial consequences of this photographic phenomenon were twofold. The photographic de-familiarisation of clothing and textile also seemed to reveal processes of organic decomposition at work in their materials; even the newest clothing could be read as a form

¹⁵⁸ This stylistic solution was repeated, even 'hyperbolised', in *L'Ex-voto* (1860); Such an emphatic reiteration of what was essentially the depiction of a detail of costume must speak to the utility of this solution for Legros's pictorial objectives between 1859-1860.

¹⁵⁹ Robert Cecil, "Photography" in *The Quarterly Review*, No.116 (1864), p.516. Quoted in Edwards, *The Making of English Photography: Allegories*, p.76.

of *vanitas*; the photograph (as an artefact as much as an image) became a record of the multiple temporalities within which silver salts, linen, wool and the body itself succumbed to the implacable bombardment of light. This de-familiarisation was a photographically-derived effect that both Legros and Whistler explored through the process of etching, recognisable, for instance, in the emphatically-banded woollen shawls and cotton skirts that enchain the figures in Legros's etching *La procession du caveau St. Medard* (c.1858) [fig.50] and in the intense attention given by Whistler to the jacket and trousers of *Arthur Haden* (1859-60) [fig.51a] or the skirt and stockings of *Annie Haden* (1860) [fig.51b]. The photographic re-presentation of the textile surface tended to work against the social distinctions of dress and consumption that underpinned the physiological gaze; the striped petticoats of the proletarian and the pristine tailoring of the plutocrat were equally susceptible to photographic 'levelling', disrupting codes of social distinction and casting the identity of sitters into doubt. This limitation of contemporary photographic technology therefore offered a technological equivalent to the reversal of hierarchies of visual representation that already characterized Realist practice in painting.

The imagery of physiognomic interpretation and the affordances of photographic portraiture converged and modified each other in the psychiatric photography of Hugh Welch Diamond. During the time of Whistler's convalescence in London in early 1858, John Conolly, professor of medicine at the University of London had published the first of a series of articles 'On the Physiognomy of Insanity' in *The Medical Times and Gazette*.¹⁶⁰ Conolly's articles attempted to identify the physiological evidence for the psychological disorders of

¹⁶⁰ The fullest account of this project remains Sander Gilman, *The Face of Madness* (New Jersey: Citadel Press, 1977).

inmates of the Surrey County Asylum photographed by Diamond, a leading member of the Photographic Society and from 1858 editor of the *Photographic Journal*, and by Henry Hering, a print seller with premises in Regent Street [fig.52].¹⁶¹ In *The Medical Times and Gazette* these photographs were reproduced as full-page engravings alongside the essays, which were published bi-monthly between January and September 1858 [fig.53]. It is highly likely that Haden drew Whistler's these images; as Surgeon to the Department of Science and Art Haden was undoubtedly acquainted with Diamond's regular contributions to the *Photographic Journal*. Conolly's article of April 17th, 1858, subtitled *No.5 Chronic Mania and Melancholy* directly preceded a report on *Three Cases of Vesico-Vaginal Fistula* by J. Baker Brown F.R.C.S, Haden's fellow member of the Royal College of Surgeons and professional colleague in the specialism of obstetric and gynaecological surgery. The use of the engraved reproduction of Diamond's documentary image against a scientific text that purported to read interiorities from facial formations of course drew heavily from the conventions of Lavaterian publishing. Diamond's subjects – all individuals from the unfamiliar margins of society, as Conolly readily admitted - were represented isolated against a blank studio background, a quality exacerbated by the omission in print of even the neutral backcloths seen in the photographs, a strategy that clearly announced the genealogy of the illustrations in Lavater's engravings.

¹⁶¹ See Peter Melville Logan 'Imitations of Insanity and Victorian Medical Aesthetics', *Romanticism and Victorianism on the Net* No 49, Feb 2008 *Interdisciplinarity and the Body*, Ed. Pamela K. Gilbert, accessed 05.06.2014. Logan identifies Hering as 'a print seller whose studio was located near the Hospital. Hering was asked to photograph patients for the private collection of William Charles Hood, the first Medical Superintendent of Bethlem and an acquaintance of both Conolly and Diamond.'

A pictoriality that closely corresponds to Diamond's photographs and their engraved re-mediations in *The Medical Times and Gazette* may be discerned in the depiction of the seated female figure holding a rosary at the left of *L'Angélu* [fig.54], a figure placed on the same plane as the seated 'Lavaterian' figure discussed above, and formally balances that figure either side of the main kneeling subject. This suggests that the Diamondian and Lavaterian figures were placed in proximity as comparative or conjoined photographic and engraved representations of the 'physiology of female weakness' (or the 'physiology of insanity' as *The Medical Times and Gazette* openly acknowledged in its captions). The Diamondian figure certainly does not have the status of a straightforward 'copy' but maps over Diamond's images and Conolly's textual interpretation; *L'Angélu* reproduced the photographic emphasis on the checked pattern of the subject's cotton dress, a feature that had already been preserved through the process of engraving as a guarantee of documentary authority, but in *L'Angélu* the pattern was modified from the tightly-checked effect of the original subject's clothing into a more open design that better emphasised the characteristic photographic re-presentations of textile. Resemblance was closest in Legros's treatment of the local configuration of the subject's face; the highlights that described the woman's sunken cheek and a distinctive facial disfiguration on the jawline below the mouth. These were features that Conolly's article identified as primary physiological evidence of mental distress;

The muscles of the cheeks and the corners of the mouth are drawn down, the lower lip being, as it were, spasmodically acted upon, showing nearly

all the front teeth of the lower jaw. The chin has been scratched and scarred by her own finger-nails[...]¹⁶²

A second aspect of this correspondence may be observed in the similarity of the hands of Robinson's figure to those of the previously-discussed 'Diamondian' figure behind her. An earlier passage of Conolly's analysis, in which he contextualised the subject and argued for the role of social and economic circumstances in producing this form of mental distress, has significant correspondences with Baudelaire's physiological interpretation of *L'Angélu*.

Conolly considered the engraving:

[...] evidently not the portrait of an educated or refined person, but a woman of the poorer ranks of life, - from which ranks our large crowded county asylums are filled. How people in such ranks contrived to live, and the kind of life they led before being sheltered there, is intimately known to few who attempt to write about them [...] It is easy to moralise on such things, and virtuously to condemn, but God alone can judge such matters justly.¹⁶³

Conolly's argument also explicitly articulated the relationship between his assessment and the procedures of Lavaterian physiognomy:

A professed physiognomist, to which title I myself lay no claim, would say that in the face of this poor woman, a certain superiority of character was manifest, although subdued by disease. The long square jaw, the developed chin, the large nose the compressed and long upper lip, would furnish a text for a pupil of Lavater; and a

¹⁶² John Conolly, M.D., D.C.L., "The Physiognomy of Insanity. No. 2 Suicidal Melancholy," *The Medical Times and Gazette, A Journal of Medical Science, Literature, Criticism and News*. 16, no. 16th January (1858) p.57.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.* p.56.

phrenologist would draw clear conclusions from the configuration of the head. There may be something of fancy, but there is much more of truth in both of these sciences of observation, some acquaintance with which every one desirous to be an accurate observer ought to possess.¹⁶⁴

This intertextuality of physiognomic and photographic reading was represented in *L'Angélu* by local and fragmentary allusions to contemporary photographic practices, part of a pattern of references to other media that were positioned in as iconographic counterpoints, or supplements, to the established pictoriality of the *physiologies*. However, this pattern of appropriations was itself subsumed within a much more direct and 'public' photographic reference, one that might be argued as providing the 'master-trope' around which the visual logic of the painting was organised. This source was to be found in the work of another British photographer, Henry Peach Robinson.

In September 1858, Peach Robinson had exhibited a composite photographic print entitled *Fading Away* [fig.55] at the Sydenham Crystal Palace photography exhibition in London. The photograph had been printed from multiple negatives of amateur models posed in attitudes that Peach Robinson subsequently combined to produce an image of a teenage girl's death from tuberculosis. Peach Robinson's photograph had been laboriously produced over several years of experimentation and was an immediate popular success. The work was displayed in at least five further photographic exhibitions in Great Britain between September 1858 and April 1859, becoming in the process, as David Coleman's research has established, 'one of the most discussed single images in the British photographic journals of

¹⁶⁴ Ibid. p.58.

the nineteenth century'.¹⁶⁵ Indeed, such was the speed at which the photograph was disseminated in Great Britain that by early January 1859 (exactly the moment at which Whistler returned from London to Paris with the resources for the production of *At the Piano*) the critic of *The Daily Telegraph* could already complain, in reviewing the Exhibition of the Photographic Society of London at the Gallery of the Society of British Artists:

We do not say that a great many photographs have not been collected, but simply that there are far too many old ones. Why, for instance, are we to be followed everywhere by the eternal "Fading Away," which is fast becoming as great a torment as a peculiar nigger melody or any other fashionable street tune? A striking and common-place scene has the same success as a striking and common-place air, but there are times and places at which one hopes to be troubled with neither, and we certainly had a right to expect that at an annual exhibition of photographs the directors would not the [*sic.*] guilty of the *mauvaise plaisanterie* of offering to the public gaze a composition which London has been staring at most violently for months past.¹⁶⁶

The accelerating institutional circulation of *Fading Away* was complimented by its widespread commercial availability; the critic of the *Literary Gazette*, reviewing the same Exhibition of the Photographic Society, asserted that the image "has for months past been in every photographic printseller's window."¹⁶⁷ By the end of January 1859, *Fading Away*

¹⁶⁵ David Lawrence Coleman, "Pleasant Fictions: Henry Peach Robinson's Composition Photography" (The University of Texas at Austin, 2005) Coleman has established that *Fading Away* was subsequently exhibited 'at the British Association exhibition in Leeds (September 1858), the exhibition of the Photographic Society of Scotland (December 1858), the exhibition of the Photographic Society of London (January 1859), the exhibition of the Photographic Society of Nottingham (January 1859), and the exhibition of the Photographic Society of Glasgow (April 1859). Robinson also chose this work as one of his images for the International Exhibition of 1862'. See Coleman p.119, fn. 10.

¹⁶⁶ Anon., "Photographic Society," *The Daily Telegraph*, Monday, January 10th 1859 p.3.

¹⁶⁷ Coleman, "Pleasant Fictions: Henry Peach Robinson's Composition Photography," p.120.

had already become a highly portable, international visual text. The photographic print was rapidly re-mediated as a commercial woodblock image, appearing first as an illustration in the *Illustrated Times* of 5th October 1858 [fig.56a], barely a month after its first exhibition. A cruder, 'pirated' version of this woodblock was subsequently reproduced on 20th November 1858 in the New-York-based *Harper's Weekly* [fig.56b], and by February the image was becoming familiar in France: In the third instalment of the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, published on the 1st February 1859, Raffaele Monti discussed recent developments in the London art-world including the exhibition at the Society of British Artists;

In the category of genre photographs, M. R. Fenton's oriental subjects set themselves apart by the charm of their composition; M. Robinson's cruel *Fading Away* will make you shudder; a young girl dying of consumption between her sorrowing parents.¹⁶⁸

It is readily apparent that the central figure of *L'Angélu* had significant formal correspondences with the figure of the 'mother' in *Fading Away*. The striking profile of Robinson's model, one of the most distinctive aspects of the photograph, was closely mirrored in the profile of Legros's kneeling woman suggesting a proximity that, given the extraordinarily rapid diffusion of the photograph into international discourses at exactly the moment of *L'Angélu*'s production, may reasonably be argued as an intentional allusion. The closest pictorial resemblance in this appropriation is between Legros's picture and the *Illustrated News* woodblock, in which the hands of Robinson's 'mother' were re-worked into a more conventional form that had resulted in the characteristic extension of the figure's fingers.

¹⁶⁸ Raffaele Monti, "Correspondence Particuliere," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* Vol. 1, no. 3 (1859), p.179.

In Great Britain, *Fading Away* had emphatically divided critical opinion; Peach Robinson's practice operated on an increasingly fraught boundary between photography and 'art', an intellectual territory to which the elite-amateur photographic establishment was becoming highly attentive. Many commentators were disturbed by the propriety of a photograph making a claim for aesthetic consideration through the representation of death; as the correspondent to *The Photographic News* put it, "I cannot but recognise a species of trading on the most painful sentiments which it is the lot of human beings to experience."¹⁶⁹ The artefactual, documentary authority of *Fading Away* dominated the picture's critical reception. The image was frequently interpreted either as a photographic record of a real death, in which scenario Robinson appeared as the 'cruelly' dispassionate recorder of domestic grief, or as a piece of theatre in which the craft of the models, rather than the vision of the technician, carried the affective charge. This second position led some writers to evaluate largely imaginary performances of appropriate emotion. The critic of the *Photographic News* wrote:

The absence of expression in the mother's countenance, of which so many critics complain, is not evident to me; on the contrary, I can readily conceive that a mother who had been accustomed for weeks, or months, to see her child slowly dying, and who had a firm conviction that the separation which was about to take place was only for a time, and that she would soon meet her again in a world where death could not enter, *would* acquire that calm expression; neither do I object to the expression of the young woman who is looking down upon the poor dying girl's face[...]¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁹ "Correspondence: Exhibition of the Photographic Society," in *The Photographic News*, 2, no. 27 (March 11, 1859): 8-9, in Coleman, "Pleasant Fictions: Henry Peach Robinson's Composition Photography," p. 121.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.* p.121

In both scenarios, the foundational construction of photography as a documentary form prised the image away from authorial intention and therefore from consideration as 'art'. The technically-informed, or autogenic, claims of photography precluded interpretation of the *Fading Away* as 'Robinson's' and thereby erased the work's organising logic. The critical 'unthinkability' or 'blindness' to innovative pictoriality that constrained many responses to *Fading Away* is reminiscent of the much-discussed criticism directed at the paintings of Manet and Whistler between 1863-65, responses to which were also characterised by the failure of technically-informed commentators to identify the grounds of conceptual coherence in new works.

Peach Robinson himself was reportedly well-aware of his ambiguous authorial status, and adopted several strategies to establish his presence in the work. As Robinson's assistant, Nelson Cherrill, explained ten years later:

At the time this picture was taken, it was made a matter of considerable discussion whether or not the subject was one fitted for an accurate and realistic display of photographic art. It was because Mr. Robinson considered the subject was one eminently unsuited to the absolute rendering of an ordinary photograph that he chose the picture for his first serious attempt at combination printing. It was because the subject would be considered so awful and so painful if it were to be rendered simply photographically that Mr. Robinson chose it to try to show that the amelioration of art could be introduced into even the commonly supposed unplastic art of photography.¹⁷¹

¹⁷¹ Cherrill, "On Combination Printing," in *The Journal of the Photographic Society of London* 14, no. 201 (January 16, 1869): 205. in *ibid.* p.126.

The 'amelioration of art' was claimed in two ways: Peach Robinson's image was accompanied in exhibitionary contexts by verses from Shelley's 1813 poem *Queen Mab*, a strategy that instantly aligned the photograph with the practices of the Royal Academy, where such verses were not only routinely reproduced on the frames of paintings but were also frequently included in the texts of printed catalogues of works and academy notes. More importantly, Peach Robinson deliberately retained residual visual evidence of the combination printing process itself, ignoring minor inconsistencies in scale, spatial recession, cast shadows and light sources. This strategy was both lauded and castigated by critics; Hugh Welch Diamond, then the editor of *The Journal of the Photographic Society of London*, was enthusiastic: *Fading Away*

would itself suffice to raise Photography to a rank among the fine arts—a rank in which a certain class of artists and ill-tempered 'art critics' dispute its right to be placed. The sentiment in this picture is painful; but the truth with which the lesson of the uncertainty of this mortal existence is conveyed to the mind is startling.¹⁷²

The correspondent of *The Photographic News* identified a similar *conceit* to that which Baudelaire ascribed to *L'Angélu*s a few weeks later: "It seems almost incredible that such a difficult subject could be so beautifully treated by a merely mechanical process [...it] is an exquisite picture of a painful subject."¹⁷³ Other critics were less sympathetic to the

¹⁷² Diamond, *Journal of the Photographic Society of London*, 5, no. 71 (October 21, 1858): 38. In *ibid.* p.124.

¹⁷³ Anon., "Critical Notices: The Photographic Exhibition at the Crystal Palace. Second Notice," in *The Photographic News* 1, no. 4 (October 1, 1858): 41. In *ibid.* p.124. [NS italics]

‘mechanical’ qualities of *Fading Away*; the same writer who complained that the work was in ‘every printseller’s window’ asserted that

When [...] a photographer, having placed certain persons in an attitude, and surrounded them with various ‘properties,’ takes a photograph of the group, and presents it with all the stiffness of arrangement...and asks your admiration for it under some poetic or suggestive title, the most unobservant is struck with the incongruity, and the instructed eye turns from it with disgust.¹⁷⁴

The procedural derivation of this ‘stiffness of arrangement’ and incongruity of effect was revealed by Peach Robinson himself in a paper to the South London Photographic Society that was reprinted in *The British Journal of Photography* in April 1860. As Emily Talbot has recently explained:

[...] Robinson made a print from one negative, cut out the unwanted figures or background elements, then pasted these back over the original plate. When exposing the now masked-over negative for a second time, only the desired elements of the image would appear on paper. To add a new background or additional figures to the print, the opposite procedure was adopted. Robinson pasted over the areas that corresponded to images he had already printed, and then exposed the second plate on his initial sheet of paper. To ensure proper alignment of each new addition, he ran a needle through the print and matched it with the corresponding negative, shining a candle beneath the printing frame to make the outlines between negatives easier to see.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷⁴ Ibid. p.134.

¹⁷⁵ Emily Talbot, "'Mechanism' Made Visible: Process and Perception in Henry Peach Robinson's Composite Photographs," *History of Photography* 41, no. 2 (2017), p.146.

As Talbot argues, British critics such as Michael Hannaford and Alfred H. Wall argued that this ‘scissors and paste-pot’ method was ‘irreconcilable’ with the accepted values of either painting or photography, both media in which the mechanical processes by which an image had been achieved were ideally hidden by the (literally) seamless surfaces of an illusionistic pictorial space. By contrast, the surface of *L’Angélu* imitated exactly such photographic ‘stiffness of arrangement’, and Legros’s palette also appeared to have been attenuated so severely as to constitute the tinted *grisaille* typical of photographic hand-colouring. In the Salon de 1859 Baudelaire wrote; “M. C [...] pointed out to me that the background doesn’t recede enough and that the characters seemed all to be placed on top of the decoration that surrounds them”, a judgement that refers to exactly the suspension of conventional pictorial unity that was causing such unease amongst the critics of Peach Robinson in London.¹⁷⁶ Baudelaire made his own position on the issue of composite photographs abundantly clear later in the Salon de 1859 in what was possibly a veiled reference to *The Two Ways of Life* by Oscar Rejlander [fig. 57], the pioneer of combination photography and a close colleague of both Peach Robinson and Diamond:

By bringing together a group of male and female clowns, got up like butchers and laundry-maids at a carnival, and by begging these *heroes* to be so kind as to hold their chance grimaces for the time necessary for the performance, the operator flattered himself that he was reproducing tragic or elegant scenes from ancient history.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁶ Charles Baudelaire, *Salon De 1859* (Honoré Champion, 2006) p.278

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.* p.259

Like British photographic journalists, Baudelaire opposed composite photography against the idealised unities of 'art'.

Legros's picture also offered this invitation to the critic's discrimination in its formal and spatial organisation. Just as the photographic surface de-familiarized the depiction of textile, the mimesis of combination printing in *L'Angélu*s worked to de-familiarize a description of the life of the urban poor. The distinctive 'Sterneian' quality of Legros's painting was articulated in reference to a photographic technique which produced a simultaneously affective subject and distanced mode of representation. The visual signs of this 'Sterneian' authorial position in *L'Angélu*s were the reproduction of photography's many resistances to pictorial naturalism.

In Robinson's view, an 'art-photography', like the *physiologies*, depended on viewer's willingness to decode the constructed nature of the image. Such attention to the photographic surface is discussed in a recent evaluation of mid nineteenth-century photographic discernment by the media historian Jordan Bear, who has argued that after the failed revolutions of 1848 exposed the limits of bourgeois democratic intentions, the liberal middle-class, frightened by popular radicalism, placed their faith in "a public culture of progress that nurtured the belief in the power of market liberalisation to transform the lot of the lower classes and to grant new freedoms of its own creation".¹⁷⁸ The removal of taxes on knowledge and withdrawal from censorship in Great Britain, (and, it might be added, the simultaneous reconstruction of the urban fabric of Paris), favoured the transfer

¹⁷⁸ Bear, *Disillusioned: Victorian Photography and the Discerning Subject*, p.2.

of “the responsibility of judgement” to the consumer and helped to produce the transition from the era of revolution to the epoch of *leisure*. The material manifestation of leisure was self-directed, socially-useful recreation and, like Benjamin before him, Bear argues that the expansion of reproductive media, including newspapers, serial publications such as the *physiologies*, and certain forms of ‘non-objective’ photography provided disciplinary structures that inculcated new skills of discrimination in the social democratic subject, casting the negotiation of the marketplace as a game of discernment. The putatively objective status of the photographic image made it an ideal vehicle through which to draw attention to the constructed nature of visual ‘truth’, and Bear sees in the ‘anti-objective’ photographic practices of the early 1860s a deliberate attention to optical inconsistency that he argues was designed to train the viewing subject for their wider engagement with urban modernity.

The visual discrimination required by the liberal urban subject was that of ‘seeing the joins’ and of recognising what had been sewn together. *L’Angélu*s offered an extended description of such seams, or fractures, between conventional representations of proletarian authenticity and the contemporary moment. Indeed, it has long been recognised that Legros’s early practice frequently tended towards such boundaries, trading between tradition and modernity, the rural and the urban, the cloister and the street in ways that were both stylistically and conceptually comparable with composite photography. *L’Angélu*s described a world in which the ‘grandeurs’ of working-class morality and fortitude were undercut by references to the fractured interiorities of the depicted individuals, who were concurrently representations of ‘female weakness’, ‘suicidal melancholy’ and stupefying grief. John Conolly’s analysis is useful in identifying the stakes of these fractured identities;

The emulative melancholy of the scholar, the fantastical melancholy of the musician, the melancholy of the politic courtier, the *nice* melancholy of the lady – even the lover’s melancholy, all of these compounded – are not fictions of the great dramatist, but realities that offer their companionship at the place when the passions and the intellect begin to be active [...] Poetry of the noblest kind has invested melancholy with still more imposing grandeur [...] But all these fancies and moods of the mind, if too often indulged in, tend one way, to a false estimate of realities, in inaction, to misery, and to madness^{.179}

The ‘false estimate of realities’ to which the women of *L’Angélu*s were inclined by their customary religious devotions is suggested by several etchings by Legros that share *L’Angélu*s’s subject-matter of working-class female piety and physiognomy. These scenes were identified by the artist as depicting the interior of the church of St. Medard near the Rue Mouffetard market in Paris. In *Procession dans les caveaux de L’église Saint-Médard*, (1858-9), Legros inscribed the plate ‘caveau – st. Medard – Procession’, while a second etching, exhibited at Martinet’s in 1862, was titled *La Communion dans l’église Sainte-Medard* [fig. 58].¹⁸⁰

Saint-Médard’s suitability as a site for the representation of female ‘weakness’ may have been suggested to Legros both by its location and its history: The church was situated only a few hundred metres from the *Salpêtrière* asylum, a ‘psycho-geographical’ equivalence that Baudelaire seems to have recognised; immediately after his assessment of *L’Angélu*s in his

¹⁷⁹ Conolly, "The Physiognomy of Insanity. No. 2 Suicidal Melancholy," p.56.

¹⁸⁰ Wilcox, *Alphonse Legros, 1837-1911*, p.45.

Salon de 1859 he reminded his readers of Armand Gautier's *Les Folles de La Salpêtrière* (1857) [fig. 59], extending his discussion of the role of physiognomy and the observation of marginalised women in painting in specifically Lavaterian terms. Saint-Médard had itself been a site of 'un-reason' – the church had been the epicentre of the Jansenist religious revival of the 1730s, the consequence of a series of supernatural healings associated with the tomb of the deacon François de Pâris in the cemetery attached to the church. The Saint-Médard healings had spawned the 'Convulsionist' charismatic movement, predicated on the reproduction of such spiritual experiences and which developed into a theatrical and exploitative faith-healing cult in several provincial French cities before declining in the 1750s. Gautier also perceived a discursive connection between his namesake, Armand Gautier, and the rue Mouffletard's spiritual heritage; commenting on the severity of the depiction of *Les sœurs de charité* (1859) [fig.60] at the Salon of 1859, he argued that:

In certain ways, M. Armand Gautier is connected with the realists, but he's distinguished by a quite particular feeling, melancholy, austere, perhaps *Jansenist*, if a comparable word can be applied to painting.¹⁸¹

*L'Angélu*s itself may indeed have alluded directly to eighteenth-century 'Convulsionist' depictions of Saint-Médard; an account of the healings published in 1737 by an elite supporter of the Jansenist movement, the Magistrate Louis-Basile Carré de Montgeron; Montgeron's *La vérité des miracles de M. de Pâris démontrée contre M. l'Archevêque de Sens* (1737) [fig.61], and intended to elicit official support for the Saint-Médard charismatics, was provided with a set of engraved illustrations that depicted the

¹⁸¹ Gautier, *Exposition De 1859*, p.143. "Sous certains aspects, M. Armand Gautier se rattache aux réalistes, mais il s'en éloigne par un sentiment tout particulier, sentiment mélancolique, austère, presque janséniste, si un pareil mot peut s'appliquer à la peinture".

physiological transformations apparently experienced by visitors both to de Pâris's tomb and to the grave of Gerard Rousse at Avenay in the Marne region near Paris.¹⁸² The beneficiaries of these healings were principally women of the middling and working classes such as Anne Augier, a peasant from Meruil suffering from "a Cancer, a fistula and a paralysis which had entirely withered her legs for more than 20 years".¹⁸³ Augier [fig.62] was taken by relatives to attend mass at the chapel in Avenay and was restored to full health during the consecration of the bread and wine. The narrative of Augier's cure was demonstrated in a pair of engravings in Carré de Montgeron's book, in which the chapel interior was depicted in an austere and naïve engraving reminiscent of the church interior in *L'Angélu*. Both the sequential narrative of the engravings and *mise en abyme* vignettes demonstrated Augier's return to productive work: as the textual commentary on the case put it, 'a little later she found that she was in position to undertake the harshest work of the countryside', her rehabilitation to the rural social order underscored by the vignette of a female peasant threshing grain with a wooden flail.¹⁸⁴

The depiction of the elderly kneeling figure at the centre of *L'Angélu* also referred to a related but distinctive discourse of urban femininity: The year of the painting's production was both the seventieth anniversary of the Revolution of 1789, and the sixtieth of the accession of Napoleon Bonaparte to power as First Consul, and the central figure of *L'Angélu* appears to be a woman of at least sixty years of age. The status of the generation who had lived through the Revolution and Empire was a source of some fascination to the

¹⁸² Louis-Basile Carré de Montgeron, *La Vérité Des Miracles Opérés À L'intercession De M. De Pâris Et Autres Appelans Démontrée Contre M. L'archevêque De Sens*, (Paris: Gallica.bf, 1737).

¹⁸³ *Ibid.* p.22.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.* p.23.

Realists. Courbet's *Atelier* of 1855 famously featured the 'turncoat' veteran of revolutionary politics Lazar Carnot on the side of 'those who live on death' and the physiological *Les Français peints par eux memes* contained several references to the subject; Pierre François Tissot contributed a whole essay entitled *La Jeunesse depuis quarante ans* which nostalgically revisited the manners and fashions of the Directoire. Whistler had struck up an unlikely acquaintance with the veteran Mère Gérard, whom Ronald Anderson and Anne Koval describe as "Obviously educated and cultured, she had once written verse and managed her own lending library, a *cabinet de lecture*, somewhere in the city. Her life in its reduced circumstances seemed to epitomize the essence of change in the capital city."¹⁸⁵ Gérard was, in effect, Whistler's personal trophy of the Napoleonic past. Charles Rouget's essay on *La Femme de ménage* in 'Les Français peints par eux-mêmes' bracketed its fictive physiological biography with two statements that located the subject in relation to *L'Angélu*.

At some point in time, the old and retired charwoman seeks a place looking after the chairs in the parish church of her *quartier*, to which task she unflinchingly devotes her old age, or if she refuses that consolation she dies silently in cold and hidden misery, for she is terrified of the hospital.¹⁸⁶

The same fictive woman was also described by Rouget as deeply-rooted in her locality and historical moment:

[...] her homeland is the street in which she lives, the house where she is born; and without any doubt, as if she had herself presided at her own birth, it can

¹⁸⁵ Ronald Anderson and Anne Koval, *James McNeill Whistler: Beyond the Myth* (Murray, 1994), p.62.

¹⁸⁶ Charles Marie Benjamin Rouget, "La Femme De Ménage," *Les Français peints par eux-mêmes* 1840, p.552.

be read today on the official register; 'Catherine Bourdon, born 5th Fructidor Year 8, faubourg Martin, No. 11, 5th arrondissement of the Department of the Seine.¹⁸⁷

The birthdate assigned to this imagined representative of the urban working-class defines her as a child of the post-Revolutionary era, born around 10 weeks before Napoleon Bonaparte's coup of 18th Brumaire brought the violence of the 1790s to an end.¹⁸⁸ Indeed, for Rouget, the Revolution was the fact against which the values of the *Femme de ménage* were constructed; although generally unconcerned by politics "Only the name of the republic makes her shudder, and her eyes are not yet so dry that she couldn't find, if required, some pious tears to be poured as an offering to the memory of Louis XVI."¹⁸⁹ Yet as Benjamin argued, the construction of identity in 'Les Français peints par eux-mêmes' was designed primarily to reassure the urban bourgeois reader. It was therefore a polite convention of the physiologies that the editorial tone was soothingly anti-Republican. The proper names that Charles Rouget assigned his imaginary charwoman were an opportunity to establish her political agency: The character's birth-name 'Bourdon', with its phonic and visual relationship to the 'Bourbon' dynasty, was re-iterated in her married name of 'Madame Charlemagne', suggesting a deep identification with the French monarchical past and guaranteeing that the fiction was rooted in both a specific milieu and a naturalized 'genetic' monarchism. However, the younger Realists detected other affordances in the heritage of French working-class women: Edmond Duranty, writing about Legros's *L'Ex-voto*, reminded viewers that

¹⁸⁷ Ibid. p.529.

¹⁸⁸ 9th November 1799 in the Roman calendar.

¹⁸⁹ Rouget, "La Femme De Ménage," p.529.

These were *common* old women, dressed in *common* clothing, whom the artist took for his personages, but the rigid and machinelike stupidity that the painful and difficult existence of the poor gave to their crevassed faces appeared with a profound intensity [...] Everything that can strike, arrest and hold one before human beings; everything that is *meaningful, concentrated, violent* in them radiated from this group of old women[...] [NS italics]¹⁹⁰

The Faubourg Saint-Marcel, on the edge of which the church of Sainte-Médard was located, had gained a reputation as a radical *quartier* during the Revolutionary era and, as Tim Wilcox suggested in his 1988 catalogue, was a centre of the printing trade, therefore continuing an association with republican radicalism that has recently been described by Martina Lauster.¹⁹¹ The women of the *faubourg* had been deeply implicated in revolutionary violence in 1789; the following year, Jacques-Antoine-Joseph Cousin, recommending the reform of the nearby women's hospital of La Salpêtrière to the , reminded the *Commune* that

They are destined to live in the midst of the people of this capital, and may carry vices or virtues. Who could doubt now the great influence of women on this class of Citizens! It was they who, on the 14th of July, snatched them from their workshops to lead them to victory.¹⁹²

¹⁹⁰ Duranty, "Ceux Qui Seont Les Pientres," , p.13.

¹⁹¹ Wilcox, *Alphonse Legros, 1837-1911*, p.44. Martina Lauster, ""Black Art" in the Service of Enlightenment: Portraits of the Nineteenth-Century Print Trade in Sketches of the 1830s and 40s," *Interférences littéraires*, no. 8 (2012), pp.61-74.

¹⁹² Jacques-Antoine-Joseph Cousin, *Mémoire Sur Les Moyens De Donner Du Travail Aux Ouvriers & Aux Artistes De La Capitale, Lu Dans L'assemblée Générale Des Représentans De La Commune, Le 10 Août 1790 ; Mémoire Sur L'hôpital De La Salpêtrière, Lu Dans L'assemblée Générale Des Représentans De La Commune, Le 20 Juillet 1790 Par M. Cousin* (Paris: de l'impr. de Lottin, & J.-R. Lottin, 1791), p.24.

The revolutionary potential of working-class women had also been demonstrated in 1791, when the female stallholders of Les Halles - the precursors (perhaps the mothers) of the women depicted in *L'Angélu* - broke into four of the convents of central Paris to administer what became known as 'patriotic discipline', the whipping of nuns who refused to swear allegiance to the new Republic. The grievances of the *faubouriennes* included the education of their children in the superstitious practices of Catholicism. *La Discipline Patriotique Ou La Fantasme Corrigée* (1791) [fig.63], is an image with many incidental formal similarities to Legros's painting. The dominant visual interest of the print lies in the central group, in which a woman of *Le Peuple* thrashes a grotesquely-described and elderly nun, forming a graphic 'X'. These two figures are confusingly interwoven and seems to be sewn together into the same costume, creating a hybrid figure; part nun, part-*faubourienne*. The head of the former bursting from the back of the latter is a compelling allegory for the social violence required to eradicate persistent superstition. The kneeling figure at the centre of *L'Angélu* contains much the same centripetal energy as this hybrid group and also offers a passage of optical ambiguity, a literal seam arcing between the shoulder of the central figure and the oddly-archaic fragment of black coif on the shoulder immediately behind her, a visual trick suggesting to those familiar with *La Discipline Patriotique* that this too was an unruly creature with proven, eruptive potential for violence, a very different construction of working-class identity to that suggested by the Royalist 'Les Français peints par eux-mêmes'.¹⁹³ Like *La Discipline Patriotique*, the main figure in *L'Angélu* contains, within

¹⁹³ The *département Estampes et photographie* of the Bibliothèque nationale de France holds five different versions of *La Discipline Patriotique*, some in multiple copies. All these designs are centred on group in which the nun is held crosswise to the *faubourienne* while being beaten. The hybridity of the figures described above is repeated in every case, which gives some support for the image's familiarity to those attentive to the material culture of the Revolution in the mid-nineteenth century.

sharply delineated graphic boundaries, the explosive energy of revolutionary struggle that her forebears did so much to generate. In another salacious depiction of the same event [fig.64], a spare scourge lies on the ground next to a praying figure, prefiguring the green umbrella that struck contemporary commentators like Astruc as a definitive sign of tawdry modernity.

These souvenirs of the revolutionary past shared their pictorial space with depictions drawn from successive generations of images describing contrasting and unsatisfactory forms of female interiority, the 'inaction, to misery, and madness' that Conolly had identified as the psychological impact of an unforgiving modernity on those unable or unwilling to accept its demands. The imaginative connection between these two constructions of urban working-class femininity can be seen in formation in an undated (but certainly Post-Restoration) item of print ephemera, a broadsheet called *Une Folle à la Salpêtrière*, [fig.65]. The two-panel woodblock illustration directly contrasts female revolutionary violence within incarceration in the Salpêtrière and the embodied representation of distraction and irrationality. The picture proposes a transformation even of the depiction of unreason; the 'Lavaterian' seated figure to the right of the central group echoes Rouget's description of the elderly charwoman living out her isolated condition by looking after the chairs in the parish church, her physiognomy veiled. However, the 'Diamondian' figure on the left side is a less willing actor, unable to resist photographic intrusion into the consequences of excessive labour and poverty. The subject of *L'Angélu*s therefore concerns both the revolutionary identity of the women of the Faubourg Saint-Marcel and the encounter between their form of life and the technocratic and capitalist culture that emerged from within it after 1848. The painting makes a grim report on the dotage of the French Revolution, demonstrating the power of

technology to finally overwhelm the public culture of the enlightenment. The tone of the picture is 'mock-heroic'; the actors all behave as if their actions were driven by a moral purpose, but the viewer reads their behaviour as absurd, misguided or delusional.¹⁹⁴

Baudelaire also describes such figures in his *Salon de 1859*; they were the photographic models 'got up like butchers and laundry-maids at a carnival', the ironic 'heroes' whose 'grimaces' could no longer sustain a credible idealism. The reader of *L'Angélu*s who was *not* 'duped' by the apparent consolations of physiognomic cliché but was reminded of Sterne's critical distance from the ass was also intended to perceive the transformative potential of the contemporary historicist and 'industrial' gaze on the heritage of violent revolutionary agency. Legros's image of Saint-Médard negotiated the ironies and paradoxical histories of the Faubourg Saint-Marcel by indexing the imagery of popular thought against the succession of industrial image-making techniques.

2.3 At the Piano: The re-mediation of polite genre

Whistler's 'first major interior painting', *At the Piano* has no more been a focus of critical attention than has *L'Angélu*s, most often serving as a point of origin for narratives concerning the later development of Whistler's pictorial style or as evidence for his early alignment with French Realist practices and in later life Whistler's own statements seemed

¹⁹⁴ Such a 'mock-heroic' may also be proposed as characterising *L'Ex-voto* and *Le Lutrin*: It has never been pointed out that *Le Lutrin* was also the title of Boileau's well-known 'mock-heroic' poem of 1667 which described, in classically-structured verse, the power-struggle within a cathedral chapter over the placing of the lectern. A luxury illustrated edition of *Le Lutrin* was published by Scheuring in Lyon in 1862, the year before Legros exhibited his painting of the same name. This edition was illustrated by Frederic Hillemacher, who exhibited the frontispiece, entitled *Boileau and his Gardener*, at the Salon of 1861 winning a first-class medal for his engraving. See Nicolas Boileau, *Le Lutrin* (Lyon: N. Scheuring, Libraire-Editeur, 1862).

to have supported this interpretation.¹⁹⁵ In their 1908 biography of Whistler, Joseph and Elizabeth Pennell wrote:

Whistler once described himself to us as “a surprising youth suddenly appearing in the midst of the French students from no-one knew where, with my *Mère Gérard* and the *Piano Picture [At the Piano]* for introduction, and making friends with Fantin and Legros, who had already arrived, and Courbet, whom they were all raving about, and who was very kind to me.¹⁹⁶

By suggesting that *At the Piano* and *La Mère Gérard* were his ‘introduction’ to Courbet’s circle, Whistler implied that these early pictures were recognised by their original audiences as evidence of compatibility of his practice with the concerns of French pictorial Realism. The two paintings were indeed the first of Whistler’s works to be publically exhibited anywhere in France, and were apparently well-received within the group of progressive critics and painters associated with Champfleury and Courbet, to whom Whistler had recently been introduced by Fantin-Latour. The master-narrative of Whistler scholarship proposes that from late 1858 to the summer of 1859 he continued to exhibit works that demonstrated stylistic continuities between his practice and those of older and more established Realist painters. Rejected by the Jury of the 1859 Salon, *At the Piano* and *La Mère Gérard* were displayed alongside Fantin’s *Portrait de Mlle. Marie Fantin-Latour* (1859) in the modest group exhibition known as the *Atelier flammand* that was held at François Bonvin’s studio in May 1859.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁵ Anderson and Koval, *James Mcneill Whistler: Beyond the Myth*, p71.

¹⁹⁶ Elizabeth Robins Pennell and Joseph Pennell, *The Life of James Mcneill Whistler* ([S.l.]: [s.n.], 1908), p.68.

¹⁹⁷ See Berry, *The Société Des Trois in the Nineteenth Century: The Translocal Artistic Union of Whistler, Fantin-Latour, and Legros*, p.39-43.

Whistler's pairing of *At the Piano* with the overtly Dutch-influenced *La Mère Gérard* certainly inferred that the two pictures might be seen together as addressing the enthusiasm for Dutch painting then common amongst the painters of Courbet's milieu, while Théophile Thoré-Burger's attempt to purchase the picture in 1867 as a pendant to his 'Van de Meer of Delft' confirmed that affinities between Whistler's work and seventeenth-century Dutch genre painting were recognised only a few years later.¹⁹⁸ Additionally, by April 1859 when *At the Piano* was completed Whistler had been attentive to Dutch printmaking for almost a year, a number of his etchings from the previous summer clearly alluding to the prints of Rembrandt and De Hooch.¹⁹⁹ Whistler's painting of *La Mère Gérard* also clearly acknowledged this model in its 'Dutch' attention to the careworn physiognomy of an individual from the margins of society and its largely tertiary palette and use of chiaroscuro.

If Whistler's early work in etching demonstrated his interest Dutch motifs shortly before the production of *At the Piano*, it is notable that *none* of these motifs appear in the painting itself. Coming immediately after the printing of *The French Set*, and submitted together with *La Mère Gérard*, Whistler's reorientation away from generally-recognised Dutch sources in *At the Piano* was abrupt. Staley notes that John Sandberg and Petra ten Doesschate Chu both argued for the possibility of the painting's composition being directly influenced by Dutch pictures; Sandberg arguing for Vermeer's *Concert* (1664) and ten Doesschate Chu for

¹⁹⁸ Chu, *French Realism and the Dutch Masters: The Influence of Dutch Seventeenth-Century Painting on the Development of French Painting between 1830 and 1870*, p.47.

¹⁹⁹ Katharine Jordan Lochnan, *The Etchings of James McNeill Whistler* (New Haven: Published in association with the Art Gallery of Ontario by Yale University Press, 1984), pp.46-47.

Steen's *Harpsichord Lesson* (c.1660-69,) [fig.66].²⁰⁰ It is quite possible that Whistler had seen a Dutch cabinet picture of the type suggested by Sandberg or ten Doesschate Chu and had chosen it as a compositional device for his Salon submission, but the proposition that Whistler's allusions to Dutch art were a sign of his allegiance to Realism is complicated by the absence of precisely those recognizably 'Dutch' signifiers that Whistler had represented in both painting and etchings submitted to the Salon (*La Marchande de moutarde* was one of these, the other entitled in the Livret for 1859 as *Portrait de femme; eau-forte* and may have been *La Rétameuse*). The rejection of such well-understood motifs in *At the Piano*, in favour of a reference to a then atypical work such as Vermeer's *Concert*, would have constituted an 'introduction' that seemingly worked to distance Whistler from the shared valuation of historical artworks that informed Realist painting, despite his retrospective claims.

However, the attribution of Spanish qualities to *At the Piano* undoubtedly shaped its reception at the Annual Exhibition of the Royal Academy the following year.²⁰¹ On 17th May 1860 the critic of *The Times* noted that "In colour and handling this picture reminds one irresistibly of Velasquez", further adding that "if this work be the fair result of Mr. Whistlers [*sic*] own labour from nature, and not a transcript or reminiscence of some Spanish picture, the gentleman has a future of his own before him [...]"²⁰² This view was given additional

²⁰⁰ Staley, *The New Painting of the 1860s: Between the Pre-Raphaelites and the Aesthetic Movement*, p.153.

²⁰¹ The distribution and availability of Spanish painting in both France and Great Britain in the early nineteenth century has been extensively studied. See Tinterow and Lacambre Tinterow and Lacambre, *Manet/Velasquez: The French Taste for Spanish Painting* and Nigel Glendinning and Hilary Macartney, *Spanish Art in Britain and Ireland, 1750-1920: Studies in Reception in Memory of Enriqueta Harris Frankfort* (Woodbridge: Tamesis, 2010)

²⁰² "Exhibition of The Royal Academy." *Times* [London, England] 17 May 1860: p.11. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 12 Jan. 2015.

support due to the picture's purchase by John Phillip, a painter specialising in Spanish historical genre subjects whom Whistler himself described to the Pennells as having 'Well, you know – Spanish notions about things,'.²⁰³ Given the absence of any overarching compositional resemblance, the similarity of *At the Piano* to Spanish painting must be considered to lie primarily in the picture's generally broad brushwork and apparently spontaneous notational representation of textures and highlights, the aspects of Velasquez's technique that Whistler's co-generationists Manet and Legros also sought to emulate throughout their careers.²⁰⁴ Another painting from this formative period of Whistler's career more clearly alluded to Velasquez. *The Music Room* (1860-61) [fig.67], later called *Harmony in Green and Rose*, was the only subsequent painting by Whistler to adopt the same subject and style as *At the Piano*. Dating from around a year later but worked on intermittently until around 1864, *The Music Room* features many of the same elements as *At the Piano*, but recomposed in a more complex pictorial space. The reflected portrait, the angle of Deborah Haden's head and the use of brushwork to make a contrast between a subject directly presented within the pictorial space and one seen through a mirror are all reminiscent of Velasquez's *Toilet of Venus (The Rokeby Venus)* (1647-51) [fig.68], a painting that Whistler would certainly have encountered at the *Exhibition of Art Treasures of the United Kingdom* that he is known to have visited in Manchester in 1857.²⁰⁵

²⁰³ Pennell and Pennell, *The Life of James Mcneill Whistler*, p.82.

²⁰⁴ Several anecdotal accounts of Manet's practice of portraiture confirm that artist's desire to achieve likeness through spontaneous gestural mark-making, and his frustration at his inability to maintain this pitch of engagement. See, for example Stéphane Mallarmé, "The Impressionists and Edouard Manet," *Art Monthly Review and Photographic Portfolio; a magazine devoted to the fine and industrial arts and illustrated by photography* 1, no. no.9, 30 September (1876), pp.117-122. Likewise, a memoir of Alphonse Legros published in 1912 describes a very similar practice in which work thought by Legros to be too 'mechanical was continually erased and recommenced'. See Charles Holroyd, "Alphonse Legros: Some Personal Reminiscences," *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 20, no. 107 (1912), p.273.

²⁰⁵ George Scharf and Edward Holmes, *Catalogue of the Art Treasures of the United Kingdom Collected at Manchester in 1857* (London: Bradbury and Evans, 1857) p.58

In the *Rokeby Venus* both the mirror image of the subject's features and those of the cupid supporting the mirror were extremely freely painted in translucent, scumbled strokes. However, the two depictions were achieved with markedly different application of paint. In the mirrored image of the main subject a chalky impasto suggested the stolid materiality of the model while, in contrast, the idealized Cupid was modelled far more softly with, for instance, the wing depicted as a fan of translucent white brushmarks. This contrasted handling was imitated in *The Music Room* in the similarly-differentiated treatment of the faces of Deborah and Annie Haden, and a similar distinction can be read back to the depiction of the figures in *At the Piano*. Further plausibility is lent to the notion of *The Rokeby Venus* as Whistler's primary 'Spanish' reference by evidence that before the painting was attacked in 1912 and subsequently cleaned, the figure of Venus appeared considerably flatter than it does now. Andrew Graham Dixon included the following observation in his article on the painting in *The Sunday Telegraph*;

The restorer responsible [...] noted that whereas the brightly lit body of Venus had previously seemed somewhat flat, during the process of cleaning it was transformed. "The body was constantly revealing new subtleties, its surface now concave, now convex, turning now this way, now that, where before *there had seemed to be only a single plane* (NS italics).²⁰⁶

At the Manchester *Art Treasures* exhibition, the appearance of *The Toilet of Venus* would therefore have corresponded more closely to the planar representations of female figures subsequently evident in both *At the Piano* and *The Music Room*.

²⁰⁶ Andrew Graham-Dixon (14 September 2003), *ITP 178: The Toilet of Venus (The "Rokeby Venus") by Diego Velazquez*, [online] Andrew Graham Dixon Archive. Available at: <http://www.andrewgrahamdixon.com/archive/readArticle/169> [Accessed 12 January 2015]. (Graham Dixon ascribes this quote to Philip Hendy, I believe erroneously).

However, this summary of attention to *At the Piano's* relationship to the stylisticalities of 'national schools' also serves to isolate those aspects of the picture that *cannot* be accounted for by allusion to past national styles. *At the Piano* was the summative statement of a period of accelerated experimentation and professional development which Whistler had experienced during 1858. The picture was conceived in early December of that year, while Whistler was staying with his sister Deborah and her husband, Haden, at their home in Sloane Street in London. Whistler's presence in London at this moment was part of an on-going pattern of short stays in Great Britain which had characterised his behaviour as an art student since his arrival in Europe in 1855. However, in January 1858 Whistler had collapsed in the street in Paris and had been rescued from the public hospital by family friends, being immediately sent to London to recuperate at his sister's home. During his convalescence, he began to experiment with the technique of etching he had first learnt while briefly training as a map-maker for the United States Coastal Survey in 1855. Whistler made six etchings between January and April 1858, while under Haden's care at 62 Sloane Street; etching was an interest he also shared with his brother-in-law who was both a highly competent draughtsman and a knowledgeable collector of prints. These etchings were: *Self-portrait*, *Little Arthur*, *Annie with Books*, *Seymour Seated*, *Seymour Standing* and *Annie* [fig.69]. All, except the *Self-portrait*, were images of the Haden children. There was a brisk stylistic development amongst these prints; some have a quality of caricature, with enlarged heads, atrophied bodies and in the single case of *Anne with Books*, offering an apparently ironic textual component in the ponderous titles on the spines of the books stacked beneath his

niece's chin, a detail reminiscent of a satirical cartoon.²⁰⁷ Whistler's stylistic models in these etchings seem to have been contemporary book illustrations by popular British artists such as Hablot Knight Browne (Phiz) and John Tenniel. The more formal *Seymour Standing* was modelled with the bold hatching comparable to the distinctive hatched textures employed in the wood engravings of the contemporary British illustrated press. In April 1858 Whistler returned to Paris, where he continued to produce work in the medium. In August and September, he undertook a picaresque excursion through the Rhineland with his friend Ernest Delannoy, failing in his aim of visiting Amsterdam to extend his knowledge of Dutch seventeenth-century art but nonetheless succeeding in recording his impressions of the journey in a further nine etched plates. Many of the prints made during the summer demonstrated an interest in the etchings of Rembrandt and De Hooch, reflecting the Realist interest in Dutch genre already discussed. The etchings were *La Mère Gérard*, *Fumette*, *La Rétameuse*, *The Unsafe Tenement*, *La Vieille aux Loques*, *La Marchande de moutarde* and *The Kitchen* (all 1858) [fig.70].

La Vieille aux Loques and *La Marchande de moutarde* clearly employed the 'vista into a second room' that Chu noted as one of the two defining recursions of Dutch practices into French Realist painting.²⁰⁸ *La Marchande de moutarde* was also very similar in both its subject and composition to François Bonvin's *Paysanne tricotant* (1855) [fig.71] shown at the Salon of 1855 and similar to the *Religieuse tricotant* that Bonvin had shown concurrently

²⁰⁷ Martin Hopkinson has identified these titles as being taken from Edgar Allen Poe's short story 'The Fall of the House of Usher'. See Martin Hopkinson, "Whistler and the Fall of the House of Usher," *Print Quarterly* 31, no. 4 (2014), pp.423-424. See also Lochnan, *The Etchings of James Mcneill Whistler*, pp.23-27, and Margaret F. MacDonald et al., "James Mcneill Whistler: The Etchings, a Catalogue Raisonné on-Line Website at [Http://Etchings.Arts.Gla.Ac.Uk.](http://Etchings.Arts.Gla.Ac.Uk.)," (Glasgow: University of Glasgow, 2012).

²⁰⁸ Chu, *French Realism and the Dutch Masters: The Influence of Dutch Seventeenth-Century Painting on the Development of French Painting between 1830 and 1870*, p.50.

at the *Exposition Universelle*. Reproductions of De Hooch's works were unlikely to have been available to Bonvin until after the publication of Thoré's *Musées de Hollande* in 1858.²⁰⁹ While the *Paysanne tricotant* may quite plausibly have constituted Bonvin's response to original works by De Hooch, Whistler was therefore using etching to reproduce – wittingly or otherwise - aspects of a modern Realist response to Dutch Golden Age painting, a move that closely mirrored Legros's interest in the contemporary Belgian response to an earlier Flemish tradition of art. This was the moment that Whistler was approached by Fantin-Latour while copying in the Louvre, an introduction that had quickly propelled him into the avant-garde circle around Courbet²¹⁰. In October, the *Société des trois* was constituted by Whistler, Fantin-Latour and Legros and by the beginning of November, Whistler was preparing to publish a summary of his year's work as a portfolio entitled *Douze Aquafortes d'après Nature*, to be printed by Auguste Delâtre, a leading proponent of the revival of etching in France and the preferred printer for many French exponents of the technique. However (apparently only days after the formation of the *Société des trois*) Haden visited Whistler in Paris and persuaded him to publish the folio in London, offering to underwrite the costs of bringing Delâtre across the Channel to print the larger London edition.

The *Douze Aquafortes d'après Nature*, now more usually referred to as 'The French Set', was Whistler's summary of his recent exploration of the formal characteristics of other media in etching and brought together twelve plates that demonstrated the full range of his wide-ranging investigation of contemporary style; the earliest plate in the folio, Little Arthur, was

²⁰⁹ Ibid. p.47.

²¹⁰ Anderson and Koval, *James McNeill Whistler: Beyond the Myth* note 26, p.474.

a memento of Whistler's interest in Tennial and Phiz the previous winter. *Annie* addressed the etchings of Rembrandt as a work which attempted to emulate the relationship seen in Rembrandt's *Clement de Jonghe* (1651) [fig.72] between formal stability and expressive impact, achieved through the juxtaposition of a dense black silhouette with an equivocal or ambiguous facial expression. Lochnan, discussing Whistler's dry-point etchings of the following year, also noted the correspondence in the pose of Whistler's *Mr. Davis* (1860) with *Clement de Jonghe*, pointing out that Whistler inscribed the mount of the impression now in the Art Institute of Chicago "Without a Flaw! Beautiful as a Greek Marble or a canvas by Tintoret. A masterpiece in all its elements, beyond which there is nothing".²¹¹

Three single-figure prints made during the early summer of 1858, *La Mère Gérard*, *Fumette* and particularly *La Rétameuse* apparently also alluded to Dutch printmaking but equally invoked the illustrations of the physiologies.²¹² In each of these plates the individuality of the subject was balanced against their description as a physiological 'type' legible through the distinctive clothing and deportment common to their social position. Throughout 1858 Whistler's used etching as a medium for the comparative application of both historical and contemporary reproductive graphic styles to Realist subject-matter, thereby producing a group of statements that explored novel combinations of observation and stylistic referent.

²¹¹ Lochnan, *The Etchings of James McNeill Whistler*, p 112-3. Whistler also described Rembrandt as 'the master' of etching in his 1885 'Ten O'Clock' lecture. "it is also no reproach to the most finished scholar or greatest gentleman in the land that he be absolutely without an eye for painting or an ear for music – that in his hear he prefer the popular pint to the scratch of Rembrandt's needle, or the songs of the hall to Beethoven's "C minor symphony". Let him but have the wit to say so, and not feel the admission a proof of inferiority". James McNeill Whistler, *Mr. Whistler's "Ten O'clock."* [a Lecture on Art.] (London: Chatto & Windus, 1888), p.21.

²¹² Despite their origin in the July Monarchy, the physiologies continued to be used as a source by French Realist painters into the Second Empire. See Lauren Weingarten, S, "Imaging and Imagining the French Peasant: Gustave Courbet and Rural Physiologies," *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide* 12, no. 1 (2103). pp.1-40.

From mid-November 1858 Whistler and Delâtre worked together at Sloane Street to publish an edition of fifty folios of *The French Set*, the printer's presence prompting both Whistler and Haden to work on new etchings, often making their plates side-by-side and on occasion borrowing motifs from one another. The group of etchings made by Whistler concurrently with *Delâtre's printing of The French Set* included *Annie, Seated; Reading by Lamplight; The Wine Glass* and *The Music Room* [fig.73]. Haden's work consisted of *A Lady Reading* (*Deborah Haden*) and a profile portrait of his wife, *Dasha* [fig.74]. Another print, *Trees in a Park* [fig.75], was a collaborative study by both Whistler and Haden, and a unique proof of *A Lady Reading* [fig.76] also exists in which Haden's study of his wife was combined with a reversed (presumably traced) copy of Whistler's *Annie, Seated*. In subsequent states of *A Lady Reading* Haden erased the figure of his daughter, leaving only this single sheet depicting Deborah and Annie Haden together. The proof seems to have been the point of departure for the image that would be resolved as *At the Piano*. Haden later annotated this proof with the following statement:

This plate was founded on, and done at the same time as two plates of Whistler's and was intended to suggest a composition for a picture. So far as I can recollect the only impression taken of this plate in this state was given to Whistler. If so, this must be the impression.²¹³

²¹³ Lochnan, *The Etchings of James Mcneill Whistler*, p.61. This proof is in the Albright-Knox Art Gallery, Buffalo, New York. This image also introduces the motif of Deborah Haden dressed in black contrasted with Annie Haden dressed in white that would be carried over into *At the Piano*. The existence of this early proof certainly demonstrates that the depiction of two figures was an option for Whistler from the outset, challenging the view of Young, MacDonald and Spencer who have argued that Whistler's original intention in *At the Piano* was to depict only Deborah Haden playing the piano and that the second figure of Annie was a later addition.

Haden's statement clearly suggests that collaboration between the brothers-in-law provided the starting point for Whistler's first major painting. His combination of two images onto one plate underlined the advantages of etching as a medium that facilitated experimentation with visual materials, and this unusual level of collaboration between the brothers-in-law, for this brief period in December 1858 at least, provided a specific context for Whistler's dedication 'Á. / Mon viel Ami Seymour Haden' on the title-page of *The French Set*.²¹⁴

Neither *A Lady Reading* or any of the other etchings made by Whistler and Haden in London in the closing months of 1858 reproduced the Dutch motifs on which Whistler had relied only a few months before. Instead they were once again informed by the graphic style of British illustrated magazines such as *Punch* and *The Illustrated London News*. Whistler's debt to contemporary illustration can be established by a comparison between the most developed of his December 1858 etchings, *The Music Room*, and two cartoons by John Leech found in a single issue of *Punch* published on 7th November 1858, near the time of Whistler's arrival in London. These were THE COMET and GREAT CHESS MATCH (UPON THE MORPHY SYSTEM) (both 6th October 1858) [fig.77]. Their visual idiom was distinctive to Leech's work for *Punch* and depended upon carefully-observed depictions of bourgeois domestic interiors, used in these works as a foil to the pretensions or *naïveté* of the depicted protagonists. Leech's formula therefore offered the reader the opportunity to pleurably decode the nuances of social class through an ironic juxtaposition of class-

²¹⁴ Whistler's retrospective scepticism concerning Haden's judgement was recorded by the Pennells; "Haden just then was playing the authority on art, and he could never look at it (*At the Piano*) without pointing out its faults and telling me that it would never get into the Academy." Pennell and Pennell, *The Life of James McNeill Whistler* Vol 1. p.82.

specific textual statements and the depiction of a material and physiological culture that refined, and usually undermined, those statements. *The Music Room* appropriated the description of the bourgeois interior and the characteristically unguarded poses of figures 'at home' in their domestic settings; for Leech, a context that was especially productive of slippages in class identities. Whistler's appropriation was signalled by the reproduction of specific pictorial conventions such as the use of white space to depict artificial light and the reproduction of the bold, hatched tonal treatment characteristic of Leech's technique. An argument might be made for a specific allusion to the newspaper reading figure in Leech's *THE COMET* for the figure of James Reeves Traer in *The Music Room*, notwithstanding that the complacent newspaper reader was something of a stock character in Leech's work.

In the closing weeks of the year Whistler's attention returned to the Paris artworld as he began to consider a submission to the *Salon*. While it is likely that he always intended to submit examples of *The French Set* etchings he also planned an entirely new picture designed primarily to be submitted alongside genre pictures by his *Société des trois* colleagues Fantin-Latour and Legros. The picture, now known as *At the Piano*, was conceived in London over the Christmas holiday of 1858, and probably entirely painted in Paris from mid-January 1859.

At the Piano demonstrated Whistler's ongoing interest in the distinctive compositional arrangement of contemporary graphic works; comparisons between the painting and images that appeared in both *Punch* and *The Illustrated London News* during December 1858 and January 1859 reveal both generic and specific resemblances, proximities that suggest that Whistler was in some ways emulating the velocities of commercial media

translation (as the example of *Fading Away* has established). *At the Piano's* most striking characteristic - its balancing of two female figures across the fulcrum of the piano - echoed a common conceit of contemporary *Punch* cartoons such as Leech's *CRINOLINE AGAIN!* (9th October 1858) [fig.78], in which a hapless suitor was squeezed between female figures differentiated by contrasted black and white garments, or *AN INTERESTING QUESTION* (25th December 1858) [fig.79] in which the female figures were mirrored, framing and providing an audience for another instance of masculine folly in a middle-class domestic setting. Another *Punch* illustration, *JUVENILE ETYMOLOGY* (8th January 1859) [fig.80], made the piano itself a fulcrum of intergenerational exchange: In this image the upright piano framed a scene in a way that served to amplify the younger child's too-direct verbal reference to sexuality, the textual element of the cartoon undercutting the excessively-established claim of domestic harmony suggested by the illustration.

Punch's conventions for the depiction of the leisured life of an inaccessible liberal elite therefore offered pictorial solutions that organized Whistler's observation of his own family of *At the Piano*. The picture was composed according to the conventions of a Leech illustration, but lacked the textual component which would clarify or subvert the depicted moment – both of Whistler's titles (*At the Piano/Piano Picture*) refused the opportunity for narrative clarification offered by *Punch's* captions. Whistler nonetheless offered other clues that narrowed down the interpretive possibilities. Allusion to the mass-market *Illustrated London News* pulled the iconography of the image towards a less affluent middle-class context from which such elite professional families as the Haden's and Whistler's had recently risen. The 'Illustrated London News Christmas Supplement for 1858' featured a set of half-page images of idealized seasonal sociality that served as illustrations to the

descriptive journalism of the Supplement.²¹⁵ Charles Keene's illustration for the short story *Snapdragon* [fig.81] depicted a large domestic group gathered around a table to play the eponymous Christmas parlour-game in which raisins were snatched out of a shallow tray of burning brandy. The compositional centre of the image was the profile of the table and the light source provided by the flaming tray, but a subsidiary focus of visual interest was established by two older children in contrasted dark and light clothing; a boy eating raisins and a girl leaning on the table contemplating the spectacle. Keene's *Snapdragon* certainly had enough currency in the new year of 1959 to be quoted as a full-page political cartoon in *Punch* on the 15th January entitled 'Reform Snap-Dragon' [fig.82] in which the Prime Minister Lord Palmerston was given the role of Keene's female child.²¹⁶ *The Illustrated London News* may have provided an additional source in a woodblock reproduction of the painting *Steele and his Children* by Eyre Crowe Jnr. [fig.83], then being shown at the Winter Exhibition of British Art at the Ernest Gambart's French Gallery in Pall Mall, contained the motif of two female children depicted 'opposed' either side of a piece of furniture in an otherwise sparsely furnished space bounded by the plane of a decorated back wall, features that also appear in *At the Piano*.²¹⁷ On January 22nd, *The Illustrated London News* featured another full-page montage, this time depicting varieties of contemporary amateur musical performance in a composite of sketches entitled *In-Door Music* [fig.84]. The central oval vignette of *In-door Music* depicted a middle-class family gathered around an adult daughter who played an upright piano while the paterfamilias observed her performance while holding a cello. An elaborate picture frame was cropped at top right. During his recovery in

²¹⁵ "Christmas Supplement for 1858," *Illustrated London News*, 25th December 1858

²¹⁶ "Reform Snap-Dragon," *Punch, or the London Charivari*, 15th January 1859

²¹⁷ "Steele and His Children," *Illustrated London News* 1859

London, Whistler had also made a drawing of his brother-in-law playing the cello, a work that Lochnan has dated to 1858.²¹⁸

The proposition that *At the Piano* was derived from a collaborative, creative dialogue between Whistler, Haden and possibly Auguste Delâtre may be confirmed by a second textual source connected to the painting, an incomplete letter from Whistler to his sister Deborah written shortly after his return to Paris in January 1859 which closed with a specific request:

Tell Seymour to send me with the etchings, a proof of the one of yourself, and not to forget the photograph, of the little child he promised me - Kiss all the beaux enfants for me, and don't let my wonderful little Annie forget her//Uncle Jim.²¹⁹

The 'etchings' referred in this correspondence must either have been copies of *The French Set* printed by Delâtre in London two months before or additional proofs of etchings that Whistler and Haden had been working on together over the Christmas period. However, the specific and separate request for the 'proof of one of yourself' must certainly refer to either Haden's *A Lady Reading (Deborah Haden)* or *Dasha*. In the completed version of *At the Piano* Whistler seems to have borrowed primarily from *Dasha*, although he specifically rejected Haden's unflattering emphasis on Deborah's 'Roman' nose in preference for his own observations. Significantly, Whistler also asked his sister to remind Haden to send him

²¹⁸ Lochnan, *The Etchings of James Mcneill Whistler*, p 25.

²¹⁹ 'Whistler to Deborah Delano Haden, January 1859, GUL MS Whistler H14; GUW 01913, (2015-01-28) in Margaret F.; MacDonald et al., "The Correspondence of James Mcneill Whistler 1855-1903, Including the Correspondence of Anna Mcneill Whistler 1855-1880," (Glasgow: University of Glasgow).

“the photograph, of the little child he promised me”, the form of words implying that like the etching of Deborah, the photograph was intended as a source for the painting he was planning for his Salon debut. The strategy of allusion to etching and illustration was now extended to include the medium of photography. Photography and etching were both ‘plate-centered’ reproductive technical processes, and similarities between the two media were regularly identified in journalism on the subject. *The Athenaeum’s* review of the 1856 Exhibition of the Photographic Society of London declared:

Now we have regular pictures, beautiful as Rembrandt, excelling all that the engraver, in his wildest dreams, could hope to achieve – groups of figures arranged in poetical subjects, coloured portraits, trays of coins, screens of prints[...]²²⁰

Particular attention was drawn to the photographic printing process, which, like etching, permitted a ‘second moment’ of creativity in the transfer from plate to print. Photographers could produce variations between positive prints by varying the length of exposure, a process that was similar in concept to the variations possible in etching by adjusting the inking of the copper plate, and the habits of the print collector were replicated in the way in which photographic prints were collected and displayed during the early development of the medium in Great Britain. The glazed surface of the albumen print was rejected by some photographers on aesthetic grounds, as despite their greater level of detail these photographs no longer displayed a matte surface comparable to that of an intaglio print. Thomas Sutton, an amateur photographer and member of the Photographic Society wrote

²²⁰ ‘The Photographic Society’ in *The Athenaeum* No,1472, 12th January 1856, quoted in, Grace Seiberling and Carolyn Bloore, *Amateurs, Photography, and the Mid-Victorian Imagination* (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 1986), p.42.

“As a matter of taste, I extremely dislike prints on albumenised paper, and consequently they never find a place in my portfolio [...]”.²²¹

Whistler’s engagement with photographic imagery was distinctively shaped by the context of Francis Seymour Haden’s position within the South Kensington network and therefore reflected that network’s characteristic discourse concerning the role of photography. In February 1858, as Whistler convalesced at Sloane Street, the annual exhibition of the Photographic Society of London was held at the recently-opened South Kensington Museum, thereby reuniting the practice of photography with the intellectual milieu that had done so much to support its development at the beginning of the decade.²²² In 1858 photography could still be presented as a paradigm of ‘Science and Art’ in the context of South Kensington and the concept of collaborative ‘working in union’ remained an important dynamic, as the critic of *The Athenaeum* again confirmed:

Altogether, whether for light and shade, breadth and dignity, atmosphere and detail, this Exhibition is an advance on the efforts of last year. The artists go on boldly, and are not afraid to be chemists; the chemists gain courage, and long to be artists.²²³

Whistler’s understanding of photography, like his negotiation between the tradition of etching and contemporary magazine illustration, would embrace both elite and mass-market aspects. Visual correspondences suggest that Haden had called Whistler’s attention

²²¹Thomas Sutton, ‘On an Improved Process of Printing by Developing without a Toning Bath’, *Photographic Notes* 3, 1st January 1858, p.9 in *ibid.* p.34.

²²² The 1858 exhibition was not an unqualified success as the suburban location of the recently-opened Museum housed in the unpopular ‘Brompton Boilers’ reduced visitor numbers, and the following year the exhibition returned to a more central venue.

²²³ “The Photographic Society,” *The Athenaeum*, no. 1582 (1858) p.246.

to at least two specific photographic sources during the spring of 1858. When exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1860, the critic of the *Athenaeum* famously compared the entire compositional structure of *At the Piano* to that of a stereoscopic photograph, saying;

Piano Picture, despite a recklessly bold manner and sketchiness of the wildest and roughest kind, a genuine feeling for colour and a splendid power of composition and design, which evinces a just appreciation of nature very rare among artists. If the observer will look for a little at this singular production, he will perceive that it 'opens out' just as a stereoscopic view will – an excellent quality due to the artists feeling for atmosphere and judicious gradation of light.²²⁴

The comparison of the picture to a stereoscopic image was still striking enough to attract the attention of Joseph and Elizabeth Pennell in their 1908 biography of Whistler. Contemporary scholarship has repeatedly offered this statement as evidence of Whistler's generalized interest in modernity, interpreting the allusion to stereoscopic pictoriality as a generic reference to the contemporary currency of stereoscopic photographs.²²⁵ Both Lochnan and Anderson and Koval linked the statement to Haden's professional interest in optics, citing his enthusiasm for Hermann von Helmholtz's ophthalmoscope expressed in his 1862 pamphlet *Report on Awards made at the International Exhibition*, as supporting evidence.²²⁶

Stereoscopy was a simple concept – a twin-lensed camera took two photographs of an object simultaneously, but, being binocular, acquired left and right images from slightly

²²⁴ Pennell and Pennell, *The Life of James Mcneill Whistler* Vol.1, p.83.

²²⁵ See for example MacDonald et al., "James Mcneill Whistler: The Etchings, a Catalogue Raisonné on-Line Website at [Http://Etchings.Arts.Gla.Ac.Uk..](http://Etchings.Arts.Gla.Ac.Uk..)" Entry on Charles Reeves Traer, accessed 15.06.14

²²⁶ See Lochnan, *The Etchings of James Mcneill Whistler* p.98 and Anderson and Koval, *James Mcneill Whistler: Beyond the Myth*, p.72.

different points of view.²²⁷ When viewed in a stereoscopic viewer, another pair of lenses transmitted the left-hand image to the viewing subject's left eye, and the right-hand image to the right eye, the two images being combined physiologically, as would occur in normal vision. The resulting image, by superimposing the two near-identical photographs, obtained a simple illusion of a third dimension, which presented as a sequence of flat planes receding in space. These flattened overlapping planes constituted the unique spatial affect, and therefore the pictorial character, of stereoscopic viewing. Because the success of the illusion depended upon planes with clearly defined edges, the viewed image was distinctive when compared to other forms of photograph or graphic representation. For the effect to be optimized (the moment of process thereby *prolonged*, as Dutta suggests), lighting was required to illuminate objects evenly, the light source being either directly behind or in front of the viewer so as to avoid chiaroscuro modelling which undermined (rather than created) the illusion of depth. Commercial stereoscopic photographs typically sought clearly defined foreground, middle ground and background planes through which to maximise the illusion of recession in space. In much stereoscopic practice, as in painting, planes indicating depth were generally organised around the periphery of the image, employing *repoussoir* to frame the ostensible subject.²²⁸ However, stereoscopy also offered an alternative organisation of space in which the figures, buildings and material objects that occupied the centre of the image stood out against an undifferentiated, unbounded field. This structure acknowledged that the highly convex binocular lenses of the stereoscopic viewer, designed to magnify the

²²⁷ Or in some cases a camera with single lens transferred first to the left, then to the right, negative. This appears to be the technique used in some of Lady Hawarden's stereoscopic images.

²²⁸ While this approach coincided with existing conventions for depicting the landscapes and sites of tourism that were amongst the most popular commercial subjects, stereoscopic portraiture and the depiction of interiors generally offered fewer opportunities for such receding vistas. A typical strategy amongst commercial stereo photographers was to fill any 'room' to be depicted with objects that could provide a clear planar structure.

image within a short focal distance, tended to blur peripheral objects, co-incidentally exaggerating the phenomenon of peripheral vision described by Helmholtz.²²⁹

At the Piano referenced stereoscopy primarily in its arrangement of flattened planes arranged parallel to the picture plane. The most important of these represented the mahogany case and leg of the piano itself, which occupied a position almost on the picture plane, creating a 'T' shaped block that echoed the rectilinear forms on the wall of the room, and provided a hub around which the figures of Deborah and Annie Haden rotate. In turn, the two figures were depicted as a flattened, evenly-lit monochrome profiles that appeared to float in front of the field of the red carpet which, mimicking another characteristic of stereoscopic views, appeared to tilt upwards as much as to recede. A less emphatically contrasted, 'peripheral' plane is provided by the draped table and music case. The complex back wall offers two final planes in close proximity; that of the heavily emphasised or exaggerated picture frames and finally that of the wall itself. On this plane the distorted upward arc of the dado rail and wallpaper border may be intended to suggest the convex distortions caused by the lenses of the stereoscopic viewer.

In 1859, the popularity of stereo viewing equipment and photographs was at its peak, with the London Stereoscopic Company (the leading commercial publisher) issuing an annual catalogue of over 100,000 stereo images, generally offered in themed sets. While landscape, historical sites and narrative dramas represented the majority of these images, the public appetite for new subjects prompted stereographic photographers to appropriate celebrated

²²⁹ This was the phenomenon that Lochnan considered to have informed Whistler's organisation of pictorial space in the Thames Set etchings of 1860-61. See Lochnan, *The Etchings of James McNeill Whistler*, p.98-99.

modern paintings such as Millais's *The Order of Release* (1853) and Henry Wallis's *Death of Chatterton* (1856) [fig.85]. These were restaged as *tableaux-vivants* for stereo photographs, and the resulting images were often crudely executed and garishly hand-coloured. In June 1858, the photographer Alfred Silvester copyrighted a set of coloured stereo images entitled *National Sports – The Race Course* only weeks after William Powell Frith's sensation-provoking *Derby Day* had gone on show at the Royal Academy Summer Exhibition.²³⁰ The hand-colouring of stereoscopic photographs using transparent inks dramatically flattened and simplified the commercial image, especially when seen without the viewer. The inks produced strong hues of primary and secondary colours in tinted areas, while the rest of the print remained in monochrome, the technique producing distinctive 'fields' of flat, strong colour juxtaposed with areas of black and white. A similar division of colour into broad fields is evident in *At the Piano*, as it the contrast with the black and white elements provided by the two figures, and Whistler's use of colour in this instance may reasonably be considered as a further reference to commercial stereoscopy.

With the transfer of both contemporary paintings and popular illustrations into stereo photographs being so widespread, it was perhaps inevitable that some painters would investigate the process in reverse: Robert Braithwaite Martineau's *Last Day in the Old Home* (1861-2 [fig.86], a work nearly contemporary with *At the Piano*, appears to have combined elements of a set of three commercial stereographic images entitled *One Week After the Derby, The Last Look* and *Sold Up* [fig.87], registered at Stationers Hall on 27th May 1859.²³¹

²³⁰ See Brian May and Denis Pellerin, *The Poor Man's Picture Gallery* (London: The London Stereoscopic Company, 2014), p.50-52.

²³¹ *Ibid.* p.58.

Another elite-amateur photographer with whom Haden was both professionally and socially connected was Lady Clementina Hawarden. The existence of significant appropriations from Hawarden's photographs in Haden's etchings has been recognised since Virginia Dodier published her article 'Haden, Photography and Salmon Fishing' in 1984.²³² Haden is believed to have been the Hawarden's family doctor, he certainly travelled to the Hawarden estate at Dundrum in Ireland on several occasions. He is known to have made at least one landscape etching at Dundrum at the same moment that Hawarden was recording the same landscape subjects in photographs during 1858-59. In works completed shortly after Hawarden's premature death in 1865, Haden would directly transpose imagery from her photographs into at least two of his own designs. One of Haden's most admired works, *La Belle Anglaise* (1864) [fig.88] was a portrait of Clementina Grace Hawarden that appears to have been derived from a photograph made by her mother [fig.89]. In other etchings Haden combined elements from several different Hawarden photographs into a single etching, as in *The Assination* (1865) [fig.90].

These and other examples of Haden's attention to Hawarden's photography are significant as proofs of the principle of re-mediation proposed for Whistler's development of *At the Piano*, and draw the practices of Hawarden and Whistler into a 'triangular' discursive relationship: The frequently-noted visual resemblances between Whistler's works of the early 1860s and a photographic practice so closely connected with his own relatives suggest that he was probably familiar with Hawarden's photographic work from the spring of 1858. By the winter of the same year, Whistler and Haden's experiments in etching were already

²³² Virginia Dodier, "Haden, Photography and Salmon Fishing," *Print Quarterly* No.3, no. No. 1 (1984)

discursively contiguous with the innovative pictorial conventions of *Punch* cartoonists and 'elite-amateur' photographic practices. Whistler's letter to his sister demonstrates that in January 1859 it was possible to identify both etching and photography as resources to inform the production of painting.²³³ His request to be sent "the photograph, of the little child he promised me" is significant, the form of words implying that this photograph was linked with the etching of Deborah, presumably as another source for the picture he was then planning and that as Haden's annotated proof proposed, was intended to contain two contrasted figures. Clearly this photograph was not intended as a source for the depiction of Deborah Haden herself, and equally the request seems not to refer to an image of Annie Haden, who is mentioned separately and with considerably more affection. This suggests that the photograph, rather than being a portrait source, was of interest to Whistler for its formal qualities. Hawarden's early work included a striking photograph which offers a strong resemblance to the depiction of Annie Haden's white dress in *At the Piano*. This is the picture of Hawarden's daughter *Elphinstone Agnes*, seen in profile in a white dress (V&A PH.457:311-1968) [fig.91]. The fact that Whistler emphasised the photograph he needed as being of a *little* girl underlines the most evident difference between this image of 'Eppy' Hawarden and his intended depiction of Annie Haden. Annie, who had just turned ten was significantly older than Eppy who in Hawarden's image appears to be about two years old. Clementina Hawarden was also unusual amongst elite-amateur photographers in taking many stereoscopic photographs. In many of her attempts the distances between foreground and background planes were barely sufficient for stereoscopic effects to be fully developed and viewing these images stereoscopically is a slightly uneven experience – figures often

²³³ The letter to Deborah Haden also suggests that Whistler assembled his reference materials for *At the Piano*, and presumably painted the picture, in Paris rather than in London as is commonly asserted.

appear as a single flat plane in front of a curtain or screen, and in the more complex compositions, such as PH.457:499-1968 [fig.92], the planes suggested by the draped edge of the left-hand figure's skirt, or the chintz pattern of the loose cover with which her chair is covered, float jaggedly above the receding perspective of the patterned carpet, drawing the viewer's attention to apparently arbitrary minor details of the scene at the expense of the integrity of the figures. In the same photograph, the faces of Hawarden's daughters Isabella Grace and Clementina appear flattened and difficult to perceive between the over-emphasised planes of the chintz chair cover and that of the diapered wallpaper and the group of Haden etchings over the fireplace. Rather than offering a visually unified image of domestic repose or the pleasures of the controlling gaze offered by conventional commercial stereoscopic photographs, the viewer of Hawarden's stereoscopic works is required to shift viewpoint and viewing distance until a coherent image can be found. Just such spatial ambiguities characterised *At the Piano*; the plane of the piano leg, that of Anne and that of Deborah Haden interpenetrated each other, to the point where apparently minor details become crucial in understanding the organisation of space. The figures initially appeared to be on the same plane until scrutiny revealed that Annie's feet were represented as on the same plane as the nearest piano leg, whereas her mothers were somewhat ambiguously connected to the piano's pedals, which themselves masked the further piano leg. Once this relationship was established, it consequently suggested that the Annie could not be looking directly at her mother but was instead staring past her, and that unexpectedly the picture was not so much a representation of interpersonal exchange as of two isolated states of interiority within a shared space. When the critic of *The Athenaeum* suggested that *At the Piano* 'came out' like a stereo photograph, he was referring to

Year	Number of stereographic Images identified as remediated from <i>Punch</i> cartoons
1844	1
1845	1
1846	2
1847	3
1848	6
1849	2
1850	-
1851	2
1852	-
1853	3
1854	1
1855	1
1856	5
1857	11
1858	23
1859	5
1860	1
1861	-
1862	5
1863	1
1864	2
1865	3
1866	-
1867	1
Total	79

Figure 2. Frequency of stereographic images proposed by Denis Pellerin as having been remediated from *Punch* cartoons. Note the peak in the frequency of these images in 1857-8. Table adapted from May and Pellerin, *Poor Man's Picture Gallery*, 2104.

precisely this mutability of spatial relationships and suggesting that a similar quality of attention as that which the viewer brought to stereoscopy would resolve its paradoxical, floating planes. Whistler may have quoted directly from at least one of Hawarden's stereoscopic photographs. While Deborah Haden's portrait profile was certainly informed by Haden's *Dasha* etching, the remainder of her figure was depicted as a flattened black silhouette that 'floats' against the background of the picture, an effect similar to the stereoscopic effect of Hawarden's photograph *Isabella Grace in a spotted dress* (V&A PH457:444-1968) [fig.93]. Other formal similarities between this image and Whistler's depiction of Deborah can be identified; both Hawarden and Whistler depict their figures in front of a draped table, for instance, while Whistler's repetition of a distinctive 'notch' in the profile of the Isabella Maude's spotted skirt suggests that these resemblances may well be specific references of the same order as his quotation from his brother-in-law's etching.

The layering of references in *At the Piano* suggests that Whistler was attending closely to the intense, reciprocal exchanges between popular and elite media that characterized the visual culture of Great Britain at the end of the 1850s. Whistler's process emulated and extended the pre-existing relationship between commercial stereoscopic images and magazine illustration in ways that demonstrably modified his compositional debts to the work of Leech and Keene. It would therefore have been straightforward, and presumably intellectually interesting to his Realist *milieu* in Paris, for Whistler to have reproduced the subject-matter of such commercial images, an approach that might have been understood as comparable to Courbet's own appropriation of *images d'Épinal* and hunting illustrations for his paintings. Instead, Whistler chose to depict a scene of bourgeois domestic reflection in which the burlesque and melodramatic qualities of these sources were entirely absent.

Previous criticism has usually been content to consign the depiction of Whistler's half-sister Deborah Haden and her daughter to the apparently self-evident (and Realist) category of 'contemporary subject-matter'. However, in the catalogue entry to the 1994 Whistler retrospective exhibition, Margaret MacDonald, while supporting the critical consensus around the painting's function as a demonstration of Whistler's Realist orientation, added the following statement:

[...] to see this painting as though it were merely a formal arrangement of shapes and colours would be misleading. 'The Piano Picture' as Whistler himself called it, refers in a very specific way to the Whistler family and their time together in Russia a decade earlier...The piano Deborah is playing in the picture seems to be the one on which she played duets with her father in Russia. Immediately after her husband's death in July 1849, Anna shipped the piano to England, presumably to Deborah, while the rest of her household furniture was sent directly to America. Deborah is depicted wearing mourning, as is Annie, whose short white frock was the appropriate colour of mourning for Victorian children. The look of gravity and solemn concentration in the faces of both mother and daughter, as well as the exquisite tension between the two figures, suggests a mood of reverie cast by the spell of music and memory.²³⁴

According to MacDonald the picture's psychological interest, whose biographical meaning cannot have been intended for the *Salon* public, lay in its description of an idealised and eroticised relationship of mourning. The 'spell of music and memory' in an affluent environment of well-informed decorations and conveniences therefore constituted a

²³⁴ Richard Dormant et al., *James McNeill Whistler* (London: Tate Gallery Publications, 1994), pp.72-73.

moment in some way emblematic for women of the upper-middle class, a characteristic behaviour (in that sense a *physiologie*) that might be reconstructed from the imagery of bourgeois self-representation in the proximate discourses of industrial image-making; newspaper illustration and photography. Sharon Marcus has eloquently described this form of mediated female sociality in her book *Between Women* (2007).²³⁵ Her effective mapping of female friendship in English literature against the historical record of letters and diaries presents evidence for the widespread representation of feminine relationships as eroticized through fantasies of authority and control, phenomena that Marcus sees clearly represented in print ephemera such as children's 'doll stories', fashion plates and letters to fashion magazines. The interiority of bourgeois women that Marcus reads in mid-nineteenth-century British Realist fiction and life-writing, and which she identifies as particularly prevalent in works of the 1860s, can be considered comparable with Whistler's depiction of an emotionally-charged relationship between mother and daughter played out within a fantasised domestic space constructed from the image world of print-media and stereoscopy.

What is seen in *At the Piano*, as if within the garish and intimate space made by the stereoscope, is an interior defined by representative 'objects of the arts'; musical instruments, reproductive engravings and a Renaissance majolica plate. The conventional identification of this space as the 'music room' of Haden's home is an assumption based entirely on the titles of other works - the earlier etching and later conversation-piece that both bear that name - each of which has been discussed earlier in this chapter. On the wall

²³⁵ Sharon Marcus, *Between Women : Friendship, Desire, and Marriage in Victorian England* (Princeton, N.J. ; Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2007), pp.111-166.

behind the figures, reproductive prints were identifiable by their broad mounts and glazed frames. The identity of these engravings was deliberately confused by reflections from an unseen window; a comparison with the contemporary framed engraving of Webster's *The Playground*, engraved by Ferdinand Joubert and published by the Art Union in 1858, [fig.94] might be a tentative possibility for the subject of the engraving, but the necessity for such speculative identification serves to highlight an important distinction between Whistler's strategy and the Dutch *mise-en-abyme* with which these 'pictures-within-a-picture' are usually compared. Those 'choric' aspects of the engravings which in earlier practices would have justified their inclusion as *mise-en-abyme* – specifics of subject, style and authorship that relayed the meaning of the main image - were all erased by Whistler's mode of representation; the glazed prints became merely examples of light-reflecting surfaces, contributing only their commodity status to the meaning of the picture.

Both as one of Foucault's list of privileged *heterotopic* sites (spaces of death and dreaming being for Foucault other paradigmatic instances of *heterotopia*) and as that which MacDonald described as a space of 'reverie and mourning', the 'music room' is oriented towards music and ritual and therefore corresponds with Semper's assertion of the 'atmosphere of carnival candles' as the location of metaphoric transformation.²³⁶ The pictorial space within which the metaphoric potential of modern reproductive media might be put to work was defined, like much Realist practice, by cultural precedents for such transformations. The majolica charger was a form then being promoted, like photography, as a model of successfully-integrated industrial technique and cultural ambition. In *At the*

²³⁶ Michel Foucault, "Of Other Spaces: Utopias and Heterotopias," *Architecture /Mouvement/ Continuité*, no. October (1984), pp.46-49.

Piano metaphoric transformation was largely produced by the reproduction of the characteristic surfaces of commercial illustration and photographs. Surfaces that included stereoscopic planar spatiality, the distinctive effects of hand-coloured photographic prints and the composition of newspaper illustrations constituted what Whitney Davis has described as a stylisticality - a portable configuration whose adoption was recognised as carrying social meaning.²³⁷

2.4 Conclusions

Despite their manifest differences in subject-matter and style, *At the Piano* and *L'Angélus* proposed a similar technical procedure; in both works, a genre (the *topoi* of 'peasant authenticity' and 'polite manners') was identified within the taxonomy of the new 'archive' of past national styles, then subjected to radical reinterpretation using the distinctive surfaces of contemporary reproductive media. In both procedures, it was the surfaces of commercial depiction and of the photograph that were regarded as especially productive. The reproduction of these forms of photography constituted both a *mimesis* of their defamiliarising surfaces and an allusion to the institutional and popular authority of the *dispositif* of industrial art as something that displaced the authority of the Académie. Despite these procedural similarities between *L'Angélus* and *At the Piano*, there are distinctions to be acknowledged in their stance towards the *dispositif*. While both paintings attended to prints and photographs, the terms of their comparisons were

²³⁷ Davis, *A General Theory of Visual Culture*, pp.150-151.

markedly different. *L'Angélu*s pursued the accepted Realist programme of reminding the metropolis of the conflicting cultural values that haunted French society, but de-coupled Courbet's rural proletariat from their own genealogy of representation, viewing them instead with the withering gaze of the triumphant bourgeoisie. *L'Angélu*s assembled an encounter between three constructions of working-class identity, the genealogy of 'peasant genre' in painting, the discourse of the physiologies and contemporary attempts to reproduce both these forms in photography. Its central concern was the metaphoric transformation implicit in the recursion of the physiological body within photographic pictoriality, a transformation that suggested not the Champfleuryian resilience of popular republicanism but its fatally 'false estimate' of the new technocratic order. By contrast, *At the Piano* was relatively unconcerned with the status of archival forms of painting, instead proposing a reassessment of bourgeois self-representation, in which elite manners were reconstructed from the most immediately-available materials by which the middle-class recognised themselves. The sources of *At the Piano* were arguably all 'idealisations' produced for consumption within bourgeois domestic environments, an iconography of the 'modern manners' seen in the illustrations of the middle-class press, in the spatial reconfiguration of such depictions in the narcissistic leisure-form of stereoscopic viewing, and in Hawarden's elite-amateur practice, in which women of the aristocracy acted out contemporary haute-bourgeois manners with startling candour. Both these strategies were consistent with Semper's model of stylistic change, in which the 'new and good' was generated in the 'disintegration' of past models by emergent scientific and industrial forces. Certainly, both strategies invoked an imagined 'discriminating' viewer whose critically-engaged role was to identify the transformation of meaning in paintings produced by the new technological *dispositif*. This strategy, seen within the context of the Salon of 1859,

was framed within French state policy concerning the reform of the *Académie des Beaux-Arts* and the desire of Gautier's political patrons for works that reflected the emerging 'ethnographic' models of imperial cultural knowledge. However, the works submitted by Legros and Whistler refused the smoothly technocratic style promoted by the state. Both *L'Angélu* and *At the Piano* declared their interest in experimental process, the *conceit* of 'Sterne's macaroons'. Both paintings 'arrested' the moment of encounter between estranged pictorial languages, their conceits demonstrating that the pictorialities of the *dispositif* of industrial art largely erased those of academic convention; the 'force' within the accord was that of an assault on the institutional authority of the *Académie* from the proximate field of industrial art.

Chapter Three

Industrial Art as Method and History at the *Salon des Refusés*

3.1 Introduction

Assuming that the paintings produced in the ambit of the *Société des trois* in 1859 and 1865 did indeed represent successive attempts to transfer an innovative theory of stylistic change from the institutions of industrial art to the proximate field of painting, the discursive formation of which those works were evidence must have persisted in some form (as a potentiality, whether pictorially-articulated or not) across the intervening period. Since the mid-twentieth century at least, that historical ‘moment’ has been closely associated within the history of art with another instance of discursive emergence; the appearance and reception at the *Salon des Refusés* in 1863 of the paintings of Manet. The intentions and reception of Manet’s *Le Déjeuner sur l’herbe* (1863, exhibited under the title *Le Bain*) have been intensively studied and theorised since Greenberg declared Manet’s paintings as the primary objects of a new stylistic succession in which a materialist opticality was established as the visual manifestation of self-criticism. That “Manet’s became the first Modernist pictures by virtue of the frankness with which they declared the flat surfaces on which they

were painted.” is an assertion that has subsequently engaged the attention of many of the West’s most influential cultural historians.²³⁸

From Greenberg forward, the appearance of Manet’s pictorial practices has been understood as a polyvalent ‘rupture’ of discourse, often summarised as a willed negation of conventional ‘academic’ pictoriality. Within Anglo-American artwriting, the early works of Manet; *Le vieux musicien* (1862), *Le Déjeuner sur l’herbe* (1863) and *Olympia* (1863-5), have constituted a foundational problematic, visible in the work of Greenberg’s follower Fried and his interlocutor Clark. while French post-structuralist historians including Foucault, Bourdieu, Jean Clay and Yves Alain Bois have also emphasised the violence done to the ‘academic’ symbolic order by pictures that implicitly opposed the conventions of Western painting to a degree that placed the future direction of artistic practice in radical doubt.

The valorised moment of modernist epistemic *rupture* was concurrent with the *Société des trois*’s proposed attention to the ideology of industrial art as a new model of stylistic *coherence*. The proximity of these positions suggests that the discourse of industrial art in some way ‘passed through’ the moment of modernist formation, forming an intersection between the negation of past style and the possibility of future coherence in the works of the ‘second *avant-garde*’ of the early 1860s. Such a configuration has close correspondences to Semper’s exposition of the ‘process’ of stylistic transformation and

²³⁸ Clement Greenberg, ‘Modernist Painting’ in Francis Frascina, Charles Harrison, and Paul Deirdre, *Modern Art and Modernism: A Critical Anthology* (London: Paul Chapman in association with the Open University, 1988, 1982), p.13-14.

demand for the ‘disintegration’ of the cultural tradition.²³⁹ This chapter reconsiders the works exhibited by Whistler and Manet at the *Salon des Refusés* as the figuring of both negation and coherence in response to the emergence of industrial art discourse between 1859 and 1865. More specifically, the chapter argues that as a group, their paintings may be read as responses to closely-contemporary debates around the status and developmental history of photography. In the period 1861-63, the status of photography as simultaneously a form of industrial ‘art’ and as an unprecedented industrial commodity was particularly intensively-debated in Great Britain. The terms of this debate were set by the taxonomy proposed for the London International Exhibition of 1862, but the doubled identity of photography (simultaneously inside and outside the *dispositif*) also inflected a wider discourse that simultaneously encompassed shifts of cultural authority at the Annual Exhibitions of the Royal Academy and the centrally-directed liberalisation of the French *Académie des Beaux-Arts*.

The convergence of Manet’s *Le Déjeuner sur l’herbe* and Whistler’s *The White Girl* (or ‘*Dame blanche*’ as it appeared the *livret* of the *Salon des Refusés*) [fig.95] within the shared physical space of the *Salon des Refusés* has rarely been the subject of critical enquiry; the lack of scholarly attention to this dynamic within the extensive literature on the *Salon des Refusés* is an example of the ‘fleeting’ trope conventionally applied to the relationship between progressive British and French painting in that decade. Narrative accounts of the *Salon des Refusés* such as those offered by Boime need not be repeated here (although the institutional formation to which the exhibition belonged will be discussed in Chapter 4)

²³⁹ This notion is indebted to Bourdieu’s formulation of a ‘second bohemia’.. See Bourdieu, *The Rules of Art*, pp 71-77.

However, it is useful to summarise the works by the *Société des trois* and Manet that were variously submitted, accepted and refused by the *Salon* jury in 1863: Whistler had three etchings, all catalogued as *Vue[s] de bord de la Tamise*, accepted but *The White Girl* refused. Legros was successful in having all his paintings, *Le Lutrin* (first version, whereabouts unknown) *Discussion scientifique* (whereabouts unknown) and *Portrait de E.M* accepted [fig.96]. Fantin-Latour's *La Lecteur* [fig.97] was accepted, but his *Féerie* [fig.98] refused, while Manet was least successful; he submitted three paintings; *Le Déjeuner sur l'herbe* (catalogued as *Le Bain*) [fig.99], *Jeune homme en costume de majo* [fig.100] and *Mademoiselle V. en costume d'Espada*, [fig.101] and three etchings; *Philippe IV d'apres Velasquez* and *Lola de Valence* [fig 102], and *Les petits cavaliers d'apres Velasquez* [fig.103]. All Manet's works were refused.

The majority of the paintings submitted by Manet and the *Société des trois* both courted and refused identification as portraiture, whether in scale and format (*The White Girl*, *Jeune homme en costume de majo*, *Mademoiselle V. en costume d'Espada*, *Portrait de E.M.*, *La Lecteur*), or through their titles (*Mademoiselle V. en costume d'Espada*, *Philippe IV d'apres Velasquez*, *Lola de Valence* and *Portrait de E.M.*). Other formally-similar pictures were titled in ways that suggested that they were to be understood as exceeding the functions of conventional portraiture; *La Lecteur*, although a representation of his sister Marie, was presented as an example within the tradition of Chardinesque genre; the title of *The White Girl* or '*Dame blanche*' slipped somewhere between a belligerent refusal of narrative and literary sensationalism (as Whistler had opportunistically realised when he organized an

exhibition of the picture at the Berners Street Gallery in London the previous year)²⁴⁰

Legros's *Portrait de E.M* was accepted for the official *Salon*, but was hung amongst the *Refusés* on the artist's own initiative, as Legros's fellow members of the *Société des trois* had both had either paintings or etchings accepted by the *Salon Jury* this decision appears to have been an act of solidarity with the picture's depicted subject Manet.²⁴¹

3.2 Whistler's Practice 1859-62: Photographic pictorialities and landscape.

Chapter Two interpreted *At the Piano* as an investigation into both photographic and print media pictorialities applied to bourgeois 'polite' genre painting, and suggested that structuring agency of photography might be posited even before the production of *At the Piano*. The argument that in *The French Set* Whistler's etching *Annie* referred broadly to the conventions of the *carte-de-visite* photographic portraiture while *Fumette* and *La Rétameuse* invoked the distanced 'sociological' physiologies of Diamond have already been advanced. Similarly, the etchings *Liverdun* and *The Kitchen* offered close visual resemblances to photographs taken by Hawarden on the Dundrum estate around 1857-8. *Liverdun* [fig.104] shared features with Hawarden's two stereoscopic views of the stable yard at Dundrum House (V&A PH.457:133-1968 and PH.457:58-1968), and in its interest in the picturesque disorder of a working farmyard was also comparable to Hawarden's views of

²⁴⁰ On the mutability of Whistler's titles for *The White Girl*, see Aileen Tsui, "The Phantasm of Aesthetic Autonomy in Whistler's Work: Titling the White Girl," *Art History* 29, no. 3 (2006), p.444-475.

²⁴¹ Berry, *The Société Des Trois in the Nineteenth Century: The Translocal Artistic Union of Whistler, Fantin-Latour, and Legros*, p.83.

the Dundrum estate carpenter's workshop (V&A PH.457:412-1968) [fig.105]. Whistler appears to have borrowed the overall organisation of his etching from Hawarden's stereoscopic image, repeating the motif of an arched doorway on the right of PH.457 :133-1968 and combining this with several diagonal elements derived from the carpenter's workshop photograph to suggest timbers and farming implements. Broad horizontal lines that ran across the central space of Whistler's print offered an equivalent for the better exposed ground in PH.457:58-1968, while the unintelligible space created by the overexposure of Hawarden's stable yard plate at Dundrum were echoed in the treatment of the sunlit walls of the *Liverdun* courtyard. It is also arguable that the cow that Whistler depicted in summary outline in his etching had a precedent in Hawarden's stereoscopic image PH.457:3-1968. *Liverdun* was apparently drawn from life on Whistler's 1858 Rhine journey but was printed in London, placing it in a discursive relationship with Hawarden's photographs in London in the spring and autumn of that year through Haden's professional and social affiliations with the Hawarden family.

Similar resemblances may be observed between Whistler's print *The Kitchen* [fig.106] and Hawarden's photographs. Lochnan considered this plate to have been based on a watercolour made by Whistler while at Lutzelbourg in Alsace, and argued that the image reflected his knowledge of de Hooch and the works of Francois Bonvin.²⁴² However, there were also close resemblances between both Whistler's watercolour and subsequent etching and a group of photographs taken by Lady Hawarden of the interior of the Dundrum estate carpenter's workshop. Hawarden's photographs V&A PH.457:557-1968, PH.457:18-1968

²⁴² Lochnan, *The Etchings of James Mcneill Whistler*, pp.38-48.

and PH.457:471-1968 [fig.107] were *contre-jour* compositions, in which a figure was backlit and partially dematerialised by the light from a window. This light source and the *contre-jour* effect it produced were obviously an interest broadly shared by *The Kitchen*. In both photograph and print, the raking light emphasised the roughcast plasterwork on the wall of the room, an effect to which Whistler's etching also alluded. Specific utilitarian objects - a chest, a cylindrical chopping-block and various pieces of timber leant against the wall appeared in both Hawarden's photographs and in Whistler's image in dispositions that plausibly suggested Whistler's prior familiarity with Hawarden's work. If similarity to Hawarden's photographs was confined to a single image, considerable caution would be required in making any connection between Hawarden's practice and the images of *The French Set*. However, such repeated resemblances from a photographic source closely connected to Haden and prefiguring the much more emphatic references to Hawarden's photography in *At the Piano*, suggests that Whistler was likely to have been familiar with Hawarden's photographic work from the spring of 1858, while at the close of that year *At the Piano* clearly reflected in both subject and approach the effects of an exchange between etching and images made by Hawarden. However, by 1862 Whistler's investigation of the surfaces of the photographic object had extended far beyond the materials identified in his 1858-59 etchings and paintings. A survey of Whistler's practice between *At the Piano* and *The White Girl* must therefore be undertaken to more fully establish the characteristics of Whistler's re-mediation of photographs. *Brown and Silver; Old Battersea Bridge* (1859 onwards), *The Thames in Ice* (1860) and *The Coast of Brittany, Alone with the Tide* (1861) and I will therefore briefly discuss each picture as a procedural precursor to *The White Girl*. Although these landscape paintings depict largely conventional subjects, each is distinct in technique and visual interest.

3.3 Old Battersea Bridge to The Coast of Brittany

Old Battersea Bridge and *The Thames in Ice* were paintings of the River Thames that spanned the semi-rural suburb of Chelsea and the commercial sprawl of the working river below the Pool of London. Both were largely monochromatic works, painted in tones of silver-brown *grisaille* relieved by subtle, local tints of polychromy visible at close-quarters. The tonal range of this *grisaille* has already been encountered in both Whistler and Legros's painted re-presentation of the photographic surfaces of Hugh Welch Diamond, Henry Peach Robinson and Clementina Hawarden in Chapter Two.²⁴³

In *Old Battersea Bridge* [fig.108], unequivocal allusions to photographs established both the foreground and horizon planes. The horizon-line of the picture was broken by the glazed roof of the Sydenham Crystal Palace, a pale presence dissolving into the indeterminate tones of the sky. These pale tones recalled the representations of the Crystal Palace published in Philip Delamotte's pioneering record of the building's reconstruction in South London between 1852-54. The effect can be observed in Delamotte's silver print recording a model of the recently-proposed Tower Bridge displayed in the landscaped gardens at Sydenham [fig.109], a photograph in which the bulk of the Crystal Palace rises from behind a screen of trees.²⁴⁴ The group led by the two white-shirted boatmen in the foreground of

²⁴³ A further example of this *grisaille* (which narrows the proposed derivations of such effects) occurs in Fantin-Latour's *Homage a Delacroix* (1864) in which the portrait of Delacroix, also executed in a summary *grisaille*, was based on a photograph by Nadar from 1854. See Margaret MacNamidhe, *Delacroix and His Forgotten World; the Origins of Romantic Painting* (London & New York: I.B.Taurus, 2015), p.5.

²⁴⁴ Progress of The Crystal Palace at Sydenham | Work of Art | Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History | The Metropolitan Museum of Art". *The Met's Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History*. <https://www.metmuseum.org/toah/works-of-art/52.639/>.

Old Battersea Bridge referenced a similar work of photographic documentation, Robert Howlett's images recording the construction and launch of the *Great Eastern* steamship at Rotherhithe in 1857-58 [fig.110]. These photographs had been commissioned by the *Illustrated Times* and were subsequently translated by Henry Vizetelly into wood-engravings for publication. Like Delamotte, Howlett was a member of The Photographic Institution in Bond Street, where he had been commissioned by the Royal Family to photograph the Raphael Cartoons and had made a series of studio portraits of leading British artists. Howlett also worked with William Powell Frith, providing the painter with photographs of racecourse crowds at the 1856 Epsom Derby as references for the highly-successful *Derby Day* (1856-58).²⁴⁵

Three small boats depicted in the bottom right of *Old Battersea Bridge* may well be *Japoniste* additions from the later 1860s, but their facture, appearing as translucent brushstrokes overlaid by taut drawing reminiscent of the etched lines of *Black Lion Wharf* (1859) [fig.111], may also represent Whistler's attempt to mimic the artefactual aspects of the photographic surface – the boats (tiny skiffs, to judge by the scale of nearby figures) doubled as marks on the picture plane, the one nearest the right-hand edge of the painting having the aspect of a thumbprint, as if the canvas itself was in preparation as a photographic or etching plate, the paint an equivalent for the syrupy surface of the collodion that had to be carefully tilted into the corners of the glass plate immediately before exposure in the camera. This is not to say that the grey field between these details also reproduced the facture of photographic prints in a consistent way. *Old Battersea Bridge*

²⁴⁵ Taylor and Schaaf, *Impressed by Light: British Photographs from Paper Negatives, 1840-1860*, p.331.

is very *unlike* a photograph in its depiction of the surface of the river and the 'Barbizon-like' treatment of the buildings on the far bank. The picture was also an entirely different scale of image to the photographic works it referenced, magnifying the characteristic effects of Delamotte and Howlett's photographs in ways that would have required exceptionally close viewing or the optical apparatus of lenses or stereoscope to pick out in photographic prints. As Francis Palgrave noted in the *Fortnightly Review* when the picture was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1865,

The "View of Old Battersea Bridge" by Mr. Whistler, hung at Trafalgar Square rather too high for examination [...] There is no splendour about it, hardly any beauty in the greys and browns which almost compose the picture [...] but it is all the more remarkable for the singular amount of effect which the artist has gained from such unpromising materials. So true are the gradations, so correct the relative tone fixed on for each object, so unaffected the arrangement of the boats, the bridge and the shore, that one seems to be looking back right into last November, through a little square in the Academy walls.²⁴⁶

In *Old Battersea Bridge*, Palgrave was engaged by an image that appeared to offer a characteristically photographic juxtapositions of depiction and framing when viewed from a distance while close attention to the pictorial surface also revealed both close attention to tone and mimesis of the glass plate. While the picture's resolution into subtly-tinted, painterly facture underwrote the Barbizon heritage of the painting, its guarantees of tradition were established within a scaffolding derived from the pictoriality of photography.

²⁴⁶ "English Pictures in 1865," *Fortnightly Review* 1 (1865), p.666-666.

By contrast, *The Thames in Ice* [fig.112] engaged with a different photographic referent and presented a different facture. Reputed to have been completed in three days over the Christmas of 1860, the painting depicts a collier settled on the frozen tidal foreshore of the River Thames at Rotherhithe on Christmas Day. The composition of *The Thames in Ice* appears to repeat elements of early photographic prints on paper by the Rev. Calvert Richard Jones, particularly his Calotype views of coal-ships and ‘copper-ore barques’ grounded on the tidal River Tawe at Swansea, produced between 1840-50.²⁴⁷ The motif of the ship stranded at the edge of the channel of moving water, the distinctive white stripe and false gunports painted onto the black hull, the irregularities of the silhouettes of spars and rigging against a mottled sky are all repeated. Calvert Jones’s photographs such as *Head and Bows of the Ellen Simpson barque* (1840-50) or *Swansea Harbour, Ships unloading at Cobra Wharf* (1840-50) [fig.113] had been made from primitive waxed-paper negatives, the technical precursors of the glass plate, which were then contact-printed onto another sheet of similarly sensitized paper. The diffusing effects of the fibrous structure in both sheets of paper simplified and unified the photographic image, giving these prints a granular, intaglio-like texture. Like *Old Battersea Bridge*, *The Thames in Ice* appeared painterly at close quarters, the paint dragged over the weave of the canvas in many places producing passages of painting in which the disruption of the woven surface produced a granular pattern similar to the surface of a photograph printed from paper negatives. To achieve this texture, the strokes tended to the horizontal and vertical, repeating and relaying the

²⁴⁷ See Rollin Buckman, *The Photographic Work of Calvert Richard Jones* (London: H.M.S.O. for the Science Museum, 1990) and R. G. Howell and Glynn Vivian Art Gallery, *Under Sail: Swansea Cutters, Tallships and Seascapes 1830-1880* (Swansea: Swansea Museum Services, 1987).

underlying textile structure.²⁴⁸ In this context, a more direct representation of the surface of the Calotype print occurred in the top right corner of the painting, as in the diametrically-opposite corner of *Old Battersea Bridge*. The smudge of charcoal grey that appears from outside the painting may well depict the smoke from some Thames-side chimney or machine. However, in its tonal relationship to the sky in which it floats, the 'smoke' of *The Thames in Ice* copies the characteristic insensitivity of early photographic chemicals to the blue spectrum that also produced the strident textile patterns noted in relation to *L'Angélus* and may be read as a second mimesis of a photographic surface. The results of this insensitivity in Calvert Jones's calotype photograph were depictive voids; non-pictorial blotches and false shadows, producing skies that appeared lowering and dirty regardless of the actual (inevitably sunlit) conditions of their production. As a comparison with *Cobra Wharf* makes plain, the sky of *The Thames in Ice* repeats this pattern of marks, offering a photographically-mediated representation of light.

The variety and obscurity of such photographic sources would seem to cast their roles in a coherent pictorial strategy in some degree of doubt. The problematics of Whistler's access to such a recently-constructed archive of photography might be argued; In what hypothetical circumstances could these images have been available for his consideration in 1860? Certainly, the photographic models for *Old Battersea Bridge* and *The Thames in Ice* had all been produced within the network of elite-amateur photography and the research networks of South Kensington (circles that since the Great Exhibition had included the *Great Eastern's* designer I. K. Brunel), homosocial networks with which Whistler had multiple

²⁴⁸ Foucault discussed a similar relationship between the brushstroke and the materiality of the canvas in his discussion of Manet's *Port of Bordeaux* (1871) and *Argenteuil* (1874). See Michel Foucault, Matthew Barr, and Nicolas Bourriaud, *Manet and the Object of Painting* (London: Tate Publishing, 2009), pp.41-42.

points of contact through his social connections with Haden and Cole. Additionally, the legacy of pioneering photographic practices was already becoming a subject of public interest; for instance, Elizabeth Eastlake's well-known article 'Photography' in the *Quarterly Review* in 1857 was substantially a record of the aesthetic development of photography, and comparisons between current and previous processes were frequent in the photographic press.²⁴⁹ The photographic surface of the *dispositif* was both historicist and highly self-aware.

There is no conventional iterative development of a single 'photographic' effect common amongst all Whistler's paintings, but the approach evident within the group was nonetheless disciplined: In each picture Whistler's photographic referent was appropriate to the painted depiction, a direct photographic equivalent to its painted *genre*; bourgeois *genre* was informed by the multiple reproductive representations of the bourgeois form of life, the distant vista of Sydenham was constructed from the photography of national industrial achievement, the depiction of industrial river traffic was similarly informed by Calotype depictions of the same subject-matter that, although now part of the photographic archive, persisted in contemporary photographic discourse.

A development of this straightforward relationship between subject-matter and photographic referent seems to have occurred in *The Coast of Brittany* of 1861 [fig.114]. As Dormont noted in 1994, the barely-differentiated field of sand in the foreground of *The Coast of Brittany* significantly complicated the picture's pictorial space; the slightly raised

²⁴⁹ Elizabeth Eastlake, "Photography," *Quarterly Review* 101, no. January-April (1857), pp.459-460.

viewpoint with its raised horizon-line and flattened foreground space was a strategy he read as 'intended to evoke a primitivism and authenticity very different from popular academic renderings of such scenes'.²⁵⁰ The unquestionably unstable depiction of the tidal sands that smothered the rocks in *The Coast of Brittany's* foreground confounded the viewers attempt to perceive a contiguous recessive space, isolating the central band of tumbled and fractured stone in the middle-distance. *The Coast of Brittany* was divided into three horizontal zones; the indeterminacy of the foreground made it difficult to gauge the scale of the distant rock formation, being apparently related to both the mannequin-like figure of the 'little Breton girl' and sharing the expansive scale of the seascape and the waves that appeared to break against the shoulder of rock in the middle distance. The seascape and the sky above it were painted in tones of Prussian blue that offered no visually-contiguous relationship to the landscape of the shore itself. Indeed, the painting appeared to deliberately de-couple the sea and sky from the unifying treatment of light evident in Romantic French coastal scenes such as those of Turner or Richard Parkes Bonington.²⁵¹

By 1861 many of the effects brought together in *The Coast of Brittany* had been prefigured in numberless photographic depictions, and any ambition to isolate specific photographic references may therefore seem liable to arbitrary pseudomorphism. However, just as the photographs of Delamotte, Howlett and Calvert Jones had provided pictorialities against which Whistler might juxtapose the comparable subjects in painting, so a specific British photographic practice may have informed this more ambitious coastal picture. The works of John Dilwyn Llewellyn, Calvert Jones's colleague and mentor during the 1840s, offer several

²⁵⁰ Dorment et al., *James Mcneill Whistler*, p.110.

²⁵¹ Comparisons can be made both with Bonington's *French Coast with Fishermen* and *A Scene on the French Coast*, both c.1825.

precedents for the configuration of Whistler's painting. Llewellyn was another elite-amateur pioneer of photography in Great Britain, independently wealthy and well-connected (he was High Sheriff of West Glamorgan from 1853) and a founder of the influential Royal Institution of South Wales. Llewellyn was also a relative of Henry Fox Talbot through both his parent's families. He followed his cousin's experiments with light-sensitive papers closely, reporting the results of his trials back to Fox Talbot in an extensive correspondence. In the mid-1840s, Llewellyn was probably the first photographer to achieve successful studies of breaking waves in photographs made at Caswell Bay outside Swansea [fig.115], amongst the first instances in which photographic materials became sensitive enough to 'freeze' the motion of the sea. Llewellyn was a Council member of the Photographic Society of London at its foundation in 1853.²⁵²

Llewellyn's achievement in photographing wave motion was considerable; his images demonstrated the potential of photographic practice to acquire knowledge too complex for the unaided human eye, an achievement entirely comparable to Muybridge and Maray's later and more celebrated investigations of human and animal locomotion. Gustave Le Grey's composite photographs of breaking waves at Sète from 1857 [fig.116], in which the sky and water were printed from separate plates as well as Baudry's *La Perle et la vague* (1862) and Alexandre Cabanal's *Naissance de Venus* (1863) may all reasonably be argued as attentive to the novelty of wave photography, while the productions of both Courbet and Whistler at Trouville in 1865, especially Whistler's oil studies of Courbet on the shore, demonstrated many specific resemblances to Llewellyn's photographs of female figures

²⁵² Noel Chanan, *The Photographer of Penllergare: A Life of John Dillwyn Llewellyn 1810-1882* (Impress, 2013), p.10.

standing alone on the tidal sands at Caswell Bay. Llewellyn's images materialised the 'true' motions of the physical world in a peculiarly self-referential way: The energy that constantly animated and reconfigured oceanic wave-forms demonstrated the constant mutability of *all* forms in nature, including the form of light itself. As Andrea Henderson has argued;

photography both redefined realism and played an important role in generating a new conception of the real itself. This was due not only to the extraordinary mimetic power of photography but also to the fact that photographic technology was intimately bound up with developments in Victorian physics that had ramifications for the understanding of matter. At the heart of these developments was a shift from a conception of light as substance—composed of corpuscles: bodies or units of light—to a conception of light as a formal configuration, as a wave.²⁵³

Llewellyn's photographs of breaking waves therefore depicted the wave-form of water acting on the shoreline while acknowledging the affordances of the comparable wave-form of photons acting on silver salts, the photographic print thereby documenting contrasting temporalities within a framework of 'universal' scientific principle. The majority of his photographs also depicted the stratified beds of limestone that formed the South Gower landscape. **[fig.117]** Attention to geology located Llewellyn's photographic practice in relationship to other matters of significant elite concern; the Gower peninsular was part of a limestone formation that bounded the South Wales coalfield, the geology of the Cambrian coal seams representing a matter of fundamental significance to British commerce and consequently an object of the most painstaking studies. The layering, tilting and bending of

²⁵³ Andrea Henderson, "Magic Mirrors: Formalist Realism in Victorian Physics and Photography," *Representations* 117, no. 1 (2012), p.121.

the limestone structure into 'frozen' wave-forms therefore presented a third, deep temporality within the photographic image. The geological field of enquiry was also contiguous with a local elite-amateur tradition of archaeology; inaccessible caves in the Gower sea-cliffs had produced mammoth and woolly rhinoceros' bones which constituted irrefutable evidence of the area's physical transformation since the Ice Age.

The Coast of Brittany, another site of Celtic persistence on the edge of Europe, related to the photographic practice of Llewellyn in several ways. The action of the wave itself, depicted in the background of the painting was, by 1861, an increasingly conventional image of technological modernity, although Whistler was evidently well-pleased with his version of the effect.²⁵⁴ The depiction of the coastal geological formation was more distinctive, being comparable with at least two of Llewellyn's extant images which similarly emphasised the banded staining of the rocks on the tideline and the fissured strata of the limestone. Most significantly, the disconcerting effect of sand in *The Coast of Brittany* has affinities with a photograph by Llewellyn of *Rhossilli*, (1840-50) [fig.118] in which the action of rapidly drifting, wind-disturbed sand was exposed on the plate as an undifferentiated cloud from which the ancient cliffs appear to emerge as if from above a mist. This is not to claim that the effect depicted in *The Coast of Brittany* repeated that of *Rhossilli* but that the production of an 'unintelligible' surface of drifting sand in Llewellyn's photograph was another instance in which the limitation of photographic materials had produced a pictorial space 'outside' depiction. Just as other supplementary effects of photography found their painted equivalents in *Old Battersea Bridge* and *The Thames in Ice*, so the unintelligible

²⁵⁴ Daphne Du Maurier and Derek Pepys Whiteley, eds., *The Young George Du Maurier: A Selection of His Letters, 1860-67*, Edited by Daphne Du Maurier (London: Peter Davies, 1951), p.105.

sand-dunes of *The Coast of Brittany* owed their representation to another example of defamiliarization inherent in the photographic process. The painted surface of *The Coast of Brittany*, in which the banded, fissured rocks, imperceptible shadows and solitary figure floated uncannily on the formless cloud of pale ochre shared its pictoriality with those non-depictive aspects of *Rhossilli Bay*; multiple, wave-form temporalities of geology, water, wind and light were implicit in both. But, as in the previously discussed Thames river-scapes of 1859-60, these qualities do not by themselves provide a sufficient description of the painting. The pattern evident in earlier pictures suggests that *The Coast of Brittany* might be seen as performing a procedure of 'photographic mimesis' on the landscape pictures of Richard Parkes Bonington (another 'fleeting' figure of Anglo-French internationalism) similar to that which other paintings of *The Société des trois* performed on the traditions of bourgeois or peasant genre painting. A comparison with Bonington's *A Scene on the French Coast* (c.1825) [fig.119], for instance, reveals both extensive similarities in colouring and a group of doll-like female physiologies depicted as picturesque human counterpoints to the distant view. Such configurations were transformed in *The Coast of Brittany* by an account of atmospheric spaciousness and temporality that entirely contradicted and re-ordered Bonington's construction of landscape.

Taken with *At the Piano* and *The Music Room*, Whistler's landscape paintings may be proposed as a sustained exploration of different constructions of photographic pictoriality on their most proximate equivalents in painting. In each case an established genre of picture was reformulated using the characteristic surfaces of photographic models that corresponded pictorially, formally and institutionally to the subject-matter of the painting.

The succession of paintings that commenced with *At the Piano* calibrated established traditions of genre against their equivalent photographic form, in which the works of Clementina Hawarden are likely to have been significant. *The White Girl* was the most ambitious of this series and was based on sustained research into the consequences of photographic surfaces for a future pictoriality.

3.4 The Photographic Genealogy of *The White Girl*

The White Girl had been produced for the 1862 Annual Exhibition of the Royal Academy.²⁵⁵ Compared with the landscapes and genre pictures that preceded it, this picture represented a new departure in scale and subject for Whistler. Using the dimensions of the full-length ‘grand manner’ portrait, the canvas was nearly three times larger than any of his previous paintings. In advance of any discussion of pictoriality, this abrupt change of scale is striking and must be accounted for in terms of the painting’s intended exhibitionary context in London. John House has argued that consciousness of the anticipated conditions of viewing partially accounted for the visual organization of Manet’s major works. Discussing the characteristics of the Paris Salon in the Second Empire, House considered that “the problem for painters was to get their work noticed by critics and by the public, particularly if [...] their controversial reputation meant that their works were unlikely to be placed in favourable

²⁵⁵ In the early 1860s the Annual Exhibition in London was crucial to Whistler’s professional identity; while his etchings had been well-received internationally, his precocious success with *At the Piano* in 1860 and the quieter acceptance of *La Mère Gérard* in 1861 contrasted with Whistler’s lack of official recognition in Paris, where works by his all French colleagues had been accepted for the *Salons* of either 1859 or 1861.

conditions".²⁵⁶ According to House, Manet's organization of pictorial space, with very large figures in the foreground, 'crisply lit and clearly defined' was a product of this requirement for visibility. In London too, the gallery spaces of the academy were less than ideal for hanging the large numbers of paintings displayed at exhibition and crowded, incoherent conditions of viewing persisted, despite a significant refurbishment of the East Wing of the National Gallery that took place in 1861 in order to improve the viewing conditions for sculpture and create more room to display pictures.²⁵⁷ At the 1861 Annual Exhibition Frederick Leighton's six submissions, particularly his innovative *Lieder ohne Worte* (1861), were hung particularly badly. His progressive supporters were incensed; D G Rossetti, writing to William Allingham shortly after the exhibition opened, complained that

Leighton might [...] have made a burst, had his pictures not been very ill-placed mostly - indeed one of them (the only very good one, *Lieder ohne Worte*) is the only instance of a very striking unfairness in the place[...]²⁵⁸

Henry Stacy Marks, writing a weekly column in *The Spectator* under the pseudonym 'Dry point', also praised *Lieder ohne Worte* while lamenting its placement: 'the hangers have not been guilty of a crueller act this year than that of placing this beautiful picture at a height where its merits can be only partially seen'²⁵⁹. Marks's two reviews of the Annual Exhibition offered several other observations about the visibility of pictures. On 8th June Marks discussed recent trends in full-length portraiture, asserting that:

²⁵⁶ James B. Cuno, John House, and Joachim Kaak, *Manet: Face to Face* (München: Pinakothek-DuMont, 2004), p.60.

²⁵⁷ The number of pictures accepted by the Hanging Committee was invariably greater than the space available to display them.

²⁵⁸ "The Tate Gallery 1978-80: Illustrated Catalogue of Acquisitions," (London: Tate Publishing, 1981). p.34.

²⁵⁹ Henry Stacy Marks (Dry point), *The Spectator*, 25th May 1861, p.556.

Much complaint is often heard about their number and obtrusiveness, a complaint that is scarcely reasonable for they generally occupy positions in which smaller subject pictures would be scarcely visible; they seldom encroach on the line.²⁶⁰

He continued:

In gazing round the portraits this year, I am struck by two things; first, that the conventional column and curtain have been displaced by the bran-new turkey-carpet and easy-chair, and secondly that many of the painters have discovered some new rules of proportion for the human frame. Eight times the length of the head used to be considered the maximum height of an erect figure. Now nine and even ten times that length are considered insufficient. Thus Mr. E.U. Edis [*sic.*], in 'Robert Palmer Esq.' (17) **[fig 120]**, an otherwise honestly painted portrait, represents the sitter of Brobdingnagian dimensions, reminding one of those deceptive show-cloths hung outside a small travelling caravan, which intimate that, "the Patagonian Giant may be seen within". Mr H.C. Weigall sins also in this respect. 'The Earl of Airlie' (273) **[fig.121]** appears to be considerably over seven feet in height.²⁶¹

If full-length portraits had recently become unwieldy and bombastic, at the opposite end of the spectrum the miniature portrait was disappearing from view altogether: Marks noted "The North Room, by its scanty display of miniatures, shows what inroads have been made on this branch of art by photography."²⁶² The recent increase in the scale and proportions of full-length portraits noted by Marks was also, by implication, a response to the

²⁶⁰ Henry Stacy Marks (Dry point), *The Spectator*, 8th June 1861, p.614.

²⁶¹ *ibid*, p.614.

²⁶² *ibid*, p.614.

encroachment of photographic portraiture on painting: Scale was a significant factor in the reception of photographs, as Olivier Lugon has recently argued;

Originally photography belonged to a tradition of small-scale images. Made for private viewing, photographs were observed from above in albums, portfolios and books, which had to be held in one's hands or placed on a table. Since the positive could only be reproduced by contact printing, like engravings and prints, it was impossible to change the initial format and to compensate for its fundamental miniaturizing function. This made photography an ideal tool for collecting [but] a poor tool for exhibition, as it required a type of observation that was akin to reading. The individual photograph was too small to fill the wall, which led to a multiplication of the prints on display, tending toward distracting overcrowding. Moreover, a sensibility to light made them fade at the very same time at which they were shown. Photography thus remained outside the modern parameters of art as defined by easel painting, which required the combination of both collection value and exhibition value.²⁶³

Marks's comments on portraiture at the Annual Exhibition in 1860 specifically identified the consequences of this characteristic of photographic portraiture for the 'exhibition value' of painted portraiture. In the *carte-de-visite*, photography now offered a form of depiction that both massively expanded the demand for small likenesses and simultaneously made the painted miniature obsolescent as a portable form of depiction. The decline of the miniature was regretfully noted by Diamond in 1858 in a leader of *The Journal of the Photographic Society*.

²⁶³ Olivier Lugon, "Photography and Scale: Projection, Exhibition, Collection," *Art History* 38, no. 3 (2015), pp.390-391.

Amongst the many changes photography has produced in art generally, or in the influence it has had upon particular branches, there is not, perhaps, a more striking instance to be found than that portion of the Royal Academy Exhibition called the Miniature Room. Time was when a while side of that room was crowded, every nook and corner often spread out and occupying a large portion of each end: now however, a few yards of space in the centre of that once crowded side suffice for all that are worth exhibiting.

There can be no doubt the cause of this may be traced to photography; it has swept away very many third- or fourth-class miniature-painters, or turned them into photographic colourists – men who never ought to have adopted art as a profession – men who painted people who flourish in the nineteenth century, but who never flourish themselves [...] But such an inroad has been made in this branch of art, that it becomes a serious question whether we may lose our miniature painters entirely. A first class miniature is, and must ever be, an expensive object, and those who can paint them are leaving the profession. Sir William Ross is too far on in years to make it worth his while to change, Wells, we hope, never will; but Carrick, we are informed has withdrawn, and adopted the far more lucrative office of colouring photographs. But that most to be regretted is Thorburn having taken to paint large pictures in oil.²⁶⁴

The limitations of enlargement noted by Lugon meant that large-scale portraits had no direct photographic competition in exhibitionary contexts. By emphasizing the imposing scale of the Reynoldsian full-length portrait, (whether with 'column and curtain' or with more contemporary props) painters such as Robert Thorburn, Eden Upton Eddis and Henry

²⁶⁴ The debate around the demise of miniature portrait painting as a consequence of portrait photography had already been noted by Diamond in 1858. See Hugh W. Diamond, *The Journal of The Photographic Society* 5, no. 70 (1858), pp.20-21.

Weigall were apparently attempting to place their professional practices safely beyond such photographic 'de-skilling'.

In the face of such unwelcome market change there was no doubt also some significance in the restatement of Reynoldsian principles within the demesnes of the Royal Academy. The disappearance of *Lieder ohne Worte* amongst the reactionary reassertions of the Reynoldsian 'grand manner' portrait was therefore doubly consequent on photographic pressures in the portrait sector. The non-Reynoldsian composition of *Lieder ohne Worte* not only ran counter to the institutional appeal to aesthetic orthodoxy in the face of photographic expansion but was rendered physically invisible by the ranks of hyperbolized Reynoldsian canvases hung from the cornices of the National Gallery. These portraits were recorded by Marks as 'obtrusive' partially because their visual dominance was generally disproportionate to the status of the sitter or their pictorial interest (except, Marks thought, to those sections of the viewing public whose taste in painting was comparatively uninformed), but also because they literally obtruded, hung on chains that leant forward from the wall into the viewer's space.

In this context, Whistler's choice of scale and format in *The White Girl* can be understood as a strategy generated by the emergence of obtrusive 'anti-photographic' portraiture. The light tonality and unconventional background of Whistler's picture would have offered an emphatic contrast with the tenebrism of works like Weighell's pendant pair of the *Earl of Airlie* and *The Countess of Airlie* (both 1861) [fig.122]. *The White Girl* offered an unconventional pictoriality at the same monumental scale as these paintings, effectively being too large a surface to be 'skied' and thereby circumventing the vulnerabilities that

had condemned *Lieder ohne Worte* to marginalization. The picture also sidestepped the inevitable competition for space 'on the line' by adopting a format that had to be displayed in the less-contested 'portrait zone' of the Academy wall. Had the Royal Academy accepted *The White Girl* in 1861, its presence amongst the 'obtrusive' portraits at the Annual Exhibition would have offered a combatively didactic contrast with academic practice; *The White Girl* substituted the characteristic Reynoldsian threshold between Classical architecture and an Arcadian landscape in the 'column and curtain' with attention to the depiction of an unfamiliar pictorial space and an emphasis on painterly surface effects. A comparison between *The White Girl* and Weighell's *Countess of Airlie* demonstrates that the most immediately-visible innovation of *The White Girl* was precisely this unconventional spatiality; the viewpoint apparently from above, looking *down* onto the carpet and foreground objects, the horizon-line correspondingly elevated to a position above the head of the figure which, as contemporary critics noted, resulted in the model's head being placed very near the top of the canvas.²⁶⁵ Spatial recession behind the figure, where a *repoussoir* would be expected in Reynoldsian practice, was screened by the richly-painted sprigged muslin curtain. The depiction of this translucent textile was a notable feat of illusionistic painting: close attention by the viewer might reveal that the curtain had been hung temporarily across the room, suggesting the presence of a further space behind the curtain that included a window on the right wall and a domestic fireplace with mantle-shelf and over-mantle mirror at the far end of the room. Conventional chiaroscuro was largely absent in *The White Girl*, the dark tones required to establish the modelling of the figure reduced to a modest patch of shadow within the shaggy texture of the bearskin on which

²⁶⁵ Fried, *Manet's Modernism, or, the Face of Painting in the 1860s*, p.223.

the model stood. The figure of the 'White Girl' herself was also far removed from the conventions of painted portraiture, being dressed entirely in white, in deliberate opposition to the *habit noir* recommended for female sitters by portraitists as well as by photographers who sought to emulate a Reynoldsian aesthetic in their works. As 'Charles Martel' explained in an article on 'Colour in Relation to Photography' in *The Photographic News* in June 1860;

In a [photographic] portrait, the lightest portion of the picture should be the head and hands, the tones becoming deeper as they recede from the central space occupied by the head; the portraits by Titian, Rembrandt and Vandyck are models in this respect, and may be profitably studied by the photographer in good engravings after these masters. Whenever the photographer is consulted by a female sitter as to the best costume, he should counsel black. A glossy black silk dress displays beautiful arrangement of light and shade in the photograph; the glossy surface reflecting a considerable quantity of white light, it exhibits sufficient variety of tone to constitute a satisfactory picture. If lace collar and cuffs are added to the costume, they should be as open as possible, by which an effect of light grey is obtained – much preferable to opaque white.²⁶⁶

In *The White Girl*, the head and hands of the model were described in darker tones than her reflective white costume, entirely inverting the tonal arrangement described by Martel. Although explicitly conceived against a 'photographically-aware' grand-manner portraiture, the picture was nonetheless an extension of the investigation into the adjacency of painting and photography already discussed in *At the Piano*. The substitution of the 'column and curtain' with the virtuoso depiction of a *contre-jour* lace curtain announced the picture's photographic referent: Such depictions of translucent muslin were an allusion to a specific

²⁶⁶ Charles Martel, "Colour in Its Relation to Photography," *The Photographic News*, June 15 1860, p.74.

British photographic source, a return to the work of Hawarden as it had developed since 1859 in her extended series of *Studies from Life*. These photographs depicted Hawarden's daughters performing carefully-arranged poses for the camera, often while elaborately and self-consciously costumed. The majority of the photographs represented single figures, although genre scenes involving the interaction of two sibling models were also frequently depicted in *tableaux-vivants* that were orchestrated in a variety of modern, orientalist and historical variations. Modern dress was frequently presented according to the conventions of the contemporary fashion plate; a Hawarden print recently acquired by the Musée D'Orsay, *Isabella Grace Maude standing in three-quarter profile moving towards a door* (c.1862) [fig.123] was pasted to an album sheet, back-to-back with 'a coloured engraving depicting a young girl holding a textile in her hands', placing at least one *Study from Life* in close discursive proximity to commercial reproductive media, one of a number of re-mediations of commercial imagery suggested by Hawarden's practice.²⁶⁷ The *Studies from Life* were 'elite-amateur' works, utilising two rooms on the first floor of Hawarden's home at 5 Princes Gardens, South Kensington.²⁶⁸ The rooms were stripped of furniture and carpets, but otherwise only minimal adjustments were made to these evacuated domestic spaces in order to repurpose them as a photographic studio. A small number of 'props' - chairs, a desk, an ormolu table - recurred in many different images, as did the sprigged muslin curtains that dressed the full-height windows of these apartments. To appropriate the most prestigious interior spaces of a brand-new house for the purposes of photography

²⁶⁷ Isabella Grace Maude debout de trois-quart se dirigeant vers la porte, vers 1862, Musée d'Orsay, PHO 2013 5 19, Fiche Oeuvre n°166354, épreuve sur papier albuminé à partir d'un négatif sur verre au collodion, H. 11,2; L. 9,0 cm. Au verso de l'épreuve: gravure réhaussée de couleurs représentant une jeune fille debout tenant un tissu dans les mains. Indications manuscrites: "Shadows 1863. Taken by Lady Hawarden. Isabella Grace Maude" et inscription d'un n°17.

²⁶⁸ Virginia Dodier, *Lady Hawarden: Studies from Life, 1857-1864* (London: V&A, 1999), p.120.

was presumably an unconventional domestic arrangement (even temporarily; the appearance of luxurious starred wallpaper at some point in the succession of photographs surely suggests that the conversion may have been occasional rather than a permanently-established working-space). Hawarden's *Studies* were self-evidently concerned with the depiction of gestures and poses, and the photographs repeatedly investigated the photographic characteristics of textile. These forms of attention suggest that their function as were as objects of study or reference. Consideration of Hawarden's wider *œuvre* reveals the existence of multiple, near-identical versions of many studies that differ in details of costume and lighting conditions, suggesting repeated attempts to articulate a single photographic objective. There exist, for instance, at least eight near-identical photographs of Clementina Maud with her reflection doubled by a large cheval mirror and dressed subtly-differentiated variations of 'Tudor' costume.

Hawarden's *Studies from Life* were evidently received by her male contemporaries as '*académies*'; Rejlander, writing Hawarden's obituary in 1865, noted that 'She worked honestly, in a good comprehensible style', suggesting that the *Studies from Life* were understood within London's elite photographic community as straightforward figure-studies.²⁶⁹ Lewis Carroll also noted in his diary that Hawarden's 1864 submissions to the Exhibition of the Photographic Society of London were 'the best of the life-ones'.²⁷⁰ As life-studies, Hawarden's researches into the depiction of contemporary fashion and the

²⁶⁹ *Ibid.* p.106.

²⁷⁰ *Ibid.* p.90. Carroll later purchased five of Hawarden's prints from the Female School of Art *fête* held at the Horticultural Society Gardens, in the epicentre of 'Albertopolis' between the location of the 1862 International Exhibition and the construction site of the Albert Hall. Hawarden also made a number of photographic portraits on the day to raise funds for the Female School of Art, assisted by The South Kensington Museum's official photographer Charles Thurston Thompson.

deportment and manners of young female aristocrats may even have been produced for specific professional requirements. Arguments have already been put forward for the productivity of Hawarden's other photographic practices as references within the works of both Whistler and Haden. Certainly, Haden's etchings *The Letter* (1863) and *The Assination* (1865) reproduced significant elements of Hawarden photographs.²⁷¹ Additionally, illustrations drawn by Millais for Illustration for Rosa Mulholland's *Irene*, 1862 [fig.124] and Wilkie Collins's *No Name*, 1864 [fig.125] corresponded closely enough to Hawarden's photographs to suggest that at least some of the *Studies* might have been posed specifically for Millais to illustrate incidents from contemporary narrative fiction. Millais was an enthusiastic user of photographic references. As Suzanne Fagence Cooper has noted;

John Everett Millais, for example, found that a photographic montage of models could help him to construct his complex figure composition in *Apple Blossoms* (1856-9). From the 1870s, as demand grew from his work, he was supplied with photographs by Rupert Potter, His daughter, the illustrator Beatrix, noted in her diary that 'Mr. Millais says all the artists use photographs now'.²⁷²

Instances of *The Studies from Life* were certainly in circulation from 1863 when Hawarden showed examples at the Exhibition of the Photographic Society of London, winning a Silver Medal for 'the best contribution by an amateur'.²⁷³ She showed with the Photographic Society again in 1864, once again winning a Silver Medal for 'composition'. Several photographs by Hawarden depicted her most significant model, her daughter Clementina

²⁷¹ Dodier, "Haden, Photography and Salmon Fishing," pp.34-50.

²⁷² Suzanne Fagence Cooper, "Technology, Tradition and the Dilemmas of Design," in *The Victorian Vision, Inventing the New Britain*, ed. John M. MacKenzie (London: V&A Publications, 2001), p.189.

²⁷³ Dodier, *Lady Hawarden: Studies from Life, 1857-1864*, p.108.

Maud, dressed in white or very light-toned clothing while posed adjacent to the white lace curtains that decorated the studio window at Princes Gardens. Hawarden's photographs, designed as studies in drapery and expressive gesture, made no concessions to either the conventions of Reynoldsian portraiture or the narratives of bourgeois genre (presumably it was the responsibility of users of Hawarden's *Studies* to translate her documentary practice into a full pictorial context). Photographs such *Clementina Maude, 5 Princes Gardens* (V&A PH 457:344-1968) [fig.126], *Clementina Maude, arms raised, 5 Princes Gardens* (V&A PH.457:454-1968) [fig.127] and *Photograph* (V&A PH.457:222-1968) [fig.128] ignore conventional *chiaroscuro* modelling, and derive their organisation from the photographic description of bright afternoon sunlight against the reflective surfaces of a white cotton skirt and the white muslin curtain through which the light was partially filtered. Hawarden's photographic depiction of these muslin curtains, in which backlighting reinvented the sprigged pattern of the white lace as a scatter of dark *contre-jour* silhouettes, clearly informed the depiction of the effects of light on translucent textile in *The White Girl*. Like Hawarden's *Studies*, *The White Girl's* overarching visual interest was in the description of the effects of sunlight, as George Du Maurier explained in a letter to Thomas Armstrong in February 1862;

Jimmy made his appearance early on the Sunday morning and sat recounting his experiences for about three hours on my bed [...] He described his picture to me; it's called 'Alone'... Besides this he is painting the woman in white – Red-haired party, life-size, in a beautiful white cambric dress, standing against a window which filters the light through a transparent white muslin curtain – but the figure receives a strong light from the right and therefore the picture barring the red hair is one gorgeous mass of brilliant white. My notion is that it must be a

marvellously brilliant thing – you can fancy how he described it.²⁷⁴

Such interest in effects of ‘brilliance’ were an easily-identifiable motif in Hawarden’s works, where her daughters, wearing either partially or wholly light-coloured clothing, were similarly depicted against strong sunlight filtered through white muslin curtains [fig.129], an organization of space entirely unlike conventional photographic depictions of single figures - *cartes-de-visite* in particular - that attempted in some degree to emulate Reynoldsian conventions. This shared interest in brilliance was, however, only one aspect of larger pattern of correspondences between *The White Girl* and Hawarden’s photographs. The space in which had Whistler painted the picture was also substantially a reconstruction of the idiosyncratic domestic photographic studio itself. The actual room in which the painting was realized was had been rented at Whistler’s Paris hotel in the rue Pigalle; a temporary, commercial version of the modern *premier-étage* apartments utilized by Hawarden in London. *The White Girl* reconstituted a *simulacrum* of Hawarden’s authentic *haute-bourgeois* context, merging the space of the photographic ‘life-study’ into the frame of the Reynoldsian portrait.

As previously noted, the pictorial space of *The White Girl* was depicted from an unusual viewpoint, as if the model had been observed from above. It was this unusual perspective which produced the unconventional, elevated placing of the model at the top of the canvas noted by some contemporaries. Although unacknowledged by contemporary critics, this unconventional organisation of pictorial space had art-historical precedents, amongst which

²⁷⁴ Du Maurier and Whiteley, *The Young George Du Maurier: A Selection of His Letters, 1860-67*, Edited by Daphne Du Maurier. p.105.

was Murillo's *Immaculate Conception* (c.1678), a painting reproduced as an illustration [fig.130] to William Lake Price's series 'On Composition and Chairo'scuro' published in *The Photographic News* between February and May 1860. This series of articles offered an introduction to 'art theory' for photographers and suggested a range of compositional effects visible in Old Master paintings that might be appropriated by photographers as aids to improved photographic taste. The series has been described by Steve Edwards as 'enormously influential' amongst British photographers in the 1860s. Lake Price wrote;

In the central point of interest – the Virgin – we have the principle opposition of light and dark, which however, occupy, relatively to the entire surface, but a moderate portion of the canvas; the remainder being entirely half-tones of *every gradation*, from the delicate *nuances* of light shadows on the *white* drapery (whose finesse it is impossible to render in a wood-cut) down to the half-seen forms of the angels[...]²⁷⁵

While Murillo might therefore be regarded as one precedent for the unusual placement of the figure in *The White Girl*, another interpretation can be proposed: It is possible to ameliorate the picture's unconventional composition by viewing the painting tilted forward from its top edge, as if hung 'obtrusively'. This adjustment reveals that the perspective is mildly anamorphic, and the revised viewpoint does much to resolve the relationship between figure and space, clarifying the model's position on the bearskin and reducing (although not entirely erasing) the imbalance between the space above and below the figure. This operation also adjusts the proportions of the figure from those of extended, 'brobdingagian' height to the more plausible depiction of a slightly-built young woman. The

²⁷⁵ William Lake Price, "On Composition and Chairo'scuro," *The Photographic News* III, no. 88 (1860), p.19.

modelling of the figure becomes pronounced and the draped angle of the skirt's hem is brought forward towards the viewer producing an effect somewhat like the 'stereoscopic' quality of *At the Piano*. The conceit of *The White Girl* might be read as a slightly *trompe-l'oeil* effect; the mimesis of the view of a figure standing in real space somewhere behind the observer, seen in a mirror hung forward from the wall by the top edge of its frame. This strategy no doubt contributed to the well-known suggestions amongst critics at the *Salon des Refusés* that the painting represented a 'phantom', much like those produced by the lights and mirrors of stage-machinery in theatrical melodramas. This form of pictorial space also occurred in other paintings by Whistler; notably in the long mirror shown hanging forward on the rear wall of Whistler's studio in the unfinished *The Artist in his Studio* (1865) [fig.131], which also depicted a bourgeois interior with white curtains, lit from the right.²⁷⁶ A similar orientation was also visible in Legros's *Portrait de E.M.* in which the *Spanish Singer* was displayed hanging forward behind Manet at an even more acute angle than that required to achieve the optical 'correction' of *The White Girl*. Christopher Newell's 1997 proposition that Clementina Hawarden's photographs had informed Whistler's *Symphony in White No.2, The Little White Girl* (1865) was also founded on Hawarden's frequent use of mirrors in her photographs.²⁷⁷ Forward-tilted mirrors were, however, infrequent in Hawarden's practice although examples such as *Untitled, Study from Life* (V&A D309-1947) may be found [fig.132]. The surprising effects of such a depiction when placed against conventional portraiture can be gauged by turning back to the comparison between *The White Girl* and Weighell's *Countess of Airlie*; the conjunction of scale and Reynoldsian tenebrism exacerbated the unlikely proportions of the Countess, whose black skirt occupied

²⁷⁶ The effect is easier to distinguish in the preparatory sketch now in the Art Institute of Chicago than in the more developed work in the Hugh Lane Gallery in Dublin.

²⁷⁷ Henderson, "Magic Mirrors: Formalist Realism in Victorian Physics and Photography," pp.136-139.

three-quarters of the picture surface whereas, under similar conditions of viewing, *The White Girl* resolved into spatial coherence. The 'forward-hung' mimesis of mirroring may therefore be argued as a response to specific conditions of viewing at the Royal Academy in the early 1860s.

Thus far, discussion of the figure of *The White Girl* herself, modelled by Jo Hiffernan, has been deferred. Although Hawarden's photographic space could be straightforwardly replicated, the specific performativity of her daughters, particularly that of Clementina Maud (whose contribution to Hawarden's photographs must surely entitle her to the status of collaborator) could not be so easily reproduced. 'Jo' was not 'Clementina Maud', yet was depicted in a space defined by Clementina Maud, wearing clothes that echoed those worn or improvised by the Hawarden girls. Jo's dress with its Venetian sleeves was evidently selected for the light-reflecting qualities of glazed cambric, in order to achieve an equivalent to the bleached brilliance of the white cotton skirts observable in Hawarden's work. However, Jo's portrait appears somewhat detached from this orchestration, as if she was unwilling to reproduce the presence of the photographic model she was required to emulate. *The White Girl's* requirement that Jo Hiffernan should reproduce a Hawardenesque gestural intensity was also reflected in intriguing additional correspondences between the social identities of Hiffernan and Clementina Maud Hawarden's. In the early 1860s both women were referred to by male artists as *La Belle Anglaise* or its derivatives; Hiffernan was so named in Du Maurier's record of Whistler's visit:

Joe [*sic.*] came with him to me on the Monday afternoon, got up like a duchess, without crinoline, the mere *making up* of her bonnet by Madame

somebody or other in Paris had cost 50fr. And Jimmy describes all the Parisians on the boulevard as aghast at 'la belle Anglaise'! – They have both gone back to Paris.²⁷⁸

Jo's 'mock-theatrical' honorific title was repeated in the title of Haden's etched portrait of Clementina Maud Hawarden, also called *La Belle Anglaise* (1864), a plate that was certainly based on another Hawarden *Study from Life*, while Courbet subsequently described Jo as *La Belle Irlandaise* in the series of portraits he painted of her in Trouville around 1865. Hiffernan and Clementina Maud Hawarden therefore coexisted within a single discursive formation both inside and outside the pictorial space of *The White Girl*. The insertion of Jo's features into such a distinctively-constructed virtuality, as a 'place-holder for portraiture' may have contributed to the exceptional resistance of *The White Girl* to iconographic interpretation – a picture not intended to function as a portrait itself yet proposing what a modernised portraiture might look like. The re-construction of an elite space of photography though the *simulacrum* of Whistler's Parisian hotel signalled the availability of a radically different model for modern painted portraiture to that offered by mainstream British portrait-painters; rather than consolidating a practice around Reynoldsian tropes beyond photography's current technical limitations, *The White Girl* proposed a strategy of revision of the genre that fully embraced an elite photographic pictoriality. There was a neat conceptual symmetry to Whistler's choice of model; If Reynolds's 'classicising' spatiality had been designed to represent his sitter's participation in the 'polite' culture of the eighteenth-century European elite, the example of Hawarden's studio, part elite drawing-room, part feminine performance space and part technical workshop, suggested the modern subject's

²⁷⁸ Du Maurier and Whiteley, *The Young George Du Maurier: A Selection of His Letters, 1860-67*, Edited by Daphne Du Maurier. p.105.

immersion in the visual and intellectual culture of ‘art and industry’, a space within which Hiffernan’s body was depicted as spatially, socially and experimentally enmeshed.

However, the conditions of viewing at the *Salon des Refusés* proved very different from those at the Royal Academy in London, for which the painting had been designed. As Philip Hamerton noted, *The White Girl* was hung over a doorway in the final room of the exhibition, on the wall to the right of that on which Manet’s three paintings were exhibited; the viewpoint from within the flow of visitors leaving the exhibition would not have offered either the spatial contrast with Reynoldsian painting on which the picture was predicated, nor the forward-hanging orientation that engaged its optical refinements.²⁷⁹ The most proximate works with which *The White Girl* could be compared were the two full-length figure paintings by Manet which flanked *Le Déjeuner sur L’herbe*.

3.5 Manet’s *Salon des Refusés* ‘Array’

The *Salon des Refusés* was, as many commentators have noted, organised with extreme haste, and decisions about placement were almost certainly have been practicalities or intuitions on the part of Niewerkerke’s bureaucrats. The striking and symmetrical grouping of Manet’s works on the wall of the *Salon des Refusés* [fig.133], likely a consequence of the hurried organisation of the exhibition, was a curiously apposite organisation of that painter’s submission. There was no guarantee that all Manet’s pictures would have all been

²⁷⁹ Philip Gilbert Hamerton, "The Salon of 1863," *Fine Arts Quarterly Review* 1, no. October (1863), pp.259-60.

accepted or hung together had they all been accepted for the official Salon, nor did the numbering in the belated livret require that the pictures be organised in this configuration; (*Le Déjeuner sur l'herbe*, listed as *Le Bain*, was no. 363, the *Jeune homme* no. 364, and *Mademoiselle V.* no. 365.) Discussing *Jeune homme en costume de majo*, Juliet Wilson Bareau noted that Manet “signed and dated this painting shortly before sending it to the Salon” and suggests that “ [...]it is therefore possible that it was executed as a pendant to the figure of Victorine, with the intention that the two canvases should hang on either side of the *Déjeuner sur l'herbe* – Hispanic wings for an Italian High Renaissance altarpiece.”²⁸⁰

Modern multi-panel works that deliberately invoked the altarpiece format had certainly been attempted within both Nazarene and Pre-Raphaelite circles in the 1840s but the distribution of Manet’s submission was more informal; the proportions of each painting were clearly unrelated and there was no attempt to unify the pictorial space between the three pictures.²⁸¹ It is also notable that Manet himself never attempted such to repeat this configuration; in the catalogue of his 1867 *Exposition Particuliere*, *Le Déjeuner sur l'herbe* was listed as exhibit no. 1, while the *Jeune homme* and *Mademoiselle V.* were ‘demoted’ to numbers 12 and 13 respectively but remained together, supporting Wilson Bareau’s suggestion that they were conceived as an informal pendant pair. Even if, as at the *Refusés*, the actual placement on the wall of the 1867 exhibition did not conform to the order of the catalogue, the intrusion of ten later works between *Le Déjeuner* and the Spanish costume pictures implies that their 1863 configuration was not significant enough to be repeated. Nonetheless, the triptych configuration of the grouping generated intertextual relationships

²⁸⁰ Juliet Wilson Bareau, “Manet and Spain,” in *Manet/Velazquez*, ed. Gary Tinterow (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2003) p.224

²⁸¹ Elizabeth Prettejohn, *Modern Painters, Old Masters: The Art of Imitation from the Pre-Raphaelites to the First World War* (New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 2017), pp.120-121.

that must have been at least partially available to contemporary viewers. As Nancy Lock has observed, the paintings all

feature[d] his favoured model, Victorine Meurent, and his brother Gustave Manet [...] both of whom wear the same Spanish costume. A viewer in 1863 would have been struck by the repetition of costumes and faces; indeed the group must have appeared as a coterie of sorts, as party to an “in” joke, as a meaningful cast of characters.²⁸²

Francoise Cachin noted a similar quality in her 1983 account of *Le Déjeuner sur l'herbe*:

[...] there is something contrived, dry, “deadpan” about this *grande machine* wherein Manet and his friends play out a kind of *tableau vivant*, as in the parlour game dear to Second Empire society. This play of the live pose on things classical, on museum pieces, gave rise to a certain uneasiness, an embarrassment, like listening to a joke that goes on too long.²⁸³

The combined effect of the three works when viewed in their 1863 disposition remains uncomfortable; four sceptical and self-confident gazes were marshalled in ways that suggested a concerted interrogation of the viewer’s desire to ‘enter’ the pictorial space. The effect is both exclusionary and insultingly invested in games of ‘dressing up’ (including ‘dressing up’ as a nude model), an elaborate performance of mock-heroic irony. Amongst

²⁸² Nancy Locke, "Manet's Déjeuner Sur L'herbe as a Family Romance," in *Manet's Déjeuner Sur L'herbe*, ed. Paul Hayes Tucker (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p.120.

²⁸³ Francoise Cachin, Charles S. Moffett, and Juliet Wilson Bareau, *Manet 1832-1883: Galeries Nationales Du Grand Palais, Paris, April 22-August 8, 1983, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, September 10-November 27, 1983* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1983), p.170.

the propositions of this Chapter is that such a reading was also readily available to viewers in 1863, and that the repetition of Victorine Meurent and Gustave Manet's features suggested their collaborative relationship with the painter, as if Manet and his circle of friends were able to adopt and discard costumes and poses at will ('Sometimes we use some studio props to dress like performers in an Offenbach operetta, sometimes we act outrageously like students on holiday' they might have said. 'We have access to chic forms of leisure, fashion and sexuality in which you, the viewer, cannot participate'). The informality of the triptych configuration served to underline this sense of performative confidence; the repeated identities; from Victorine Meurent as 'espada' to Victorine as comfortably-naked bohemian and from Gustave Manet as 'majo' to Gustave as sharply-dressed young intellectual, produced a shallow constructional crossing centred on the bathing figure at the apex of *Le Déjeuner sur l'herbe*, and a symmetry either side of its central vertical axis that emphasised the particular forms of pictoriality shared amongst all three works.

Manet's two full-length figures, while proportionally and spatially different, were both clearly intended to remind their viewers of commercial photographs which presented theatrical celebrities in costume, particularly the popular *cartes-de-visite* in which the photographic studio was inferred as an extension of the theatrical stage.²⁸⁴ This context was first proposed by Anne McCauley in 1985, but to establish the grounds of such relationships across the three components of the *Salon des Refusés* group requires the fuller exposition of the interchange between theatre and cartes established by Juliet Hacking

²⁸⁴ See Elizabeth Anne McCauley, *A.A.E. Disdéri and the Carte De Visite Portrait Photograph*, Yale Publications in the History of Art (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), pp.177, 181, 185.

from her analysis of the early daybooks of Camille Silvy's London *carte-de-visite* studio.²⁸⁵

Silvy relocated to London from Paris in the summer of 1859, and his studio in Porchester Square photographed both actors and participants in metropolitan elite society. Hacking has proposed that the stagecraft of actors from the newly fashionable 'French' comedies then popular in London demonstrated a performative confidence [fig.134] that offered a ready-made language of gesture and gaze able to animate the otherwise static and distanced *carte* image. These 'performative' images were intended to suggest informal modes of self-presentation that Silvy's aristocratic and *haute-bourgeois* clientele might emulate, a physiological 'gift' to participants in the public realm from whom the 'cartomania' of 1859-60 demanded an appropriately elite and polished response [fig.135].²⁸⁶

Commercial celebrity *cartes* were produced in tens of thousands in the early 1860s, making it difficult to argue for 'quotations' from specific images in Manet's paintings, but comparison with some representative examples drawn from the collections of the Bibliothèque nationale can serve to locate *Jeune homme en costume de majo* and *Mademoiselle V. en costume d'Espada* as allusions to these mass-market photographs. Manet's title, *Jeune homme en costume de majo*, bounded interpretation of this painting as a depiction of a young bourgeois dressed as a Spanish *bravo*, in which Gustave Manet temporarily assumed an identity derived from an ethnography established by Romantic travel writing such as Gautier's *Voyage en Espagne* of 1843. A near-identical representation of a Hispanic *physiologie* can be seen in a *carte* from a contemporary album of South

²⁸⁵ Juliet Hacking, "Camille Silvy's Repertory: The Carte-De-Visite and the London Theatre," *Art History* 33, no. 5 December (2010), pp.857-885.

²⁸⁶ *Ibid.* p.863-5.

American 'types' by the Mexican firm of Campa y Cruces.²⁸⁷ The print documents a man dressed in the costume of a 'gaucho' [fig.136], an image that follows exactly the formal conventions as the *Jeune homme*. In particular, the Campa y Cruces *carte* makes visible the specific proportions of the *Jeune homme's* canvas. While the figure in the Campa y Cruces album may well have been an authentic South American rancher, neither was it unusual for members of European elites to be photographed in ethnic costume, as numerous *carte* photographs of Western men in Arab or Chinese costume noted in Jacobson's survey of 'orientalist' photography has demonstrated.²⁸⁸

The slightly earlier *Mademoiselle V. en costume d'Espada*, although less formally mimetic of *cartes-de-visite*, nonetheless repeated many of the characteristic tropes of female celebrity portraiture. Victorine Meurent's masculine bull-fighters costume (apparently put together using the same bolero, jacket and hat as Gustave's *majo*) would have been completely familiar to contemporary metropolitan viewers from the numerous *carte* depictions of female actresses in 'breeches roles'. Such cross-dressing (although a performative strategy with deep roots) had been popularized in burlesque and *opera bouffe* from the 1820s onwards by the comic actress Virginie Déjazet, whose close association with such roles led to them being commonly referred to as 'déjazets'. A second commercially-assembled album of publicity cartes in the Bibliothèque nationale collection contains twenty-one photographs of Déjazet posing in a variety of 'breeches' costumes, principally from the *ancien régime*, *Directoire* and Napoleonic periods [fig.137]. In London, the influence of Déjazet might also be seen in Camille Silvy's contemporary record of the *Princesses Theatre Rifles* in 'Jack the

²⁸⁷ Cruces y Campa, *Recueil. Types D'amérique Du Sud*, 1860-70. 1 album de 80 photogr. pos. sur papier albuminé d'après des négatifs sur verre au collodion, format carte de visite.

²⁸⁸ Ken Jacobson, *Odalisques & Arabesques: Orientalist Photography 1839-1925* (London: Quaritch, 2007).

Giant Killer' (1859-60) [fig.138] and in Clementina Maud and Isabella Grace Hawarden's frequent emulation of 'breeches' performance in the photographic *tableaux-vivants* they staged at Princes Gardens [fig.139].²⁸⁹ Hispanism was also well-represented amongst celebrity *cartes*; another Bibliothèque nationale album, catalogued as *Portraits de prestidigitateurs, illusionnistes, artistes de cirque, phénomènes, types ethnologiques*, contains a sequence of three photographs depicting a female actress (named 'Mocket'?) [fig.140] posing in the breeches and short jacket of the matador.²⁹⁰ Thus 'déjazeted', Victorine Meurent in her role of the discreetly-anonymized Mademoiselle V was depicted against a background scene of bullfighting that, as Juliet Wilson-Bareau has described, was constructed from 'a patchwork of motifs' derived from Goya's *Tauromaquia* (1816).²⁹¹ The integration of the model into this fantasy of the bullring was incompetent by academic standards; the representation of the space between Victorine's feet and the lit area of the arena was highly ambiguous. In contrast to the comparative spatial clarity offered by the depiction of floor and wall in the *Jeune homme, Mademoiselle V en costume d'Espada* provided no clear differentiation between the representation of the studio floor and the depicted bullfight background. Only an essentially 'non-pictorial' passage of neutral grey, beginning under the edge of the pink cape and extending behind the model to a point perpendicularly above her left heel articulated this space. The painting therefore had little to offer that might convince viewers of a coherent contiguity between foreground and background, a 'failure' that also had homologies with the *carte-de-visite*: Incompetent and

²⁸⁹ Joseph Tourtin, *Album Dezajet*, 1 album de 23 photographies positives sur papier albuminé d'après des négatifs sur verre au collodion, format carte-de-visite ; 9,2 x 13 cm (vol.). Mayer et Pierson. Photographe.

²⁹⁰ Anon., *Portraits De Prestidigitateurs, Illusionnistes, Artistes De Cirque, Phénomènes, Types Ethnologiques*, 1860-1900. 1 album de 123 photographies positives sur papier albuminé, format carte de visite ; 30 cm (vol.). The 20th century typescript key at the back of the album identifies the sitter as 'Mocket; actrice'.

²⁹¹ Bareau, "Manet and Spain," p.222.

incongruous attempts to achieve pictorial coherence in commercial portrait photographs were a common complaint against the practices of *carte* studios.²⁹² Even in the high-status productions of ‘society’ photographers such as Camille Silvy, *carte* portraits were briskly composed and staged amongst a few standardised and quickly-substituted studio props and painted backcloths. *Mademoiselle V* stood before a scene that, like a *carte-studio* backcloth, made little attempt to convince the viewer of a continuation of the space in which the ostensible subject posed.

Victorine Meurent’s gesture was undisguisedly that of a model adopting an academic pose conventionally-derived from an engraved source such as those proposed by Fried, Reff or Wilson-Bareau, and the banal practicalities of arranging the model in the academy life-room persisted in her embodied relationship to her rapier, which appeared to be supported at the tip, there being little impression of the weapon being held aloft through bodily mechanics or physical effort.²⁹³ Similarly, the hand that held the *espada*’s cape seemed to be resting on some solid structure beneath the textile, as if the extended sessions of modelling required a scaffold of studio props to maintain the *contraposto* pose, a convenience that, although subsequently erased, left its trace in the lack of tension in the model’s forearm. If *Mademoiselle V. en costume d’Espada* was a less ‘*carte-like*’ image than *Jeune homme en costume de majo*, its implausible, mock-heroic depiction was nonetheless substantially a reproduction of the characteristic instabilities of *carte-de-visite* pictoriality at the beginning of the 1860s.

²⁹² See Edwards, *The Making of English Photography: Allegories*, pp.247-257.

²⁹³ Fried, *Manet’s Modernism, or, the Face of Painting in the 1860s*, Chapters 1 and 2, and Françoise Cachin and Charles S. Moffett, eds., *Manet 1832-1883* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art: Harry N. Abrams, 1983), pp.112-113.

These instabilities were not limited to problems of coherence within the space of the photograph; the commercial dissemination of celebrity *cartes* also made the mutable boundaries between elite and mass-market forms of representation visible; As Edwards has argued,

Commentators found the patterns of adjacency established by the commodity images displayed in the photographers' or print-sellers' window particularly disturbing. These "street portrait galleries" drew large crowds of onlookers eager to gawp at those famous for a day [...] The carte image seemed to set up strange and often "distasteful" juxtapositions. A boxer might be located next to Lord Derby; a courtesan, next to a society lady; a member of the royal family in too close proximity to some louche individual. As a writer of the *Daily Telegraph* put it, "in almost every shop window devoted to the sale of photographic prints there are exhibited, side-by-side with the portraits of bishops, barristers, duchesses, Ritualistic clergymen, forgers, favourite comedians and the personages in the Tichbourne drama, a swarm of cartes-de-visite of tenth-rate actresses and fifth-rate ballet girls in an extreme state of *deshabille*."²⁹⁴

The 'Tichbourne drama' referred to by the *Daily Telegraph* was the notorious legal case of 'The Tichbourne Claimant', the attempt by an Australian impostor to pass as the lost heir of a wealthy Hampshire family, a deception that was the subject of a long-running trial commencing in 1867. The rhetorical reference to this scandal was evidently intended to draw together anxieties about public photographic representation with notion of imposture,

²⁹⁴ Edwards, *The Making of English Photography: Allegories*, p.81.

a discursive relationship that surely finds a corollary in the array of assumed identities displayed in Manet's *Salon des Refusés* array.

If Wilson-Bareau's proposition concerning the 'triptych-like' intentionality of Manet's *Salon des Refusés* configuration can be extended metaphorically, the single figures mediated between a pictoriality familiar from the contemporary metropolitan context –Edwards's 'street portrait galleries' – and the unfamiliar space of the *istorie* hung between them, the repetition of models directing the viewer's attention to the mechanics of *Le Déjeuner sur l'herbe*'s construction in the studio. The features of Gustave Manet and Victorine Meurent recurred in the ambiguous space of the central picture, inviting comparisons between their representation in mock-heroic, photographically-mediated portraiture and their appearance in a much more complex, parodic emulation of history painting. Despite their formal debts to the genre of painted portraiture and their incoherent allusions to both historical Spanish painting and etching and Italian engraving, both *Jeune homme en costume de majo* and *Mademoiselle V. en costume d'Espada* remained essentially 'photographic' in their iconography and pictoriality. The formal allusions to Velazquez and Goya in both paintings might be understood as a commentary on the demand that photographic portraits should apply the aura of canonical painting to the pictoriality of the celebrity carte. As British photographic writers such as 'Charles Martel' and William Lake Price regularly reminded their readers, such commodified photographic portraiture might be rehabilitated by attention to the principles of past art such as the *chiaroscuro* and subordination of detail to 'broad effect' observable in engraved reproductions of the works of 'Titian, Rembrandt and Vandyck'.²⁹⁵

²⁹⁵ Martel, "Colour in Its Relation to Photography," p.73.

A number of summaries of the clamour generated by the exhibition of *Le Déjeuner sur l'herbe* in 1863 have been written.²⁹⁶ It is an inevitable feature of even the most rigorous accounts of this unprecedented work in the context of the *Salon des Refusés* that while it is comparatively easy to demonstrate the anxious reception of the painting within certain communities of visitors and the press, the corresponding issues of the painting's intention and 'meaning' have proved far more challenging to reconstruct. There are essentially only five secure statements on which all subsequent interpretations of *Le Déjeuner sur l'herbe* must be founded. These can be quickly enumerated: Firstly, *Le Déjeuner sur l'herbe* was, as Cachin has asserted, a *grande machine* – an ambitious, large-scale and highly organized multi-figure painting. Second; the subject of the picture was undoubtedly a trope of the *fête champêtre*, a depiction of fashionable urban youth relocated to a rural setting experienced as a site of leisure. Thirdly, the details of the picture referred to objects and costume contemporary with the picture's production in 1863. Fourth, there has long been a consensus that the three foreground figures were derived from the right-hand group in Marcantonio Raimondi's 1512 engraving after Raphael *The Judgement of Paris* [fig.141], an allusion that was recognised by contemporary critics a few weeks after the opening of the exhibition. Lastly, Manet's close friend Antonin Proust recalled in 1913 that Manet wished to 're-do' Giorgione's *Pastoral Concert* (1508-09) [fig.142]. While as Paul Hays Tucker has argued, Proust's explanation contained significant elements of mythologisation and

²⁹⁶ This account is indebted to the writing of Françoise Cachin, Juliet Wilson-Bareau and Paul Hayes Tucker. See Cachin, Moffett, and Bareau, *Manet 1832-1883: Galeries Nationales Du Grand Palais, Paris, April 22-August 8, 1983, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, September 10-November 27, 1983*, Juliet Wilson Bareau, "The Salon Des Refusés of 1863: A New View," *The Burlington Magazine* 149, no. 1250 (2007), pp.309-319, and Paul Hayes Tucker, *Manet's Le déjeuner Sur L'herbe Masterpieces of Western Painting* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp.7-12.

hindsight, such an ambition was nonetheless supported by the evidence of *Le Déjeuner* itself and the majority of modern readings of the painting accept the *Pastoral Concert* as a model.

The three figures transposed from Raimondi's *Judgement of Paris* into *Déjeuner sur l'herbe* – two river gods and a nymph – were largely incidental to the main action of the Raphael composition. In the engraving, the moment of judgement took place in another space, closed to this subaltern group by the figure of Minerva and her draped garment, which simultaneously served as a boundary to the intimacy of the central scene of judgement and as a *repoussoir* to the grouping appropriated by Manet. The 'gods and nymph' group in Raimondi's print seemed unaware of the action immediately in front of them, the male figures instead appearing broadly attentive to the movements of the celestial gods who more directly bore witness to the pivotal moment of decision. In the Raimondi source, this group, presumably depicting the local spirits of the springs of Mount Ida, seems to have been a compositional invention required to articulate the space between the engraving's principle subject and the male Olympians hovering in the sky.

By isolating this group in *Le Déjeuner sur l'herbe*, the Raphael/Raimondi moment of judgement was apparently displaced outside the frame of the painting. Yet signs of the central action remained coded within *Le Déjeuner's* space : As Tucker rightly notes '[Manet] injected plenty of wit into the scene, substituting the cane for the reed in the dandy's hand on the right, the overturned fruit basket and ribbon-wrapped bonnet for Athena's discarded helmet and shield'.²⁹⁷ The contemporary objects depicted in this passage of still-life have

²⁹⁷ *Manet's Le déjeuner Sur L'herbe* p.20.

generally been understood as belonging to one of the naked bathers, frequently being invoked as an allusion to *Courbet's Les Demoiselles des bords de la Seine (été)* (1857) [fig.143] and therefore as evidence of the picture's debt to Realist depictions of casual prostitution. Yet Wilson-Bareau has also noted the tension between mythology and modernity implied in the technical development of this aspect of the picture: In her interpretation of X-ray analyses of *Le Déjeuner*, she highlighted the late inclusion of the straw hat that replaced Minerva's shield:

In the early state of *Déjeuner sur l'herbe* as seen in the X-ray image [...] Manet's model poses as the Raphael-Marcantonio nymph, seated on a piece of drapery, with the Titian-derived picnic beside her. As yet she is only a nymph [...] and has no discarded clothes. Or at the most, she belongs to the ambiguous Arcadian world between reality and the ideal [...] reeds and rushes grow where, in the final state, Victorine Meurent's spotted muslin dress and be-ribboned straw hat will be. Only during the last stages of the picture's execution, with the addition of the discarded clothes, did she become a thoroughly and explicitly modern figure.²⁹⁸

The genealogy of these objects as modernized forms of the attributes of the goddess Minerva pulls the meaning of *Le Déjeuner* back into a more complex dialogue with its most secure art-historical precedent, and complicates interpretation of the cornucopia-like picnic that spills from 'the basket that was once a helmet'. It might reasonably be proposed that the discarded blue cotton dress accompanying the metamorphosed attributes of Minerva could also be read as a trace of this iconography, perhaps the robe or *aegis* suspended in

²⁹⁸ Juliet Wilson Bareau, *The Hidden Face of Manet: An Investigation of the Artist's Working Processes* (London: Burlington Magazine, 1986), pp. 37-38. The reference to Titian refers to the engraving *Jupiter amoureux d'Antiope se transforme en satire* by Bernard Baron after Titian's *Venus del Prado*.

the goddess's right hand in *The Judgement of Paris*, now fallen to the ground. Colour plays a significant role in bridging these transformations for the viewer; Greek authors usually described Athena's helmet and shield as 'golden' and their modern equivalents were correspondingly depicted in ironically 'golden' tones of straw and wicker. The colour of the *aegis* in Classical literature has recently been discussed in an article by Susan Deacy and Alexandra Villing which argues that while Classical writers offered a variety of descriptions of the glowing brightness of the *aegis*, an important Greek trope described this potent object as *glaukos*, a complex term connoting a shimmering intensity of colour generally compared with objects that were green, grey or blue.²⁹⁹ The semantic equivalent of *glaukos* in Latin writing was the term *caelerus* - the colour of the sky – which was employed by Cicero to describe the colour of Minerva's eyes and by Virgil in *The Aeneid* as the colour of the breastplate given by Venus to Aeneas.³⁰⁰

The blueness of the discarded dress in *Le Déjeuner* may therefore have conceived as a component within a programmatic modernizing of the classical attributes of Minerva. Certainly in any interpretation of the picture that attends closely to Raimondi it must be apparent that the goddess has departed, leaving only the memory of her presence in the scatter of discarded modern clothing and personal possessions that maintain their tenuous connection with the judgment of beauty. The metonymic presence of Minerva also works to open other aspects of the painting to interpretation: If discarded modern objects still recalled the Olympian pantheon, then the depicted scene could not *only* be taking place in suburban Paris (Proust suggested Argenteuil), but must remain, on some plane, 'Arcadian'.

²⁹⁹ Susan Deacy and Alexandra Villing, "What Was the Colour of Athena's Aegis?," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 129 (2009), pp.111-129.

³⁰⁰ *Ibid.* p.122-23.

The double identification of the context as *both* contemporary *and* Arcadian was also implied by Manet's reported intention to 're-make' Giorgione. Despite Proust's assertion that Manet had copied the original in the Louvre as a student Wilson-Bareau usefully identified a closer relationship between *Le Déjeuner* and Nicolas Dupuy's reversed engraving of the *Pastoral Concert* which was also included in the *Recueil Crozat*, a comparison that clarifies the transposition of the two female nudes, both of which reflect aspects of that source more directly than they do the characteristics of the original painting.³⁰¹

Modern writers on *Le Déjeuner sur l'herbe* have understood the relationship between Manet's painting and the *Pastoral Concert* as being informed by published critical commentaries on Giorgione written in the 1850s and 1860s, generally concluding that the interest of lay in its unassailable inscrutability as a picture about the capacities of painting. Interpretations founded on Gautier's criticism have understood Manet's interest in the *Pastoral Concert* as the valorization of this 'subjectless' status, figuring the picture as a convenient armature on which an artist in search of autonomy might hang his bravura passages of Realist facture. Anne Macaulay, following Francis Haskell has, however, argued that Gautier's interpretation was itself anachronistic, an artefact of Manet and Zola's view of the *Pastoral Concert* as a 'subjectless' work.³⁰² Invoking statements such as that of the critic Rigallot, who wrote in 1852 that "because the subjects of Giorgione's paintings were most often obscure and difficult to interpret, their merit is independent from the idea that motivated the artist and consists entirely in the excellence of execution", such formalist expositions of *Le Déjeuner sur l'herbe* have tended to discount the iconographic implications

³⁰¹ Bareau, *The Hidden Face of Manet: An Investigation of the Artist's Working Processes* p.40

³⁰² See Elizabeth Anne McCauley, "Sex and the Salon," in *Manet's Déjeuner Sur L'herbe* ed. Paul Hayes Tucker (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp.38-74.

of the picture's deployment of conjoined allegorical sources. The striking contrast of men in contemporary clothing and minimally-draped women invoked a significant convention of classical art; that of the *unseen* presence of the immortals amongst human beings.³⁰³ This was, after all, a major expository strategy of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century historical and political representation, the tropes of which had continued to be developed and elaborated within early nineteenth-century visual art; indeed the convention remained crucial to the multiple Neo-Classical depictions of *Cupid et Psyche* produced in France in the first decades of the nineteenth century. The motif underpinned the iconographic coherence of works as conceptually diverse as Delacroix's *La Liberté guidant le peuple* and Ingres's *Portrait du compositeur Luigi Cherubini (1760-1842) béni par la muse de la poésie lyrique Terpsichore* (1842) [fig.144]. The latter work, depicting the composer in the modern *habit noir* and putatively unaware of the protecting presence of the muse of lyric poetry behind him, was widely disseminated in engraved, woodcut and Daguerreotype reproductions after its purchase by the state in 1842, and both *La Liberté guidant le peuple* and the *Portrait du compositeur Luigi Cherubini* were exhibited at the Paris *Exposition Universelle* of 1855. Notwithstanding Gautier and Rigallot's interpretations of the *Pastoral Concert* as primarily an example of superlative technique, the Arcadian pastoral allusions and the simultaneous presence of the both clothed/materialist/modern and nude/ideal/classical bodies in Giorgione's picture nonetheless remained available to interpretation as a metaphor for the convergence of the physical and spiritual realms. The possibility the *Pastoral Concert* could be read in this way in the 1850s is confirmed by the closing line of Rossetti's sonnet *For a*

³⁰³ Ibid. p.60.

Venetian Pastoral, by Giorgione (first drafted in 1849), which was explicit about this potentiality; 'Be it as it was, - Life touching lips with Immortality'.³⁰⁴

In 1863, neither critics or supporters of the painting offered an interpretation of *Déjeuner sur l'herbe* in which the female figures might be understood as spiritually present but physically invisible to the two male dandies. Nor was this idea much explored within either modernist or social-historical criticism, which largely followed Marxian analyses of the picture as a drama of Second Empire's political decadence or bourgeois sexual hypocrisy. However, an interpretation that considered *Déjeuner sur l'herbe's* foundation in Raimondi and Giorgione as more than a pastiche of formally-interesting engravings, but as a picture in which belated resonances of classical myth shaped the dispositions of the material world, must arrive at the conclusion that the central motif of the painting was the representation of an exchange between men in a pastoral Arcadian setting, their conversation giving access to a mythic temporality in which the 'muses' were once again present.

The muses depicted in *Le Déjeuner sur l'herbe* were very different figures from their prototypes in the *Pastoral Concert*. Patricia Egan long ago proposed identifications of Giorgione's female figures through comparison of their attributes to those depicted in fifteenth-century North Italian woodcut depictions of the nine muses of the classical pantheon.³⁰⁵ On the basis of Egan's analysis the female figure standing in the water might be taken to represent a modernized *Poesia*, amongst whose Renaissance attributes was a glass pitcher used to stir the surface of a pool, but the foreground figure in *Le Déjeuner*

³⁰⁴ Dante Gabriel Rossetti, *Poems*, Fourth ed. (London: F S Ellis, 1870), p.260.

³⁰⁵ Patricia Egan, "Poesia and the Fete Champêtre," *Art Bulletin* 61, no. 4 (1959), pp.303-313.

apparently lacked any conventional iconographical attribute. However, since the 1970s it has frequently been recognized that this depiction may have alluded to photographs of female nudity.³⁰⁶ Not only was Manet's figure painted in tones of raw umber similar to the 'photographic grisaille' concurrently employed by Whistler and Legros, but a specific characteristic of such photographs, the bold and appraising gaze projected by the model from within the pictorial space of the picture, was a recognizable characteristic of certain forms of photography that occupied an ambiguous space between the technical 'life-study' and overtly pornographic images. This photographic context can be usefully summarised from a description of similar photographs in an article entitled 'Holywell Street Revived' from the *Saturday Review*, later reprinted in the *Journal of the Photographic Society* edited by Hugh Welch Diamond.

[...] if any one of our readers will walk down the Strand, he will see numerous shop-windows – in other particulars of the most respectable character – which are studded with stereoscopic slides, representing women more or less naked, and generally leering at the spectator with a conscious or elaborately unconscious impudence, the ugliness of which is its only redeeming feature. There is a brutal vulgarity and coarseness about some of these pictures which is as surprising as it is disgusting.³⁰⁷

The writer of the *Saturday Review* continued by making the difference between the indecency of such images and the context of 'high art' explicit;

³⁰⁶ See Gerald Needham, "Manet, Olympia and Pornographic Photography," in *Woman as Sex Object*, ed. Thomas Hess and Linda Nochlin (London: Allan Lane, 1972), pp.80-89.

³⁰⁷ Anon., "Holywell Street Revived (Reprinted from the Saturday Review)," *Journal of the Photographic Society* 5, no. 70 (1858), p.33.

We are far from joining in the outcry made against the model-room of the Royal Academy [...] Decency is a matter rather of sentiment than of fixed rule [...] A Grace, a Nymph, or a Venus, is an unreal, conventional being, whom we associate only with picture-galleries; but it is the very merit and object of these photographs to reproduce the real woman in the very attitude in which she agreed to pander to the vulgar tastes of mankind.³⁰⁸

The derivation of Victorine Meurent's representation from such 'vulgar' referents was announced by an eloquent detail that might be argued as the picture's iconographic key; the grimy sole of the model's left foot. Dirty feet were a frequently-encountered feature of early nude and pornographic photographs - to such an extent that Eric Homberger entitled his 1994 essay on the impact of nineteenth-century photography "The Model's Unwashed Feet: French Photography in the 1850s" [fig.145].³⁰⁹ In the iconographic hierarchy of *Le Déjeuner sur l'herbe*, the placing of this sole was the sign most emphasised through academic pictorial strategies; Victorine's pose isolated her dirty foot, the drapery hiding her left calf detaching the sole from the integrity of her body and framing it within the angle of her other leg in an triangular compositional structure that, although incidental to Raphael and Raimondi's original design, was elevated to the status of a major formal interest in *Le Déjeuner*.³¹⁰ There was even within the figure modelled by Victorine Meurent a 'discursive' contrast of the representation of feet; the proffered left sole, which complemented and relayed the direct address of the model's gaze to the viewer, definitively marked the model as a photographed woman whose 'impudence' pandered to 'vulgar tastes'. The dirt on her

³⁰⁸ Ibid. p.33.

³⁰⁹ Eric Homberger, "The Model's Unwashed Feet: French Photography in the 1850s," in *Artistic Relations: Literature and the Visual Arts in Nineteenth-Century France*, ed. Peter Collier (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), p.130-133.

³¹⁰ Manet's use of an apparently incidental realist detail as an organising motif for a major Salon painting was repeated in his use of the similarly triangular red Bass logo in *Un bar aux Folies Bergère* of 1882.

skin also suggested the proximity of the dusty photographic studio floor, which in turn confirmed the impression that the Arcadian setting in which the male figures conversed was in fact a studio *simulacrum*. Meanwhile, Victorine's right foot was depicted in elegant profile, drawn in a style that emulated the conventions of the French classical tradition from Simon Vouet and Charles Le Brun onwards, upholding the decorum of female idealization [fig.146]. Yet even this apparently obedient foot was subverted, planted squarely between the thighs of the gesticulating male figure, the big toe raised enough to tease the student's grey-trousered leg in an arch reference to the physiological affectivity of pornographic images.

The companion to the 'pornographic muse' was an addition to the Raimondi group and an equally unconventional inclusion for a large-scale genre painting. A figure was depicted wearing only a translucent modern chemise, which she clasped to her groin while performing an action of scooping or washing using an indistinct object held in her right hand. Her lowered head revealed her hair parted in the centre in contemporary fashion, while what could be seen of her features showed a face that was un-idealised but not 'physiognomic', lacking the distinctive individuality of the figure represented by Meurent. Indeed, there were very few formal correspondences between the two representations. It can be observed that, perversely, while foreground figure was on land but naked, her companion was in the water but remained clothed. The most notable quality of this figure was its unconvincing placement in pictorial space; the figure appeared both too large and too elevated compared to the viewpoint from which the foreground group was depicted. The placing of the figure produced an 'academic' triangular configuration but it also undermined the fiction of coherent space to a significant degree, destabilizing the entire

composition. Such perspectival incongruity was only compounded by the brushwork around the figure, which seemed to be disconnected from the depiction of landscape that surrounded her, isolating the figure in a tight, rectilinear 'mandorla' of light-toned brushwork, as if the bathing figure belonged to a distinct and separate space. Her water-stirring gesture suggested that aspects of her pose alluded to one of Giorgione's figures. However, her left hand was distinctive, holding her chemise away from the water as both an act of modesty and a curiously obscene gesture, prefiguring *Olympia's* hand in being 'flexed in a sort of shameless contraction' as Amédée Cantaloube would famously describe it in *Le Grand Journal* in 1865.³¹¹

How might these two figures be understood in the context of the trope of the invisible presence of the muses? That represented by Victorine Meurent, materializing between the legs of the speaking student, announces herself as 'pornographic' or 'indecent', implying that the topic under discussion concerned the recent emergence of this form of depiction. The hand gesture of the student represented by Gustave Manet – forefinger gesturing towards Victorine, thumb pointing back to her companion - suggests that this form of photographic 'art' was being compared or contrasted with another mode of representation. Being placed at the apex of the compositional triangle, this second figure was apparently proposed as an instance of idealisation (the grimy sole of the pornographic model occurs on the baseline of the same compositional motif) and appeared within its 'visionary' mandorla as if conjured by the minds of the two male protagonists. Within this interpretation, it would be logical for this second figure to be a metonym for a contrasting form of

³¹¹ Amédée Cantaloube, "Le Salon De 1865," *Le Grand Journal* (1865), p.2.

photographic representation, the subject-matter of the picture therefore becoming an allegory of photographic choice. Such a proposition begs the question of what form of photography might be opposed to the 'surprising', 'disgusting' form of realism represented interposing herself so emphatically into the space of the male protagonists. The photographic derivation of the second figure will be suggested below, after another pictorial source for *Le Déjeuner sur l'herbe* is considered that further clarifies the dynamics of the masculine conversation within which these contemporary muses materialized.

One of the most obvious modifications of Raimondi's *Judgement of Paris* in *Le Déjeuner sur l'herbe* was the clothing of the male figures in fashionable modern dress, a move that has always been understood within Manet's programme of 'parodically' emulating the *Pastoral Concert*. However, another model for the disposition of the male figures may also have informed this aspect of *Le Déjeuner*. This was an engraving published in 1816 by Jean-Pierre-Marie Jazet [fig.147] which reproduced a painting by Roehn entitled *Louis XVI recevant le duc d'Enghien au séjour des bienheureux*, exhibited at the Bourbon Salon of 1814. The subject-matter concerned the Duc d'Enghien, executed in 1804 on the orders of Napoleon Bonaparte both on account of his military opposition to the Revolutionary Government in 1792 and for being implicated in more recent plots against the Napoleonic regime. D'Enghien was depicted arriving in the *Séjour des bienheureux* - 'the resting-place of the blessed' - to be greeted by the souls of the Royal Family and numerous other victims of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic governments. In the right foreground of this engraving [fig.148], two men were depicted in conversation, in a configuration that bears close resemblance to that of *Le Déjeuner*. Behind these figures could be seen Charon in his boat, having delivered the spirit of the executed D'Enghien into the company of Royalist martyrs.

Both this boat and the stylised foliage that framed this aspect of the action in Jazet's engraving recurred in *Le Déjeuner* as another layer of Arcadian reference in the scene, suggesting that the water in the background of *Le Déjeuner sur l'herbe* was, amongst other things, a trope of the River Styx.

Louis XVI recevant le duc d'Enghien was essentially a Royalist reworking of Girodet's *L'Apothéose des héros français morts pour la patrie pendant la guerre de la Liberté*, (1802)[**fig.149**]. Intended as a hagiographic image of Royalist heroes, the individuals included in the picture were enumerated both in the subscription notice for the engraved edition and in a line-drawn key to the picture included as a supplement with the print [**fig.150**].³¹² The foreground figures represented the journalist Barnabé Durosoy, founder of the Royalist newspaper *La Gazette de Paris* and the first journalist to be guillotined by the Revolutionary government, and the moderate *philosophe* Jacques Cazotte, another victim of the Terror of 1792. In Jazet's engraving, Cazotte, on the left, looks toward Durosoy while gesturing to the central group of Louis XVI's family.

During the Restoration and July Monarchy, Cazotte had become associated with notions of mysticism, prophecy and political clairvoyance due to Jean de la Harpe's brief but powerful tale of Cassandra-like warning known as the '*Prédiction de Cazotte*'.³¹³ La Harpe's short story and its subsequent visibility is significant in the context of *Le Déjeuner sur l'herbe* because the *Prédiction De Cazotte* was quoted by Baudelaire in the context of his splenetic

³¹² Anon., "Souscription; Louis Xvi Recevant Le Duc D'enghien Au Séjour Des Bienheureux, Gravure Au Lavis D'après Le Tableau De M. Roehn, Peintre De S.A.R. Monsieur, Frère Du Roi, Exposé Au Salon De 1814," (Paris: L'Imprimerie D'A. Clos, 1816).

³¹³ Jean François de La Harpe, *Prédiction De Cazotte, Faite En 1788 Et Rapportée Par La Harpe* (Paris: les marchands de nouveautés 1817)

and ironic condemnation of photography in *The Modern Public and Photography* in his Salon de 1859. While Baudelaire's text has become an important statement in the history of nineteenth-century visual culture, few writers have considered the implications of Baudelaire's allusion as more than an elliptical reference to the louche tastes of the Empress Eugénie. Although the text of de la Harpe's story was not published until three years after Roehn's painting was exhibited, by the 1860s accounts of the 'prophecy' had been in circulation for several decades. According to Lucy Merkin, Charles Nodier included La Harpe's narrative in his account of Cazotte's life in 1834, while Gerald Nerval included a chapter on Cazotte in *Les Illuminés* (1852), re-using writing he had previously published as the preface to an 1845 edition of Cazotte's 1772 novel, *Le Diable amoureux* that had previously appeared in *L'Artiste* in April and May of 1845, in *La Sylphide* in June 1845, and in *L'Almanach prophétique, pittoresque et utile pour 1847* in November 1847.³¹⁴ In Great Britain versions of the story had been recounted in *The Literary Gazette* in 1836 and in *Once a Week* in February 1862.³¹⁵

La Harpe's short dialogue recounted the conversation at a dinner party in 1788, attended by many liberal aristocrats and intellectuals including Cazotte, Concordet and La Harpe himself. After this dinner the lively, irreverent conversation turned to the slow progress being made by Reason in the face of superstition, at which point La Harpe 's Cazotte interjected "messieurs, be satisfied. You will all see this *great and sublime Revolution* that you so desire.

³¹⁴ I am indebted to Lucy Merkin for this summary. See Lucy Merkin, "Nerval's *Illuminés*, Eccentricity, and the Evolution of Madness" (PhD diss. Edinburgh, 2014), p.210.

³¹⁵ "Remarkable Prophecy," *The Literary Gazette, and Journal of Belles Lettres, Arts, Sciences &c.*, 29 October 1836, p.700, and Lascelles Wrexall, "The Prophecy of Jacques Cazotte," *Once a Week*, 22 February 1862, p.234.

You know that I am somewhat of a prophet. I repeat, you will see it...”.³¹⁶ Cazotte then went on to describe the ignominious deaths by suicide and guillotine of several leading members of the *Académie Royale* who were in the room. Further questioning by his fellow-guests extracted from Cazotte the following memorable exchange, including the words subsequently quoted by Baudelaire:

-- Well, (said Madame le Duchesse de Grammont), at least we, being only women, can be happy, we're irrelevant to revolutions. When I say irrelevant, it's not because we're always more moderate, but it's understood that we and our sex won't be assaulted [...] Your sex, Ladies, will not defend you this time, you will not be able to change anything, you will be treated just like the men, without any difference at all.---But what are you saying, M Cazotte? You're preaching the end of the world.--- I know nothing, but I know this; you, Madame la Duchesse, you will be taken to the scaffold, you and many other Ladies with you in a cart and with your hands tied behind your back.---Ah! I hope that in that case I would at least have a carriage draped in black.---No, Madame, greater ladies than you will be in the carts with you, with their hands tied behind them.---Greater Ladies! --- What! Princesses of the Blood?---Greater Ladies even than that[...]³¹⁷

The consequences of this fictive prophecy as a prediction of the fate of the Académie Royale, and therefore of the collapse of an entire structure of cultural authority, have not hitherto been emphasized but appearance of a reference to Cazotte within a painting that explores the implications of the photographic *dispositif* on the structures of high art may constitute a specific allusion to Baudelaire's writing on photography.

³¹⁶ La Harpe, *Prédiction De Cazotte, Faite En 1788 Et Rapportée Par La Harpe*, p.5.

³¹⁷ *Ibid.* p.9.

In combination with the more familiar sources of Giorgione and Raimondi, reference to *Louis XVI recevant le duc d'Enghien* triangulates the subject of discourse within *Le Déjeuner sur l'herbe*: The three art-historical references announced complementary aspects of the same context: The *Pastoral Concert* offered a depiction of artistic transformation, an Arcadian setting where artists are 'inspired' by the presence of muses; The *Judgement of Paris* was the foundational allegory of the judgement of taste and a warning of the consequences of the misrecognition of beauty. The reference to Cazotte from Jazet's engraving introduced the theme of prophecy and epistemic collapse. Together these sources described the terms of a debate attended by 'photographic' muses, the stakes of which were the future of established art-forms under pressure from new technological process. In the allegorical conceit of *Le Déjeuner* the classical gods had departed, leaving only their residual forms in the attributes of Minerva and Charon. Nor was this Arcadia a trope of 'nature'. The dirty-soled muse who interposed so abruptly between the male figures, eyeing the viewer knowingly while flirting with the velvet-capped student, suggested that this idyll was already at several removes from the classical landscape, another *simulacrum* of the photographer's studio constructed from a 'patchwork' stitched together from Jazet's conventionalized foliage and the gold-toned photographic prints typical of the landscape photography of the 1850s (the vignette of the weir at the right of the painting was a distinctive re-mediation of photographic pictoriality in this context). The character represented by Gustave Manet appeared to be setting out a choice for artists, between the example of the 'vulgar' (semi-pornographic) studio nude whose commercial ubiquity was powerfully and unavoidably present as the likely 'future for art' predicted by Baudelaire and an alternative form of photographic practice, one held in higher esteem by

artists but less immediately present, was depicted more as a possibility to be described than as the pressing immediacy of the 'artists studies' sold by every photographic retailer. Other photographic phenomena materialized around the protagonists – the 'frozen' bullfinch perhaps a metaphor for another universal 'wave-form' like the breaking wave, too rapid for the human eye but caught by the camera, and the fruit, decanter and brioche in the foreground, typical ingredients of high-minded photographic still-lives such as those of the British photographer Roger Fenton, tumbling from an object that was once Minerva's helmet. To what muse should artists attend now? How might beauty be judged in an age inundated by pornography? (as Nancy Locke noted, the Goncourt brothers observed in 1860 that 'Pornographic literature does well under a Low Empire').³¹⁸ Would flirtation with the innovations of scientific Reason lead artists to the scaffold just as, for Cazotte, philosophic Reason condemned the academy within which it had been nurtured? *Le Déjeuner sur l'herbe* echoed the crucial question posed rhetorically by Baudelaire in the conclusion to 'The Modern Public and Photography'; "What man worthy of the name of artist, and what true connoisseur, has ever confused art with industry?"³¹⁹

The rhetoric of photographic choices required the selection of a suitably elevated model for the figure that hovered at the apex of the picture's dominant compositional triangle.³²⁰ The photographic source for this figure may well have been a further example of Hawarden's *Studies from Life*. Hawarden had produced an extended series of photographs of

³¹⁸ McCauley, "Sex and the Salon," p.54.

³¹⁹ Baudelaire and Mayne, *Art in Paris, 1845-1862: Salons and Other Exhibitions Reviewed by Charles Baudelaire*, p.154.

³²⁰ One earlier interpretation also attempted to figure *Le Déjeuner sur l'herbe* as an 'allegory of choice; see Mary Wilson, "Edouard Manet's 'Déjeuner Sur L'herbe'. An Allegory of Choice: Some Further Conclusions," *Arts Magazine* 54, no. 5 (1980), pp.162-167.

Clementina Maud unconventionally dressed in a heavy outdoor skirt but with her upper body clad only in a thin lace chemise [fig.151] that in many instances was shown falling from her shoulder in a way that closely corresponds with that depicted in *Le Déjeuner*. It has been established that for Whistler, Hawarden's studies had already become a significant new form of pictoriality to which *The White Girl*, temporarily hung within feet of *Le Déjeuner*, had responded strongly.

That the two most discussed works of the *Salon des Refusés* might converge in their valuation of the same group of photographic life-studies seems an improbably symmetrical account of pictorial development. However, just as *Le Déjeuner* was specific in its references to pornographic photographs through its allusion to the photographic representation of feet, so its depiction of the second 'muse's' hand may be an equally specific reference. In the tensed, grasping, slightly plump hand that should have been a gesture of modesty but rather seemed to palpitate the figures' pubis, Manet appears to have noticed a troubling, supplementary quality of Hawarden's photographic *académies*. Such disconcerting gestures were a phenomenon regularly produced in Hawarden's photographs of Clementina Maud. In several otherwise elegant images amongst the *Studies from Life* [fig.152], Hawarden's daughter-model appeared to arrange her hands in ways that oddly exceeded the requirements of the pose, and that even appeared to puppet obscene gestures. The motivation for this phenomenon is obscure, but it was evidently a striking enough anomaly to be transferred to Manet's painting, and was replicated in *Olympia*, where the gesture was immediately identified by Cantaloube as a striking sign of the unruly female body.³²¹

³²¹ Cantaloube, "Le Salon De 1865," p.2.

Even the *apparently* prudent choice of a photographic practice widely praised within Whistler's London network evidently brought uncontrollable materials into painting that, just as much as the banal and emiserated studio nude or the tawdry *carte* image, might prove capable of radically destabilizing the conventional pictorialities of easel painting.

3.6 Representing Painting's boundary with 'Photographic Art' in 1863.

Whether or not the paintings exhibited by Whistler and Manet at the *Salon des Refusés* demonstrated a specific, shared attention to Hawarden's *Studies from Life* as a model for the '*disintegration of existing art types [...] by applied science*', there can be little doubt that the works they showed were fundamentally engaged with the consequences of emerging photographic pictorialities for contemporary painting. While the *Salon des Refusés* was an exhibitionary context that no-one could have foreseen only months previously, the convergence of these pictures in the final room of the exhibition might be constituted as a concerted exploration of the penetration of the *dispositif* of industrial art into the discourse of high art. Baudelaire's 1859 critique of photography, to which *Le Déjeuner sur l'herbe* alluded, had itself been prompted by the decision of the *Académie des Beaux-Arts* to admit photography into the *Salon* for the first time. Louis Figuier noted in his account of that exhibition;

At the Exposition Universelle of 1855, photography, despite its lively claims, could gain no entry into the sanctuary of the hall on the Avenue Montaigne; it was condemned to seek asylum in the immense bazaar of assorted products that filled the Palais de L'industrie. In 1859, *under*

growing pressure, the museum committee adopted a middle course, it accorded, in the Palais de L'industrie, a place for the exhibition of photography; the exhibition site was on a level with that made available to painting and engraving, but it had a separate entrance and was set, so to speak, in a different key.³²²

The 'pressure' noted by Figuier came, in the first instance, from the *Société française de photographie*, who had been responsible for organizing the French photographic exhibit at the 1855 *Exposition Universelle*. But this professional association articulated the broader desire of Niewerkerke's and the Imperial Household to reform the *Académie* along the lines of the British Department of Science and Art. By 1863, these reforms (which included the *Salon des Refusés* itself) were gaining traction, and neither the status of photography in official exhibition or the discursive proximity of photography and painting were especially contentious issues in France. As Anne McCauley has astutely noted;

Although these reforms are normally discussed in conjunction with the liberalization of Napoleon's policies during the 1860s, the collapse of the Salon system and the creation of a *Salon des Refusés* earlier that year, their true context is the industrial arts debate and the attempt to break down the distinctions between fine and applied arts. The reactions to the decree make this quite clear. Ingres and his followers drafted an angry letter to the emperor [...] In general, however, the press was sympathetic to the reforms, and even one of the *École's* students published an anonymous document arguing that the new rules did not introduce industry into art, but art into industry.³²³

³²² Louis Figuier, *La Photography Au Salon De 1859* (Paris: Libraire de L. Hachette, 1860), p.2.

³²³ Elizabeth Anne McCauley, *Industrial Madness: Commercial Photography in Paris, 1848-1871* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1994), p.240.

Indeed, the *Salon des Refusés* itself emulated a British exhibitionary strategy intended to demonstrate the boundaries of officially-sanctioned taste, the well-known gallery of 'False Principles' established by Cole within the Department of Science and Art (then the Department of Practical Art) within the first iterations of the 'ideal museum' of techniques and materials at Marlborough House. This gallery had quickly become known as the 'Chamber of Horrors' in the British press and has been discussed by several modern scholars as a case-study of the formation of middle-class taste.³²⁴ The painter and ceramicist Jean-Charles Cazin reported on the *Salon des Refusés*; "There was no more than a turnstile to separate the show from the other one. As at Madame Tussaud's in London, one passed into the Chamber of Horrors."³²⁵ Like the Gallery of False Principles, the *Salon des Refusés* was intended as a lesson in visual discrimination for the petit-bourgeois viewer.

The interest in the operations of the photographic surface in painting evident within the Manet-Whistler circle in the eighteen months leading up to the *Salon* of 1863 may also have been given renewed impetus by a highly visible public debate conducted largely in the pages of the British press concerning the place of photography (both physically and institutionally) within the forthcoming London International Exhibition of 1862. By repeating the exhibitionary taxonomy of the *Great Exhibition* of 1851, the Commissioners for the *International Exhibition* chose to exhibit photographs in company with the equipment through which they had been produced, intending, as they explained, to demonstrate the

³²⁴ See Lara Kriegel, *Grand Designs: Labor, Empire, and the Museum in Victorian Culture* (Durham [N.C.]; London: Duke University Press, 2007), pp.148-152, Christopher Frayling, *Henry Cole and the Chamber of Horrors: The Curious Origins of the Victoria and Albert Museum*, ed. Roger Sears (London: V&A Publishing, 2010), pp.32-55, and Suga Yasuko, "Designing the Morality of Consumption: "Chamber of Horrors" at the Museum of Ornamental Art, 1852-53," *Design Issues* 20, no. 4 (2004), pp. 43-56

³²⁵ Cachin and Moffett, *Manet 1832-1883*. p.165.

extraordinary progress of the form in the intervening decade. Significantly, their wish appears to have been to demonstrate a developmental account of photography, its visual forms intermeshed with scientific and technical knowledge in the shared institutional structures of science, art and industry. As such, the organization of the photography exhibit constituted the 'solitary exception' to the approach taken with all other classes of technology, in which primary extractive technologies – reaping and binding machinery for instance – were clearly separated from processing machinery such as looms and spinning frames, which in turn were taxonomically and physically removed from examples of elite crafts such as textile weaving and patterning.

A display that emphasized the relationship of emerging forms of scientific and technical knowledge to the production of images was an analogue for the Semperian explanation of stylistic change and the status of 'solitary exception' *might* have been regarded as an honorific position in a universal exposition. This was not however the perception of the British photographic community. The Commissioner's decision to remind visitors of the 'manual' aspects of their practices seemed to assert that the photograph was ultimately a technical achievement rather than a creative one. To photographers the proposed display seemed overwhelmingly and anachronistically 'manual' rather than 'mindful', a pointed 'slight' at the moment of photography's emergence into the rich intertextuality of the contemporary visual culture. Eminent photographers and their critical champions rushed to argue for the display of photographs as autonomous works of intellectual merit. Sides were taken and the textual exchanges between the protagonists, including the Commissioners themselves, appeared in the pages of the *Journal of the Photographic Society*. The most articulate protagonists both for photography as an artform comparable to painting and as

an industrial technology were French photographers living in London. Antoine Claudet argued that if photography were merely mechanical, then it would be impossible to discriminate between photographers;

- that every photographer of landscape and rural scenes is a Fenton, a Maxwell Lyte, a Lake Price, an Aguado, a Montizon, a Bedford, a Legrey, a Ferier, a Bisson – that every photographer of portraits can produce pictures of the most perfect kind – and that there are no such portraits as those the price of sixpence for which is a fair remuneration for the talent and taste displayed in their composition? If there is no difference in the production of photographs, if none of them have the least artistic value, they had better be excluded altogether from the new Palace of Art and Industry.³²⁶

In response to Claudet's claims, Camille Silvy, whose elite Porchester Terrace carte-de-visite studio had been operating for less than a year, argued that;

Poetry and literature, music, sculpture, painting and architecture are alone the Fine Arts. Every other, according to its nature, is divided into liberal, mechanical, or industrial arts, &c. These have acquired in our time a sufficient importance that no one can blush at being classified among them. Besides, the classification exists from time immemorial; have you sufficient pretensions to overthrow it? [...] What photographer would be foolish enough to claim a place with Raphael, Michael Angelo, Rubens and all the glorious names which history has left us?³²⁷

³²⁶ Antione Claudet, "On the Classification of the International Exhibition of 1862 as Regards Photography," *Journal of the Photographic Society* 7, no. 112 (1861). p.242.

³²⁷ Camille-Léon-Louis Silvy, "A Monsieur Claudet," *ibid.*, no. 113 (1860). p.268.

In the end a compromise for a space for photographs separated from photographic equipment was eventually established that, while reasonable in principle, was in practice a humiliation for the institutional authority of the British photographic community. As Larry Schaaf has put it;

But all too late, it was discovered that the newly allocated space was at a remote distance from the main displays, up a long and winding staircase. Moreover, instead of photography's promised placement alongside engravings, it would occupy a large room together with Class 29, Educational Works and Appliances, whose displays [...] created an overall air of self-righteous propriety. According to *The Times*, photography had been removed "to the most inaccessible and unfavourable spot to which it could be banished".³²⁸

Edwards must be correct in interpreting the photographic establishment's claims for 'art' as predicated on class resentment; the taint of mechanical labour implicit in a 'Semperian' display of photography awoke fears amongst the majority of photographers that their role might be understood as that of operatives, ('organ-grinders' as Edwards puts it).³²⁹ This prejudice was intense enough to overwhelm the South Kensington ideology of the foundational status of universal, manual craft in the development of 'higher' forms visual culture. Work produced according to these principles was certainly in evidence elsewhere at the London International Exhibition, where works by Herbert Minton and William Burges conformed closely to the precepts of South Kensington design theory, while an arguably Ruskinian process-based aesthetic was also evident in the furniture exhibited by Richard

³²⁸ Taylor and Schaaf, *Impressed by Light: British Photographs from Paper Negatives, 1840-1860*, p.140.

³²⁹ See Edwards, *The Making of English Photography: Allegories* Chapter 4 'The Solitary Exception' pp.163-203.

Norman Shaw, John Pollard Seddon and Morris, Marshall, Faulkner and Co.³³⁰ Additionally, this was the occasion of Sir Rutherford Alcock's display of Japanese objects in the Japanese Court that Burges famously described as 'truly the real medieval court of the exhibition'.³³¹

Whistler and Manet's pictures at the *Salon des Refusés* addressed the same institutional boundary in the context of the Royal Academy and the Académie des Beaux-Arts but were oriented very differently in their valuation of industrial art. *The White Girl* expressed little doubt about the authenticity or sincerity of its referents, which were invoked as powerful agents of pictorial and metaphoric change. Manet's pictures, especially *Le Déjeuner sur l'herbe*, represented the same challenge to academic practice as an equivocation played out as allegory, in paintings that largely figured the results of 'art and industry' as disenchantments. The choices offered by *Le Déjeuner sur l'herbe* were invidious, and the subject of the painting remained structured by reference to the unities of the 'representative regime' in ways that *The White Girl* had already superseded. *Le Déjeuner sur l'herbe* was therefore a continuation of the 'mock-heroic' strategy evident in the paintings of Legros, whereas *The White Girl* assumed the substitution of pictorial regimes as simultaneously inevitable, intellectually-interesting and stylistically-productive. The differentiations within the group suggested by this diversity of approaches to the *dispositif* of industrial art will be the subject of the final Chapter of the Thesis, which will map a fuller range of critical positions on industrial art within the Manet-Whistler circle by returning to the multiple manifestations of a key iconographic motif, the depiction of ceramics.

³³⁰ For an informal overview of these contributions see Cooper, *Victorian and Edwardian Furniture and Interiors : From the Gothic Revival to Art Nouveau*, pp.77-101.

³³¹ Tomoko Sato and Toshio Watanabe, *Japan and Britain : An Aesthetic Dialogue 1850-1930* (London: Lund Humphries in association with the Barbican Art Gallery and Setagaya Art Museum, 1991), p.27.

Chapter Four

The Museology of Ceramics as an International Iconography

4.1 Introduction

As Chapter Two argued in relation to Moore's *Pomegranates*, the iconography of the decorative arts in the paintings of the Manet-Whistler circle frequently alluded to the cultural prestige of certain materials and processes in ways that invoked critically-recognised valuations derived from the long historical succession of European and global cultural elites. This genealogy of cultural authority had accreted around the production and reception of a comparatively narrow set of 'elite' crafts. The text of Philippe Burty's *Chefs-D'oeuvre Des Arts Industriels* efficiently summarized the accepted scope of this set as; "Ceramic Art; Terra Cotta, Enamelled Faience, Porcelain. Glass; Table Glass and Window Glass. Enamels. Metals; Bronze and Iron, Jewellery and Plate. Tapestry and Carpets".³³²

'Ceramic art' took precedence within Burty's taxonomy; his account of the history and techniques of ceramics established principles of taste that were subsequently repeated in his descriptions of other forms of the 'industrial arts'. Burty's high valuation of ceramics as the paradigm of successful principles of facture was widely shared within the institutions of the *dispositif*. Charlotte Drew has recently described the crucial role played in the formation of the South Kensington Museum by Charles Robinson's acquisition of elite ceramics, while

³³² Philippe Burty, *Chefs-D'oeuvre Des Arts Industriels* (Paris: P. Ducrocq, 1866), Contents page.

the significance of ceramics to Semper's thought has already been outlined in the exposition of Moore's iconographic programme.³³³ Further evidence of the same 'foundational' status will be offered below.

The ceramics depicted in the works of Moore, Whistler, Manet and their 'co-generationists' were also consistently selected from within this canonical succession of ceramic styles, and were intended to be understood by contemporary audiences as instances within genealogies such as that described by Burty's *Arts Industriels* or the displays offered by the new museums of decorative art being constructed around Europe and North America on the South Kensington model. The operation of ceramics in progressive painting was therefore an 'archival' practice in Foucault's sense.³³⁴ The construction of the museological archive of decorative art was foundational to the project of industrial art and progressive painting reproduced this archive, thereby indexing its investigations against the authority of the new state-sponsored museology.

The representation of ceramic objects in painting was a pictorial trope common to both British and French progressive practices during the 1860s. The depiction of ceramics as a form of intentional visual interest largely detached from purposes of narrative or biographical intelligibility was a phenomenon that emerged into pictoriality abruptly, and its appearance has frequently been offered as evidence of a wider interest in 'oriental art' of which the most significant consequence (for the practice of painting) was the introduction

³³³ Charlotte Drew, "Displaying Italian Sculpture: Exploring Hierarchies at the South Kensington Museum 1852-62" (Phd diss. University of York, 2014).

³³⁴ Michel Foucault, "La Bibliothèque Fantastique. À Propos De La Tentation De Saint Antoine De Gustave Flaubert," *Cahiers Renaud-Barrault*, no. 59 (1967), pp.7-30.

of formal conventions derived from Japanese woodblock printmaking, sometimes evident in the works of Degas and Manet at the end of the decade.³³⁵ The phenomenon of the illustration of ceramic objects within British painting has also generally been described as a consequence of the metropolitan homosocial fashion for oriental 'blue and white' porcelain, a position largely informed by the persistent visibility of 'anti-aesthetic' satires on masculine attention to ceramics as an implicitly unmanly performative trope.³³⁶ The interpretive consequences of this direction of reasoning have been neatly summarised by Anne Anderson;

[...] it is not 'through any intrinsic quality of the sign but rather through the interpretive acts of members of the sign community that the sign comes to have meaning'. That is to say, the *Aesthetic* teapot acquires its meaning through ownership within a particular society. An elitist social grouping, the aesthetes adopted specific outward signs to indicate their acculturation.³³⁷

Such accounts of the new attention to ceramics can certainly be traced back to the statements of contemporary observers and were reported in numerous later memoirs of the period such as those of George Du Maurier, W. Graham Robertson and G. C. Williamson.³³⁸ The 'craze' for blue and white china in London was indeed the object of

³³⁵ Stephen Calloway, "Blue-and-White China," in *The Cult of Beauty*, ed. Stephen Calloway, Lynn Federle Orr, and Esmé Whittaker (London: V&A Publishing, 2011)

³³⁶ James Eli Adams, *Dandies and Desert Saints: Styles of Victorian Manhood* (Cornell University Press, 1995), p.210.

³³⁷ Anderson, "'Fearful Consequences...of Living up to One's Teapot': Men, Women and 'Clutchah' in the Aesthetic Movement," p.112.

³³⁸ See Du Maurier and Whiteley, *The Young George Du Maurier: A Selection of His Letters, 1860-67, Edited by Daphne Du Maurier.*, p.216, George Charles Williamson, *Murray Marks and His Friends : A Tribute of Regard* ([S.l.]: Lane, 1919), pp. 51-175, and W. Graham Robertson, *Time Was. The Reminiscences of W. Graham Robertson with a Foreword by Sir Johnston Forbes-Robertson* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1931), p.60.

intensely competitive acquisition and connoisseurship within a closely-networked *avant-garde* grouping that included practicing artists such as Whistler and Rossetti as well as influential collectors such as Sir Henry Thompson and Louis Huth and astute middle-men such as Charles Augustus Howell and Murray Marks.³³⁹ Overlooked examples of 'blue-and-white' were sought out at the margins of retail commerce, in the second-hand goods markets of London, Paris and Amsterdam, were given as gifts within progressive groupings and the merits of particularly well-decorated pieces debated in homosocial contexts.³⁴⁰ This interest in ceramics has long been acknowledged as a component of artistic self-fashioning in late nineteenth-century London, but the iconographic significance of the ceramic objects depicted in progressive painting has thereby been narrowly interpreted, and insufficient attention has been paid to concurrent, and formally similar, representations of ceramics in progressive French painting. I will argue that such depictions can be understood as a group of related statements alluding to a widely-circulated taxonomic model that claimed to describe the ethnographic relationship between tradition, technology and the transformation of cultural meaning in the visual arts.

It is infrequently observed that the appearance of 'blue and white' Chinese porcelain and its pre-industrial European imitations in painting was briefly preceded in both France and Great Britain by the representation of other types of ceramics, or that the succession of these representations in painting might be understood as alluding to state-sponsored museologies of industrial art.

³³⁹ See Calloway, "Blue-and-White China," p.116.

³⁴⁰ Du Maurier and Whiteley, *The Young George Du Maurier: A Selection of His Letters, 1860-67, Edited by Daphne Du Maurier.* p.216.

As suggested above, the late nineteenth-century valuation of ceramics as an 'industrial artform' - as both a technologically-determined product and as a 'universal' historical series - drew extensively on earlier narratives that identified the enduring role of elite ceramics as objects of inter-regional trade and their established status as diplomatic gifts in international cultural competition between European nation-states. This genealogy, whose foundations lay in cultural exchanges between Western Europe and the Islamic cultures of the Mediterranean during the Middle Ages, had been reinforced by the absolutist monarchies of eighteenth-century Europe through the creation of state porcelain manufacturing enterprises, a monopoly of elite production that was later complicated by the emergence of new forms of high-quality ceramics designed for mass consumption in Great Britain. 'Masterpieces' of ceramic production were therefore well-established landmarks on the map of elite cultural exchange established by Rancière's 'Representative regime', within which the most technically-demanding and stylistically-resolved pieces had been originally intended to circulate as materialisations of the state's cultural power. The 'Representative' taxonomy of ceramics emphasized the state direction of skilled craft and the continuity of the monarchical duty of patronage of society's most cherished technicians in both European and non-European contexts.

This emphasis on the status of technically-excellent ceramics as an indication of international cultural *puissance* was, in effect, an earlier iteration of the discourse that would become the *dispositif* of industrial art, and the prestige of certain forms of ceramics remained embedded within modern expositions. Burty's *Chefs-d'oeuvre des Arts Industriels* commenced with comprehensive survey of elite Ceramic Art whose narrative emphasized the significance of historical exchanges and re-confirmed the valuation (within largely-

mythologized biographies) of both the ‘anonymous’ productions of Persia, China and Japan and the reputation of European masters such Luca della Robbia, Bernard Palissy, Étienne-Maurice Falconnet and Claude Michel Clodion.³⁴¹ However, the political reorientations demanded by the Revolutionary and Imperial phases of France’s modern history had required a significant re-interpretation of this elite genealogy of ceramics. The re-explanation of ceramic history in post-Revolutionary France occurred primarily at Sèvres under the leadership of its new director Alexandre Brongniart, and was intended in the first instance to distance French state porcelain production from the taint of monarchism. Key to this project was the re-contextualisation of porcelain production within a much wider field of ceramic production. Brongniart had proposed a study collection at Sèvres soon after his appointment. In an 1802 letter to Napoleon Bonaparte’s *ministre de l’Interieur* Jean-Antoine Chaptal, he argued that

I believe it will be useful to the progress of the ceramic arts and their history, to assemble in a methodical way, *in the national establishment*, ...*that ought to be that of the art as a whole*, all the objects of art and science that might serve the history of fine *and ordinary* pottery.³⁴²

In 1805, in response to Chaptal’s call for accurate data on important sectors of French industry needed to support Imperial administration, Brongniart conducted a regional survey of ceramic production within the borders of France, a project that has subsequently become known as the *Enquête des préfets*. Each of France’s thirty-six regional *Préfectures* were sent

³⁴¹ Burty, *Chefs-D'oeuvre Des Arts Industriels* pp.3-131.

³⁴² Préaud and Ostergard, *The Sèvres Porcelain Manufactory: Alexandre Brongniart and the Triumph of Art and Industry, 1800-1847*, p.124. NS italics.

a questionnaire concerning local ceramic production, accompanied by a request for examples of ceramics, shards of fired clay and samples of raw earths. Brongniart received back thirty responses to his questionnaire, and in 1812 delivered his completed report on the French ceramic industry to the Ministry of the Interior. The research materials collected from the *Enquête* remained at Sèvres, where they became the core of the new study collection at the manufactory. The *Enquête des préfets* therefore provided a useful point for departure for the expansion of the Sèvres collection, which as Brongniart explained, was already in unintended possession of a few relevant diachronic and synchronic series that included ‘models for all the ornamental and utilitarian vases made by the manufactory since its inception, a selection of ‘flower, fruit and animal studies’ representing the styles of recognised masters and ‘a beautiful series of Etruscan vases’.³⁴³

Both Brongniart’s intention that the *Musée de Sèvres* would acknowledge both “fine and ordinary pottery” and the principles that underlay the *Enquête des préfets* implied a new conception of ceramics as an expression of regional cultural authenticity that overlaid the genealogy of exchange between aristocratic cultural elites. Ceramic production might now be understood as a ‘universal’ human predisposition, to which all past and contemporary human cultures had contributed. Brongniart’s study collection became the *Musée de Sèvres* in 1812. Although initially founded from the residues of *ancien régime* porcelain production and the legacy of the *Enquête des préfets*, the *Musée* expanded further in the late 1820s, and eventually brought together an unprecedented collection of ceramics from most cultural contexts for which surviving examples were available, including the works of modern

³⁴³ Ibid. p.124.

producers globally, a significant collection of Gallo-Roman pottery from French archaeological sites, ceramics from pre-Colombian South America and examples from contemporary sub-Saharan Africa.

The principles by which Brongniart organised his remarkably wide-ranging collection of objects at Sèvres were a frankly-acknowledged adaptation of the taxonomic strategies of the naturalist and zoologist Georges Cuvier, another beneficiary of Napoleonic patronage (he was confirmed as *Professeur* at the *Jardin des Plantes* in Paris in 1802) and a close colleague of Brongniart. Indeed, Brongniart, a scientist and mineralogist by training, collaborated with Cuvier in his hugely-influential survey of the geological formation of the Paris basin, the study that established the foundational principles of biostratigraphy later reflected in John Dilwyn Llewellyn's photographs of the limestone sea-cliffs of the South Wales coast. Cuvier's model of comparative anatomy was a temporal extension of the Linnaean classificatory system, and had been intended to illuminate the relationships between living animals and their fossil precursors brought to light by geological investigations. Brongniart's re-purposing of Cuvian taxonomy was described in the first of two important publications on ceramics produced under his direction, the *Traité des arts céramiques, ou Des poteries considérées dans leur histoire, leur pratique et leur théorie* (1844).³⁴⁴ The following year, Brongniart published the *Description méthodique du musée céramique* (1845) a descriptive catalogue of the Musée de Sèvres collection extensively illustrated by the *Conservateur des collections* at the museum, the retired porcelain painter Denis-Désiré Riocreux, who provided a lavish set

³⁴⁴ Alexandre Brongniart, *Traité Des Arts Céramiques, Ou Des Poteries Considérées Dans Leur Histoire, Leur Pratique Et Leur Théorie* (Paris: Brechet Jeune & Mathais, 1844).

of chromolithographic illustrations to support Brongniart's text.³⁴⁵ A complementary publication to these official enunciations of Sèvres research programme was Jules Ziegler's *Études céramiques : recherche des principes du beau dans l'architecture, l'art céramique et la forme en général, théorie de la coloration des reliefs*.³⁴⁶ Ziegler was a significant precursor of the multiple interests of the Manet-Whistler circle. A painter whose hispanism was briefly noted in Chapter Two, Ziegler was also a pioneer 'studio ceramicist' and a photographer, one of the founders of the *Société Héliographique* alongside Baron Gros, Léon de Laborde, Delacroix and Champfleury. Harry Mallgrave has described Ziegler's contribution to the discourse of ceramic art:

A painter by avocation, in fact trained by Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres, Ziegler brought a critical artistic perspective to the subject of ceramics [...] In the early 1830's he opened a pottery studio at his country residence near Beauvais, and between 1838 and 1842 he even worked at Sèvres itself, where he also brought his formal schemes of classification to Brongniart's attention. Ziegler continued to view the problem strictly from his artistic perspective, however, and his book, published in 1850, was conceived as twenty-four Cartesian meditations on the beauty of certain ceramic forms.³⁴⁷

The theoretical publications of the group around Brongniart at Sèvres contributed to an expanding international corpus of print concerning historical decorative art that also included the archeologist Eduard Gerhard's publications of classical material culture,

³⁴⁵ Alexandre Brongniart and Denis-Desire Riocreux, *Description Méthodique Du Musée Céramique* (Paris: A. Lileux, Libraire-Editeur, 1845).

³⁴⁶ Jules Ziegler, *Études Céramiques: Recherche Des Principes Du Beau Dans L'architecture, L'art Céramique Et La Forme En Général, Théorie De La Coloration Des Reliefs*, 2 vols. (Paris: Mathias, Paulin, 1850)

³⁴⁷ Harry Francis Mallgrave, *Gottfried Semper: Architect of the Nineteenth Century* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1996), p.281.

particularly the four volume *Auserlesne Griechische Vasenbilder* (1839-58) and *Etruskische und Campanische Vasenbilder* (1843) and British publications such as Owen Jones's *Plans, Elevations, Sections and Details of the Alhambra* (1842) and Pugin's publications on medieval decorative art.

Semper, whose writings have been argued as a paradigm of industrial arts theory, encountered the *Musée de Sèvres* and Brongniart's taxonomy when he passed through France as a refugee, immediately after the failed Dresden uprising of 1848. Semper spent several weeks as the guest of Jules Diéterle, who from 1840 had been the chief designer at Sèvres, and he subsequently freely acknowledged the influence of Cuvier, Brongniart, Diéterle and Ziegler on his own conceptual development. Semper's mature theoretical model was therefore shaped by his encounter with French taxonomies of ceramic form immediately before he encountered the British taxonomy of contemporary industrial production at the Great Exhibition of 1851. The problematic identified in Semper's early writing applied the developmental taxonomy of Brongniart and Ziegler to the apparent incoherence and self-evidently unequal technical development visible in the national displays of raw materials, processing technologies and finished commodities he witnessed at the *Great Exhibition*. Crucially, Semper appropriated Ziegler's comparison of the situla and hydria as a model of explication, and *Der Stil* would later reproduce and acknowledge Ziegler's illustration of ceramic *Formule analogique* or 'root-forms' from the *Études céramiques* as support for the notion of the 'logical method of inventing' that Ziegler had proposed in the *Études* [fig.153]. Semper would extend Sèvres's taxonomic approach from ceramics to other primary techniques in his outline of the 'ideal museum', in order to demonstrate the 'mixed character' of advanced technologies and the recursion of

foundational forms in later historical configurations. Semper was also able to use this knowledge of ceramics as a discursive 'bridge' into the tight homosocial circle of British and German intellectuals close to the Prince Consort, as Dieter Weidmann has described.³⁴⁸ He assiduously sought the post of Instructor in Ceramics at the National Art Training School from Henry Cole, a request that Cole met by sending Semper to work with his colleague Herbert Minton at the pottery works at Stoke-on-Trent. Minton's report on Semper concluded that he had "much to learn" and he was instead offered the less-prestigious post of Instructor in Metalwork, a decision that itself suggests something of the strategic primacy of ceramics within British industrial art thinking.

Cole's proximity to Herbert Minton in the early 1850s establishes the development of 'design reform' as a matter of concern for leading British manufacturers and reflects the ongoing significance of issues of national prestige in shaping the elite market for decorative art. Despite national rivalries, there was an extremely close relationship between the French state manufactories and Henry Cole's South Kensington network. Herbert Minton, a key industrial ally of British design reform and a close friend of Cole, maintained close contact with Sèvres, was permitted to copy older Sèvres porcelain shapes in earthenware and regularly employed Sèvres-trained artists in his business, amongst whom could be counted Louis Arnoux, Marc-Louis Solon, Henri Carrier-Belleuse, Jules Dalou and Auguste Rodin, an international transfer of knowledge and personnel that echoed the 'state-to-state' exchanges of elite ceramics within earlier monarchical regimes. The curriculum of the National Art Training School had been partially modelled by William Dyce on his observation

³⁴⁸ See Dieter Weidmann, "Through the Stable Door to Prince Albert? On Gottfried Semper's London Connections," *Journal of Art Historiography*, no. 11 (2014), pp.259-272.

of Sèvres's reformed administration, and Charles Robinson at the South Kensington Museum aimed to replicate the famous *Musée de Sèvres* as a living industrial archive that informed the contemporary production process. As Rebecca Wallis has recently shown, Minton was in regular dialogue with Sèvres, purchased redundant moulds from Sèvres to be used by his firm and offered examples of Minton's productions to the *Musée céramique*.³⁴⁹

The shift in the explicatory model of ceramics as an index of cultural attainment was accompanied by the adaptation of the visual representation of ceramics in other media. The sources of the visual language by which ceramics was described also derived from within its own distinctive genealogy of state-sponsored images of technological process from the tradition initiated by Le Brun and Sébastien Leclerc that deployed techniques derived from the depiction of royal ritual to propose a connection between technical mastery in the decorative arts and monarchical power. Sèvres continued to represent their renowned techniques of production in this 'Representative' mode well into the early nineteenth century. Two porcelain services, the *Déjeuner L'art de la porcelain*, and the *Déjeuner Les arts industriels*, both painted by Jules Develly were conceived as state gifts, the latter presented by the French state to Prince Metternich between 1826 and 1829

[fig.154].³⁵⁰ The graphic representation of ceramics was also influenced by the conventions of technical and architectural drawing: In the design drawings produced by Sèvres and comparable manufacturing enterprises, ceramic form and surface ornament were frequently separated into independent entities, a convention also adopted in commercial

³⁴⁹ See Rebecca Wallis, "The French Connection: Minton and Sevres in the Nineteenth Century," *The French Porcelain Society Journal* VI (2016), pp.259-272.

³⁵⁰ See Préaud and Ostergard, *The Sèvres Porcelain Manufactory: Alexandre Brongniart and the Triumph of Art and Industry, 1800-1847*, pp.211-218.

manufacturer's pattern-books such as those produced in England by Wedgwood and Bentley in the 1780's.

4.2 Majolica in *At the Piano*

While Chapter One considered Whistler's *At the Piano* as a work largely composed from, and exploring the implications of, contemporary reproductive practices such as etching, illustration and photography, it nonetheless contains elements that cannot be wholly explained within that frame. Notable amongst these is Whistler's depiction of a single large ceramic dish at the extreme left of the picture, apparently placed between the figure of Deborah Haden and the wall of the music room that constitutes the terminal plane of the painting's pictorial space. In this depiction *At the Piano* moved away from the conventions used by illustrators such as Leech and Keene in their representations of the contemporary bourgeois interior. Chapter Two argued that Whistler transposed the paired objects and symmetrical formal arrangement that generally signified haute-bourgeois domesticity in Leech's illustrations for *Punch*, for the organisation of the figures in *At the Piano*. In British illustration, the modern domestic interior was also frequently signified through the impression of informal material profusion, a second trope to which Whistler also alluded in his etching *The Music Room* (1858). Conversely, *At the Piano*'s solitary dish, self-consciously presented on a small circular table draped in red cloth, is unrelated to either of these conventions and was seemingly inserted into the pictorial space more to articulate an

otherwise unresolved compositional gap between the diagonal of Deborah Haden's back and the vertical edge of the canvas than to suggest the *minutiae* of the middle-class interior.

The size and the vivid blue, orange and cream glaze of this dish suggest that Whistler was depicting a highly distinctive type of pottery, the Italian tin-glazed earthenware known as 'majolica' that had been brought to an exceptional standard of technical sophistication in Florence around the end of the fifteenth century. Indeed, the freely handled impression of the dish's interior surface suggested that it may have been an example of pictorial *istoriato* ware, the highest-status form of majolica technique produced in several central Italian centres in the mid-sixteenth century.³⁵¹ Whistler was of course not the first contemporary artist to include majolica in modern painting. Millais had depicted this form of ceramics ten years previously in his Pre-Raphaelite debut *Isabella* (1849) but Millais' motivation had been the construction of an archeologically-informed context for an imagined historical past. By 1859 *Isabella* was in the possession of Benjamin Godfrey Windus in Tottenham and it is therefore unclear whether Whistler would have been familiar with the work. Notwithstanding the possible availability of this precedent, the inclusion by Whistler of a single, high-status historical artefact in a painting otherwise so deeply invested in aspects of contemporary pictoriality is striking, the more so when the conventional pretexts for the representation of historical 'decorative art' in painting, the creation of an 'authentic' past or allusion to a contemporary sitter's connoisseurship, appear to be so far from the concerns of the picture.

³⁵¹ There are other possible identifications – seventeenth-century French faïence from the Nevers region, made by the descendants of Italian craftsmen imported by Francois I, also used a preponderance of deep blue and orange decoration and sometimes depicted *istoria* and might offer an alternative identification.

The high valuation ascribed to majolica by connoisseurs and scholars in the mid-nineteenth century can be traced back to the creation of elaborate 'services' of tin-glazed earthenware for use in significant social and diplomatic contexts in fifteenth and sixteenth-century Italy. As Timothy Wilson has argued, many items in these services were, although exceptionally-decorated, designed to be used and therefore succumbed to destruction through use, leaving a remainder of unrepresentative pieces of the most elite wares, objects had been carefully curated since their creation.³⁵² These pieces, and especially *istoriato*, had been held in high esteem continuously since the early sixteenth century. Lorenzo de Medici was known to have made rhetorical comparisons between majolica and silver in his correspondence, and exceptional pieces of majolica had subsequently been inscribed with a rich fictional history that attempted to locate their provenance in the collections of the Medici family that had been dispersed in 1797. The mythologised history of *istoriato* majolica maintained that Raphael himself had decorated such pieces. As the catalogue to the Stowe Sale explained in 1848;

The ware itself is a rather common sort of potter [*sic.*]: its celebrity arises from the fact of Raffaele having contributed the aid of his pencil to its decoration. It is said that the great painter fell in love with the daughter of a potter; and to gain her affections, condescended to paint her father's earthenware. This however is contradicted by Lanzi who, quoting the works of Vasari and Lazzari, speaks of the perfection to which the manufacture of painted earthen vessels was carried in Italy for about the space of twenty years, or from 1540 to 1560 [...]³⁵³

³⁵² Timothy Wilson, "Il Gusto Per La Maiolica Istoriatata Nella Storia Del Collezionismo Europeo," in *Fabulae Pictae. Miti E Storie Nelle Maioliche Del Rinascimento*, ed. M. Marino (Florence: Giunti Editore, 2012), pp.144-163.

³⁵³ Henry Rumsey Forster, "The Stowe Sale, Priced and Annotated," ed. Manson and Woods Christie (London: Vizetelly Brothers and co., 1848). p.49. Wilson considers that this mythological account of Raphael's

Although the Renaissance fashion for majolica as elite tableware was superseded in the seventeenth century by the taste for oriental porcelain, pictorial plates had remained objects of interest to connoisseurs. From the seventeenth century to the nineteenth, majolica dishes were frequently displayed in gilt frames and hung like pictures. From the mid-eighteenth century onwards, the taste for majolica began to intensify amongst aristocratic collectors in Northern Europe, notably in France and Great Britain. As the French critic Pierre-Jean Mariette explained in 1750 "They were in their time what our fine porcelains are now. They adorned the sideboards of kings and the greatest lords, and nowadays they may still have a place in the best collections."³⁵⁴ Several large eighteenth-century European collections were dispersed between 1848 and 1856 and were bought, in their entirety or in part, by public institutions. In France, majolica were the first wares other than porcelain bought by the Musée de Sèvres set up under Alexandre Brongniart's reforming administration of the Imperial Manufactory after 1805. In London both the British Museum and the South Kensington Museum bought extensively from the famous Stowe (1848) and Bernal (1854) sales. Wilson considers that "by 1860 much of the finest maiolica in existence had found its way to London...In this collecting frenzy, *istoriato* was a prime focus."³⁵⁵

One of the most celebrated instances of majolica entering public ownership was the

involvement with majolica was probably derived from historical fiction, specifically *Raphael und seine Nachbarinnen* by Achim von Arnim (1824).

³⁵⁴ Pierre-Jean Mariette, *Description Sommaire Des Statues, Figures, Bustes, Vases, Et Autres Morceaux De Sculpture, Tant En Marble Qu'en Bronze: & Des Modèles En Terre Cuite, Porcelaines, & Fayences D'urbin, Provenans Du Cabinet De Feu M. Crozat: Dont La Vente Se Fera Le 14 Décembre 1750 & Jours Suivans, En L'hôtel Où Est Décédé M. Le Marquis Du Châtel, Rue De Richelieu.* (Paris: Louis-François Delatour, 1750), pp.43-44.

³⁵⁵ Wilson, "Il Gusto Per La Maiolica Istoriatà Nella Storia Del Collezionismo Europeo," p.152.

acquisition, from 1856 onwards, of the Soulages Collection, an extensive assemblage of historical decorative art assembled by Jules Soulages of Toulouse. The Soulages Collection was bought by a consortium of philanthropic industrialists and art dealers for the Marlborough House Museum which formed part of the first National Art Training School run by Cole for the Board of Trade. As Drew has described, unlike the heterogeneous collection of contemporary and historical objects already acquired by Cole and his colleagues, the Soulages Collection was “a ready-made, systematic display of the progress of decorative art in the medieval and renaissance periods.”³⁵⁶ Items from the collection were displayed at the Art Treasures Exhibition held in Manchester in 1857, where the catalogue specifically described the Soulages majolica;

Of the Majolica, should especially be remarked, Nos.1, 2 and 4, by Maestro Giorgio, No.5 and No.9, with a portrait of Perugino. No, by M. Giorgio, is one of the finest of that master’s known No.14 a splendid example of the Gubbio lustre [...] No.22 by Maestro Giorgio, and one of the highest class of his work. Nos.25, 36, 37, 46 are excellent examples of the coloured figure-subjects so generally known as Raffaele ware. No.47 a procession, with Pope Leo X enthroned.³⁵⁷

As a visitor to the Manchester Art Treasures exhibition, Whistler would certainly have been aware of the valorised status of majolica in the circles within which Haden moved. It is unclear whether Haden was wealthy enough to personally own genuine majolica, although he acquired an extensive collection of renaissance and post-renaissance prints. A single

³⁵⁶ Drew, "Displaying Italian Sculpture: Exploring Hierarchies at the South Kensington Museum 1852-62," p.104.

³⁵⁷ Scharf and Holmes, *Catalogue of the Art Treasures of the United Kingdom Collected at Manchester in 1857*, p.160.

important *istoriato* piece thought to depict Raphael was bought for Marlborough House from the Bernal Sale in 1854 for £120, implying that Whistler's depiction of this type of ceramic on a small table in the corner of a domestic space marginalized an extremely rare and expensive object. The red fabric against which the plate is viewed merges oddly with the carpet in a single tapering field. The colour of this fabric possibly also mimics the conditions of display at Marlborough House, where the standardized display cases were also lined with a deep red cloth, similarly draped in aprons of fabric that reached to the floor and masked the framework of the cabinet [fig.155]. Homosocial competition between Whistler and his father-in-law was implicit in several other aspects of Whistler's domestic genre images and Haden's identity as connoisseur and amateur member of the Cole Circle was likely to have been a factor in the iconographic programme of *At the Piano*. But that interpretation needs to be balanced against the moral claim of 'Raffaele-ware' that directed the painter's gaze towards the technically-demanding disciplines of craft production, a form of collaborative making that reflected shared goals and the exchange of ideas between artists and technicians. Majolica's mythologised association with Raphael confirmed the nobility of an enterprise in which tradition and technological ambition were effectively reconciled. The significations of majolica, derived from long-established critical discourse, certainly pulled the discursive relationships of *At the Piano* towards the concerns of the Department of Science and Art. By including such a significant category of artefact within its iconographic array, *At the Piano* was clearly making a claim for some form of connection between the image-world of reproductive media and the taxonomies of the new archive of decorative art. This relationship can be characterized in two ways; either as a depiction that informs the relationships represented elsewhere within the picture or as a statement of Whistler's authorial orientation towards the recently constructed principles of industrial art.

However, while present as a sign of those principles, the dish failed to engage with the pictorial space formally, remaining a mute sign whose potential to affect the pictoriality of the painting was entirely overwhelmed by the modern reproductive pictorialities that organised the representation of space. In that sense, majolica was a 'dead' sign corresponding to the funereally-cased musical instruments under the piano more than to any aspect of the principle subject-matter, perhaps suggesting that Whistler's commitment to the model of decorative art, fully-explored in the paintings of the mid 1860s, was still in development. Other British painters were apparently quicker to absorb the abstract principles of the Semperian theory of stylistic change. Perhaps the first painting to investigate Semper's model in detail was Leighton's *Lieder ohne Worte*, a painting that would be hung at the Royal Academy one year after *At the Piano*.

4.3 The 'Virtual' Ceramics of *Lieder ohne Worte*

Leighton's submission of *Lieder ohne Worte* [fig.156] to the 1861 Annual Exhibition of the Royal Academy has already been described in terms of the conflict between the requirements of its pictoriality and the organisation of conditions of viewing at the Annual Exhibition, a conflict interpreted as an encounter enmeshed in a larger contest for authority between Academicians and industrial art's new claims for photography. Within that discussion, the subject-matter of *Lieder ohne Worte* was deferred in order to emphasise exhibitionary concerns. There is a well-established art-historical narrative concerning the painting's genesis that has been largely derived from Leighton's written claims in letters to

his father and his former teacher Eduard von Stienle that he was making a visual equivalent to aural affect, while the collaborative construction of the painting's title in reference to Mendelssohn's *lieder* was established in a letter to Leighton by Ralph Benson.³⁵⁸ The letter (which records the painting's title as suggested by Benson's spouse) signalled an equivalence between the 'non-narrative' form of Leighton's visual depiction and certain forms of contemporary music that would recur frequently as a metaphor of explication for progressive British painting in the 1860s and 70s and that has often been assumed as a form of intentionality. These statements and the suggestion by Emilie Barrington (Mrs Russell Barrington) concerning the transposition of gender in the depiction of the daydreaming youth have established the narrative of the painting's pictorial development and subsequent titling as 'without words' within well-established *topoi* of British 'Phidian' classicism and aestheticism.

Such interpretations have presented the emphasis on 'style' in *Lieder ohne Worte* - particularly Leighton's; "particular preoccupation with the effect that line and form [...] would have on the viewer" as a strategy of de-familiarisation that supported the aims of 'subject-less' affect.³⁵⁹ However, *Lieder ohne Worte* offered a similar pattern of

³⁵⁸ See Russell Barrington, Mrs., *The Life, Letters and Work of Frederic Leighton* ([S.I.]: George Allen Ruskin House, 1906) Vol II, p.57-65.

³⁵⁹ "The Tate Gallery 1978-80: Illustrated Catalogue of Acquisitions." p.32. "the characteristically meticulous preparation that went into Leighton's pictures and also, here, his particular preoccupation with the effect that line and form - especially in relation to the pose of the principal figure - would have on the viewer...The architectural elements and their perspective are precise enough to have been drawn with the aid of a T-square and set-square on a drawing board; similarly, the relief moulding on the well-head looks as though it was drawn with a pair of compasses. This same precision can be seen in the under-drawing on the canvas. A grid of thirty-two rectangles, each $2 \frac{7}{8} \times 3 \frac{1}{2}$ in. (7.35 × 9 cm.) was superimposed on the design to facilitate its enlargement onto the canvas; its presence, with the junction of the vertical and horizontal axes at the exact centre of the girl's trunk, and her limbs subtly placed along these horizontals and verticals, reinforces the devices Leighton used to enhance a sense of repose. This effect was clearly in Leighton's mind when, in

iconographic affordances to those later evident in Moore's *Pomegranates* and included an elaborate representation of ceramics. Six ceramic vessels were depicted, the majority being associated with the collection of water from the bronze spout in the foreground that forms the ostensible subject-matter of the painting. These ceramics were formally emphasised by intense local colour and ornament, and offered carefully-considered counterpoints to the two figures that occupied the enclosed space. These ceramics vessels were highly differentiated, and the material characteristics of the foreground group was painstakingly described using the linear and planar drawing of museological taxonomic description. The tonal configuration of the foreground group was repeated in the distant figure, suggesting some form of temporal succession. The red and black vessels mirrored each other on a diagonal axis, while a more complex relationship connected the honey-coloured hydria on the head of the veiled figure, the blond hair of the dreaming adolescent and the gracefully drooping characteristics of the white jar placed on the mosaic pavement. The flat pattern of this pavement was itself one of several passages of planar ornament given a similar formal emphasis to the description of ceramics, both forms comparatively independent of the recession of pictorial space.

The ceramics described by *Lieder ohne Worte* did not directly allude to the canonical museology described in the narrative histories of Burty or Robinson and implied in *At the Piano*. An attempt to read Leighton's representations of ceramics in this way, in terms of a canon of classical decorative art, was made in 1983 by Ian Jenkins.³⁶⁰ Jenkins attempted to

referring to the receding figure in the background, he wrote that 'the tallness of said figure was inseparable from the sentiment of it in my mind'."

³⁶⁰ Ian Jenkins, "Frederic Lord Leighton and Greek Vases," *The Burlington Magazine* 125, no. 967 (1983), pp.596-603+605

identify a coherent programme of archaeological allusion in the ceramics of Leighton's *Captive Andromache* (1888) [fig.157] but he quickly recognised that these depictions were at best composite adaptations combining features of two or more examples from the collection of the British Museum, or else hybrids of classical examples with 'non-Greek' wares which Jenkins dismissed as "the bric-à-brac of Leighton House".³⁶¹ Jenkins deduced that Leighton was therefore "unconcerned with archaeological accuracy" and "freely modified what he knew to be academically correct". He noted the availability of Gerhard's *Auserlesene Griechische Vasenbilder* (1858) as the "standard source for subsequent publication" of the *Kallirhoe* fountain-house scene (which was also reproduced in Semper's *Der Stil* in 1860) which, he argued, had established the conceit of *Captive Andromache*.³⁶² Jenkins also made specific comparison with Moore to support his conclusions that "One painting after another tells the same story. We recognise in them stray elements borrowed from Greek vases, but rarely is one object reproduced entire or faithfully".³⁶³

The ceramics of *Lieder ohne Worte* were far more 'eccentric' than the classically-derived examples of Leighton's later practice. Not only were they self-evidently 'non-Greek' but they had few close equivalents even in the 'universal' survey of Brongniart's *Description méthodique du musée céramique*, a publication that included seventy chromolithographic plates, each of which illustrated multiple examples from the Sèvres collection. Even if Leighton's ahistorical and doubtfully-functional handle designs are discounted, the basic forms of the vessels in *Lieder ohne Wort* were rare in Brongniart's taxonomy. However,

³⁶¹ Ibid. p.601

³⁶² Edouard Gerhard, *Auserlesene Griechische Vasenbilder, Hauptsächlich Etruskischen Fundorts: Griechisches Alltagsleben*, 4 vols., vol. 4 (Berlin: Reimer, 1858), Plate CCCVII, *Beim Brunnen Kalirrhoe*, p.77.

³⁶³ Jenkins, "Frederic Lord Leighton and Greek Vases," p.601.

Leighton's shapes nonetheless remained within the field of formal possibilities proposed by Ziegler's *Études céramiques*, in which the *Formule analogique* "of the principles followed in nature for the production of their being, their families and their genres" were mapped.³⁶⁴ They also demonstrated special attention to details of the mouths or lips of ceramic vessels, a subject extensively investigated in the first volume of Semper's *Der Stil* in which Ziegler's taxonomic diagram of *Formule analogique* was reproduced and acknowledged.³⁶⁵

The eccentric ceramic forms of *Lieder ohne Worte* were therefore conceived according to the same Cuvierian principles of taxonomic recombination proposed by the museology of industrial art and considered within Semper's theorisation of stylistic change. Jenkins was therefore wrong to assert that Leighton was 'unconcerned with archaeological accuracy'; the invented ceramics of *Lieder ohne Worte* were elaborations of an essentially archaeological or ethnographic series, the combinatory possibilities of which also included these unprecedented forms. The ceramics of *Lieder ohne Worte* were intended to be read as contemporary objects which extended this historical taxonomy and remained essentially 'archival' depictions. The predicative or experimental characteristic of these vessels was confirmed and relayed by the geometric decoration applied to the two jars to the left of the central figure. Like Moore's later painted cabinet, both these jars were decorated with representations of plant forms that had been abstracted according to the principles of 'art-botany' developed by Dresser at the National Art Training School in South Kensington. Indeed, Leighton's ceramics were contemporary with the methodology Dresser expounded

³⁶⁴ Ziegler, *Études Céramiques: Recherche Des Principes Du Beau Dans L'architecture, L'art Céramique Et La Forme En Général, Théorie De La Coloration Des Reliefs*, p.40.

³⁶⁵ Semper, *Style: Style in the Technical and Tectonic Arts, or, Practical Aesthetics* Ziegler's map on p.526, illustrations of 'composite' mouths p.543.

in *The Principles of Decorative Design*, which in 1861 was still in preparation, but whose principles were already visible in architectural contexts such as the ornamental treatment of the sanctuary at Street's St James the Less, Pimlico (1858-61) or Moore's *Croxteth Fountain* (1860-61). Leighton would apply a similar ornamental procedure to his own design for the tomb of Elizabeth Barratt Browning [fig.158], a commission from Robert Browning that materialized immediately after the exhibition of *Lieder ohne Worte* at the Royal Academy and was designed for the Protestant Cemetery in Florence. *Lieder ohne Worte*'s carefully-established architectural space (underdrawn with pencil and square) is close stylistically and procedurally to The *Browning Tomb* (1861-4) and both materialized Dresser's art-botanical *cul-des-lampes* using a technique of black inlay cut into white stone, an effect established in *Lieder ohne Wort* by the circular band of decoration surrounding the bronze spout and the band of abstracted floral ornament encircling the white jar in the foreground. The correspondences between *Lieder ohne Worte* and the Browning tomb designs suggest that, like *At the Piano*, Leighton's picture was originally concerned with matters of 'reverie and mourning', a meaning that was effaced by its title's apparent reference to Mendelssohn.

Dresser's *Art of Decorative Design* also repeated Semper's situla-hydria example, clearly demonstrating the integration of Ziegler's and Brongniart's taxonomic models into the pedagogy of the National Art Training School by the early 1860s. The temporal succession of the appearance of this model in industrial arts discourse (from Ziegler's *Études céramiques* in 1850, in Semper's London Lecture of 1853 and subsequently in *Der Stil* in 1860, to its integration with the British interest with surface ornament derived from Jones's reading of Pugin in *The Art of Decorative Design*), clearly charted the transmission of this useful intellectual material from Sèvres to South Kensington. While Semper was by no means the

only conduit of theory between Sèvres and the Cole circle, the centrality of the situla-hydria comparison in his thought suggests that his contribution was important in this instance.

Underlining the painting's relationship with an iconography of mourning, the motif of *Lieder ohne Worte* appears to be a variation of classical representations of Electra and Orestes at the tomb of Agamemnon, encountered on Greek pottery of the 4th and 5th centuries BCE. Robyn Asleson has suggested that such imagery was the source for Leighton's 1869 picture *Electra at the Tomb of Agamemnon* [fig.159].³⁶⁶ As Chapter One established, Semper had specifically alluded to Athenian vase-painting when demonstrating the crucial role played by ritual and the 'atmosphere of art' in the sublimation of functional objects to symbolic language. In Volume II of *Der Stil*, published in 1863, he illustrated his point with Gerhard's image of young women filling hydria at the Athenian *Kallirhoe* spring, the visual source that both Jenkins and Asleson have identified as relevant to Leighton and Moore's other projects but in the absence of Semper's reproduction, argued as derived directly from *Griechische Vasenbilder*. Notably, In *Der Stil* the illustrations of Zeigler's *situla-hydria* model and the *Kallirhoe* vase painting were placed symmetrically in opposing pages of text, reflecting their combinatory relationship within Semper's model of stylistic change.

On ceramics such as the Lacanian *Pelike* acquired by the Louvre in 1872 [fig.160], the iconography of funerary ritual consisted of the depiction of the mourning Electra seated the base of a columnar tomb and surrounded by small votive vessels. In Leighton's reworking of the motif, these vessels were given a markedly increased emphasis. Indeed, taken together

³⁶⁶ Robyn Asleson, "On Translating Homer, Prehistory and the Limits of Classicism," in *Frederic Leighton, Antiquity, Renaissance, Modernity*, ed. Tim Barringer and Elizabeth Prettejohn (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1999), pp.67-88.

with the lions-head water spout and the stilled blackbird, the carefully-differentiated group of ceramics in the foreground presented a competing focus of interest to the main subject of the picture, leading the viewer to recognise a plane of strongly delineated forms that challenged to the recessive, equivocal figure that Leighton himself described as 'feeble' in its photographic reproduction.³⁶⁷ With their intense local colours and crisp drawing, Leighton's ceramics announced a larger formal pattern that expanded to include the architectural virtual space of the painting, the proportional subdivision of the canvas and the painting's purposely-designed decorative frame.

The ceramics in the foreground of *Lieder ohne Worte* were clearly echoed in colour and outline by those carried by the draped figure enclosed within the architectural framework; a passage that is also a 'votive' niche and Semper's *situla-hydria* comparison also appears in the emblematic form of the draped or veiled figure. Leonée Ormond proposed that this figure was indebted to Raphael's *The Fire in the Borgo* of 1512-14 [fig.161], which indeed seems to have been the point of departure, but a comparison between the figures suggests that *Lieder ohne Worte* largely ignored Raphael's representation of the labouring female body, only retaining the spatial or proportional disposition of vessels amongst the right-hand group of Raphael's *istorie*. The distribution of objects in *The Fire in the Borgo* is organised within Golden Ratios, while Raphael's water-carrying figure was constructed according to the Polyclitan proportional canon. *Lieder ohne Worte* adapted this emblematic formalism to a different (Ionic?) proportional canon, retaining the armature of Raphael's arrangement and even repeating specific characteristics of the vessels themselves [fig.162].

³⁶⁷ Stephen Jones, *Frederic Leighton, 1830-1896* (London: Royal Academy of Arts with Harry N. Abrams, 1996), p.123.

However, each vessel was changed from its classical prototype to a more exotic and hybrid taxonomic form: despite its inversion to a broad-footed, narrow-shouldered configuration the *hydria* remained a recognisable constant through its embodied relationship as an extension of the height of the figure into architectural form, but the other vessels were made much more ambiguous. the Egyptian *situla* that hung from the hand of Raphael's figure became an anonymous representative of Ziegler's ovoid form while the bronze basin in Raphael's *Borgo* was entirely reinvented in a form of a strong visual misreading, producing an object of ambiguous function and unknowable material.

Lieder ohne Worte followed the Semperian model through to its most abstract implications, suggesting Leighton's attention not only to Semper's account of the material and psychic determinants on stylistic transformation, but to a second facet of Semper's thought, developed in parallel with his theory of symbolic form but never entirely integrated into a single totalized account. In the Prolegomenon of *Der Stil*, published in 1860, Semper had proposed a second genealogy of principles by which material form was organised, derived from a taxonomy of bodily adornment constructed from his observation of the representations of jewellery and costume in archaeological and modern exhibitionary contexts. In addition to the examples in Gerhard's publications, this line of argument had been extensively informed by his study of Austen Henry Layard's *The Monuments of Nineveh* (1853) and the displays of the Great Exhibition. Semper identified three principles organising the distribution of ornament on the human body. Pendant forms such as earrings and fringes emphasised the body's relationship to the force of gravity, setting up local symmetries between the downward-hanging qualities of pendants and the vertical orientation of the body parts against which they hung. Rings such as the arm-bands

represented on the arms of male figures in the Nineveh reliefs described the relationship between the length of a limb and its diameter and articulation. Draped bands, such as sashes or cross-hung military equipment conformed to and reflected the potential of bodily movement and agency. He nominated these three principles *Behang*, *Ring* and *Richtungsschmuck*.

Semper traced this descriptive taxonomy of the body back into other organic forms, beginning with the simple radial design of the snowflake or crystal and following the configurations of *Behang*, *Ring* and *Richtungsschmuck*; of *symmetry* understood relative to gravity, the sense of organic direction of growth that produced *proportionality* and the predominant purposiveness of design, or 'will' suggested in *directionality*. The successful configuration of *Behang*, *Ring* and *Richtungsschmuck*, or symmetry, proportionality and direction, described axes of 'force' or 'vectors' that might "arrange themselves into a threefold integrated unity".³⁶⁸ Semper referred to these internally-resolved configurations as *Gestaltungsmomente*, or 'style-formulae'. Mari Hvattum, to whose exposition of this little-studied aspect of Semper's thought this summary is indebted, usefully invokes Semper's relationship to the Jena Romantics at this point;

August Wilhelm Schlegel provides the most coherent summing up of this attitude and brings us back to the question of architecture:

In the animal world... perfect symmetry announces a complete and independent, autonomous whole, a 'small world', and in architecture the appearance of wholeness is brought about in a similar way. Only in this

³⁶⁸ Semper, "Prolegomenon to Der Stil," p.189.

way is the work recognised and isolated *qua* work, i.e., as the realisation of a unique and indivisible plan.³⁶⁹

Like the organisation of ceramic forms or fossils, Semper described the elaboration of the *gestaltungsmomenten* as a taxonomic progression from simple to complex forms, culminating with the human body as the ultimate articulation of unified *gestaltungsmomente* which, in turn, could serve as axioms for a 'science of design'. As Semper himself put it:

The way in which the authority of purpose appears in the Greek temple is analogous to the way it appears in man: the crowning pediment is the proportional dominant part and, at the same time, the reflector of the approaching sacrificial procession of the Hellenes.³⁷⁰

Leighton was already familiar with German Idealist thought, which he had encountered during his education in Frankfurt between 1846-47 (where his interest in philosophical celebrity produced the recently rediscovered *Full-Length Sketch-Portrait of Schopenhauer*.³⁷¹ Leighton's specific familiarity with Semper's work is also suggested by the inclusion of the two volumes of the first edition of *Der Stil* (listed as *Die Textile Kunst*) in the Christie's 1896 sale catalogue of the contents of Leighton's Library. The veiled, ideal figure of *Lieder ohne Worte* appears to be a proposition for the integration of Semper's two parallel expositions of stylistic development, a figuration in which ceramic forms stood in for

³⁶⁹ Hvattum, *Gottfried Semper and the Problem of Historicism*, p.95.

³⁷⁰ Wolfgang Hermann, "The Attributes of Formal Beauty," in *Gottfried Semper; in Search of Architecture* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1984).

³⁷¹ Paul Crowther and Miruna Cuzman, "A Rediscovered Contemporary Full-Length Sketch-Portrait of Schopenhauer by Frederic, Lord Leighton," *Schopenhauer Jahrbuch* 92 (2011), pp. 301-306.

the ornamental categories of *Behang*, *Ring* and *Richtungsschmuck* in a proportional model that was then extrapolated outwards to the picture's enclosed and autonomous 'small world' also envisaged by Friedrich Schlegel.³⁷²

Robyn Asleson has identified a similar principle of proportional construction in Moore's mature practice and has asserted that Moore's geometry was intended to 'determine not only the proportions of his figures, but also their relationship to the overall picture-pattern, which was itself devised from this system of proportion.' Asleson recognised the correspondence of Moore's method to Vitruvian architectural proportions and assumed that this canon was the ultimate source of Moore's system, but the Semperian orientation of both Leighton and Moore's paintings would suggest not the imposition of this 'external' proportional system on the virtual worlds of painting but that ideal proportion in both architecture and the representation of the body was the result of principles exhibited as transcendent potentialities derived from much wider practices of material culture. Jenkins similarly recognised the continuities between Leighton and Moore's archival strategies, but could offer no cultural determination for their shared approach. Attention to the materialist taxonomies of industrial art illuminates this determination and posits a larger discourse amongst English 'Phidian' painters. For instance, similar configurations of bodies, ceramics and architectural ornament can be recognised in contemporary works by Poynter and Armstrong, both of whom had been close associates of Whistler in Paris in the 1850s. In *The Lesson*, (1865) [fig.163]. Armstrong made a similar claim to that of *Lieder ohne Worte* for the Semperian relationship between the functional form, ornament and classical

³⁷² Friedrich Schlegel, "Athenaeumsfragment 206," in *Kritische Friedrich-Schlegel-Ausgabe*, ed. Ernst Behler, Hans Eichner, and Jean Jacques Anstett (Munich: F. Schöningh 1958-, 1799), p.197.

idealisation, employing an iconography clearly comparable to that of Moore's *Pomegranates*. In 1866 was commissioned to design the architectural decoration of the Grill Room at the South Kensington Museum using a scheme of blue and white ceramic tiles to his own design, painted by the students of the Female School of Art, thereby continuing the School's tradition of collaboration between staff and students, an earlier example of which had been the preparation of Dresser's illustrations of *The Art of Decorative Design*. Both Armstrong and Poynter would later become heads of the National Art Training School.³⁷³ Leighton's familiarity with Semper's work is also confirmed by the inclusion of the two volumes of the first edition of *Der Stil* (listed as *Die Textile Kunst*) in the Christie's 1896 sale catalogue of the contents of Leighton's Library. Leighton's Semperian assumptions were also articulated in his first *Address* to the students of the Royal Academy Schools in 1879:

Is Art an ephemeral thing, a mere passing flower of the human intellect. Or is it fed by constant deep-lying forces, from the stability of which we may expect new forms of development? ... Does not some common bond underlie all genuine manifestations of artistic excellence, however diverse in their specific form?...To the first of these questions we shall, I think, presently see the answer to be this: That art is fed by forces which lie in the depths of our nature and which are as old as man himself; of which therefore we need not doubt the durability; and to the question whether Art has not one root, the answer shall see to be: assuredly it has; for its outward modes of expression are many and various, but its underlying vital motives are the same...In order to test the soundness of these assertions we must for a moment look beyond the creations of artistic genius themselves and enquire into the sources of our delight in them. Now, what

³⁷³ Poynter held the post of Principle of The National Art Training School between 1875 and 1881, when he was succeeded by Armstrong, whom MacDonal credits with having brought the practices of the Arts and Crafts Movement into British public education. See Hermann, "The Attributes of Formal Beauty," p.294.

are these sources? Primarily the source of all Art whatsoever – of Poetry, of Music, of Painting, or Sculpture, and I might add of Dancing, once intimately allied with and inseparable from Poetry as well as from Music – is the consciousness of emotion in the presence of the phenomena of Life and Nature.³⁷⁴

Unlike Whistler's tentative allusion to ceramic art in *At the Piano, Lieder ohne Worte* explored the implications of industrial art theory for pictoriality programmatically, and quickly moved from the museological case-study of ceramics to the abstract system of *Gestaltungsmomenten*. revealing a close alignment with the materialist-idealist currents of South Kensington thinking. The complex fault-line between the cultural authority of the Royal Academy and that of the photographic and decorative interests of the South Kensington *dispositif* was reflected, ideologically and spatially, in the hanging of *Lieder ohne Worte* amongst the lugubrious 'anti-photographic' portraits at the 1861 Annual Exhibition.

4.4 The Ceramic Surface as *forced accord: The Lange Leizen of the Six Marks*

At the moment of *Lieder ohne Worte's* exhibition, Whistler was largely occupied with his investigation of the potential of photographic surfaces to modify the conventions of established genres of painting, and was therefore less attentive to the potential of the decorative arts. This selective approach to the *dispositif* changed abruptly in early 1864. The group of 'Japoniste' paintings produced by Whistler between 1864-66, *The Lange Leizen*

³⁷⁴ Address, December 10th, 1879 in Federic Leighton, *Addresses Delivered to the Students of the Royal Academy*, 2nd. ed. ed. ([S.I.]: Kegan Paul, Trench and Trubner, 1897), pp.12-14.

of the Six Marks (Purple and Rose) [fig.164], *The Golden Screen* [fig.165], *The Little White Girl (Symphony in White No.2)* [fig.166] and *Symphony in White No.3* [fig.167] together constituted a complex and interrelated suite of experiments in integrating oriental stylistical motifs into contemporary European forms of pictoriality.³⁷⁵

In each picture, an aspect of East Asian decorative art was juxtaposed or placed in dialogue with Western pictorial conventions. These conventions were established not by reference to the 'old masters' so much as by the contemporary practices of both painting and photography. *The Little White Girl* echoed Ingres's recent *Comtesse d'Haussonville* (1845) [fig.168] exhibited at the Exposition Universelle of 1855, while in scale, colouristic intensity and self-conscious archaism, *The Golden Screen* had extensive correspondences to Rossetti's 'medieval' watercolours (for example *The Tune of the Seven Towers*, 1857 [fig.169]). The correspondences between both *The Little White Girl* and *Symphony in White No. III* and the photographs of Clementina Hawarden have long been argued by Newell, Haworth-Booth, Dodier and others.³⁷⁶

The pictorial succession of this group of paintings is difficult to read inferentially. Most scholarly accounts place *The Lange Leizen* at the beginning of the series and the *Little White Girl* as its culmination, but while both Whistler's contemporary correspondence and his title

³⁷⁵ The title *Symphony in White No. III* was the first instance in which a musical or 'decorative' allusion was applied to any of this group of works, and occurred shortly before the painting was exhibited at The Royal Academy Annual Exhibition of 1867. The convention applied to Whistler's titles in this Chapter, as in Chapter 3, is to use the titles applied to these paintings in their original pre-1867 context. The later titles appear, in brackets, in this instance only.

³⁷⁶ See Mark Haworth-Booth, "The Return of Lady Hawarden," in *Lady Hawarden; Clementina Lady Hawarden, Studies from Life 1857-1864*, ed. Virginia Dodier (London: V&A Publications, 1999), pp.110-116.

place *Symphony in White No. III* at the end of the sequence, other attributions are based partly on the dates of the picture's first public appearances and partly on critical judgements of taste. The succession of strategies by which oriental ceramics, the surface of Japanese lacquer-work and the opaque planes of woodblock prints were introduced by Whistler into the spatialities of modern painting cannot be assumed to be a process of refinement from one picture to the next. Rather, the group represented a suite of complimentary approaches in which different strategies of integration were investigated concurrently.

Since the inception of a 'Whistler scholarship', *The Lange Leizen of the Six Marks* has also been regarded as the most problematic picture of the group. In their 1906 biography of Whistler, the Pennells articulated a critical attitude to *The Lange Leizen* that has frequently been repeated:

There was no attempt at the learned accuracy of Tadema or Leighton in their classical compositions, or of Holman Hunt in his scriptural records. Whistler's models were frankly not Japanese. The lady in the *Lange Leizen - of the Six Marks* sits on a chair as she would never have sat in the land from which her draperies came, and the pots and trays and flowers around her are in a profusion unknown in the houses of Tokio or Canton [...] we are always conscious in them of the artificial structure as in none of his other work; the models do not live in their Japanese draperies; Eastern lutes and hangings are out of place on the mist-laden banks of the Thames; the device is too obvious.³⁷⁷

This critical motif was echoed by Dormont and Macdonald in 1994, for whom

³⁷⁷ Pennell and Pennell, *The Life of James Mcneill Whistler*, p.121-22.

Whistler subverts a possible reading of the scene as a conventional Victorian genre painting by identifying the figure as a European woman posing in a studio for an artist. He gives her Caucasian features and hoop earrings and seats her on what looks like a flimsy wooden European chair of the sort one might find in an artist's studio. Her Chinese robe has the air of a garment from a dressing-up box [...]The shallow space is entirely Western in character.³⁷⁸

Allen Staley also condemned the “claustrophobic accumulation of pots and other Oriental bric-à-brac of *The Lange Leizen*” and considered that “the vases, kimonos and other Oriental accoutrements [make] them to some degree, Far Eastern equivalents of John Frederick Lewis’s Near Eastern harem scenes”.³⁷⁹ Several of the pieces of porcelain from *Lange Leizen*, which Anna Whistler confirmed “surrounded her as she spoke,” are extant in modern collections of Whistleriana. although the modern museological identification of these pieces as examples of Qing dynasty Chinese porcelains from the reign of Kangxi (1662-1722) suggests little in the way of a museological iconographic programme informing Whistler’s choices. This form of porcelain had been imported into Western Europe since the sixteenth century, where its dramatic ‘underglaze’ blue decoration (which was painted directly on to the porcelain surface, then coated with a clear glaze and fired to vitrify the surface) was consistently valued for its rich colour and painterly qualities. However, Brongniart’s taxonomy understood Kangxi export porcelain as a minor development in the universal taxonomy of ceramics. The illustrated survey of ceramic types in the *Description méthodique du musée céramique* included only two lithographic plate of Chinese ceramics and ‘Tonkin-

³⁷⁸ Dorment et al., *James Mcneill Whistler*, p.86.

³⁷⁹ Staley, *The New Painting of the 1860s: Between the Pre-Raphaelites and the Aesthetic Movement*, p.166.

ware' [fig.170], and these plates declined to give special emphasis to objects decorated in underglaze blue. The museological historiography of the Kangxi ceramics illustrated by Whistler was as unhelpful to the interpretation *The Lange Liezen* as the museology of classical ceramics had been to Leighton's *Captive Andromache*.

The Lange Liezen nonetheless featured one of the most extensive representations of ceramics in any single painting made within the Manet-Whistler circle. Like Leighton's invented forms, these ceramics were described carefully, considerable pictorial emphasis being given to the description of the specific material characteristics of each vase, jar or dish. Also like Leighton's depicted ceramics, Whistler's mode of graphic representation was derived ultimately from the technical illustrations of industrial ceramic designers, and more immediately from the adaptation of that visual language to museology, in which the description of the profiles of ceramic objects and the representation of their characteristic surfaces were the raw materials of Brongniart's Cuvierian taxonomy. Near the furthestmost plane of the painting, a single slim, lidded jar was depicted as part of a self-consciously asymmetric formal arrangement of oriental objects that also included a Chinese tea bowl and saucer, a lacquer tray and a Japanese paper fan decorated with a brush-drawing of a crane. Nearby, another large Chinese dish and another lidded jar extended the formal balance of the first group across the picture. This elegant configuration of ceramics was presented against a dramatic field of straw yellow that suggested *tatami* matting, while the entire asymmetric garniture was arranged on what appeared to be a piece of modern European furniture (Anna Whistler, who witnessed the construction of the picture, referred to this piece of furniture as a 'shelf' in her correspondence). This piece of furniture was described by a series of notational brushmarks that appeared to describe diagonal tongue

and groove panelling, such as that seen on John Pollard Seddon's characteristic and exactly-contemporary 'Reformed-Gothic' domestic furniture [fig.171]. In this compartment of the painting, the crisply-drawn profile of the central jar placed it within the context of 'design' understood as the formal organisation of the taxonomic artefact. The uncompromising technical depiction of the jar was like a manufacturer's technical drawing,

Immediately underneath this austere and planar depiction, a second Chinese jar was represented in the middle ground of the painting. This ceramic was also carefully described, but in perspective, revealing the contrasting characteristics of the interior including a ring of unglazed, perhaps rubbed, pottery inside the neck of the vessel. To achieve this viewpoint, the jar was tilted in two planes. It fell to the left, producing a sweeping line that connected this object both to the planar representation above it and to the larger jar at the bottom right of the picture. It also tilted forward towards the viewer, permitting a view into the throat of the vessel and pulling it away from the emphatically graphic and planar convention of the deepest pictorial space. The profile of this vase also tapered less acutely than that of the one depicted immediately behind it, and offered a more perpendicular and extensive surface for decoration. The space created on its surface was used for the representation of three elongated and graceful figures in an architectural space.

The model (apparently Hiffernan) held this jar in her left hand, while in her right she held a Chinese calligraphic brush in a fold of her sleeve, an unusual depiction that evokes the similarly illogical (and similarly pink) depiction of Victorine Meurent's bullfighter's cape in previous year's *Portrait de Mademoiselle V...* As many writers have noted, Hiffernan was dressed in a collection of oriental clothing with no regard to the original functions, social

status or gendering of the individual pieces of her costume.³⁸⁰ Like Manet's *Salon des Refusés* full-length figures, she was performing a *tableau-vivant*, an haute-bourgeois amateur mimesis of the decoration of porcelain conducted in a studio *simulacrum* of the oriental potter's workshop.

The third ceramic in this series was placed on a Chinese carpet in the nearest foreground space. This large, lidded jar was an impressive object, its physical presence and weight suggested by the adoption of a third viewpoint, different from either the deep 'graphic' space of the background or the softly-lit coherence of the middle ground in which the second jar and model were integrated. This jar tilted forward in one plane only, and did so 'grotesquely', disrupting the harmonious balance established elsewhere in the picture.

The representation of underglaze blue decoration was also quite different from the careful illustration of the ceramic surfaces of the two other objects that marked the further planes of the picture and contributed to the refusal of unified pictorial logic. Being both larger and closer, a viewer might reasonably expect to be offered more detailed reproduction of the jar's surface, but this is not the case, so while the proximity of the foreground jar should render subject-matter easier to recognise, its treatment verges on incoherence. The subject of the decoration appeared to be some form of urban landscape, but its forms were brusquely sketched-in using a style of drawing with the brush that appeared summary or cartoonish.

³⁸⁰ Margaret MacDonald et al., *Whistler, Women, and Fashion* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2003), pp.58, 61-62.

In its composition, the decoration of the foreground jar has a broad formal sympathy with the horizontal emphasis, light foreground and dark middle-distance clutter of Whistler's etchings *Eagle Wharf* [fig.172] and *Black Lion Wharf* (both 1859), but a comparison with these works quickly reveals the limitations of such a proposal. The most distinctive passage of depiction on the visible surface appears to show two shallow domes topped with pennants, an architecture that has no precedent in Chinese or Japanese visual culture. More than anything they appear like breasts drawn within the conventions of obscene or sexual graffiti. These twin protuberances probably refer to the paired domes that dominated the building erected for the recent London International Exhibition in South Kensington [fig.173]. Arguments might therefore be made about the perceived triumph of British design reform that the exhibition represented, or the relevance of Sir Rutherford Alcock's ground-breaking public display of Japanese artefacts at the International Exhibition that had fascinated Western observers and simultaneously exasperated Japanese diplomats, who quickly realised that their society was being presented in the West as a 'living museum'.

However, the representation of the International Exhibition on the foreground jar should be seen not only as a reference to the recent debut of Japanese art as an exhibitionary phenomenon, but as an extension of the ceramic series that begins with the taxonomic representation of Kangxi ware at the back of the pictorial space. The succession of ceramic forms from the back of the picture to the foreground also reflects a technical progression that might be seen as yet another assertion of the Semperian model of stylistic development from the functional object, through the formalised representation of the principles of organic growth and development observable in botanical ornament to the formalised representation of the human figure. The decoration of the foreground jar with its

depiction of the global reach of the cultural power of South Kensington suggested that this process continued in the *dispositif* of industrial art, in which science, art and industry were recombined.

The 'too-obvious device' noted by the Pennells, together with MacDonald's observation that the pictorial space of *The Lange Leizen* was 'entirely Western', identifies an associated quality in the depiction of ceramics. The series of ceramic forms that tumbled forward through the space of the picture were painted as something largely detached from the overall spatial conventions of the painting. Porcelain was sharply delineated whereas the figure was softly-lit, the painterly treatment of Hiffernan's face contrasted with the mimetic repetition of brush-drawing in the description of the glassy surfaces of underglaze blue. The junction between these forms of representation were emphasised by the precise, technical, drawing of the ceramics. The boundaries thus established were tense and abrupt, giving the impression of the ceramics as having 'intruded' into the pictorial space and producing the effects of incongruity noted in previous scholarship. This effect also appeared to propose discriminatory comparisons between pictorialities; such contrasts between the surfaces of painting and decorative art were organised throughout the picture. *The Lange Leizen* therefore shared in the rhetoric of stylistic choice already well-established in the procedures of *L'Angélu*, *The White Girl* and *Le Déjeuner sur l'herbe*, and can be considered an important articulation of Duranty's notion of the *forced accord* of painted surfaces derived from apparently competing or antagonistic pictorialities that underpinned his response to the paintings of Legros.

The Lange Leizen was produced soon after Whistler's meeting with Moore early in 1864 and was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1864 where Moore exhibited *The Marble Seat*, a hybrid of contemporary painting and the reproduction of historical decorative art. The contemporaneity of *The Lange Leizen* can be established by comparison with the modern genre paintings and floral still-lives of Fantin-Latour (Whistler's interlocutor in the discussion of Moore's work). If stripped of Staley's oriental 'bric-à-brac', the close-cropping of the bourgeois interior, the soft light and granular facture that remain are shared with pictures such as *Les Deux Sœurs* (1859) and *La Liseuse (Marie Fantin-Latour)* (1863). Fantin-Latour himself was also depicting ceramics in the still-lives he sold in Great Britain through Edwin Edwards, a form of picture-making deeply indebted to the photographs of Emile Braun and Charles Aubry, as Anne McCauley and Jo Briggs have both established.³⁸¹ One of the intended functions of *The Lange Leizen* may have been to demonstrate the integration of these two aspects of Fantin's practice, an elaboration of the form of 'South Kensington collaboration' that had been instigated by Haden in his 'forcing together' of Whistler's etchings in order to initiate the project of *At the Piano* in December 1858.

In *The Lange Leizen*, two pictorial genealogies were forced into another simulacrum of the 'space of art' and held in tension: The playful depiction of the Jo Hiffernan using the facture of Fantin-Latour was formally crossed by Whistler's spatio-temporal exposition of the Semperian development of ornament. The first stage of this developmental process was demonstrated by the transition from formalised nature into canonical figurative convention

³⁸¹ Elizabeth Anne McCauley, "Photographs for Industry: The Career of Charles Aubry," *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 14 (1986), pp.157-175, *Industrial Madness: Commercial Photography in Paris, 1848-1871*, pp.233-264. Also Jo Briggs, "Condemned to Sparkle: The Reception, Presentation, and Production of Léon Bonvin's Floral Still Lives," *Oxford Art Journal* 38, no. 2 (2015), pp. 247-262.

seen in the further two vases, a claim that Leighton had also made in *Lieder ohne Worte*. The two tradition of figuration intersected on the canvas at the point where bodies were simultaneously present in both pictorialities, an intersection that was indicated by tip of the brush held in Hiffernan's sleeved (veiled) hand which hesitated to re-inscribe either genealogy, performing another 'perpetuated' moment of stylistic and cultural change at the boundary between painting and ornament.³⁸² However, this axis of stylistic development also extended forward from this crossing into a foreground space constructed largely by the mimesis of textile and ceramic surfaces, in which the foreground vessel assertively disrupted the established conventions of both the pictorial and the ornamental. Like Leighton's veiled figure, the stylistic outcome of the dialectic relationship constructed in the virtual space of the painting remained a further instance of the deferral of theoretical and pictorial closure noted throughout this thesis.

4.5 'Faience Patriotique': Manet's *Portrait d'Émile Zola*

Ceramics did not consistently appear in the works produced by Manet in the early 1860s in the same modes of comparative pictoriality and autonomous aesthetic agency observed in the works of Leighton, Whistler and Moore. Ceramic objects were often integrated with other aspects of representation into relatively totalised pictorialities, for instance in *Vase de pivoines sur piédouche* (1864) [fig.174] or *Les Bulles de savon* (1867).³⁸³ However, in two

³⁸² Dutta, *The Bureaucracy of Beauty: Design in the Age of Its Global Reproducibility*, pp.4-5.

³⁸³ Although it can be argued that the *Vase de pivoines* indeed set up some form of analytical or comparative relationship between Manet's painterly depiction of flowers and those represented on the vase itself.

pictures painted by Manet in 1868 there are depictions of ceramics that may be read iconographically within the taxonomies of industrial art. In both the *Portrait d'Émile Zola* (1868) and *Le Déjeuner (dans l'atelier)* (1868) ceramics were depicted in configuration with other characteristic surfaces of the industrial art *dispositif*. Manet's scepticism, in *Le Déjeuner sur l'herbe*, concerning the invidious choices produced by the photographic boundaries of the *dispositif* has already been identified in Chapter Three. Attention to the depiction of ceramics in Manet's works also suggests his scepticism concerning the relationship between painting and industrial art compared to that encountered in the works of the British-based painters described above. This Chapter will argue for the significance of Manet's short visit to London in August 1868, the French painter's sole exposure to the British art-world that so extensively informed the practices of his colleagues and collaborators, in informing the programme of *Le Déjeuner*.

The *Portrait d'Émile Zola* [fig.175] was painted by Manet towards the conclusion of his closest professional collaboration with Zola. The picture was commenced in February 1868.. At Manet's request, Zola had reprinted an article he had published in January 1867 in the *Revue du XIX^e Siècle* edited by Arsène Houssaye, where it was entitled *Une nouvelle manière en peinture: Édouard Manet*.³⁸⁴ The slim blue pamphlet had been on sale at Manet's 1867 exhibition held between 22nd and 24th May in his privately-financed pavilion on L'avenue d'Alma and featured prominently in Manet's portrait. Zola had characterized Manet as an independent-minded bourgeois and dispassionate visual analyst of 'nature'. In Zola's account of his practice, this independence of mind was demonstrated by the rejection

³⁸⁴ Émile Zola, "Une Nouvelle Manière en peinture: Édouard Manet," *Revue du XIXe Siècle* 4, no. 1 January (1867), pp.43-64.

of an academic tradition that sought to impose narrow ideals on the changefulness of human culture. Art was instead to be imagined in ethnographic terms. Zola had written:

I would like to see all the pictures of the world in one vast hall where, picture by picture, we would be able to read the epic of human creation. The theme would always be this self-same 'nature', this self-same 'reality' and the variations on the theme would be achieved by the individual and original methods by which artists depict God's great creation [...] A work of art, seen in this way, tells me the story of flesh and blood; it speaks to me of civilizations and of countries. And when in the midst of the vast hall I cast an eye over the immense collection, I see before me the same poem in a thousand different languages [...]

But there is nobody to guide the public, and what do you expect the public to do today in the midst of all this hubbub? Art, in a manner of speaking, is split up. The great kingdom, split into pieces, has formed itself into a host of small republics. Each artist has attracted his public, flattering it, giving it what it likes, gilded and decorated toys with rosy flavours – this art, with us, has become one vast sweetshop where there are *bonbons* for all tastes. Painters have merely become pathetic decorators who ornament our terrible modern apartments[...] each one has his own feeble theory, each tries to please and conquer. The mob, fawned upon, goes from one to the other, enjoying today the whimsies of this painter, and tomorrow the bogus strength of that. And all this disgraceful business, flattery and admiration of trumpery, is carried on in the so-called sacred name of Art. Greece and Italy are staked against chocolate soldiers, beauty is spoken of in the way one speaks of a gentleman acquaintance with whom one is on very friendly terms.³⁸⁵

³⁸⁵ "Edouard Manet (Translation of "Une Nouvelle Manière en peinture: Édouard Manet, 1867")," in *Portrait of Manet, by Himself and His Contemporaries*, ed. Pierre Courthion ([S.l.]: Cassell, 1960); *ibid.* p.121

The pictorial representation of Zola's defence of Manet set the iconographic programme of the picture in terms of their shared understanding of art, a view that Zola had discussed at length in *Une nouvelle manière en peinture*. The density of this argument was suggested by profusion of both contemporary decorative art and reproductive media, represented in rectilinear panels to either side of the subject's head and in more informal and unruly profusion above him and on the desk at which he sat. The enumeration of these properties would produce a close equivalent to Rancière's panoply of 'aesthetic' surfaces discussed in the Introduction. The identifiable artefacts appear to relate to Manet's recent practice, and certainly alluded to visual art rather than Zola's profession of literature. The photographic grisaille of *Olympia*, the reproductive lithograph of Velasquez's *The Triumph of Bacchus (Los barrachos)* by Célestin Nanteuil and the Japanese woodblock print that has been identified by Theodore Reff as *The Wrestler Onaruto Nadaemon of Awa Province* by Kuniaki II, and Zola's pamphlet on Manet from the previous year were networked into an intricate pattern in which the formal organization of each image was echoed one to another.³⁸⁶ The deliberation with which these materials occurred around the space of Zola's reconstructed desk (the picture was painted in Manet's studio) and the rectilinear scheme that bounded the representation of Zola himself were comparable with the compartmentalisation of the canvas in Whistler's *The Little White Girl*, which similarly offered an 'autobiographical' *mise-en-abyme* in the section of mirror that contained Whistler's signature, examples of his own painting and related examples of decorative art underscored by the 'photographic

³⁸⁶ Theodore Reff, "Manet's Portrait of Zola," *The Burlington Magazine* 117, no. 862 (1975), p.39.

grotesque/obscene' representation of Hiffernan's fingers spread along the edge of the mantle-shelf.

The *Portrait d'Émile Zola* followed Whistler's illustrative approach to Japanese decorative art, the consequences of which have already been discussed in the context of *The Lange Leizen*. The panel of Japanese lacquerwork that partially intruded onto the canvas was substantially unmodified; the essential qualities of surface planarity, mobility and framing (reflecting its function in the temporary screening of architectural space) were all suggested in its pictorial representation. Thus re-mediated, the panel emerged behind Zola's chair in a 'muse-like' configuration such as that found in Ingres's *Portrait de Cherubini*. Opposed to both inter-related reproductive images and the framed Japanese screen was an extensive collection of printed books and ephemera, artfully arranged for legibility. This group overflowed the rectilinear boundaries of the upper part of the picture and intruded into the space of the figure itself. The book that Zola cradled in the crook of his arm buried its hidden corner deep into his black-jacketed breast. Reff has proposed that this book may be a volume of Charles Blanc's *Histoire des peintres de tous les écoles* (1849-76), an attribution based on the observation that "its proportions, apparent size, and page design all correspond closely." However, Reff also noted the omission of the "small portrait generally placed at the top of the [chapter title] page."³⁸⁷ This author has also failed to identify this exact configuration in the fourteen volumes of the *Histoire des peintres*, and such an attribution would also run counter to Zola's own estimation of past art in *Une nouvelle manière en peinture: Édouard Manet*, where he argued that Manet's painting merely

³⁸⁷ Ibid. p.36.

contained some “Spanish turns of phrase’ and that the academic canon was an artificial standard of beauty which levelled the variety of human expression and that had “dominated the centuries”.³⁸⁸ A comparable but more coherent attribution might have been a volume of the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* [fig.176], the journal also edited by Charles Blanc and founded by Édouard Houssaye, the brother of Arsène Houssaye who had published *Une nouvelle manière en peinture*. As Bradford Collins pointed out elsewhere, the *Gazette des Beaux Arts* was an enthusiastic promoter of industrial art in France and had published no less than thirteen articles on the formation and activities of the *Union Centrale des arts decoratif* in its first twelve months of publication in 1859-60.³⁸⁹ A close equivalent for the layout of the page to which Zola has turned is found on pages 564-565 of the bound volume of the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* for 1867. The essay that commenced on the right-hand leaf of this spread was significant; *Histoire des Faiences Patriotique par Champfleury* by Albert Jacquemart offered an illustrated summary of the newly-published book of the same title.³⁹⁰

The white page of Zola’s volume was also bounded at its top edge by a ceramic inkwell, an object that constituted the formal hub from which Zola’s own writings also fanned out, heralded by the cover of the Manet pamphlet. The motif of print, ink and quill has appeared such a self-evident iconography that it has not attracted much critical consideration. Reff dismissed the inkwell as “a ceramic in the style of the Rimpa School...probably manufactured in Europe”, and concluded that it must simply be a personal possession of

³⁸⁸ Zola, "Edouard Manet (Translation of "Une Nouvelle Manière en peinture: Édouard Manet, 1867")," pp.119-120.

³⁸⁹ Collins, "The Poster as Art; Jules Chéret and the Struggle for the Equality of the Arts in Late Nineteenth-Century France," p.47.

³⁹⁰ Albert Jacquemart, "Histoire Des Faiences Patriotique Par Champfleury " *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 22 (1867), pp.565-574.

Zola's included for sentimental reasons.³⁹¹ The inkwell was an example of French *faïence*, one of the types of 'ordinary' regional ceramics that Brongniart had wished to research through the *Enquête des préfets*. The *Description Méthodique* illustrated French *faïence* as stylistically derivative of Italian Renaissance majolica and technically superseded by English industrial earthenwares, one of many pre-industrial domestic wares produced between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries in Western Europe and comparable, within Brongniart's taxonomy, to examples of North African and Ottoman forms. Like Chinese underglaze blue porcelain, the reputation of *faïence* had been established by the connoisseurship of dealers and collectors rather than through 'art-historical' justification. Collectors of *faïence* represented a very different constituency to the elite collectors of porcelain, who might trace the heritage of their interest back to the example of the Comte de Laborde, *valet de chambre* to Louis XV who was also proprietor of the Vincennes porcelain works and who collected both Italian Renaissance majolica and oriental porcelains.³⁹² One of the first modern 'types' identified in Curmer's *Les Français peints par eux-mêmes* were 'Les Collectionneurs' [fig.177], described by Comte Horace de Viel-Castel as "the only characters, the only truly remarkable men of our age, the only ones who possess real originality, the only ones who step away from the common herd, following paths amongst the undergrowth that are un-trampled by the feet of the crowd."³⁹³

The community of china collectors was subdivided by Viel-Castel into three social groups.

The first were the 'uncultivated and savage' collectors, whose slovenly appearance, dirty

³⁹¹ Reff, "Manet's Portrait of Zola," p.36.

³⁹² See Asfour, *Champfleury: Meaning Inthe Popular Arts in Nineteenth-Century France*, 367, p.98.

³⁹³ Comte Horace de Viel-Castel, "Les Collectionneurs," in *Les Français Peints Par Eux-Mêmes. Encyclopédie Morale Du Xixe Siècle*, ed. Léon Curmer (Paris: 1840-42), p.121.

hands, rough beards and capacious pockets (“always full”) announced that they were “pure-blooded” collectors, whose motivation was entirely the love of collecting. The second class were the “dealers, ‘traffickers in curiosities” who operated on the fringes of polite society and who followed their success in the antique market primarily “through the balance of their bank account”.³⁹⁴ The last group were the “fashionable collectors” who followed trends in antiquarian domestic decoration to achieve “*like everyone else, a salon in the Louis XV style, a Renaissance boudoir and a fourteenth-century dining room with Toledo swords, some shields, two or three halberds and a Leaguer’s helmet [...]*”.³⁹⁵ Garvagni’s lithographic illustration to the essay depicted a surprisingly young and bourgeois representative of the first group, his arms full and pockets bulging with a miscellaneous collection of old pottery.

The social and intellectual gulf between Viel-Castel’s culture of collecting and the concurrent historical investigations of Brongniart and his collaborators was bridged by Champfleury in a series of articles in *Le National* in 1851, in which he had argued that popular song, the *Imagerie d'Épinal* and regional ceramics were all expressions of ‘la pensée populaire’. Champfleury’s argument elided historical and connoisseurial approaches to ceramics. As Amal Asfour has argued;

Thus, the French nineteenth-century fascination with folklore and popular culture incorporates a variety of concerns, including social and political. Often these are less relevant to *le peuple* than to the culture of its literary or scholarly observers. What the study of the popular arts usually tends to disregard, however, is the aesthetic quality of folk tales, songs and images. Writers on the subject tend to separate the historical interest of the

³⁹⁴ Ibid. p.122

³⁹⁵ Ibid. p.122

popular arts from their aesthetic interest. Yet it is precisely this aspect of the popular arts that Champfleury's work on the subject takes as its starting point. His primary interest in popular images, for example, is stimulated by their visual and formal characteristics.³⁹⁶

Champfleury's specific interest, as both collector and writer, was in what he termed '*faïence parlante*', objects decorated with emblems and texts that commemorated specific familial, social or political events. In 1867, Champfleury had published his *Histoire Des Faiences Patriotique Sous La Revolution*. The first chapter of the *Faiences Patriotique* established a key distinction between earlier forms of collecting and the significance of *faïence parlante*:

Research into the fabrication of ceramics in our times has achieved a considerable development from the philosopher's view of such matters as perhaps frivolous. "Should we not call those who worry about the symmetrical arrangement of Corinthian vases, whose manic folly makes something precious out of a few curiosities, unproductive?" asks Seneca. But that philosopher evidently had in view those driven collectors who pile up things aimlessly.

It is otherwise with the *faïence parlante*, which furnishes details of customs, of the testimony of patriotic aspiration, the cries that historians are astonished to read under the glaze, which they are unaccustomed to regard as a documentary source.³⁹⁷

Champfleury's *Faiences Patriotique* largely focused on the tin-glazed earthenwares produced at Nevers in central France and at Rouen in Normandy between 1789 and 1794.

³⁹⁶ Asfour, *Champfleury: Meaning Inthe Popular Arts in Nineteenth-Century France*, 367, p.18.

³⁹⁷ Champfleury, *Histoire Des Faiences Patriotique Sous La Revolution* (Paris: E Dentu, Libraire-editeur, 1867), p.1.

Champfleury's argument therefore attempted to "reconcile the dual nature of the ceramics as a mass-produced, popular form of art on the one hand, and as a product of the Revolution on the other."³⁹⁸ Champfleury contrasted the spontaneous iconographies found on pieces of *faïence* with the response of Sèvres to the same experience of accelerated political change:

[...] the artists at Sèvres were unwilling to abandon their tradition. Their primary material was too delicate, too princely, for a republic where orators invoked the customs of Sparta.

The stout ceramic bodies from the workshops of Paris, Nevers and Lille harmonised with democratic tendencies in other ways. Timid tricolour ribbons mingled with oak leaves or spiky flowers; but symbolic compositions were rare between 1789 and 1792. There was no place for the representation of current events. Their manufacture was the prerogative of the Royal Household, Louis XVI certainly never ordered a service in honour of the Third Estate, or one that commemorated the fall of the Bastille.³⁹⁹

By contrast, *faïence parlante* responded organically to the events of 1789-92;

Behold the museum of the poor. An art that reflects the gaze of the people, for the simplicity of the colours is in harmony with the *naïvité* of the peasant [...]. The civilized don't understand the deliberate assonances in the colouration, which they tend to describe as dissonances; but the peasant has exercised their eye more than a town-dweller, just as their ear is more sensitive [...]. It's the same with popular ceramics where the naïve tones ruffle the city people. The peasant has robust senses, strengthened

³⁹⁸ Asfour, *Champfleury: Meaning In the Popular Arts in Nineteenth-Century France*, 367, p.99.

³⁹⁹ Champfleury, *Histoire Des Faïences Patriotique Sous La Revolution*, p.392.

and developed ceaselessly by the spectacle of nature, a taste for the charms of the natural, and the associations of primitive colours don't revolt his senses.⁴⁰⁰

Champfleury's notion of the 'museum of the poor' was a belated extension of the ideology behind Brongniart's *Enquête de préfets*, but as Champfleury clearly underlined, it was a schema that drew very different conclusions to Brongniart's taxonomy for the *Musée de Sèvres*. The interpretation of ceramics invoked by the industrial arts was essentially a history of state authority that suppressed the authentic visual culture of the peasant as 'dissonant'.

The inkwell in *Portrait d'Émile Zola* is not an example of *faïence parlante*. Its style, in comparison to examples available in the commercial literature on regional *faïence*, is possibly that an eighteenth-century design from the area around Abbeville in the Baie de Somme, a popular holiday destination for Manet and many other painters and writers in Realist circles [fig.178]. This extremely speculative identification does, however, offer the possibility that the *encrier* might have been a present or a souvenir of the Channel coast, perhaps even a contemporary object that continued the motifs of the previous century, modern evidence for the robust peasant taste in which dissonances became assonances. The quill pen placed in the inkwell offers further support for an intended iconography alluding to the Champfleuryian interpretation of ceramics. The quill was an implausibly antiquarian flourish with which to depict a novelist so concerned with the contemporary moment as Zola, and the substitution of quills by industrially-produced steel nibs had occurred during in the late 1820s. However, Champfleury's *Histoire Des Faiences Patriotique*

⁴⁰⁰ Ibid. p.6-9.

was illustrated with a series of *faux-naif* wood-engravings by Comte, one of which depicted an inkwell composed of neo-classical forms on a tray with quill pens in *faïence* holders drawn with a style that may well have informed Manet's anachronistic choice [fig.179]. The allegorical relationship suggested between the *faïence* inkwell and Zola's quill begs interpretation as Zola's 'pen' drawing on the resources of Champfleury, a literary and homosocial relationship that largely lies outside the concerns of this study. The *Portrait d'Émile Zola* certainly depicted an ethical choice; the figure of Zola mediated between two constructions of the decorative surface; the museological assumptions of industrial art were represented by the intrusions of reproductive media and Japanese art into pictorial space and were also propagated in the latest volume of the *Gazette de Beaux arts* in his hands. On the other hand, this declaration of interest was complicated by the 'dumb belligerence' of the sturdy, enduring form of the French *faïence* inkwell. Alexandra Wettlaufer has pointed out that the slickly-painted quill feather is not the only feather in *Portrait d'Émile Zola* and was matched chiasmically by a peacock feather held aloft above Zola's head by being wedged behind the frame of reproductive images;

[...] a pair of peacock feathers hover directly above the author's head, forming a halo or even a crown. The feathers counterbalance the *plume* (feather/pen) jutting out of the inkwell before the Manet pamphlet and form a direct diagonal link between the pamphlets on the desk and the unseen painting. Although the peacock feathers may be read as a universal sign of vanity, here Manet may be evoking a more pointed reference, for *se parer des plumes de paon* [to adorn oneself in peacock feathers] indicates imposture and pretension—that is, priding one- self on qualities that one has borrowed from someone else, a self- deception that is also self-

serving.⁴⁰¹

perhaps suggesting a choice between the quill of Republican authenticity and the peacock feather of international industrial art as alternative and incompatible models of contemporary pictoriality.

4.6 *Le Déjeuner*: The Allegory of Choice ‘retappé’

Le Déjeuner (1868) [fig.180] has been variously described as “one of Manet’s most mystifying works”⁴⁰², “enigmatic”⁴⁰³, as a painting that “resist[s] interpretation”⁴⁰⁴, and as “a paradigm case of Manet’s reluctance to disclose a clear narrative message”.⁴⁰⁵ The notably dense and incongruous network of iconography in *Le Déjeuner* has produced several attempts to find a unifying motif or art-historical model that might resolve the odd assemblage of objects and figures brought together by the painting. This historiography was effectively summarised by House in *Manet Face to Face*, who stressed that the narrative incoherence of the unfinished meal, the obscure motivations of the figures and the surprising inclusion of a still-life of arms in the bottom-left corner of the painting had equally been recognised and interrogated by contemporary critics when *Le Déjeuner* was

⁴⁰¹ Alexandra Wettlaufer, "Metaphors of Power and the Power of Metaphor: Zola, Manet and the Art of Portraiture," *Nineteenth-Century Contexts* 21, no. 3 (1999), p.456.

⁴⁰² Joachim Kaak, "Edouard Manet - Le Déjeuner " in *Manet Face to Face*, ed. John House and Joachim Kaak (London, Munich: Courtauld Institute of Art Pinakothek-Dumont, 2004)

⁴⁰³ Cachin and Moffett, *Manet 1832-1883*, p.290.

⁴⁰⁴ Bradford R Collins, "Manet's Luncheon in the Studio: An Homage to Baudelaire," *Art Journal* 38, no. 2 (1978), p.107.

⁴⁰⁵ Bann, *Ways around Modernism*, pp.59-60.

first exhibited at the *Salon* of 1869.⁴⁰⁶ Postmodern scholarship on *Le Déjeuner*, House explained, had thus far offered two avenues of interpretation; the first, represented by the work of Bradford Collins, had attempted to place the painting within the 'archive' through consideration of the picture's art-historical references, an extension of the method first proposed by Fried in *Manet's Sources* in 1969.⁴⁰⁷ Collins had interpreted the disparate elements of the composition as a record of Manet's stylistic development, his well-known interest in Dutch and Spanish painting represented to the right of the central figure and to the left, a heterogeneous group of objects that Collins read as instances of Romantic antiquarianism constituting a memorial trophy, possibly in homage to the recently-deceased Baudelaire.

A second strategy of interpretation had hinged on the significance of Manet's godson, Léon-Edouard Koëlla Leenhoff as the figure around whom the picture's extended iconography was organised. This approach connected the intention of the painting with Manet's familial dynamics, especially his uncertain relationship of paternity to Leenhoff. But, as House reasonably pointed out, although these issues might have informed Manet's depiction of Léon, the meaning of *Le Déjeuner* is unlikely to have hinged on private domestic matters, knowledge of which would certainly not have been available to the visitors at the 1869 *Salon*. Nonetheless, the picture may still be regarded as significantly-informed by Manet's domestic life; Wilson-Bareau located the circumstances of the painting's genesis in Manet's holiday in Boulogne-Sur-Mer in July-August 1868, and both Wilson-Bareau and Joachim Kaak proposed the painting's depiction of interior space as that of the *Hotel Folkestone* in

⁴⁰⁶ John House, "Face to Face with *Le Déjeuner* and *Un Bar Aux Folies-Bergère*," in *Manet Face to Face*, ed. James; Kaak Joachim Cuno (Munich: Pinakothek-DuMont, 2005), p.68.

⁴⁰⁷ Reprinted as Chapter One in Fried, *Manet's Modernism, or, the Face of Painting in the 1860s*.

Boulogne, where Manet stayed with his family in 1868.⁴⁰⁸ The painting was therefore potentially a 'souvenir' of the Baie de Somme, a role already hypothetically proposed for the *faïence* inkwell on Champfleury's desk.

The still-life of arms depicted on the upholstered chair, which House identified as a major pictorial dissonance for contemporary critics, has also attracted close-readings from Collins, House and Bann. These arguments focused on the status of historic arms within the rapidly-expanding museological projects of the Second Empire and the elaboration of Collins's proposal that the depiction of swords and a helmet constituted synecdoche of the taste of the Imperial Household. House rejected Collins's notion of the swords and helmet as a memorial of Romanticism, arguing that the presence of the black cat referred to Champfleury's *Les Chats* for which Manet was then designing a poster, and according to a Champfleuryian estimation represented 'curiosity'. Bann subsequently extended House's notion of 'curiosity' to encompass the amateur collecting of arms and armour enjoyed by Napoleon III and the Comte de Nieuwerkerke, and tellingly noted the simultaneous emergence of the state museum of decorative art and modernism in France.⁴⁰⁹ In 1868, arms and armour were considered as a category of decorative art in an essay by Edouard de Beaumont, entitled *L'Art Industriel de Armurier et Fourbisseur en Europe* [fig.181], that appeared in the same volume of the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* that has already been proposed as appearing within the *Portrait d'Emile Zola*.⁴¹⁰

⁴⁰⁸ Juliet Wilson Bareau, David C. Degener, and Lloyd DeWitt, eds., *Manet and the Sea* (Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago, Philadelphia Museum of Art, Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam in association with Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 2003), pp.61-71.

⁴⁰⁹ Bann, *Ways around Modernism*, p.63.

⁴¹⁰ Charles Édouard de Beaumont, "L'art Industriel De Armurier Et Fourbisseur En Europe, Depuis L'antiquité Jusqu'au Xviiie Siècle," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 22 (1867), pp.153-1667.

The depiction of arms in the context of a hotel dining-room nonetheless remained a puzzling inclusion within a picture whose larger conception was so clearly based on the conventions of the ‘conversation piece’. That this incongruity was deliberately left unresolved was interpreted by House as a sign of Manet’s ‘parodic’ intention, his reading of abruptly-juxtaposed pictorialities therefore similar to that proposed for Legros’s *L’Angélu* in Chapter Two. This view of *Le Déjeuner* as a satirical work also echoed Horace de Viel-Castel’s description of the third category of *Les Collectionneurs* in *Les Français Peints Par Eux-Mêmes*; those who collect for fashion and desire a dining-room with “Toledo swords, some shields, two or three halberds and a Leaguer’s helmet”. A parodic reading of the ‘trophy’ of arms would be further supported by comparison with an illustration in Champfleury’s *Histoire des Faiences Patriotiques* that reproduced a design for a similar military trophy from the collection of the *Musée de Sèvres* [fig.182]. Champfleury noted that this decorator’s pattern was inscribed ‘for filling the corner of a plate’.⁴¹¹

It would be entirely consistent with the approach taken elsewhere in this study that the still-life of arms constituted a reference to the museology of decorative art. However, this motif was only one element of a tripartite arrangement of incongruous materials assembled on the left side of the picture. The left-hand space of *Le Déjeuner* was organised around resemblances between three spherical or cylindrical objects; the steel helmet of the trophy, the silver chocolate-pot in the hand of the female *hôtelière*, and the large ceramic *jardinière* by the window. The elusive iconographic and narrative relationships between these three

⁴¹¹ Champfleury, *Histoire Des Faiences Patriotique Sous La Revolution*, p.389. The caption to this image reads “No.75. G. Renard del., d’après un dessin conservé au Musée de Sèvres. (Dans un coin du dessin est écrit: Pour rempli l’angle du plateau.)”

objects, their refusal to become an intelligible 'array', lies at the heart of the *Le Déjeuner's* resistance to interpretation. The helmet and weapons were self-evidently museological or connoissuerial objects of seventeenth-century design, closely comparable with those recently illustrated in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*. An association between those objects and the eighteenth-century silver *chocolatière* held by the *hôtesse* might have suggested a continuity of interest in high-status metalwork and historical decorative styles (nominally 'Baroque' and 'Rococo') but such a pattern of associations seemed to be abruptly foreclosed by the intrusion of the ceramic *jardinière* into the same configuration. This object was not made of metal, nor did it exhibit a coherent historical stylisticality; although *jardinières* had been manufactured since the beginning of the nineteenth century, they were essentially contemporary objects produced for private and public bourgeois interiors (where they too 'filled up the corners', as props with which to palliate the *horror vacui* of late-Romantic interior decoration) and they were occasionally included in Manet's later works in order to establish precisely such modern *mises en scène*.⁴¹² In contrast to both the helmet and *chocolatière* [fig 183], which might be understood as functional objects made worthy of aesthetic contemplation by the sublimation of craft skill into 'art', the *jardinière* was a hybrid, industrial object, a derivative of European neo-classical ceramic forms fashionably decorated with 'Japanese' motifs of birds and chrysanthemums.

Interposed between the helmet and the *jardinière* stood the figure of a middle-aged woman who will be nominated here as a *hôtesse*. The exact relationship of this figure to the others in *Le Déjeuner* was unclear, although she appeared to be dressed for domestic work and

⁴¹² Notably in *Nana* (1877) and *Dans la serre* (1879).

held the large and elegant chocolate-pot, or *chocolatière*, using a cloth to support the belly of the hot jug in a way that suggested both its weight and the temperature of its contents. Both the figure and the *chocolatière* were painted in the same tones of grey and umber, suggesting their conjoined iconographic significations. The soft *grisaille* with which this figure was represented was also intentionally opposed to the proximate figure of Leenhoff, whose crisply-silhouetted black jacket and yellow straw hat were emphasised by their contrast to the recessive greys of the *hôtesse*'s costume. This comparative relationship between the *hôtesse* and Léon was further established in their contrasted facial representations: Leenhoff's portrait, which emphasised his pale-blue eyes to an unusual degree, contrasted with the indistinct and painterly quality of the *hôtesse*'s features, which served to ameliorate the direct gaze she addressed to the viewer. This effect of detachment also dominated the spatial configuration between the two figures; the *hôtesse* would have to have been an unusually short individual for her features to be on the same horizontal plane as those of a boy who, settled on the edge of the table, should have therefore have appeared lower than the fully-erect figure behind him. Such spatial inconsistencies and *grisaille* effects once again recall the composite photographic strategies of Henry Peach Robinson, the 'residual visual evidence of the combination printing process' discussed in Chapter Two. The recursion of the 'stiffness of arrangement' and 'incongruity' ascribed by critics to photographs such as *Fading Away*, and to which Manet had previously alluded in *Le Déjeuner sur l'herbe*, located the depiction of the *hôtesse* as a sliver of 'photographic surface' inserted into the already paradoxical left-hand space of the picture. The 'silver' chocolate-pot may also have been a visual allusion to the photographic surface but, like the *jardinière*, it was also a hybrid sign. Fried interpreted the 'engraved monogram' that appears on the chocolate-pot as an adaptation of Vermeer's monogram, reproduced in Thoré-

Burger's articles on Vermeer in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* in 1866.⁴¹³ Vermeer's signature may well have been Manet's immediate source for the deadpan 'M' that appears amongst the reflections of the silver surface, but the monogram was not 'engraved' as Fried put it, but *stamped*, its method of marking suggested by the rakish angle at which the letter occurred on the body of the pot. This may suggest that the monogram referred to Whistler: It is well-established that by 1888 Whistler frequently stamped his collection of silver with a similar butterfly motif.⁴¹⁴ Although there is no direct evidence that Whistler had adopted this affectation as early as 1867, it is certainly the case that he had been influenced by Moore's 'Anthemion' signature on works such as *Apricots* (1864-65) and *Pomegranates*, and Whistler had recently developed his own symbol, the stylised 'butterfly' already visible within the embroidered motifs on the robe in *The Lange Leizen of the Six Marks*.⁴¹⁵ Several of Whistler's 'photographic surfaces' had been exhibited in Paris at the *Exposition Universelle* the previous year, and Manet would have noted Whistler's innovative titling convention amongst the paintings shown in Paris, notably *Brown and Silver, Old Battersea Bridge*. The multiple pictorial references encompassed in the figure of the *hôtelière* point to this image as a second allusion to industrial art.

Together with the recent antecedent of arms as a form decorative art, these elements of the picture suggest that interpretation of the third figure, the ceramic *jardinière* and its rubber-plant, may also be located within the *dispositif*. Being applied to a characteristically Western domestic object, the 'Japanese' decoration of the *jardinière* evidently made no

⁴¹³ Fried, *Manet's Modernism, or, the Face of Painting in the 1860s*, p.497. n.169.

⁴¹⁴ "Whistler's 'Collection'," in *James Mcneill Whistler at the Hunterian Art Gallery* (Glasgow: University of Glasgow, 1990), p.9.

⁴¹⁵ Asleson, *Albert Moore*, p.86.

claim for cultural authenticity. The nearest contemporary source for its design was Félix Bracquemond's *Service Rousseau* tableware [fig.184] produced in 1866, and long recognised as amongst the first attempts to integrate Japanese motifs into nineteenth-century European decorative art.⁴¹⁶ The *Service Rousseau* was Bracquemond's first successful attempt to integrate his favoured medium of etching with the decoration ceramics. In 1866, he had been approached by the Eugène Rousseau, who had recently taken control of his family's ceramic and glassware retail business. Although initially engaged as a consultant, Bracquemond soon produced his own designs, using an adaptation of the British transfer-printing technique in which ornament was pre-printed from engraved plates onto thin paper, then cut from the sheet and pressed onto to unglazed domestic creamware. Once dry, the delicate paper was washed away and the design sealed with a transparent glaze, a technique of 'underglaze' decoration that emulated Chinese porcelain at a fraction of the cost of ceramics imported from East Asia.⁴¹⁷ Bracquemond produced transfer-print decorations from his own etched plates [fig.185], sheets of animal sketches based on Hokusai's *Manga* that were then transfer-printed under his direction onto conventional 'feather-edge' tableware and hand-coloured at the *Faièneries* of *Creil et Montereau*. The *Service Rousseau* had been an immediate success the *Exposition Universelle* held the previous summer. (Indeed, it remained in production at *Creil et Montereau* until the 1930s).⁴¹⁸

⁴¹⁶ Jean-Paul Bouillon, Chantal Shimzu, and Phillippe Theibaut, eds., *Art, Industrie Et Japonisme: Le Service 'Rousseau'* (Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1988).

⁴¹⁷ Bouillon *et al.* describe the paper designs of the *Service Rousseau* as being 'burnt away' in the kiln whereas in conventional transfer printing the thin transfer paper is dissolved with water, leaving the inked design on the surface of the plate to be sealed with a transparent vitreous glaze. This account given in *Art, Industrie Et Japonisme* may be a misunderstanding of the conventional process. See *ibid.* p.14.

⁴¹⁸ Sonia Coman, "The Bracquemond-Rousseau Table Service of 1866," *Journal of Japonisme* 1 (2016), p.20.

Bracquemond's links with the French ceramics industry also included his membership of the Société du Jar-Ling, based at the Sèvres manufactory, to which he had also applied for a post as a decorator in 1866 and whose membership also included Phillippe Burty, Champfleury (who would become director of the *Musée céramique* at Sèvres under the Third Republic), Zacherie Astruc and Marc-Louis Solon. According to Gabriel Weisberg, the Société specialised in orientalist homosocial performativity;

Through the membership of Bracquemond and M.L. Solon, the Jing-Lars had access to the Sèvres manufactory and ceramic museum. At Sèvres the members met once a month at Solon's house to enjoy an oriental dinner eaten with chopsticks and to dress in Japanese kimonos. Bracquemond created a Nipponese table-service for the society, which was probably "le service japonais" first shown in 1867.⁴¹⁹

The *jardinière* depicted by Manet was not identical to the items produced by *Creil et Montereau*, but shared their distinctive brightly-coloured bird designs and asymmetrical disposition of ornament, then only seen on European ceramics in Bracquemond's designs.

The iconographic significance of the *jardinière* in *Le Déjeuner* lay not only in its allusions to contemporary consumer taste or opportunist 'art and industry' collaborations, but also in its combined depiction with the rubber-plant. In 1860, in the first volume of *Der Stil*, Semper had written extensively on rubber as a new industrial material;

There is an important natural material that has only recently brought about a radical change in many areas of industry thanks to the remarkable

⁴¹⁹ Gabriel P. Weisberg, "Félix Bracquemond and Japonisme," *The Art Quarterly* 32 (1969), p.60.

flexibility with which it adapts and lends itself to every purpose., I mean gum-elastic, or *caoutchouc*, as the Indians call it. It has the broadest stylistic range imaginable, as its natural sphere – imitation – has almost unlimited application. It is, so to speak, the ape of useful materials. It is made from the milky sap of tropical plants, in the East Indies from *Ficus Elastica*, in Java from varieties for the fig tree, in Brazil and Central America from *Siphonia elastica* [...] Only in the last fifteen years has thus material stated to attract the attention of industrialists [...]⁴²⁰

Rubber, as Alina Payne has argued, was key material in Semper's exposition of style.⁴²¹ As Semper put it "Because of rubber's well-known attributes, it has no special style, but is totally flexible."⁴²² Payne suggests that Semper was fascinated by this material with no history of stylistic formation, no "intrinsic meaning" as Semper put it.⁴²³ A Rubber-plant (a specimen of *Ficus elastica*) in a Bracquemondian *jardinière* therefore constituted a hybrid symbol of contemporary industrial art, and was a figure that posed multiple questions about the future direction of stylistic innovation.

However, the 'jardinière and rubber-plant' motif was more than a simple recombination of references to recent developments in the *dispositif*. The emblem also alluded once again to Champfleury's *Histoire des Faiences Patriotiques*. Two of the plates in *Faiences Patriotiques* illustrated the 'tree of liberty' growing from man-made objects in similarly emblematic configurations. The first, a plate from Lorraine [fig.186], showed a stylised tree growing from a diminutive pot surmounted by the legend 'liberty or death'. The second, a salad-

⁴²⁰ Semper, *Style: Style in the Technical and Tectonic Arts, or, Practical Aesthetics*, p.181.

⁴²¹ Payne, *From Ornament to Object: Genealogies of Architectural Modernism*, p.47.

⁴²² Semper, *Style: Style in the Technical and Tectonic Arts, or, Practical Aesthetics*, p.218.

⁴²³ Payne, *From Ornament to Object: Genealogies of Architectural Modernism*, p.47.

bowl from the major *faïence* producing town of Nevers in central France, commemorated the populist politician Mirabeau, who had died in 1791 and was widely mourned by those who hoped for the moderate reform of the French government [fig.187]. A number of commemorative Faïence designs were produced, most following the convention of depicting a simplified neo-classical urn on an altar accompanied by a textual dedication to the deceased politician. In the example illustrated by Champfleury the urn was replaced by a liberty tree emerging from a sarcophagus decorated with simple swags, together with the dedication 'the nation remembers the spirit of Mirabeau'. *Le Déjeuner's* rubber plant in its modern pot was undoubtedly a parodic updating of this emblem, reconstituted from the materials of industrial art theory and practice. Félix Bracquemond was also then reprising the style of the faïences patriotiques for the cognoscenti of the *Société du Jar-Ling* in his design for a *Republican Plate* [fig.188].⁴²⁴

On the other side of Leenhoff, a bearded figure sat behind the table, smoking a cigar and wearing a grey top hat, perhaps preparing to accompany the hatted Leenhoff from the hotel. This figure is enigmatic; Auguste Tabarant's identification of the model as the local painter Joseph-Auguste Rousselin offers little interpretive direction to the depiction. More evidently legible, and intended to be viewed comparatively against the left-hand side of the picture, were the elements of a 'Dutch' still-life that included several distinctive ceramic items. Both provincial French *faïence* and a neo-classical, Limoges-style 'coffee can' were depicted along with oysters, a lemon, a bone-handled knife, a bottle of beer and its contents in what was probably a piece of modern commercial glassware. The implication of

⁴²⁴ WeingardenComan, "The Bracquemond-Rousseau Table Service of 1866," p.30.

the 'Dutch' still-life on the right side of the table as a sign of Manet's investment in Dutch and Spanish traditions of painting has long been recognised.⁴²⁵ The objects brought together on the table proposed an alternative genealogy of style to that of industrial art's narrative of universal creative process, and suggested an interest in a broadly Champfleuryian conception of authenticity; the ceramics on the table repeated Champfleury's comparison between *faïence* and porcelain as vehicles for authentic expression of change. A map, hanging on the wall above Rousselin's head, formally balanced the window in the left-hand background. The map itself was unintelligible, but its function was implied by the depiction of the characteristic display of maps between horizontal batons. Given the context of the Boulougne quayside, the right-hand *mise-en-abyme* of the blank map was likely to have represented the Channel coasts of England and France, suggesting that a territorial, Republican conception of the nation remained an important frame of reference for Manet's understanding of stylistic change. That such boundaries were under threat of erasure from the forces of international capital may perhaps be inferred from Manet's treatment of the map as a shifting, reflective surface on which the geographical boundaries of national identity could barely be discerned.

Although the map surface offered only reflections and *pentimenti*, its rectangular form complimented the view framed by the window, balanced across the fulcrum of Leenhoff's figure. This *mise-en-abyme* revealed The Cross-Channel packet that ran from Boulogne to Folkestone seen under a stormy sky in a formulation indebted to Turner's *Snow Storm – Steam-Boat off a Harbour's Mouth*, (1842), and which was probably informed by Robert

⁴²⁵ See Kaak, "Edouard Manet - Le Déjeuner " , p.113.

Brandard's reproductive engraving of *Snow-Storm* which had been published in *the Art Journal* in May 1861 [fig.189].⁴²⁶ On both his previous visit to Boulogne in 1864 and again in 1868, Manet had sketched and painted the packet boats plying back and forth across the narrow sea that separated England from France.

During his holiday in Boulogne, Manet had taken advantage of the packet-boat service to make a short visit to London, the only occasion on which he visited the British capital. The visit was primarily related to the enormous importance of the London art-market to the painters with whom he was most closely associated in Paris. On the 26th July, Manet had written from Boulogne to Degas, inviting him to participate in an excursion to London. The letter described the purpose of the trip as one of professional research, the objectives being broadly to 'explore the market for our wares' as he put it, and more specifically to see the Summer Exhibition at the Royal Academy, which Manet mistakenly believed to be still on show at the National Gallery. He further suggested to Degas that Fantin-Latour might accompany them both, and sent his regards to two other members of their social and professional circle, the writers Duranty and Zola. As evidenced by subsequent letters, Degas was unable or unwilling to make the journey, so Manet travelled to London alone. Both the colleagues he most wished to meet were away – Whistler was at sea, a guest on his friend Thomas Winan's experimental ship known as the 'cigar-boat', while Rossetti was then staying with his patron Frederick Leyland at Speke Hall in Cheshire.⁴²⁷ On Manet's return, he

⁴²⁶ Anon., "The Turner Gallery: Snow-Storm, Engraved by R. Brandard," *The Art Journal* 7, New Series, no. New Series, 1 May (1861), p144.

⁴²⁷ Whistler's absence is identified in MacDonald et al., "The Correspondence of James McNeill Whistler 1855-1903, Including the Correspondence of Anna McNeill Whistler 1855-1880." <http://www.whistler.arts.gla.ac.uk/correspondence>, record no. 11849, accessed 27th Nov 2013. Whistler states on 24th July "While next week I am I believe going away for a few days trip on the Winans cigar boat - The small one.". The 'Winans cigar boat' was an experimental semi-submersible design developed by

immediately commenced *Le Déjeuner* and *Le balcon*, both of which contain elements that allude to his exposure to English works he had recently seen in London.

In a sometimes problematic interpretation of this picture, Kaak noted the roots of nineteenth century domestic genre in the 'conversation pieces' of the mid-eighteenth century and offered a comparison between *Le Déjeuner* and Hogarth's *The Cholmondley Family* (1732) as an illustration of the potential absurdities of the apparently informal portrait group.⁴²⁸ Kaak mis-recognised the role played by the 'Hogarthian' elements within Manet's account of British painting traditions. The figure of the *hôtelière* tellingly recalls both Hogarth and Reynolds, and the structure of Manet's picture invites comparison with Hogarth's *Captain Lord George Graham in his Cabin* (1742) [fig.190], although, as the picture is known to have been in the private collection of the Duke of Montrose at this time, the similarity between the two pictures must be considered a pseudomorphism.

Nonetheless, Hogarth's *Captain Lord George Graham* has a significant number of features in common with *Le Déjeuner*; both paintings depict dark interiors with windows to the left had side through which the impression of a ship can be seen. In both paintings a figure smokes a pipe to the right of a table laid with a white cloth. A silver knife is placed self-consciously near the front edge of the table in both paintings. In *Captain Graham* a pug dog sitting on a chair, and wearing his master's wig, reveals its genitals to the viewer in a vaguely obscene pose broadly equivalent to that of Manet's licking cat, while another dog sits at the feet of a

Whistler's American friends, Ross and Walter Winans. Rossetti's whereabouts are established by Bullen, who states that Rossetti visited Leyland in July 1868, while Rossetti's correspondence with James Smetham confirms his return to London around the 10th August, some days after Manet's departure. See Barry Bullen, *Rossetti: Painter and Poet* (London: Frances Lincoln, 2011), p.200, and Dante Gabriel Rossetti, "Letter to James Smetham, 10 August," in *Letters: [London], to J. Smetham and H. Ward, [1861, May 31 - 1873, Nov. 22]* (National Art Library (Great Britain), 1868). MSL/1951/3547.

⁴²⁸ Kaak, "Edouard Manet - Le Déjeuner " pp.101-110.

figure dressed in black who occupies the left hand edge of the table, much as x-ray analysis has revealed that Manet conceived his figure of Leenhoff.⁴²⁹ In both paintings, a figure in the act of serving at table and dressed in grey stands to the left of central figure(s), looking directly out of the picture's space as if offering a wry commentary on the moment and the personalities depicted in the scene. In both pictures, unity of action is destabilised; is the moment depicted at the beginning or the end of a meal? The absence of communication between the individuals depicted in Manet's pictures, so often interpreted as a representation of a distinctively nineteenth-century *anomie*, but also evident in *Captain Graham* in which the figures, while apparently involved in both a convivial musical performance and a shared meal, seem largely unaware of each other's proximity. Comparison of the two pictures therefore remains useful to the extent that it demonstrates the possibility of a relationship between Hogarth's genre painting and an important aspect of the multi-figure works by Manet that developed from the experiment of *Le Déjeuner*.

Manet balanced his allusions to Turner and Hogarth with elements derived from British portraits. Mary Anne Stevens considers it possible that he might have seen the Third Exhibition of National Portraits at the South Kensington Museum⁴³⁰. Although this sprawling exhibition was also due to close at the beginning of August, Manet's association with Legros, who now taught etching at the Government Schools of Design at South Kensington, might well have offered him access to the show. The huge exhibition of 949 portraits featured seventy paintings by Sir Thomas Lawrence and works by most of the

⁴²⁹ Ibid.p.104.

⁴³⁰ MaryAnne Stevens, ed. *Manet: Portraying Life* (Toledo, London, New York: Royal Academy of Arts 2012) p.170. Mary Anne Stevens also cites contemporary French critical interest in the Work of William Hogarth, whose "sophisticated formula for the conversation piece" may have alerted Manet to the value of the British tradition of portraiture. p.29.

leading academicians of Bonington's generation, as well as a smaller number of seventeenth and early eighteenth century portraits by Van Dyck, Hogarth and Reynolds. In *Le Déjeuner* Leenhoff performed the informal self-presentation of the young English aristocrat in the style that Van Dyck had developed in England to depict "a certain ease and liveliness within its nobility, like the manner of a great lady, haughtily beautiful" as Thoré-Burger had described it in his *Histoire des Peintres*.⁴³¹ Manet's playful allusion to Van Dyck in his depiction of his son/godson was affectionately parodic, suggesting a correspondence between Leenhoff's tentative adulthood and a distinctly British masculinity that could itself be traced back to Van Dyck through the heredity of British aristocratic manners.⁴³² Collins picked up on this aspect of *Le Déjeuner* in 1978 and interpreted the conceit as that of the dandy:

It is important to note, too, that the young man is a dandy. Elegantly dressed (his jacket is velvet), confident of his superiority, cool and indifferent (his back is turned to the others), he seems the perfect embodiment of the type as described by Baudelaire in *Le Peintre de la Vie Moderne*.⁴³³

While Léon's air of indifference may well have been intended to evoke the youthful hauteur of Van Dyck's Stuarts, Manet's final treatment his godson's pose and clothing was also indebted to the style of Thomas Lawrence. several of Lawrence's portraits had been included in the 1868 National Portraits exhibition; and Leenhoff leant against the dining table in a pose closely comparable with that of Lawrence's portrait of *Henry Dundas, 1st*

⁴³¹ Willem Burger (pseud. Theophile Thoré), *Ecole Anglaise*, ed. Charles Blanc, *L'histoire Des Peintres Des Toutes Les Ecoles* (Paris: Widow of Jules Renouard, 1861), p.5.

⁴³² See Jules Barbey d'Aurevilly, *Du Dandysme Et De G. Brummel* (Caen: B. Mancel, 1845).

⁴³³ Collins, "Manet's Luncheon in the Studio: An Homage to Baudelaire," p.110.

Viscount Melville [1810] [fig.191]. However, Lawrence's *Baron Dundas* depicted a mature man, and Manet appropriated a second Lawrence source, underpinning his depiction of his godson with aspects of Lawrence's portrait of *Sir Robert Peel* (c.1810) [fig.192]. This image of the youthful epitome of the 'English gentleman' in perfectly-judged black velvet jacket, yellow waistcoat and high white stock had also been exhibited at the Exhibition of National Portraits. *Sir Robert Peel* not only offered a demonstration of freely-handled paint and sobriety of colour and tone which was in some ways comparable to Manet's own facture, but it's depiction of youthful poise was a useful bridge between the archaism of Van Dyck and Manet's modernity.

Either side of the depicted choice of Leenhoff, *Le Déjeuner* offered opposed *mises-en-abymes* that announced the iconographic programme of the painting. On the left, the Turner-esque Folkestone packet-boat pointed out of the picture towards Great Britain. Under this sign, the heterogeneous objects gathered below the window constituted a triple emblem of *forced accord*, a trophy of international Industrial art. The still-life of arms, as Bann has rightly proposed, was a representation of official tastes in museology and elite fashions for collecting while the incongruous *grisaille* alluded to the project to integrate photography with painting, a form of research evidently associated with Whistler and his interest in photographic pictorialities. Most prominent in this material allegory was the hybrid object such as might have appeared in the British political cartoons of *Punch*, an allegoric representation of an *ad absurdum* future of industrial art in the form of a parodic 'tree of liberty'. These materials were shown to fail to cohere; each emblem destabilised the others. The emblems offered a metonym comparable to Zola's disputatious and fragmented 'little republics' of decorative art, a judgement apparently embodied in Leenhoff who

turned away from this discursive clamour, as well as by Manet's media avatar the black cat, which gave its own sardonic judgement on the imported strategies that had penetrated into French culture through the Bonapartist capitulation to Anglo-Saxon globalism and free trade. The left-hand side of the painting presented a 'combination print' of the dispositif of industrial art as it informed contemporary painting, understood not as the sublime process towards a future stylistic and pictorial totalization proposed by contemporary English painting and decorative art, but as the grotesque, a force for incoherence and a disruptive cultural assault from British Imperial liberalism.

On the right-hand side of *Le Déjeuner*, Champfleury's 'dissonances' became 'assonances' in an integrated pictorial account of 'authentic' materialities. The anti-industrial and anti-Utilitarian assumptions of this contrast suggests that Realist investment in such figures of 'la pensée populaire' were comparable with the 'Romantic anti-capitalism' identified by Caroline Arscott and Edwards in relation to William Morris and the British Arts and Crafts movement.⁴³⁴ It is perhaps possible to offer an iconographic role for Auguste Rousselin within the right-hand configuration. Rousselin may have been performing the part of the Republican bohemian, the 'Man of 1830' or 'of 1848', a recursion of the carbine-carrying, radical, bourgeois of Delacroix's *La Liberté guidant le peuple*. (1831). The pose and demeanour of the figure, his features shaded under his hat, were conspiratorial and the stubby cigar held between his fingers suggested the environment of the urban beer-cellar more than the polite sociality of the seaside hotel. Like Bracquemond's contemporary

⁴³⁴ See Arscott, *William Morris and Edward Burne-Jones: Interlacings*, pp.129, 135, and Steve Edwards, "Victorian Britain: From Images of Modernity to the Modernity of Images," in *Art and Visual Culture 1850-2010*, ed. Steve Edwards and Paul Wood (London: Tate Publishing in association with The Open University, 2012), p.73.

assiette republicaine, the relationship of the French *avant-garde* to industrial art remained framed as a combative relationship between authenticity and state patronage.

The iconography of *Le Déjeuner* suggests that it presented Manet's evaluation and rejection of the British model of industrial art after his London visit in 1868. However, the allegorical binarism of *Le Déjeuner's* iconographic programme was qualified in one significant exception. Significant attention was directed to the representation of the chequered weave of the damask tablecloth, a pretext for virtuoso passages of realist description and facture that constituted an intentional visual interest that appeared on both sides of Leenhoff, in both spaces. This passage of painting might be considered against Moore's contemporary engagement with the textile surface and was a strategy also entirely in agreement with Whistler's principle of the mimesis of other industrial surfaces in painting. Manet's replication of the textile surface of the canvas as surface pattern was a phenomenon noted by Foucault in his discussion of the *Port de Bordeaux*, 1870-71:

Here, in this picture [...] what's in play as you see, is essentially the horizontal and vertical axes. These horizontal and vertical axes are really repetitions inside the canvas of the horizontal and vertical axes which frame the canvas and which form the very frame of the picture. But, as you see, it is equally the reproduction of a sort, in the very grain of the painting, of all the horizontal and vertical fibres which constitute the canvas itself, the canvas in which it has material.

It is as though the weave of the canvas was in the process of starting to appear and show its internal geometry [...] ⁴³⁵

⁴³⁵ Foucault, Barr, and Bourriaud, *Manet and the Object of Painting*, p.42.

Manet's tablecloth re-presented the silky weave of the chequered textile on the both the 'Liberal' and 'Republican' sides of the painting, suggesting that from amongst the varied theoretical and procedural models offered by the *dispositif* of industrial art, this insight alone might be isolated and integrated into a future pictoriality. Bann has argued for the significance of Ary Scheffer's *Couper de Nappe* (1851) as a source for *Le Déjeuner*, an attribution troubled by the absence of any obvious oppositional tension comparable to that which organised Scheffer's work. The reading presented above would suggest that Bann's association of *Le Déjeuner* with *Le Couper de Nappe* accurately diagnosed both pictures as concerned with the divisions. In Manet's interpretation of Scheffer this rupture was not generational but 'national'; the English Channel offered an alternative metaphor for irreconcilable difference, freeing the representation of textile to be rehabilitated as a model for the ethnographic universalism within which the competing claims of national schools might be reconciled.⁴³⁶

4.7 Conclusions

It is tempting to locate *Le Déjeuner* as a return to the subject matter of its 1863 namesake. Both works depicted the choices for the practice of painting demanded by industrial art, both were centred on young male figures fashionably-dressed in black jackets and light-grey trousers, both scenes took place in spaces that were made incoherent or 'grotesque' by the forcing-together of multiple pictorialities.

⁴³⁶ Bann, *Ways around Modernism*, pp.63-67.

While the *dispositif* of industrial art was indeed constructed as an Anglo-French discourse within which pictorial modernism was extensively shaped, this discourse preserved within it significant traces of the distinctive political and social processes that had formed Great Britain and France as modern nation-states with contrasting forms of social life. The *dispositives* of industrial art were indeed state 'bureaucracies of beauty' in both countries. In London, Utilitarian and imperial discourses created an institutional space within the Department of Science and Art and its para-state cognates in which certain forms of experimental visual practice were encouraged as a duty of enlightened liberal rule and as the surest strategy by which Great Britain might inherit the prestige of a coherent and universally-applicable high culture from the 'great civilizations' of the historical past.

In France, the state's manipulation of the forms of high culture was differently understood, and the relationship between industrial art and the fabrications of elite absolutism was more easily recognised. In *Faiences Patriotiques*, Champfleury articulated this scepticism concerning the means and ends of state patronage in an age of rapid social change in the clearest terms. Champfleury, like Morris in England, directed contemporary culture back to pre-industrial and subaltern visualities, and the subsequent history of French Romantic anti-capitalism within the global 'primitivisms' of the *fin de siècle* developed in dialogue with the researches of the British Arts and Crafts movement. Iconographic choices within the paintings of the 1860s laid out the stakes of this debate, and revealed the seams within an international response to Semperian thought.

Conclusion

This thesis has identified, amongst a group of paintings made within a densely-networked and international community of progressive artists, the discourse of the *dispositif* of industrial art. Four case-studies have been presented that isolate and describe some of the characteristics of that discourse as it can be read from the formal and iconographic relationships within and between these paintings. The object thus identified has not previously been considered a theoretically-coherent determinant on early modernist painting. By considering the practices of the Manet-Whistler circle from the perspective of industrial art, this research makes an original contribution to the scholarship of a stylistic ‘turn’ whose cultural significance has long been recognised and debated in the history of art. By highlighting the role of industrial art in the appearance of the distinctive strategies of modern painting, the contest of state-institutional authority between the academy and the proponents of design reform can be confirmed as a foundational context for the ‘new painting of the 1860s’ in both England and France.

It has not hitherto been proposed that this context was also a procedural material and a form of ‘intentionality’ for early modernist painting. While encounters between painting and industrial media have been described in a number of important critical statements on modernism, the conclusion that the appropriation of industrial art’s institutional, pedagogic and pictorial procedures produced the space of modernism’s discursive emergence has not previously been derived from these descriptions. My research demonstrates that the appearance of a broad range of new formal and iconographic materials in Realist painting in

the 1860s indeed indicated those paintings engagement with 'design theory' as Masheck had suspected. However, the terms of that engagement now indicate interest in industrial art as a programmatic model amongst a clearly-identifiable grouping of painters, print-makers and photographers, for whom the questions raised by materialist explanations of stylistic change became subject-matter. The *forced accord* emerged as a pictorial phenomenon as a consequence of attempts to integrate these materials into the practice of painting. The production of *forced accord* has been shown to have been carefully-articulated in all the works analysed in this thesis, and 'incidental' effects of *forced accord* visible in proximate fields of production such as photography, illustration and ceramics were consistently isolated and reproduced in painting. These *mimeses* of incongruity were also consistently assigned legible iconographic or allegorical roles within such pictures. The incongruous juxtapositions of *forced accord* were also used to problematize or 'de-familiarize' existing academic conventions of representation. Such strategies assumed an 'imagined' audience educated about, and willing to engage with, the games of visual discernment required by the *conceits* of these pictorial practices, the same imagined audience whose skills of discrimination the museums of decorative art specifically aimed to foster by their didactic displays of contrasting stylist formations.

My research began by mapping the relationships inferred in Whistler's letter of August 1865, which allowed the boundaries of the theoretical position of the *Société des Trois* to be perceived and the discursive equivalence of the terms decorative art and *forced accord* in Whistler's argument to be identified. The programmatic representation of Semper's materialist account of stylistic change in *Pomegranates* revealed Moore's extensive debt to industrial art theory, while Whistler's support for Moore's approach at the moment of his

own painting's turn to decorative concerns suggested that attention to industrial art was already emerging within the *Société des trois* before its principles were crystallized by Moore's pictorial formulation in 1864.

The rhetorical equivalence of Moore's Semperian strategy and Whistler's demand for incongruity in the paintings of the *Société des Trois* suggested that the antecedents of the pictorial force of ornament in 1865 might be found in earlier instances of *forced accord*. Close iconographic reading of Legros's painting *L'Angélu*s demonstrated the potential of this strategy to radically modify existing conventions of representation. Legros's strategy was compared to Whistler's contemporary practice to produce a more complete account of the circulation and 're-mediation' of motifs appropriated from reproductive media and the construction of 'composite' pictorialities by the group, thereby extending the mapping of Realist strategies first begun by Fried's *Manet's Sources*. The thesis therefore contributes to recent research concerned with nineteenth-century intertextuality and media translations, and draws progressive painting back towards the concerns of visual culture studies and comparable forms of interdisciplinary media research.

Many pictorial effects of incongruity, modification and effacement were long ago observed as definitive sites of the materialization of modernism. The industrial art materials identified as the ingredients of the *forced accord* place these scholarly observations within a discursive configuration that has not previously been proposed and offers a synchronic view of the emergence of modernist pictoriality that complements the diachronic series proposed by Fried, as was suggested through reference to Tynjanov in the introduction to this thesis. This analysis extends recent research on the *Société des trois* by establishing the existence of a

theoretical and stylistic dynamic within the group that has not previously been described. While the description of that dynamic offered here focuses largely on the identification of tropes of industrial art, that identification nonetheless proposes that attention to patterns of pictorial construction within the group infers the working-out of shared investigative principles in the practices of the three members.

By identifying an instance in which new, state-sanctioned knowledge was used to disrupt the values of the academy, this study contributes to research on the relationship between artistic modernism and political radicalism across the long nineteenth century. Following Dutta, the recognition of industrial art materials as politically and institutionally 'freighted' by their functional role as the cognitive technologies of the liberal capitalist state opens up early modernist painting once again to strategies of interpretation as a politically-located dialectic as much as a disinterested debate about the productivity of innovative technical procedures. In particular, Dutta's proposition in *The Bureaucracy of Beauty* that the humanist sincerity of the Cole Circle was quickly co-opted as an instrument of colonial hegemony over non-European cultures raises challenging questions concerning the 'parochial' practices of Western modernism in the global context.

Much of the production of the Manet-Whistler circle implies the acceleration of the global circulation of images, economic and cultural circulations that were themselves the foundational concern of industrial art theory. The thesis has also explored the implications of design theory as a set of theoretical assumptions produced largely within the cultural space created by the bureaucracies of the international exhibitions organized by England and France throughout the period. While the agency of Whistler is confirmed as a crucial

conduit for the exchange of ideas and materials between artists in London and Paris, my research demonstrates that Whistler's position was defined by much more visible discursive formations such as his social proximity to Cole, the 1861 debate in London on the artistic status of the photograph, and the responses of critics such as Burty and de Beaumont to the new principles of design and ornament that had emerged in the British displays at the London International Exhibition in 1862. This case-study suggests that the discourse established by international state collaborations in exhibition, museology and the development of photography constructed a common language for the description of stylistic change that was appropriated by a distinct but equally international 'Romantic anti-capitalist' vanguardist group for their own purposes. This research therefore contributes to the scholarship on international exhibitions and comparable forms of liberal imperialist self-presentation and thereby extends the possibilities for post-colonial interpretations of Western art forward from the Romantic period into the third quarter of the nineteenth century.

As a further case-study, the survey of the pictorial depiction of ceramics in Chapter 4 suggests the iconographic range and discursive role of a well-recognised trope deployed by painters attentive to industrial art principles. The depictions of ceramics in the paintings of the Manet-Whistler circle encompassed a wide range of stylistic referents but their iconographic roles as signs of the idealized sublimation of craft, the formal resolution of cultural function with visual configuration, was consistent. Through his description of *Faiences Patriotiques* as the 'museum of the poor' and as an authentic document of popular responses to Revolutionary history, Champfleury is revealed to have offered French painters a nationalist refutation of the globalized taxonomies of form and ornament proposed by

British design theory. The significance of Champfleury's *Faiences Patriotiques* in Manet's iconography has not previously been identified, and this study therefore contributes to the extensive interpretive scholarship produced by Manet's practice.

The thesis also proposes Hawarden as a more significant protagonist in the development of European modernism than has hitherto been suggested. The conclusions concerning Hawarden's position in the discursive network may be figured in two ways; In the first, Hawarden may be seen as an active collaborator of male artists such as Haden, Millais, Whistler and Manet, a woman of the elite whose works were in dialogue with their closely-contemporary paintings and etchings, and who apparently supplied the painters around her with striking and suggestive proposals for the depiction of contemporary manners. Such an interpretation would infer that Hawarden's works were therefore in some way foundational to the iconography of Realism in London and Paris, in which scenario Hawarden would be an image-maker of great significance for the development of canonical modernism. In the second scenario, Hawarden's photographs of her daughter's extraordinary performances as the objects of the homoerotic feminine gaze must be considered to be attentive to very similar *external* 'modifications' of pictoriality as those that concurrently influenced the men in the Manet-Whistler circle. Given Hawarden's social and professional proximity to Haden, Whistler and South Kensington, these forms of attention were almost certainly a form of shared attention to industrial art, returning Hawarden once again to inclusion within the group, but with a status perhaps similar to that of Moore, whose procedures were also distinct from those of Realist painting. In either interpretation, the agency of Hawarden's photographs remains significant. This research therefore makes two contributions to the study of female participation in progressive European culture in the nineteenth century. The

first concerns the significance of Hawarden herself as the producer of the new form of idealization of haute-bourgeois manners discussed above. The second is suggested by the unexpected alignment of Clementina Maud Hawarden with Joanna Heffernan and Victorine Meurent as a group of young women valued within the vanguardist network for their ability to perform the representation of contemporary female manners, a performativity that arguably made a crucial contribution to the projects on which the Manet-Whistler circle were engaged. This thesis therefore contributes to debates around the construction of female artistic identities and the agency of women within homosocial vanguardist groups in the period.

Description and interpretation of the discursive boundaries identified in this research could be extended in a number of ways. This study has maintained a narrow focus throughout, and has not deployed the notion of a “Manet-Whistler circle’ as a definitive taxonomy or diagnostic strategy, but as a collective term for a group of individuals whose relationship is revealed by their association and shared attention to industrial art. The discursive object identified here undoubtedly inflects the work of a larger group than the study indicates; a fuller account of the set of ‘artists attentive to industrial art and to each other’ would certainly consider painters who are barely discussed here, notably Degas, Millais and Rossetti. Discussion of these individuals has been almost entirely deferred for the objective of describing the determination of modernist painting by the *dispositif* of industrial art at a grain of detail fine enough to secure the proposition. Similarly, the temporal extent of the *dispositif* is defined here by tracing its discourse outwards from the moment of at which its statements are especially dense. It is undoubtedly the case that a full account of its emergence could be traced back to 1855 and Courbet’s negotiation of the *Exposition*

Universelle. Looking forward, new, 'Impressionist' strategies began to emerge within Manet's Parisian network very soon after he painted his critique of Semperian industrial art in *Le Déjeuner*. The afterlife of the industrial art model under the Third Republic is in some ways self-evident; its discursive formation is to a significant degree that identified by Masheck.

Against Clark's assertion that 'modernism's notorious concern with flatness' was coincidental and contingent, this thesis has reconsidered the pattern of visual and textual proximities within the practices of the Manet-Whistler circle and has proposed a revised explanation of their inter-determinations. This explanation argues strongly for the significance of industrial art doctrines in the development of the critical visual culture of late nineteenth-century Western Europe. That the practices of the Manet-Whistler Circle responded to intellectual materials emanating so directly from liberal state bureaucracies in both France and Great Britain is striking. The artworks of the Circle appropriated and tested the predicative principles and procedures of industrial art, producing works deeply indebted to design theory in their relationships to state museums of art and decorative art, their stylistic *forced accords*, their global cultural appropriations and attempts to perpetuate moments of process. These appropriations deliberately extended contemporary social-political discourses into the cultural sphere, invoking the competing claims of ethnographic universalism and ethnic nationalism, or playing on cultural anxieties concerning the relationship between new, international, communication technologies and the representation of established forms of European social life. The positioning of emergent 'modernist' practices within the wider discourse of the liberal envisioning of the world (and legitimization of empire) has significant implications. Further attention to the relationship

between modernism and liberalism is certainly required and is It is hoped that the determinations proposed here will be usefully complicated by the elaboration of these conjoined discursive fields.

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