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Rutgers Art Review is an annual journal published by graduate students in the Department of Art History at Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey. *RAR* is dedicated to presenting original, scholarly research by current graduate students in the history of art and architecture, art criticism, and related fields. For each volume, the editors convene an editorial board made up of graduate students from the department and review all new submissions. The strongest papers are then sent to established scholars in order to confirm originality of research and soundness of argument. Articles appearing in RAR are abstracted and indexed online in *America: History and Life*, *ARTbibliographies Modern*, the *Avery Index to Architectural Periodicals*, *BHA* (*Bibliography of the History of Art*), *Historical Abstracts*, and the *Wilson Art Index*. The journal is distributed by subscription to over ninety of the finest academic, museum, and public libraries in North America and Europe. For annual rates and more information about *RAR*, please visit our website at http://rar.rutgers.edu/.

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Remembering Rona Goffen

Rona Goffen had been a member of the Art History faculty at Rutgers University for sixteen years when she passed away in 2004. Others have written about her scholarly contribution to the field of Italian Renaissance art, but as her former graduate students and editors of this journal we feel it is important to also remember her as a teacher.

The public legacy of an important scholar is in the words she leaves on the printed page, but to those of us who studied with Professor Goffen, her verbal acuity is particularly recalled in the words she spoke, which were alternately supportive and critical, eloquent and hilarious, and, three years after her death, unforgettable. In her characteristically direct manner, she would sometimes follow up a student presentation with the question, "Do you want to hear nice pretty things, or do you want the truth?" But this pointed question was never about the priority of her truth. Rather, it reflected her way of engendering a critical environment in which we were all expected to participate equally and where new ideas would emerge in the process. Although this approach could seem intimidating at first, as anyone who ever took a class with her knows, the intensely critical eye that Professor Goffen applied to everything (not only student presentations but her own ideas as well) produced a classroom experience that was rich, dynamic, and unpredictable.

Professor Goffen's direct manner could be adversarial ("convince me" she would say), but there was more to it than that. Her approach reflected her earnest desire to see each student push him or herself to the highest level of performance. She expected us to live by her own motto: "praise is wonderful, but criticism is more useful."

From day one, she would set the ground rules: participation was a must, and there would be no breaks — she hated taking breaks, she explained, as they interrupted one's train of thought — and promised instead to always bring snacks to sustain hungry students. Classes could easily run an hour late, the rationale being that we would stay until we all agreed that the discussion had come to its natural end. Teaching was never routine for Professor Goffen, and she was as much a participant, a student, as anyone else in the room. Even if we were discussing one of Titian's best known *poesie*, it sometimes seemed that she was looking at the painting for the first time. Her seminars, in which looking at a single image and talking about it would often take up a good portion of the class, were fundamentally about questioning and discovery. She wouldn't hesitate to admit when she was wrong, and she could be convinced of an idea that she might have viewed with skepticism at first.

As we pursue our own research, we continue to ask ourselves the simple but fundamental questions that she posed to us in seminars, individual meetings, and her (often witty) e-mail correspondence. We vividly recall her initiating discussions by saying, "There are two questions that I bring to my own work and everything that I read. So what? And show me!" The passion, pragmatism and wisdom that shaped her work was also evident in the advice she gave to her students; on the selection of a dissertation topic she once advised, "The most important thing is that you really love it. [...] The second most important thing is that it should be practical. And the third is that it should be attractive and interesting to the world." As her former students, we feel privileged with a double legacy, for it is not only her scholarship but, perhaps even more importantly, her way of seeing that continues to influence us.

Francis Fletcher and Patricia Zalamea
Editors, vol. 21

"Strange but Striking Poetry": The Reception of British Symbolist Painting at the Paris Exposition Universelle of 1878

Rachel Sloan

> In 1867 the English school ... was in the midst of indecision. The Pre-Raphaelites stopped, and another branch, still enclosed in the secret of a bud, was preparing to burst from the trunk ... A fog hovered over English art, hiding its imminent transformations, which we see today.
>
> —Edmond Duranty, 1878[1]

When the 1878 Exposition Universelle opened its gates, some observers scoffed that it was but a pitiful shadow of its glittering elder sisters. Subsequent scholarship on the Expositions has followed suit. The Expositions of 1855, 1867, and especially 1889 and 1900 have benefited from in-depth studies, while the 1878 Exposition has languished in relative obscurity.[2] Most attempts to explore the Exposition's problems and complexities have been founded on misleading assumptions about its political backdrop and have treated the 1878 Exposition as a minor event in comparison to its predecessors and successors, a sort of insignificant lull. This oversight has likewise affected study of the Expositions' contribution to the development of the fine arts in Europe. Critical attention to the 1878 Exposition's displays of fine art has focused almost wholly on the French section, with little significant attention thus far given to the involvement of other participating nations, particularly Britain.

At first glance, this lacuna may not seem exceptional. The 1878 Exposition Universelle was the most troubled of the Expositions organized under the aegis of the Third Republic;[3] Daniel Halévy's description of the Third Republic as "a regime of discord tempered by festivals" has more than a grain of truth in it.[4] Furthermore, despite the pomp and glitter of the opening festivities and the general air of gaiety that reigned over the duration of the Exposition,[5] the French Fine Art section could not fairly claim to show French artistic achievement at its acme. For a variety of reasons, including political infighting, aesthetic conservatism, and the packing of the selection committee with Academicians and other official artists who acted in their own interests, the distinctly unrepresentative French Fine Art exhibition gave the general public and art critics alike the impression that the best France had to offer was stale, retrograde history painting.[6] French art critics were unanimous in voicing despair at what they saw, and in their fear that France had been irreparably weakened by the recent loss of so many great artists and by the ordeals it had suffered during the Franco-Prussian War and the Commune.[7] France's artistic supremacy, which it and other European nations had so long taken for granted, seemed for the first time to be under genuine threat.

France's temporary fall from its pedestal had an unexpected but significant consequence. Artists and critics were suddenly compelled to look more closely and with a more open mind at the art of other nations, not least at that of their neighbor on the other side of the Channel. 1878 was not, of

course, the first time that contemporary British painting had had a forum in France. Constable had found admirers throughout the 1820s and was acknowledged as a key influence on the Barbizon painters; the British Fine Art section at the 1855 Exposition, particularly the works by members of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, had caused a great stir, with critics struck by the Pre-Raphaelites' acid color and insistence on minute detail.[8] However, in both 1855 and 1867, British painting, Pre-Raphaelite in particular, was generally treated more as a curiosity distinguished by its quaint naïveté than as a school of art to be considered on a par with its French counterpart. Moreover, as Edmond Duranty pointed out in his review of the British section at the 1878 Exposition, the intervals of eleven or twelve years between Expositions were bound to produce a disjointed view of the changes and progress occurring in the British school.

However, 1878 was to be different from British painting's previous outings in Paris. Over the previous eleven-year interval, after what critics generally agreed had been a disappointing exhibition in 1867, Edward Burne-Jones and George Frederic Watts had emerged as stars of the secessionist Grosvenor Gallery and talents to be reckoned with; the 1878 Exposition Universelle marked the first exhibition of their works in France.[9] In fact, the so-called second Pre-Raphaelite school was represented in force in the British section, with contributions from many painters considered followers of Burne-Jones, including John Roddam Spencer Stanhope, Marie Spartali Stillman, Walter Crane, Albert Moore, and Thomas Armstrong. Critics were struck by, and consistently remarked on, these artists' strong group identity and shared idiosyncrasies, namely, a preference for literary and imaginative subjects, an emulation of early Renaissance style and technique, a disregard for academic correctness in drawing, and an emphasis on atmosphere and suggestion at the expense of concrete narrative.

Dubbing Burne-Jones and Watts "Symbolists" might seem to disregard historical precedent; after all, the term is generally acknowledged to have been coined, and its principles elucidated, in Jean Moréas's 1886 "Manifeste du Symbolisme," well after the Exposition. Furthermore, the term has historically been applied almost exclusively to French artists and writers. Yet subjecting painting to the same rule as literature obscures the divergent development of a Symbolist tendency in visual art. In fact, the first known use of the term "symbolism" in relation to painting occurs in Emile Zola's review of the 1876 Salon, in which he defined the dreamlike atmosphere and ornate decorative effects of Gustave Moreau's paintings with the assertion that "Gustave Moreau has launched himself into symbolism."[10] The staunch Naturalist Zola did not intend this as a compliment, and repeated his disparaging remarks in his review of Moreau's "symbolist" paintings at the 1878 Exposition. On a more positive note, the Symbolist poet Gustave Kahn, apologist for Moréas and an important art critic in his own right, chose 1878 as the starting point of his biographical sketch of the movement, "Les Origines du Symbolisme." While Kahn devoted relatively little ink to the visual arts in his account, he noted that the brightest hope for a movement that could emerge from the rigid domination of the Naturalists and the Parnassians was to be found in the painting of the Impressionists and the quintessential French Symbolist painter, Moreau, praising the same characteristics that Zola found so distasteful:

> Painting was the impressionists exhibiting wonders in vacant apartments for three months. It was, at the Exposition of 1878, a marvellous panel by Gustave Moreau, opening onto legend a door worked in niello, damascening and gold work ...[1]

Symbolist-penned histories of the movement are notorious for painting conflicting pictures of its origins and for giving personal rivalries and one-upmanship free rein; Kahn's version is rather unusual in locating Symbolism's origins almost as much in painting as in literature.[12]

Conversely, while Symbolism may never have boasted the spokesmen or the stated program in Britain that it enjoyed in France, it is worth pointing out that the critic Frederick Wedmore, in his *Studies in English Art*, published in book form in 1880, wrote of Burne-Jones that "in some sense it is to his disadvantage that he has set himself so especially to the art of symbolism, and the realisation of classic or mediaeval story."[13] Although Wedmore noted that Burne-Jones's "symbolism" alienated many viewers, he maintained that it also set him apart from the stale conventionalism of many of his peers. Furthermore, Burne-Jones and Watts were embraced by Symbolist poets and critics in France after 1886 and comparisons were frequently drawn between their work and that of French Symbolist painters, in particular Moreau and Pierre Puvis de Chavannes. Tellingly, the Anglophile writer Robert de la Sizeranne noted in the introduction to *La Peinture anglaise contemporaine* (1895), unfortunately without indicating a date for the beginning of this trend, that "for a long time, at meetings of symbolists, the names of Watts and Burne-Jones have been pronounced with reverence, and many accept them and repeat them as magic words whose virtue requires no explanation."[14] Although they may not have been widely considered Symbolists within their own country during their lifetimes, their work was certainly viewed as such, or in a similar light, in France.

Curiously, the importance of the appearance of Burne-Jones and Watts at the 1878 Exposition, and its impact on the establishment of a dialogue between Symbolist artists and writers in Britain and France, have been either ignored or downplayed in favor of the 1889 Exposition almost from the start. As early as 1898, Robert de la Sizeranne, arguably the chief contemporary chronicler of British Symbolism in France, dismissed Burne-Jones's works at the 1878 Exposition as "an attraction to critics, but not to the public;"[15] this assessment was echoed six years later by Georgiana Burne-Jones in her biography of her late husband.[16] The classic starting point of twentieth-century scholarship on the reception of the Pre-Raphaelites in France, Jacques Lethève's "La Connaissance des peintres préraphaélites anglais 1855-1900" ["Knowledge of the English Pre-Raphaelite painters, 1855-1900"],[17] ascribes little importance to 1878, and most subsequent studies have followed suit.[18]

The continuing disregard of the 1878 Exposition Universelle has, unfortunately, hindered a fuller understanding of this cross-Channel dialogue. The Francocentrism of most previous analyses unjustly obscures the complex, and above all, cosmopolitan nature of the exhibitions. Rather, as I shall demonstrate here, the political circumstances in 1878 provided favorable conditions for British Symbolism, as represented in the present case by Burne-Jones and Watts, who provoked the strongest and most extensive critical reactions and seem to have been taken as exemplars of the nascent tendency, to take root. More importantly, its appearance at the Exposition Universelle was vital to the generation of an exchange of ideas between Britain and France.

> In announcing the new International Exposition to the world, France affirms her confidence in her institutions; she declares her willingness to persevere in the ideas of moderation and wisdom that have inspired her politics over the last five years; she proclaims that she wants peace, which alone has the power to render human activity truly fecund in giving it security.
>
> —Teisserenc de Bort, 1876[19]

The supposition common to most studies of the 1878 Exposition Universelle is that the Exposition had been an overwhelmingly, if not purely, Republican project from its very beginnings. Even two of the more even-handed examples, Daniel Halévy's "Après le Seize Mai. Une année d'Exposition: 1878" and Jane Mayo Roos's "Within the 'Zone of Silence': Monet and Manet in 1878," fall victim to the conviction that the Exposition's creation represented a triumph of the Republicans over their conservative detractors. [20] In fact, the intent to hold an Exposition had been declared on April 4 1876, more than a year before the Seize Mai crisis and when the government's overall composition still merited Halévy's label "the Republic of dukes." The decree was signed on April 13 by none other than the President, Maréchal MacMahon, a staunch monarchist.[21] Furthermore, although the Exposition's commissioner, Jean-Baptiste-Sébastien Krantz, was a committed Republican, Teisserenc de Bort, the Minister of Agriculture and Commerce under MacMahon, who was also closely involved in the Exposition's planning, had served under Thiers and MacMahon and tended towards conservatism.

Given the potential of the Exposition to act as a "great tranquilliser" on a France still recovering from the twin nightmare of the Franco-Prussian War and the Commune and on a government characterized by ceaseless party struggles,[22] politicians of all stripes stood to benefit from involving themselves with the Exposition. Hence, a strong emphasis was laid on the new, hard-won peace and on values such as moderation and wisdom—values that presumably did not already come clothed in specific ideological colors, and which could easily be tailored to suit either end of the political spectrum. Indeed, Teisserenc de Bort's favorable reference to France's politics "over the last five years" could well be understood as advocating the repression that characterized the governments of Thiers and MacMahon.

Promoting moderation and trumpeting peace and prosperity might have made good political sense for the Exposition as a whole, but it did not necessarily translate into good policy in the official jury's selection of paintings for the French Fine Art section. Although the exhibition was intended to portray the official state of the modern French school, with no work dating from before the last Exposition in 1867 admitted,[23] restrictions placed upon the subject matter selected prevented the creation of a complete survey of the decade. One of the most troubling constraints was a ban on all images of the Franco-Prussian war or, indeed, any contemporary military subjects.[24] Furthermore, the opening notice in the official exhibition catalogue was essentially a celebration (a premature one, as it turned out) of the rehabilitation of history painting in the traditional mold.[25] Glossy, highly finished historical canvases by leading Academicians such as Cabanel, Delaunay, and Bouguereau held sway in the French section; many more innovative artists whose work fell outside these boundaries found their submissions rejected by the jury, which was composed primarily of Academicians who tended to act in their own interests, awarding themselves the lion's share of wall space and medals. A major

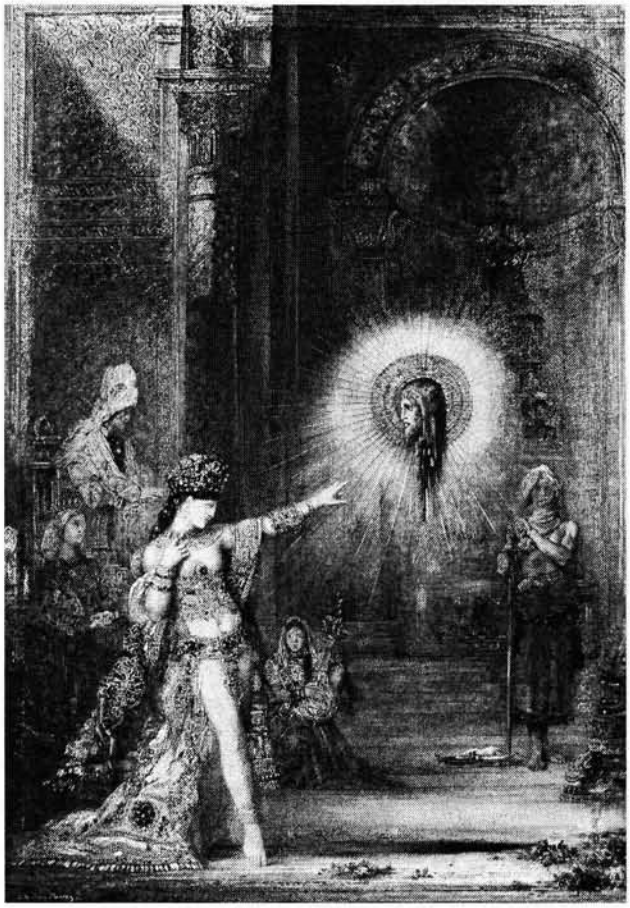

Fig. 1 Gustave Moreau, *L'Apparition*, 1874–6, watercolor on paper, 41.7 x 28 in. (106 x 72.2 cm). Musée du Louvre, département des Arts graphiques (Fonds Orsay) Paris. (© Photo RMN - © Jean-Gilles Berizzi.)

case in point is the Barbizon School. While their deliberately mundane and naturalistic depictions of the French countryside had garnered critical acclaim and state support in the 1860s,[26] they were poorly represented at the Exposition; pictures by three of the most illustrious Barbizon painters, Théodore Rousseau, Jean-François Millet, and Narcisse Diaz de la Peña, were not included at all. Other "independents," including Pierre Puvis de Chavannes and Henri Fantin-Latour, abstained from submitting, choosing to send their work to the Salon instead.[27] In effect, the French Fine Art section at the 1878 Exposition verged on conservatism in its ostensible desire to appear apolitical; in its attempt to turn the clock back eleven years, it acted as a nepenthe on the eyes and minds of its audience, wiping away the troubles—and the innovations—of the intervening years. Paul Greenhalgh has asserted that the centrality of the visual arts at this Exposition was vital to France's presentation of itself as having fully recovered from the defeat of 1871;[28] if this was so, then, judging by the content of the French Fine Art section and the critical response, the ploy failed miserably.

This shunning of current trends toward Realism and contemporary urban scenes produced

one unintended and little-noted side effect. While the selection of canvases in the French section seemed on the whole to privilege historical painting, in the sense of depictions of actual historical events (so long as they were far enough in the past not to dredge up painful memories), the selection committee's distaste for realism and contemporary scenes left the door open for imaginative themes—images based on literature, on people and events which had never existed except in the imagination or on the page. Collective trauma often awakens a need to escape the present and the immediate past by effacing them with images of the distant past or the imaginary; the milieu of the first post-war Exposition was no exception.[29] Thus it was that a "literary painter" such as Gustave Moreau, whose fantastical mythological and Biblical scenes had proved as perplexing to critics as they were difficult to ignore, found his way into the French section with no fewer than eleven works.[30] Although Moreau's work presumably fell under the rubric of history painting, pictures such as *The Apparition* (fig. 1) bore little resemblance to the meticulous detail and readily deciphered narrative that characterized much of the "grande peinture" in the French section. Paul Mantz declared him the most imaginative and fascinating painter in the entire section, although he confessed bewilderment as to the paintings' meaning.[31]

The irony, of course, is that four of Moreau's submissions to the Exposition were profoundly informed by the Franco-Prussian War and its aftermath. While *Salomé* (1874-76, Armand Hammer Collection, Los Angeles), *Hercule et l'Hydre de Lerne* [Hercules and the Lernaean Hydra] (1869-76, Art Institute of Chicago) and *L'Apparition* [The Apparition] (1874-76, Louvre) had already marked his triumphant return to the Salon in 1876, he had in the intervening years conceived a cycle of biblical subjects—*Moïse exposé sur le Nil* [Moses exposed on the Nile] (1876, Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge MA); *Jacob et l'Ange* [Jacob and the Angel] (ca. 1878, Fogg Art Museum); and *David* (1878, Armand Hammer Collection)—intended to symbolize both the ages of life and contemporary circumstances in France. As Moreau explained his intentions to his friend Alexandre Destouches, "The [angel in] *Jacob* would be the guardian angel of France, checking her in her idiotic course toward the material," while Moses represented "the hope of a new law represented by this tender and innocent infant raised by God" and David, "the somber melancholy of the past age of tradition so dear to great spirits weeping over the great modern decay, the angel at his feet ready to inspire him if there should be an agreement to listen to God."[32] Moreau's rage over the current state of affairs in France is palpable. Indeed, this was not his first attempt to give artistic vent to his anger; almost immediately after the French defeat in 1871, he began to plan a vast polyptych (which never came to fruition) entitled *La France vaincue* [France Vanquished]. He abandoned it after making some preliminary sketches, however, regarding the project as excessively allegorical. Instead, he cloaked his indignation in the academically-sanctioned forms of mythological and religious painting and in the dazzling color and welter of bejewelled detail that had by this time become his hallmarks. Hoodwinked by Moreau's exotic style and lulled by his evident adherence to officially accepted subjects, the jury allowed social commentary, so heavily veiled in Symbolism as to be almost illegible, entrance to an otherwise "apolitical" and "ahistorical" exhibition.[33]

Whatever the intention of the exhibition's commissioners, and despite the triumphalism in evidence on numerous newspaper front pages, critics were less than impressed with the results. Those who

were tied closely to the planning of the French Fine Art section found themselves scrambling to put a good face on things; the aforementioned notice in the official catalogue was at pains to point out that despite the deaths of many leading lights of French painting since 1867, artistic production had nonetheless been increasing at a steady rate, unintentionally vaunting quantity over quality.[34] Charles Blanc, who, for political reasons completely different from those of Chennevières, was an ardent promoter of grand-tradition history painting, offered perhaps the most creative (or far-fetched) explanation for the apparent weakness of the current French school: "Painting isn't an indigenous art in our country, as it is in Italy. . . . The French have always been better sculptors and architects than painters and musicians."[35]

Others were less ready to offer excuses. Paul Mantz, a respected moderate critic who reviewed the French painting exhibition for the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, opened his exposé with a three-page tirade against not only the sorry state of French painting at the Exposition, but also the inferiority of the exhibition space to those of other countries; he pronounced the prevailing spirit of the exhibition to be "a certain sadness . . . an art whose spirit does not flourish freely."[36] Bertall, a caricaturist notorious for his parodies of pretentious academic paintings in the *Journal amusant*, went even further, urging readers in a piece published in *L'Artiste* to visit the concurrent *Exposition retrospective de tableaux et dessins de maîtres modernes* at the Galerie Durand-Ruel instead. He claimed that this exhibition, which featured the work of Courbet, Corot, and the Barbizon painters, was more representative of the French school and more interesting than anything to be found in the galleries of the Champ de Mars besides.[37] Even Blanc, before making his implausible apology for current French painting, found himself comparing it unfavorably to what he saw in the Austro-Hungarian Fine Art section, envying the latter's "youth, abundance, sap, greenness which are not found at all in our [art]."[38]

Blanc was not alone in casting a resentful (and, perhaps, fearful) eye at the fine art exhibitions of other nations at the Exposition. France might welcome other nations to display their art at her Expositions, so long as they did not threaten her acknowledged superiority in that sphere. Not all critics were as alarmist as one writing under the pseudonym "Lord Pilgrim," who issued this dire warning:

> No one can fail to notice the decadence of the French school if one judges it by the Exposition Universelle of 1878....But let [the artists] beware. The foreign schools, so self-effacing in 1855, scarcely alive in 1867, are on the point of taking first place.[39]

However, one thing was becoming clear, and was grudgingly acknowledged: France could no longer afford to dismiss the artistic production of her neighbors[40]—including that of Britain, long a political and economic rival, but up until this point taken for granted as an artistic inferior. Still more surprising was that the innovations, both in art and in exhibition policy, that had been fomenting for the past two years in London were not in line with what it had been primed by the two preceding Expositions to expect.

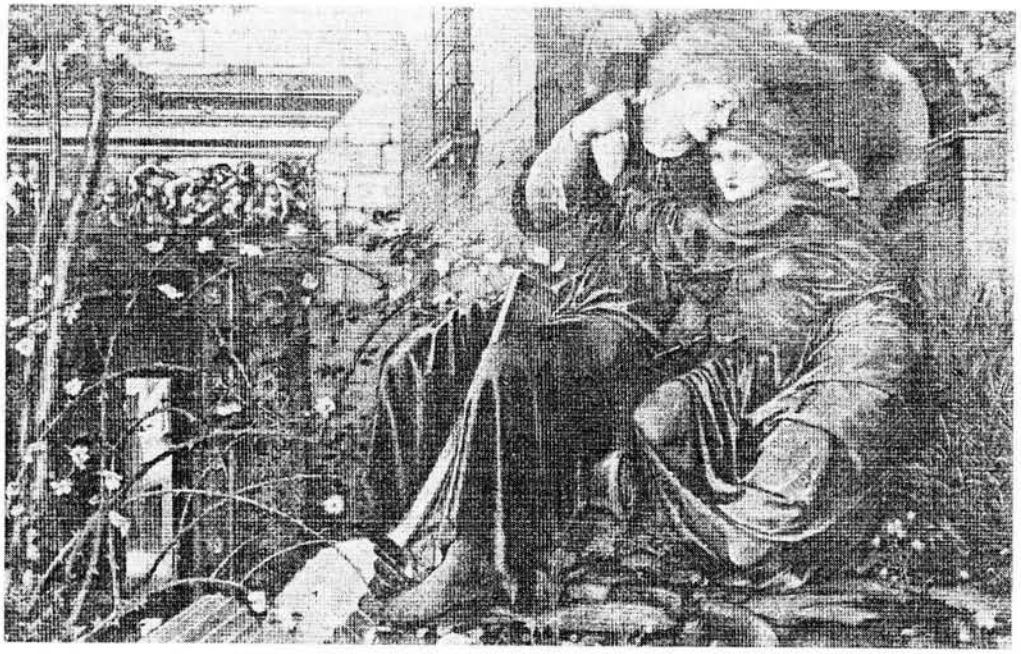

Fig. 2 Edward Burne-Jones, *Love among the Ruins*, 1870-3, watercolor and bodycolor, 39 x 61 in. (99 x 155 cm). Photograph after the damaged original. (© Witt Library, Courtauld Institute of Art.)

> In France, the State is ever-present, even in the arts, but there are countries where the State is nowhere to be seen, and in the arts even less....England, which we may invoke as an example of what can be accomplished in large part due to private initiative, has given us an illustration of a response of this type.
>
> —Charles Tardieu, 1877[41]

The Belgian critic Charles Tardieu's 1877 contribution to the debate on the level of government involvement in the arts, an increasingly contentious topic in the decade leading up to the demise of the Salon, was far from original in using Britain's relative lack of state support for the arts as an opposing model to the French paradigm. While Tardieu concluded that neither system was perfect,[42] and each country's envy of the benefits of the other's model exemplified the tendency to covet what one did not have, his choice of France and Britain to illustrate the argument was telling.

Guy Chapman characterized Franco-British relations throughout the first decades of the Third Republic as "never friendly, rarely splenetic."[43] Wilhelmine Germany presented a much greater source of anxiety to France in the wake of the Franco-Prussian defeat; Britain was not so much feared as alternately envied and disdained. While the two nations had not been in open conflict with each other since the fall of Napoleon I, a simmering resentment continued to color France's relations with Britain. The peace, imperial power, and economic dominance that Britain had enjoyed while France first succumbed to Prussia's armies, then struggled to rebuild itself, as well as its apparent disregard

of other European nations, stirred France's jealousy.[44] Some of the French envy of Britain was a case of the grass being greener on the other side, although the view within Britain was considerably less green: the 1870s was the decade in which Britain experienced the first signs of the diminishment of its economic might and imperial strength, and was troubled by the specter of the Russo-Turkish War in 1876.[45] Still, "egotistical England," to borrow Gambetta's unflattering nickname,[46] however disliked it might have been on the other side of the Channel, was difficult to ignore.

The relative political stability certainly seems to have contributed to the far smoother organization of the British section of the Exposition Universelle. There is no evidence of wrangling over finances or of any shortages of cash; in fact, the British section as a whole occupied a much greater space on the Champ de Mars (21,826 square meters) than that allotted to any other foreign country (Belgium came a distant second, with 9494 square meters of exhibition space),[47] and no expense was spared on the Fine Art section, despite the fact that it ultimately cost five times the original estimate.[48] Although we have no record of how much space was allotted to the fine arts within the British section, the fact that the size of Britain's art exhibition (726 works in total) vastly exceeded that of all other foreign countries, and that critics consistently praised the spacious hang, would suggest that the exhibition space was generous.[49] In contrast to the French art exhibition, the Fine Art committee, which had been appointed not by an elected official but by the Prince of Wales, was not only much smaller, but, as might be expected in a nation in which involvement in the arts was still largely a private affair, only half of its members were artists; the remainder were aristocratic amateurs.[50] All of the former, except the architect Charles Barry, were academicians; this also held true of the jury for Paintings, which consisted only of Frederick Leighton, Edward Armitage and William Dobson.[51] Considering the presence of academicians on both the jury and the committee, one might have expected an exhibition as dominated by academic painting as was the French Fine Art section; however, this did not prove to be the case. To be sure, the work of academicians and other painters who regularly graced the walls of the Royal Academy, such as Leighton, Millais, and Herkomer, formed a sizable portion of the exhibition, but artists who either could not or chose not to exhibit at the Royal Academy received stronger representation than did their French compatriots.

Notably, one of the members of the Fine Art committee was Sir Coutts Lindsay, the wealthy amateur and founder of the Grosvenor Gallery, which opened in 1877. Unfortunately, no record of his exact contribution to the final shape of the British Fine Art section survives, but given the parallels between his own venture and the nature of the British art exhibition in Paris, we can surmise that he was at least partly responsible for its more innovative aspects.[52] Although the British galleries were probably not decorated in the lavish Aesthetic style of the Grosvenor, French critics' praise of the galleries' calm and lack of clutter and the sympathetic hang of the pictures would suggest that Lindsay's insistence, revolutionary at the time, on treating pictures as aesthetic objects worthy of contemplation in harmonious surroundings, informed the display. More importantly, it was likely due to his influence, and to his probable desire to do for his preferred British artists abroad what he had done for foreign artists at home,[53] that a substantial number of the artists whose work he had personally selected for the inaugural Grosvenor Gallery exhibition the previous year were

Fig. 3 Edward Burne-Jones, *The Beguiling of Merlin*, 1873–74/77, oil on canvas, 73.2 x 43.7 in. (186 x 111 cm). © National Museums, Liverpool. (Lady Lever Art Gallery.)

invited to contribute to the British Fine Art section. Thus, Burne-Jones was represented by the most admired of the eight works with which he had made his 1877 reappearance at the Grosvenor Gallery, *The Beguiling of Merlin* (fig. 3)[54]—incidentally, a depiction of an episode in a French, rather than an English, Arthurian romance—as well as by two large watercolors, *Love among the Ruins* (fig. 2) and *Love Disguised as Reason*.[55] Watts was represented by a much wider range of work—in addition to six portraits, one Biblical scene, and one sculpture, he sent *The Three Goddesses* (fig. 4)[56] and, most notably, his star picture from the first Grosvenor exhibition, *Love and Death* (fig. 5).[57] Although no photographs of the British galleries have surfaced thus far, the schematic layout published in the illustrated catalogue gives a fair idea of Lindsey's probable influence over the hang. One of his innovations at the Grosvenor had been to group all works by a single artist together, thus privileging the artist as a singular creative talent.[58] He also insisted that space be left between pictures to alleviate the visual cacophony prevalent in conventional hanging practice; this had the added benefit of further privileging the individual work of art as an autonomous aesthetic object worthy of contemplation in and of itself. While the hang in the British galleries at the Exposition was rather denser than he would have favored at the Grosvenor, he almost certainly had a hand in the placement of *The Beguiling of Merlin* almost dead center on the end wall of the large central

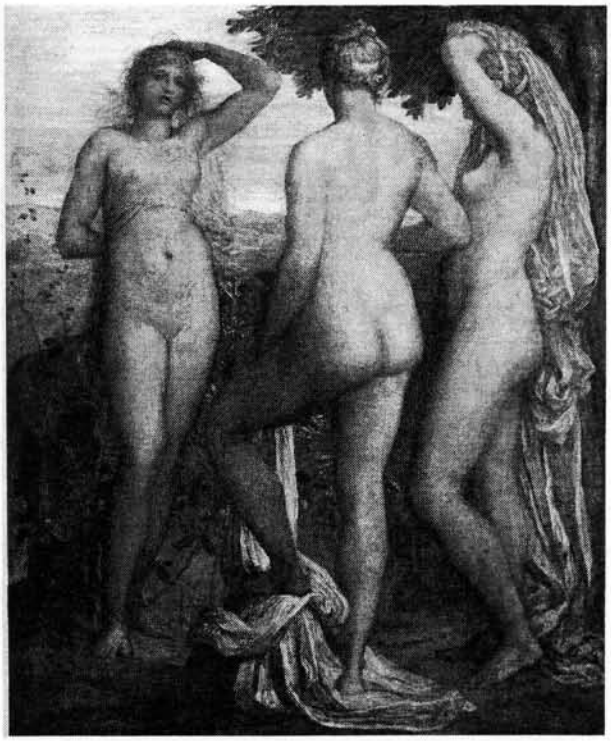

Fig. 4 George Frederic Watts, *The Three Goddesses [Pallas, Juno, and Venus]*, ca 1865–72, oil on canvas, 31.5 x 25.7 in. (80 x 65.4 cm). (By permission of the Faringdon Collection Trust, Buscot Park, Oxfordshire.)

gallery, with *Love and Death* above it to the left and the rest of Watts's paintings nearby.[59] While it would be wrong to claim that Lindsay managed to transport the Grosvenor's aesthetic and program wholesale to the Exposition—certainly, he would have been obliged to bow to the wishes of other committee members and accept the work of Academicians inimical to the Grosvenor's aesthetic—it would be fair to say that he was able to preserve crucial elements of its spirit in both the selection and the hang.

Initial French reactions to Britain's presence at the Exposition gave little indication that attitudes were beginning to change. The Rue des Nations (the "international main street" to which most of the nations represented at the Exposition had contributed façades intended to represent typical national architecture), in which Britain was represented by a row of Tudor-revival houses, provided Charles Blanc with an opportunity to scoff at the lack of originality in British architecture. He attributed this to Britain's being "the land of individualism," which, in his estimation, meant that the only true architectural innovation of which Britons were capable was in domestic architecture. Moreover, he asserted that most of what was best about British architecture had actually been imported from France.[60] On a more light-hearted note, the cartoonist Cham (Amédée de Noé), who had made a speciality of lampooning Paris's Salons and other exhibitions, made a single, telling reference to Britain in his collection *L'Exposition pour rire*: captioned, in English, "SHOCKING!,"

it skewered stereotypical British prudishness in the shape of a heavily clothed and bonneted matron shrinking in horror in front of a display of meerschaum pipes with the caption "British modesty lowering its eyes before pipes without trousers!"[61] However, once inside the British Fine Art section, it proved more difficult for critics to find ready targets for mockery. Not only did they consistently comment favorably on the spaciousness, comfort, and attractiveness of the gallery itself, especially in comparison to its French counterpart,[62] they found themselves confronted with what, to eyes whose last sight of British painting had been eleven years past, was something new and strange. They were witnessing, several years behind Britain, what Pierre Bourdieu has termed a period of rupture, during which a new grammar of form is devised and a consequent demand arises for new critical vocabulary. The great variation in responses indicates the level of the challenge this presented.[63]

> We French turned [for inspiration] more willingly to the Flemish primitives, to the van Eyck brothers, to Holbein. But the English found [in the Italian Primitives] a derivative of their poetic fantasy—*fancy*—that is sharper and bolder than our own. We don't have *A Midsummer Night's Dream* in our theatre, and a French brain couldn't conceive of a creature as spiritually mad as Mercutio in *Romeo and Juliet*.
>
> —Philippe Burty, 1869[64]

While the 1878 Exposition Universelle marked the first occasion on which the works of Burne-Jones and Watts were displayed in France, neither artist was an entirely unknown quantity in that country. The first known mention of Burne-Jones in a French periodical appeared in Philippe Burty's review of the 1869 Royal Academy summer exhibition, in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*; Watts was discussed in the same article, although as a frequent exhibitor at the Royal Academy throughout the 1860s it was not the first time his name had figured in the *Gazette* or other French art periodicals. However, both artists had more recently found a strong ambassador in Joseph Comyns Carr, exhibitions assistant at the Grosvenor Gallery and *directeur pour l'Angleterre* for the new periodical *L'Art*.[65] Carr had contributed a three-part review of the first Grosvenor Gallery exhibition to *L'Art* in 1877, in which he eloquently praised Burne-Jones and Watts, devoting particular attention to *The Beguiling of Merlin* and to *Love and Death*.[66] Although none of Watts's work was illustrated, the third instalment featured an excellent engraving by Adolfe Lalauze after *The Beguiling of Merlin* (fig. 6). It seems reasonable to assume that the major critics—Blanc; Duranty and Alfred de Lostalot, whose reviews appeared in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*; Paul Mantz, who covered the foreign fine art sections for *Le Temps*; Arsène Houssaye, writing in *L'Evénement*; and Ernest Chesneau, writing in *Le Moniteur universel*—who reviewed the British Fine Art section would have come across Carr's articles and the engraving. It is a truism that a picture is worth a thousand words; nevertheless, the decision to commission a reproduction by a leading engraver after a then-unknown artist suggests how much Lindsay and Comyns Carr staked on establishing Burne-Jones's reputation in France. Still, no matter how finely wrought, a small black-and-white engraving could only give a bare idea of the impact of the painting itself in its true size and colors.[67]

Within all of the above-mentioned reviews of the British section lay the implicit acknowledgment that British painting, in particular the strand represented by Burne-Jones and Watts, required a

Fig. 5 George Frederic Watts, *Love and Death*, c. 1874-7, subsequently reworked until 1887, oil on canvas, 98 x 46 in. (248.9 x 116.8 cm). (By permission of the Whitworth Art Gallery, The University of Manchester.)

different critical vocabulary. The words *poésie* and *poétique* were, at this date, still used in an almost purely literary sense in France; Larousse's *Grand Dictionnaire Universel du XIX^e Siècle* of 1874 lists numerous literary definitions and contexts for *poétique*, but only one example, at the end of the entry, of usage in the context of the visual arts.[68] These observers could well have been using the word literally, as Burne-Jones's paintings, to name only one of the more obvious examples, were largely inspired by poetry and made no overt reference to contemporary life. However, most of them imply that the term captures a quality of British painting that sets it apart from its Continental cousins: "a slightly strange but striking poetry," for Duranty, summed up the efforts of the second wave of Pre-Raphaelites.[69] Houssaye went even further, declaring that "Messieurs the English are restless men and poets," breaking down the heretofore implied separation of the roles of painter and poet.[70]

Indeed, issues of nationality and national characteristics were running themes in the majority of the reviews. The notion of British artists' technical inferiority to the French, and their mediocre training, received frequent attention.[71] Alfred de Lostalot, a notoriously conservative critic who reviewed the Drawings and Watercolors section of the Exposition for the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, was the most scathing in his assessment, scornfully remarking of *Love among the Ruins*: "It's a curious work, but we seek vainly to understand why the painter entrusted a subject of this size to paper rather than to canvas, because it multiplied the difficulties for no good reason," and finally conceding, rather patronizingly, of the entire British section of watercolors, that while they possessed a certain naïve charm, they were "perhaps without eminently plastic qualities, but one can't have everything."[72] Ironically, Ernest Chesneau transformed the evident ignorance of technique and disregard for orthodox methods of "M. Jones Burne" into a virtue, claiming,

> Moreover, here, – and it must be said in general, about all English painting, – the process isn't governed by law as it is in France, the methods of facture are not limited, the medium isn't valued at much, only the result counts for something. Is the desired effect obtained? *All right.* So much the better.[73]

The English physiognomy, particularly as embodied by Burne-Jones's gaunt, lantern-jawed Vivien, drew snide criticism from Duranty:

> The lean type with large hollow eyes that M. Burne-Jones and M. Richmond have given the Vivien of the Middle Ages and the antique Ariadne is yet again an English type, the type of poetic souls *par excellence*, but still with the strongly accentuated jaw that is fond of rare meats and a hard undercurrent of fierceness that makes itself felt even from afar.[74]

Yet he also conceded that the English type had its saving graces, chiefly "the beauty and height of the forehead, the nobility of the nose and the penetrating firmness of the gaze," remarking, not without a hint of envy, that such traits could not but reflect the power and intelligence of the English race.[75] Blanc (who persisted in referring to the artist as "Burnes Jones" throughout his review) took a more charitable view, but avoided the issue of the "English type" by describing the figure of Vivien as a fusion of the styles of Mantegna and Prud'hon.[76]

Duranty's somewhat skewed perspective on the peculiarities of Burne-Jones's "Englishness," while echoed by other critics, may to an extent reflect his discomfort with a type of painting at odds with his own preferences—he is best remembered as a champion of the Impressionists and an habitué of Manet's circle at the Café Guerbois. The two most sympathetic reviewers, Chesneau and Mantz, instead ascribed the *merits* of *The Beguiling of Merlin* to its creator's nationality. Chesneau went even further, writing that "[Burne-Jones's] adoration of the true, when placed at the service of a high imagination, brings to the things it interprets thus a singular appreciation, an emotion, a poetic transfiguration, alas! sought in vain from the 'truth' of young French painters which comes from academic traditions which are nothing but studio formulae."[77] Mantz correctly identified Leonardo as the source of Burne-Jones's androgynous figures, and, while allowing that "such refinements rather disconcert the spectator accustomed to obvious things," he added that they "are possible, and at home, in the land of Shakespeare."[78] Ironically, this very aspect of Burne-Jones's work had been decried by British critics as "effeminacy" and "morbidity"; no doubt it was to more open-minded critics like Mantz that Burne-Jones's first biographer Malcolm Bell referred when he wrote that it had taken the appreciation of French critics to belatedly open the eyes of their British colleagues to Burne-Jones's genius.[79]

More intriguing still are the visual correspondences between *The Beguiling of Merlin* and Moreau's *The Apparition*, works that were appearing together for the second time at the Exposition, after their first pairing in the previous year's Grosvenor Gallery exhibition. Apart from the obvious similarities in composition and narrative—a sinuous, serpentine femme fatale confronting (or, in the case of *L'Apparition*, being confronted by) her male victim—the facture of the surfaces of both paintings also reveals tantalizing parallels. The surface of *L'Apparition* appears encrusted with jewels, a glittering horror vacui that heightens the atmosphere of hothouse exoticism and sexual

terror; *The Beguiling of Merlin* is similarly encrusted, though with hawthorn blossoms rather than jewels. It would be easy to attribute the welter of obsessively drawn detail in Burne-Jones's painting to his Pre-Raphaelite heritage; here, however, the blossoms have a stylized, decorative quality, as if made of extremely fine enamel.[80] In fact, their fragile artificiality and their hard, enamel-like finish contribute to the scene's leaden, airless atmosphere of dread in much the same way as Moreau's jewel-encrusted canvas.[81]

British observers had maintained a curious silence about *The Apparition* when it graced the walls of the Grosvenor Gallery's East Gallery—no doubt a disappointment to the managers of the Grosvenor, who appeared to have put a considerable effort into securing its loan.[82] Comyns Carr himself only mentioned it in passing in his review in *L'Art*, less perhaps because of a lack of interest than because he probably saw no need to extol at length a work that had already occupied so many column inches in its own country the year before.[83] Oddly enough, Moreau garnered more attention from British reviewers at the 1878 Exposition, although references were brief and sometimes patronizing; a critic for the *Art Journal* drew parallels between his color and, bizarrely, that of William Etty.[84] Although Duranty did not make the connection between the two artists in his 1878 review, another realist critic, Jules Castagnary, did, noting that in his visit to the British exhibition, he perceived "here and there certain vague resemblances to some of our painters—thus it is that M. Jones in his *Merlin and Vivien* evidently concerns himself with Gustave Moreau."[85] Duranty picked up this thread in a review of the Grosvenor Gallery's summer exhibition in 1879—the first instance in which the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* had asked its *correspondant d'Angleterre* to cover the Grosvenor exhibition alongside that of the Royal Academy—when he characterized Burne-Jones's work as "loaded with intentions and implications which recall the complications of the imagination of M. Gustave Moreau."[86] These were the first known comparisons of Burne-Jones and Moreau—the first, as it turned out, of many over the next two decades.

Watts's imaginative works proved more problematic for the critics—somewhat surprisingly, since he drew upon more conventional academic models than did Burne-Jones, and his stylistic references originated mainly in the Cinquecento painting embraced by the critical and academic establishments in both Britain and France. Indeed, Blanc passed over them entirely in his review, simply praising Watts as a skilful and sensitive portraitist.[87] As with Burne-Jones, the majority of French critiques were formalist, rather than moralizing. Watts's reputation at home had benefited from the moralizing tone of critics in the broadsheet and periodical press who cast his art as a 'manly' and 'healthy' alternative to the effeminacy and morbidity of Burne-Jones's style and subject matter while giving less weight to formal flaws.[88] French critics evinced less interest in Watts's masculine rectitude and focused instead on his peculiarities as a painter – often to his detriment. Chesneau, who had written so enthusiastically about Burne-Jones, dismissed *The Three Goddesses* as "thoroughly mediocre" and scoffed, "No doubt M. Watts has made an interesting attempt in his picture *Love and Death* [...] but utterly for naught."[89] Most of the other reviewers followed suit, praising Watts's imagination and the sincerity of his efforts while condemning his faulty grasp of anatomy, his dry facture and his bizarre color schemes.

Duranty discussed Watts's imaginative subjects at length, but he was at a loss as to how to

categorize the artist, coining the term "post-Raphaelite" to describe him, in recognition of his affinities with the Pre-Raphaelites and his stylistic debt to Michelangelo and other artists of the High Renaissance. While he seemed to feel qualified to comment upon the sculptural quality of Watts's drawing and on his eccentricities and deficiencies as a colorist,[90] he had little to say about the content of either *Love and Death* or *The Three Goddesses*. His one brief comment on the latter is telling. While Watts originally entitled the painting *The Three Goddesses*, and it was listed in the official exhibition catalogue as *Pallas, Juno and Venus*, Duranty refers to it as *The Judgment of Paris*.[91] Yet Paris is nowhere in evidence—unless, by a stretch of the imagination, the viewer is meant to place himself in the role of Paris—and none of the three figures bears any of the traditional attributes of those goddesses. It seems as if, faced with an image devoid of any readily evident narrative and populated only by three mysterious, impassive nudes, Duranty struggled to give some semblance of a conventional meaning to the painting.

The salient characteristics of *The Three Goddesses*—the suppression of meaning and the monochrome palette—reveal the origins of a dialogue with another artist whose style, programme and aspirations closely paralleled those of Watts. While *Love and Death*, by virtue of its imposing size and dramatic subject, garnered more critical attention than Watts's other works in the British Fine Art section, *The Three Goddesses* displays more compelling links with French Symbolism, and in particular with the work of Puvis de Chavannes, which have thus far received surprisingly little attention. While Puvis absented himself, apparently voluntarily, from the French Fine Art section at the 1878 Exposition, hence precluding comparisons of both artists' works, a parallel reading of French criticism from 1878 and the following decade shows that mainstream critics responded similarly to the work of both artists, faulting both for their divergence from academic ideals and slavish emulation of archaic models, but rarely raising the issue of subject matter or narrative inscrutability.[92]

Although Puvis would presumably have seen Watts's work in 1878, he never exhibited in Britain during his lifetime, and Watts would almost certainly not have seen any of Puvis's paintings before he began work on *The Three Goddesses*. He may, however, have had access to reproductions; line drawings of Puvis's work regularly featured in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, and an etching after his *Death and the Maidens* (1872) was published by Durand-Ruel in 1873 and available in London. The engraving gives a poor idea of Puvis's chalky color and the sculptural solidity of his figures, but in the static poses and pensive gazes of the maidens, to say nothing of Puvis's sophisticated twist on traditional allegorical iconography, Watts would probably have recognized a kindred spirit. Significantly, Watts first exhibited *The Three Goddesses* in 1876 at the Deschamps Gallery, a venue linked with Durand-Ruel's, where French and British art were shown side by side; thus, he underlined that painting's experimental nature.[93] Louis Huth, who purchased the work from Deschamps and lent it to the British exhibition at the Exposition Universelle, was a devotee of this particular aspect of Watts's oeuvre and a keen collector of the work of other artists working in a similar vein. Thanks to Huth's generosity, *The Three Goddesses* enjoyed a greater and longer-lived reputation in France than it did in Britain. As well as lending it to the Exposition Universelle, he allowed an etching to be made after it to illustrate Comyns Carr's review of the 1880 Grosvenor

Gallery exhibition for *L'Art*, thus increasing its audience and extending its presence in the public eye. The article is notable for gliding over the painting's subject and concentrating on Watts's treatment of the nude—a theme rare in current British art but of key importance in France—and his "spiritualisme raffiné," concerns which, as Barbara Bryant notes, prefigured the language of Symbolist criticism in the coming decade.[94]

Duranty stated at the beginning of his review of the British section that of all the national art exhibitions, it was "the most interesting in terms of national character, distinctive spirit, and the characteristic aspect of its works, although insular English art has ties with the Continent that one can easily see."[95] Ostensibly he was referring to its ties with Continental art of the past—drawing comparisons between Burne-Jones and Florentine painting of the Quattrocento and, more unusually, Albrecht Dürer, as well as between Watts and the High Renaissance—but it is tempting to wonder whether he detected any common ground between Watts and Puvis, the contemporary artist whose work came closest in spirit to his own. Might he have seen, for example, similarities between *The Three Goddesses*, with its monumental yet strangely flat figures, limited tonal range, matte surface, and lack of an obvious narrative, and the easel paintings of Puvis de Chavannes, which had been praised and ridiculed in equal measure for the same qualities? Watts's trio of impassive nudes, while betraying debts to the contemporary life class, classical images of the Three Graces, and Dürer's *Four Witches*,[96] may not only echo some of Puvis's earlier work, but have served as an inspiration—not previously noted—for one of his most iconic canvases, *Jeunes femmes au bord de la mer [Young women at the seaside]* (fig. 7). This painting, exhibited with the subtitle "panneau décoratif" at the 1879 Salon, portrays three statuesque, half-draped young women—goddesses (Venus Anadyomene, perhaps?) or mortals, there is nothing to indicate which might be the case—disposed in sculptural attitudes that almost exactly reiterate those of Watts's goddesses, the key differences being the reclining poses of the two outer figures, and the bold cropping of the woman on the right. Although Puvis's palette includes more vivid hues than he ever used in his murals, the limited tonal range and dry, chalky finish recall those of *The Three Goddesses*, as does the strangely bare landscape that hovers ambiguously between the idyllic and the desolate.

The significance—and mutability—of titles is another point of commonality between *Jeunes filles* and *The Three Goddesses*. Watts's painting, exhibited a total of six times during his lifetime, appeared under four different names. From its first outing in 1876 as *The Three Graces*, it became *Pallas, Juno and Venus* (Paris, 1878), then *The Three Goddesses* (Grosvenor Gallery, 1880), then *Ida* (Paris, 1883), before finally settling for the next twenty-two years into the guise of *The Judgment of Paris* (Glasgow, 1888; Wolverhampton, 1902; Royal Academy, 1905).[97] The role Watts himself played in the title's fluctuation is unknown. As we have already seen, however, even the critics reviewing the exhibitions did not always respect the title given them in the catalogue, imposing their own title on the work and with it, a different reading of the scene. Describing the figures as Graces, personifications of beauty and harmony, or as a trio of anonymous goddesses might conjure up an "art for art's sake" celebration of female beauty and cause us to read the expression of the figure on the left as calm or even indolent; call them Pallas, Juno and Venus and state (or imply) that they are being judged by Paris, and a connection with classical epic is established, while the left-hand

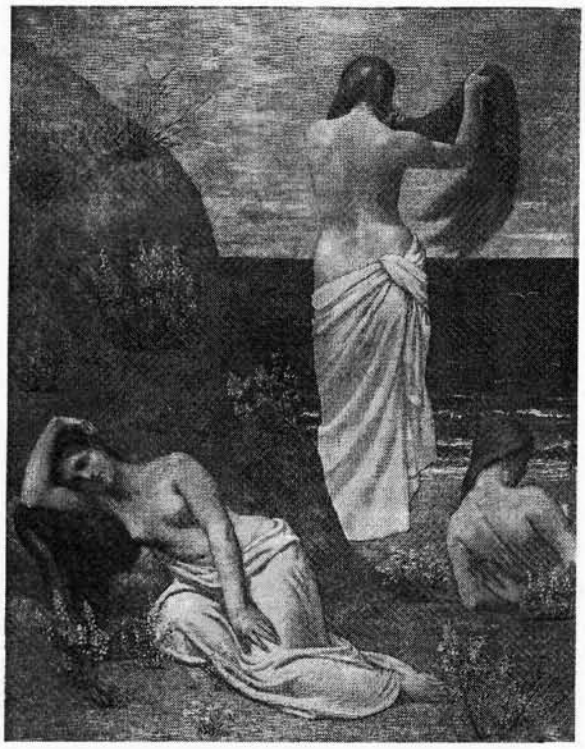

Fig. 7 Pierre Puvis de Chavannes, *Jeunes filles au bord de la mer*, 1879, oil on canvas, 80.7 x 60.6 in. (205 x 154 cm). Musée d'Orsay, Paris. (© Photo RMN – © Gerard Blot/Christian Jean.)

figure's expression, if we presume that she is Venus, takes on an air of brazen self-confidence or mocking triumph.

Puvis's title underwent a smaller but crucial alteration that subtly shaped the stories critics chose to impose upon it. Exhibited at the 1879 Salon as *Jeunes filles au bord de la mer [Young Girls at the Seaside]*, a title it retained at the 1883 Exposition Nationale, it was then shown at the 1887 Durand-Ruel exhibition as *Femmes au bord de la mer*.[98] The change in French from "filles" to "femmes" implies an increase in maturity and experience, probably (although not necessarily) resulting from the loss of virginity. Confronted in 1887 by *Femmes au bord de la mer* (no longer labeled "panneau décoratif"), Gustave Kahn argued that the title's minimalism "forces us to see a poem, an allegory analogous to that of the Sirens."[99] He elaborated on this claim, constructing a tale of loss and unfulfilled longing in which the young women, whose inscrutable mien he interpreted as weary and desolate, wait on shore, tired of singing as they await the arrival of a ship bearing a hero that never arrives. Kahn even went so far as to claim that the three figures actually represented three different physical and emotional states of the same woman.[100] This latter judgment echoes those made by Chesneau and Duranty six and ten years earlier about *The Three Goddesses*.

If Burne-Jones's and Watts's appearance at the 1878 Exposition Universelle did not make such a resounding splash as their next outing at the 1889 Exposition did, it produced instead the effect of two small stones dropped side by side into a pond, whose waves reverberate, rebounding and spreading. Watts felt the impact first: he was awarded a first-class medal at the Exposition, the only

British artist, apart from Alma-Tadema, to receive that honor. While Burne-Jones was content to wait until the 1889 Exposition to exhibit again in France, Watts's work made two return visits shortly after 1878. No doubt because of his coup at the Exposition, his *Orpheus and Eurydice* was accorded a prominence at the 1880 Salon rarely given to a British artist; reviewing the Salon for the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, Philippe de Chennevières, the disgraced director of the French Fine Art section in 1878, confessed that what he had seen of Watts both two years ago and at present made him "jealous for our Gustave Moreau, of whom he appears a fortunate rival."[101] More significantly, the seven works – including *The Three Goddesses*, now renamed *Ida*—that Watts exhibited at the 1883 Exposition Internationale at the Galeries Georges Petit caught the eye of Joris-Karl Huysmans, then in the midst of writing his seminal novel of the Decadence, *A Rebours* (1884).[102] Soon thereafter Huysmans placed Watts, whose work he characterized as "sketched by an ailing Gustave Moreau, painted in by an anaemic Michelangelo and retouched by a Raphael drowned in a sea of blue," in his protagonist Des Esseintes's exclusive pantheon of contemporary artists, in the company of Moreau, Rodolphe Bresdin, and Odilon Redon.[103]

Huysmans's view of Watts, however jaundiced, is indicative of a key development in the fortunes of British Symbolists in France, but whether this change would have happened when it did, or happened in the first place, without the impetus of the 1878 Exposition is doubtful. In 1879 the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* sent Duranty to London to review the Grosvenor Gallery exhibition for the first time; although the magazine had had a London correspondent almost since its inception in 1859, there had been no coverage of the first two Grosvenor shows. Except for a break in 1880 due to Duranty's untimely death, the *Gazette*'s London correspondents covered every Grosvenor show up until the gallery's demise in 1890. The Gazette's coverage also embraced the New Gallery, which Carr and Charles Hallé had set up in 1887 following disagreements with Lindsay over the increasing commercialization of the Grosvenor and where Burne-Jones and Watts henceforth exhibited their new work. Comyns Carr continued to publish lengthy accounts of the Grosvenor exhibitions in *L'Art* until 1882, and other French art periodicals began, sporadically, to follow his lead. With increased journalistic coverage of the Symbolist trend in Britain came an ever-greater number of reproductions of paintings, more often than not of rising quality. Where Comyns Carr left off, Chesneau took up the slack, publishing *La peinture anglaise, 1730–1882* in 1882 and augmenting Burne-Jones's reputation in France.

It was at about this time, while journalists and critics continued to write increasingly favorably about this new strand of British art, that Symbolist and Decadent novelists and poets in France began to gravitate towards the oeuvre of Burne-Jones, Watts, and the recently deceased Rossetti.[104] While Huysmans, Edouard Rod, and Paul Bourget promoted them in prose, the dandy-poet Jean Lorrain, who became one of Burne-Jones's most vocal advocates in the late 1880s and 1890s, included a poem alluding to *The Beguiling of Merlin*, entitled "Printemps mystique, pour Burne Jones," in his 1887 collection *Les Griseries*.[105] Bourdieu's contention that the only audience Symbolists aimed at was other Symbolists, generating a hermetic and autonomous field of cultural production, although a vast oversimplification, highlights the significance of this adoption of Burne-Jones and Watts, and the suggestive, unashamedly elitist art they produced, by their cross-Channel peers.[106]

Whether British painting would have been taken as seriously as it was at the 1878 Exposition Universelle had the French school not sunk to such an apparent low point, and had the general mood not dictated a reaction against contemporary subjects and a turning toward art that depicted a past that only existed in the imagination, will never be known. But if "misery acquaints a man with strange bedfellows," it also, in the present case, initiated a dialogue between two neighbors and long-time rivals.

1. "En 1867 l'école anglaise…était en pleine indécision. Les préraphaélites s'arrêtaient, et un autre rameau encore renfermé dans le secret du bourgeon, se préparait à s'élancer du tronc.…Une brume planait au-dessus de l'art anglais, cachant de prochaines transformations, celles que nous voyons aujourd'hui." Edmond Duranty, "Exposition Universelle: Les écoles étrangères de Peinture. Troisième et dernier article: Belgique et Angleterre." *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (September 1878): 298. Unless otherwise stated, all translations from the French are my own.

2. Exceptions to this reluctance to discuss the events of 1878 include Jane Mayo Roos, "Within the 'Zone of Silence': Monet and Manet in 1878," *Art History* 11, no. 3 (1988): 374–407, and Louise Straarup-Hansen, "French Painting at the Exposition Universelle in Paris, 1878" (MA dissertation, Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London, 2002). Paul Greenhalgh and Raymond Isay both include the 1878 Exposition in their broader discussions of the phenomenon of Expositions Universelles and similar events, but neither gives it as much importance as its cousins: Paul Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas: the Expositions Universelles, Great Exhibitions, and World's Fairs, 1851–1939* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), 115–16; R. Isay, *Panorama des Expositions Universelles* (Paris: Gallimard, 1937), 137–75. Miriam R. Levin also touches on the 1878 Exposition in *Republican Art and Ideology in Late Nineteenth-Century France* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1986); however, her refusal to attach any importance to the fact that the Republicans were not in full control of the government before 1879 and her underlying assumption that the 1878 and 1889 Expositions took place under more or less similar political circumstances are highly problematic.

3. For summaries of the political situation in France during the first decade of the Third Republic, see J. P. T. Bury, *France 1814–1940*, 5th ed. (London and New York: Methuen, 1985); idem, *Gambetta and the Making of the Third Republic* (London: Longman, 1973); Guy Chapman, *The Third Republic of France: The First Phase, 1871–1894* (London: Macmillan, 1962); Jacques Chastenet, *Histoire de la Troisième République: L'Enfance de la Troisième* (Paris: Hachette, 1952); and Daniel Halévy, *La République des ducs* (Paris: Bernard Grasset, 1937).

4. Daniel Halévy, "Après le Seize Mai. Une année d'Exposition: 1878," *La revue universelle* 16 (1936): 423.

5. For contemporary accounts of the opening festivities, see especially René Delorme, ed., *L'art et l'industrie de tous les peuples à l'Exposition Universelle de 1878* (Paris: Librairie Illustrée, 1878), 11–15, and Louis Gonse, "Coup d'œil à vol d'oiseau sur l'Exposition Universelle," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (June 1878): 481–483.

6. Straarup-Hansen, 50–51. For a discussion of differences between "academic" and "official" painting, see Albert Boime, *The Academy and French Painting in the Nineteenth Century*, 2nd ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), 15–21.

7. See, for example, Paul Mantz, "Exposition Universelle: La Peinture française," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (October 1878): 417–420.

8. For French critical judgments of the Pre-Raphaelite paintings displayed at the 1855 Exposition Universelle, see for example Charles Baudelaire, "Salon de 1859," in idem, *Critique d'art* (Paris: Gallimard, 1992), 269, which specifically praises John Everett Millais's *Ophelia*; E. Chesneau, *La peinture anglaise, 1730–1882* (Paris: A. Quantin, 1882), Duranty, "Exposition Universelle," 292, and Edouard Rod, "Les Préraphaélites anglais (1er article)," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, (September 1887): 177–195. Note that the term "Pre-Raphaelite" could be used very loosely, and sometimes without much understanding, by French critics in the nineteenth century; sometimes it was used as a blanket term to refer to all English painting from 1850 onward.

9. Edward Burne-Jones was born Edward Burne Jones and only began to hyphenate his surname in 1886, eventually formalizing the change in 1894 when he received his baronetcy. For the sake of consistency, I shall refer to him as Burne-Jones, except in direct quotations. This is particularly important in cases where uncertainty about the correct spelling highlights a critic's lack of familiarity with the artist.

10. "Gustave Moreau s'est lancé dans le symbolisme." Emile Zola, "Salon de 1876," originally published in *Le Messager de l'Europe* (June 1876), reprinted in *Emile Zola Salons*, ed. F. W. J. Hemmings and Robert Niess, (Geneva: Droz, 1959), 187.

11. "La peinture c'était les impressionnistes exposant des merveilles dans des appartements vacants pour trois mois. C'était, à l'exposition de 1878, un merveilleux panneau de Gustave Moreau, ouvrant sur la légende une porte niellée et damasquinée et orfévrée…" Gustave Kahn, "Les Origines du Symbolisme" (1900), in idem, *Symbolistes et Décadents* (Geneva: Slatkine, 1936, reprint, 1977), 17.

12. See Linda Goddard, "Aesthetic Hierarchies: Interchange and Rivalry in the Visual Arts and Literature in France, c. 1890–c. 1920" (Ph.D. dissertation, Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London, 2004) for an in-depth discussion of Symbolist debates on the position of the visual arts in relation to literature.

13. Frederick Wedmore, *Studies in English Art: Second Series* (London: Richard Bentley and Sons, 1880), 210–211.

14. "Depuis longtemps, dans les cénacles symbolistes, on entend prononcer avec recueillement les noms de Watts et de Burne-Jones, et beaucoup les acceptent et se les transmettent comme on fait d'un vocable magique dont la vertu dispense de tout éclaircissement." Robert de la Sizeranne, *La Peinture anglaise contemporaine* (Paris: Hachette, 1895), 5–6.

15. Robert de la Sizeranne, "In Memoriam: Sir Edward Burne-Jones, Bart. (Born Aug. 28, 1833; Died June 17, 1898.) A Tribute from France," *Magazine of Art* (August 1898): 513.

16. Georgiana Burne-Jones, *Memorials of Edward Burne-Jones*, vol. 2 (London: Macmillan, 1904), 85.

17. Jacques Lethève, "La Connaissance des peintres préraphaélites anglais 1855–1900," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (May–June 1959): 318–19.

18. Two such studies are Claude Allemand-Cosneau, "La Fortune Critique de Burne-Jones en France," in Jane Munro, ed., *Burne-Jones, 1833–1898: Dessins du Fitzwilliam Museum de Cambridge*, exh. cat. (Nantes, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Nancy, Musée des Beaux-Arts and Charleroi, Musée des Beaux-Arts, 1992), 69–80, and Laurence des Cars, "Burne-Jones and France," in John Christian and Stephen Wildman, eds., *Edward Burne-Jones, Victorian Artist-Dreamer*, exh. cat. (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Birmingham, Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery, and Paris, Musée d'Orsay 1998), 25–39. Both authors cite Charles Blanc's evaluation of *The Beguiling of Merlin* but say little else about contemporary critical reactions to Burne-Jones's work in 1878.

19. "En annonçant au monde la nouvelle Exposition internationale, la France affirme sa confiance dans les institutions qu'elle s'est données; elle déclare sa volonté de persévérer dans les idées de modération et de sagesse qui ont inspiré sa politique depuis cinq ans; elle proclame qu'elle veut la paix, qui a seule le pouvoir de rendre l'activité humaine vraiment féconde en lui donnant la sécurité." Teisserenc de Bort, Minister of Agriculture and Commerce, in his 1876 proposal for the 1878 Exposition Universelle, quoted in Delorme, 3.

20. Halévy, "Après le Seize Mai," 423; Roos, 374.

21. The decree is reprinted in *Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners for the Paris Universal Exhibition of 1878, to the Queen's most excellent Majesty* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1880), vol. 1, 151. For a summary of the events surrounding the so-called Seize Mai crisis, see Bury, *Gambetta* 398–417.

22. Chapman, 189.

23. Pierre Vaisse, *La troisième république et les peintres* (Paris: Flammarion, 1995), 125.

24. Ibid., 56–57. The list of excluded works is kept in the Archives nationales, Versement de la direction des Beaux-Arts au ministère de l'Instruction publique: F21 524. Military paintings were given a small exhibition at the private Galerie Goupil, concurrent with the Exposition.

25. "Notice Sommaire," *Exposition Universelle international de 1878, à Paris: Catalogue officiel, publié par le Commissariat Général. Tome I: Groupe I, Oeuvres d'Art, classes 1 à 5* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1878), 5. Vaisse surmises that the author of the unsigned notice was Philippe de Chennevières, the then Director of Fine Arts for the Third Republic and a notorious conservative, both in politics and in art; his arrogant mismanagement of the French Fine Art exhibition at the Exposition ultimately resulted in his dismissal. See also Patricia Mainardi, *The End of the Salon: Art and the State in the Early Third Republic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 47–48.

26. For a discussion of the French state's attitudes toward landscape painting as reflected in its purchasing policy, see Jane Mayo Roos, "Herbivores versus herbiphobes: landscape painting and the State," in *Landscapes of France: Impressionism and its Rivals*, ed. John House, exh. cat. (London, Hayward Gallery and Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 1995), 40–51.

27. Fantin exhibited one group portrait (*The Dubourg Family*, Musée d'Orsay, Paris) and four musical subjects in pastel and lithograph at the 1878 Salon; see Douglas Druick and Michel Hoog, *Fantin-Latour*, exh. cat. (Paris, Grand Palais, Ottawa, National Gallery of Canada, and San Francisco, California Palace of the Legion of Honor, 1982), 356. Puvis sent two panels of his Panthéon murals to the 1878 Salon: see Serge Lemoine, ed., *Toward Modern Art: From Puvis de Chavannes to Matisse and Picasso*, exh. cat. (Venice, Palazzo Grassi, 2002), 536. Their reasons for doing so are unfortunately not recorded, but as both artists had finally won acceptance at the Salon in the 1870s following multiple rejections throughout the preceding decade, they may have felt it advantageous to submit work to a more welcoming forum than to attempt to win over the ultra-conservative Exposition jury.

28. Greenhalgh, 116.

29. My argument here is informed by Adrian Rifkin's account of the effects of the Occupation on Parisian popular song and cinema: Adrian Rifkin, *Street noises: Parisian pleasure, 1900–1940* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993), 25-26. Although Rifkin deliberately excludes "high culture" from his discussion, I contend that his reading provides an effective way to understand the jury's apparently "escapist" (mis)interpretation of Moreau.

30. On Moreau's struggles with the label of "literary painter," see Peter Cooke, "Text and Image, Allegory and Symbol in Gustave Moreau's *Jupiter et Sémélé*," in *Symbolism, Decadence and the Fin de Siècle: French and European Perspectives*, ed. Patrick McGuinness (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2000), 122–23.

31. Mantz, "La peinture française," 427–28.

32. "Le Jacob serait l'ange de la France l'arrêtant dans sa course idiote vers la matière. Le Moïse, l'espérance dans une nouvelle loi représentée par ce mignon d'enfant innocent et poussé par Dieu. Le David, la sombre mélancolie de l'âge passé et la tradition si chère aux grands esprits pleurant sur la grande décomposition moderne, l'ange à ses pieds prêt à rendre l'inspiration si on consent à écouter Dieu." *Écrits sur l'art par Gustave Moreau*, ed. Peter Cooke, vol. 1 (Fontfroide: Bibliothèque artistique et littéraire, 2002), 111. Moreau apparently wrote this explanation between 1876 and 1877. See also Geneviève Lacambre, ed., *Gustave Moreau: between epic and dream*, exh. cat. (Paris, Grand Palais, Chicago, Art Institute and New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1998), 179–82.

33. The mass of critical reaction suggests that Moreau's social commentary was also largely lost on the public.

34. *Catalogue officiel*, 5.

35. "La peinture n'est pas chez nous ce qu'elle est en Italie, un art indigène.... Les Français ont été toujours plus sculpteurs et plus architectes qu'ils n'étaient peintres et musiciens." Charles Blanc, *Les Beaux-Arts à l'Exposition Universelle de 1878* (Paris: Renouard, 1878), 183–184.

36. "D'une certaine tristesse...d'un art où le cœur ne s'épanouit pas librement." Mantz, "La peinture française," 420.

37. Bertall [Albert d'Arnoux], "La Tribune de l'école française," *L'Artiste* (September 1878): 155.

38. "Une jeunesse, une abondance, un suc, une verne qui ne sont point dans la nôtre." Blanc, 177. It is probably not coincidental that the country to which Blanc chose to compare France is Germanic.

39. "Nul ne peut nier la décadence de l'école française si on en juge par l'Exposition Universelle de 1878. [...] Mais qu'ils y prennent bien garde. Les écoles étrangères, si effacées en 1855, à peine vivantes en 1867, sont sur le point de prendre le haut du pavé..." "Lord Pilgrim," "Premier avertissement aux artistes," *L'Artiste* (September 1878): 149.

40. Literally, as Antonin Proust, Minister of Fine Arts under Jules Grévy, warned in an address to the Chamber of Deputies on the state of the arts, particularly the decorative arts, after the close of the Exposition (see Mainardi, 64).

41. "En France, l'État est partout, même en art, mais il est des pays où l'État n'est nulle part, et en art moins que partout ailleurs. [...] L'Angleterre, dont nous avons raison cependant d'invoquer l'exemple pour montrer ce que peut dans une large mesure l'initiative privée, l'Angleterre nous a donné le spectacle d'une réaction de ce genre." Charles Tardieu, "L'Art et l'État," *L'Art* 8 (1877): 159.

42. Tardieu ultimately came down on the side of state intervention in the arts, for the novel reason that, if nothing else, it inspired and fuelled rebellion, which ultimately kept art vital ("Elle crée l'opposition, c'est-à-dire la lutte, c'est-à-dire la vie").

43. Chapman, 345.

44. On Anglophobia in the French press, 1871–77, see Bury, *Gambetta*, 340–341.

45. On British foreign policy in the 1870s, see Donald Read, *The Age of Urban Democracy: England 1868–1914* (London and New York: Longman, 1994), 189–200. It is worth noting that the Russo-Turkish War marked what seems to have been the only period of political activity in the life of Burne-Jones, although apparently he had to be spurred into action by William Morris; Burne-Jones, vol. 2, 83–84.

46. Bury, *Gambetta*, 340.

47. *Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners*, 32.

48. Ibid., 16–17.

49. The official catalogue of the Exposition gives the categorical breakdown of the British Fine Art section as 283 oils, 191 paintings and drawings in other media, 46 sculptures, 170 architectural drawings and models, and 36 engravings and etchings. The French Fine Art display comprised 2,071 works, and the Belgian, the second-largest foreign exhibition, contained 431 works. Most other European nations contributed between 100 and 300 works.

50. The members of the Fine Art committee were the Duke of Westminster (chairman), the Lord de l'Isle and Dudley, Sir Coutts Lindsay, Sir Richard Wallace, Sir Francis Grant, P. R. A., Sir John Gilbert, R. A., Colonel Arthur Ellis, Charles Barry, Sir Frederick Leighton, R. A., and W. Calder Marshall, R. A. (*Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners*, 54).

51. Ibid. Originally four artists and one architect—Sir John Gilbert, Sir Frederick Leighton, W. Calder Marshall, Charles Barry, and Sir Francis Grant—were on the ten-member committee. Grant died in 1877, decreasing the number of artists

in the group to four.

52. In the last decade Sir Coutts Lindsay and the Grosvenor Gallery have attracted increasing attention; the foremost studies include Susan P. Casteras, ed., *The Grosvenor Gallery: a Palace of Art in Victorian England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996); Colleen Denney, "The Role of Sir Coutts Lindsay," in Susan P. Casteras and Alicia Craig Faxon, eds., *Pre-Raphaelite Art in its European Context* (London: Associated University Presses, 1995), 61–80; and Colleen Denney, *At the Temple of Art: The Grosvenor Gallery, 1877–1890* (London: Associated University Presses, 2000). Unfortunately, none of them discuss Lindsay's role in the organization of the 1878 Exposition, although all three highlight the overt internationalism of his own exhibition policies.

53. Lindsay's support of foreign artists exhibiting in London was groundbreaking for its time; the Grosvenor played host to a significantly more cosmopolitan roster of artists throughout its existence than any other exhibition venue in London. See Barbara Bryant, "G. F. Watts at the Grosvenor Gallery: 'poems painted on canvas' and the new internationalism," in Casteras, *The Grosvenor Gallery*, 117–21, for further discussion.

54. Exhibited at the Exposition under the title *Merlin et Viviane* (no. 121).

55. *Love Among the Ruins* (no. 84) was the only Burne-Jones work to have its title translated literally. I have chosen to focus my discussion of Burne-Jones on *The Beguiling of Merlin* and *Love among the Ruins*, as *Love Disguised as Reason* (ca. 1870, Cape Town, South African National Gallery; listed in the Exposition catalogue as *L'Amour docteur*, no. 85) barely figures in most reviews. For a complete listing of works by Burne-Jones and Watts exhibited at the Grosvenor Gallery, see Christopher Newall, *The Grosvenor Gallery Exhibitions: Change and Continuity in the Victorian Art World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

56. Exhibited at the Exposition as *Pallas, Junon et Vénus* (no. 265). Duranty, however, refers to it as *Le Jugement de Paris*, despite the absence of the figure of Paris, and when it was first exhibited at Deschamp's Gallery in 1876, it went by the title *The Three Graces*. See Andrew Wilton and Robert Upstone, eds., *The Age of Rossetti, Burne-Jones and Watts: Symbolism in Britain, 1860–1910*, exh. cat. (London, Tate Gallery, Munich, Haus der Kunst, and Amsterdam, Van Gogh Museum, 1997), 114, for a complete history of the painting's title.

57. Watts painted multiple versions of *Love and Death* (no. 267), and which version was exhibited at the Grosvenor Gallery and in the Exposition Universelle is a matter of some uncertainty. The canvas now in the Whitworth Gallery at the University of Manchester, reproduced here, is generally accepted as the 1878 painting; however, Colleen Denney argues that the earliest version (1875), now in the Bristol City Museum and Art Gallery, was the painting exhibited, based upon records in that museum's archives (Denney, "The Role of Sir Coutts Lindsay," 79). While this version may have been the one shown in Paris, I doubt that it was exhibited at the Grosvenor, as it lacks the dove in the lower right corner remarked upon by several critics, in particular Oscar Wilde in his review of the exhibition in the *Dublin University Magazine*, and present in the Whitworth's version.

58. Denney, *At the Temple of Art*, 50–51.

59. Henry Blackburn, *Exposition Universelle, Paris 1878. Catalogue illustré de la section des beaux-arts: école anglaise* (Paris: Hachette, 1878), 3.

60. Blanc, 43–47.

61. "La pudeur britannique baissant les yeux devant les pipes qui ne sont pas culottées!" Cham, *L'Exposition pour rire*, 2nd ed. (Paris: Plon, 1878). The double meaning of "pipe" (French slang for penis) would have made Cham's caption especially risqué for his French readership.

62. See for example Gonse, 492.

63. Pierre Bourdieu and Alain Darbel, *The Love of Art*, trans. Caroline Beatty and Nick Merriman (Cambridge: Polity, 1991), 43.

64. "Nos Français sont allés plus volontiers aux primitifs Flamands, aux van Eyck, à Holbein. Mais les Anglais ont trouvé là un dérivatif à leur fantaisie poétique—*fancy*—qui est plus aiguisée, plus hardie que la nôtre. Nous n'avons pas dans notre théâtre le Songe d'une nuit d'été, et un cerveau français ne saurait pas concevoir un être aussi spirituellement fou que le Mercutio de Roméo et Juliette." Philippe Burty, "Exposition de la Royal Academy," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (July 1869): 53. Note that "fancy" appears in English in the original text.

65. On the role of Comyns Carr as a promoter of Burne-Jones and Watts in France, see Barbara Bryant, "G. F. Watts and the Symbolist Vision," in Wilton and Upstone, 65–82 and idem, "G. F. Watts at the Grosvenor Gallery: 'Poems Painted on Canvas' and the New Internationalism," in Casteras, *The Grosvenor Gallery*, 109–128.

66. Joseph Comyns Carr, "La Saison d'art à Londres: la 'Grosvenor Gallery,'" *L'Art* 9–10 (1877), 265–273, 3–10, 77–83.

67. One of the engraving's flaws is a slight alteration in the direction of Nimuë's gaze from that in the painting, lessening the intensity of the confrontation between Nimuë and Merlin.

68. "Poétique des beaux-arts, Exposition de ce qu'il y a d'élevé, d'idéal dans les beaux-arts." Pierre Larousse, *Grand*

Dictionnaire Universel du XIXe siècle, vol. 12.2 (Paris: Librairie Larousse, 1874), 1245.

69. "Une poésie un peu bizarre mais d'accent très net." Duranty, "Exposition Universelle," 299.

70. "Messieurs les Anglais sont des inquiets et des poètes." Arsène Houssaye, "Les Beaux-arts à l'Exposition Universelle (V): Messieurs les Anglais," *L'Événement*, October 4, 1878.

71. Indeed, Burne-Jones was almost entirely self-taught, apart from some lessons in drawing from Rossetti. Watts's case is slightly different: while he was briefly a student at the Royal Academy Schools as a teenager (and was ultimately elected an academician in 1867 on the strength of his portraits), he received almost no tuition and left, disillusioned, after less than a year. See Wilfrid Blunt, *"England's Michelangelo": a biography of George Frederic Watts, O.M., R.A.* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1975), 7–10, for a more thorough, if rather anecdotal, account of his early years and education.

72. "C'est cependant un curieux travail que l'*Amour dans les ruines* de M. Burne Jones, mais nous cherchons vainement à comprendre pourquoi le peintre a confié au papier plutôt qu'à la toile un sujet de cette taille, car c'était accumuler à plaisir les difficultés"; "Ce ne sont peut-être pas des qualités éminemment plastiques, mais on ne peut pas tout avoir." Alfred de Lostalot, "Exposition Universelle: aquarelles, dessins et gravures," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (October 1878): 644–645. Lostalot was not the only Frenchman to be baffled by Burne-Jones's unorthodox working methods; *Love Among the Ruins* was badly damaged in a Paris photographer's studio in 1893 because the photographer's assistants mistook it for an oil painting and gave it an egg white wash in preparation for photography. Burne-Jones subsequently produced a replica in oils (now in the Bearsted Collection, Wightwick Manor, Northamptonshire).

73. "D'ailleurs, ici,—et il faut le dire en général, de toute la peinture anglaise,—le procédé n'a pas de lois comme en France, les modes de factures ne sont pas limités, le moyen n'est considéré pour rien, le résultat seul compte pour quelque chose. L'effet voulu est-il obtenu? *All right*. Tout est pour le mieux." Ernest Chesneau, "Exposition Universelle. Beaux-arts: les écoles étrangères (I)," *Le Moniteur universel*, July 4, 1878. Note that "All right" appears in English in the original text. Chesneau later incorporated his critique of Burne-Jones in this article, verbatim, into *La peinture anglaise*, 238.

74. "Le type maigre aux grands yeux caves que M. Burne-Jones et M. Richmond ont donné à la Viviane du Moyen-Age et à l'Ariadne antique, est encore un type anglais, le type des âmes poétiques par excellence, mais toujours avec la mâchoire accusée et amie des viandes saignantes, et toujours avec un arrière-sentiment dur et farouche, sensible quoique lointain." Duranty, "Exposition Universelle," 306.

75. "La beauté et l'élévation du front, la noblesse du nez et la fermeté pénétrante du regard." Ibid., 307.

76. Blanc, 335.

77. "Cette adoration du vrai, quand elle est mise au service d'une haute imagination, apporte aux choses interprétées de la sorte une singulière plus-value, une émotion, une transfiguration poétique, hélas! vainement demandée en dehors de la vérité partant de jeunes peintres français à des traditions d'académie qui ne sont que des recettes d'atelier." Chesneau, "Exposition Universelle."

78. "De tels raffinements déroutent un peu le spectateur ami des choses claires; ils sont possibles, ils sont à leur place dans le pays de Shakespeare." Paul Mantz, "Exposition Universelle. Les Écoles étrangères (X): Angleterre," *Le Temps*, November 11, 1878.

79. Malcolm Bell, *Sir Edward Burne-Jones. A Record and Review* (London and New York: George Bell and Sons, 1892), 5.

80. Note that the word "decorative" had different, and more positive, connotations in British and French art criticism of the late nineteenth century than it does today; not only was it used as a complimentary term in contemporary writing on Aestheticism, "art décoratif," in the sense of monumental painting intended for an architectural setting, was generally considered to be the highest genre to which an artist could aspire in France.

81. Burne-Jones's maternal grandfather, Benjamin Coley, was the head of a jewellery firm in Birmingham, and it is tempting to speculate on what role this heritage played in the painter's style and methods, especially given Burne-Jones's comment that he "love[d] to treat [his] pictures as a goldsmith does his jewels" (quoted in Wildman and Christian, 42). The bejewelled quality of Moreau's paintings and his concept of "richesse nécessaire" was a common topic of discussion among his contemporaries—not always flatteringly. For example, the heated (although possibly apocryphal) exchange between Moreau and his former friend Degas, as recorded by Paul Valéry: Moreau is said to have demanded of Degas, "Do you have pretensions to restoring art through dance?" only to receive the rejoinder, "And you're claiming to revive it with jewellery?"

82. Comyns Carr arranged the loan through his connections at *L'Art*; the dealer Léon Gauchez, in whose possession *L'Apparition* was in 1877, wrote for the magazine under the pseudonym Paul Leroi, and Moreau's address in the exhibition catalogue was listed as the London office of *L'Art*—coincidentally, next door to the gallery in New Bond Street. Lindsay's decision to hang it, with the work of a wide array of other foreign artists, in the first room visitors entered is indicative of his overt internationalism; see Bryant in Casteras, *The Grosvenor Gallery*, 120–121.

83. Comyns Carr, "La Saison d'art," 270.

84. "International Art at the Universal Exposition, Paris," *Art Journal* 18 (1878): 198. The reviewer singled out *Moses*

exposed on the Nile and *Hercules and the Lernaean Hydra* as typical of Moreau's style.

85. "Une surprise que nous avons éprouvés dans notre promenade a été de constater çà et là certaines velléités de quelques-uns de nos peintres. C'est ainsi que M. Jones dans son *Merlin et Viviane* se préoccupe évidemment de Gustave Moreau." Jules Castagnary, "L'Exposition (XIV). Beaux-arts—Angleterre," *Le Siècle*, May 24, 1878.

86. "Chargée d'intentions, de sous-entendus, et qui rappelle les complications de l'imagination de M. Gustave Moreau." Edmond Duranty, "Expositions de la Royal Academy et de la Grosvenor-Gallery, à Londres," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (October 1879): 372.

87. Blanc, 336.

88. See, among many examples, this anonymous review of Burne-Jones's paintings in the 1878 Grosvenor exhibition: "As to the value, in a larger sense, of this art, and of the poetry which is its companion, we most seriously protest against it (with a reverence for its genius and a tenderness for its beauty) as unmasculine; [...] it is fresh strenuous paganism, emasculated by false modern emotionalism." ("The Grosvenor Gallery: Second Notice," *Magazine of Art* [1878]: 81.) By contrast, the same reviewer characterised Watts's paintings in the exhibition as "noble" and "lofty" (ibid.).

89. "Fort médiocre"; "Sans doute M. Watts a fait une tentative intéressante dans son tableau de *l'Amour et la Mort* [...] mais absolument en vain." Chesneau, "Exposition Universelle." Chesneau subsequently softened his criticism of Watts in *La peinture anglaise*, praising both *The Three Goddesses* and *Love and Death* for expressing "a real poetic sentiment" ("un réel sentiment poétique," 265–266), but, in common with most other French critics who wrote on that artist, he continued to assert that Watts's imaginative reach exceeded his technical grasp.

90. It is worth bearing in mind that *Love and Death* looked much darker when Duranty saw it at the Exposition than it does today. Watts subsequently reworked it, lightening the colors considerably; see Wilton and Upstone, 167–168. For a contemporary account of Watts's working methods, see Cosmo Monkhouse, "The Watts Exhibition," *Magazine of Art* (1882): 181–182.

91. Duranty, "Exposition Universelle," 310.

92. These tendencies were particularly evident in reviews of Puvis's 1879 Salon submissions; see Marie-Thérèse des Forges, "Un nouveau tableau de Puvis de Chavannes au musée du Louvre," *Revue du Louvre* 20, no. 4 (1970): 248. Like Watts, Puvis had foregone an orthodox academic education, opting for a wandering apprenticeship in the 1850s in the ateliers of Henri Scheffer, *Delacroix and Couture*; see Aimée Brown Price, *Pierre Puvis de Chavannes* (exh. cat., Amsterdam, Van Gogh Museum, 1994), 11–12, for further particulars of his training.

93. Wilton and Upstone, 115.

94. Joseph Comyns Carr, "La Royal Academy et la Grosvenor Gallery," *L'Art* 12 (1880): 172; Barbara Bryant, "G. F. Watts and the Symbolist Vision," in Wilton and Upstone, 67.

95. "La plus intéressante par le caractère national, par l'esprit tranché et par l'aspect tout particulier de ses œuvres, bien que l'art insulaire anglais ait avec le continent des attaches que l'on peut voir aisément." Duranty, "Exposition Universelle," 298.

96. Albrecht Dürer, *Four Witches*, engraving, Vienna, Albertina, 1497. I am grateful to Glyn Davies for drawing my attention to the parallels between Dürer's engraving and *The Three Goddesses*.

97. Wilton and Upstone, 114.

98. Des Forges, 241.

99. "[Il] force nous est d'y voir un poème, une allégorie analogue à celle des Sirènes." Gustave Kahn, "Exposition Puvis de Chavannes," *Revue indépendante* 6, no. 15 (January 1888): 144.

100. Ibid., 145.

101. "J'en étais jaloux pour notre Gust. Moreau, dont il parut alors le rival heureux." P. de Chennevières, "Le Salon de 1880 (troisième et dernier article)," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 22 (July 1880): 66.

102. The other paintings Watts sent to the Exposition Internationale were a portrait of Swinburne (National Portrait Gallery), *Paolo and Francesca*, *The Denunciation of Cain* (both Watts Gallery, Compton), and three *Eves*, one of which is almost certainly a version of *'She Shall Be Called Woman'* (Walker Art Gallery). Bryant in Wilton and Upstone, 67.

103. "Esquissé par un Gustave Moreau malade, brossés par un Michel-Ange anémié et retouchés par un Raphaël noyé dans le bleu." Joris-Karl Huysmans, *A Rebours* (Paris: Charpentier, 1884), 173–174. Huysmans, at the outset of his career as an art critic, wrote a review of the British Fine Art section at the 1878 Exposition for *L'Artiste*, but mentioned neither Watts nor Burne-Jones by name and dismissed the exhibition as a whole as embodying eclecticism run mad–"modern, medieval, antique, everything rubs shoulders as if at a masked ball" ("moderne, moyen âge, antique, tout s'y coudoie comme en un bal masqué"). Joris-Karl Huysmans, "Exposition universelle: l'Ecole anglaise," *L'Artiste* no. 22 (June 2, 1878): 167.

104. I follow Lethève, 320–321, in the dating of this paradigm shift, although there are a few notable exceptions, particularly in the case of Rossetti.

105. Jean Lorrain, *Les Griseries* (Paris: Tresse & Stock, 1887), 85–86. Also included in the volume is "Printemps classique, pour Gustave Moreau," 131–32.

106. Pierre Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production*, (Cambridge: Polity, 1993), 39.

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La lithographie originale en couleurs: Influential Treatise and *Objet d'art*

Amy von Lintel

André Mellerio published his timely treatise *La Lithographie originale en couleurs* [Original Color Lithography] at the end of the 1890s in Paris. Scholars have deemed this decade "the color revolution" in reference to color lithography becoming a choice print medium of Parisian artists.[1] In fewer than twenty pages of text, *La Lithographie originale en couleurs* presents a remarkably comprehensive view of its subject. It offers a summary of contemporary trends and lists the artists, editors, dealers, printers, and publications involved in the production and distribution of lithographic prints. It also gives a definition for the original color lithograph as opposed to the commercial chromolithograph, justifying the former as art and presenting formal criteria for differentiating the two.[2] Finally, it declares a social purpose for the color lithograph as a democratic art that can reach and improve the taste of the general public.[3] But because of its importance as a textual source from a transitional decade, the way in which the book was originally published has often been eclipsed. Produced as a collaboration between an author and an artist equally interested in promoting color lithography, the

Fig. 1 Pierre Bonnard, cover for *La Lithographie originale en couleurs*, 1898, color lithograph on Japan paper, 8.5 x 7.7 in. (21.5 x 19.5 cm). Bridwell Library Special Collections, Perkins School of Theology, Southern Methodist University (© 2006 Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York / ADAGP, Paris.)

Fig. 2 Pierre Bonnard, frontispiece for *La Lithographie originale en couleurs*, 1898, color lithograph on China paper, 8.3 x 7.5 in. (21 x 19 cm). Bridwell Library Special Collections, Perkins School of Theology, Southern Methodist University (© 2006 Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York / ADAGP, Paris.)

publication is not only a written document of its historical period, it is also a material example of artistic production in this print medium. In 1898, Mellerio and his magazine *L'Estampe et l'affiche* [The Print and the Poster] published 1000 editions of the book, each of which included an original color lithograph by Pierre Bonnard as the cover and a second as the frontispiece (figs. 1 and 2). It is Bonnard's two lithographs and their important function within the materiality of Mellerio's book that will be the focus of my argument.

One of Mellerio's goals was to promote artistic and therefore original printmaking. His book declares itself a manifesto for original color lithography, both through its textual content and through Bonnard's prints. According to Mellerio, an original print required a combination of artistic inspiration and printing technique. In contrast, a chromolithograph or facsimile print is "simply a method of reproduction by a more or less skillful technique...of an original work of art" and is therefore "indelibly inartisitic."[4] The original color lithograph, on the other hand, is envisioned by an artist directly as a "personal conception" in the print medium "realized for its own sake."[5] Mellerio advocated color lithography not as a means for reproducing works of art, but as an art medium with its own strengths and limitations.

In his essay following the English translation of Mellerio's work, Sinclair H. Hitchings reduces Bonnard's two lithographs to mere "splashes of color" for Mellerio's text. He continues, noting that

"the frontispiece enlivens but is a bit out of place."[6] I would argue, in contrast, that the two prints are very much in place. They speak to many of the issues in Mellerio's text, while at the same time they present a view of color lithography parallel to but independent of the book's written claims. Moreover, these original prints alter the nature of the book, making it as much a precious collectible example of the medium as a literary explication for the sympathetic reader. I shall examine how the book itself is a work of art from the decade of the "color revolution," one that, in its hybrid form, engages with a number of other artistic projects of the time.

The collaboration between Mellerio and Bonnard brought together two of the chief proponents of the medium's possibilities. André Mellerio was a writer of short stories and poetry who took up art criticism in 1893, contributing the preface to the catalogue for Mary Cassatt's exhibition at the Durand-Ruel Gallery.[7] He continued his role as a critic, publishing in 1896 *Le Mouvement idéaliste en peinture* [The Idealist Movement in Painting], in which he described the trend toward anti-naturalism in the work of contemporary artists such as Pierre Puvis de Chavannes, Gustave Moreau, Odilon Redon, Paul Gauguin, Paul Cézanne, and Vincent Van Gogh. In format, this book presaged his 1898 publication, as it included a decorated cover and a frontispiece by Redon.[8] The next year, Mellerio's interests shifted from style to media in response to the increasing artistic print activity in Paris. Along with the critic and collector Clément Janin, Mellerio began publishing *L'Estampe et l'affiche*, a biweekly periodical dedicated exclusively to promoting prints. As editor and writer from 1897 to 1899, Mellerio became a source of support for artists eager to take up printmaking as a means of expression. The magazine "kept its readers up to date on recent publications and exhibitions" and "helped to swell the flood of prints available by commissioning posters and prints itself."[9] It was in a May 1897 article for this publication that Mellerio first advocated color lithography as a medium, and in an article of January 1898 he reviewed the exhibition of dealer Ambroise Vollard's second album of original prints, focusing on many of the artists he would include in *La Lithographie originale en couleurs*.[10]

One of the artists he highlighted in this and other writing was Pierre Bonnard. In his 1896 book, Mellerio praised Bonnard for his sense of design, especially his use of color and line: "M. Bonnard always remains eminently a colorist...In sum, M. Bonnard appears a very sensitive, delicate interpreter of color united with supple arabesques–all qualities of an artist."[11] Yet, at that time, Mellerio did not mention Bonnard's skills as a printmaker. Only later did he champion the artist's colorful style as applied to lithography. The following year when Mellerio began pursuing his interest in prints, he found in Bonnard a desirable and willing collaborator. The artist had been one of the first of many painters to enter the realm of commercial design, when in 1891 he produced a color lithographic poster for France-Champagne (fig. 3).[12] From there, his lithographic activity burgeoned to include everything from theater programs, to sheet music illustrations, to the collector's print. Between 1889 and 1902, Bonnard produced over 250 lithographs, as printmaking became an important avenue for expanding his artistic career.[13] Moreover, as much as any artist in the 1890s, Bonnard participated in the important print publications of the decade. In 1893, he contributed lithographs to *L'Estampe originale* [The Original Print], the most successful of the collector's print albums in both quality and sales.[14] In 1896 and 1897, Bonnard collaborated with

Fig. 3 Pierre Bonnard, *France-Champagne*, 1891, color lithograph poster. Jane Voorhees Zimmerli Art Museum, Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey. (Regina Best Heldrich Art Acquisition Fund. Photograph by Victor Pustai. 85.141.035. © 2006 Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York / ADAGP, Paris.)

Fig. 4 Pierre Bonnard, Poster for *L'Estampe et l'affiche*, 1897, color lithograph. Virginia and Ira Jackson Collection. Partial and Promised Gift. (Image © 2006 Board of Trustees, National Gallery of Art, Washington. © 2006 Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York / ADAGP, Paris.)

Vollard on prints for the latter's two albums, as well as on a poster for the first and the wrapper and inside covers of the second.[15] Between 1894 and 1897, Bonnard also completed prints for *La Revue blanche* [The White Magazine], another artistically-oriented journal, including a poster, a number of lithographic frontispieces, and the album cover for the collective publication of these prints issued in 1894.[16]

In the wake of such collaborations between Bonnard and these print publishers, it is not surprising that Mellerio also presented the artist with commissions. In 1897, Bonnard produced a poster for *L'Estampe et l'affiche* to be given as a premium to the magazine's subscribers (fig. 4). Yet Bonnard's relationship with Mellerio went beyond strictly professional: his next commission was a birth announcement for Mellerio's daughter.[17] Like Vollard and the Natanson brothers Alexandre, Alfred and Thadée, publishers of *La Revue blanche*, Mellerio supported the artist as both patron and friend.[18] In Maurice Denis's 1901 *Homage à Cézanne* [Homage to Cézanne], the writer and artist appear together in an intimate group of friends and supporters (fig. 5).[19] In light of this professional and personal relationship, it seems apt that Mellerio chose Bonnard to create the cover and frontispiece for his 1898 book.

Mellerio's faith in the artist's lithographic work is further emphasized in the text of *La Lithographie originale en couleurs*. The author underscored Bonnard's unique enthusiasm for the medium, and championed him, second only to Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec, as its leading practitioner: "An inventive artist, with a natural sensitivity, his continuing contribution to the color lithography movement has been a most important one."[20] Although he did not directly mention the lithographs Bonnard

Fig. 5 Maurice Denis, *Homage to Cézanne*, 1900, oil on canvas, 70.9 x 94.5 in. (180 x 240 cm). Musée d'Orsay, Paris. (Photo credit: Réunion des Musées Nationaux/ Art Resource, NY. © 2006 Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York/ADAGP, Paris.) André Mellerio appears third from the left, Pierre Bonnard on the far right.

completed for the book, it seems likely that Mellerio's faith in Bonnard's abilities—asserted in this and in other publications—led him to grant the artist some control over the design of these prints. Therefore, the images in Mellerio's book function on several levels simultaneously. On the one hand, they serve as a visual introduction to Mellerio's text and as illustrations of his main points, both in their formal execution and in their subject matter. On the other hand, they reveal an independent creation on Bonnard's part. More than exemplary "splashes of color," Bonnard's two prints provide a visual statement of the complexities of the production and reception of color lithography as a medium.

In their style, Bonnard's two prints correspond well with Mellerio's prescriptive commentary on color lithographs. The author claimed that the "really interesting and original artists" conceive their composition "directly as a...color print," recognizing the medium's unique possibilities.[21] Because a print is mechanically reproduced on paper, as opposed to a more durable painting direct from the artist's hand, Mellerio advised avoiding "ambitious effects" and striving for a "simplicity of means."[22] He suggested simple and separated tonal areas of color, as each hue requires a further superimposing. Likewise, the color and line should be "part of" the paper on which they are printed "without hiding it or weighing it down."[23]

It can be argued that Bonnard's lithographs maintain these guidelines. In the cover (fig. 1), Bonnard limited his color palette to black and gold, presenting the simple and separated tones that Mellerio described. There is minimal layering of these inks and they remain lightly rather than thickly printed. The gold tone harmonizes rather than complicates, linking the wall decoration in the background with the lithographic paraphernalia in the foreground. The loose, playful marks also show the variation possible, from the crayon lines that render the woman and the contours of the stone and bowl, to the thicker brush marks of the wallpaper or lettering. Mellerio correspondingly praised the employment of "a little of everything" in an original print.[24] Lastly, Bonnard captured the use of the paper that Mellerio described, as the color of the paper becomes another defining tone of the print: it composes the skin and dress of the woman and the paper of the print she holds.

The frontispiece (fig. 2) also presents a compelling example of Mellerio's formal qualities, but in a different style. Indeed, the contrast of the muted, lightly inked cover and the colorful, heavier frontispiece emphasizes the range of possibilities for color lithography. Again the paper is made to function as a color that defines the white plumes on the woman's hat and the base tone of her blouse. Yet, here, the superimposing of colors is used to an effective end. The artist has maintained the simplicity of forms that Mellerio advised, allowing them to emerge in the layering of yellow, gray, red and blue, the last two overlaid to make the dominant dark tone.[25] The range of line is similarly diverse, from the thin crayon marks on the woman's chest to the thicker dark strokes adding texture to the chair, as well as the playful array of swirling fluid marks that frame the top and right sides of the print. Because of this diversity and simplicity, the layering avoids the heaviness Mellerio discouraged.

Bonnard's cover offers a complement to the text not only in its stylistic elements but also in its subject matter.[26] In this print, the artist has depicted the implements of lithography in the foreground: the flat, rectangular lithographic stone complete with drawing, the press signified by

Fig. 6 Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec, Cover for *L'Estampe originale*, 1893, color lithograph. Rosenwald Collection. (Image © 2006 Board of Trustees, National Gallery of Art, Washington.)

Fig. 7 Camille Martin, Cover for *L'Estampe originale*, 1894, color lithograph. Jane Voorhees Zimmerli Art Museum, Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey. (David A. and Mildred H. Morse Art Acquisition Fund. Photograph by Victor Pustai. 82.034.003.)

the bar of the scraper that compresses paper and stone to transfer the print, the sponge used to moisten the stone and a bowl for the acidic compound employed to prime the stone before wetting and inking.[27] In these few forms, Bonnard recreates the process of producing a lithographic print.[28] Behind these tools is a woman with her back to the viewer, holding and looking at a print. Both the darkened area that envelops her and the vertical decoration that alludes to wallpaper reference the intimate interior space in which this woman is experiencing the print. Thus, in the small frame of his print, Bonnard has depicted both the making and the viewing of a lithograph, which together allow his cover to function as a visual introduction to the subject of the text that spans the center of the image.

This reference to the production and reception of lithographs on the cover of a work dealing with the medium has precedent. In several issues of *L'Estampe originale*, both André Marty's albums and the earlier publication of the same name organized by Auguste Lepère, the covers included similar subject matter. The earliest reference to the printing press as iconography for the original print is seen on the cover of the May 1888 issue of Lepère's publication.[29] There, the star-wheel press stands alone as a herald of the variety of prints included beneath the cover.[30] In 1893, Toulouse-Lautrec designed the cover for the first year of Marty's *L'Estampe originale* (fig. 6). Again, the star-wheel press is shown, but this time with the printer Père Cotelle using it to print from a stone.[31] The cover for the second year done by Camille Martin returns to the isolated press (fig. 7), but places it within an ambiguous natural space where green vines blend with the green spokes of the wheel. No longer the tool of an active printer, the press is aestheticized, an artistic object in its own right.

Likewise, the woman as viewer of a lithograph has its precursors. The printed cover by Toulouse-Lautrec (fig. 6) includes the dancer Jane Avril viewing the print directly from the press, as she shares the space of Cotelle's workshop with both printer and press.[32] Bonnard had also depicted several female viewers of lithographs, but always in a domestic setting separated from the process of printing. An example of this is his 1896 poster for a print exhibition at Vollard's shop. In this image, a woman with her back to the viewer holds and looks at a print. The blackened space into which her hair and body almost disappear alludes to an intimate domestic setting. But unlike the woman in the cover of Mellerio's book (fig. 1), this woman occupies the entire space and there is no reference to the printing press that produced the print she holds. Bonnard also designed a cover for Vollard's second album that shows prints in a domestic space, laid out on a table, but the female viewer has been replaced by a cat (fig. 8). Whereas this cat could refer to Vollard, whom Bonnard later depicted with his cat in a drawn portrait, it might also be analogous to the woman in her interior. "Animal and art are comfortably at home together" in this cover, as they are in his other images of women and prints.[33] Then in 1897, Bonnard created the poster for Mellerio's magazine (fig. 4), in which a young girl furtively carries a portfolio from which prints are spilling onto the floor as an older woman looks on inquisitively. Both are positioned in an interior indicated by the wallpaper behind and the wood floor beneath them. Hence, it appears that Bonnard's book cover blends a number of these precedents into a single image. Yet, I would suggest that this blending is the artist's conscious response to a new context, and that the image specifically establishes a dialogue with Mellerio's text.

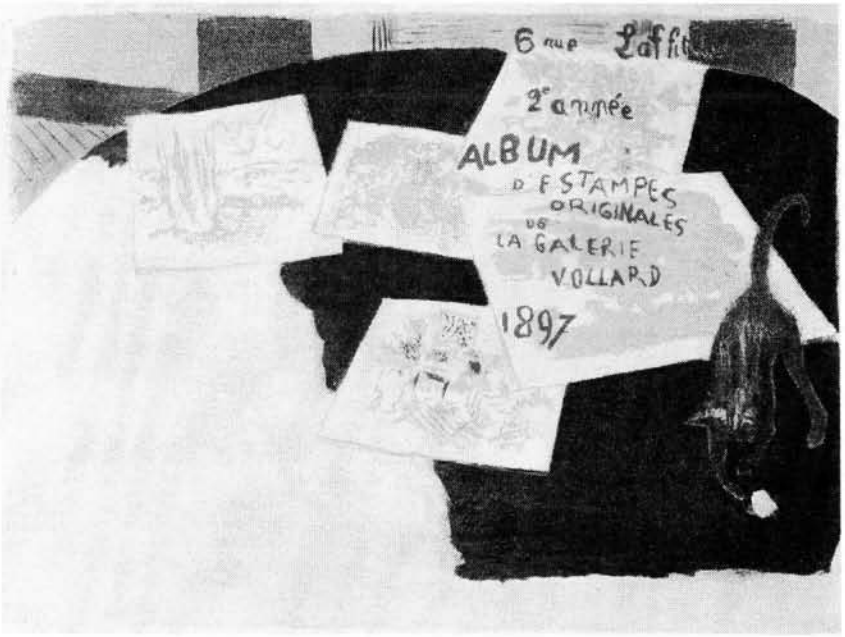

Fig. 8 Pierre Bonnard, Cover for *Album d'estampes originales de la Galerie Vollard*, 1897, color lithograph. Virginia and Ira Jackson Collection. (Partial and Promised Gift, Image © 2006 Board of Trustees, National Gallery of Art, Washington. © 2006 Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York/ ADAGP, Paris.)

One issue that the author confronted in his book is the role of the professional printer in producing the lithograph. On its most basic level, this process involves the artist producing a drawing that the printer mechanically reproduces using the lithographic stone. In practice, this process has a complex range of versions. The artist can draw directly on the stone, leaving the printer only the role of inking and printing with the press. Alternately, the artist can also draw on transfer paper that either he or the printer transfers to the stone. Likewise, the artist can take an active role in the process, being present in the workshop to supervise the printing, or he can simply send the drawing or stone to the printer who does the transferring and printing independently. Thus, both printer and artist have a number of possible roles in lithography, which Mellerio addressed in his treatise.

The author recognized the necessity of the printer as middle-man but wished to limit his role to technical support: "The role of the printer," Mellerio wrote, "without ever encroaching upon that of the artist, must be to support and help him, overcoming the hitches, making the right suggestion at the right time, based on his ability and his deep knowledge of the craft."[34] This ideal relationship between artist and printer requires on one hand a printer with skill and intelligence who is willing to be subservient to the artist, and on the other, an artist who is knowledgeable about printmaking and willing to involve himself in the craft of printing. As Mellerio noted, this is often not the case. He criticized the celebrated printer Auguste Clot for his "tendency to substitute his judgment for that of the artists when their personality is not strong or assertive," while at the same time, he chastised an artist like Auguste Rodin whose drawings Clot transferred to the lithograph stone without the

artist's involvement.[35] Thus, Mellerio clearly valued the role of the professional printer, but felt that the creativity of the artist must be preserved above all in the making of an original print.

Bonnard's cover image (fig. 1) simultaneously addresses this issue as well as Mellerio's ideal solution. By removing any trace of both printer and artist and allowing the inanimate implements of lithography to speak of the printing process for themselves, Bonnard offered a variety of possibilities. Not only is the human presence of both figures missing, but the press itself is simplified; the artist subtracts the wheel that would require a hand to turn it. Unlike the more direct statement of Toulouse-Lautrec's cover (fig. 6), which depicts the printer in his workshop manipulating this wheel entirely divorced from the artist, Bonnard's more ambiguous image allows the ideal relationship of Mellerio's text to exist in the mind of the viewer.[36] In the former, the lack of a specific artist serves to reference the numerous artists included in the publication. As many of its prints were executed by the firm of Ancourt where Père Cotelle was master printer, the image of the elderly Cotelle manually operating the press functions as a symbol for all the prints that came through his workshop. But Mellerio was not promoting a specific artist, printer, or publication; instead, he discussed a range of all three, which Bonnard's non-specific reference to the printing process encompasses in its ambiguity. In omitting references to the printer and his manual task, Bonnard draws attention to the artist's role as designer of the image independent of a professional printer.

Moreover, the cover image remains non-committal regarding the process of its own production.[37] The depiction of the stone in the press seems to disclose Bonnard's direct use of stones, but again there are several possibilities. In a later drawing from his sketchbook, Bonnard pictured himself in Clot's workshop drawing directly on a lithographic stone while Clot operates the press.[38] This appears to cast the artist in the active role that Mellerio advocated. But as Pat Gilmour points out, it is "quite clear who is at the press."[39] Bonnard draws on the stone and is present in the workshop, but leaves Clot to complete the actual printing process. Another possibility is disclosed in letters from the artist to Clot, in which Bonnard asks for transfer paper to do his lithographic drawings in his own studio.[40] This could indicate that he also sent drawings to the printer to be transferred onto the stone and printed either under his supervision or in his absence.

A further complication is the fact that Clot was the printer of Bonnard's cover and frontispiece. Given that Mellerio openly criticized this printer in his text, it is surprising that he would choose Clot to produce the lithographs for his book. Perhaps this indicates his faith in Bonnard as the assertive artist who would see to the faithful reproduction of his prints. Perhaps it also reveals that regardless of his controlling tendencies, Clot was the best printer available, something Mellerio also admitted in his text. Whatever the reason, this relationship between artist and printer highlights the complexities involved in producing an original print. And as Bonnard excluded both his own presence and that of his printer Clot, he left the image open to numerous scenarios.

Even more interesting is the fact that Bonnard's cover text leaves out the crucial adjective "originale" that appears on Mellerio's title page.[41] Whatever the reason for the exclusion, this altered title adds yet another level to the issues it discloses, again drawing attention to the lack of a single or simple definition for the original print. At the same time, while Bonnard's text omits an explicit reference to originality, it declares an implicit reference in its very form. Clearly rendered with an

artist's brush rather than produced by machine, the thick black letters that vary in size and descend from left to right register as a direct expression from Bonnard's hand. The artist's childlike lettering is a hallmark of his prints, appearing on nearly every poster and album cover he produced (figs. 4 and 8).[42] His graphic style seems all the more fitting in the context of Mellerio's book, as it declares the cover an original print through the medium itself, showing that a mechanically reproduced lithograph can still capture the freshness of an artist's personal style.

Along with the lithographic tools and lettering, another ambiguity that responds to issues in Mellerio's text is the activity of viewing portrayed in Bonnard's image. Mellerio's text addresses this activity only briefly: the lithograph, according to the author, is "made to be held in the hand and looked at from close range."[43] Bonnard's print betrays the complications behind this simple description. As in Toulouse-Lautrec's cover print (fig. 6) in which Jane Avril views the print in the workshop straight from the presses, Bonnard's female viewer also appears in close proximity to the press while viewing a print. At the same time, however, she is removed by the diagonal of the lettering and exists within a more clearly domestic interior. The wallpaper stops abruptly above the space of the press. Yet the woman is both physically and formally connected to the press: her leg is seen beneath the letter "A" as if touching the lithographic stone, and the diagonal lines of the press continue through her leg and arm and along the right edge of the paper in her hand. While her action of grasping the print and viewing it from close range responds to Mellerio's suggestion, her location also comes into play in Bonnard's image; she exists both in the space of the press and in the darkened interior. Thus, Bonnard's cover simultaneously creates and denies two separate spaces for the making and viewing of a print.[44]

The cover also specifies the gender of Mellerio's nondescript viewer. In doing so, Bonnard's image raises a new set of issues. On the one hand, the woman herself becomes a decorated object. Like Jane Avril in Toulouse-Lautrec's cover (fig. 6), Bonnard's woman is the object of a gaze, as are the prints she and Jane Avril hold. The lines of her dress echo the diagonals that pervade the composition, and her dark hair converses with the dark letters. She, like the lithograph she holds and the book itself, has been drawn and printed. In his publication on the illustrated book also from 1898, Octave Uzanne compares the book to a woman:

> The book, like the woman, is made to please and to be ornamented, clothed with pageantry of all the attributes of art...it is created to seduce the gaze before charming the spirit; it is a companion, a friend that can not be too embellished...it is why our modern esthetes accord to the book and to the prettiness of its initial costume such a great attention, wanting it to be perfect in every aspect, playful in appearance and flourishing in decoration.[45]

In light of Uzanne's comparison, Mellerio's book and Bonnard's lithographs, like the woman on the cover, are gendered female, while their author, producer, and viewer are gendered male. Books, prints, and women alike are all "ornamented" and therefore seen as feminine objects that "seduce the gaze" of "modern" and presumably male "esthetes."[46]

On the other hand, Bonnard's cover simultaneously questions this gender binary, at least at the level of the viewer. While the viewer of the cover image might gaze at the woman represented

Fig. 9 Pierre Bonnard, *La Revue blanche*, 1894, color lithograph poster. Jane Voorhees Zimmerli Art Museum, Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey. (Gift of the Class of 1958, Twentieth Reunion. Photograph by Victor Pustai. 77.039.001. © 2006 Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York / ADAGP, Paris.)

Fig. 10 Cover for Octave Uzanne's *L'Art dans la decoration extérieur des livres*, 1898. (Photograph by author.)

within its frame, this woman is herself the agent of a gaze: she is pictured as the viewer of a print. In Bonnard's image, this woman becomes the "modern esthete" Uzanne describes. Bonnard's image therefore complicates the duality of male voyeur and female object; the audience of the print and of Mellerio's book need not be the male that Uzanne's text implies. Rather, both male and female readers of *La Lithographie originale en couleurs* might identify with the woman viewer in the print. The gaze in Bonnard's cover is not limited to erotic and destructive looking. It also includes a more productive, and not gender-specific, aesthetic experience.[47] The woman depicted is not the same prettified female figure on display with the print or book she holds, such as the women who adorn Bonnard's poster for *La Revue blanche* (fig. 9) and Uzanne's book cover (fig. 10). She is not a recognizable *fille publique* [public woman] like Jane Avril, fashionably presenting herself more than the print she holds (fig. 6). Bonnard's woman is anonymous and actually more hidden from the viewer than on display, as she blends into her domestic interior, the pattern of her dress melting into the pattern of the wallpaper. Although this interior space confines her, the woman's turned pose also highlights her independence in this space. The viewing of the print becomes her own private activity and the readers of the book become intruders who peek over her shoulder.[48] She ignores the viewer's eyes upon her, denying her role as a seductress of the gaze. She represents the active consumer of the print as much as a passive symbol of the print as consumable object.

Likewise, Bonnard denies explicit gender stereotypes that would code production as active and male and consumption as passive and female. While the male artist or printer is seemingly allied with the press and the production of the print, the phallic spokes of the wheel so common

Fig. 11. Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec, *At the Concert*, poster for Ault and Wiborg Co., 1896. color lithograph, 15 x 10.8 in. (38.1 cm x 27.31 cm). San Diego Museum of Art (Gift of the Baldwin M. Baldwin Foundation.)

in images of printing presses do not appear. Like the missing adjective "originale," this absence raises questions about the precise role of the presumably male artist and printmaker.[49] The press is, moreover, not clearly located within a commercial printshop, but instead seems equally part of the domestic interior and is accompanied not by an active operator, but by a female viewer. The production process is referenced solely through the stationary implements of the medium, and the only activity occurring in the image is the woman's viewing.

But what about the subject of the frontispiece (fig. 2)? If Bonnard's images were simply illustrations of Mellerio's text Hitchings would be correct in calling it "out of place." Yet I would argue that this second print by Bonnard is not out of place as an illustration, but very much in place as an independent statement about Bonnard's understanding of the medium. In this print, he depicts a well-dressed couple in the loge of a theater or concert hall.[50] In her hand, the woman presumably holds a program. On one level, this could be a subtle advertisement for the color lithograph, disclosing yet another context for the patronage of the original print.[51] On another level, Bonnard's subject matter dialogues with a number of other lithographs that reference the theater, as an interesting link emerges between the medium of lithography and this form of entertainment.

Such a connection is evinced by other prints that depict men and women enjoying the theater. A striking example is Toulouse-Lautrec's poster *At the Concert* (fig. 11), commissioned by an American company that produced lithographic ink.[52] As in Bonnard's print, the subject of the theater appears in the context of promoting color lithography: in both, a man and woman are seated together in a loge and the woman holds what appears to be a printed theater program. This connection between the theater program and the medium of color lithography becomes all the more emphatic, considering contemporary examples of painted theater scenes—such as Pierre-Auguste Renoir's *La Loge* or Mary Cassatt's *At the Opera*—in which patrons hold opera glasses or fans rather than printed programs.[53] Toulouse-Lautrec's image depicts a similar couple attending the theater, yet Bonnard's darkened space and the direct gaze of his theater-goers make his the more striking. Bonnard completed a print of a similar subject entitled *Au Théâtre* [At the Theater] that shows a darkened auditorium full of spectators, but from a more distanced viewpoint. This print was completed for Vollard's commissioned *Quelques Aspects de la vie de Paris* [Some Scenes of Parisian Life] and presents one of the vignettes of the city that make up the album of twelve prints by Bonnard. But again, the intensified darkness and telescoped view of the loge differentiate Bonnard's frontispiece.

This print, like the cover of *La Lithographie originale en couleurs*, plays a significant role within Mellerio's book. As the second page of the work, it is seen immediately after the viewer has opened the volume. And just as Bonnard's cover introduces the subject of Mellerio's book, while signifying its ambiguities, his frontispiece functions as an introduction to the experience of lithography that both responds to and reaches beyond the text. Bonnard's image innovatively connects the reception of color lithography to the visual spectacle of the theater. Bonnard was not the only artist to identify this correspondence. Another lithograph that connects the viewing of prints to the viewing of a stage production is Toulouse-Lautrec's lithographs for the front and back covers of the final album of *L'Estampe originale*. On the front cover of the album, the artist depicts a curtain seen from backstage being lowered by stagehands, and an elephant referring to an earlier theater

program the artist completed for the Théâtre de l'Oeuvre.[54] On the back, a woman identified as Misia Natanson, socialite patron of Bonnard and Toulouse-Lautrec, among others, sits in the loge watching as the curtain comes down. Phillip Dennis Cate defines this subject matter within the function of the image as the cover of the final album; he describes the curtain being lowered at the end of a performance, which he identifies as a symbol for the end of the album's publication.[55] This reading links the theater to *L'Estampe originale* as an ephemeral venue for the production and viewing of original prints.

Bonnard's theater image takes this connection to another level. As the two spectators in his image confront the reader of Mellerio's book with their direct gaze and presence that presses forward out of the darkened space of the picture plane and into the space of the viewer, he or she is immediately engaged in this print and in the experience of viewing a color lithograph. Likewise, the viewer might also recognize that, as the object of the gaze of these theater patrons, he or she becomes the spectacle they are viewing, while the experience of viewing this print itself becomes a spectacle. Like the couple in the intimate space of the loge, nineteenth-century readers probably found themselves in the similar intimacy of their homes when they explored the book's visual and written format. As the spectators in the image participate in the public space of the theater from the more private setting of the loge, the lithograph itself becomes a bridge between public and private spaces. It was a work of art reproduced for a general audience and circulated in the public sphere, while it entered the private space of the home for consumption. Bonnard's lithographic frontispiece confronts the viewer with this duality. Whereas it depicts the theater as a form of public entertainment, it is the most emphatically intimate of the theater lithographs and thus seems fitting for its context. It serves as an effective invitation for the reader of Mellerio's book to participate in the artistic trend of color lithography on both public and private levels, first through the print, then by turning the page and reading the arguments of the text.

In depicting the couple in the loge, Bonnard also presented a form of entertainment and patronage of the arts parallel to the patronage that Mellerio's book asks of its readers. The book's preciousness as an art object limited its purchasers to the professional classes, patrons who would identify with the fashionable couple in the loge. According to Cate, in the 1890s, one could purchase an original color lithograph by Toulouse-Lautrec or Redon "for the price of a meal at a good restaurant, or...the price of a suit."[56] While this is affordable compared to a painting or sculpture, dining out, purchasing suits, and collecting prints were luxuries more within the reach of affluent buyers. In the text of *La Lithographie originale en couleurs*, Mellerio pointed out the growing number of "representatives of the middle class who dedicate their leisure time, a portion of their intelligence and their money" to collecting art, including original prints. Mellerio then proclaimed the potential of these prints to produce "among ordinary people" a "more refined" taste. Although he remained vague regarding the actual demographic of these "ordinary people," and never directly mentions the relationship between print collectors and theater patrons, he emphasized the democratic capacity of color lithography to reach a broader audience than "paintings, statues, and all works that have a value as unique objects by their rarity" and are "accessible only to a limited number [of collectors]."[57]

The reference to the theater in Bonnard's image underscores Mellerio's points about an audience for color prints, while, at the same time, counteracts the author's vagueness with a specific example of patronage. Not only does the woman hold what is most likely a color lithographic theater program, she and her companion also represent the same middle class mentioned by Mellerio, whose leisure time, intelligence, and wealth are suggested by their patronage of the theater and prints. Additionally, like a theater production viewed by a multitude of patrons, a color lithograph in its multiple reproductions was available for collection by numerous buyers, unlike a painting. Also in contrast to a painting, which hangs on a wall for constant viewing, a lithograph is also often experienced in a fleeting manner, especially if it appears in an album or book. Like a theatrical spectacle that is viewed only while the curtain is raised, Bonnard's lithographic frontispiece is seen only while the book is open and vanishes from sight with the turn of the page. The image provides a sensitive and nuanced interpretation of the reception of color lithography, reaching beyond the arguments of Mellerio's text.

Not only do Bonnard's lithographs add to the experience of the book's viewers both then and now, the prints locate the work as a product of its time. They allow it to discourse with several other formats of the collector's original color lithograph in the final decade of the nineteenth century, and at the same time position it as a turning point that presages the twentieth. The type of print that Mellerio offers in his book is one of three forms common to the color lithograph: the poster, the mural decoration hung like a painting on constant display, and the small, intimate collector's print kept loose in portfolios or bound in albums. The color lithograph in the 1890s brought quality art "to the streets, to the classroom, and to the middle class living room."[58] It is into this third viewing space that Mellerio's book inserts itself, conversing with the other print formats found there.

Some of the most constant sources of support for the collectible print in the 1890s were contemporary serial publications. As Mellerio's book was funded and published through his journal *L'Estampe et l'affiche*, it became a part of this trend. In 1893, André Marty, director of *Le Journal des artistes* [The Artist's Newspaper], organized *L'Estampe originale*. Then in 1894, *L'Epreuve* [The Proof], a collaborative publication between artists and poets, issued monthly portfolios of artists' prints. *La Revue blanche* published an album of commissioned frontispieces in 1894, while the following two years saw *L'Estampe moderne* [The Modern Print], another monthly journal that presented information on printmaking, and offered a supplement of prints with its issues.[59] Between 1894 and 1900, the journal *La Plume* [The Pen] published albums of prints, as well as an ongoing collection of the posters for the Salon des Cent, its monthly exhibition of prints and other media. Mellerio's 1898 book, with its inclusion of Bonnard's lithographs, thus seems a culmination of this union between the serial publication and the artistic print.

Like Marty's *L'Estampe originale* and Vollard's two albums, Mellerio's publication specifically promotes originality in printmaking, a goal that is visually manifested in each of their cover images (figs. 1, 6, 7, and 8). Yet Mellerio's cover is the most emphatic about a connection between originality and a specific print medium. In contrast to the other covers in which the printing press and example prints leave open the possibility of various print processes, the cover image for Mellerio's book refers directly to lithography. Correspondingly, the original print was not defined in the same manner

in all three publications. In 1893, critic and arts administrator Roger Marx wrote the preface for *L'Estampe originale* promoting the prints in that publication as "drawings" direct from the artists' imagination, regardless of the print media. For him, the original print must translate the "force of action of the original thought" and thus in multiplication and circulation "loses nothing of its value as an autograph."[60] It is the initial artistic creation, not its translation into a print medium, that determined a print's status as original for Marx. Similarly, Vollard found originality in the "self-expression" of prints by artists who were not professional printmakers.[61] Again, he did not specify media or acknowledge the role of a printer alongside the artist. Mellerio, in contrast, found printing technique as necessary as artistic inspiration. He was interested in color lithography as a printmaking medium for its own sake, rather than as a means of reproducing artists' drawings: whereas original color lithography cannot "claim to have the imperceptible delicacies of an original drawing," it has "by nature of its techniques...a range of possibilities which belong to it alone."[62] He also went the furthest to articulate the range of collaborative relationships between artist and printer in the production of an original print. At the same time, originality was a function of rarity in each of these publications. Limited edition formats enhanced the value of their included prints. But among these published works, the albums were the more precious, as they were issued in editions of one hundred, compared to Mellerio's one thousand.

The specification of color was also central to Mellerio's project, in contradistinction to Marty's and Vollard's albums, which included both black and white and color prints. Indeed, Mellerio's promotion of the color lithograph had a political motive. In 1891, the official Salon had ruled that color prints were nontraditional, too commercial, and thus prohibited from inclusion in its exhibitions. This decision was reviewed in 1898 when Henri Lefort upheld the ruling: "by its essential principles, its origins and its traditions, the art of the print is unquestionably the art of *Black* and *White* [emphasis in original]."[63] Seen in this context, Mellerio's text speaks to the cause of opening the Salon to the color print. He writes:

> What is the legitimacy of the color print? Should it be considered simply as an encroaching and diminishing incursion into the domain of painting? Or, on the contrary, does it have an intrinsic essence and its own particular range and scope? We lean resolutely toward the latter affirmation...the right of the color print to exist comes directly from a principle which we consider an axiom: any method or process which an artist develops to express himself is, for that very reason, legitimate.[64]

Coupled with this statement, Bonnard's color lithographs stand as visual polemics for this cause, declaring themselves art worthy of official recognition. Whether or not Mellerio's book had a direct impact on the Salon, an amendment was added to the 1899 statutes that allowed color prints to be admitted.[65] Yet this change was rather anticlimactic, for by the end of the decade the original color print movement was beginning to decline rapidly, and that year only ten of 522 prints at the Salon were in color. Nevertheless, the debate informs the text of Mellerio's book, and by extension Bonnard's lithographs as well.

A second type of collector's album of the decade 1890–1900 countered the eclecticism of the multi-artist and multi-media albums. In his text, Mellerio mentioned Vollard's single-artist

collections of prints by Redon, Bonnard, Henri Fantin-Latour, Edouard Vuillard, Maurice Denis, and Ker Xavier Roussel.[66] In 1895, the dealer had commissioned from Bonnard *Quelques Aspects de la vie de Paris*, which was not actually published until 1899, when a number of the other albums appeared as well. This single-artist thematic album was not begun by Vollard, nor was it limited to lithography, but was part of a much broader sampling of similar publications involving a range of Parisian artists.[67] By choosing Bonnard to design both lithographs for his volume, which concentrated on a single theme, Mellerio's book strikes a dialogue with these monographic albums.

Vollard also published a third type of collectible item for the bourgeois patron. After issuing his albums, Vollard shifted his energies to the creation of books that combined artists' original prints with popular literary texts. The initiator of this new genre, the *livre d'artiste* [artist's book], is Paul Verlaine's *Parallèlement*, a volume of erotic poetry published by Vollard in 1900 with rose-colored lithographs by Bonnard. Mellerio's book might be seen as a forerunner of this genre.[68] Both *La Lithographie originale en couleurs* and *Parallèlement* present the book as a collector's item and work of art, a collaboration between writer, artist, and publisher. Furthermore, the defining feature of the *livre d'artiste* is the parallel of visual and verbal expression, and Bonnard's cover and frontispiece declare just such an expressive parallel to Mellerio's text. Because this genre reached its apex in the early years of the twentieth century, Mellerio's book was not only in the vanguard of art historical theory, but also marked a turning point in the artistic medium it describes.

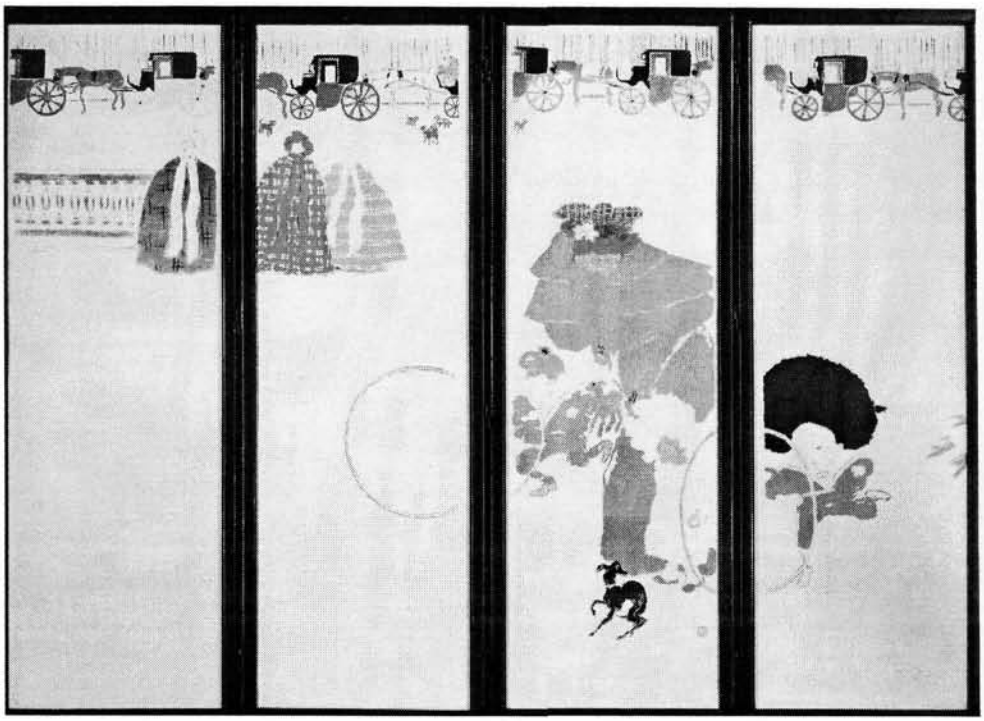

Fig. 12 Pierre Bonnard, *Promenade des Nourrices, Frise des Fiacres*, 1899, color lithographic screen. Virginia and Ira Jackson Collection (Partial and Promised Gift, Image © 2006 Board of Trustees, National Gallery of Art, Washington. © 2006 Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York / ADAGP, Paris.)

Finally, the inclusion of two original lithographs in a limited edition book situates Mellerio's publication in the arena of the utilitarian art object that included everything from books, to screens, to theater programs, to the many other consumer goods produced by the art nouveau artist. Bonnard himself proclaimed his intention to create art in such functional items: in a letter of 1923 to the critic Claude Roger-Marx, he wrote, "our generation has always looked for the connections between art and life. At that time [1890–95], I myself had the idea of a popular production with everyday application."[69] This objective was carried out in several projects, such as a four-panel lithographic screen fashioned after a painting of the same subject (fig. 12).[70] Publishers were also promoting the decorative art object. In 1897, Marty opened a shop called the *Papeterie d'art de l'estampe originale* [Stationary Store of the Art of the Original Print], which was "devoted to bringing original art via printing, to the service of common functional objects including posters, monograms, printed writing paper, menus, visiting cards, birth and marriage announcements, folding screens, invitations, letterheads and wallpaper."[71] In his memoirs, Vollard also expressed a desire to include the decorative arts in his ventures: "A visit I paid to an exhibition of decorative arts was a revelation to me. I had no idea till then how beautiful pottery could be, and from that moment, I longed to 'publish' vases, plates and dishes."[72]

Mellerio's book with Bonnard's lithographs can be seen as part of this marriage of the commercial and the artistic and it should be appreciated as the art nouveau object that its author and artist intended. As Douglas Druick and Peter Zegers note, "one of the most potent forces in the print market of the 1890s was the aesthetic of the *belle épreuve* [beautiful print], the product of the attempt to give the multiple image a mark of uniqueness by such means as limiting editions and printing impressions on a variety of papers."[73] Mellerio's book was printed in one thousand editions, which placed it between the highly limited print albums of Marty and Vollard and more popular publications. Additionally, he varied the paper: the first two hundred copies were printed on Holland paper, with Bonnard's lithographs on precious Japan and China sheets; the remaining eight hundred were on vellum, with Bonnard's lithographs on simple tinted stock.[74] In limiting its circulation and carefully choosing and altering his paper, Mellerio increased the value of his book beyond that of a trade press publication, creating a functional work of art.

In his treatise, Mellerio proclaimed the benefits of mechanical reproduction to place "true works of art within the reach of ever larger groups of people."[75] Parallel to this written claim, Mellerio presented his book as a material example of this democratic art. It offered original lithographs by Pierre Bonnard to the readers of his text. Thus, whereas Mellerio's argument advanced the cause of the decorative arts movement that thrived in France in the century's final decade, his book became a work of decorative art itself. Like Marty, Vollard, and the art dealer Sigfried Bing, whose Parisian store *La Maison de L'Art Nouveau* [The House of New Art] gave its name to the movement, André Mellerio was simultaneously advocate and patron of a new useful art.

Mellerio's *La Lithographie originale en couleurs* survives as a written document of a period in the history of art. Significantly, it also endures as a revealing material product of that period. In this study, I hope to have elicited an appreciation of this material value alongside its established documentary significance. A collaboration between artist and author mutually dedicated to promoting

color lithography, Mellerio's book is more than an art historical treatise. It is an artistic artifact of the movement it attempts to characterize. And Bonnard's lithographs, far from being out of place, are an integral component of this self-referential product of its time.

1. Phillip Dennis Cate and Sinclair Hamilton Hitchings, *The Color Revolution: Color Lithography in France 1890–1900* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1978). This study focuses on Mellerio's book and includes an English translation by Margaret Needham. It offers only black and white reproductions of Bonnard's lithographs. *La Lithographie originale en couleurs* was originally published in 1898 in Paris by the journal *L'Estampe et l'affiche*. According to OCLC FirstSearch, fewer than twenty libraries worldwide own the book. I have consulted copies at Bridwell Library of Southern Methodist University in Dallas and the Getty Research Institute in Los Angeles.

2. The chromolithograph was invented in 1836 by Godefroi Englemann to rival the color and effects of painting using three primary tones. However, it was not until the 1890s that artists became actively interested in the process of color lithography. In the meantime, the chromolithograph came to stand for the commercial reproductions made possible by the process. These prints ranged from copies of fine art included in the French Salon to popular materials such as pornographic images. See Douglas Druick and Peter Zegers, *La Pierre parle: Lithography in France 1848–1900* (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1981), 64 and 76–77.

3. André Mellerio, *La Lithographie originale en couleurs* (Paris: L'Estampe et l'affiche, 1898), as translated in Cate and Hitchings, *The Color Revolution*, 95.

4. Ibid., 79.

5. Ibid., 80.

6. Hitchings, "Eighty Years of an Artist's Medium," in Cate and Hitchings, *The Color Revolution*, 119.

7. *Exposition Mary Cassatt* (Paris: Durand-Ruel, November–December 1893). See also Cate and Hitchings, *The Color Revolution*, 73.

8. André Mellerio, *Le Mouvement idéaliste en peinture* (Paris: Floury, 1896). According to Mellerio, the idealist movement involved several groups in addition to the artists mentioned above: the Chromo-Luminarists, the Neo-Impressionists, the Neo-Traditionalists or Synthetists, and the Mystics. Each of these groups included numerous artists. Bonnard was discussed as a Synthetist. This earlier work seems to present the preliminary stages of Mellerio's interest in collaborating with artists to design books, but it is not a precious collector's object in the same way as La Lithographie originale en couleur. It does not identify the paper used, or the medium of the artist's contribution, as Mellerio later did quite explicitly in his collaboration with Bonnard.

9. Druick and Zegers, *La Pierre parle*, 104.

10. Cate and Hitchings, *The Color Revolution*, 73.

11. Mellerio, *Le Mouvement idéaliste en peinture*, 50–51: "toujours M. Bonnard demeure éminemment coloriste.... En somme, M. Bonnard apparaît un très sensitif, un délicat de la couleur unie aux souples arabesques—toutes qualités d'artiste." In a footnote, he cited Bonnard's first one-man exhibition at Durand-Ruel, held earlier that year, as evidence of his admirable style. (Translation mine).

12. Francis Bouvet, *Bonnard: The Complete Graphic Work* (New York: Rizzoli, 1981), 12.

13. Colta Ives, Helen Giambruni, and Sasha M. Newman, *Pierre Bonnard: The Graphic Art* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1989), 3.

14. This publication was directed by André Marty and published quarterly between 1893 and 1895 in editions of one hundred by *Le Journal des artists*. It contained a preface by Roger Marx and compiled a total of ninety-five prints by seventy-four artists, including sixty lithographs, thirty-three in color, twenty-six intaglio prints, a third of those in color, seven woodcuts, a wood engraving and a gypsograph. The cost was F150 for the forty prints each year. The price of the final album, which contained fifteen prints, has not been published. See Donna M. Stein and Donald H. Karshan, *L'Estampe originale. A Catalogue Raisonne* (New York: The Museum of Graphic Art, 1970). Roger Marx (1859–1913) should not be confused with his son Claude Roger-Marx (1888–1977), both of whom were active in the visual arts in France during their lifetimes.

15. Vollard's albums were entitled *Les Peintres-Graveurs* and *L'Album d'Estampes originales de la Galerie Vollard* respectively. The first consisted of twenty-two prints and the second included thirty-two, both in editions of one hundred. See Ambroise Vollard, *Recollections of a Picture Dealer*, trans. Violet M. MacDonald (New York: Hacker Art Books, 1978); *Ambroise Vollard. Editeur Les Peintres-graveurs. 1895–1913* (London: Thomas Agnew and Sons Ltd, 1991); and Una E. Johnson, *Ambroise Vollard, Editeur* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1977).

16. For the relationship between Bonnard and *La Revue blanche*, see George Bernier, *La Revue blanche* (Paris: Editions Hazan, 1991). These years marked the journal's most intense artistic activity, most of which was focused on the print.

17. This familial community of artist-printmakers and their patrons is not limited to Bonnard and his supporters. A large number of the decade's projects were the result of similar professional and artistic associations. For example, Stein and Karshan (see note 14) dedicate a section in their catalogue on *L'Estampe originale* to the "interrelations" that brought about the publication. Bernier also describes *La Revue blanche* and its participants as a "family." See ibid. This is another way in which Mellerio's book is part of a larger context of artistic print publications.

18. On the Natanson brothers as the publishers of *La Revue blanche*, see Bernier as in n. 16.

19. The painting is in the Musée d'Orsay, Paris. Vollard describes his experience as a sitter for this painting: "In 1901 Denis executed one of his most important pictures as a testimony of his admiration...his *Homage à Cézanne*...In the center is a copy of Cézanne's famous *Dish of Fruit*, which once belonged to Gauguin. On the left Séruzier, the theorist of the group, is holding forth to his friends: Denis, Ranson, Vuillard, Bonnard and Roussel. Odilon Redon and Mellerio have joined them, and I myself have the honour to be present." Vollard, *Recollections*, 62.

20. Mellerio, *La Lithographie*, as translated in Cate and Hitchings, *The Color Revolution*, 83. An area of future research might be a possible rivalry between Bonnard and Toulouse-Lautrec, two of the most important artists concerned with original printmaking in the late nineteenth century. Given Bonnard's commission to create both the cover and frontispiece for Mellerio's book, the artist could not have been pleased with Mellerio's placement of Toulouse-Lautrec's contribution to original color lithography above his own. One wonders if perhaps Mellerio approached Toulouse-Lautrec about the commission before offering it to Bonnard. Although thus far I have found little evidence of rivalry between these two artists, any such competition could surely have inflected Bonnard's decisions as the artist ultimately commissioned to illustrate his friend's text. If established, evidence of rivalry would open new avenues of interpretation regarding Bonnard's contribution to Mellerio's book.

21. Ibid., 94.

22. Ibid.

23. Ibid., 95.

24. Ibid. The citation reads: "Look at how Lautrec uses a little of everything in his prints: flat tints, outlines, bright spots, spatter, fine strokes of the pen, etc."

25. Claude Roger-Marx, *Bonnard lithographe* (Monte Carlo: Editions du livre, 1952), 138.

26. The most sensitive reading of its subject comes from Roger-Marx: "The title dances in all these unequal letters, traced in a brush, making appear in the foreground the instruments of the work of the lithographer (the stone, the sponge, a bowl of acidic gum), and at the rear, in profile, a woman in a *tête-a-tête* with a print." ("Le titre danse dans toutes ces lettres inégales, tracées au pinceau, laissant apparaître au premier plan les instruments de travail du lithographe [la pierre, l'éponge, un bol de gomme acidulée], et au fond, de profil, une femme en tête-à-tête avec une épreuve"). Ibid., 138 n. 72.

27. This acidic treatment is a gum Arabic solution with dilute nitric acid used to fix the image and ensure that the stone holds water. See Frances Carey and Anthony Griffiths, *From Manet to Toulouse-Lautrec* (London: British Museum Publications, Ltd., 1978), 19.

28. First, the stone is drawn upon in a greasy medium with a utensil such as a crayon or brush. After this the stone is prepared with the acid solution and covered with water, which adheres to the negative spaces and is repelled by the greasy medium. Then ink is rolled over the stone and sticks only to the greasy medium while being repelled by the water. Next, the inked stone is placed into the press and the scraper is lowered to apply pressure, transferring the ink to the paper. Finally, the completed print is removed and the stone is immediately remoistened with a sponge before beginning the process again for the next copy of the print. These steps are repeated with a new stone for every color used. Further explanation may be found in several sources, some of which are clearer than others. A brief summary appears in ibid., 18–20. For a more complete synopsis, see Appendix B of Druick and Zegers, as in n. 2.

29. This star-wheel press,originally produced in Germany in 1805, was first made of wood and later of iron. See Michael Twyman, "Charles Joseph Hullmandel: Lithographic Printer Extraordinary," in *Lasting Impressions: Lithography as Art*, ed. Pat Gilmour (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988), 60–61.

30. Lepère's album was to be a biannual series of ten original prints per album in an edition of 150. At the time, however, collectors were unresponsive and the printing probably never exceeded fifty copies. Public records show only one subsequent album, issued in December 1889. Lepère designed the cover with the goal of revitalizing the medium of woodblock printing, but he included other prints in media more desired by collectors, hoping to raise the status of the woodcut. The cover image he chose symbolized the originality noted in the album's title. See Phillip Dennis Cate, "*L'Estampe originale*: An Overview of the Fin de Siècle Artistic Concerns," in *L'Estampe originale* (Amsterdam: Van Gogh Museum, 1991), 10–11.

31. Stein and Karshan, *L'Estampe originale*, 10.

32. Ibid.

33. Ives, Giambruni, and Newman, *Pierre Bonnard*, 76 and 150. The authors also note that Bonnard often depicted the modern Parisian woman with a feline-like face, and that this correspondence between human and animal amused the artist.

34. Mellerio, *La Lithographie*, as translated in Cate and Hitchings, *The Color Revolution*, 90–91.

35. Concerning a lithograph Rodin submitted to Vollard's second album, Mellerio wrote "from the standpoint of the print, [it is] less an original work than an extremely skillful chromolithographic reproduction due to the printer Clot." See ibid., 87. Mellerio's criticism should be understood in the context of the numerous print publications that comprised a range of these issues. Patricia Eckert Boyer describes how *L'Estampe original* included several prints that strain the definition of "original," from Signac's transferred drawing sent from Saint Tropez to Grasset's *Vitriolleuse* which is a stencil-coloured photorelief print. See Boyer, "*L'Estampe original* and the Revival of Decorative Art and Craft in Late Nineteenth-century France," in *L'Estampe original* (Amsterdam: Van Gogh Museum, 1991), 33.

36. Boyer writes that Toulouse-Lautrec's cover "stresses the pure, hand-made aspect of the craft of printmaking in which the artist draws his image directly onto lithographic stones and closely supervises its printing" and later asserts that the print celebrates the "artist-as-artisan approach." Ibid., 31 and 33. I would point out that the artist is not referenced by any aspect of the print, and only the printer appears as an artisan to execute the craft. Boyer's claim would be more founded if she were referring to Bonnard's cover image, which not only removes the reference to the printer as craftsman, but also eliminates the mechanical wheel from the press itself. While the artist is similarly absent in both covers, Bonnard's draws more attention to the "hand-made" aspect of producing a print.

37. According to one account, Mellerio's criticism of unassertive or uninvolved artists "must have been irrelevant where Bonnard was concerned, for it is evident that the latter concerned himself regularly with supervising the presswork on his prints." See Ives, Giambruni, and Newman, *Pierre Bonnard*, 25. I am not disputing this claim. Instead, I am arguing that Bonnard does not disclose his method visually in his cover image.

38. The sketchbook, dated by Pat Gilmour ca. 1910, is in a private collection. See Gilmour, "Cher Monsieur Clot…Auguste Clot and His Role as a Colour Lithographer," in *Lasting Impressions*, 144.

39. Gilmour writes that although Bonnard is "repeatedly credited with printing his own lithographs 'under Clot's supervision', the sketch he made of them both in a drawing book of around 1910 makes it quite clear who is at the press." She does not cite a source for these repeated creditings. See ibid., 145.

40. One letter reads: "Dear Monsieur Clot, Would you be kind enough to prepare for me two sheets of transfer paper for my last drawings and have them brought to me by your boy as soon as they are ready. It will be no trouble for me to drop by the printshop one of these days." See Ives, Giambruni, and Newman, 24. The correspondence indicates that Bonnard sometimes used transfer paper to produce drawings in his studio and may later have presided over Clot's printing. Arrangements between the two men regarding execution of Bonnards's lithographs are difficult to determine and probably varied. It was common for a printer to receive drawings on transfer paper to be pulled in an artist's absence. The range of possibilities is suggested in a selection of Auguste Clot's letters, translated and published in Gilmour, (*Lasting Impressions*, 176–82). For instance, Maurice Denis sent Clot some drawings with the message, "Look after this for me as if I were there…"

41. This omission, rarely mentioned and to my knowledge never actually discussed in the literature on Mellerio's book, deserves further investigation.

42. According to Francis Bouvet, Bonnard's "flowing lettering in free brushwork" set his graphic work apart from the more common form of printed text seen in the work of Jules Chéret and Toulouse-Lautrec. Bouvet, *Bonnard*, 5. Mellerio did not mention Bonnard's lettering style in his section on the artist.

43. Mellerio, *La Lithographie*, as translated in *The Color Revolution*, 94.

44. Toulouse-Lautrec employed a similar compositional device in such paintings as *At the Moulin de la Galette* (1889, The Art Institute of Chicago), in which furniture is disposed in a strong diagonal across the picture plane. In this way, Toulouse-Lautrec and Bonnard established mediated viewing experiences that allowed the observer to participate in the activity of the figures, but from a space that was slightly removed both physically and psychologically.

45. Octave Uzanne, *L'Art dans la décoration extérieure des livres* (Paris: Société Française d'Editions d'Art, 1898), 29–30: "Le livre, comme la femme, est fait pour plaire et pour être orné, vêtu avec apparat de tous les attributs de l'art…il est créé pour séduire le regard avant de charmer l'esprit; c'est un compagnon, un ami qu'on ne saurait trop embellir…c'est pourquoi nos modernes esthètes accordent au livre et à la joliesse de son costume initial une si grande attention, le voulant de tout point parfait, joueux d'apparence et fleuri de décor."

46. Uzanne's assertions buttressed the stereotyped gender roles that Laura Mulvey would later expose in her now-famous essay "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema," namely that the woman becomes an object of the erotic gaze possessed by an active male viewer, with whom the viewing audience (of both the decorated object and the film) is expected to identify. See Mulvey, "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema," in *Visual and Other Pleasures* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989), 14–26. The article was originally published under the same title in *Screen* 16 no. 3 (1975): 6–18.

47. On the gaze as both destructive and productive, see Margaret Olin, "Gaze," in *Critical Terms for Art History*, 2nd ed., Robert S. Nelson and Richard Schiff, eds. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 318–329.

48. This figure can be viewed as a frame for the consumption of a print. Moreover, the lost-profile view allows the print to stand in for her missing physiognomic personality and to suggest a vehicle of imaginative escape, connecting the image to themes explored in Joris-Karl Huysmans's *A Rebours* (1884), in which books, prints, and paintings lead the main character into reverie and even hallucination. I thank Janis Bergman-Carton for pointing out this connection.

49. Similar gender ambiguities play out in a well-known photograph published in the Surrealist periodical Minotaure in 1934. In *Erotique-voilée*, Man Ray posed a nude woman against a printer's wheel with the phallic protrusion of the handle signifying the masculine power of the press, a power that is clearly missing in Bonnard's cover. The model presents her arm smeared with printer's ink, as she becomes the surface printed by the male artist and his press. At the same time, the model in the photograph is Méret Oppenheim, herself an artist, and by adjoining her body to the printer's wheel, she simultaneously regains active control. The same could be said about Bonnard's woman, whose body is also allied with the printing press and who is simultaneously a printed surface and an independent actor in the scene. Man Ray also strategically positioned the wheel to cover Oppenheim's female anatomy, much as the turned pose of Bonnard's woman downplays her femininity. In her reading of this photograph, Mary Ann Caws presents a similarly complex relationship between woman and press: while Oppenheim is both active and passive, the press is both destructive and celebratory. She discusses how the female body can be seen in complete harmony with its mechanical counterpart, or as being tortured and fragmented by it. The theme of the female body tortured through the apparatus of a wheel is not new, but appears as early as the martyrdom of Catherine of Alexandria. Bonnard's image is less self-conscious in the declaration of the relationship between woman and apparatus; however, it does add another level of meaning to his print. See "Ladies Shot and Painted: Female Embodiment in Surrealist Art," in *The Female Body in Western Culture*, ed. Susan Rubin Suleiman (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1986), 268–88.

50. Roger-Marx's reading clarifies this: "This mustachioed spectator and his neighbor surmounted by a vast plumed hat and emerging from the opaque shadow of a loge…are from the most talented brush of Bonnard." (Ce spectateur moustachu et sa voisine surmontée d'un vaste chapeau à plumes et émergeant de l'ombre opaque d'une loge…sont du pinceau le plus espiègle de Bonnard.) Roger-Marx, *Bonnard lithographe*, 138 n. 73.

51. As Cate notes, "the combination of color lithography and theater programs became just the right vehicle for young artists to gain exposure of their work and realization of their aesthetic goals." He notes that both André Antoine of the Théâtre Libre and Aurélien Lugné-Poe of the Théâtre de l'Oeuvre commissioned original prints as programs from Parisian artists including Bonnard, Toulouse-Lautrec, Henri Rivière, and Edouard Vuillard, among others. See Cate and Hitchings, *The Color Revolution*, 18.

52. Lautrec drew the image on zinc plates and shipped them to the United States where his patron, Ault & Wiborg Company, had them printed. Ibid., 13.

53. Renoir's *La Loge* (1874) now hangs in the Courtauld Institute in London. Cassatt's *At the Opera* (1879) is in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

54. Stein and Karshan, *L'Estampe originale*, 11. Stein identifies the play as "Le Chariot de terre-cuite."

55. Cate, *L'Estampe originale*, 24. Stein also notes the curtain going down but carries the metaphor beyond the closure of the album to the turn of the century as well: "the cover symbolizes the termination of Marty's project and the summation of late nineteenth century art, life and thought as represented in the ninety-five prints of *L'Estampe originale*." Stein and Karshan, *L'Estampe originale*, 11.

56. Cate and Hitchings, *The Color Revolution*, 74.

57. Mellerio, *La Lithographie*, as translated in *The Color Revolution*, 96.

58. Ibid., 33.

59. Mellerio dismisses *L'Estampe moderne* as "commercial chromolithography" rather than original color lithography, claiming that it is entirely lacking in artistic character. See ibid., 92. According to Cate, the publication was produced in part through photomechanical techniques, yet was still listed as providing "original prints." This further complicates the contemporary understanding of originality in printmaking. See Cate, *The Color Revolution*, 8.

60. Roger Marx, "Preface for *L'Estampe originale*," as translated in Stein and Karshan, *L'Estampe originale*, 15–16.

61. Vollard, *Recollections*, 247–48.

62. Mellerio, *La Lithographie*, as translated in *The Color Revolution*, 94.

63. Mellerio, *La Lithographie*, as translated in *The Color Revolution*, 98 n. 3. This endnote cites other voices on both sides of the debate.

64. Mellerio, *La Lithographie*, as translated in *The Color Revolution*, 80–81.

65. Clinton Adams, "The Nature of Lithography," in *Lasting Impressions*, 30 and Ives, Giambruni, and Newman, *Pierre Bonnard*, 24: "les ouvrages en couleur pourront être admis."

66. Mellerio, *La Lithographie*, as translated in *The Color Revolution*, 92. Vollard only finished the albums of Bonnard,

Vuillard, Redon, and Denis.

67. These artists include Toulouse-Lautrec, Vuillard, Rivière, Henri-Gabriel Ibels, René Georges Hermann-Paul, Théophile Steinlen, Félix Vallotton, and Maximilien Luce. See Phillip Dennis Cate, "From Redon to Rivière: Albums of the 1890s," in *Lasting Impressions*, 110–28.

68. Cate and Hitchings, *The Color Revolution*, 119. In his monograph on Henri Rivière, Armond Fields also describes Mellerio's book as "one of the first French *livres d'artiste*." See *Henri Rivière* (Salt Lake City: Gibbs M. Smith, Inc., 1983), 25.

69. As translated in Ives, Giambruni, and Newman, *Pierre Bonnard*, 10 and Bouvet, *Bonnard*, 5–6. The original quotation is from a letter reproduced in Roger-Marx, *Bonnard lithographe*, 11. The quotation here is slightly different, reading "Mes premiers travaux lithographiques ont été fait entre 1890 et 95. A cette époque, j'avais personellement l'idée d'une production populaire et d'application usuelle: gravures, meubles, éventails, paravents, etc ..."

70. The screen panels were produced in an edition of 110, converting a piece of furniture to a reproducible work of art.

71. Boyer, *L'Estampe originale*, 42.

72. Vollard, *Recollections*, 249.

73. Druick and Zegers, *La Pierre parle*, 101.

74. Roger-Marx, *Bonnard lithographe*, 138. For a brief explanation of these types of paper, see Carey and Griffiths, *From Manet*, 20.

75. Mellerio, *La Lithographie*, as translated in Cate and Hitchings, *The Color Revolution*, 95.

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Philip John Bainbrigge (1817–1881) and Imperial Landscapes in Canada

Kamille Parkinson

Philip John Bainbrigge was an officer of the British Royal Engineers who was stationed in Canada and produced watercolor landscape paintings there from 1836 to 1842. In the field of landscape representation the British military artists have, with a few exceptions, long been neglected in scholarly studies in spite of the fact that, collectively, many of them produced large numbers of landscape and other paintings over the course of some two centuries of colonial occupation in Canada.[1] Additionally, while archival repositories tend to classify, and researchers refer to, the work of these early artists as documentary art, some of them produced unique and innovative views that warrant closer examination in light of artistic conventions of their time and interpretive constructions of our own. One of the aims of this paper is to shed some light on this overlooked area of research and critical inquiry by addressing the work of one amateur artist in particular. Bainbrigge was unquestionably part of the group of amateur and military artists producing work in Canada in the early-to-mid nineteenth century, but the quality and originality of many of his watercolors make him an ideal candidate for further investigation into the realities of landscape representation during the time period under consideration. In this respect I use Bainbrigge as a case study and examine his artwork with an eye to explaining how and why it is compellingly different from landscape representations produced by the majority of his contemporaries, and what this says about landscape representation by amateur artists in general. I discuss Bainbrigge's work in the context of Imperial expansionism and the role of picturesque landscape in this process, and analyse what it may mean that Bainbrigge's work does not always fit with mainstream contemporary amateur art practice.

Among the British military artists who produced watercolor paintings in Canada, Bainbrigge has been noted as one who is little known but "deserving to be better known." His sketches show that, while he was a product of the picturesque painting tradition, he also "strived for unusual pictorial effects, often selecting unusual points of view."[2] Though an amateur artist, Bainbrigge's art allies him strongly with professional landscape painting practices in England that developed nationalist meanings outside of picturesque conventions. The significance of this for the interpretation of landscape representation in Britain's colonies, produced predominantly by amateur artists working in the picturesque mode,[3] is such that an in-depth examination of Bainbrigge as a product of nineteenth-century art practices is justified.[4]

In format the picturesque composition tended to follow particular constructions based on the classical ideal established by seventeenth-century painters of elegiac landscapes such as Claude Lorraine (1600–1682) and Nicolas Poussin (1593/94–1665). Based strongly on compositions by Claude, the picturesque landscape is massed into three to four simplified and distinct tonal grounds receding from dark to light, with any detail reserved for the immediate foreground. Quite often, especially under the influence of William Gilpin (1724–1804), the foreground and perhaps the near middle ground is "framed" by distinct architectural, vegetal, or geographical elements (or

side screens) in order to preserve the foreground as a stage for the action of the picture, if there is any, and to direct the gaze of the viewer. Figural elements tend towards small human or animal groupings, with all features remaining as simplified as possible. Allowable detail was added after the basic tonal arrangement of the space had been satisfied. For best picturesque effect, the eye was led from the foreground scene along a winding path, road or river, to a distant, light-filled horizon. It was this composition, based on the classical ideal, which became so pervasive as to eventually become a cliché. Claude's work was extremely popular in England and, though he worked primarily in oil, English landscape artists applied the same principles to their watercolor practice.

An examination of the development of the picturesque in Britain, with respect to the political and nationalistic meanings it eventually assumed, is important for this study in order to understand its implications for similar meanings in the colonial context and with respect to Bainbrigge's art production. It was (and in some cases remains) a phenomenon that coloured nearly every aspect of viewing and traveling, and from its beginnings in the eighteenth century the picturesque became a well-ingrained concept by the middle of the nineteenth-, having had over a century to establish itself as the primary mode of viewing nature in Britain. Unlike topography, which was used to describe landscapes in as accurate and unembellished a manner as possible, and which was associated with land holdings and military reconnaissance (and therefore was only intellectually accessible primarily to the upper classes), the picturesque was an accessible form of representation that appealed to the urban middle class as well. The early style of the picturesque, termed the ideal style,[5] opposed topographical localism with an image of landscape that was more intelligible and collective for a greater portion of society through a simplified generality that eventually came to be seen as fostering a sense of nationhood in Britain. As suggested by Kay Dian Kriz, while landscape gardening and the topographical representation of owned lands "required the ownership of real property...picturesque touring and sketching were based neither upon landed ownership nor on the leisure and education associated with it."[6]

> Gilpin's popular "essays and tours regarding picturesque sketching and viewing circulated as illustrated tour guides to domestic scenery [and]...were designed to train tourists to see domestic scenery through the mediating structures of landscape painting...Far from being exclusively designed for the liberally educated connoisseur or the professional artist," the practice of picturesque viewing was ideally suited to the bourgeois amateur.[7]

The simplified format of the ideal style (the early picturesque) described above was therefore among cultural mores accessible to, for example, the man of business, and not merely to the upper classes. The accessibility of the picturesque landscape to more levels of society thereby served to unify the nation on that front. Epitomized by the country house portraits of Richard Wilson (1713–1782), by the landscape gardens of Lancelot "Capability" Brown (1716–1783), and by the aesthetic of Gilpin, "this type of landscape was rationalized in terms of universals, one of the most powerful being the emotions of sympathy and sensibility, which [all men [in the sense of humankind] were thought

to share"[8] and which came to be seen as essential to repairing a national and social fabric torn by internal upheavals like the 1745–46 Jacobite rebellion. "The picturesque landscape, as popularized in guidebooks, and the practice of painting and sketching out of doors," Ann Bermingham writes, "represented a 'democratic' landscape...[and], by restricting itself to humble English rural scenery, represented a landscape both familiar and accessible."[9]

Where the classical, picturesque landscape of the mid-eighteenth century saw generalization as the essence of sensibility and national unity, it soon fell out of favor in preference for an art that showed a naturalistic and individualistic aesthetic. Such a radical shift from the ideal style landscape formula that represented a united body politic in the manner described above to one that emphasized more individualized images would seem to indicate much more than a simple change in taste, as has been suggested by Bermingham.[10] If the popular pastimes of picturesque touring and sketching had helped to naturalize political attitudes and values by inscribing them within its representational operations, then a rejection of this style would appear to have both political and ideological significance. The event that brought about these changes was the French Revolution. Put in a simple way, in the wake of the French Revolution and the subsequent war between France and England, the rejection of the classical ideal corresponded with a rejection of the democratic, social harmonizing it appeared to represent, and which was seen as having wreaked such havoc in the French social and political system. The new taste for naturalism emphasized an aesthetic that not only reproduced the local features of the landscape in a topographical way, but one that devoted itself to the careful delineation of their individual forms. In so doing the new aesthetic represented nature and society as a collection of individual characteristics organically related, highlighting a tendency to naturalize the social status quo by imagining it in terms of nature's complexity and natural hierarchy.[11] This is not to say that the compositional pattern established by the ideal picturesque was abandoned along with its emphasis on simplicity and generality. The picturesque view would not be dislodged quite so easily. Rather, the compositional practice (three receding picture planes, etc.) remained in place, while the simplicity was discarded in favor of the new naturalism and qualities of roughness and irregularity seen to epitomize romantic home scenery.

In spite of the pervasiveness of the picturesque, it is important to remember that "pure" topographical drawing remained a significant form of landscape representation. It is also necessary to differentiate between two types of "topographical" drawing—the highly detailed and site-specific estate views, townscapes and landscape drawings and watercolors of the likes of Francis Place (1647–1728), Samuel Scott (ca.1702–1772), William Taverner (1703–1772) and Thomas and Paul Sandby (1723–1798 and 1730–1809, respectively); and the map-like drawings utilized by the Ordnance Office and the military. The latter type of topographical drawing refers to the type of drawing variously called "military drawing," "military surveying," and/or "military topography." Evolving out of map-making, topographical drawing is an elevation drawing rather than a bird's-eye view and requires the use of scale and perspective to accurately portray specific places. Topographical drawings are held to represent particular sites and act as a visual summation of its distinguishing features, which they note in as objective and detailed a manner as possible.

As may be seen in such early publications on military topography as Captain William Paterson's *A Treatise on Military Drawing and Surveying* and Colonel W.H. Richards' *Text Book of Military Topography*,[12] topographical drawings utilized contour lines and specific types of symbols, hash marks, lines, colors and scale to represent a specific area of ground. Drawings might include bodies of water, watercourses, forests, swamps, roads, railroads, dwellings, fortifications and other structures, and often included calculations of linear distances between specific points of reference. A notebook of Bainbrigge's from his posting in Canada, "Roads Along the Frontiers," at Library and Archives Canada, contains numerous topographic sketches of this type produced in the course of his surveying duties for the Royal Engineers.[13] It was, in many respects, mapmaking, and bore little resemblance to what we think of as landscape drawings, a few of which also appear in the notebook and which quite clearly show the difference between reconnaissance drawings and those created as (perhaps) personal mementoes.

Unlike drawing preferences and instruction outside of military academies, both types of topographical drawing were essential to military and other draughtsman and never went out of style, and both were also a consistent part of the drawing curriculum at the Royal Military Academy (RMA), Woolwich, and other military academies. Of course, while they are ostensibly objective renderings, topographical drawings are still representations that order space in relation to a viewer, using a visual syntax and vocabulary to convey meaning in much the same way landscape painting is known to do. Topographical drawings, therefore, also required compositional formula to be legible, but they were not necessarily freighted with the same nationalistic overtones that the picturesque landscape came to acquire. They did, on the other hand, carry similar imperial overtones in terms of surveillance, mapmaking, and appropriation of land, offering a different nuance to the representation of territory so necessary for military reconnaissance and surveying and, ultimately, imperial gains.[14]

Neither form of topographical drawing disappeared entirely with the advent and popularity of the picturesque in mid-century, but rather were merely partly sublimated to the interests of fashion. As Bermingham puts it, "the training in topography offered to young men in military schools must be seen as contributing to the popularity and prestige of topography specifically, and landscape drawing generally, in England in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries."[15] Landscape painting in the picturesque mode may be thought of as, in essence, topographical landscape drawing (though not military topography) with a particular structure (the ideal style) and artistic sensibility imposed upon it. The partial conjoining of the topographical and the picturesque would therefore impact Bainbrigge's art, especially as both modes of landscape representation were taught as part of the curriculum at the RMA due to the nature of the instruction there (see the ensuing discussion of this on page 59).

Bainbrigge acquired his early artistic training as a Gentleman Cadet (as all candidates at the Academy were called) at the RMA, Woolwich, the period of his tenure there being 1830–1833. This training was likely his most focused instruction in drawing in spite of probable earlier tuition, and this time period also corresponds to that of an artistic shift away from idealized, picturesque compositions towards a more naturalistic, individualized, though still picturesque approach to

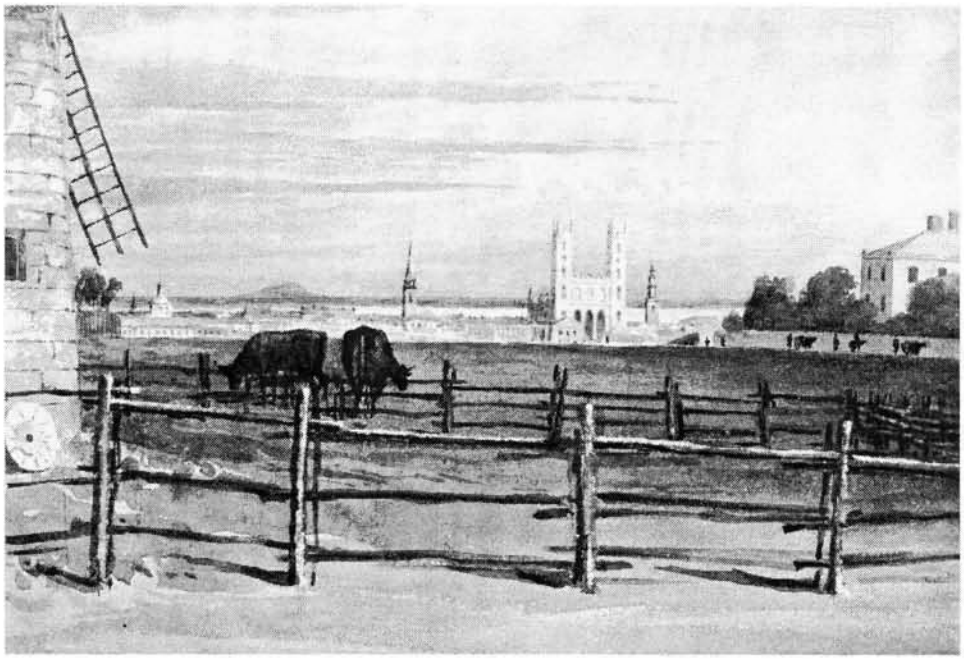

Fig. 1 Philip John Bainbrigge, *Protestant and Catholic Cathedrals in Montreal from Near Mr. Molson's*, July 1840. Library and Archives Canada, 1983-47-91. watercolor, 6.5 x 9.6 in. (16.5 x 24.5 cm). (Photo: Library and Archives Canada.)

landscape representation. As a Gentleman Cadet at the RMA, Woolwich, Bainbrigge was taught both military topographical drawing and current modes of landscape representation (usually taught by a professional landscape artist), but it is likely that he had ability in drawing before he entered the Academy in 1830. Regulations for admission to the RMA Woolwich at the time of Bainbrigge's entrance stated that a candidate for examination, usually the son of a nobleman or gentleman, should be proficient in

> Vulgar and decimal fractions, duodecimals or cross multiplication, involution, extraction of the square root, notation and the first four rules of algebra, definitions in plane geometry, English grammar and parsing, [and] French grammar....The above qualifications are *indispensable* at the time of examination; but the future studies of each candidate will be very materially forwarded if he has learnt to draw before he is received as a cadet.[16]

No candidate was to be admitted at this time under the age of fourteen or above the age of sixteen, so Bainbrigge's entrance at the age of thirteen suggests that, besides possibly benefiting from the influence of his father (then a Lieutenant-Colonel), he may have been a fairly precocious candidate.[17] Additionally, the example of his father, whose ability in sketching ground and reporting on positions was acknowledged by Lord Wellington in 1811, and whose value to the army for these skills was noted throughout the European campaigns of 1812–14,[18] likely inspired the younger Bainbrigge to excel in his own studies in drawing and other areas.

Bainbrigge was born at Lichfield, Staffordshire on January 16, 1817, the first son of Lieutenant-General Sir Philip Bainbrigge and Sarah Mary (Fletcher) Bainbrigge and the eldest of nine children. His father was colonel of the 26th (Cameronian) Regiment and a Knight Commander of the order of the Bath, and his grandfather was Lieutenant-Colonel Philip Bainbrigge of the 20th Regiment.[19] The Bainbrigge family is of great antiquity in the north of England and was considered to be landed gentry, with family seats historically in Lockington and Derby, so they would have participated in the cultural pursuits of others in their social station, activities that included drawing and sketching outings. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries drawing came to be seen as a polite art and was pursued by many in the English upper and middle classes,[20] so it is reasonable to assume that Bainbrigge likely had at least some instruction in drawing at home. At this time sketching trips probably included the ever-popular picturesque tour[21] as part of the amateur study of landscape, and it was also the time when drawing began to be taught at the military academies in Britain.[22]

The curriculum at Woolwich at the time Bainbrigge was a student there included the following courses of instruction: Mathematics, Fortification and Geometrical Drawing, Artillery, French, Landscape Drawing, Chemistry, Classics and Writing, and Modelling. Military Topography was taught in conjunction with Drawing until 1836, when it became an independent course.[23] The course of instruction for Landscape Drawing prepared the cadet for proficiency in military and

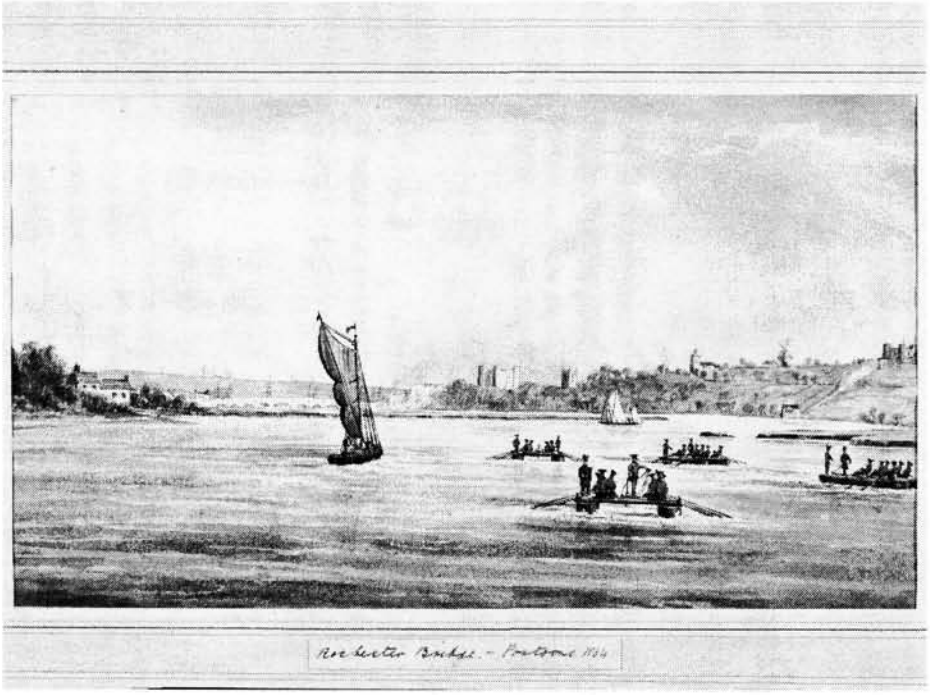

Fig. 2 Philip John Bainbrigge, *Rochester Bridge, Pontoons (England)*, 1834. Library and Archives Canada, 1983-47-105. watercolor with brushpoint and black ink and scraping out over pencil on wove paper, 11.3 x 6.5 in. (28.6 x 16.6 cm). (Photo: Library and Archives Canada.)

landscape drawing under the tutelage of a Drawing Master. Drawing Masters at the military academies and at other educational institutions in the eighteenth century, Kim Sloan points out,

> generally "attempted to accommodate the more technical and mathematical aspects of drawing necessary for preparing young men for trades and naval or military careers, as well as less technical aspects of landscape appropriate to young gentlemen. The latter type of drawing tended to reflect the instructor's perceptions of their own professions, not as drawing masters, but as artists."[24]

Accordingly, the strength of the influence of the Drawing Master on the work and style of the student can be seen in several of Bainbrigge's landscape watercolors. The Drawing Master at the RMA, Woolwich while Bainbrigge was a cadet there was landscape painter Thales Fielding (1793–1837), brother of the better-known landscape artist Anthony Vandyke Copley Fielding (1787–1855).

As Marcia Pointon has observed, Fielding's watercolors are expressive in character, with a feel for narrative and for loosely and naturalistically distributed rustic figures. This he couples with a rather impressionistic technique and attention to atmospheric effects, establishing him as an independent artist with an individual manner and approach to his subject.[25] The breadth of Fielding's views is another feature typical of many of his landscapes and it is an aspect that Bainbrigge sometimes adopted in his own compositions. A semblance of this effect can be seen in his *Protestant and Catholic Cathedrals in Montreal from near Mr. Molson's* (fig. 1) of July 1840, which also introduces cattle that are stylistically related to those frequently painted by Fielding. Bainbrigge's skies are also similar to Fielding's in their expressiveness and luminosity. Indeed, Bainbrigge's treatment of skies and cloud formations sets his work apart from those of his amateur

Fig.3 Philip John Bainbrigge, *Falls of Montmorency from Below*, July 1836. Library and Archives Canada, 1983-47-121. watercolor with scraping out and blotting over pencil on wove paper, 14.7 x 10.4 in. (37.3 x 26.5 cm). (Photo: Library and Archives Canada.)

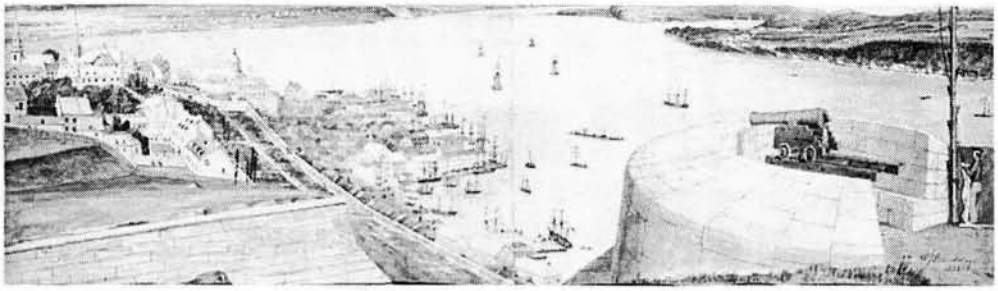

Fig. 4 Philip John Bainbrigge, *Quebec from the Citadel*, 1836. Royal Ontario Museum, 960 x 276.12. watercolor over pencil on two joined sheets, 10.9 x 30.2 in. (27.6 x 76.8 cm). (Photo: Royal Ontario Museum.)

contemporaries, and his work can often be identified by this feature.

The earliest known watercolor drawing by Bainbrigge is his *Rochester Bridge, Pontoons* of 1834 (fig. 2), presently in the collection of Library and Archives Canada. It is a fairly straightforward topographical work, with little embellishment of any kind, apparently portraying part of the training undertaken by the cadets at Chatham. It does give, however, an indication of Bainbrigge's later penchant for recording long prospects over bodies of water, as well as his habit of cutting elements of the scene off at the edges of the paper, a habit which, in spite of topography's claim to utility, is not in keeping with lingering compositional standards when it came to landscape representation.

The remainder of Bainbrigge's known and confirmed works are all of Canadian scenes, and one of the earliest of these, taken from near Quebec City, is his *Falls of Montmorency from Below, July 1836* (fig. 3). This work is relatively large and exhibits fairly sophisticated painting techniques, utilizing scraping out and blotting over very limited pencil notations, though it is not a very significant work in Bainbrigge's oeuvre in terms of composition or execution.[26] In this work he was content to utilise straightforward picturesque composition to represent the Falls, as a souvenir of the scenic spot. A second early Canadian work is his *Quebec from the Citadel* (fig. 4), which is signed on the verso "P. J. Bainbrigge, Royal Engineers, 1836." Also quite large, this watercolor was composed on two joined sheets of paper and shows Bainbrigge's attention to detail and ability with perspective. The level of detail in these and other of Bainbrigge's works from 1836 suggest that, immediately after his arrival in Canada, he was recording local scenes in something of the capacity of a tourist.[27] He has taken in the local sites and natural phenomena, as well as picturesque scenes and subjects from his travels. Because they are works created early in his posting, it seems likely that, in the wide-eyed manner of travelers newly arrived in foreign destinations, he must have wanted to take in every aspect of the new scenes before him and record them in his paintings.[28] The highly detailed nature of these works also suggests that they were painted for inclusion in a portfolio or for presentation, and the majority of Bainbrigge's works show marks of having

been displayed in mattes, while some actually remain in their original mattes, complete with handwritten titles. These were obviously meant to serve as mementos of his posting, for as the authors of *Wonders Never Ceasing!* (1991) point out, a tourist's illustrations of picturesque scenes in a foreign land served as souvenirs of the traveler's journey and could later be shared with friends and family at home.[29]

Bainbrigge's professional practice as an officer in the Royal Engineers is an area that remains somewhat unclear beyond the duties we know were required of officers in the regiment generally, but a difference between drawings produced for his professional duties and those created for personal use may be surmised. The duties of an engineer officer in the field "included mapping, bridge building, command of the sappers and miners, construction of fieldworks and... besieging fortresses. Specifically in sieges, they selected the location of the breaches... and declared when the breach was 'practicable' to be stormed." Having promoted this action, Royal Engineers always accompanied the party storming the breach.[30] While Bainbrigge was present at the battles at Sorel and St. Eustache during the Upper Canada Rebellion of 1837, his primary duties during his posting to Canada appear to have been related to the generation of reports and surveys. In these reports, such as a memorandum on the routes from Montreal to the Grand Falls of the River St. Johns (and back) written by Bainbrigge in February 1840, there is a written description of the routes as well as simple pen and ink sketches, in this case of the proposed troop barracks at the little falls of the Madawaska, and of defensible guard houses, both sketches signed by Bainbrigge.[31] These sketches bear little beyond superficial relation to the finished watercolors produced by him. Reports also frequently included sketch maps of a region, and the officer included descriptions of places on the road, distances between them, descriptions of the surrounding countryside and the viewpoint taken, with positions to cover a retreat in either direction.

Maps and drawings created by one officer were also frequently copied by another for inclusion in different reports if required. For the military artists the copying of drawings and maps was learned as a part of their technical training in topographical and landscape drawing. In both the *Text Book of Military Topography* (1888) and *A Treatise on Military Drawing and Surveying* (1862), there are detailed explanations and instructions for the correct method of copying plans and drawings.[32] The necessity for and importance and regularity of accurate copying of drawings by military personnel is borne out by other reports produced by Bainbrigge during his posting to Canada, which reveal that he routinely made copies of plans produced by other officers and signed these versions as "true copies" for inclusion in official reports. His copy of a "Plan for a Swing Bar with method of working the same" on the Ottawa Canals, dated January 5, 1840, is just such a one.[33] Similarly, Bainbrigge's sketch of a type of barrier gate to be erected at each of the four entrances to Montreal (when it was a walled town) was signed by him and subsequently copied by George St. Vincent Whitmore, another officer in the Royal Engineers on a concurrent posting.[34] In general, then, it does not seem that the watercolors Bainbrigge produced had any direct application to his professional duties and were created more in the guise of personal souvenirs, though they may have served as a type of *aide de memoir* for reports on the regions visited (or vice versa).

With respect to the visual apprehension of the landscape, the tourist encounter in Canada

since the late eighteenth century has largely been based on the pleasures of picturesque scenery coupled with the experience of a sublime and savage wilderness. In visual terms the landscape was apprehended primarily through the rules and conventions of picturesque composition, and tourists to the new colony created hundreds of souvenir sketches in the picturesque mode in much the same manner as sightseers on the Grand Tour. As a colony of Britain, like India, New Zealand, Australia, and much of Africa, Canada was accessible to British travelers and had been described by them in word and image even since before the British defeated the French at the Battle of the Plains of Abraham in 1759, with its description based on a certain prescribed vocabulary. This vocabulary originated almost entirely in picturesque composition, highlighting a strong connection between the politics of representation and the importance of picturesque conventions. In this regard, David Bunn points out that, the picturesque landscape, "an aesthetic and material practice, helps to naturalize the settler subject and establish a local version of the bourgeois public sphere" in distant lands.[35] That is to say, landscape paintings of unfamiliar places constructed upon familiar lines made the place represented familiar, and by so doing captured and appropriated it for the expanding empire. "At a time of imperial expansion," Ian MacLaren notes, "the identification of a terrain in terms of British landscape qualities constituted an aesthetic embrace of the territory that complemented the imperial political declaration of its British ownership."[36]

Accordingly, built into the painted landscape are symbols and pictorial codes that define the land and its inhabitants in relation to the observer—often with the intent of annexing that land in support of national identity and/or imperialist aims by means of the aesthetic appropriation described above. No less than a physical claiming of territory, the painterly acquisition also had as its unwritten mandate, "Make the World England." This has particular implications for representation of landscapes in colonies of Britain, David Lowenthal argues, since in few other places than England "is landscape so freighted with legacy…[and] nowhere else does the very term suggest not simply scenery and *genres de vie*, but quintessential national virtues."[37] As alluded to earlier, successive wars with, and revolution in, France forced members of the leisured and touring population of England to turn inward and travel their own country, as travel on the continent was dangerous, if not impossible. This led to an appreciation for home scenery and, coupled with the penchant for picturesque representation, to the development of landscape painting as a peculiarly British art school. That this school, by championing home scenery, became associated with nationalistic meanings is unsurprising.

In colonial Canada, however, the landscape frequently did not readily lend itself to picturesque composition, often being too enclosed by forests for the appropriate vista or too wild for picturesque sensibilities, while the wide open spaces of the prairies and the sub-arctic, as well as other "geographical and climatic extremes," MacLaren observes, "exerted a great strain on the sojourning Britons' perception of nature."[38] But the landscape was also ripe for manipulation along true Gilpinesque lines (rearranging geographical features to suit picturesque composition and taste), even after that taste had rejected wholesale classical composition. As well, without the depth of visible, European, settlement-based history evident in Europe, Canada tended to be somewhat thin of the ruins and monuments sought and favored by the picturesque traveler. The

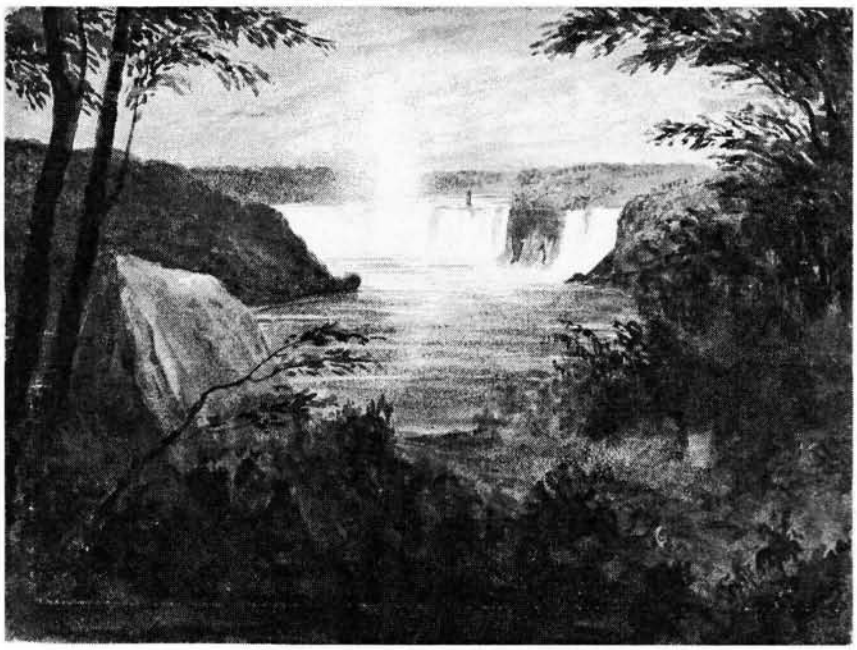

Fig. 5 Philip John Bainbrigge, *Niagara Falls from the American Side*, 1838. Library and Archives Canada, 1983-47-35. watercolor with blotting out over pencil on wove paper, 6.8 x 8.9 in. (17.3 x 22.7 cm). (Photo: Library and Archives Canada.)

tourist, however, was more than compensated by the immensity of the natural world, and was still able to satisfy the desire for monuments to great figures and battles, if on a more limited scale.

Concurrent with his professional duties, Bainbrigge's paintings reveal him as a tourist recording the scenes, landmarks and activities around him, just as other nineteenth-century travelers to Canada did. Bainbrigge's *Niagara Falls from the American Side* of 1838 (fig. 5), complete with the requisite receding picture planes and framing elements, is as artfully composed as could be desired of a picturesque landscape, though it is lacking any figures or foreground action to meet the picturesque standard. Even in his most picturesque compositions, however, Bainbrigge routinely strays from regular practice, in this case through the lack of figures, the density of the vegetation on either side of the falls, and the indistinct aspects of foliage and falls. This work, then, subscribes to picturesque traditions in landscape with the requisite roughness and compositional elements, but is also a good example of Bainbrigge's experimentation with landscape representation.

In addition to picturesque landscape views, the picturesque tourist was also inspired to seek out scenes depicted in historical romances, participating in the romantic associations of the location. In 1826 James Fenimore Cooper's novel *The Last of the Mohicans* was published and became a virtual overnight sensation, both in America and in Europe. The Leatherstocking Tales (1823–1841) were a development of Sir Walter Scott's historical romances, and so would have had resonance in England and were widely read there. As is indicated by an inscription on the verso of at least one of his watercolors, Bainbrigge almost certainly read the book before he was posted to Canada, and painted several landscapes of regions featured in the novel.[39] In all, Bainbrigge

painted at least seven views of Lake George in New York over the course of his time in North America, responding to both the associations generated by *The Last of the Mohicans* and to his various duties as a British officer on the Canadian/American frontier ("frontier" in this context meaning "border," as it was used in relation to the geographical border with the United States). Notable among these works is Bainbrigge's representation *The Horicans or Lake George* of 1838 (fig. 6).[40] In this painting Bainbrigge has eschewed traditional picturesque composition almost entirely and has created a view with massive, simplified forms. The blasted tree is a picturesque convention, and the canoe on the lake may be seen as romantic, but the placement of the tree front-and-center in such a large format is unusual for the time, as is the rather flat application of paint. In this simplified view Bainbrigge has caused the eye to focus on the tree in the foreground rather than on the subject matter of the landscape representation indicated in the title. It is possible that the tree is meant to invoke memories of the "massacre of Fort William Henry," an event that took place on the shores of the lake during the Seven Years War (1756–63) and which is graphically narrated in Cooper's novel. However, there is no evidence to suggest that Bainbrigge was given to using overt symbolism (outside of certain incidental pat images, such as the felled tree and cut stump, that later came to have symbolic meaning related to the expansion of the British Empire and its attendant type of civilization). Neither does the work appear to be a strict topographical view, given its romantic overtones and the atmospheric rendering of the sky. Regardless of his aims, it is a work that firmly establishes Bainbrigge's approach to landscape as one that is distinct from that of contemporary amateur artists.

In the nineteenth century and after, anyone, Patricia Jasen contends, no matter whether they were travelling for business, pleasure, or military purposes, became a tourist once the pleasures of

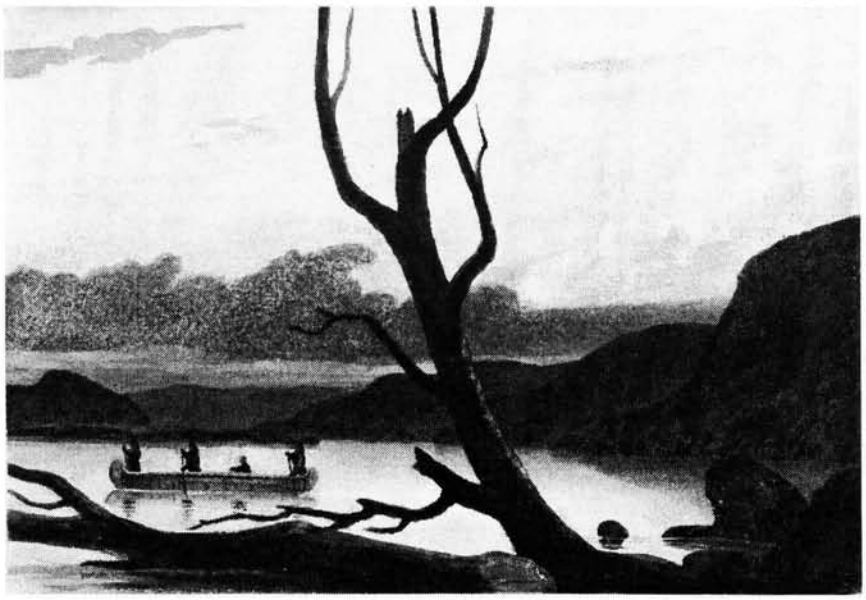

Fig. 6 Philip John Bainbrigge, *The Horicans on Lake George (New York)*, 1838. Library and Archives Canada, 1983-47-51. watercolor with scraping out over pencil on wove paper, 6.5 x 9.4 in. (16.5 x 24.0 cm). (Photo: Library and Archives Canada.)

sightseeing and its attendant experiences became a priority.[41] In spite of this assertion, it is difficult to dispute Jim Burant's observation that "the British military traveller's dedication to professional concerns sets him apart from his fellow countrymen abroad, and gives us an indication...of the place of British North America in the imperial scheme."[42] Bainbrigge's representations of tourist sites and scenes, in which his military eye and personal aesthetic contends with picturesque conventions, give some indication of this. As well, his numerous paintings of military fortifications (both English and American), plans for bolstering defenses in sensitive areas, and analyses of American military strength and American customs are proof enough of his military background and service to the Crown. Bainbrigge's more picturesque views are in keeping with the now generally accepted idea that there is a strong connection between the politics of representation and the importance of picturesque conventions, as it would seem natural for a military officer to forward the military and therefore political ambitions of his native country. However, his less picturesque compositions present slightly different implications related to Bainbrigge's personal aesthetic and painting practice.

The unusual pictorial effects Bainbrigge achieved mark his watercolors as differing from those of most of his contemporary amateur artists, and this has implications for his artwork in the colonial context. Amateur artists have for some time been viewed as continuing and promoting the picturesque landscape format both at home (in Britain) and abroad, in contrast to the production of professional landscape artists who, while developing new landscape idioms, have now been revealed as being complicit in the suppression of amateur advancement.[43] The resulting split in representational practice has meant that picturesque landscape representation by amateurs in Britain's colonies has had exclusive claim to promoting imperialism through visual appropriation. Bainbrigge's art shows, however, that this was not strictly the case.

Until fairly recently most discussions of imperialism latent in landscape representations have focused on the picturesque as the primary vehicle for its promotion.[44] This emphasis on the picturesque as a mode of viewing in British colonies has precluded a significant examination of other modes of representation as also participating in the imperial project, while it is becoming increasingly evident that the entire output of the English School of landscape painting, including that developed and practiced by professional artists, carried with it nationalistic overtones. This idea has begun to be examined in the context of Britain, but until now it has not been transferred to the colonial scene, and it is upon this point that my analysis of Bainbrigge's art rests. While an amateur artist who frequently produced landscape watercolors in the picturesque mode, Bainbrigge made works in different formats indicate that imperialism was alive and well in forms outside of the picturesque.

As already stated, amateur artists are considered to have carried the torch for picturesque views well into the nineteenth century, in spite of developments by professional artists. A dearth of research into the work of individual amateur artists has if not promoted the idea, at least allowed, it to continue. However, recent studies dealing with the relationship between amateurs and professionals—chief among them Ann Bermingham's work *Learning to Draw*—have suggested that professional artists were at least partly responsible for the suppression of amateur

advancement.[45]

> The "linking of the picturesque with the practice of amateurs...presented a problem for those artists who sought to earn a living at landscape painting: in order to be recognized as professionals, they had to distinguish their practice from that of the growing numbers of amateurs engaged in sketching and painting picturesque views of English scenery."[46]

As a result, around 1800 there began to appear in London art shops (such as Ackerman's Repository of the Arts and S. & J. Fuller's Temple of Fancy) a new type of drawing manual written by professional artists. Largely devoted to landscape drawing, these manuals proposed to teach it in a new, "progressive way."[47] This "progressive method" and its associated manuals were intended to teach the student step by step, through drawing to watercolor, and immediately plunged the student into sketching landscape views rather than beginning with lessons on proportion or perspective. What is now clear is that these types of drawing manuals increasingly taught techniques that were out of date, and styles of drawing that were simplistic, generalized, and anonymous. At this stage in the development of landscape representation, and at just the time that it was being promoted in the progressive method manuals, the tinted drawing was being superseded in the professional sphere by the transparent watercolor associated with the work of Thomas Girtin (1775–1802) and Joseph Mallord William Turner (1775–1851).[48] Therefore, as much as the manuals taught drawing, they taught it in such a way that a clear distinction would be maintained between the work of the amateur and the work of the professional landscape artist.[49] This holds true for the picturesque style along with the actual painting technique since the picturesque as a concept and format had become so ingrained and codified that it was difficult for the amateur to disengage from established modes of landscape composition, especially since they were reinforced in the drawing manuals.

The lack of research into the work of individual amateur artists has allowed the possible influence of professional artists outside of the drawing master-student relationship to be overlooked. It would seem natural for anyone interested in advancing his or her own art to look at work by contemporary artists in order to assimilate their ideas. I believe that this was likely the case with Bainbrigge and that he sought to incorporate new techniques in his own landscape painting by observing the work of professional artists in exhibitions or elsewhere. In this he was probably dissimilar from his fellow officer-artists, most of whom do not appear to have pursued their watercolor drawing further than what they were taught at the RMA, though there are exceptions.[50] I am suggesting that Bainbrigge was somewhat precocious in this regard, though military officers were not necessarily trained to be unoriginal thinkers.

Of the dozens of professional artists who could have been exhibiting work with the Society of Painters in Water Colour (SPWC) and at the Royal Academy (RA) in the 1830s (while Bainbrigge was near London) there are several whose work bears affinities with that of Bainbrigge. Notable among them are John Sell Cotman (1782–1842) and Peter De Wint (1784–1849). In the work of both of these artists Girtin's influence was strong, particularly with respect to his simplification of composition and deepening of the horizon, though Girtin and Turner both are noted as being

at the forefront of change in the British School of landscape painting at the turn of the eighteenth century. It was Girtin, however, who was of enormous influence on the British watercolor school in a more obvious way than Turner. He is frequently cited as introducing a sense of breadth and simplicity to watercolor landscape drawing, and of utilizing the panoramic view to represent a scene without the aid of *repoussoir* devices to frame the vista. Girtin's greatest achievement, however, would seem to be "the complete dissolution of the eighteenth-century Topographical vision, or rather," as Thomas Girtin and David Loshak would have it, "its absorption into the vision of nineteenth-century Romanticism."[51] In this respect, Girtin took the unprecedented step of depicting a region or locale without its topographical *raison d'etre*, so to speak. There is still a topographical content, in the sense of an identified and recognizable locality, but instead of this locality or object being defined as something apart from, and essentially different from, the space of the surrounding landscape, now the specific locality tends to be absorbed by the surrounding space. This innovation meant the death of the older watercolor landscape style, and when topography was revived in the hands of Girtin's successors, it was based on a very different conception — not on a finite object or locality, but an arbitrary segment cut from an infinite space.[52]

Girtin's dissolution of the standard *repoussoir* device eventually led to a narrowing of the viewpoint so that landscape paintings, in the hands of professional artists, assumed a more vertical emphasis. While the majority of Bainbrigge's watercolor drawings are composed in a horizontal format, he also utilized the vertical format with some regularity, which supports the idea that he was conversant with current modes of landscape representation outside of the amateur sphere and applied them to his own art. This vertical emphasis, and the deeper visual distance it invites,

Fig.7 Philip John Bainbrigge, *St. Lawrence River from Diamond Bastion, Citadel at Quebec City*, February 7, 1842. Library and Archives Canada, 1983-47-64. watercolor with scraping out over pencil on wove paper, 9.7 x 6.5 in. (24.6 x 16.5 cm). (Photo: Library and Archives Canada.)

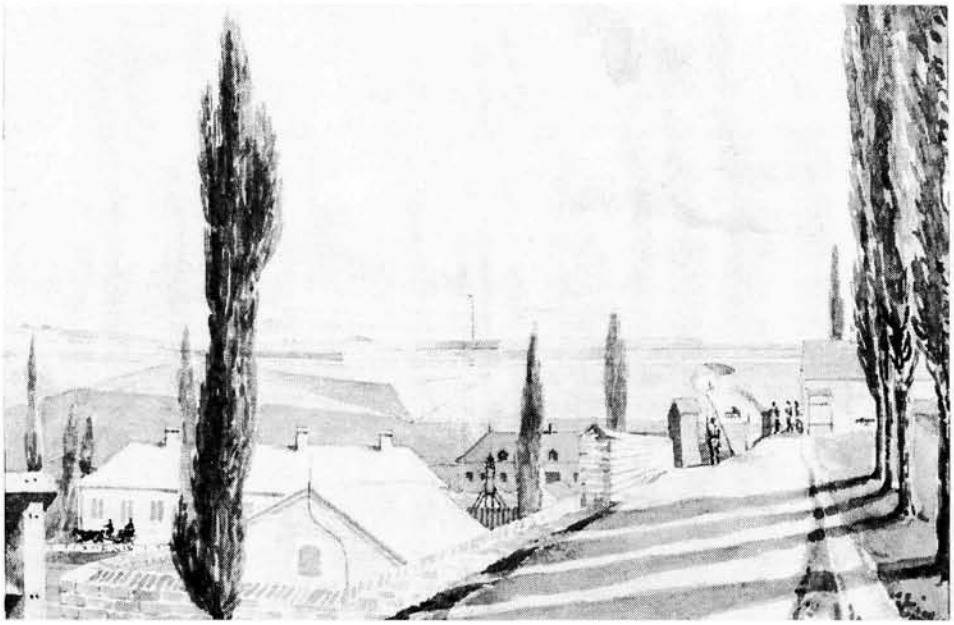

Fig. 8 Philip John Bainbrigge, *Citadel and Ramparts, Quebec*, ca. 1838. Library and Archives Canada, 1983-47-125. watercolor over pencil on wove paper, 8.6 x 12. 9 in. (21.9 x 32.7 cm). (Photo: Library and Archives Canada.)

can be seen in Bainbrigge's striking *St. Lawrence River from Diamond Bastion, Citadel at Quebec City*, painted during his final winter in Canada and dated February 7, 1842 (fig. 7). In this work Bainbrigge takes the unusual compositional approach of several adjacent triangles intersected by strong horizontal lines within the vertical format. In combination with broad, flat washes in the areas of snow and the ice of the river, and with little apparent under-drawing, the painting is highly geometric while managing to be evocatively atmospheric. This is not a work that invites the viewer to participate in picturesque reverie, but one that clearly shows the intention of the artist to relate the bitter cold and the realities of "the view from here." As well, in spite of the perceptual depth, the viewer does not easily pass the visual barrier of the precipitous, snow-covered slope and citadel wall to skate along the frozen river to the distant horizon, a phenomenon counter to contemporary landscape practices that allow visual access to the scene.

In the current absence of any definitive statement by Bainbrigge himself, such as that contained in personal correspondence or a journal, any artistic training he may have pursued beyond that which he received at Woolwich and any further motivation behind much of his drawing remains open to speculation. What is clear, however, is that it makes frequent departures from what was standard for amateur artists for the time period, namely, picturesque landscape representation. Bainbrigge did participate in a form of picturesque tourism, recording natural wonders, monuments, ruins, battle scenes and locations of romantic association from popular novels, and he frequently painted these scenes in accepted picturesque modes. Just as frequently, however, his representations are anything but picturesque in either their composition or approach. Where the picturesque favored detail and a quality of roughness in the view, Bainbrigge frequently

applied his paint in broad, wet washes that tend to flatten the surface of the object rendered but which, curiously, do not destroy three-dimensional or perspective effects. A good example of this type of representation is his *Citadel and Ramparts, Quebec* of ca.1838 (fig. 8), in which the citadel walls and turf fortifications in the background of the picture are flatly painted and form intricate geometric patterns, while continuing to present the aspect of solid walls and ground. This feature of Bainbrigge's painting, along with its resultant geometrical effect, makes his work quite distinctive and is something virtually unseen in the watercolor drawings of contemporary amateur artists.

Contemporary discourse on landscape representation and its function in the colonial context rests on the notion that British art practices, particularly picturesque composition, are used as tools of imperialism in foreign lands.[53] As discussed earlier, the picturesque offered a powerful means to represent even foreign, unfamiliar landscapes and make them familiar, because as an artistic and cultural practice it was well-ingrained by the nineteenth-century, it allowed for the manipulation of the landscape in order for it to conform to picturesque principles, and it had its roots in English rural scenery, thereby solidifying associations with the "auld sod." Most discussions of landscape and imperialism have therefore focused on the picturesque as a key, if not *the* key, component in the conceptual appropriation of foreign lands by British colonial power.[54] This is certainly a reasonable position to take since the picturesque had such immediate and enduring popularity and was practiced by both professional and amateur artists alike as an easy means of accessing the landscape. However, recent scholarship has pointed out that it was not simply the picturesque that functioned as a political tool and as nationalist art, but was, rather, the whole development of the English School of landscape painting that served this purpose.[55]

"One of the key factors that led many commentators [on art] to welcome the contribution of watercolorists to the English School," Greg Smith observes, "was their commitment to the scenery and fabric of the nation."[56] Landscape was the primary genre practiced by these artists, and with the closure of the continent to British travellers in the late eighteenth century, home scenery and a particular way of representing it came to dominate indigenous watercolor art. "It was not landscape *per se* that offered watercolorists an opportunity to contribute to the national school, however, but a specific style that portrayed nature in its ever-varying guise as a landscape of effects. Landscape painting was a patriotic endeavour," Smith remarks, "because the native climate itself was understood to offer the English artist a unique resource denied to foreign artists."[57] English landscape painting and its emphasis on local scenery and carefully observed natural effects, so the argument goes, had wider political implications. In this regard the empiricist approach of the English School came to be understood as diametrically opposed to French practice, which was seen as dominated by a clinical concern with theory and classical composition (an idea described earlier with respect to the change in picturesque format).

The English School of painting, grounded as it was in landscape representation, developed distinct depictions of "English" weather and light effects, and adopted working practices associated with what came to be called "naturalism." The new aesthetic served a conservative, specifically counter-revolutionary ideology, Smith writes, but the growing adherence to naturalism, seen

"in its broadest sense as an attitude towards the depiction of nature which challenges existing conventions and idealizing structures, cannot, of course, be simply explained in terms of political interest."[58] Rather, the depiction by artists of the landscape of England in ways that stressed nature as an infinite variety of transient local effects could be said to be engaged in a patriotic act with a political dimension. Additionally, the terms under which the English School discourse of landscape was generated provided watercolorists with a range of practices with which to link their work to the wider patriotic project. These practices included the enduring popularity of the picturesque, as well as the development of new modes of landscape representation introduced by the likes of Girtin and Turner.

As it is arguably the entire output of the English School of landscape painting (and not just the picturesque) that carries political overtones, it may be stated that any landscape art learned in the English style and as part of the English School (such as that learned and practiced by Bainbrigge) can carry that patriotic endeavor. The argument for the patriotism of the English School within Britain is well established, but the step to take it further does not appear to have been made.[59] Some of the reasons why this theory may not have been addressed are as follows: Once the continent re-opened to British tourists and they once again began representing European landscapes, they were not intent on "capturing" the scenes depicted in terms of appropriation for England, as Britain was not actively seeking to colonize other European countries. The English School of landscape still carried patriotic overtones, but these were primarily in the sense of the superiority of the English method, Kriz argues, for "such was the strength of the patriotic associations of the medium that even foreign scenes such as Turner's Swiss views could be discussed as the epitome of a national art."[60] Secondly, it was probably only the rare professional practitioner of watercolor landscape painting who traveled to Britain's colonies, so innovations in the genre were unlikely to reach British dominions such as those in Africa, Australia, or Canada before the middle of the nineteenth century. Accordingly, the landscape of Britain's colonies was depicted primarily by amateur artists, most of whom produced their representations in the picturesque mode—hence the emphasis on the picturesque as a tool of imperialism. The few Canadian professional artists such as Paul Kane (1810–1871) and Cornelius Krieghoff (1815–1872) who were producing landscape and other paintings at the same time or slightly later based their compositions on European models and worked primarily in oil.[61]

Bainbrigge, though an amateur artist who frequently produced works in the picturesque format, created many landscape compositions that reflect the changes taking place in the English School with its associated nationalist fervour. This affinity with a home-based patriotic endeavor declares that Bainbrigge, in addition to achieving imperialist aims through his more picturesque compositions, was pursuing a parallel imperial project with his more innovative landscape representations aligned with professional practice. This imperialist intent, whether conscious or unconscious, is only further emphasized by Bainbrigge's own profession and family history.

To begin with, Bainbrigge came from a long line of British military officers and lawmen, with some family connections to royalty. The family, known as Bainbrigge of Lockington and Derby, was an ancient family of the north of England and came to Lockington about the close of the reign

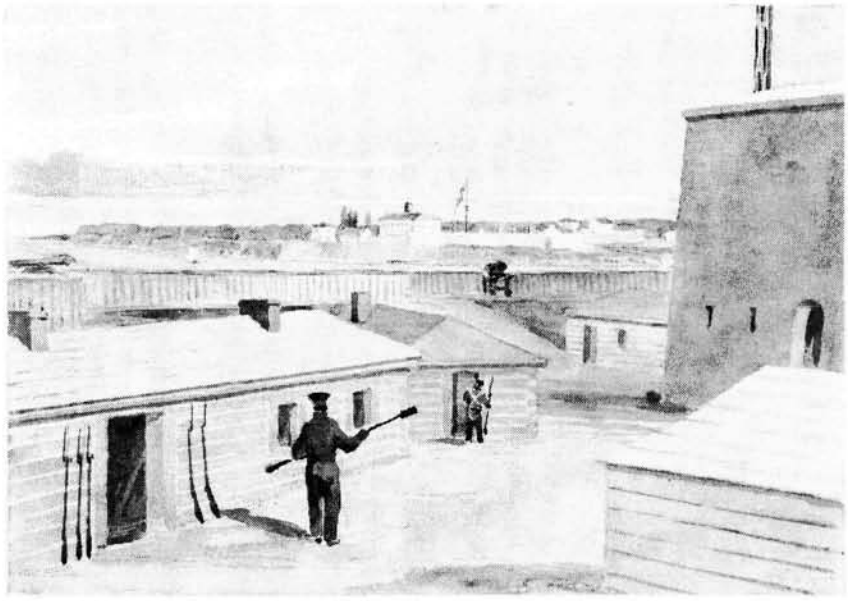

Fig. 9 Philip John Bainbrigge, *Fort Niagara from Fort Mississauga, Upper Canada*, 1840. Library and Archives Canada, 1983-47-118. watercolor over pencil on wove paper, 7 x 9.8 in. (17.9 x 24.9 cm). (Photo: Library and Archives Canada.)

of Henry VII (1485–1509). Bainbrigge's great-great-uncle William Bainbrigge (1668–1706) was High Sheriff of County Leicester and is noted to have received a pardon from Charles II (reigned 1660–1685) after the fall of the Republican Commonwealth of 1649–1660.[62] Bainbrigge's great-grandfather Thomas Bainbrigge (1714–1798) was Sheriff of Derbyshire beginning in about 1760, and proclaimed King George III on his accession to the throne in 1760. In addition, Thomas Bainbrigge married Anne, daughter of Isaac Borrow, Esquire, of Castlefields, county Derby, by his second wife, Honor Burton, who was directly descended from Edward III of England. Bainbrigge's grandfather, Philip Bainbrigge (1756–1799), was a Lieutenant Colonel in the 20th Regiment and was killed at the Battle of Egmont-op-Zee (Holland) during the Napoleonic Wars. Bainbrigge's own father, General Sir Philip Bainbrigge, KCB (1786–1862), was Colonel of the 26th Regiment (or Cameronians), and was created a Knight Commander of the Bath in addition to other honors. In short, the tradition of service to the British Crown must have run strongly in the family. Bainbrigge himself attained the rank of Major General and married Margaret Jane Paterson, the daughter of a high-ranking Royal Artillery officer.[63] His own son Philip Thomas (1848–1919) became a curate, but one grandson (Philip Gillespie, 1890–1919) continued the family military tradition as a Lieutenant in the Lancashire Fusiliers, though he was killed in action at the battle of Ephèy at the close of the First World War.[64] In addition, several of Bainbrigge's relations, such as brothers, brothers-in-law, uncles and great-uncles, were also officers in various military regiments, or worked in law.

Bainbrigge's own career certainly suggests that his interests lay with serving the Crown through the venue of the military. Though he did not follow the apparent family tradition of joining an

Infantry unit in the military, his commission in the Royal Engineers was significant, for only the top flight of gentlemen cadets at the RMA, Woolwich could join the Royal Engineers. As well, the "Royal Engineer appointments were highly sought after since the pay was nearly double the rate of an infantry officer," and the *esprit de corps* was particularly strong.[65]

A prime example of how Bainbrigge's duties and his art practice intersected in the cause of imperialism is his curiously composed *Fort Niagara from Fort Mississauga, Upper Canada* of 1840 (fig. 9) at Library and Archives Canada. Likely painted as part of his duties to assess the fortifications of the province, the work is indicative of newly emergent fragmentary viewing practices. While we are presented with a distant prospect of the American fort, our gaze is not led there by way of a meandering, winding route. Rather, it is forced to the opposite shore by the converging diagonals of the external and internal walls of the British fortress, and what would otherwise be a picturesque, panoramic view is cut off by the mass of the building on the right side of the composition. The immediacy of the scene and its abbreviated quality suggest the sort of "snapshot" view the new pictorial order was initiating and which is manifest in Bainbrigge's art.

The fort and garrison at Niagara was described by Anna Brownell Jameson with some asperity in January 1837 as consisting of "three privates and a corporal, with adequate arms and ammunition, i.e. rusty firelocks and damaged guns. The fortress itself [she] mistook for a dilapidated brewery."[66] By the time Bainbrigge painted his view in 1840 the fort had obviously undergone some renovation and reinforcement due to the inducement of the Rebellions. The state of armed neutrality that existed between the United States and the British colony of Canada suffered some strain during and after the Rebellions in spite of familial ties maintained between citizens of both nations, and "the British forts were a constant reminder of the colony's dependence on the mother country...[so that] at one level of understanding at least, all Upper Canadians were forced to acknowledge...that Upper Canada was, indeed, a British colony."[67] In this regard Bainbrigge's sketch is a clear reminder of imperial authority, and while another amateur artist might have presented a more standard, picturesque view to express this aim, Bainbrigge's composition conveys the same message with equal or greater force.

My analysis of Bainbrigge's landscape painting firmly aligns him with the practice of professional landscape painters in Britain and the innovations taking place in the English School. These innovations, while a departure from the picturesque, were seen as being equally evocative of patriotic, nationalist sentiment and therefore capable of being part of an imperial project abroad. As a result, I suggest that any form of landscape representation growing out of the discourse of the English School, in addition to representing a political statement in the context of Britain, also carries that patriotic fervor to the representation of foreign landscapes and operates as a tool of imperialism in much the same way as the picturesque alone has been thought to do. Bainbrigge, therefore, while continuing to produce landscape views in the picturesque mode, was also pursuing a parallel imperial project with his compositions that are indicative of innovations taking place in the Engish School.

1. Few monographs have been published on individual military artists from this era, though there have been some. See, for example, Michael Bell and W. Martha E. Cooke, *The Last "Lion"...Rambles in Quebec with James Pattison Cockburn* (Kingston: Agnes Etherington Art Centre, 1978); Jim Burant, *Friendly Spies on the Northern Tour, 1815–1837: The Sketches of Henry Byam Martin* (Ottawa: Public Archives of Canada, 1981); Christina Cameron and Jean Trudel, *The Drawings of James Cockburn: A visit through Quebec's Past* (Canada: Gage Publishing, 1976); C. Stuart Houston (ed.), *Arctic Artist: The Journal and Paintings of George Back, Midshipman with Franklin, 1819–1822* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994); Honor de Pencier, *Posted to Canada: The Watercolours of George Russell Dartnell 1835–1844* (Toronto and Oxford: Dundurn Press, 1987).

2. Michael Bell, *Painters in a New Land: From Annapolis Royal to the Klondike* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1973), 12.

3. It is important to remember that very few professional artists travelled to Britain's North American colony, so the vast majority of work being produced here was created by amateur artists, i.e. those not earning a living by their art.

4. In this discussion landscape representation is confined to works produced in watercolor, as landscape painting in oils presents different (though related) issues.

5. For discussions of the evolution of landscape painting styles in Britain, see Baetjer, et al., *Glorious Nature: British Landscape Painting 1750–1850* (New York: Hudson Hills Press, 1993); and Lindsay Stainton, *British Landscape Watercolours 1600–1860* (London: British Museum Publications Ltd., 1985).

6. *The Idea of the English Landscape Painter: Genius as Alibi in the Early Nineteenth Century* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997), 63.

7. Ibid.

8. Ann Bermingham, *Learning to Draw: Studies in the Cultural History of a Polite and Useful Art* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000), 90. This recent publication by Bermingham is among the first to pull together in one volume a cogent and accessible account of the development of the picturesque in both its formal and social guises.

9. *Landscape and Ideology: The English Rustic Tradition, 1740–1860* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 85.

10. *Learning to Draw*, 90.

11. Ibid., 105–11.

12. Captain William Paterson, *A Treatise on Military Drawing and Surveying, with a course of progressive plates* (London: Turner and Co., 1862). Colonel W. H. Richards, *Text Book of Military Topography: including the Courses of Instruction at The Royal Military Academy, The Royal Military College, The Staff College, for Garrison Instruction Classes and for Examinations for Promotions* (London: Harrison and Sons, 1888).

13. Philip John Bainbrigge, "Roads Along the Frontiers," Library and Archives Canada, Cartographic Unit, G1116.B34, folio, ca.1838–1840.

14. By "imperialism" or "imperial" is meant the appropriation of the landscape, or appropriation by the extending of a country's (such as Britain's) boundaries and influence in general. Pictorial imperialism is enacted through map-making and topographical drawing (with their implications of surveillance and cataloguing of claimed land), as well as through more artistic landscape representations that utilize fomats (such as the picturesque) with acknowledged ties to a particular school with an implied national character (such as the English School). "Nationalism" (or derivatives thereof) should here be understood to refer to patriotic feelings, principles or efforts related to one nation, in this case Britain. Nationalism may be as straightforward as a statement (visual or otherwise) along the lines of "Britain is great!" or as complex as utilizing norms of one's nation to foster and support patriotic sentiments in order to resist and transform local constructions of place. This may be accomplished by depicting foreign landscapes as settled, rural places like those found in, in this case, England. See Elizabeth K. Helsinger, *Rural Scenes and National Representation: Britain, 1815–1850* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), and Michael Rosenthal et al., (eds), *Prospects for the Nation: Recent Essays in British Landscape, 1750–1880* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997). The terms "patriotic" and "patriotism" may here be used interchangeably with "nationalism." It should also be noted that the term "political" is here used in the loosest sense of something affecting the State or its government (as imperialism, nationalism and patriotism all do on some level), but not in the sense of relating to a particular political party or direct involvement in governmental policies.

15. *Learning to Draw*, 80–85.

16. Capt. F. G. Guggisberg, R. E., *"The Shop:" The Story of the Royal Military Academy* (London: Cassell and Company, Limited, 1900), 44–45. Original emphasis. These regulations were revised in 1820 and not changed again until 1835.

17. The Royal Military Academies at Woolwich, Sandhurst, Marlow and High Wycombe granted Commissions upon the successful completion of studies and the graduation of the gentleman cadet—i.e., Commissions were not purchased.

18. *Dictionary of National Biography*, v.1, 908–9.

19. Ibid.

20. *Learning to Draw*, 77.

21. Picturesque touring, the practice of following suggested routes in order to view and/or record picturesque English scenery, became fashionable in the eighteenth century, largely due to the popularity of Gilpin's guides for the same, such as his *Observations on the River Wye, and Several Parts of South Wales, &c. Relative Chiefly to Picturesque Beauty; Made in the Summer of the Year 1770*, published in London in 1782. Domestic touring, and the appreciation for home scenery, became common at this time due to the upheavals on the European continent caused by the French Revolution.

22. Woolwich, the first of the Royal Academies, was founded in 1741, before which military drawing was the sole responsibility of the Board of Ordnance Drawing Room. The military academies of both France and Prussia taught drawing and cartography and, while there was always a rapid transfer of military ideas across political borders, it was in emulation of their example that Woolwich was founded and drawing was taught there. *Learning to Draw*, 83–84.

23. *"The Shop": The Story of the Royal Military Academy*, 262–263.

24. *'A Noble Art,' Amateur Artists and Drawing Masters c.1600–1800* (London: British Museum Press, 2000), 106.

25. *The Bonington Circle: English Watercolour and Anglo-French Landscape 1790-1855* (Brighton: The Hendon Press, 1985), 74.

26. Large works like this one and the one discussed next in the text were somewhat unusual for the context and time period, in that the watercolor sketches by Bainbrigge and other military and amateur artists were generally composed in small, portable notebooks or sketchpads, not on large sheets. Bainbrigge's watercolors are, on average, around 17 x 24.5 cm (approx. 6.5 x 9.5 in.), or, slightly smaller than a standard 8.5" x 11" sheet of paper. The level of detail in many of Bainbrigge's paintings of Canadian scenery, plus the generally small size of the works, relates directly to the way these paintings were later viewed by others. Drawings from notebooks and sketchpads, even if they were transferred to a different portfolio of some kind, were viewed by others very close-up, probably with the portfolio resting in the viewer's lap or on a table. This very intimate and immediate mode of viewing was materially enhanced by the level of detail an artist was able to include in his/her work and also allowed for extended perusal of the sketch. For a further discussion of how these early landscape paintings were originally viewed, see Dennis Ried, *Lucius R. O'Brien: Visions of Victorian Canada* (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 1990).

27. Few of Bainbrigge's watercolors are signed in the manner of this one. By the same token, topographical drawings produced for military reports also were often not signed, unless it was to designate a drawing as a "true copy" of one produced by another. It does not seem likely, however, that this work was produced for a military report or other document. Rather, as an early effort in Bainbrigge's time in Canada it is probably a personal record of the view from the Citadel (a view painted by other amateur artists, both military and civilian), and is something of a virtuoso performance in terms of his painting skill. With respect to the level of detail being indicative of an artist's status as an amateur or professional, it is not an accurate measure as both practitioners would have wanted to record as much detail of their travels abroad as possible for audiences (private and public) at home, though clearly some amateurs were more successful than others. Moreover, this painting was copied by the amateur artist Miss A. Kirby (otherwise anonymous), so it seems unlikely that its purpose was military since she would have had little access to such materials. As well, there is no evidence of a finished watercolor of this type appearing in military documents, drawings in these reports generally following the pattern of military topography.

28. Watercolor sketches produced later in Bainbrigge's posting do not necessarily have a tendency to overt generality, but there is a sort of softening of technique and greater attention to atmospheric effect than can be seen in his earliest works from Canada, probably as a result of his maturing artistic ability and aesthetic sensibility.

29. Kathy Hussey-Arntson, Laura Linard, Martha Tedeschi, *Wonders Never Ceasing! Viewmaking and the Rise of British Tourism* (Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago, Chicago Public Library, 1991), 19.

30. S. J. Park and G. F. Nafziger, *The British Military: Its System and Organization, 1803-1815* (Cambridge, Ontario: Rafm Co. Inc., 1983), 48.

31. War Office of Great Britain, *War Office fonds*, Ordnance Office Miscellany (Series), W.O. 55, vol. 875 (Ottawa: Library and Archives Canada microfilms, B-2819, 1838–1840), 306–316.

32. Colonel W. H. Richards, *Text Book of Military Topography: Including the Courses of Instruction at the Royal Military Academy, the Royal Military College, the Staff College, for Garrison Instruction Classes and for Examinations for Promotions* (London: Harrison and Sons, 1888), 13; Captain William Paterson, *A Treatise on Military Drawing and Surveying, with a Course of Progressive Plates* (London: Trübner and Co., 1862), 3. The later publication dates of these treatises indicate that topographical drawing was flourishing in the military well after the mid-century mark. It is worth remembering that in England the impetus for training military draughtsmen came about as a result of the Seven Years War in North America and the American War of Independence, when it became clear that what the army needed were people trained to do field drawings quickly and accurately (see Bermingham, *Learning to Draw*, 80). Photography was not available to the public until after 1840, and even then it required specialized equipment that was often bulky and expensive. Moreover, the quality of the images produced by early photography was variable at best. Sketching materials were small, portable, and inexpensive, making the use of photography in the field impractical until the turn of the century.

33. War Office of Great Britain, *War Office Fonds*, Ordnance Office Miscellanea (Series) WO 55, v. 875 (Ottawa: Library

and Archives Canada microfilms, B-2819), 40.

34. War Office of Great Britain, *War Office Fonds*, Ordnance Office Miscellanea (Series) WO 55, v. 873 (Ottawa: Library and Archives Canada microfilms, B-2187), 427.

35. "'Our Wattled Cot': Mercantile and Domestic Space in Thomas Pringle's African Landscapes," in *Landscape and Power*, ed. W. J. T. Mitchell (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1994), 138.

36. "The Limits of the Picturesque in British North America," *Journal of Garden History* (1, 5, 1985): 98.

37. "British National Identity and the English Landscape," *Rural History* 2 (1991), 213, quoted in Stephen Daniels, *Fields of Vision: Landscape Imagery and National Identity in England and the United States* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1993), 8.

38. "Limits of the Picturesque," 105.

39. The verso of Bainbrigge's watercolor, *Fort William Henry, Lake George (New York)*, August 1839, is inscribed, "Lake George and Eastern Bastion of *Ft. Wm Henry* celebrated in the 'Last of the Mohicans'" (Library and Archives Canada, 1983-47-29).

40. On the verso of this work, along with the title as given above, is inscribed in parentheses "Le Lac du Sant Sacrament." The "Horicans" of the title is apparently a fictitious name generated by Cooper for *The Last of the Mohicans*, and Lake George as we know it had "four names, namely, An-di-a-ta-roc-te, given it by the Iroquois according to Father Jogues, and meaning "the place where the lake contracts," Can-i-de-ri-oit, "the tail of the lake" (Champlain), supposed to be a Mohawk term, Lac du St. Sacrement, "lake of the blessed sacrement," (*sic*) given it by Father Jogues in 1646, and Lake George, in honor of the reigning monarch, bestowed by Major General William Johnson in 1755, in honour of his king." In the 1851 edition of the novel, though not in preceding editions, Cooper states in the preface that he took the name "Horican" from an "ancient map" which showed a tribe of American Indians called by the French 'Les Horicans' as residing on the shores of Lake George. This has proved to be in one case a corruption of either "Iroquois" or "Mohican," or in another case a completely false piece of information (James Austin Holden, "*The Last of the Mohicans*, Cooper's Historical Inventions, and his Cave," Paper presented at the Eighteenth Annual Meeting of the New York State Historical Association, October 3-5, 1916, Cooperstown, New York. Published in *Proceedings of the New York State Historical Association*, Vol. XVI (1917), 212–255. In any event, Cooper's appellation for the lake stuck and it was known as the Horican from 1826 until early in the twentieth century (Cooper was American, and therefore not particularly imperial in his intent I imagine.)

41. *Wild Things: Nature, Culture, and Tourism in Ontario, 1790–1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 5–7.

42. *Friendly Spies on the Northern Tour, 1815–1837: The Sketches of Henry Byam Martin* (Ottawa: Public Archives of Canada, 1981), 20.

43. For literature relating to amateurs and picturesque practice, see especially: Ann Bermingham, *Learning to Draw: Studies in the Cultural History of a Polite and Useful Art* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000); David Bunn, "'Our Wattled Cot': Mercantile and Domestic Space in Thomas Pringle's African Landscapes," and W. J. T. Mitchell, "Imperial Landscapes," in *Landscape and Power*, ed. W. J. T. Mitchell (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1994); and Kim Sloan, *'A Noble Art', Amateur Artists and Drawing Masters c.1600–1800* (London: British Museum Press, 2000). For literature regarding the suppression of amateur advancement in landscape sketching, see: Bermingham, *Learning to Draw*; Kay Dian Kriz, *The Idea of the English Landscape Painter: Genius as Alibi in the Early Nineteenth Century* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997); and Greg Smith, *The Emergence of the Professional Watercolourist: Contentions and Alliances in the Artistic Domain, 1760–1824* (Hants: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2002).

44. See n. 14 above.

45. See n. 43 above.

46. Kriz, *The Idea of the English Landscape Painter*, 62.

47. Bermingham, *Learning to Draw*, 165.

48. A "tinted drawing" is one in which a drawing finished in monochrome is subsequently tinted with delicate washes of watercolor paint. A "transparent watercolor" in the new sense of the term began with only a slight sketch of the scene, with form, light, and texture developed through washes of pure color alone. The transparent watercolor technique therefore appeared both more difficult and improvisational, and less dry and mechanical than the tinted drawing.

49. *Learning to Draw*, 128, 165–167.

50. For example, Lt.-Col. James Pattison Cockburn (1779–1847) was a prolific artist who sketched both in Europe and in Canada. Additionally, a sketchbook signed by Lt. James Christie dated 1807 contains numerous pencil drawings of human figures copied from eighteenth-century drawing books. This reveals that military men were not exclusively taken up with topography and cartography, and that some went on to teach themselves other kinds of drawing. Bermingham, *Learning to Draw*, 84.

51. *The Art of Thomas Girtin* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1954), 75.

52. Ibid.

53. See, for example, Malcolm Andrews, *The Search for the Picturesque: Landscape Aesthetics and Tourism in Britain, 1760–1800* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1989); Colin M. Coates, "Like 'The Thames towards Putney': The Appropriation of Landscape in Lower Canada," *Canadian Historical Review*, LXXIV, 3, 1993; David Philip Miller and Peter Hanns Reill (eds) *Visions of Empire: Voyages, Botany and Representation of Nature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel and Transculturation* (London and New York: Routledge, 1991); and Beth Fowkes Tobin, *Picturing Imperial Power: Colonial Subjects in Eighteenth-Century British Painting* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1999).

54. See, for example, David Bunn, "'Our Wattled Cot': Mercantile and Domestic Space in Thams Pringle's African Landscapes", and W. J. T. Mitchell, "Imperial Landscape" in *Landscape and Power*, ed. W. J. T. Mitchell (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1994).

55. Kriz, *The Idea of the English Landscape Painter*, 76–79.

56. Greg Smith, *Emergence of the Professional Watercolourist: Contentions and Alliances in the Artistic domain, 1760-1824* (Hants: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2002), 204.

57. Ibid., 202.

58. Ibid., 203.

59. See Kriz, *The Idea of the English Landscape Painter;* Smith, *The Emergence of the Professional Watercolourist.*

60. Kriz, *The Idea of the English Landscape Painter*, 78.

61. Of course, professional artists did travel to Canada, as exemplified by William Henry Bartlett (1809–1854) and his publication *Canadian Scenery*, but Bartlett's views are notoriously picturesque, with exaggerated land formations for sublime effect. Australia's landscape received similar treatment with the publication of *The Picturesque Atlas of Australia* as late as 1886–1888.)

62. This document is mentioned in Philip John Bainbrigge's last Will and Testament. (Court Service, Postal Searches and Copies Department, Probate Registry, Castle Chambers, York, United Kingdom.)

63. John Bernard Burke, *A genealogical and heraldic history of the landed gentry of Great Britain and Ireland*, 5th ed. (London: Harrison, 1875).

64. Ancestry.co.uk, 1901 England Census (http://search.ancestry.com, accessed May 20, 2004); Poetropical anthology, "Philip Bainbrigge" (http://www.newt.clara.co.uk/poetropical/4.html, accessed February 16, 2004).

65. *The British Military*, p. 48.

66. Anna Brownell Jameson, *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada*, New Canadian Library edition (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Inc., 1990; first published, London: Saunders and Otley, 1838), 56–57.

67. Jane Errington, *The Lion, the Eagle, and Upper Canada: A Developing Colonial Ideology* (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1987), 34.

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An Interview with Carol Armstrong

Lisandra Estevez and Suzy Ford

Carol Armstrong is a professor in the Department of the History of Art at Yale University. She specializes in 19th century French painting, the history of photography, the history and practice of art criticism, feminist theory and the representation of women and gender in art and visual culture. She has published books and essays on Edgar Degas, Edouard Manet, Paul Cézanne, and 19th and 20th century photography, and has curated exhibitions at Princeton University Art Museum, the Drawing Center in New York, the Yale Center for British Art, and the J. Paul Getty Museum. She is also a practicing photographer. Her current projects include a book on Cézanne, modern physics and schizophrenia, a book of dialogues about the uses of the past and the functions of art in the present, and a series of essays about still life, description, and the "feminine" principle.

This interview was conducted on November 3, 2006 in the Department of Art and Archaeology at Princeton University, where Armstrong was Doris Stevens Professor of Women's Studies and Director of the Program in the Study of Women and Gender.

[RAR] Please tell us how you became interested in your many fields of inquiry: in the nineteenth century, in the history of photography, and in women's studies.

[CA] Well, that's about three or four questions [laughter]. I'll start with the first and kind of go back in my memory to first deciding to go to graduate school in art history. I wasn't one of those who knew, as some friends of mine did—well, I didn't know anything about art history when I went to college, and I wasn't sure whether I wanted to do literature or art history, but I knew I was interested in the humanities. As an undergraduate I studied most with Svetlana Alpers at Berkeley, and so most, and the best, classes I took were in the seventeenth century. But I had it fixed in my mind even then that I wanted to do the nineteenth century. And I think it was for not terribly well thought-out reasons of liking Impressionist painting, and being drawn to Degas's work, and Manet's work, a lot of the things I've ended up actually working on. So I applied to graduate school in the nineteenth century, even though I had hardly taken anything in nineteenth-century art. I came to Princeton and again it was a kind of (pause) ...I didn't have very well thought out reasons. I didn't know who there was to work with, I was a very naïve person, I think, entering graduate school, so I didn't do what students now do, and probably what most students then did, which is to find out who there is to study with and go to that place. There were several people who came and went in nineteenth and early twentieth century at Princeton. But one of the things that happened at Princeton was that I became interested in photography, because there is a fabulous photographic collection here, and a long tradition of photo history being taught here. I remember taking a seminar with Peter Bunnell and becoming interested in photography. I kind of decided from the very beginning at Princeton, through a class I took with Carl Schorske in the History department

on my dissertation topic. I wrote a paper on Degas, and became interested in writing on Degas as my dissertation project. I went to France to do that. While I was in France doing research on what became my first book, [*Odd Man Out: Readings of the Work and Reputation of Edgar Degas*, The University of Chicago Press, 1991]—which included issues of the representation of women, that's how I started my interest in women and gender studies—while I was there I took time out to begin writing about photographically illustrated books which I was very interested in. And when I came back I took a course on studio photography and learned my way around a darkroom, so I kind of had three interests going at the same time, which continued in my early teaching and in my early work: photography as a practice; the history of photography, which I began to teach right away at Berkeley; and the history of nineteenth-century French painting. And as I got further into nineteenth-century French painting I became increasingly interested in the representation of women. I wasn't initially that interested in women artists per se except in the field of photography, because in the field of photography there were canonical and well-respected women from the very beginning. I liked the work of Julia Margaret Cameron, for instance, and I worked on her from the very beginning and related to her in certain ways as a practitioner myself. It wasn't really until I took the job at Princeton that I began to actually think about, and to a certain extent work on much more directly, the work of women as a topic in and of itself.

[RAR] The field of nineteenth-century art has undergone major changes in recent years by shifting away from more formalist approaches to those that consider the relationship between text and image, the role of female artists, the early history of photography, and so forth. What developments do you feel have generated a true metamorphosis of nineteenth century studies?

[CA] I can give a little thumbnail sketch, a kind of history of the nineteenth century, from when I entered it until now, because when I entered it as a graduate student in the late seventies the nineteenth century was a kind of hotbed. I mean that's one of the things that made it interesting, and interesting to go into. I would say it was kind of the epicenter of the various strands that came together as the so-called new art history then, which was the social history of art, which was Marxist art history, which was feminist art history, it was Linda Nochlin and Tim Clark and to an extent Michael Fried's work on nineteenth-century art, and my advisor was Tom Crow. He worked on both the eighteenth century and the early nineteenth century. At that time it was just the place that the most interesting students and faculty were flocking to, who were interested not only in doing something else besides formalist art history, and I'll say a little bit more about that in a moment, but also something a little bit different from standard forms of iconography and so on. Much more recently—and this was gradual over the course of my early teaching until the present—the nineteenth century has faded as the kind of epicenter of what's new and different. With perhaps the exception of Linda Nochlin and Griselda Pollock and others who are working on a feminist art history, most of those people—people like Tim Clark and Anne Wagner, Tom Crow and others, were switching their attention to contemporary art and leaving the nineteenth century to a certain extent behind. Increasingly the most interesting students, or at least the students with

at Princeton. One small show on women photographers spanned the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and corresponded with a conference that was held [there] about contemporary women artists, where we were now in relation to the question that Linda Nochlin had asked in 1971, "Why have there been no great women artists?" [*Art News*, 69, 1971, 22-39]. For the purposes of that show and conference she had to revise her question and say 'Why have there been great women artists?' That show was within Princeton. Then there was an exhibition—and I happened to be shifting some of my interests to Cézanne—the Pearlman collection of Cézanne's watercolors is housed [at Princeton] for the time being and the museum decided to do a show of the work and I became involved as a kind of faculty adviser in that [*Cézanne in Focus: Watercolors from the Henry and Rose Pearlman Collection, Princeton University Art Museum*, October 2002-January 2003; exh. cat. eds. Laura Giles and Carol Armstrong, 2002]. But simultaneously I was working on two other shows, one a painting show at the Getty [*Cézanne in the Studio: Still Life in Watercolors*, The J. Paul Getty Museum, October 2004-January 2005; exh. cat. ed. Carol Armstrong, Getty Trust Publications, 2004] and the other a show of Anna Atkins's photograms, nineteenth-century cyanotype photographs, at the Drawings Center in New York [*Oceanflowers and Ferns: Drawings, Nature Prints, Real Specimens, and Photograms*, New York and New Haven, 2004; exh. cat. Ocean Flowers: Impressions from Nature, eds. Carol Armstrong and Catherine de Zegher, The Drawing Center and Princeton University Press, 2004]. And I loved those experiences. I don't think I'd be a very good museum person on a day-to-day basis just because of how much bureaucratic stuff and networking there is to be done. But the chance to actually work with museums and to put together a show, to think through [art] both in written form and through the gathering together of works and deciding on their hanging and so on, was just wonderful: it was a real learning experience for me. I think that's a way to get the nineteenth century out there, new aspects of the nineteenth century, and to bring people in.

[The exhibitions] were two very different kinds of shows. The Anna Atkins show was a show of botanical and other natural history drawings, nature prints, photographs and photograms. It traveled from the Drawing Center in New York to the Center for British Art at Yale. It was a very different show in both contexts, but it really drew people and surprised people when they came to see it. Some people knew about it and some people didn't, but it brought together things that were often kept separate. Anna Atkins was the next woman after Julia Margaret Cameron who I became particularly interested in as a Victorian image maker in the field of British photography. There's a mini-industry of people within the field of photo history who have worked on her. But they tend to keep their interests in the history of photography sort of cordoned off from other things that were going on, like the history of drawing. Not so much the history of nature printing, except for instance in relation to the history of botany and women's involvement in it, and the development of science and questions about language and categories of science, and how women's activities intersected with that. Bringing all of these things together was a kind of eye-opener for people. On the other side of the country at the Getty, it actually started as a book and then became a show. They have this gorgeous watercolor still life by Cézanne in their drawings collection which I had wanted

a commitment to what's called critical theory, have come to work on contemporary art and not on the nineteenth century. My students who are working on the nineteenth century are few and far between. They were at CUNY, where I had thirty to thirty-five students working under my direction when I left to come to Princeton, and almost all of them were in the contemporary field, not even in the early twentieth century. I think there's now room to return to it with some new and some fresh ideas. So that's a sense of what was happening in nineteenth century studies.

I must say that I always felt myself to be a little bit in tension with some of the energies of social art history and the so-called new art history. There was a tendency, and there still is, to sneer at formalist practices and to assume that that's what everybody had been trained in and it was completely old hat. But my experience was rather different, which was that a close reading of pictures—which is what I would substitute for a kind of formalist description of shapes and colors and so on—no one really received training in close looking, in close reading. They received training in all sorts of other things. And a kind of commitment to context as the explanation for pictures was what a lot of people thought in various registers, various forms of that, whether it was Robert Herbert and his students or Tim Clark and his students. It was the things going on around artists' lives, things going on around pictures and not the pictures themselves that were what was interesting and what would provide the explanation for the art work. I think some of what differentiates my approach and my interests and what I write about and the way I teach is that I have a really strong commitment to what I suppose could be called (pause)... there was a moment when I was tempted to call it post-formalist art history. I mean it was formalist art history but using formalist methods in tandem with the kinds of questions that were being asked in, say, feminist art history to think about pictures kind of as a form of thought in and of themselves, by artists who, whether they were men or women, if the pictures were interesting and compelling (which I would say is true of photography as well as of painting), didn't just fall in with, in my view, the kind of mainstream ideologies regarding gender of their time, but actually pressed against them in various ways. I'm interested now in rethinking that, and also rethinking perhaps relations between the past of art and the present of art and in finding new ways to relate photographs and paintings to one another, not keep them as kind of separate territories. I think there might be a number of ways in which the nineteenth century, both nineteenth-century Britain and nineteenth-century France--and there is another area in which we might undo some of the boundaries, between the canonical center of everything, Paris, and everything else. I'm still, in painting, most interested in French painting, and in photography, most interested in British photography: it just sort of happened that way. But I think we can also look at cross-fertilization between different places and between different media and think a little bit differently than those who have been involved in modernist and contemporary studies about what we can do now both as historians and critics and as practitioners with the past.

[RAR] Traditionally, nineteenth-century studies have centered on French art, on Paris. How do you feel that's changed in recent years? Have any studies addressed countries or cities that were equally important or significant in the nineteenth century?

[CA] Yes, well, there's been a lot of shifting away from France and from Paris. It'll never disappear: it's like asking everyone to shift away from Florence and Rome for the Italian Renaissance or from Amsterdam and the Netherlands and Spain and so on. I think there has been the sense of 'What else is there to be done in nineteenth-century Parisian art now? We should go some place else.' I gave a lecture on Nadar [Felix Nadar, French photographer (1820-1910)] in a couple of places and was questioned about this because I used Walter Benjamin's phraseology about Paris as the capital of the nineteenth century [see *Walter Benjamin: Selected Writings*, Volume 3: 1935-1938, eds. Howard Eiland and Michael W. Jennings, Harvard University Press, 2006] and people said, 'How can you say that? Wasn't London the capital of the nineteenth century?' And my response was that this wasn't a sort of denigration of other capitals but that I think it was and remains true that Paris was the art capital, it was the place that people were visiting, and was a place that people continued to make pilgrimages to. It was also set up in a centralized way that other places weren't. Furthermore, the overhaul of the city of Paris under Napoleon III meant that it recreated itself as a kind of image of the modern in a way that London, for example, never did. That's not to say that we shouldn't study British art and we shouldn't study London as much as Paris, but it's just to say that in terms of crafting a kind of image of itself, I remain convinced that Paris did that whereas other places didn't, and that's really what Walter Benjamin meant by that comment. But many people have shifted their interests to British art, to American art, but of course these things are separate fields also. I think there are lots of opportunities. I'm not sure I'm the one to pursue them—I'm interested in British photography, and I'm interested, as I said before, in French painting. It sort of fell out that way because of work that I happened to do, and I'm not so sure that I personally will look at the crosscurrents between, say, Britain and France, but they are there to be looked at. I think that one way to rethink or restructure the nineteenth century is by thinking about relationships between different places, and England and France are not the only two, of course. It would also be nice to [examine these connections], and I do this when I teach photography, I look primarily at France, England and America. I think that sort of walling American art off as its own separate field—and I understand the reasons for that—but I think it would, in some ways, be nicer if we could cross over those boundaries in particular. I suppose I remain convinced that the most challenging painting—not sculpture so much, until the end of the century—but painting, in the nineteenth century, was produced in France. And so somebody who looks at art in the way that I do, as a form of thought, not just illustrating and mirroring what everybody else was thinking at the time but actually sort of challenging it in different ways and making it problematic--for example that's what I think Manet did—I still find more of that in French painting that I find elsewhere.

[RAR] Please tell us a bit about your experiences developing and curating exhibitions that examine new issues in nineteenth-century art and shed new light on the art of Degas and Cézanne.

[CA] I came to Princeton in 1999, and [that year] corresponds more or less, for a variety of reasons, to the beginnings of my interest in and involvement as a guest curator in a number of shows

to work on for ages, and we decided to do a kind of monograph on it, and on the sort of intersection between the genre of still life as a kind of low-on-the-totem-pole genre, and watercolor as a medium. And from that grew a little exhibition of still life watercolors which was hugely popular at the Getty. They initially thought that the way we were framing the project would be way above visitors to the exhibition and that they wouldn't get it, and I was pretty firmly convinced that they were wrong, and that people who come to exhibitions are not stupid [laughter]. In fact they loved it. It was about the studio and about getting people to think through the artist's process. And I stood and listened to things that people were saying, and they were all kinds of people: business people, regular people, artists, as well as art historians, collectors, dealers and so on. People got it and really liked it, and it was one of the best-attended exhibitions at the Getty ever. Cézanne is a canonical artist, he's a somewhat difficult artist, but [the exhibition] showed me that the stuff still lives for a lot of people, and can be made to do so. The book I wrote for the show was an exhaustive example of close reading that people could dip in and out of; they didn't have to have a sustained attention to it all the way through. We came up with novel approaches to illustrating it, trying to consider the relationship between drawing and painting, which doesn't seem to me just a technical matter, but a matter that is of interest to people who are interested in art. There are gender issues that surfaced in the midst of that, but it's not the main focus of it, and I suppose one of the things I would say about feminist art history, or feminism and art history, or women's studies and art history is that, for those who are interested in it, it doesn't have to be a sort of ghettoized thing, so that once you establish yourself as someone who is interested in feminist or women's studies issues or gender issues that that means that's the only area you can pursue. You can pursue other things as well that don't necessarily have obvious gender components to them.

[RAR] Could discuss your role in the women's studies program at Princeton?

[CA] Before coming to Princeton when I was at CUNY, I was listed on the faculty of their women's studies program, but I never taught in their program per se. I did team-teach courses with Nancy Miller, a feminist literary criticism scholar in the English department there. Three or four years in a row we taught a course on representations of the body in the twentieth century. Before that, at Berkeley, I had taught courses on the representation of women, of the parisienne, the female Parisian in literature and painting, and just about all of my work had had a gender component to it. But it really wasn't until I took the job at Princeton that it came actively to the fore. I was hired to be the Doris Stevens Professor of Women's Studies, an endowed chair in this program, one of only two professorships, half FTEs in this program, which is not a major and not a department. My position is shared with art and archaeology, so I'm half time art and archaeology and half time women's studies and I teach two courses in one and two courses in the other. I was hired with the idea that I would eventually serve as director at least for three years, and this is my third year as a director here. It has been an undergraduate program that awards certificates to students who major in another department. Most of the faculty and most of the courses we offer are either cross-listed or are offered by people who are kind of on loan to us from their home departments. I teach the

introduction to the study of women and gender, Art 201, with Deborah Nord in the English department. We teach it as a modern history of the representation of gender, and by modern I mean the nineteenth and twentieth century. We focus on literature, theory and visual representations. Pretty much everything else I've taught through women's studies has been an art history course, focused on gender and women's issues. A couple of times I've taught a course on women photographers. I taught a course on representing the body. I taught another course on women artists in the modern era, first as a lecture course and then as a seminar, focusing on the late eighteenth century through contemporary work. I wouldn't have taught that course without taking this job. I had always had mixed feelings about a.) separating out women artists from the rest on the one hand, and b.) deciding that either canon critique or bringing lots of women into the canon was really what I wanted to spend my time doing. But I was interested in the problem of what you could say about the relationship between gender and art production: how it mattered, if it did, that an artist was a woman and not a man. So that was kind of a question that was posed in that context. When I took the position of Director two and a half years ago, I increasingly felt that there ought to be a graduate component to women's studies and spoke with graduate students about this, and also met with the task force from LGBT because issues of sexuality were also coming to the fore in the work of graduate students, questions related to the body and to gender and to men and women: all these things which wouldn't have come about without the feminist interventions of women's studies programs. Just beginning now we have a graduate certificate program which is essentially meant to honor the work of graduate students who are already doing work in these areas, in women's history, in the area of gender history, in sexuality. And what I've found is that graduate students these days are not so interested in cordoning themselves off as 'I'm a women's studies person' but rather had incorporated those questions into their work and were in departments that have done that as well, but wanted some kind of recognition of that and some place to come, as the undergraduates have, to discuss their work with each other, where some kind of cross fertilization would happen. That's what we've got going now, and as part of that I began teaching a course last year on feminist theory, feminist theory now as it applies to lots ofdifferent things, which is what I would prefer it be thought of—as a kind of contribution to philosophy, to thought on all sorts of fronts—to psychoanalysis, to art history, to the study of literature, to philosophy, and so on.

[RAR] On a more personal note, could you tell us more about your experiences in teaching and writing about French nineteenth-century art? About your preferred methodologies for art history?

[CA] I'm fairly unorthodox in my relation to the different methodologies. From the beginning of my teaching and I have taught proseminars in methodologies and theory courses and I've always enjoyed that. I bring things from a lot of different places to bear on my work. In writing on nineteenth century painting—*Manet Manette* [Yale University Press, 2002], for example, and even from the beginning of my work on Degas—I was very interested in looking at art criticism of the time and novel writing and different kinds of texts in relation to the art, but not seeing one as a reflection or an illustration of the other, but seeing them as sort of pushing up against each other

and in dialog with each other. As I said before I'm very much committed to close reading of works of art, and by that I mean not sort of empty formalist analysis but something that is similar to an explication de texte but in relation to a visual object. And visual works have a certain logic; it's not the only thing you want to look at, but any literary critic or literary historian knows that one of the things you've got to do in looking at a text is analyze the way a paragraph is put together, the way sentences are put together, the way a theme is given body in the language and in the syntax and so on. It seems to me the same thing holds for painting, and even for photographs. We think of photographs as 'you snap the camera and there you have the picture,' but they are composed as much as any other art form. But I bring to bear on that questions and approaches that come from feminism. Of feminist work I happen to be most interested in the ideas of Luce Irigaray because I haven't ruled out some of the questions that are raised by so-called essentialist feminism but also because her work suggests ways in which you can think about form, not just content but form itself, from a kind of gender-specific or from a feminist angle. But I've also been interested in approaches coming from Foucault, structuralist and post-structuralist analysis, from American work like Rosalind Krauss's work on discourse and on structuralist linguistics: that interests me as well. I tend to kind of bring these different approaches to bear on works of art, and I do that in writing as well as in teaching. From the beginning of my teaching I actually learned from the person who I think was most influential for me even though she was seventeenth century, Svetlana Alpers, because we taught together, we've remained friends, and our way of teaching from the beginning, of teaching even the introduction to the history of art, Renaissance to the present, was to give a kind of chronological picture lecture by lecture, and in precepts or discussion sections to assign key texts that were critical, where you had to stand back and deconstruct the historical progression a little bit and ask questions about what you were doing and look at works of art from different angles: from a formalist angle, from an iconographic angle, from an anthropological angle, from a social art history angle, and so on. And I continue to find that a good way to teach it.

[RAR] You recently published an article on Tina Modotti [Italian-born photographer, 1896-1942]. Why has Tina been the subject of many popular studies but few scholarly ones? What are some of the issues and questions that still face scholars who study women artists? How have feminist approaches changed in recent years?

[CA] Well, Tina Modotti is an interesting figure. You could look at a number of others who were treated, I suppose, in similar ways. She's a good case because she was beautiful, she was an artist's model and mistress, she was an active communist comrade, she was all sorts of things that make her kind of romantically appealing, both to women and to men. But the tendency was to not take her photography all that seriously. There are some standard monographs on her, as there tend to be on artists throughout the photographic canon, but I think she's a good case of somebody who was overshadowed by a.) her beauty, b.) her status as a model and mistress, and a kind of comrade-in-arms, c.) a kind of myth that grows up around her, and her association with Edward Weston who was, and continues to be, this kind of grand figure in the history of photography, and whose

sort of attitudes to women are a little obnoxious [laughter]. And his photographs are worshipped by many. I find his photographs impressive but somewhat cold and ultimately a little bit boring, and I actually find Tina Modotti's work much more interesting than his. But it is true that it's less accomplished—in other words its technical proficiency is less, on the surface of it, than his—but I don't see why technical proficiency is the be all and end all of anything, especially in the so-called mechanical art of photography, and I think the compositions of her photographs are much more interesting. And I just began to think, well, why not take the work seriously, and put aside for the moment that she was beautiful, okay so some male artists are handsome; we can't hold [Modotti's beauty] against her—it's an accident! [laughter]. So she was a model, okay, that's actually interesting to me: does it make a difference if you've been a model as well as an artist? How does that inflect the work that you produce? It doesn't make it lesser, but it makes your experience different. Just as I think you can say that the experience of women in relation to men and other people looking at them on a day to day basis is different from that of men: it's a different subjective experience. How does that play into the work that they actually produce? How does that play into the way that they think about themselves and present themselves to the world? I don't think it makes them a victim. I'm not someone who believes in, say, the power of the male gaze to subjugate us all. It's just looking [laughter]. You know? You can look back, you can take pleasure in being looked at, there are different forms of the look, what I am more interested in is the form of subjectivity that that creates, and how women challenge it in the work that they do. Not just in being pretty or not, but in the work that they do. So I'm interested in taking seriously the work that [Modotti] did as a photographer. And I guess I would issue that as a challenge to anybody, whether they think that the gender of the artist matters or not. I think it's perfectly respectable to look at a woman's work and not take the fact that she's a woman into account. You don't always have to take that into account. There may be other forms of discourse that she's contributing to. But there are some women in whose work the question of gender is unavoidable to my way of thinking, and she is one. But I wanted to see how—and this is where, for example, the ideas of a Luce Irigaray seemed interesting to me—I wanted to see the ways in which work of Modotti's which didn't, on the surface of it, focus on the female body necessarily; it was close to the kind of formal, arranged close-ups of objects that Weston was doing, but in fact she actually did some of them sooner than he did, which seems to me to be interesting. Nobody ever thinks, 'Well, maybe he got some ideas from her.' I mean it's sort of automatic to think that she was his student and his follower rather than, you know, a kind of cross-pollination going on, which seems to me to be more reasonable to think even if she presented herself as his kind of assistant or follower. It doesn't mean he didn't get things from her. That would be my answer. I'm not sure I would say that that is the way that most feminist work is going, but that's how I would judge my contribution to it. That's what I would suggest would be a good way to go for others who are interested in bringing art history and feminist theory, women's studies, together. I also think that male artists can be understood as feminists, producing or contributing to feminist thought.

[RAR] That's interesting. Can you give an example?

[CA] Manet would be an example. His images of women seem to me to be very, very interesting, and his relations with women are also interesting. From Olympia to The Bar at the Folies-Bergère, it's I think become unavoidable—raising questions about the representation of the female body and the woman as the object of the gaze and all of that—is unavoidable in his art: you can't not look at it that way. But I'm pretty convinced now, having written a book about it, and continuing to be interested in his art, that he's a very good example of somebody whose work does not simply conform to the prevalent ideologies of the time about gender, and women as a kind of passive object of the gaze, or as a clandestine prostitute or what have you. Nor do I think that, for example, Olympia reduces to a kind of commentary on the discourse on prostitution of the time. I don't even think that it reduces to being a kind of critique of the female nude. There are elements in it that I think are challenging, but it also seems to me that a lot of his most compelling pictures offer the possibility of identification from a man to a woman, not just looking at an object, but also taking pleasure in what it means to be a woman. The evidence for that would be in the art itself, and in the kinds of play that he engaged in through letters and so on with female correspondents and friends. It doesn't mean that he was immune from (pauses)—I wouldn't say misogyny, I don't find misogyny his work—but immune from sort of sexist forms of domination and so on, when he gets involved with Berthe Morisot, and finishes her work for her and things like that. He was a human being of his time. But I think the work he produced is the most compelling evidence of a mind that was complexly involved in issues of how to represent women and subjectivity, female subjectivity, not just the body as a kind of object of the gaze.

[RAR] Your book *Manet Manette* asks the reader to reconsider and reevaluate what we have termed "modernism." What do you feel are some of the problems or issues raised by use of that term?

[CA] That's interesting. That's what I'm now interested in rethinking. One of the things that I think remains for art historians and art critics and even art practitioners now to do is to rethink the relation between the past—between art history and contemporary art. For a long time, because of the art I was looking at and the existing writing about it and the most challenging work that was being done, I was pretty convinced that the modernist lens couldn't be simply shoved aside; it was, say, the sort of Greenbergian idea of looking at the history of art from the nineteenth century to the present as a kind of challenge to the past, as a sort of refusal of the devices of illusionism, a kind of challenge to literary content and things like that. On up to the work of Rosalind Krauss and the October group, which I think remains committed to variations on that theme, the work of Yve-Alain Bois, for instance, I have found that to be very challenging, very interesting, very productive work and have wanted to put it together with my own, but increasingly I have felt that it also had to be challenged, and also has to sort of open itself up to other ways of thinking about challenging art that presented itself in the time as a kind of modernist production. Certainly Manet was identified by himself and even more by his contemporaries, as engaged in the "new art," art that was different from what had come before, and that was identified with the modern world. But

he's a very good example of somebody who was also extraordinarily interested in Velázquez, and in mining the tradition in new ways. So it's impossible, I think, with him, to simply accept the division between the past and the present, and a kind of model of progress of moving ever forward in a kind of avant-garde way and always going before the pack, to announce further revolutionary developments, and always producing an art that's negative with regard to the past. He's a very good example of somebody whose work just doesn't look that way, who wanted to be a Velázquez for his moment, who was busy mining the past and not just rejecting it. And so I'm now beginning to think increasingly in the work that I've done on some contemporary photography, and which I hope to continue to do, I'm interested in rethinking that linear model of history that you find in the kind of teleological—well, certainly it's present in Greenberg's writing—but I think it continues to underwrite various kinds of avant-garde models of being resistant and revolutionary, and politically committed, to producing a kind of tough art that doesn't compromise with the bourgeois world that we live in, and that rejects things like beauty and illusionism and the past of art. I think maybe it's time to kind of rethink that, because that's been done over and over and over again, and maybe we should be looking not just to a kind of avant-garde model, which is still a kind of linear model, but still about, 'well, this is the past, and we've got to sort of break with that, and then we move on to our next break with the past,' and so on and so forth. The kind of macho, boys' club sort of 'let's throw stones at the past' and move forward. I think there are even other models of time that we can think about. If we look at feminist thought, even if we look at scientific ideas about what time is, it's not all a kind of timeline, and it doesn't all have to do with revolutions, it can also be a sort of different model of dialog with the past, for instance, and of circularity—circling back around to mine the past in different ways than have been done. So I suppose I'm interested in acknowledging that the sort of modernist story of art is part of our history now, but also thinking that we can't just keep reproducing the modernist history of revolutions but have to kind of start to think about different models of a relationship and even a dialogue with the past. The past was intelligent too. Historical artists were intelligent about what they were doing as well, and we haven't, any more than historians of literature have finished with Shakespeare, we certainly haven't finished with the great artists of the past.

[RAR] You've already told us a bit about your museum work and various exhibitions you've curated. What are your museum current projects, and what are you hoping to work on in the future?

[CA] Well, there's one project that I would like to do. I've had some discussions with the curator of drawings at the Getty, an old friend of mine from graduate school, which is partly how that came about. The power of the network, you know, that is how things come about: you know people and projects get going. She and I have talked about doing an exhibition of the works on paper of a trio of artists: Goya, Delacroix, and Manet. Both Goya and Delacroix were very important to Manet. Delacroix is the most mainstream of them, but they all have a relationship to what's called Romanticism, a bit off-center in the case of Manet. One could consider Manet a kind of late-coming Romantic artist: he doesn't fit anywhere very easily. In my view he's not an Impressionist,

he's not a Realist, and he's not a straight-ahead Romantic artist, so what is he? This is the kind of eccentric trio where the works on paper are all very interesting, so we thought we'd do an exhibition on that. That will be a long time in the planning, but that's the main thing that I have in mind right now as a curatorial project. I've also been working on a project on still life. I don't think that will become a curatorial project, but it's a book project where I want to try to move out of the kind of purely academic categories and setting. And I have one other project that's just been hatched between me and a contemporary British photographer who I've worked on, Craigie Horsfield. We want to do a book together. I don't know if it would ever be an exhibition, but it comes about as a result of exhibitions that he's had that I've worked on [*Recently, Relations, Paris, Lisbon, and Sydney,* 2006-2007; exh. cat. ed. Catherine de Zegher]. We want to do a book that's a combination dialog between the two of us, art critical and art historical book and artist's book, in which we would both—well, I'm a photographer, and he's a photographer, and we would include our visual work and discussions about the uses, the functions, the prospects of art now. That engages some of the questions I was just talking about, about the relations between the past and the present.

[RAR] How do you envision, in general, the direction of nineteenth-century studies?

[CA] I guess we've come to a place where we can't just continue a kind of canonical study of Parisian art in the second half of the nineteenth century. I'll continue to teach courses like that, but we can't continue by having a history of painting cordoned off from a history of photography, cordoned off from a history of sculpture or whatever. And we can't, I think, also (pause)... well, it's not that we can't, but we need to think about conversations between American, British, and French, those would be the three that I would be most interested in, not that there wasn't interesting stuff going on in Vienna, and in Germany, and elsewhere. But those would be the three places that I would be the most interested in. I think of the lecture that I put together on Nadar as being a good example of what nineteenth-century studies might be, because in that context what I did was to look at Nadar as a kind of key figure situated between photography, painting, printmaking, caricature, and science. He was a printmaker and a cartoonist, he was a photographer, a scientific experimenter who experimented with electricity, with ballooning, with flight, with photographing underground, so the city of Paris also comes into play there; he's a kind of pivotal figure who brings together the issues of urbanism, scientific experimentation, issues of photography, issues of the avant-garde, since his studio was the space in which the Impressionists exhibited first off. So perhaps that's a way of reconfiguring the nineteenth century a little bit, as a place that was not just where the (pause)... we don't have to dump out the canonical work, but resituate it in relation to other work, not just where everything is part of the same big stew, but where you've got dialogs going on between, say, what was modernism in painting and what was modernism in photography. They're two different things. Modernism in photography you might say was a kind of scientific modernism, in other words, experimenting with different things you might do that are not confined to pictorial traditions. As opposed to a pictorial modernism, which was in argument with pictorial traditions but trying to find new ways of making pictures. I'm not sure that Nadar was trying to find new ways

of making pictures as much as he was trying to experiment scientifically with something, with a medium that was thought of as a kind of arm of science more than it was thought of as a pictorial form per se. To think about intersections between different areas of advanced thought in the nineteenth century, which was this incredibly vibrant time in literature, in science, in photography and in painting, among other things.

[RAR] How would you describe the direction of studies of such canonical artists as Degas, Cézanne or Manet? It would be interesting to discuss the intersections you note above with respect to these canonical figures.

[CA] Well, all three of them are at the center of different forms of new art history. I guess I would have to say that I'm not sure there is a future to single-artist studies that I'm all that interested in; in contrast, I guess I would say that one could teach, for instance, single works of art. It was suggested to me by a student in the seminar I'm teaching now on still life painting. When I asked what had brought people to the class several people said 'I'm just curious how you can spend a whole semester talking about something like still life.' And one of the students laughed and said, 'You could spend a whole semester talking about a single work of art.' (laughs) And that appealed to me. So rather than having Manet studies, Cézanne studies, or Degas studies—and I suppose this corresponds to a shift in what I want to do—I'm not sure I'm particularly interested in continuing to produce monographs, however eccentric those monographs are. I don't foresee writing a monograph on Cézanne, for instance, in the way that *Manet Manette* and *Odd Man Out* are two rather odd monographs, but they're still monographs that are focused on a large, fairly representative chunk of the artist's work. I don't think I want to do that with Cézanne. I'd rather use individual works of art as sort of nodal points for studies that go in lots of different directions. And for dialogs and debates about the role of art, not just the content but the processes of art in generating thought both then and now.

[RAR] What would you say to young scholars who are interested in pursuing a career in nineteenth-century studies, or in art history more broadly?

[CA] Well, I could give you the realistic and pessimistic answer and say, 'Don't do it because the market is overfull and it's all been done and art history is kind of a played-out field and we don't know what we're doing next, we've deconstructed everything, so what can we do now? The field is fragmented, there's no center anymore, there's no 'there' there anymore.' I could say all of that. What I'd rather say is the impractical answer, which is Go for it. Let's have some more people come into the nineteenth century, let's not everybody just go flocking to contemporary art, there are too many people studying contemporary art. Let contemporary artists produce art, and let art history go back and revive the study of historical art, and let us sort of return to it as a kind of place where people interested in the humanities [may use them] as a kind of center of values that are absolutely crucial as a kind of citizen of the world and for teaching you how to think, for

teaching you how to be critical. Not just to espouse post-humanist dogma the way people used to espouse other dogmas, but instead to mine it for interesting ideas and to sort of look at the past, in my case at the nineteenth century, as a wonderful place to think about the human possibilities for conversation between art and literature and science—three very important areas—but also politics and ethics, questions like that. So I think the nineteenth century is in a lull right now, but I would encourage people to come back into it.

[RAR] Any advice for scholars of gender studies?

[CA] Absolutely, to bring gender into the center of discourse rather than into the margins of discourse, to make it one of those important human topics that are important to men as well as women, and that if you are interested in gender you can also be interested in other things as well. So make it a kind of (pause)... a humanist topic, let's put it that way. I'm all for a revival of the humanities and for humanist discourse and I think gender and sexuality, these two areas, should not be the sort of ghettoized theme that is owned by those who have been marginalized. I mean, those who have been marginalized will be better off, I think, if they come into conversation with those who have been mainstreamed, and sort of elevate the discourse so that it's a topic for everybody, not just a topic for those who have been shoved to the side. So gays and lesbians and transsexuals and heterosexuals should all be talking to one another, for instance, and men and women should be finding issues of gender and sexuality of interest. I don't know if that's an answer to a question about art history specifically. I guess in general I would say that I have always been interested in disciplinary centers but in conversations across disciplinary borders, and I would say that about gender and sexuality studies as well.

An Interview with Linda Nochlin

Lisandra Estevez and Olivia Gruber

Linda Nochlin is currently the Lila Acheson Wallace Professor of Modern Art at the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University. She has played a fundamental role in the development of feminist art criticism globally and has published widely on modern and contemporary art. She was honored by the College Art Association in February 2007 for her significant contribution to the field of art history as a scholar, teacher, and mentor.

This interview took place on November 29, 2006 in Professor Nochlin's office at the Institute of Fine Arts. This is Professor Nochlin's second interview for the Rutgers Art Review.

[RAR] In 1985 RAR editors Carolyn Cotton and Barbara Miller noted that you and Judy Chicago are credited with offering the first two feminist art courses. How has your methodology for teaching feminist art changed over the past twenty years?

[LN] Wow. [laughter] Well, I must say that they began as seminars and continue in seminar form. I have never done lecture courses on anything "feminist." There is a change in that feminism has become part of my regular teaching. I mean I do not put it where I cannot fit it in. But, if I am teaching Courbet, it's pretty obvious there will be some sort of feminist approach to the various subjects there. In other words, I am a feminist so feminism will permeate a great deal of my teaching, even in non-specialized courses. But I might say that there is continuity in that it is now always in seminars that I teach material that is "feminist." For example, I am currently teaching a course, one of the most interesting ones I have done in my opinion, on writing about women artists ["Women Artists and Their Critics," offered fall 2006 at the Institute of Fine Arts]. We are looking at the criticism, the texts and writings about how women artists have been criticized or have been written about. This is a very interesting project because it is not quite about women artists as though they were a real entity but sort of the construction of how women artists got to be who they were. For example, what kinds of vocabularies or words did critics use? What kinds of dilemmas did critics find themselves in, for instance, when they found a woman who is strong in drawing which is not an "attribute" associated with female artists? What did they make of this? I would say in some ways that that my approach to teaching women artists has become more specialized. When I started teaching courses on women artists, there was no curriculum. There was zero and it had to be built up literally from scratch. Feminism has become much more specialized. It has become a specialized field and has now become part of the regular curriculum. Even now, there is still a certain amount of political energy, a certain amount of questioning of the status quo, and a certain amount of questioning of previous feminist writing too.

[RAR] How has your personal experience of teaching feminist classes changed since you first began?

[LN] It was and still is pretty exciting! The first feminist class I ever taught was without a doubt one of the most exciting classes I ever taught. It was virgin feminism, so to speak! As I said, we started with nothing. I had a syllabus, which frankly would make a perfectly good basis for an introductory class in feminist art today. We touched on the various topics related to women: mainly woman as image, woman as goddess, woman as household icon, and the spaces of domesticity. For example, in architecture, how are feminine spaces set out from masculine spaces? Certainly, we touched upon women as creators of art. The discussions and the feeling of discovery were unbelievable; it was incredible to find all these women artists. It was consciousness-raising because we were challenging all these set precepts: women as "natural," for example. Essentialism reared its head right in the beginning. I, as a total anti-essentialist, did discourage the idea that women "naturally" did this or that. I began to lead students into the discovery that, indeed, what people think is naturally feminine about women is simply part of ideology: a political, social, and cultural construct and vision of what women are and what they can do. So it was pretty exciting. Today it's exciting on other levels. At the Institute of Fine Arts, students are always interviewed for seminars. I had forty-five candidates for this class. Usually, seminars are quite small – no more than eight or nine students. I expanded the enrollment and ended up with fifteen students. People are still very enthusiastic. I keep hearing that people are no longer interested in feminism but that it is not true. As for men, I have a few men in this class. I would say that there is a high-level enthusiasm because we deal with contemporary art as well as older art. This course began with Renaissance artists such as Sofonisba Anguissola and I have students who specialize in the field of Renaissance art in this class. It is very interesting to see the ways in which women artists were referred to in various historical periods. I think it is a field that still generates a good deal of interest.

[RAR] How would you evaluate the role of feminism in art history over the last twenty years? In 1985 you noted that other academic departments—Film Studies, English, French, Comparative Literature—embraced feminist inquiry more fully at the time than did Art History departments, something you ascribed to the relative conservatism of our discipline. In what ways has this improved?

[LN] Well, you know, I cannot speak universally. I teach in a very privileged circle. I know certainly sort of what they are doing at Harvard, Yale or at Columbia. I think that, especially when you come closer to the nineteenth and twentieth century, the departments are less conservative because students are being educated by scholars who are much less conservative in general. I think there is much greater interest in the field of gender studies, not to speak of queer theory and gay studies, etc. You find it [art history] is a much more gender-inflected field.

[RAR] How do you see feminism functioning within art history in the future? In reading the introduction to *Representing Women* [Thames and Hudson, 1999], I was struck by your description of the electrified atmospheres of your 1970s Women in Art seminars. Can such a buzz exist today? Do you feel concerned that young women now take feminism for granted?

[LN] Young women may take it for granted but if you show them how it's threatened [laughter], as usual, they are less taking it for granted. I am talking about it as an intellectual discipline. You cannot take anything for granted when I am teaching something because you have to unpack it and critique it. So maybe if you take gender for granted in analyzing a work of art, I would not say that's necessarily bad, but I would say that the doxy has changed. When I went to school, you would talk about Goya's Naked Maja and nobody discussed sex. It was politely talked about in some other words; it was not part of the overall aesthetic quality of the work. Whereas, now people will notice that because it is part of the way they "read" an image. I would say to a certain degree, it is taken for granted in that gender is part of the protocol of your basic art historical inquiry. I think feminism is part of the basic level of what we do in art history.

[RAR] Your article "Why Have There Been No Great Women Artists?" [*Art News*, 69, 1971, 22-39] has served as a launch pad for feminist discourse within art history. Of the myriad responses to this essay, which do you consider to be the most provocative and productive? If you were to write this article today, how would it be different?

[LN] Well, [laughter] which responses? It's hard to say. I think African-American women have had interesting responses, particularly Michelle Wallace. She pointed out that although I do mention race in it I do not specify anything about race or ethnicity. That would have weakened the article. The article had a specific purpose; it was not meant to be "p.c." The article was a critique of a very specific kind of question-posing that contained its own answers. It had several focuses in view. It would deconstruct the whole notion of the "genius artist" and therefore the rhetorical nature of the question in the title about there having been no great women artists. It points out that there were very good women artists. It points out the attitudes, the ideologies, rules and regulations that prevented women from undertaking a meaningful, ambitious career in art throughout the centuries. What has amazed me is how many languages it has been translated into and the responses I get from Asian, Scandinavian, and Spanish women, especially in countries where women's statuses have been quite different from women in the United States. Many women have said that the article has changed their lives. The responses have not come from academic women only, but from women artists themselves who were deeply affected by it. I definitely believe it's made people rethink art history. I must say a famous male art historian told me right after writing the article, and I may have told this story, "Oh Linda, wasting your brilliant mind on this!"

I could not write that same article again. I just finished a book of my collected essays on Courbet with a new introduction [*Courbet*, Thames and Hudson, 2007]. I would be writing it under totally different circumstances. I'd be less rhetorical and polemical, less reaching out to make a case for myself. There is not the same sense of urgency in that "has not been done yet." I would not be able to write that article again. I did not write that article with an outline. I did not plan out that article but kept seeking out sources and analyzing material from all different areas: art historical,

sociological, archival. I also never rewrite articles; it's too boring!! [laughter]

[RAR] Your essay "The Imaginary Orient" [*Art in America* 71(5), 1983, 118-131] raises important questions for the study of Orientalism in the context of art history. It ends with a very stimulating conclusion, a kind of call-to-arms for art historians: "As a fresh visual territory to be investigated by scholars armed with historical and political awareness, Orientalism – or rather its deconstruction – offers a challenge to art historians, as do many other similarly obfuscated areas of our discipline." What would you identify as the "obfuscated areas" in our discipline? How do you see the field of art history changing in the next ten years?

[LN] Ok. Let's see. People have gone on and built up the Orientalist industry. Edward Said was making polemical points too. Well, I think global art is an area of great interest to me. I am curating a show called *Global Feminisms* [The Brooklyn Museum, 2007; exh. cat. *Global Feminisms: New Directions in Contemporary Art*, eds. Maura Reilly and Linda Nochlin, 2007]. I think a lot of the areas of the world that are less known and have been less explored such as women artists in Africa and Latin America have a rich culture of visual art. But, to people in the centers, the question of periphery still needs to be explored. Center and periphery are becoming cloudy these days. I think of China: how it is coming into its own and has many artists and an incredible art market. Therefore, I think we need to investigate notions of center and periphery in a serious way. I am sure people are doing this, but, I mean, in a very objective way, we need to ask: what are centers and periphery? Who decides what are centers and peripheries? I think that these are important questions that we should think about.

It's difficult to say how the study of Orientalism has shaped art-making per se. I think that there is much more awareness in the circle of women artists, especially of women from the Middle East: Mona Hatoum, Shirin Neshat, Ghada Amer, etc. Many more contemporary women artists from the Middle East are working in London, New York and other centers. Their presence is impressive. Many of the artists [in the *Global Feminism* show] are quite young. For many of them, ethnicity is an issue, not in the sense of the direct eulogizing of their birthplaces, but focusing on a critical identity which reflects a host of different attitudes: nostalgic, melancholic, and even humorous. There is an innovative use of traditional art such as Persian calligraphy and stitch work, which is sometimes done in a parodic but always sophisticated way to reflect critically on women's roles in those societies.

[RAR] We are also interesting in knowing more about your recent projects, especially about Cézanne's Bathers. What exhibitions, articles, or books do you currently have in progress?

[LN] Well, *Bathers, Bodies, Beauty* is pretty much it [*Bathers, Bodies, Beauty: The Visceral Eye*, Harvard University Press, 2006]. There might be more. That's a small portion of the research that I have done in the field but it does encapsulates a certain amount of it. An exhibition is a

possibility; I'll have to think about it.

[RAR] How would you describe or characterize the current state of nineteenth-century art historical studies?

[LN] Well, it may be that the nineteenth century has lost its deep appeal to young scholars. Here at the Institute [of Fine Arts] most students are interested in modern and contemporary. It's still a healthy field but most people are interested in interdisciplinary approaches, looking for less well-known artists or more specialized approaches with topics such as Manet and fashion, popular culture in the nineteenth century, and Manet's portraits of women. Here we have a strong program in Latin American and Hispanic art historical studies. There is a strong interest in centers other than France, such as Latin America, Poland, Germany, and especially Scandinavia. There have been many recent shows on Scandinavian artists such as the one at Musée d'Orsay [*Vilhelm Hammershøi, Danish Painter of Solitude and Light*: Copenhagen, Paris, and New York, 1997-1998. exh. cat. eds. Anne-Birgitte Fonsmark, Mikael Wivel, Henri Loyrette, Robert Rosenblum; Ordrupgaard, Copenhagen, and Guggenheim Museum, New York, 1998]. I love the nineteenth century. I have worked the canonical artists: Manet, Cézanne, and Courbet. I think that what interests me now about the nineteenth century is what other ways were they conceiving the day-to-day in visual culture. I am an art historian and distinguish between high and low art because it makes practical sense to do so. The standards, expectations, the critical language and the ways these things were considered were different. However, I think that the big question for me is that of modernity: how did nineteenth artists conceive of the signifiers of modernity? How did they think about that in their art? Are we still under the sway of the Greenbergian teleology where we are higher and upward and are still considering specific aspects of the formal language of art? Well, I think that we have been wrongly steered in that direction. I think it's time to look with great seriousness at what makes an artist modern. What did they [the artists] think of as modern? I think that shows of Scandinavian artists have been interesting. I think that they are very different and present possibly fruitful ideas that have been disregarded by vanguard theorists. So, that's what I think that what the next direction should be: a look at alternate modernities in the nineteenth-century.

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