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Rediscovering the art of the Ancien Régime

The recognition of a nineteenth-century collector in the re-emergence of a style

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Contents

Introduction

This thesis is an investigation into recognising that there is more than one contributor, to the re-emergence of eighteenth-century French art into the nineteenth-century British art market and domestic interior. This particular re-emergence, which saw a wave of *objets d'art* flood into private collections has been repeatedly linked to one collector; the prestigious Richard Seymour-Conway, 4th Marquess of Hertford (1800-1870). A *Burlington Magazine* article dated 1950, entitled 'Lord Hertford and the Eighteenth Century', links the 4th Marquess to its re-emergence. The piece ended by stating that he 'belonged' to the movement, as if he was the sole contributor.[1] This direct link, however has not changed as author Esme West, editor of *The Wallace Collection,* 2014 (writing on the institution that houses a substantial part of the 4th Marquess's collection) expresses the same views.[2] The lack of any other contributors in these publications, of which there were many, has in fact created a break in the literature. Not only have significant individuals been undermined by the attention placed on the 4th Marquess, but important works of art that the 4th Marquess did not own have also been under-represented.

The rather limited discussion, on the generalised topic of artistic re-emergence has been headed by art historian Francis Haskell, in his *Rediscoveries in Art,* dated 1976.[3] Haskell quickly undermines the notion of having one individual at the forefront of a movement in style by opening his book with a quote from Lèon Rosenthal (1870-1932), a French art historian. At the end of the nineteenth-century, whilst writing on the topic of the re-emergence of Sandro Botticelli (c.1445-1510), Rosenthal stated that "the day is not far off when we find ourselves enthusing over…those depressing Bolognese whom we loved yesterday and whom we will love again tomorrow."[4] This example that Haskell uses insinuates that the re-emergence of a

[1] Burlington Magazine, 1950, p. 154. The tone of this article expresses total admiration for the 4th Marquess. By stating that he 'belonged' to the period, and to not consider any other contemporary collectors gives an idea of the position the 4th Marquess holds in the history of collecting. His position heavily undermines other significant figures and does not provide any room to discuss further contributors.

[2] West, 2014, p. 10. Although writing for the Wallace Collection may produce a biased view, West puts forward that the 4th Marquess was the principle collector in eighteenth-century French art in the nineteenth-century. There is no clear change in the recognition of the 4th Marquess from the publication made fifty years earlier by the Burlington Magazine. This lack of change causes great problems for trying to recognise other collectors at the time that the 4th Marquess was actively collecting.

[3] Haskell, 1976. Haskell's book on the 're-emergence of art' is a broad investigation into the general topic. Each chapter focusses on particular causes for styles that have re-emerged in history. Throughout these chapters, however, he brings in several examples of different styles and movements. This paper is planned to focus on one of the areas he has mentioned, and to provide a deeper insight into it.

[4] Haskell, 1976, p. 3. This quote does not directly link to the subject of eighteenth-century French art, nevertheless, the fact it was written at the end of the nineteenth-century gives an indication that even this movement of art from France to Britain was part of a general evolution. Rosenthal provides us with another reason to undermine the matter of one collector being the sole contributor to a re-emergence of style.

style is part of a general evolution within art, where artists, styles and movements regularly reappear or are re-discovered.[5] He continues this tone by tackling head-on a number of possible factors contributing towards a shift in style. The areas he covers include political changes and the forced dispersal of galleries and private collections; a change in a collector's taste and the possibility of nostalgia for the past. Haskell is one of the only authors to have divided up such factors in a clear and concise manner, leading therefore to an avenue of interpretations on the subject. His writings, although posing no direct link, has allowed for the focus on the movement of French art into nineteenth-century Britain to be discussed at a variable length.[6] Due to Haskell categorising the various different factors, his work has also made publications made before his own more understandable. An example which fits into several of Haskell's contributing factors and is the other significant publication on the topic is 'French Eighteenth-Century Art in England' by Ferdinand de Rothschild (1839-1898), dated 1892. As a contemporary to the movement of French art, Ferdinand provides a scholarly, yet opinionated version of why French art moved to Britain at this time. A factor that Ferdinand discusses, which duly strengthens the recognition of other collectors, as significant contributors besides the 4th Marquess of Hertford, is the adaptability of the French art into any domestic interior.[7] It not only gives a reason for the popularity of the art in the nineteenth-century: the fact that it easily fitted in to any pre-built collections; but it also gives further indication to its availability to other collectors, including Ferdinand himself. There are no significant publications on the general topic of the re-emergence of art after Haskell's defining book. On the topic of eighteenth-century French art, however, authors such as Jennifer Forrest, who wrote 'Nineteenth-Century Nostalgia for Eighteenth-Century Wit, Style and Aesthetic Disengagement: The Goncourt Brothers Histories of Eighteenth-Century Art and Women', 2005-2006, injected further evidence to the causes for its transition to Britain. Her focus is on the nostalgia of eighteenth-century France and its connection between the association of the

[5] Haskell, 1976, p. 3. Hasksell has used it to emphasise that it is not possible to have one contributing factor. The re-emergence of art, instead, is something which evolves over time due to a number of variables – variables that he discusses in his book.

[6] As mentioned, there are of course no direct links from Haskell's publication to any later works on the re-emergence of art. Haskell's book does however provide a suitable starting point for the subject as it indicates concisely the possible reasons behind such a movement.

[7] Rothschild, 1892, p. 288. Ferdinand's praise for the re-emergence of eighteenth-century French art may appear biased as he was an avid collector of the style. Nevertheless, by suggesting its adaptability, and the fact that he was able to form a collection alongside British and Dutch art suggests another reason as to why the movement happened. He does not bring forward any particular collector when he writes on the topic, again therefore undermining the recognition of one singular collector.

objects collected in nineteenth-century Britain and the nobility of the *ancien régime*.[8] The lack of documentation on the topic does, however, leave gaps in the history on the subject, and it is therefore left dominated by Haskell's own interpretations.

The process of old styles replacing the new, resulting in the act of rejection or under-representation is very similar to recognising one collector as more significant than others, in the re-emergence of a style.[9] The 4th Marquess, as mentioned above, inherited his fortune from his father, Francis Seymour-Conway (1777-1842) in 1842 and began to build his own collection of French art, furniture and decorative objects.[10] A number of pieces in his collection had notable royal provenance. The size of his collection and the esteemed pieces which he stored in his Parisian and British residences reassuringly placed him within history as a notable collector.[11] His presence, however, does not mean that he was more significant than his contemporary collectors. His contemporary collectors include: King George IV (1762-1830); diplomat and agent to George IV, Charles Stuart, Baron Stuart de Rothesay (1779-1845) and finally, the Rothschild family, namely Baron Ferdinand de Rothschild, author, collector and philanthropist.[12]

Generally speaking the Rothschilds, who are prestigiously known for their vast accumulation of wealth in the banking industry, and their illustrious collections of art have not been celebrated enough.[13] There have been numerous publications on the family, such as Niall Ferguson's analysis on the family's long-standing financial success in *The House of*

[8] Forrest, 2005-2006. The luxury and flamboyant lifestyle of the *ancien régime* nobility is discussed in Forrest's book. Forrest focuses purely on the nostalgia for French eighteenth-century society. This fits in with Haskell's factors that contribute to the re-emergence of an artistic style. Despite Haskell already writing on the topic, Forrest provides insights into areas which have not been thought of before and it therefore further opens up the discussion.
[9] Haskell, 1976, p. 7. Haskell uses this rejection of certain artists for the analysis of the eighteenth-century Dutch artist Meindert Hobbema (1638-1709), whose art become far more popular than other (he does not express who) Dutch artists who painted very similar landscape scenes. This idea is of course taken out of context, nevertheless, the pronounced movement of older styles of art into contemporary history and the ultimate rejection of contemporary artists is an important factor to take into account. This will be further discussed in chapter one.
[10] Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Richard Seymour-Conway, 2008. This short biography gives further indication into the life of the 4th Marquess of Hertford. For further information on the family, see Marquess of Hertford, *Ragely Hall*, 1982.
[11] For more information on his collection, see E. West, *The Wallace Collection*, 2014; J Warren, 'The 4th Marquess of Hertford's early Years as a Collector', *Burlington Magazine*, 2008.
[12]Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, George IV, 2008; Charles Stuart, 2015. See F.Morton, *The Rothschilds: A Family Portrait*, 1998, for a greater insight into the family of the Rothschilds and Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Ferdinand de Rothschild, 2004.
[13] Each member of the Rothschild family appeared to have taken an interest in collecting art. A number of figures took a great interest in French eighteenth-century art. See R. Davis, *The English Rothschilds*, 1984. There however appears to be very little written on the individual collectors, this therefore makes it much harder to analyse each Rothschild as a prominent collector.

Rothschild: Money's Prophets 1798-1848, 1999.[14] Publications such as these, however, only tend to focus on the monetary success of the family, rather than their contribution to the arts.[15] From the literature, Baron Ferdinand de Rothschild has been singled out for this investigation because of his devotion to collecting eighteenth-century French art at the time of the re-emergence. Born out of the Austrian branch and part of the third generation of the family, Ferdinand established himself in Britain at his country residence of Waddesdon, Buckinghamshire in the 1870s (fig.1). He created one of the most visually and historically outstanding collections of French eighteenth-century art and also designed Waddesdon in the manner of a French château. Waddesdon, at the time it was built, to present day has been widely celebrated.[16] In 1898, the *Spectator* published an obituary for Baron Ferdinand. The article described him as a "great collector" and compared the building of the house and grounds to what "the French King did at Versailles".[17] It was not however, just decorative objects and architecture that Ferdinand gifted to the nation. Throughout his life, he took great interest in social and political history and on occasion published books and articles on the topic of French history, such as his *Personal Characteristics from French History*, dated 1896. This particular book presents short but detailed biographies on "those who have played a great, or even interesting part in the annals of the past".[18] With such a celebrated collection and residence, it is hard to understand why Ferdinand has been undermined by scholars for not contributing to the re-emergence of eighteenth-century art and its growing popularity in both the art market and in the domestic interior.

To examine Baron Ferdinand as another contributor to the re-emergence of French eighteenth-century art, alongside the 4th Marquess, this thesis will be divided into five separate

[14] See also N. Ferguson, *The World's Banker. The History of the House of the Rothschild,* 1998. This provides a detailed insight into the archives of the Rothschilds and scales the history of their status in society. Books such as these however only provide a certain outlook of the Rothschilds and undermines their extensive interest in collecting.

[15] There are very little books on the general contributions that the Rothschilds made towards the arts. One book which provides a very minor insight into this area is M. Rothschild's *The Rothschild Gardens: A Family Tribute to Nature*, 2004.

[16] After Ferdinand's death in 1898, Waddesdon was bequeathed to his sister, Lady Alice de Rothschilds. It was then passed down to further members of the Rothschild family, and finally onto the National Trust in 1957.

[17] Spectator, 1898, p. 942. Ferdinand was given an extensive obituary, one that praised his collection and his position as a societal figure. This focus on eighteenth-century French art, rather than his British and Dutch collections suggests the impact he made on the art market at the time of the re-emergence. This can therefore provide further evidence as to his contribution to the movement.

[18] Rothschild, 1896, p. 1. This was one of Ferdinand's publications on French social history. His interest in these figures are then reflected in the objects he collected. He not only acquired works originally owned by some of the figures he had written about, but he also collected works of art that were favoured by these figures. These ideas will be discussed in chapter four.

chapters. The first chapter will go into further detail on the reasons behind the re-emergence of eighteenth-century French art, led by Francis Haskell. By discussing the factors that he has suggested and the reputation that both France and Britain held throughout Europe in both the eighteenth and nineteenth-century will make it clear that there cannot be one sole contributor to its movement. A background in the Rothschild's collecting habits will be the topic of chapter two. This will not only be an introductory standpoint for Baron Ferdinand's position as a contributor, but it will also provide further evidence that the praise that the 4th Marquess has received as the provider for the re-emergence has heavily undermined many other collectors. Chapter three explores the building of Waddesdon. By analysing the building process, the historical sources Ferdinand used, and Waddesdon's style both externally and internally, it will give insight into how significant an individual he was in investing in the past artistic styles. The collection that Ferdinand built will be the subject of chapter four. This chapter will analyse the objects he collected from his father, to those he acquired himself until to his death in 1898. An investigation into the inventories made after his death, his own writings and secondary sources on Ferdinand and Waddesdon will be examined in order to understand how he acquired the works, and how invested he was in re-introducing the style into the nineteenth-century domestic interior. The final chapter goes more in depth as to what defines the 4th Marquess as the recognised contributor. Ferdinand's collection and collecting habits will be analysed against the 4th Marquess, in order see if there are any differences between the two and why Ferdinand should also be recognised as a significant figure in the re-emergence. The objects they collected, the prices they paid for them and the ways in which they both acquired and housed them will be compared. Taking into account each chapter in this thesis, the act of pinpointing one figure as a contributor to a style re-emergence will be heavily undermined.

In order to carry out an investigation such as this, this thesis will use a variety of primary and secondary sources. Unfortunately, at the time of Ferdinand's death, he requested his sister, Lady Alice de Rothschild (1847-1922), who inherited both his collection and Waddesdon, to destroy a large majority of his private papers. This has ultimately left gaps in the history of Ferdinand's life and his collecting habits. The main primary sources that remain consist of published lectures and papers on various topics of history, such as his own interpretation on the re-emergence of French art, mentioned above. Ferdinand also privately published volumes on his collection and Waddesdon. The first is his *Reminiscences,* dated 1897. This provides an insight into his life, members of the Rothschild family and his own opinion on being a collector in the nineteenth-century. The second is his *Red Book,* published in the same year. This was

gifted to his friends "who have taken a sympathetic interest in the growth and development of Waddesdon." The book included several photographs of the interior of Waddesdon alongside several written pages on the construction of the house.[19] Finally, there is the inventory carried out by Ferdinand's art dealer and acquaintance, Charles Davis. Divided into rooms, the inventory gives a brief list of the objects held, and their maker or artist.[20] Fortunately various gaps have been pieced together overtime, by secondary publications such as Bruno Pons' *Waddesdon Manor: Architecture and Panelling*, 1996. Pons has taken into account the remaining documents of Ferdinand's architect Gabriel-Hippolyte Destailleur (1822-1893). This has allowed for greater detail on the process of building the house and the possible sources that Ferdinand was interested in using, that may not have appeared in his *Red Book* or *Reminiscences.*[21] Michael Hall's *Waddesdon Manor: The Heritage of a Rothschild House*, dated 2002, presents a very general yet insightful account into the creation of Ferdinand's collection.[22] When studying Richard Seymour-Conway, the 4th Marquess, a combination of primary sources such as surviving receipts from art dealers and correspondence between himself and his dealers will be used.[23] There are several secondary publications on his collection, particularly that of Manchester House (now the Wallace Collection) in London that provides a far more scholarly approach than that of Michael Hall's publication on Waddesdon. By using secondary material such as these and many more, particularly when studying the likes of Richard Seymour-Conway, this thesis in itself is a combination of an original research and a literary study.

[19] Windmill Archives, Waddesdon Manor, Acc54, p.1 (1897). There is no explanation for the reason why Ferdinand created this book for his friends. It does, however, give a personal insight into why Ferdinand chose his architect, the land he built on and the style of Waddesdon. With little remaining documents recording Ferdinand's thoughts, the Red Book, alongside his *Reminiscences* are essential in proving that Ferdinand was another contender for contributing to the re-emergence of French eighteenth-century art.

[20] There is no indication as to why an inventory was made after his death. The possible reason behind it may have been to do with the multiple collections Ferdinand had, including at his London residence. Nevertheless, the inventory is insightful when studying the interior architecture of the house, and the order of rooms – both factors which will be discussed in chapters three and four.

[21] Pons, 1996. Bruno Pons' investigation into the paneling and architectural elements of Waddesdon provides a critical analysis on the building process. He will be used repeatedly in chapter three where he will show Ferdinand as a collector and enthusiast.

[22] Hall, 2002. Michael Hall's publication provides a very generalised literary study on Waddesdon and its creation. His book, however, does not provide citations to his own personal research, which therefore leaves certain aspects questionable in his research.

[23]Similarly to Ferdinand, there are various gaps in the documentation on the 4th Marquess. Secondary sources have filled various holes. However, there are still various aspects, such as the prices paid by the 4th Marquess on a large number of his objects, which are still not known.

Chapter One: The Rediscovery of eighteenth-century French art

The infiltration of the art of the *ancien régime* into nineteenth-century Britain is a topic which has not been widely discussed. The generalised subject of an artistic re-emergence, as mentioned, is guided by Francis Haskell. The factors he presented as possible reasons behind the movement of a style can effectively be used as contributing factors to the re-emergence of eighteenth-century French art. The factors that will be analysed in this chapter are: politics, style, taste, and the lesser mentioned factor, the printing press. Haskell's *Rediscoveries in Art*, will dominate this chapter, nevertheless publications including those mentioned in the introduction will also give an insight into the topic. Not only will this chapter introduce the subject of this thesis, but it will also provide a starting point for the investigation into recognising that there is more than one individual, or reason behind the re-emergence of *ancien régime* art.

Political change in France

The overruling of the French crown during the French Revolution (1789-1799) struck the arts with great force. [24] The Republic, headed by the National Convention wanted their art to portray moralistic themes and to contain revolutionary propaganda. Works that did not fit into this criterion were removed from the public eye. This included the entirety of the *ancien régime* because of its connections to the monarchy, nobility and the style's playful, provocative nature. Through this removal process revolutionaries also took hold of private aristocratic collections with the same intention, and stripped them bare. Many of these works were destroyed, however families particularly located within and around the Parisian border who became aware of the uprising beforehand were able to relocate their collections. A number of these collections were either moved abroad, or in fact sold onto the European market. [25] A great deal of *ancien régime* art was therefore in surplus at the beginning of the nineteenth-century, allowing for British collectors to heavily invest. Haskell does not provide a reason as to why Britain was targeted, however Baron Ferdinand's 'French Eighteenth-Century Art in England' provides an

[24] Haskell, 1976, p. 39-85. Haskell dedicates an entire chapter, entitled 'Revolution and Reaction' to the rediscovery of eighteenth-century French art. The title alone emphasises his opinion on the cause behind this re-emergence.

[25] Rothschild, 1892, p. 286. Ferdinand does not provide an example of a collection which was transported to England. What this does show however is that Ferdinand himself is recognising that there is more than one reason behind a style re-emergence.

accountable insight. He stated that due to the contained nature of the revolution and the short time span in which the uprising of the Republic took place, *ancien régime* art, after 1799 suddenly became seen as art of the past. [26] With this idea in mind, Stanley Meltzoff, writing on the topic of the re-emergence of the three Le Nain brothers (Antoine, c.1588-1648; Louis, c.1593-1648 and Mathieu, 1607-1677) in his 'The Revival of the Le Nains', 1942 implies that the nineteenth-century was a time when past styles were seen as "the purest form of already known arts".[27] After the first initial influx of French art into Britain, a second wave of political change influenced the British art market. Under the reign of Louis Philippe I (1773-1850), French citizens became uneasy with the lack of change after the July Revolution of 1830. This led, as it had done in the French Revolution to many people becoming politically active. The use of art as a propaganda tool reappeared and according to Meltzoff, the interest in Rococo art expressing the bourgeoisie lifestyle plummeted.[28] This style of art was no longer fashionable in France and instead was replaced by works representing the struggle of citizens under the financial crisis.[29] The political shift in France and its connection to the British art market tightened its grip during the Second Empire (1850s-1870s) under Napoleon III (1808-1873). During his reign, he sought for an alliance with England, with the intention of creating political and commercial ties between the two countries. Ferdinand, as a contemporary to the movement stated that it was during this time that the British Empire thrived in terms of its spread of culture. This not only increased the possibility of a greater interest in art, but also in the collecting of luxury commodities.[30] It was also during this time that collectors such as

[26] Rothschild, 1892, p. 286; Windmill Archives, Waddesdon Manor, Acc177.1897, p. 65 (1897). This reason is more of an opinion of Ferdinand's. In his *Reminiscences,* Ferdinand emphasises his dislike for contemporary art. Art of the past may was a greater interest to him. As a contemporary to the movement of this style, his opinion is important to take into account as it may have been a reason as to why he was able to acquire these works of art.

[27] Meltzoff, 1942, p. 279. Meltzoff does not include *ancien régime* art as one of 'pure' styles, nevertheless, he does in fact include Gothic and Etruscan in his examples. The stark difference in these styles could therefore mean many others could be included in this category. He does in fact class the past movements as 'primitive', which both undermines the intricacy and skill of Rococo art, but also the age of the style. Nevertheless, in the context of political change, Meltzoff's idea does provide an insight into why Britain was targeted.

[28] *Ibidem*, p. 263. Meltzoff is using this political change as a reason behind the re-emergence of the Le Nains, nevertheless, it is important to see how Rococo art was replaced at this point by the Le Nains. This gives an indication as to how important a political change can be on the popularity of an artistic style, and how it affects the movement of it from one market to another.

[29] *Ibidem.* Although there is no direct link from Meltzoff's writings to the re-emergence of eighteenth-century French art in Britain, it provides us with another possible reason for its movement. The continual replacement of moralistic and realistic art in public spaces throughout France continued the influx of *ancien régime* art onto the European market.

[30] Rothschild, 1892, p. 287. Ferdinand was a contemporary to this influence from France, therefore his observation can be taken as safe evidence. Ferdinand conveys that through the alliance with France, the British press printed information on French society, its fashion and artistic tastes. The teaching of the French language also became more common and it was through these factors that collectors gained access into their lifestyle through the collecting of their decorative objects.

Ferdinand started to heavily invest in building their collections. It can only be assumed therefore that this thrive in the art market was the response to various political shifts.

Nostalgia for the *ancien régime* style

The cultivation of the arts in France has long been an interest of English collectors. Ferdinand had examined that as far back as the reign of Henry VIII (1491-1547), English courts held a great interest in European art, including France.[31] France began to excel beyond the rest of Europe during the reign of the Sun King, Louis XIV (1638-1715) with his construction of Versailles. The playful nature of Rococo art and its projection onto everyday objects became the epitome of wealth and status. [32] There is no surprise therefore that after the abrupt outbreak of the French Revolution and its decision to prioritise moralistic neo-classical art, that a widespread sense of nostalgia for the past surfaced. The contained nature of the revolution, as discussed previously, and its revolutionary iconography and Republican patriotism, such as Jacques-Louis David's (1748-1825) *Death of Marat*, 1793, does not relate to the popular ornamental aesthetic that was associated with Marie Antoinette (1755-1793) and the *ancien régime* (fig.2). [33] This widespread nostalgia was noted by Edmond (1822-1896) and Jules (1830-1870) de Goncourt, the nineteenth-century academic brotherhood who published several notable works on eighteenth-century French art and society. In their writings, according to Jenifer Forrest's study on the writing duo, the brothers had cited that from c.1715-1793 France was the European capital of wit and style.[34] Their praise for the *ancien régime* can be seen in a rough translated comparison between the nineteenth-century and the eighteenth:

"We are degraded contemporaries of this refined society, exquisite, of supreme delicacy, of enraged spirit, of adorable corruption, the most intelligent, the most polished, the most beautifully decorated art, voluptuousness, fantasy, caprice, the most human, that is, the most remote from nature, that the world has ever had."[35]

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[31] Rothschild, 1892, p. 285. Ferdinand does not provide any citation for this comment on English courtly collections, therefore this is more of a personal opinion. He states that the cultivation of British artists was limited compared to the continent, he provides several reasons for this lack of artistic talent in England, see pp. 282.

[32] Forrest, 2005-2006, p. 51. Forrest analyses the Goncourt brothers' opinions on Rococo art. She focussed on their publication on Marie Antoinette, a figurehead and patron for late Rococo art. She suggests her promotion of handicrafts as being an important aspect to the popularity of Rococo art.

[33] *Ibidem*, 2005-2006, p. 51. Following on from citation no. 31. Forrest quotes the Goncourt brothers' as describing Marie Antoinette as 'the godmother and the queen of Rococo'. This emphasises their nostalgia for *ancien régime* art.

[34] *Ibidem*, p. 44. This is Forrest's opinion of how the Goncourt brothers defined French culture.

[35] *Ibidem*, p. 45. Translation: "Nous sommes des contemporains dé- classés de cette société raffinée, exquise, de délicatesse suprême, d'esprit enragé, de corruption adorable, la plus intelligente, la plus policée, la plus fleurie de

Their praise for the luxury art of the *ancien régime*, although hard to judge, may have been known by English collectors of the nineteenth-century. What is known however is the praise for its adaptability. Ferdinand implies this aspect in his writings on the French arts, which links back to how the style of Rococo art was tailored for everyday items unlike those of the Revolution.[36] This adaptability may also link to how fashionable simple artistic scenes became. Meltzoff observes that by the end of the eighteenth-century, Marie Antoinette had successfully shown how "the simple peasant had become the model of fashion".[37] With such a simplistic scene, this may have been an advantage to manufacturers who wanted to follow the Rococo style. With this in mind, many objects with this scene or figure-head decorated onto it could have been used a reflection of the *ancien régime* style.[38] The work published by the Goncourt brothers was of course an expression of reminiscence for their own country. Interestingly, the writing duo were not the only collectors interested in returning to the *ancien régime* style. According to Ferdinand, during the time of the political upheavals, there were many individuals who did not agree in the use of art to express the suppressed citizens. These figures instead longed for the art and representation of the *ancien régime*. Nevertheless, in Ferdinand's words, France was "too intent on healing her wounds…to be able to turn her attention to art", therefore, English collectors continued to fill their collections with art of the past.[39]

A change in taste

The evolution of taste is a common factor in history. Meltzoff, on the topic of artistic revivals has observed that the change in taste is "a corrective for the delusion that great art has eternal values".[40] Meltzoff essentially infers that without a change in taste, an artistic revival could not

belles façons, d'art, de volupté, de fantaisie, de caprice, la plus humaine, c'est-à-dire la plus éloignée de la nature, que le monde ait jamais eue." This original translation is provided in the book, the English translation in the main body of the text is a personal translation.

[36] Rothschild, 1892, p. 288. Ferdinand praises eighteenth-century art for this purpose. He expresses his own opinion as to why this was so popular in European collections. This does not however take into account other contemporary opinions, therefore it is not taken as a general belief in the movement of art to Britain.

[37] Meltzoff, 1942, p. 262. This observation heightens the impact that Marie Antoinette had on the Rococo style. Meltzoff's work not only furthers the investigation into the style's adaptability that Ferdinand uses, but also on the Goncourt's work on the praise of the *ancien régime*.

[38] This is simply an observation and interpretation of Meltzoff's writing on Marie Antoinette. There is no evidence to support the popularity of a peasantry scene, nevertheless, its idyllic nature was a common factor in *ancien régime* art.

[39] Rothschild, 1892, p. 285. Ferdinand's own opinion on the lack of interest taken by French collectors in the nineteenth-century to retrieve their lost art. This idea therefore enhances the amount of works which English collectors obtained and makes the re-emergence of the style more prominent.

[40] Meltzoff, 1942, p. 259. Meltzoff opens his study on the revival of the Le Nain brothers with this observation. His opinion on the evolution of taste is important as it can relate to many other style revivals, and it therefore fits easily into Haskell's contributing factors.

occur. This change in taste was very much the case in the nineteenth-century when, Haskell observed, a substantial number of collectors from all classes of society began to consciously explore different spheres of art. [41] It can rightly be assumed that one of these was *ancien régime* art. Haskell has also suggested that a reason behind this evolution in taste was the impact that the change in political rule in France had on the market.[42] As previously analysed, there was an abundance of *ancien régime* decorative arts circulating the European markets after the French Revolution and in the early nineteenth-century. Collectors who were not able to acquire exquisite works of art, or in fact art be renowned artists, were able to invest in smaller, lesser known objects. The adaptability of Rococo art, and the copious amounts of objects available on the art market, as seen, allowed collectors such as this to invest in a style which was so highly regarded.[43] It was these small-scale collectors whom Haskell praises for heavily contributing to the change in taste. [44] The greater prominence of small-scale collectors and the interest in the *ancien régime* art also stemmed from a more fluid viewpoint on taste. Haskell has concluded in his writings on taste that from the 1840s onwards, England in particular became more open towards the different styles that collectors were interested in. [45] Evidence of this open-mindedness can be analysed in contemporary publications. The *Art-Journal*, a Victorian art magazine, edited by Samuel Carter Hall (1800-1889) in 1865 stated: "One has no right to condemn a style of Art because it does not harmonise with our ideas nor pronounce its worthless because we are mentally or constitutionally unable to appreciate its excellence…"[46] There is no evidence to suggest that publications such as this had any influence on collectors who read the magazine. Its years of publishing which spanned over half a century does however suggest a wide readership, and therefore it may have persuaded some individuals. This open-mindedness created a more diverse art market. There no longer appeared to be any real pressure

[41] Haskell, 1976, p. 124. Haskell has compared collectors from previous centuries and their break away from the popular styles to that of the nineteenth-century. He does not mention the trends in which collectors began to follow, however it can be assumed, due to his precise dating of around 1840 that the French eighteenth-century art was a popular venture for collectors.

[42] *Ibidem*. Haskell's opinion on the political change being a significant reason behind the change in taste does not make this factor more significant than the rest. In this context, it is being taken as an opinion, and a reference to the numerous contributing factors to the re-emergence of a style.

[43] Meltzoff, 1942, p. 260. Meltzoff has analysed that for collectors to be able to invest in a revived artistic style, the objects must be present, and in abundance for the art to be analysed and therefore collected. The adaptability of the Rococo art fits into this analysis.

[44] Haskell, 1976, p. 142. Haskell briefly analyses these small-scale collectors by including those who are not able to purchase an item due to its popularity, and therefore collects in a different field

[45] *Ibidem*, p. 128-130. Haskell does not provide any evidence to back up his claim on England's fluidity, however his statement is a suitable reason behind the re-introduction of eighteenth-century French art.

[46] *Ibidem*, p. 131. Haskell quotes the *Art-Journal*, a popular art magazine founded in 1839 to emphasise the spread of taste in England throughout the nineteenth-century. Haskell has quoted this from pp. 340, where Hall is discussing the Dirck Hals (1591-1656) painting, *Fête Champêtre*, dated 1627, which was owned by Queen Victoria (1819-1901).

from Old Masters dominating the auction houses, private collections and museums.[47] A number of collections, such as Baron Ferdinand de Rothschild's became eclectic. Another example is Horace Walpole's private collection at Strawberry Hill. Antiquarian, Horace Walpole (1717-1797) designed the exterior and interior of his residency in the style of the Gothic Revival.[48] This dominant style highly contradicted his interest in collecting eighteenth-century French art, nevertheless, he continued to pursue both styles. Ferdinand, who has cited Horace Walpole's collection on his publication on the *ancien régime*, has noted that due to his position in society and his apparent significant influence on the 'collecting mania', his decision to continue his multiple interests may have heavily swayed other contemporary collectors at the time.[49] Taking into consideration Ferdinand's example and the *Art-Journal* publication, the art market became a representation of individualism in the eye of the collector.

The Printing Press

Edward Morris, author of *French Art in nineteenth-century Britain*, 2005 has concluded that in the eighteenth-century, France was the most powerful state in Europe, both politically and culturally. [50] Although there is no solid evidence for this statement, it can be assumed that through the help of disseminated journals and prints, the reputation that France held became common knowledge during the eighteenth and nineteenth-century alike. It is not certain how influential the printing press was as its popularity would have been hard to monitor.[51] The readership of these publications, however may have varied. The nineteenth-century saw the possible second and third generation of Grand Tourists and travellers and what usually accompanied them were guidebooks and reviews on exhibitions. [52] Haskell examines these

[47] Rothschild, 1892, p. 285; Vogtherr, 2014, p. 121. Ferdinand suggests that due to the popularity of the Grand Tour, from which many of these Old Masters were collected, the English art market was not as diverse as it later was. Vogtherr has observed that even by the end of the nineteenth-century, museums did not fully invest in French paintings from the eighteenth-century. It was only at the beginning of the twentieth-century that they made an impact in the public spaces.

[48] Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Horace Walpole, 2004. See also W. Smith, *Horace Walpole: Writer, Politician and Conoisseur*, 1967. These two publications present a descriptive analysis of Horace Walpole's life.

[49] Rothschild, 1892, p. 285. Ferdinand uses Horace Walpole as an example of a collector expressing their interest in a number of artistic styles. There is no evidence to say that Walpole was in fact an influence, but many nineteenth-century collectors began to publically express their differences, well after Walpole's death in 1797.

[50] Morris, 2005, p. 3. Morris' opinion is one shared by the authors of the publications mentioned in this chapter, particularly that of the Goncourt brothers and Ferdinand de Rothschild. He is one of the few who have mentioned the impression that prints had on the collecting habits of British collectors in the nineteenth century.

[51] This reason alone may have been behind why this contributing factor has not been discussed by most of the publications in this chapter. Haskell does, however contribute an entire chapter on the topic. See Haskell, 'chapter 5: Spreading the news', *Rediscoveries in Art*, 1976.

[52] Vogtherr, 2014, p. 139. Writing on the topic of the nineteenth century, this publication mentions little on the topic of this chapter, however he provides brief information on the Grand Tour and its influence on the infiltration of art from Europe into England.

guidebooks as "the most effective way imaginable", in terms of influencing society on European cultures and art.[53] These generally speaking may have provided more general information, nevertheless, they could possibly have allowed for knowledge to pass on from France to Britain. According to Haskell, popular British publications such as the *Art-Journal*, and the *Athenaeum*, a literary journal active from 1828-1921 may have also allowed for the spread of France's culture and art. These statements may not directly link to the re-emergence of the *ancien régime*, however these examples do provide evidence for the growing interest in publications on the arts. These publications may also have had a possible influence on collecting tastes, therefore resulting in a growing interest and nostalgia for eighteenth-century French art.

These as mentioned are a selected number of causes mentioned in Haskell's *Rediscoveries in Art*. Haskell's publication on the topic and further publications discussed above have opened up a more thorough investigation into one particular re-emergence of a style. Despite not specifically focussing on the re-emergence of eighteenth-century French art, this chapter has provided this investigation with an opening argument that there cannot be only one contributing factor to the style's re-emergence into the nineteenth-century.

[53] Haskell, 1976, p. 169. This is a personal opinion of Haskell, again emphasising the lack of evidence on the connection between the knowledge on the superiority of France and the influences it could have brought to re-introduce the style.

Chapter Two: The Rothschilds as collectors

Baron Ferdinand de Rothschild's interest in collecting stemmed from generations of his own family heavily investing in art and decorative objects. To provide an understanding of Ferdinand's place in the history of collecting, a brief introduction into the history of the Rothschilds and their collecting habits will be analysed in this chapter. Ferdinand's initial influences will also be discussed, and will then be reflected in the analysis of Waddesdon and his own collection, in chapters three and four. When discussing the Rothschild's collecting habits, there are only a limited number of sources, both primary and secondary that cover the topic in hand. This undoubtedly prohibits a variation of interpretations, nevertheless this chapter will provide a basic introduction into what is being discussed. By discussing other notable collectors of eighteenth-century French art in this chapter, it heightens the notion that there is more than one contributor to a style re-emergence.

The Rothschild Family

The founder of the Rothschild banking dynasty was Meyer Amschel Rothschild (1744-1812), who was born in Frankfurt. The family's name originates from a sixteenth-century ancestor of Amschel who took the name from the red shield, translated as '*zum roten schild'*. This red shields was placed above the door of their home.[54] Amschel was first and foremost an antiques dealer, specialising in coins and various other antique objects however, it was his connections with numerous princely collectors that allowed him to pursue a career in banking. In 1801 Amschel was appointed financial advisor for William I, Elector of Hesse (1743-1821). Michael Hall has observed that by 1790, Amschel's business had become so successful that he had become the richest man in Frankfurt.[55] Overtime, his business became a family orientated firm. Once his five sons: Amschel Mayer (1773-1855); Salomon Mayer (1774-1855); Nathanial Mayer (1777-1836); Kalman (Carl) Mayer (1788-1855) and Jakob (James) Mayer (1792-1868) came of age, Amschel placed them respectively in Austria, England, Naples and France, (Amschel, the eldest son took over the firm in Frankfurt after his father's death) in order to expand the business internationally. The cohesive and loyal nature of the family meant that

[54] Windmill Archives, Waddesdon Manor, Acc177.1897, p. 2 (1897). Ferdinand goes into detail on the origins of the family, stating that they took the red shield, which hung over their front door, as their name because it was a rule that Jewish families were not entitled to a surname. See also A. Elon, *Founder: Meyer Amschel Rothschild and his time*, 1998 for an in-depth biography and the history on the founding of the Rothschild dynasty.
[55] Hall, 2002, p. 21. This is purely an observation from Hall, as he does not provide any evidence to this statement.

each branch consistently co-operated with the other members. This led to the family creating a multi-national banking dynasty.

The ever-rising European status meant that shortly after the banking business was founded, the family were granted noble status in 1818. They were entitled to have the prefix 'von' or 'de' in their name. This was altered in 1822, when Emperor Francis II of Austria (1768-1835) gave the family a hereditary rank of *Freiherr*; Baron, the title that Ferdinand was born with. Ferdinand was the third generation of the Austrian branch. He was the sixth child, out of eight of Anselm (1803-1874) and Charlotte de Rothschild (1807-1859), a member of the English branch.[56] Despite being of Austrian decent, Ferdinand and his siblings were brought up in Paris.[57] Ferdinand is known to have been named after Emperor Ferdinand I of Austria (1793-1875), as a tribute after his father was able to open a railway line in 1835.[58]

Rothschild collecting habits

Before the Rothschild's started banking, the family was not known to have heavily invested in art for their own personal interest.[59] It appears that when their social status began to change, the nature of their spending began to focus more on the arts.[60] This notion is built on the lack of evidence on the family's collecting habits in the early years of their business, however, as their collections began to grow, it can be seen that the Rothschild family were very eclectic collectors. Michael Hall has examined four out of the five branches, prior to Ferdinand's birth and has geographically mapped out the family's different interests.[61] Mayer Carl (1820-1886), son of the head of the Naples branch, who became head of the Frankfurt firm after his uncle's death, and his cousin Anselm (Ferdinand's father), took great interest in Renaissance art, particularly that of gold and silver plate. Old Masters dominated the collection of James, head

[56] Windmill Archives, Waddesdon Manor, Acc177.1997, (1897). Ferdinand writes in great depth on his relationship with his parents. His parents played a significant role in introducing Ferdinand to the arts.
[57] Due to the anti-sematic laws in Austria, the family were not able to own property in the country. They therefore owned property in Frankfurt as well as a villa in Suresnes, France.
[58] Hall, 2002, p. 24. This railway stretched from Vienna to Bochnia and was financed by the Rothschilds. The first section of the railway was opened the year of Ferdinand's birth. Hall does not provide evidence for this, however it gives evidence of the power the Rothschild family held at this point, and their influence in society.
[59] Referring back to the introduction, there is little written on the collecting habits of the Rothschilds. The focus on the banking dynasty has left great gaps in the research on their personal interests before they gained significant socials status.
[60] A personal observation. The mentioning of their collecting habits only started to appear once the five sons started to manage the firm abroad.
[61] Hall, 2002, p. 77. Defining these interests as 'national differences' between the different branches, Hall opens up a general outline which emphasises the scale of which the Rothschilds collected; For greater detail on the five branches of the Rothschild family, see N. Ferguson, *The House of Rothschild*, 1999.

of the Parisian branch.[62] He collected artists such as Rembrandt van Rijn (1606-1669), Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640) and Anthony Van Dyck (1599-1641). Hall has suggested that James was the first in the Rothschild family to invest in these particular artists. This differed greatly to the Old Masters collected by other members, who did not consider these artists to have held that status.[63] The fourth branch analysed was England, where Ferdinand's uncle, Lionel de Rothschild (1808-1879), followed James and collected various Old Masters such as Andrea del Sarto (1486-1530) and Domenichino (1581-1641). Lionel, around 1850 moved away from Italian Old Masters and instead focussed more on British eighteenth-century artists, such as Joshua Reynolds (1723-1792) and Thomas Gainsborough (1727-1788). On the topic of Lionel de Rothschild as a prominent nineteenth-century collector, Hall has concluded that he was a contributing factor to the popularity of several British artists and due to his involvement in the purchasing of said artists, the monetary value of their works in the art market rose rapidly. [64]

An important factor to recognise when discussing the Rothschild's collecting habits is the lack of contemporary art. Ferdinand provides an insight into this decision by stating: "Old works of art are not, however, desirable only for their rarity or beauty, but for their associations, for the memories they evoke".[65] This reasoning not only promotes an aesthetic taste in old works, held by the family, but it also suggests an academic interest, where the art work recalls or symbolises a particular historical event. What Hall has left out, however, is the family's interest in eighteenth-century French art. This interest was led particularly by Lionel and other members of the British branch, such as Ferdinand's mother, Charlotte. Their interest in this style takes centre stage in Ferdinand's *Reminiscences,* and it is through his writings that we learn how Ferdinand came about to be a contributing factor to its revival.

[62] See A. Mulstein, *Baron James: The Rise of the French Rothschilds*, 1983 for greater detail on James de Rothschild.
[63] Hall, 2002, p. 77. Hall does not provide any evidence for the lack of interest in these artists before James acquired them, however here, Hall is providing brief evidence that James should be recognised as a significant contributor for the interest in these artists both within the Rothschild family and for these particular Old Master artists.
[64] *Ibidem*. Hall does not provide a citation for this statement, however, it provides a general introduction to the influence that Lionel had as a collector, as well as how influential the Rothschilds were.
[65] Windmill Archives, Waddesdon Manor, Acc177.1897, p. 65 (1897). This is Ferdinand's own opinion of the lack of interest he held for Modern Art. This statement, however, can link to the reason behind the family's exclusive interest in old art and decorative objects.

The Rothschild's contribution to art

The collecting habits of the Rothschilds was extensive. Not only did they have a strong influence on the market, but also on the re-emergence of old styles.[66] Firstly, the change in the market may simply relate to the sheer number of works they acquired. There is no evidence provided for the exact number, however, as mentioned by Hall, four out of the five branches collected extensively in several different styles of art. Barbara Gilbert, author of 'Anglo-Jewish art collections of the Victorian Period', 1986, emphasises this point by stating that due to the close and consistent contact each branch had with one another, those family members who were avid collectors were able to gain knowledge on various sales throughout Europe.[67] The connections between the family members therefore contributed to the infamous status of the Rothschilds as collectors.

In his *Reminiscences,* Baron Ferdinand de Rothschild expresses a strong opinion on his family's role in assisting the re-emergence of old styles. He stated that:

"Whether it is to the credit of my family or not may be a matter of opinion but the fact remains that they first revived the decoration of the eighteenth-century in its purity, reconstructing their rooms out of old material, reproducing them as they had been during the reigns of the Louis, while at the same time adopting them to modern requirements. In England, as yet this new departure had not struck root so deeply as on the Continent. But the initiative by my family has been so widely followed abroad and has led to an excessive outlay on objects…"[68]

Writing as a contemporary to this re-emergence, it is crucial in understanding that already Ferdinand is recognising more than one collector as a contributor to the change in style. Whether or not he is including himself in this statement, it heightens the significance of the Rothschilds as collectors. Ferdinand takes this notion further by associating his family with the mania of collecting art from the past: "It is the apparent ubiquitousness of my family with its members… and all of them lovers and purchases of old art that accounts, to a great extent, for

[66] This proposed 'influence' is in reference to Hall's opinion on Lionel's investment in British artists, as well as Ferdinand's opinion on their family re-introducing French eighteenth-century art.
[67] Gilbert, 1986, p. 49. Gilbert states, as it was with Ferdinand, that Lionel's collections, in particular, reflected the general interests of the family. As each member also held this status, there is no denying that the Rothschild's had a significant impact on the history of collecting.
[68] Windmill Archives, Waddesdon Manor, Acc177.1897, p. 67-68, (1897). The preferred styles in England, which Ferdinand refers to are Italianate and Queen Anne.

our name being so prominently identified with the mania."[69] His use of the word 'mania' may indeed indicate the mass interest in collecting in general, which refers explicitly to the speed in which his family began to collect. This therefore brought forward the immediate interest in collecting on a vast scale. Interestingly, Ferdinand's above statement is almost positioning his family alongside Horace Walpole. Ferdinand had previously praised Walpole for being an influence in both the act of collecting, and also in his interest in different styles.[70] In terms of collecting, Ferdinand's parents, Anselm and Charlotte were key factors in his early influences as a collector.

Parental guidance

The relationship Ferdinand had with his father appeared rather unaffectionate, however, the main and possibly only common interest they possessed was their appreciation for art.[71] His father had a very specific taste when amassing his collection. As mentioned, he typically focussed on medieval and renaissance plates, eighteenth-century boxes and seventeenth-century Dutch artists, an example being *The Musicians: Two Men and a Woman,* 1650-1670, by Adriaen van Ostade (1610-1685) (fig.3). Despite Anselm having different tastes to Ferdinand's eighteenth-century decorative arts, it was the ways in which his father collected, described by Ferdinand himself that inspired him to collect. Ferdinand recalls his father tiring out his siblings by taking them on numerous tours around 'curiosity shops' and on a day to day basis, he would "rise at 6 o'clock' and remain on his legs until dusk…shopping and sight-seeing…".[72] His father's enthusiasm and his vigilant attitude to collecting can be echoed in Ferdinand's devotion to art, a trait he held throughout his life. Not only was Ferdinand exposed to the sales of decorative objects at such a young age, but he was also able to involve himself in the packing, unpacking and arrangement of his father's collection. It was this that Ferdinand regarded as one of his fondest memories as a child: "It was my privilege on these occasions to place some of the smaller articles in their old leather cases… Merely to touch them sent a thrill of delight through my small frame."[73]

[69] *Ibidem*, p. 67. Although not mentioned, Ferdinand is also part of this notion. The recognition of the family as contributions to the popularity of artistic styles strengthens the investigation in this paper.
[70] Refer back to chapter one.
[71] Windmill Archives, Waddesdon Manor, Acc177.1897, p. 14 (1897). Ferdinand describes his father as one who took little interest in his children, however he praised him for his intellect and cultured manner. Anselm's characteristics when collecting are later reflected in Ferdinand's collecting habits.
[72] *Ibidem*, p. 73.
[73] *Ibidem*, p. 70. From this recollection, it gives an indication of Ferdinand's growing enthusiasm for art and the initial interest in the object's care is echoed much later in Ferdinand's collecting career.

Charlotte's contribution into Ferdinand's interest in collecting was far beyond Anselm's introduction into the aesthetic appreciation of art. His mother began teaching Ferdinand the technical differences between the Dutch and Flemish artworks that his family acquired. Dorothy de Rothschild, author of *The Rothschilds at Waddesdon Manor*, 1979, stated, that according to Ferdinand, these lessons allowed him to distinguish an Abraham Teniers (1629-1670) from an Adriaen van Ostade.[74] Although there is no direct link, the tuition given by his mother may in fact have given him the ability to detect authentic pieces that he later purchased for Waddesdon. Authenticity, which will later be discussed, was a leading factor in Ferdinand's choice of objects for his collection.

Family interiors

It was not necessarily Anselm and Charlotte that introduced Ferdinand to French art, but rather his extended family. Ferdinand's grandfather, Solomon, built a villa in Grüneburg, Frankfurt which Ferdinand's family regularly visited throughout his childhood (fig.4). It was constructed by architect François-Joseph Bélanger (1744-1818) in 1849, in the style of a Franco-German Renaissance chateau. The interior of the establishment was decorated with objects from the period of Louis XV. Ferdinand's quote on his family assisting in the re-emergence of the French style: "…they first revived the decoration of the eighteenth-century in its purity, reconstructing their rooms out of old material, reproducing them as they had been during the reigns of the Louis", can easily relate to the architectural style and original interior of Solomon's villa.[75] Hall has recognised the significance of Solomon's villa in connection to the family's position as collectors by pinpointing original pieces within its interior. He has cited that Charlotte acquired a Madame de Pompadour (1721-1764) bed which she bought whilst on tour in Paris. [76] It was through decorating the entirety of the villa in this style that created the illusion of eighteenth-century French society. Ferdinand was surrounded by these objects on a daily basis and depending on the function of the object, he must have used some of them. The interest Ferdinand took in his father's collection must have come into account when he was present at Solomon's villa. There is no doubt, therefore that Ferdinand was interested in the

[74] Rothschild, 1979, p. 10-12. Dorothy de Rothschild (1895-1988) also sees Charlotte's tuition, as well as Anselm's influence as a significant factor in Ferdinand's lifelong interest.

[75] Windmill Archives, Waddesdon Manor, Acc177.1897, p. 67-68 (1897). Refer back to citation no. 67. The creation of Solomon's villa emphasises Ferdinand's statement on the significance of his family. It also furthers this investigation into recognising that there is more than one contributor to the re-emergence of a style. His statement in his *Reminiscences*, is a fact to him. He is making his opinion clear.

[76] Hall, 2002, p. 31. Hall has cited Ferdinand's comment on this object acquired by his mother, however he has not provided evidence as to its original source. It does however provide a simple example of the interior which may have influenced Ferdinand when designing Waddesdon.

interior of Grüneburg. Haskell has recognised the significance of one surroundings in his *Rediscoveries in Art*, and has concluded that it was not an uncommon feature. He implies that by creating a connection and familiarity with an art work or object, effectively sparks a thriving interest in that particular style.[77] Solomon's Villa is one example of how Ferdinand was exposed to French *ancien régime* art. It was not until the death of his mother, Charlotte, in 1859, when Ferdinand moved to England that he saw at first hand the re-introduction of *ancien régime* art by his British uncle, Lionel de Rothschild.

The Rothschilds in England

Lionel was the second generation of the English branch of the family, and the sister to Evelina de Rothschild (1839-1866), who became Ferdinand's wife in 1865.[78] Lionel spent a vast majority of his life collecting fine arts. His collecting interests changed, as observed by Hall, however, his interest in French eighteenth-century decorative objects appeared to have been consistent. The first way in which Lionel influenced Ferdinand was in the extensive nature of his collection. Gilbert, who has analysed Lionel's collection, has categorised his interests as spanning from the reign of Louis XIV, to Louis XV (1710-1774) and finally Louis XVI (1754-1793).[79] The objects he collected, within this timeframe included *Sèvres* porcelain, tapestries from the *Gobelins*, furniture of royal provenance, *cloisonné*, and a number of paintings such as *Air*, dated 1730-1732, by Nicholas Lancret (1690-1743) (fig. 5). There is no evidence to suggest that Ferdinand took a great interest in these particular objects, or Lionel's vast collection. His relationship with Lionel, however, created through his marriage to Evelina and their long-term interest in the arts must have aided Ferdinand's ability to study and widen his knowledge on the period.

As had been the case in Solomon's Villa, there is a possibility that Lionel had displayed his collection as if he was living within it. In Gilbert's writings, she has recorded that many collections, spanning as far back as to the Medici family, were divided up according to their

[77] Haskell, 1976, p. 43. Haskell uses the example of William Hazlitt (1778-1830) whose account on visiting the Duc d'Orléans (1773-1850) collection grasps this connection with the objects. From this collection he forms his interests and taste for the style of art. Despite this not referring to the Rothschilds, it emphasises the common nature of being taken in by current surroundings.

[78] Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Lionel de Rothschild, 2004. There is little written on Lionel de Rothschild. This bibliography provides a general understanding of his character and his life.

[79] Gilbert, 1986, p. 44. Gilbert describes Lionel's collection as characterising his place in nineteenth-century society. Ferdinand followed his interests closely and later collected very similar objects of interest. This close connection between the two collectors furthers the investigation into recognising more than one individual as a contributor to the re-emergence of the *ancien régime* art.

style. For instance, Old Masters were to be hung in a picture gallery, and Dutch works in a cabinet.[80] There is, however no mention of styles that have been re-introduced into collections. This can only mean therefore, that eighteenth-century French art, during the nineteenth-century, must have been placed amongst the other collections, as if creating this allusion of the *ancien régime* society. This can be further emphasised by Lionel's purchase of two London properties. In 1859, he bought 148 Piccadilly and merged it with the house adjacent to create one single property. He decorated the entire interior in the manner of eighteenth-century French society and lived amongst his collection. Lionel, as Solomon had done at Grüneburg has provided evidence to emphasise Ferdinand's statement that his family were important in re-discovering the *ancien régime* in its original, authentic nature.

To build his collection of French decorative arts, Lionel broadened his reach to acquire objects of interest. After Lionel had finished his education in 1830, he spent several years in Paris with his uncle, James. It was at this point that Gilbert suggests Lionel's history of collecting French decorative arts started.[81] During the years of his visit, his uncle was managing the fortune of Louis-Philippe I, the new king. His increasing wealth and status within society benefited Lionel, as he was able to attend art auctions, private collections and study James' ever growing collection of French art, including works such as the *Milkmaid* (1780), by Jean-Baptiste Greuze (1725-1805) (fig.6). Once he returned to England, he employed London art dealer, Alexander Barker, who served as his primary agent for French paintings on the European market.[82] By attending European sales himself, as well as having a dealer, Lionel was able to acquire a greater number of works. Once Lionel had gained this knowledge on French art, he passed it down to his sons, Nathaniel (1840-1915), Alfred (1842-1918) and Leopold (1845-1917), whom furthered Ferdinand's knowledge on the style. Gilbert has recorded Ferdinand accompanying his cousins on a tour throughout Europe, starting in 1867,

[80] *Ibidem*, 1986, p. 44. Gilbert briefly mentions the general rule of display within private collections. The lack of evidence for the display of French eighteenth-century art allows for an open interpretation. Gilbert however does not emphasise the longevity of this organisation within collections. This division spanned over centuries of collecting and from this it only heightens the impact French eighteenth-century art had on many collections, leading to many individuals living within their collections.

[81] Gilbert, 1986, p. 54. Gilbert infers in his account on Lionel, that James' societal status had a great impact on the growth of Lionel's knowledge on French art, as it allowed him to visit numerous private sales.

[82] Many of the Rotschilds used the same dealers. This not only allowed them to work together and collect a larger number of objects, but through this system each collector was able to learn from another about different sales and exhibitions. Ferdinand also used Barker for his first purchase (analysed in chapter four), again strengthening his connection with Lionel.

in search for art.[83] As Ferdinand did throughout his childhood, he attended sales and exhibitions such as the 1867 Exposition Universelle, a world's fair, held in Paris. Over forty-two nations exhibited their art works, decorative objects and inventions. The impact Anselm's collecting habits had on Ferdinand, resulted in a lifelong interest in art. This level of influence must have repeated itself when he moved in England in 1859 as he involved himself further into the English Rothschilds. Despite there being little written on the connection between the two figures, there appeared to have been a clearer relationship between them. As will be analysed in chapter four, Ferdinand's collecting habits and interests are very similar to those of Lionel's. This can only suggest that Lionel had a great impact on Ferdinand's interest in styles, the ways he collected and how he housed his objects at Waddesdon Manor.

[83] Gilbert, 1986, p. 65. Gilbert does not provide any citation for the tour which Ferdinand attended, however, it provides an example of how Lionel's attitude to collecting encouraged Ferdinand's.

Chapter Three: The Architecture of Waddesdon Manor

The collection assembled by Ferdinand was safe guarded within the architecture of Waddesdon (fig.1). The house itself resembles that of a French château, primarily dating between the sixteenth and eighteenth-century. Its construction, spanning from 1874-1889 brought together what Hall saw as Ferdinand's "energy and determination" and the historical knowledge held by both Ferdinand and his architect, Gabriel-Hippolyte Destailleur. Its construction not only undermines the recognition of one individual as the sole contributor to the re-emergence of French art, but it also opens up a further field of thought: the re-emergence of historic architecture. To further this investigation, Waddesdon will be analysed through its internal and external style; the historical sources used by Destailleur and Ferdinand and finally how they arranged original eighteenth-century architectural elements into a nineteenth-century domestic interior. There is very little written on the detailed areas of Waddesdon's creation. Therefore, Bruno Pons' *Waddesdon Manor: Architecture and Panelling*, 1996 will dominate the analysis in this chapter. It is clear that Baron Ferdinand held a strong interest in French historic architecture, however there is very little written evidence on it, therefore, there is a significant lack of personal opinions and primary sources.

The Construction of Waddesdon

Following the lack of documentation left by Ferdinand on the topic of his collection, very little evidence survives on the full construction of Waddesdon. Only a number of photographs, architectural drawings and the written word of Ferdinand, in his *Red Book*, are easily accessible. However, Bruno Pons, author of *Waddesdon Manor: Architecture and Panelling*, 1996, has been able to piece together further information based around the documents kept by Ferdinand's architect Destailleur. What is resolutely certain is that the process of building of Waddesdon consisted of several plans and constant changes involving both minor and substantial alterations. The project started when Ferdinand bought the estate of Waddesdon and Wichendon, the sum of 2,700 acres, from George Spencer-Churchill, 8th Duke of Marlborough (1844-1892). The original price of the land is unknown, but the transaction was completed through private treatise in 1874.[84] The architect, as mentioned, was Gabriel-Hippolyte Destailleur, a member of an illustrious family of architects. His father, François-

Windmill Archives, Waddesdon Manor, Acc54, p.2 (1897). The land was originally on public sale, however, it was taken off the market because it was never sold for its original price. Ferdinand recorded him adding an additional 500 acres of arable land to the 2,700 he had already purchased from the Duke of Marlborough.

Hippolyte Destailleur (1787-1852) and grandfather were known to have worked for the Orléans family.[85] Pons describes Destailleur as an established architect, one whose work must have been noted by Ferdinand and his contemporaries.[86] Destailleur and Ferdinand worked together on the designs for Waddesdon. The first plan, entitled '*Projet de chateau',* shows almost a palatial sized ground and first floor (fig.7). However, if you compare this to the final result of Waddesdon, the size has considerably decreased. This change in size resulted in an estate which emphasised comfort, a factor which Ferdinand was persistent with throughout the build.[87] Throughout the months of 1874, alterations were made, shown in the different plans, leading to the house being composed of a single central block (fig.1).[88] What these plans inevitably point out are the continuous disagreements between Ferdinand and Destailleur. Ferdinand, in his *Red Book*, gives a final remark on the project by stating: "The whole credit of the work is his. I must take my full share of whatever blame there may be".[89] The blame, we assume, revolves around the many months it took to finalise a plan for Waddesdon. Nevertheless, these disagreements shine a positive light on Ferdinand, as they present us with his want for perfection. Ferdinand wanted to be entirely involved in the construction of the estate. Similar to the authentic nature of his collection, a factor that will be analysed in chapter four, he was not willing to settle for something simply presented to him. This characteristic can be identified in Destailleur's apparent view on Ferdinand. This viewpoint has surfaced in the writings of Michael Hall. Hall has analysed Walter-André Destailleur's (1867-1940) unpublished memoir on his father, where he is said to have described Ferdinand as "extrêment authoritaire et curieux."[90]

[85] Hall, 2002, p. 45. Hall has suggested that this was a major factor in Ferdinand's decision to choose Destailleur as his architect. Hall does not provide any further evidence as to why this may possibly be a reason. Nevertheless, the prestigious nature of the Orléans family in French history may have been an interest to Ferdinand, and therefore may have led him to Destailleur.

[86] Pons, 1996, p. 14; *Ibidem*, p. 25. Pons emphasises the distinguished position of Destailleur, which can be identified through the numerous architectural drawings which he kept. Pons has stated that for an architect to keep such a vast collection of public and private collections was very rare.

[87] Windmill Archives, Waddesdon Manor, Acc54, p.3 (1897). Ferdinand describes a constant dispute between himself and Destailleur on the size of Waddesdon. Ferdinand was consistent in wanting a smaller establishment, however, once it was built, Ferdinand added to the original plan and built onto the wings of the house.

[88] Pons, 1996. Pons goes into detail about the various stages of Waddesdon. The stages explained: the adjustment for comfort, and the modifications on the exterior were within stages three and four.

[89] Windmill Archives, Waddesdon Manor, Acc54, p. 9 (1897). Ferdinand, as quoted, does not go into detail about what he was taking the blame for. A difficulty when analyzing Ferdinand's work is that he downplays his own achievements, and by giving others more credit than himself, Ferdinand is regularly misread in the history of collecting.

[90] Hall, 2002, p. 45. Translation given in the book. The full passage: "un homme grand et plutot maigre, assez amiable, sans plus, extrêment authoritaire et curieux. Il etait cependant une des figures marquantes de la fin du siècle dernier" This translates as: "A tall and rather spare man, kindly enough but no more, extremely authoritative and inquisitive. He, nevertheless, one of the outstanding figures of the end of the last century". Hall does not give a citation for this record, therefore leaving us to take this source into account as a possible first hand description

The state of the arable land that Ferdinand purchased meant that a considerable amount of work was required to even out the terrain (fig.8). Once the excavation was complete, the foundation stone was laid on 18th August 1877 (fig.9). From then on, Ferdinand was in constant contact with Destailleur, his contractor, Edward Conder & Son and Elie Lainé (1829-1911), who was in charge in designing the surrounding land. Ferdinand recorded in his *Red Book*, that he moved into the Bachelor's Wing of the house in 1880, despite the house not being fully completed.[91] This sense of urgency for Ferdinand to move into Waddesdon may possibly have stemmed from him wanting a place to house his collection, which then, had started to slowly develop.

Architectural Style

The British landscape at the end of the eighteenth-century was dominated by Tudor and Jacobean styles of architecture. It is important to question therefore, why Ferdinand chose such a contradictory, yet opulent architectural style for Waddesdon. [92] He mentions this much anticipated question in his *Red Book*. Consequently, he does not necessarily provide an answer, but rather merely states that this French style would indeed be suitable for its surroundings.[93] A source of inspiration for this style of Waddesdon, cited by Ferdinand, and by contemporary writers on the house, such as Bruno Pons' catalogue on Waddesdon's architecture, was that of the Château of the Valois. Designed in the French Renaissance style, Ferdinand first recorded his interest in this design when on tour in the Touraine.[94] At present, assumptions can be made as to why he wanted to reintroduce such a particular style. In his article 'French Eighteenth-Century Art in England', 1892, Ferdinand mentioned the Valois family, of which several members principally ruled France, as important factors in the historical development of art.

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of Ferdinand's character as a collector. Another biography on the architect is: J-P Midant, 'Destailleur, French family of architects', *The Dictionary of Art*, 1998.

[91] Windmill Archives, Waddesdon Manor, Acc54, p.9 (1897). He stated in July of 1883 that the house itself was completed, yet work was still to be done on the surrounding area of the house. He does not go into detail on this sense of urgency, however his movement into the house coincides with him beginning to heavily invest in decorative objects.

[92] *Ibidem*, p. 3. Taken directly from Ferdinand's own opinion on the surrounding architecture of England. As Ferdinand was a contemporary to these styles, there is a sense that he did not want to follow the common trend. This idea relates to him as a collector breaking away from the common taste in art and helping re-discover eighteenth-century French art.

[93] *Ibidem*, This sense of uniqueness, which Ferdinand points out, is the first indication of him reintroducing a past architectural style into contemporary society.

[94] *Ibidem*, p. 2-3; Pons 1996, pp. 34; Ferdinand is very vague on the tour he was said to have gone on. The *Châteaux* of the Valois is the only source of influence he gives on the style of Waddesdon. It must be assumed that Pons has taken this suggestion from Ferdinand's own writings.

The Valois branch of the House of Carpet, remarked Ferdinand, had a 'taste for building, and a passion for art', which he regarded as having matched that of the Hapsburg dynasty.[95] He later stated that once the Italian Renaissance became a European phenomenon, in the fifteenth-century, the Valois family were not to be 'outdone' by the likes of the Medici. Their continual haste to build a collection, of which Ferdinand does not mention, must have contributed to "the enthusiasm of art [which] became universal".[96] It can only be presumed, therefore, that Ferdinand's application of style, used by such a prestigious family was because he wanted to commend a family whose tastes in art allowed for it to develop into something more than an interest. Another possibility is that Ferdinand wanted to create almost a replica of the Valois family's achievements.

Historical sources

The mention of the Château of the Valois as the original source, is of course, extremely vague. The size of the dynasty, spanning centuries, has left Ferdinand's words open for interpretation. The analysis of the architecture of Waddesdon presented by Pons, does not give his own definitive opinion, but rather occasionally suggests the Château de Mouchy (fig.10). He instead focusses more on the ability of Ferdinand and Destailleur in accomplishing an accurate reconstruction by using a combination of 'architectural quotations' from a number of sources.[97] Naturally this is an important way of looking at the construction, as with Ferdinand's collection, he did not simply collect objects from a particular decade, or artist, but from a variation of sources. Nevertheless, identifying a possible original source is crucial in understanding Ferdinand's investment in reintroducing a historical style. The Château de Mouchy has its similarities to Waddesdon, particularly with the emphasis on verticality in the pinnacles and towers. Nonetheless, one source which draws more parallels in exterior decoration is the royal Château de Chambord (fig.11).[98] Constructed under King Francis I of France (1494-1547), a member of the Angoulême branch of the House of Valois, dating from 1519 was built in the style of the French Renaissance. Through the analysis of a few remaining,

[95] Rothschild, 1892, p. 377. Ferdinand's determination to place the Valois family amongst the great collecting dynasties only heightens the prominence of their architectural achievements. This further emphasizes the action of reintroducing a style of importance.
[96] Rothschild, 1892, p. 378. Ferdinand repeatedly emphasises the prestigious nature of the Valois family and their contribution to the history of art. By introducing a family's history, and particularly their architectural achievements into contemporary society, Ferdinand is providing further evidence as to why he should be recognised as a contributing factor to the re-emergence of art.
[97] Pons, 1996, p. 57. Pons identifies, without including any further examples, that it was not only Waddesdon that used this method for historical accuracy, but instead, a number of projects carried out in the nineteenth-century.
[98] The idea of the Chateau de Chambord as being a significant source has been presented by Bruno Pons.

yet undated drawings by Destailleur and the cross examination by Pons, of these drawings with possible sources, it has allowed us to somewhat visualise further evidence to support Ferdinand as being a contribution to the re-emergence of a style. [99] Firstly, a simple characteristic of the French Renaissance style should be identified. The rustic order on the ground floor, identified by Pons, was used at Waddesdon as part of the 'architectural element[s]'.[100] The placement of the rustic order as an exterior decoration can be seen on numerous châteaux of this style, for instance, the Château de Langeais (fig.12). Rebuilt from the dilapidated tenth-century ruins, its rustic order is parallel to that of the first drawing presented by Destailleur for one of Waddesdon's outbuildings, of a similar design. (fig.13). This element, of course also links Waddesdon's façade to Chambord. The rustication seen on its exterior is resolutely similar to the final design of Waddesdon, which shows a much smoother order of rustication (figs. 14,15). Another common feature was the use of vases and cartouches. Pons has suggested that on the original plans of Waddesdon, Destailleur did not take this decorative element into account, but instead used military trophies.[101] This changed in the later plans, however, as Destailleur placed more classical vases upon the balustrade separating the third and fourth storey (figs. 16, 15).

Individualistic decorative elements on the façade of Waddesdon, which in this case can be linked to one particular source, are features that truly indicate the level of accuracy that Ferdinand and Destailleur were striving for. One specific case is the balustrade decoration on the exterior and interior of the two towers, which may have also been taken from Chambord (fig.17).[102] The balustrades at Waddesdon are very distinctive, however, at Chambord, they are an element which is not easily identified. The balustrades run on a much smaller tower, placed in the corner of the inner courtyard (fig.18). In the original plans, Destailleur has positioned a dome that crowns the main block. This was removed in the final stages of Waddesdon's construction, however, the drawings provided show further parallels to Chambord. The first stage to this plan presents an octagonal dome; the second an opened rotund dome (figs. 19, 20).

[99] Pons, 1996, p. 58. Despite the assistance of these architectural elements to this argument, Pons, has identified a crucial fact in the search for original sources. He has stated that many of these elements are questionable, and it is difficult to identify whether they are original, or rather nineteenth-century quotations of the original. His statement rings true, particularly as these drawings do not come with written aid, explaining their original source of inspiration.

[100] *Ibidem,* p. 37. Pons identifies this characteristic as something which Destailleur regularly used on his projects. This simple design was a dominant feature in both seventeenth and eighteenth-century French architecture.

[101] *Ibidem,* p. 48. Pons describes this change in the plans, however he does not provide any evidence of the military trophies on the original Destailleur drawings. The remaining drawings by Destailleur do not show this feature, therefore, this can only be taken as an observation by Pons.

[102] *Ibidem,* p. 61. Pons does not explicitly reference Chambord as the source for the balustrades, however, aesthetically their design and position on the exterior of Waddesdon do echo that of Chambord.

These drawings, as previously mentioned, are undated and therefore it is only safe to assume, in relation to this investigation that the rotund dome was suggested first. The second dome, which is smaller in decoration draws links to Ferdinands incessant want to downsize and to focus on comfort. The decoration between the panes of glass on the lantern at Chambord and those designs for the Waddesdon lantern are of a very similar nature (fig. 21, 22). These are but a few architectural elements that highlight the extent to which Ferdinand and Destailleur went to recreate the authentic characteristics of the style.

Interior architectural design

The level of opulence seen on the exterior of the house was continued within through the collecting and assembling of decorative *boiseries.* The placement of these panels at Waddesdon have been described as not only a rare selection, but also one of the largest.[103] What is important to point out with the construction of the interior is that influence of Destailleur is almost absent. Ferdinand appears; according to his own records; to have been the singular force behind the choosing of such a collection.[104] Ferdinand's main focus on the interior of the house is the use of panels. A vast majority of these panels date from the eighteenth-century, namely between the years of 1715 and 1730. Of course Ferdinand was not the only collector investing in French panelling, as his uncle, Edmond de Rothschild (1845-1934), and to a smaller degree, the comte Octave de Béhague (1826-1879) purchased similar items.[105] Nevertheless, those at Waddesdon did not only have an extensive provenance, but in some cases, Ferdinand took whole sets and assembled them in their original state. An example of this is the Grey Drawing Room (fig.23).

The Grey Drawing Room

The Grey Drawing Room panels were taken from the ground-floor *salon* of the *hôtel* Peyrenc de Moras, now known as the Musée Rodin (fig.24). The *hôtel* was built by Jean Aubert (?-1741), for Abraham Peyrenc de Moras (1686-1732), a successful financier who acted as a banker for Louise Bénédicte de Bourbon, Duchesse du Maine (1676-1753). There is no evidence as to how Ferdinand acquired these panels, however an inventory created around

[103] Pons, 1996, p. 13-14. This is Pons's own opinion. Ferdinand's ability to attain such a number of panels from various sources means that one cannot doubt Pons's viewpoint.
[104] Windmill Archives, Waddesdon Manor, Acc54, pp.9 (1897). Ferdinand briefly mentions Destailleur's lack of influence in the interior decoration, but instead mentions that the assembling of the panels was carried out by him and 'various English and French decorators'.
[105] *Ibidem*, p. 14. Pons mentions these collectors, amongst others such as the Musée des Arts Décoratifs. He does not however go into detail as to what these collectors acquired, but rather leaves a vague comment, which leaves only a vague comparison to emphasise Ferdinand's position.

1736, at the time in which Madame Peyrenc de Moras (1699-1738) leased the *hôtel*, provides not only an insight into the interior decoration in the *salon*, but also the room's layout.[106] The ground-floor *salon* was a much smaller room than that of the Grey Drawing Room, nevertheless, Ferdinand incorporated the *boiseries*, in a similar nature, with the use of some additional elements, to fit into the remaining architecture. To visualise these similarities, Pons has created a reconstruction of the *salon*, showing the room as it has been described in the inventory (fig.25). Pons has also provided a basic outline of the Grey Drawing Room, to compare (fig. 26). The west wall of the Drawing Room is almost an exact replica of the south wall in the *hôtel.* The three arched windows, opening to the garden on the south wall were, at Waddesdon turned into three blind arches. Ferdinand then took the spandrels from the south wall and placed them between the west wall's framed panels, and placed a mirror, provided by Destailleur, from the north wall of the *Salon*. This gave the room an illusion of openness, which the windows of the *salon* would have originally done. This increase consciousness of respecting the authentication of the room, as we had found with the exterior decoration of Waddesdon, was an essential feature for Ferdinand. This nature of modifying the room in order to retain the *salon's* aesthetic can also be identified in less obvious places. Pons' has identified Ferdinand as having taken two half-spandrels which were originally placed at either end of the north wall in the *salon* and placed them together to create a blind arch in the middle of the two doors to echo that of the west wall (fig.27)[107] These are only but a few examples of the panels reconstructed in a very similar manor to those by Abraham Peyrenc de Moras. The record of their appearance at Waddesdon: all mostly carved, painted and in some cases gilded, appear to have remained from the state in which they were in at the *hôtel.* This can be seen from Pons' drawing of the *Salon*, showing the design of the panels on the west wall, and a drawing by Destailleur of the installation of the *salon's* panels for the east wall of the Drawing Room (fig.28). Of course, not every panel was able to fit into the Grey Drawing Room, and the whereabouts of the remaining panels has not resurfaced. Pons has suggested that they may have been used by Destailleur for another building project, but this is not certain.[108] Despite this, Ferdinand's attempt to evoke the eighteenth-century style in the nineteenth century was successful.

[106] Pons, 1996, p. 375-377. Pons has provided the *salon's* inventory, recording the placement of certain objects, the structure of the room and in some cases the prices and size of the objects. These are all informative in finding out how relatable Ferdinand's Grey Drawing Room was to the original *salon.*

[107] *Ibidem,* p. 380. Pons has not given any original source for this information. This therefore is taken as a simple example of how Ferdinand had adapted certain areas of the Grey Drawing Room for the *salon boieries* to fit.

[108] *Ibidem.* This is Pons's own opinion on the whereabouts of the remaining panels. No further evidence has been given.

In other cases, Ferdinand selected individual panels, placing them in a more modern and mixed environment. By not inducing a connection in terms of material between the panel and its surroundings, Ferdinand is reintroducing the unique style into the nineteenth-century interior.[109]Take for instance the Dining Room at Waddesdon (fig. 29). Here, Pons has deduced that by the nineteenth-century, the dining room had become more ceremonial than it had been in the eighteenth-century, meaning that it was seen as inappropriate to decorate its interiors with recycled material.[110] Ferdinand, however, ignored this decorating etiquette, and the Dining Room was instead designed with a harmonious combination of marble and carved *boiseries.*

Origins of the *Boiseries*

Many of these panels became available to Ferdinand and other collectors through the process of *Haussmannisation*. *Haussmannisation* was a program carried out by Georges-Eugène Haussmann (1809-1891) and commissioned by Napoleon III, between 1853 and 1870. The scheme was to demolish the medieval street system in Paris and replace the narrow streets with wider avenues, parks and squares.[111] This process meant that many prominent *hôtels* were destroyed. Their interiors, many of them stripped to their core, were then sold by French dealers onto the wider European market. This resulted in many sales of uncatalogued items. Ferdinand's want for authenticity however meant that he knew a significant amount about the provenance of the ones he acquired. Ferdinand mentions only a few sources in his *Red Book*, for instance, the panels for Waddesdon's Green Boudoir were from the *hôtel* previously owned by the Charles Gaspard Dodun (1679-1736) at his residence, the hôtel Dodun in Paris (fig. 30).[112] Ferdinand's description also mentioned other historic houses, such as "a chateau of the Montmorencis", which can be assumed to mean the Château d'Écouen, originally built for Anne de Montmorency (1493-1567) (fig. 31). [113] The extent of Ferdinand's knowledge on their

[109] Re-introducing original objects into the contemporary domestic interior is something that Ferdinand has achieved in his interior architectural decoration. This act very much reflects that of how he had placed his collection in a room with a nineteenth-century function. This will be analysed in chapter four.

[110] *Ibidem,* p. 175. There is a suggestion that interior decoration followed certain rules, nevertheless, Ferdinand appears to have broken these. This only enhances the idea of him breaking general norms in order to reintroduce a style into a contemporary domestic interior.

[111] See P. Camilleri, *Haussmann: His Life and Times and Making of Modern Paris,* 2005.

[112] Very little is left of the original interior of the hôtel Dodun. This has meant therefore that there is no evidence to connect Waddesdon's Green Boudoir to the building.

[113] Windmill Archives, Waddesdon Manor, Acc54, p.9 (1897) Ferdinand only mentions a few sources for his *boiseries*. His lack of detail of course leaves his own words open to interpretation. Nevertheless, this source seems to be the only plausible option.

provenance can be clearly identified when comparing him to other contemporary collectors. Pons has provided a comparison with the Henry Manners, 8th Duke of Rutland (1852-1925). Manners was an authoritative figure on French decorative art, and was consciously striving to become an important figure in artistic circles.[114] The Duke of Rutland was recorded using the term '*parquets'*, meaning joinery, to describe the frame of a mirror.[115] He was indeed a prominent figure in the arts, for he was the only President of the North British Academy of Arts, during its active years of 1908 to 1924. The Duke of Rutland may also be counted as a contributor to the re-emergence of a style, consequently, his misinformed knowledge on provenance only furthers Ferdinand's position as being recognised as a significant collector.

[114] See Oxford Dictional of National Biography, Henry Manners, 2008.
[115] Pons, 1996, p. 191. Pons has not provided an insight for this comparison between the two figures. In the tone of Pons' writing, it may suggest that he is also trying to enhance Ferdinand's status as a collector and individual.

Chapter Four: Baron Ferdinand's Collection

Ferdinand's collection at Waddesdon is a prime example of an individual's devotion to reintroducing eighteenth-century French art into a British interior. His collection at Waddesdon was extensive in size and exemplary in quality. Similar to his family's collecting habits, Ferdinand did not restrict himself to one style, but instead invested in both Dutch and English masters. Nevertheless, it was French art, in all forms, that dominated his collecting interests. Through exploring Ferdinand's collection at Waddesdon, concepts such as diversity, referring to the different types of objects he collected and the artists he invested in; the authentic nature of the collection and finally how he appropriately incorporated eighteenth-century French objects into a functional nineteenth-century room. The Tower Drawing Room and the Baron's Room will be used as examples in this examination and through this analysis, his position as a significant contributor to the re-emergence of the style will be recognised. Consequently, in terms of documentation, there is little in the way of primary evidence. Due to the destruction of his private papers, there are only two private publications which provide an insight into Ferdinand's opinion on collecting. These are his *Reminiscences*, and his *Red Book*, both published in 1897. His high level of discretion leads to a great deal of interpretation, therefore there are certain things which can only be assumed. The greatest insight into the objects themselves are the three *Inventories and Valuation of Waddesdon Manor* publications. These however do not provide any historical background, therefore secondary literature such as the *James A. de Rothchild Bequest at Waddesdon Manor*, publications will be used. These are more recent, detailed inventories of each object in the collection, made during the lifetume of James de Rothschild (1878-1957), the last private owner of Waddesdon. Each object has been described, analysed and most have been authenticated. More general publications on the house, such as Michael Hall's *Waddesdon Manor*, will also be used.[116]

Diversity

A factor which makes Ferdinand a significant contributor to the re-emergence is the diverse nature of his collection. Within the eighteenth-century French style alone, he collected and helped reintroduce a vast number of everyday objects, ranging from examples such as Jean-

[116] The *James Bequest* publications are divided into volumes on furniture, furnishings, decorative objects, paintings and manuscripts. There are 15 volumes in total. Not every item has been traced back to its original source, and many are without a price, however they have provide a greater insight into the objects Ferdinand collected. There is no given reason behind why these volumes were formed. The passing over of Waddesdon Manor to the National Trust, may have been a reason to document all the objects within the collection.

Pierre Latz (1691-1754) *Long-case Clock*, c1750, to a *Sèvres Vase à têtes d'éléphant*, c.1760 (figs.32,33).[117] He invested his time, beginning roughly around 1870, into amassing all areas of French art, including sculpture, such as the depiction of *Geometry and Architecture*, 1776 by Jean-Jacques Caffieri (1725-1792), of which he incorporated into the interiors of Waddesdon (fig.34).[118] There are certain objects in the collection that Ferdinand amassed a number of. This is not to say that the numerical presence of them in his collection resulted in them being of greater importance than singular unique objects, such as his *Bureau plat*, 1786 by Guillaume Beneman (? -c.1804) specifically made for Louis XVI's private study at Versailles (fig.35). They, instead, give a clear indication of Ferdinand's interest in its revival. An example is the *Sèvres Pot-pourri à vaisseau,* 1761, shaped to replicate a ship and its mast, attributed to Jean-Claude Duplessis (1695-1774), for the use of holding dried flowers and herbs (fig.36).[119] To successfully manufacture the object, the soft-past porcelain had to be successfully fired into a very unique shape. This required great skill and resulted in the *Pot-pourri* being the most expensive object sold by the *Sèvres* manufactory. Its short-lived production lasted from 1757 to 1764 and only ten are known of today. Interestingly, this *Pot-pourri* was the first serious acquisition that Ferdinand made in 1761. According to Hall, Ferdinand bid such a high price on this object, through his dealer Alexander Barker that he had to pay for it in instalments.[120] He compares this acquisition to the collector William Ward 1st Earl of Dudley (1817-1885), who acquired another *Pot-pourri* of the same shape, in 1874, for £10,500 from Christie's.[121] His purchase of such a rare item also had a notable provenance. Recorded in his *Reminiscences*, Ferdinand cited the object's history, stating that it was formally owned by the Leopold Giovanni, Prince of Salerno (1790-1851), from the Royal House of Naples, who inherited the gift, originally given to his ancestor by Louis XV.[122] The monetary

[117] Bellaigue, 1974, p. 84-88. Bellaigue goes into detail on the construction of the clock and the provenance behind it; Eriksen, 1968, p. 126. Eriksen gives a detailed description of the object, that the inventory does not

[118] *Ibidem*, p. 9. Bellaigue analyses when Ferdinand began to really invest in art. The construction of Waddesdon started the mass shift of acquisitions. He however did make his first acquisition in 1861; Also see Hodgkinson, 1970, p. 16-19. Hodgkinson provides a brief description of the *Geometry and Architecture* sculpture, and its companion piece: *Geography and Astronomy* by Félix Lecomte (1778) (pg. 56-57).

[119] Eriksen, 1968, p. 136-143. Eriksen provides details of the three *Sévres Pot-Pourri* and provides a further insight into the object, for instance into whom Baron Ferdinand acquired them from.

[120] Hall, 2002, p.84. Hall does not provide any citation for this record. Due to lack of remaining receipts in Ferdinand's private papers, a lot of information on prices and dates of purchases are taken from receipts kept by dealers. This, therefore, may have been where Hall had taken the information from, however this has not been verified.

[121] *Ibidem*. Hall does not give any indication as to the original source for this information. Due to the lack of evidence on the prices paid by Ferdinand for his collection, this statement is to be taken as evidence.

[122] Rothschild, 1897, p. 82-83. This is the only insight into Ferdinand's purchase of the Sèvres *pot-pourri*, however it provides a clear indication of his interest in the history of the object, again providing further evidence to recognise him as a significant collector in the re-emergence.

value of the object, however, did not hinder Ferdinand in investing further, as he collected two more *Pot-pourri à vaisseau* (fig.37).[123] There is little evidence on acquisition of the three objects, however, his written description of the first *Pot-pourri'*s suggests an interest in its provenance. The rarity of the object's style and its rich decoration could have been an incentive. Another reason may have been because the object echoes the extravagant characteristics of the Rococo style in eighteenth-century France, a style that has resonated from his childhood. By owning three of the recorded ten *Pot-pourri* known, Ferdinand made a clear contribution to its revival in the nineteenth-century.

The Tower Drawing Room

This historical interest, stemming from his initial purchase can be interpreted as a reason behind such a diverse collection. The variation of objects within one space, which may have stemmed from Ferdinand's initial encounter at Grüneburg may have also been a reason behind this diversity. As mentioned in chapter two, his parents' decision to create a visual representation of a French *hôtel*, may have influenced how he collected art. The Tower Room at Waddesdon, originally designated for his father's collection, until 1892 when he remodelled the entire room, is a key example of Ferdinand organising his interior by using objects of different size and material. By creating this interior, the *ancien régime* is evoked both historically and aesthetically (fig.38). The inventory, taken by Charles Davis has shown that, dominating the wall space, Ferdinand positioned four Greuze paintings: *Héloïse* (1800-1805); *Head of a Girl* (c.1800); *A Bacchante* (1785-1795) and *Bacchante with Amphora* (1785-1795) (figs.39,40,41,42). Greuze, at the end of the eighteenth-century was a popular artist, with his talents recognised by the *Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture*, in 1755 when he became an associate. His sentimental genre scenes, associated with the playful nature of *ancien régime* art made an obvious candidate for a representation of an eighteenth-century French interior. The connections, historically and aesthetically to the century previous must have made his art popular in the nineteenth-century. In 1883, it has been recorded that Ferdinand paid £1350 for *Head of a Girl*, through Thomas Agnews & Sons Ltd.[124]

[123] There is no further evidence provided for the prices he paid for these objects, including how he acquired them. Their presence at Waddesdon is the only solid evidence provided, nevertheless, their acquisition provides evidence for his interest in collecting rare objects.

[124] Windmill Archives, Waddesdon Manor, Acc171.1997, p. 18 (1899); Waterhouse, 1967, p 232. Inventory no. 1473. This purchase, given by Waterhouse was completed on 30th April 1883. It was sold to Ferdinand by the Marquess of Lansdowne. This is the only Greuze, out of the four where the price is known, however Greuze created a number of very similar portrait paintings, and this particular items gives a general reference to the possible high prices of the others he created.

The two larger furniture pieces within the room are both by Jean-Henri Riesener (1734-1806). Firstly, his *Writing Table,* dated between 1780-1785, cost Ferdinand a record £6000 (fig.43). The *Writing Table* was made for Marie Antoinette's *salon* at the Petit Trianon. Her ownership is indicated on the underside of the object, where it is branded with her inventory mark of a crown and the words: 'garde meuble de la reine' (fig.44). The price, despite the lack of solid evidence, may have been associated with the provenance of the piece. *The Times,* reporting on the 12th Duke of Hamilton Sale of 1882, where Ferdinand purchased the object, wrote: 'the weapons will be heavy cheques and hundred-pound notes; …First, in order of 'importance'… comes old French furniture, in the matter of which people are said to be going to such extravagant lengths on Monday and Tuesday'.[125] The prominence of eighteenth-century art , and the object's direct link to Marie Antoinette, who was praised by the Goncourt brothers for defining the *ancien règime*, can only be seen as an enhancement of Ferdinand's evocation of the past. Riesener's second item further emphasises this representation of the eighteenth-century interior. His *Roll-top Desk,* c.1775, is associated with the patroness of the arts: Marie-Adélaïde (1732-1800), the fourth daughter of Louis XV (fig.45). The item bears her cipher, 'MV' (the 'V' being up-side down) on the back.[126]The desk is decorated with symbolism relating to her interests: music, botany and horology. On the back of the desk, the face of Minerva, the goddess of wisdom and the arts, is veneered onto the oak carcass which according to Bellaigue, directly links to the frontispiece of a catalogue of manuscripts, dated 1786 that Marie-Adélaïde had in her library (fig.46).[127]

Ferdinand, however, could not fully represent the eighteenth-century without having smaller, more common objects in the Tower Room. Bellaigue has dated two *Fire-Dogs*, described in the inventory as a "Louis XVI Pair", from c.1780-1785 (fig.47). Flagging the

[125] Windmill Archives, Waddesdon Manor, Acc171.1997, p. 20 (1899). Inventory no: 148; Bellaigue, 1974, p. 525. Quoting the report on 17th June 1882, the day the William Douglas Hamilton, 12th Duke of Hamilton (1845-1895) sale opened. This provides contemporary evidence of the popularity of French art in the nineteenth-century.
[126]*Ibidem*, p. 303; Windmill Archives, Waddesdon Manor, Acc171.1997, p. 20 (1899). Inventory no: 1483. There has been some debate as to whether this item was attributed to Madame Victoire (1733-1799), Marie-Adélaïde's sister, or Marie-Antoinette. Her personal cipher was 'MV', therefore creating confusion when establishing the provenance of the piece. Nevertheless, Bellaigue's opinion that the decorated symbolism on the desk and its connections to Marie-Adélaïde's library makes its attribution conclusive. The strong provenance of the Marie Antoinette desk and only a mere suggestion of her ownership on this brings up uncertainties that she could have previously owned this, therefore it being Marie-Adélaïde's is more creditable.
[127] Bellaigue, 1974, p. 307. Forming a visual comparison, Minerva is seen seated in the library surrounded by books and art. This comparison strengthens the provenance of the Riesener Roll-top Desk.

fireplace, one represents a King Charles spaniel, the other, a cat.[128] The manufacturer of the dog and cat *Fire-dogs* have not been identified, as they do not have any markings on them. The lack of personal affiliations with these objects does not dampen Ferdinand's revival of eighteenth-century art. The objects instead provide an insight into the smaller items which were widely collected during the *ancien régime* by those who wanted to have representations of actual animals aside the fire. [129] By positioning these pieces alongside the unique works of Reisener and Greuze, Ferdinand had fully encapsulated the eighteenth-century through the objects' diverse decoration and provenance. The historical accuracy of the objects was important to Ferdinand, and it was their authentic nature that strove him to decide what to collect for Waddesdon.

Authenticity

Nothing is more conclusive when studying Ferdinand's collection, than the over-riding importance of an object's context. To re-quote Ferdinand's firmly set opinion on an object's history, he wrote, in his *Reminiscences:* "Old works of art are not, however, desirable only for their rarity or beauty, but for their associations, for the memories they evoke".[130] To capture the history that each object held, whether it was of a person, or a period in time, Ferdinand was cautious when acquiring certain works. He was very hostile towards collecting fakes, or in fact copies, as will be discussed further in chapter 5, when Ferdinand's authentic collection is compared to that of the 4th Marquess of Hertford's. An example of his rigid collecting habits can be inferred with his purchase of a René Dubois (1737-1799), *Combined Drop-front Secretaire, Cabinet and Clock,* dated c.1770 (fig.48). This monumental and unique object was originally owned by the Hon. George-Wentworth Fitzwilliam 1817-1874). Set in the early Louis XVI style, it appears to have no fixed historical association, but rather symbolises the

[128] Windmill Archives, Waddesdon Manor, Acc171.1997, p. 21 (1899). Inventory no: 1487 in the collection, no other information is given apart from its presence in the room.
[129] Bellaigue, 1974, p. 737; Windmill Archives, Waddesdon Manor, Acc171.1997 p.21, (1899). Inventory no: 1487. This deduction is suggested by the variety of manufacturers recorded to have sold fire-dogs, in the form of a dog and a cat, in the second half of the eighteenth-century. Some of these *Fire-Dogs* were manufactured to represent the owners own pets. No solid evidence, or figures show the extent to its popularity, however its position within Ferdinand's collection, and its lack of provenance may suggest that Ferdinand was aware of its popularity during the *ancien régime* and proceeded to collect it to create this visual representation.
[130] Windmill Archives, Waddesdon Manor, Acc177.1897, p. 65 (1897). Taken from chapter two, this statement justifies a reason behind Ferdinand collecting such illustrious items in order to create a visual representation. It also provides further evidence for the case of recogising Ferdinand amongst others as contributors to the re-emergence of the style.

popular artistic style of Japanese lacquer, favoured by Madame de Pompadour.[131] Ferdinand started negotiating, through private treatise with the Hon. George Fitzwilliam in around 1890. The agreement, however left Fitzwilliam not willing to exchange the object for money and instead Ferdinand was obligated to have an exact replica of the object made to replace the original at Milton Hall, Fitzwilliam's residence. The *Bucks Herald*, recorded on the 9th June 1890 that Ferdinand acquired the piece for an estimated price of £30,000.[132] The estimated price paid and the work done to provide a copy for the original owner in order to acquire this unique piece only emphasises the measures Ferdinand would reach for authenticity. The authenticity captured here relates back to Ferdinand's belief in his family being the cause for the re-introduction of the style. The authentic nature of his collection and the pronounced provenance of many works create a clear connection to the "purity" that his family strove for.[133]

Context of the object

A way in which Ferdinand became aware of the history behind certain objects, or sitters within paintings was through his vigorous learning of French history. For instance, in 1896, he published his *Personal Characteristics from French History*, which stretched from the Middle Ages to the Napoleonic Empire. A purchase, to which Ferdinand's writings later expressed his knowledge on the figure was a portrait of *The Duchesse de Polignac*, dated 1783, by Elisabeth Vigée-LeBrun (1755-1842) (fig.49). The painting, portraying a more naturalistic portrait of the Duchesse was acquired by Ferdinand in around 1883. There is no written evidence or direct link between the sitter and Ferdinand's publications, however, he in fact briefly mentioned the Duchesse de Polignac (1849-1793) in his writings on 'Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette'. Ferdinand expressed that the Duchesse was a confidant of Marie Antoinette and her and her husband, Jules, Duc de Polignac (1746-1817), were 'loaded with favours' by the Queen.[134] The mention of the Duchesse in Ferdinand's publication, albeit brief, can be interpreted as her being somewhat a significant figure in the circle of Louis XVI. As previously mentioned, Ferdinand

[131] See J. B. Watson, 'Beckford, Mme de Pompadour, the duc de Bouillon and the taste for Japanese Lacquer in Eighteenth-Century France', *Gazette des beaux-arts*, 6, (1963) for a more detailed account on Madame de Pompadours interest in the style.

[132] Bellaigue, 1974, p. 330. The Bucks Herald cannot be taken as an official amount, as Bellaigue also included *The Daily Telegraph* recording the cost as £40,000. These are the only two accounts that Bellaigue includes, however due to the prices being of similar nature, the high price he paid provides evidence to the extent Ferdinand went to avoid collecting copies or fakes.

[133] Refer back to Chapter two. This strengthens the investigation into recognising more than one collector for the re-emergence of an artistic style.

[134] Rothschild, 1896, p. 173. Although only a brief mention, the connection between Ferdinand's writings and the portrait of the Duchesse provides evidence of Ferdinand's knowledge on the history of the object's he collected. Ferdinand was not only re-introducing works of art, but also objects closely associated to its history.

has stated, in his publication that: "The personal characteristics of those who have played a great, or even merely interesting part in the annals of the past, continue to exercise an increasing fascination over the minds of the present generation."[135] This statement, not only alludes to the sitter in the portrait, but also to the artist herself. Vigée-LeBrun, as an artist was an important figure within the reign of Marie Antoinette as she was commissioned by the Queen for her self-portrait, *Marie-Antoinette with a Rose,* 1783 (fig.50). Ferdinand may have invested in this painting because of Vigée-LeBrun's affiliation with the French court. In her own *Memoirs*, published after her death in 1903, she relayed her relationship with the Queen.[136] This possibility is enhanced by another art work acquired by Ferdinand. A painting, after Vigée-LeBrun, by artist and collector Laurent Grimod de la Reynière (1734-1793) of Vigée-LeBrun's daughter *Julie le Brun holding a looking glass,* 1786, may have been collected purely because of its association with Vigée-LeBrun. This painting continues the evocation of French society and delves into the circle of Marie-Antoinette (fig.51). The repetitive appearance of Marie-Antoinette throughout Ferdinand's collection (also seen the Baron's Room) emphasises this sense of authenticity. By acquiring works with significant provenance, Ferdinand is successfully re-introducing the epitome of *ancien régime* art into the nineteenth-century. There is no doubt, therefore, that he was a significant contributor to the re-emergence.

There are of course items in Ferdinand's collection which do not need such extensive knowledge in order to acquire and evoke their associations to the past. An example is the *Savonnerie Screen*, constructed between 1719-1769, acquired by Ferdinand for Waddesdon on an unknown date (fig.52). Manufactured to act as a barrier, particularly in ante rooms, or to omit draughts, these screens were regularly placed throughout royal palaces. These *Savonnerie* items were restricted to royal clientele only, therefore resulting in them almost beig a symbol for royal interiors. The individual panels on this particular screen were designed by artist and decorative designer Alexandre-François Desportes (1661-1743), who specialised in the depiction of animals. Those that appear on the panels were said to have been taken from the Versailles menagerie, which held a variation of exotic birds.[137] Collecting such a unique object

[135] Rothschild, 1896, p. 1. Ferdinand of course may not be directly referring to those he has written about, however, this statement can be interpreted to include the Duchesse de Polignac, and therefore create a connection between her portrait and her position within French society.
[136] Vigée-LeBrun, 1903, p. 27. There is no evidence to suggest Ferdinand was aware of Vigée-LeBrun from his knowledge on Marie Antoinette, however her first-hand accounts on visiting the Queen and her paintings of societal women in the ancien régime contributed to her status as a renowned artist.
[137] Schwartz, 2012, p. 37; Verlet, 1982, p. 262; Very little is written on this piece therefore, there is little evidence as to whether François Desportes was influenced by the menagerie at Versailles. This item, however, gives

and re-introducing it into a different environment, Ferdinand is allowing for its royal associations to be unmasked and for it to be admired as a decorative object, rather than for it to be simply fulfilling its function. Ferdinand invested heavily in the *Savonnerie* manufactory, collecting over ten woven carpets (fig.53). Similarly to the Screen, these carpets were usually constructed for Royal use and thus have a strong provenance. These carpets varied in both colour and size and were manufactured throughout the eighteenth-century. A smaller *Savonnerie* carpet, designed by Pierre-Charles Duvivier (1716-1788), dated 1744-1756 is richly decorated, with the repetition of the *fleur-de-lis* around the centre of the carpet. There was, as seen with the *Screen*, little need for Ferdinand to have had extensive knowledge on the history of the French monarchy, as the *fleur-de-lis* was a common symbol. The significance of Ferdinand as a contributor to the their revival cannot be denied. It was not, however, just the objects he collected which contributed to this recognition, but also how he accordingly filled the rooms at Waddesdon to fulfil a nineteenth-century function. The Baron's Room, Ferdinands private sitting room, is no exception (fig.54).

The Baron's Room

Situated next to the Tower Drawing Room, the Baron's Room was dominated with eighteenth-century French decorative objects. Referring to a photography in the Red Book and from the inventory, the room had an abundance of objects in close proximity (fig.55). According to Selma Schwartz, author of the *Waddesdon Companion Guide*, 2012, this style of room was understood to be 'ideal for conversation', in nineteenth-century Paris. [138] The three objects, amongst others that Ferdinand had chosen to fill his sitting room, all juxtaposed each other in size, style and historical content. Their presence in the room results in a successful evocation of eighteenth-century France with a nineteenth-century function. Lining the wall are two of a set of six armchairs, c.1780, stitched with scenes from *The Fables*, by the poet Jean de La Fontaine (1621-1695) (fig.56). In the style of Louis XVI, it has been suggested that the tapestries for the chair were woven at the Beauvais Manufactory, a tapestry manufacture secondary to the *Gobelins*.[139] The armchairs do not have any significant provenance however, the *Fables*, produced between 1668-1694 were first dedicated to Louis, Grand Dauphin (1661-

evidence on the wide range of objects Ferdinand invested in, as well as reviving objects which were only commissioned by certain classes of society.

[138] Schwartz, 2012, p. 46. No further note is given on this being a popular style in nineteenth-century domestic interiors. The description of the room is vague and no further citations are given for detailed evidence.

[139] Bellaigue, 1974, p. 614. There is little written on the context of these chairs, leading to the uncertainty of whether they were created at the Beauvais factory, as there is no marking on the object to suggest so. The description of this object is extremely vague.

1711), the eldest son of Louis XIV. The possible popularity of the *Fables* in France may have been a topic of conversation in the Baron's Room, and therefore abiding by the room's nineteenth-century function.[140]

An interesting piece in the Baron's Room is the Riesener *Drop-Front Secretaire,* dated 1777 (fig.57). Delivered to the Petit Trianon for Louis XVI's private study in 1777, the central decoration is the figure of Silence, holding her finger to her lip, inside a medallion (fig.58). Once the Petit Trianon was gifted to Marie Antoinette, by the King in 1774, Marie Antoinette used it as a place for entertaining her guests. The *Secretaire* is said to have been given to Marie Antoinette by her brother, Joseph II Emperor of Germany (1741-1790), who was outwardly against the Queen's frivolous lifestyle. The portrayal of Silence therefore, can be interpreted as her brother's indication for Marie Antoinette to focus more on royal duties, rather than her societal presence.[141] By placing such an item in his private sitting room, the object's context, and its emphasis on Silence suggests a want for more intimate conversation, again reflecting the room's function.

Conforming to the room's function, albeit a less likely piece to link to the act of conversation is the *Combined writing and dressing table,* dated c.1775 by maker, Pierre Roussel (1723-1782) (fig.59). Decorated with scenes involving figures and trophies, the carcass of this table is covered with engravings that were used on other decorative objects. The figures within the separate scenes, particularly the middle panel, appear to interact with one another. This panel portrays a man playing music to a woman, and a couple closely conversing with each other (fig.60). Despite there being no evidence as to why Ferdinand acquired this piece, as and whether the subject of the panels is the significant feature of the item; the table, in this context does portray a possible connection between the function of the room, and its decorative features.[142] Whether or not Ferdinand acquired these three objects with the function of the room in mind, their presence in the Baron's Room gives an indication of how Ferdinand built and sculpted his collection.

[140] There is no evidence to assume that the chairs contributed to particular conversations in the Baron's Room, therefore it can only be taken as a mere suggestion.
[141] Bellaigue, 1974, p. 352-353. This is one interpretation of the figure of Silence. The other suggests that Silence represents the importance of privacy in Versailles, and how the *Secretaire* has several hidden compartments and a safe. Both interpretations, in the context of this passage, promote the function of the room.
[142] *Ibidem*, p. 492-497. There is very little written on the provenance of the piece, and the analysis on the marquetry is sparse, therefore leaving the object open to great interpretation. The connection between the function of the Baron's Room, and the object itself is to be taken only as a possibility.

Chapter five: 'The sole contributor'

In order to justify Ferdinand as a significant contributor to the re-emergence of eighteenth-century French art into nineteenth-century Britain, his career will be compared to that of the 4th Marquess of Hertford's (1800-1870). As mentioned in the introduction, the 4th Marquess appears to be the only individual recognised under the subject of the style re-emergence. By comparing the two individuals, Ferdinand will be shown as a contemporary to the 4th Marquess and therefore should be classed as another contributor. The factors that will be considered in this chapter are: firstly, what particular areas of art or artists they invested in; possible prices they paid to assemble their collection; how they acquired them, and finally, how they cared and housed them. For Baron Ferdinand, many of these elements have been discussed in this thesis, nevertheless, it is important to try and understand why Ferdinand has been undermined as a significant collector. Consequently, similar to Ferdinand's almost undocumented history, there are significant gaps in the 4th Marques of Hertford's personal history, such as documentation on his personal interests and a vast number of receipts for the works he collected. The main area of research for the 4th Marquess is around a branch of his collection preserved at The Wallace Collection, formally known as Hertford House, in London. This therefore means that the remaining evidence will be pieced together, with the addition of secondary material. Esme West's *The Wallace Collection,* 2014 is a publication which has both analysed the 4th Marquess's life as a collector, as well as key objects in his collection. It is this publication that has provided a great deal of information for comparison on the 4th Marquess.

Richard Seymour-Conway, the 4th Marquess of Hertford, as mentioned, inherited his wealth and collecting interests from his father, the 3rd Marquess. He started collecting at the age of twenty-one and spent a vast majority of his life assembling his collection in Paris, after having lived there from a young age with his mother, Maria Seymour-Conway (1771-1856). With a yearly income of around £250,000, the 4th Marquess was able to pursue his interests of collecting at a great rate, almost dominating the art market until his death in 1870. He did not solely focus on eighteenth-century art, nevertheless, art from this period dominated his collection.[143]

[143] Refer to further reading on the 4th Marquess in the Introduction.

What they collected

A contributing factor to the position of the 4th Marquess as the sole contributor was what he collected. The vast majority of his collection were works of art created by established artists, or established patrons whom the items were originally intended for. Esme West has viewed the 4th Marquess's collection of French art as a successful revival of what were renowned and popular works throughout the ancien régime. With observations such as this, and those discussed in the 'Introduction', it is no surprise that the 4th Marquess is the only collector to be fully recognised. The tendency to collect works by prestigious artists is identified in his first major art acquisition in 1841, which was the eighteenth-century work, *Dites donc s'il vous plait (Say Please)* (c.1780), by Jean-Honoré Fragonard (fig.61). Fragonard (1732-1806), an illustrious Rococo artist, active in the latter years of the *ancien régime* was one of France's greatest eighteenth-century artists. This painting, not only provides a first insight into the 4th Marquess's desire to collect within this period of history, but also his focus on artworks of a playful and colourful nature. Artworks with a more solemn scene, or in fact scenes with a religious context, whether eighteenth-century, or later, were seen as being 'unacceptable', and were not collected.[144] The 4th Marquess collected a total of six Fragonard paintings, including his most notable work, *Les Hazard heureux de l'escarpolette (The Swing)*, 1767, a piece which epitomises the light-hearted nature of the Rococo style (fig.62). He built this collection of Rococo art by collecting other fellow artists such as François Boucher (1703-1770), with works such as *Un Été pastoral* (1749) and *Un Automne pastoral* (*An autumn pastoral)* (1749); a series of portraits by Jean-Baptiste Greuze, such as *Psyche*, 1786; 8 Jean-Antoine Watteau (1684-1721) works, including *Les Champs Elisées* (c.1721), one in his fête galante series and also his well-known followers, Jean-Baptiste Pater (1695-1736) and Nicholas Lancret (figs. 63,64,65,66). These six artists collectively dominated the 4th Marquess of Hertford's eighteenth-century paintings.

This run of illustrious artists, which contributed to the 4th Marquess's recognition as their re-discoverer, continued in other areas of interest. Jeremy Warren, author of 'The 4th Marquess of Hertford's Early Years as a Collector', 2008 has observed that he collected "the

[144] West, 2014, p. 10. West has noted an incident with the nineteenth-century artist Edward Landseer, where the 4th Marquess refused to acquire his paintings because they had 'blood on all the animals'. West does not provide a citation for this, on the other hand, it highlights that the grandeur and opulence of the eighteenth-century provided the 4th Marquess with the scenes which he favoured, and it no doubt influenced him to collect on such a vast scale.

greater part of the eighteenth-century French painting and decorative arts".[145] West furthers this notion by stating that the 4th Marquess was an "outstanding collector in furniture". [146] Interestingly, despite West's apparent biased towards the 4th Marquess, she pointed out that he did not necessarily know or take interest in the early provenance of the pieces he collected. This differs greatly from Ferdinand who, as previously mentioned, built his collection around authenticity.[147] The 4th Marquess therefore took greater interest in aesthetic finery and the display of a royal stamp.[148] An example of this is the *Louis XV Commode*, dated 1739, by Antoine-Robert Gaudreaus (1682-1746) (fig.67). Destined for the King's bedchamber at Versailles, this commode is one of many examples within the 4th Marquess's collection. The elegance and richness of this commode, echoing that of the artworks, extends to various other decorative items such as a pear wood lacquered *Inkstand,* c. 1765, designed by René Dubois (fig.68). There were, however, some objects which were not within his reach. On these occasions, he bought copies or had them commissioned.[149] John Webb (active between 1852-1853), a cabinet maker whom the 4th Marquess frequently visited, recreated Maximilian II Emanuel, Elector of Bavaria's (1662-1726) *Writing Table,* from 1715 (fig.69). Despite the lack of interest in provenance, the 4th Marquess has been understood to be a key figure in the revival of Boulle marquetry; named after the illustrious ébéniste André-Charles Boulle (1642-1732); such as his *Toilet Mirror*, dated 1713 (fig.70). This attribution to the revival of Boulle comes down to the number of works he acquired under that name.[150] These objects including his

[145] Warren, 2008, p. 544. Jeremy Warren follows the opinion of West and the Burlington Magazine mentioned in the 'introduction'. Warren's article emphasises the lack of interest taken in many other significant collectors under the re-emergence of a style.

[146] West, 2014, p. 10. This opinion matches that of her original stance on the 4th Marquess's collection, this opinion amongst many others contributes to the undermining of many other significant collectors in the nineteenth-century.

[147] Refer back to chapter four. The authenticity of the pieces collected is a crucial factor in the re-emergence of a style. A style effectively cannot be re-introduced if the original pieces are not there. This is why Ferdinand should be recognised as a significant contributor to the re-emergence of *ancien régime* art.

[148] West, 2014, p. 11. The historical nature of the pieces within the Wallace Collection in particular was only established through twentieth-century archival research. The lack of interest by the 4th Marquess highlights the notion that he may have only been recognised by default because he bought objects which later had been described as being quintessential of the eighteenth-century *ancien régime*.

[149]Windmill Archives, Waddesdon Manor, Acc177.1897, p. 65-66 (1897). Ferdinand generally criticises collectors. He does not name them, but instead leads it open to interpretation. It can be assumed that Ferdinand was criticising the 4th Marquess for acquiring copies, as it goes against his opinion on the importance of authentication.

[150] West, 2014, p. 10. West states that as early as 1848, the 4th Marquess was one of the first to purchase Boulle objects, nevertheless, this does not suggest that he was the sole contributor to his revival in the nineteenth-century. There is no evidence for this being the reason behind why the 4th Marquess is seen as being the revivalist of Boulle marquetry. The lack of interest taken in the object's interest suggests here that Boulle marquetry may have come under this concept.

paintings, became a representation of eighteenth-century French society and by collecting them in abundance, he was recognised above many other collectors.

Ferdinand's collection of eighteenth-century paintings tells a very similar tale to that of the 4th Marquess's acquisitions. Ferdinand collected on a much smaller scale, nevertheless, he invested in these prominent artists of the *ancien régime*. Unlike the 4th Marquess, Ferdinand had a wider outlook on the artists he took interest in. He included artists such as Charles-Joseph Natoire (1700-1777), (*Time uncovering Truth*, c.1740s); works ascribed to Jean-Frédéric Schall (1752-1825), (*A Dancer with a Tambourine,* c.1775); and works by female artists such as Elisabeth Vigée-LeBrun's *The Duchesse de Polignac*, 1783 (figs.71,72,49). He also invested in a number of unnamed works, described in the *James Bequest of Painting*, as being attributed to 'The French School', such as *Arrangement of flowers in a vase,* c. 1700 (fig.73). In terms of paintings, Ferdinand's acquisition of prestigious artists into the domestic interior may be seen as an echo of the 4th Marquess, decades previous. There is no evidence to assume that Ferdinand's introduction of artists that the 4th Marquess did not collect was unsuccessful. It can be assumed that this act of collecting works of art that appeared 'less aristocratic', can in fact aid Ferdinand as being recognised more as a significant collector in eighteenth-century art.[151] Ferdinand's collection of decorative objects and furniture is similar to his paintings. He collected a number of popular and notable objects that the 4th Marquess had done previously, such as a Boulle marquetry *French Pedestal Clock*, dated c.1725 (fig.74). Unlike the 4th Marquess however, Ferdinand, as mentioned did not openly collect fakes or copies of objects.[152] It is important to consider this factor which discussing those involved in the re-emergence of an artistic style, as Ferdinand is not only helping reintroduce these objects into the nineteenth-century art market and domestic interior, but he is also reviving original pieces, and evoking the true history of the objects.

[151]West, 2014, p. 10. West describes the artists that the 4th Marquess had reintroduced as being more aristocratic and therefore defining the *ancien régime* period. Therefore, for Ferdinand to collect items which were seen as being 'less aristocratic' alludes to artists which were not highly admired by *ancien régime* nobility. This does not mean that the paintings that Ferdinand collected were not important in the revival of eighteenth-century France. They instead highlight his contribution in re-introducing the style into nineteenth-century.

[152] Windmill Archives, Waddesdon Manor, Acc177.1897, p. 65-66 (1897). Also refer back to chapter 3. Ferdinand brings across the idea of collecting for the sake of vanity more bluntly. There is no indication that he is referring to the 4th Marquess, but it can be assumed that he is, from what he has said previously in his *Reminiscences*, about his collecting habits.

Prices for acquisitions

According to Scott Schwartz, author of *Narcissism in Collecting Art and Antiques*, the higher price paid on an object translates into it either being rare, of high quality or having a good provenance.[153]With the little remaining documentation on the spending habits of both Ferdinand and the 4th Marquess, it is not possible to fully assess how much each collector spent on a particular artist. With Scott Schwartz's statement in mind, comparing the prices paid by each collector does allow to differentiate the 4th Marquess and Baron Ferdinand, in terms of their collecting habits, and to conclude that the both figures spent a significant amount on re-introducing the objects into the nineteenth-century. The search for opulence no doubt resulted in the 4th Marquess spending a vast amount on acquiring the objects. For instance, in 1856, the 4th Marquess was recorded to have spent 63,000 francs on three Louis XVI vases.[154] As mentioned, the amount spent on objects is important when considering the contributors for a revival, however, the term is hard to assess when the 4th Marquess's collecting habits were sometimes fuelled with hints of ostentation. The popularity of eighteenth-century French objects had not peaked by the time the 4th Marquess started to amass his collection, however, throughout his life he repeatedly outbid collectors, to what may be deemed as unnecessary, in order to prove his wealth and status. Baron Ferdinand recorded an incident in his *Reminiscences* of the 4th Marquess refusing to buy the collection of the Duchesse de Berry (1798-1870) which was offered to him at a reasonable price, through a private negotiation. They were then bought by Prince Demidoff (1813-1870), and at the sale after his death in 1870, the 4th Marquess bought the entire collection for four times the price he was originally offered.[155] The high price paid for these objects may falsely appear as being extremely rare, and therefore contributing to the recognition of the 4th Marquess as being the sole contributor to the re-emergence, however, this ostentation continued throughout his life. An example is two Greuze paintings, purchased by both collectors. At the Demidoff of San Donato sale, Ferdinand acquired Greuze's *A Bacchante,* c.1785-95 for 58,000 francs, equivalent to around

[153] Schwartz, 2001, p. 641. Schwartz mentions these factors under the concept of turning art into a good investment. This does not link directly to collectors of the nineteenth-century, but rather provides a more general overview in collecting art and antiques. The statement opens up the difficulty of examining the prices paid for an object when assessing contributors in a style re-emergence.

[154] West, 2014, p. 11. No citation is given for this example. Beforehand West states that descriptions added to the objects on sale, for instance its royal heritage. Whether they were authentic or not, greatly intrigued the 4th Marquess, therefore leading him to bid the highest price.

[155] Windmill Archives, Waddesdon Manor, Acc177.1897, p. 107 (1897). Ferdinand does not record the price given for the entire collection, however it provides an insight into how the 4th Marquess essentially set himself up to publically outbid collectors in order to emphasise his monetary status. It is examples such as this that essentially make the 4th Marquess appear as the sole contributor to the re-emergence because of how many objects he acquired, and the prices he paid.

£2,320 (fig.41)[156]Only five years previous at the Comte James-Alexandre de Pourtalès (1776-1855) sale presumably after his death, the 4th Marquess paid almost twice as much, at £4000, for Greuze's *Innocence*, c. 1794 (fig.75).[157] There is no evidence of the competition between collectors at the Demidoff sale, however, for the Comte de Pourtalès sale, the 4th Marquess needed little motivation to bid higher than his peers. The highest price at the time was presented by Lord Dudley, who bid £1400, when the 4th Marquess interjected and offered £4000, a bid which Baron Ferdinand described as 'extravagant' and 'most unjustifiable'. [158] It has been recorded that the 4th Marquess had a private viewing of the piece before the sale and when asked what price it may go for, he replied, 'There is no telling…but you may go up to £4000'.[159] It appears that the 4th Marquess was already willing to pay such a large amount on a painting whose highest price was only half of what he paid and only five years later a painting of a similar stature was worth less than £1000 more. It was these public acts that made the 4th Marquess seem such a notable figure. Consequently, it does mask collectors such as the Baron Ferdinand, who spent modestly on works of a similar nature.

As mentioned, the 4th Marquess was a seen as a prominent figure in the revival of Boulle marquetry. As mentioned, his association with this revival must have contributed to the him being classed as the sole contributor. Receipts amongst his personal documents show that in 1857, he acquired a Boulle cabinet for £140 and later that year, he purchased two companion Boulle works for £200.[160] The 4th Marquess had made a clear investment on these objects, as by 1882, Ferdinand had spent £12,075, through his dealer, Wertheimer, on two Louis XVI

[156] Waterhouse, 1996, p. 236.Waterhouse provides a description of the paintings provided in Charles Davis's inventory, and has made connections with remaining documents on the prices paid. This piece was acquired by Ferdinand; presumably not through a dealer; at the San Donato sale on 26th Februrary 1870.
[157] Windmill Archives, Waddesdon Manor, Acc177.1897, p. 108 (1897). Ferdinand places this incident around 1860. It only emphasises this ostentatious tendency that the 4th Marquess had. This emphasises the problem of recognising the collectors of the re-emergence.
[158] Ibidem. Ferdinand concludes this recording of the Greuze incident by stating that once Lord Dudley had realized he had been 'fooled', he removed his bid. The potential set up that the 4th Marquess had instigated proves that he was intending to outbid any collector, by such a large amount, and therefore promoting his wealth and his ability to acquire any work of art.
[159] Ibidem. Interestingly, Ferdinand has mentioned the regular over-spending of the 4th marquess in order to show his wealth and status. This has been left out of many of the recently publications, and instead leads people to assume that he is the most significant collector in the revival of eighteenth-century art. Consequently, once the contemporary sources on him as a collector have been analysed, other collectors come out as more equally as significant.
[160] Wallace Collection Archives, London, 15F. Letter to 4th Marquess of Hertford from William King, 10th June 1856; 4th Marquess of Hertford receipt, 17th February 1857 from Tos and Luscombe, London. King's letter provides a brief description of the condition of the Boulle cabinet and provides a sketch of the intended purchase, as well as the price. The receipt from Tos and Luscombe provides a very brief note which entails the sale of the Boulle cabinets, as well as their price.

Boulle Armoires for his London residence (fig.76).[161] These purchases, at first, show little ostentation as they appear to have been bought privately through his dealers William King and John Webb, and they also suggest that Boulle furniture was still in abundance in the British market, and were not popular until much later, as shown by Ferdinand's purchase. What these gains do not show, however, are the 4th Marquess's excessive payments on restoring marquetry furniture and buying copies. In 1557, the year in which he acquired the original Boulle pieces, the 4th Marquess paid John Webb £825 to create a copy of the Elector of Bavaria's Boulle *Writing Table* (fig.70).[162] In 1868, he paid £1475 to restore a Louis XIV marquetry cabinet.[163] The higher prices for these furniture items were reserved for copies and fixtures, which heavily undermines their authenticity and provenance and thus his contribution to the authentic revival of eighteenth-century French art. By acquiring nineteenth-century versions of eighteenth-century originals, the 4th Marquess's position as the sole contributor is heavily undermined and emphasises his ostentatious attitude.

The payment, for authentic, original pieces which dominated Ferdinand's collection, were much higher than those spent by the 4th Marquess. Two clear examples, which were examined in chapter four, are the Jean-Henri Riesener objects he purchased at the 12th Duke of Hamilton sale in 1882. The first was a *drop-front secretaire,* costing £1,575 and the second, a *writing table,* for £6,000 (figs.57,43).[164] It comes to no surprise therefore, that Ferdinand would pay the high price for objects of this stature. However, in 1874, Ferdinand bought two Charles Cressent (1685-1768) *commodes* for the sum of £556 10s, from Charles Annoot at Christies (fig.77).[165]There is no explanation provided for the low price that late in the nineteenth-century, or whether there was little interest in the object. It can be interpreted as it has been done with the 4th Marquess, that Ferdinand was contributing to the revival of Cressent. This meant,

[161] Hamilton Sale Catalogue, 1882, p.88; Hall, 2002, p. 100. Samuel Wertheimer acted in Ferdinand's place at the Hamilton Sale. There is no indication at first that Ferdinand had acquired these, as Wertheimer may have been acting on behalf of other collectors, however Hall backs up this account. There is no citation for this, nevertheless it provides an example of the growing interest in Boulle and the price of original pieces from the eighteenth-century.

[162]Wallace Collection Archives, London, 15L. Receipt from John Webb, August 1857, Cork Street, London. This provided a brief mention of the copy of the Elector of Bavaria Writing Desk. The 4th Marquess acquired two copies of this piece. The total sum, for both was £825.

[163] Wallace Collection Archives, London, 15G. 4th Marquess of Hertford receipt, dated 11th November 1868, presumably from Delarouche, 9 rue Bonaparte, Paris for the restoration of a Louis XIV cabinet, costing £1457. This entry provides a brief description of the areas that were restored.

[164] Hamilton Sale Catalogue, 1882, p. 45, p. 71; Bellaigue; 1974, p. 348-357, p.520-528. Bellaigue goes into detail on the construction of these objects, providing evidence of their provenance and also their price. Also refer back to chapter 3.

[165] Hall, 2002, p. 108; Bellaigue, p. 207. According to Hall, the Cressent *commode* and its companion piece were bought through Christies. Bellaigue goes into detail on the object and lists its provenance and price.

therefore that Ferdinand was acting as a significant contributor to the revival of eighteenth-century French furniture.

How they acquired objects

Both figures built up their collections through public and private sales. Due to the lack of documentation remaining from private sales involving both collectors, a brief mention of the ways in which Ferdinand and the 4th Marquess handled themselves at public events will be carried out. Their conduct was strikingly different. Ferdinand's sole intention on building an academic collection is clearly shown in his disinterest in attracting attention at public auctions. He appeared to have rarely attended public sales in person.[166] This sense of discretion was kept up through an intricate web of dealers who represented him at various sales.[167] The sales in which Ferdinand acquired some of his most illustrious pieces, were not attended by him, but instead by a representative, an example being Samuel Wertheimer at the Demidoff sale. Hall also suggests that to those in which he did attend, he used another name, as many of his family members were to have also done, resulting in an anonymous purchase.[168] This anonymity implies Ferdinand's lack of interest, compared to the 4th Marquess, discussed briefly under the prices they paid, on showing his wealth and status. This act of discretion also heightens Ferdinands initial interest in the authenticity of his pieces. His more academic collection, based on pure, original materials very much reflects his academic approach to collecting.[169] It appeared less of a game to him than it had to the 4th Marquess. He suggests this in his *Reminiscences* during a discussion on bidding: "Some collectors dread the publicity of the press… therefore it often happens that sums are offered for works of art by private treaty…".[170] He, of course may not have been reflecting on his own personal preferences, nevertheless his recorded lack of attendance only heightens this notion. The secrecy of his acquisitions must have caused a great deal of curiosity, yet, this did not seem to stir him from his private habits.

[166] A personal observation made with the remaining documents left. He rarely mentions attending many in his *Reminiscences.* Hall, p. 86 also makes this observation.
[167] Hall, 2002, p. 86. This brief observation by Hall can be reflected in the impression that Ferdinand gave of himself in his *Reminiscences.* Ferdinand does not admit this himself, but rather the remaining documents left on private deals out way those on public sales, giving an indication into how he conducted his collecting. Ferdinand records several dealers that he co-operated with in his personal documents.
[168] Hall, 2002, p. 88. Hall provides no evidence for the anonymity, therefore he could be referring to the use of dealers. Nevertheless, it further emphasises the discretion Ferdinand wanted to uphold.
[169] Refer back to chapter two. Ferdinand fits into his description of his family re-introducing the pure aspects of eighteenth-century France.
[170] Windmill Archives, Waddesdon Manor, Acc177.1897, p. 95-96 (1897). In his *Reminiscences,* Ferdinand is speaking generally about public auctions. He does not necessarily highlight himself in this example, but his discretion provides a strong link to his discussion.

It is hard to account for the number of auctions that both collectors attended, but the 4th Marquess's presence at the sales he did attend was far greater than Ferdinand. The 4th Marquess, like Ferdinand had a web of dealers at his disposal, which also included his illegitimate son Richard Wallace (1818-1890), however West has concluded that the 4th Marquess was confident in his own collecting habits and was only influenced by his dealers on several occasions. This meant therefore that he much preferred attending in person.[171] Ferdinand described his first encounter with the 4th Marquess by stating: "…he possessed that certain unmistakable 'something' which denotes that 'somebody' and attracts attention."[172] This attention which Ferdinand emphasises creates a link to what has previously been discussed about his collection essentially being a product of his ability to buy works far beyond other's means. This again also heavily undermines collectors who were part of the re-introduction. Interestingly, West has described the levels of anonymity in which the 4th Marquess was trying to uphold throughout his life of collecting.[173] This greatly contradicts the moments that Ferdinand had reflected on in his *Reminiscences*. The evidence presented on the amount of money spent on items, and his interest in copies and fakes heavily undermines her more biased interpretation of the 4th Marquess as the sole contributor. Ferdinand recalls in his *Reminiscences*, the popularity of auctions: "the masses take great pleasure in spending the afternoon gazing on the presentments of…the graceful compositions of the French eighteenth-century" and from this, it can only be assumed that the 4th Marquess wanted to be known as such an illustrious collector.[174] When analysing the incident with Lord Dudley and the 4th Marquess's outbidding him for the Duchesse de Berry's collection; there seems no logical reason as to why he would carry out such an act, unless it was for publicity.

[171] West, 2014, p. 10. The two dealers which West refers to are Richard Wallace, and his London agent Samuel Mawson. Alongside this statement, West gives the opinion that the 4th Marquess was never put off paying much higher prices. West has essentially undermined her statement about the 4th Marquess maintaining an amount of anonymity throughout his time collecting as here she appears to lean towards the argument of him outbidding for publicity.

[172] Windmill Archives, Waddesdon Manor, Acc177.1897, p. 102-103, (1897). Ferdinand's only observation of the 4th Marquess, at an unnamed sale. Throughout his *Reminiscences,* Ferdinand repeatedly describes the 4th Marquess's collecting habits in a negative light.

[173] West, 2014, p. 11. West has provided this statement when discussing the 4th Marquess housing his collection. She provides little detail on this opinion and it is difficult to take into consideration when reviewing the prices he paid, and the ways in which he went about acquiring these works.

[174] Windmill Archives, Waddesdon Manor, Acc177.1897, p. 95 (1897). Amidst the discussion on public sales, Ferdinand states their popularity. The interpretation provided in this thesis is not directly linked to Ferdinand's writings, however, for the sake of this argument, the 4th Marquess can easily be seen as almost a presenter of collecting eighteenth-century French art, to those Ferdinand described as not being 'blessed with much artistic sense'.

Housing their collections

Acquiring art and decorative objects is only part of contributing to the revival of an old artistic style. The housing and managing of an individual's collection is crucial to determine whether a revival is successful into the contemporary domestic interior. The housing of Ferdinand's collection has been discussed in chapter three. The display of his works within the walls of Waddesdon evoked the eighteenth-century French society successfully. The housing of his collection appears to have been of equal important to the process of acquiring his works. This can be seen in the already mentioned private publication of his *Red Book*, gifted to his many acquaintances, "who have taken a sympathetic interest in the growth and development of Waddesdon".[175] Ferdinand upheld the level of discretion he had carried with him until his untimely death in 1898. Nevertheless, through the publication of his *Red Book*, and his *Reminiscences*, it is clear that Ferdinand understood the importance and value of his collection. Ferdinand's activities after collecting these objects is a world away from how the 4th Marquess treated his.

Similar to Ferdinand, the 4th Marquess owned a number of properties. These residences, including his hôtel on the rue Laffitte in Paris; Bagatelle, his château on the outskirts of the city, and Hertford House in London, were almost all turned into storerooms for his collection. Hertford House, given on lease to Francis Ingram-Seymour-Conway, 2nd Marquess of Hertford (1743-1822) by George Montagu, 4th Duke of Manchester (1737-1788) in 1797 came into the hands of the 4th Marquess in 1851. He seldom visited the house, and instead, for over 20 years, the house lay empty and was the destination of many objects bought by the 4th Marquess's dealers. Many objects were automatically sent there, sometimes without passing through the collector's own hands. Ferdinand emphasises this case by recalling, "He gladly allowed his ante-room in the Rue Laffitte or at Bagatelle to be crowded with all sorts".[176] Ferdinand also recalled an incident of the 4th Marquess requesting a painting by Watteau to be bought by his dealers, to then discover that it was bought for him previously and was automatically stored in

[175] Windmill Archives, Waddesdon Manor, Acc54, p. 1 (1897). The opening line to Ferdinand's *Red Book*. No list exists telling of the number or names of people he had gifted it to, nevertheless, the act of him publishing it assumes that the final outcome of his collection was a success within society. This documentation is one of many that provides evidence for Ferdinand being classed as a significant contributor to the revival of the style.

[176] Windmill Archives, Waddesdon Manor, Acc177.1897, p. 106, (1897). Recording the collecting habits of the 4th Marquess, after the positive aspects of his own, here in his *Reminiscences*, it brings across a rather negative tone towards the avid collector. The lack of interest in the objects afterwards is a something which Ferdinand never fell towards.

one of his properties.[177] These examples alone suggest the lack of interest the 4th Marquess had in the objects he acquired. They also show the 4th Marquess unachievably introducing these objects into the nineteenth-century interior, a project which Ferdinand successfully carried out. He of course housed them in a non-public environment, however, having not lived in Hertford House, where a vast majority of his collection resided, he did not successfully evoke eighteenth-century French society, which Hertford House, now the Wallace Collection, does today.

[177] Windmill Archives, Waddesdon Manor, Acc177.1897, p. 106 (1897). There is no other evidence for this incident, therefore only Ferdinand's word can be taken as evidence. The Watteau was unnamed, nevertheless it is important to understand the contemporary views on a collector who is so fondly remembered in the revival of eighteenth-century French art.

Conclusion

The limited dialogue on the re-emergence of an artistic style should not by any means result in the undermining of many significant individuals who may have contributed to such a change. The writings of Francis Haskell, who has led the discussion on the broad subject has plainly explained that a style re-emergence, of any kind, not only appeared through the initiative of collectors willing to invest heavily in objects unknown to the contemporary market, but also the act of factors simultaneously influencing the movement of art. The line of argument throughout this thesis is simply that there is no possible way that one individual could have been the sole contributor to the rapidly increasing popularity of an old artistic style into both the contemporary art market and domestic interior. Therefore, this thesis has tried to explain Haskell's expression on the topic and by focussing on re-emergence of eighteenth-century French art and by using Ferdinand de Rothschild's collection as a case study, it has hopefully contributed to the wider academic discussion.

The re-emergence of any style is a vast topic to discuss, however through the categorising of factors by Haskell, and the critiquing of techniques in history by Baron Ferdinand, the influx of eighteenth-century French art into Britain can easily be studied through three key factors. Politics, style and taste, although appearing vague, are the most influential. It is these areas which are not considered when one individual is recognised as being the essential contributor to the re-emergence of a style. These factors alone are too vast to pinpoint a particular person as its leader and they should ultimately be considered more in the history of collecting. The re-emergence, or 're-discovery' of an artist or style is still evolving and the appearance of eighteenth-century French art in nineteenth-century Britain is one of many that have occurred. The examination of this particular movement has shown how significant a displacement in collecting is on the contemporary market. The collections of the 4th Marquess and of Baron Ferdinand which are still widely appreciated, would not have existed if this shift did not occur. More emphasis is therefore needed on a topic such as this, and even after this analysis, there are still major gaps in the research.

The vast nature of the subject, as mentioned, of course means that Baron Ferdinand is not the only significant contributor to the style's re-emergence. Amongst a great number of individuals, including a number of his family members should be credited more for bringing

the style into the domestic interior. Examining Ferdinand as a contributor however was far easier to approach due to the family's reputation in society, as well as the upkeep of his collection at present. There are many other notable collectors, as mentioned by name throughout this thesis, nevertheless, many of these individuals are difficult to assess as there is either little left of their collections, or of themselves in history. The Rothschilds in particular not only invested in unique objects but they can also be identified as marking a change in the nature acquiring art in the history of collecting. Although never fully recognised, the family's united interest in art and the rate that they built their collections greatly contributed to the change in the act of collecting from being a mere hobby to a priority in nineteenth-century society. The inspiration Ferdinand received from his family undoubtedly contributed to the making of Waddesdon Manor. It was however not only his physical collection that made him more pronounced amongst his family members, but also as a significant contributor to the re-emergence.

The link between Ferdinand's writings and his collections is a clear indication of how invested he was in collecting eighteenth-century French art. The objects he acquired, and the ways in which he organised them at Waddesdon have all contributed to him being recognised as another contributor to the re-emergence. Not only have his writings broadened the knowledge on nineteenth-century views on the history of France, but also the re-emergence of styles, and the views on collecting in the mid-nineteenth century. Ferdinand cannot be undermined by collectors such as the 4th Marquess, whose physical collection is the only remaining evidence of their position as a collector. His contribution to the research on the re-emergence of style equates to that of Ferdinand's adaptation of French society in the building of Waddesdon. Despite there not being any replicas of Waddesdon after its build, his knowledge on historical architecture and his involvement in the accuracy of its build only heightens his interest and therefore contribution to bringing past styles into the contemporary domestic space.

The successful re-introduction of the style into nineteenth-century society, a post in historical terms which Ferdinand had mastered, undoubtedly puts him as a contemporary to the 4th Marquess as well as other collectors. This thesis has not tried to undermine the 4th Marquess's position as a collector, nor has it tried to replace his contribution with Ferdinand's. It has, by comparing the two figures, tried to understand why only the 4th Marquess has been

recognised under the topic of the re-emergence of eighteenth-century French art into Britain, and why Ferdinand should equally be recognised as a significant contributor.

Appendices

Fig 1: Gabriel-Hippolyte Destailleur, *Waddesdon Manor*, 1874-1889

Fig 2: Jacques-Louis David, *Death of Marat*, 1793

Fig 3: Adriaen van Ostade, *The Musicians: Two Men and a Woman*, 1650-1670

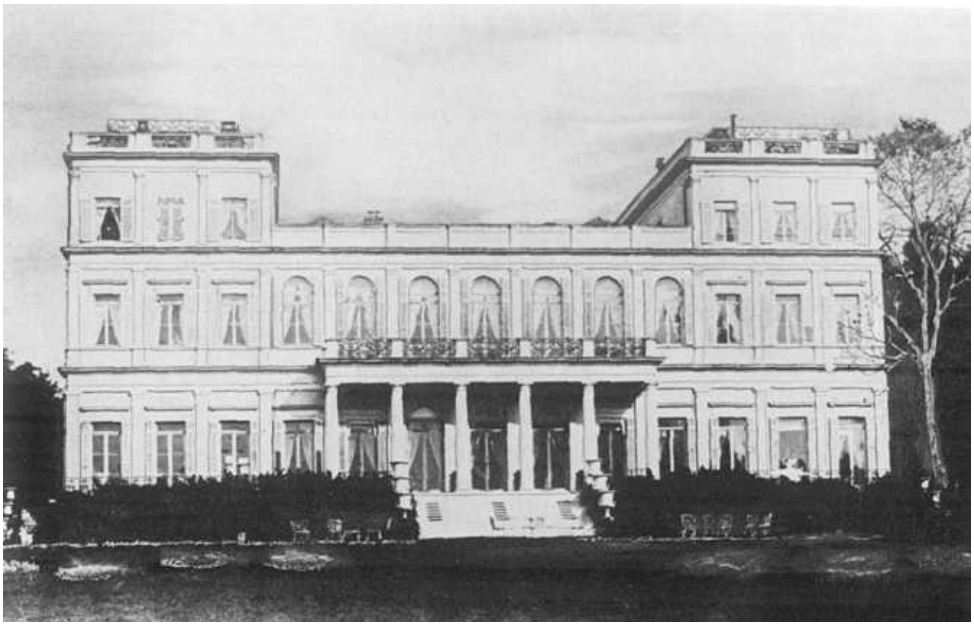

Fig 4*:* Honoré Belanger, *Grünes Schild House, in the Judengasse Frankfurt,* c.1874

Fig 5: Nicholas Lancret, *Air*, 1730-1732

Fig 6: Jean-Baptiste Greuze, *The Milkmaid*, 1780

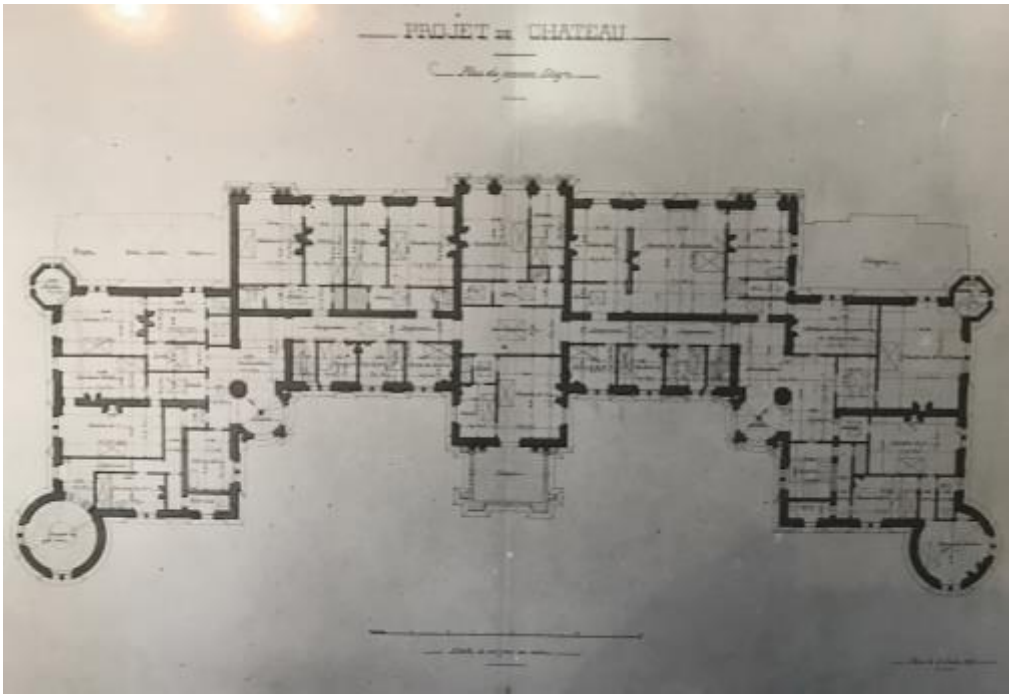

Fig 7: Gabriel-Hippolyte Destailleur, *Projet de Chateau*, 1874


Fig 8: Unknown, *Photograph taken during the building of Waddesdon showing men working on what is now the North Avenue*, c.1875

Fig 9*:* Unknown, *Photograph taken of the South Front and West Tower under construction,* c.1875

Fig 10: Gabriel-Hippolyte Destailleur, *Chateau de Mouchy*, unknown

Fig 11: Domenico da Cortona, *Château de Chambord*, 1519

Fig 12: Unknown, *(detail of) Château de Langeais*, c.1483

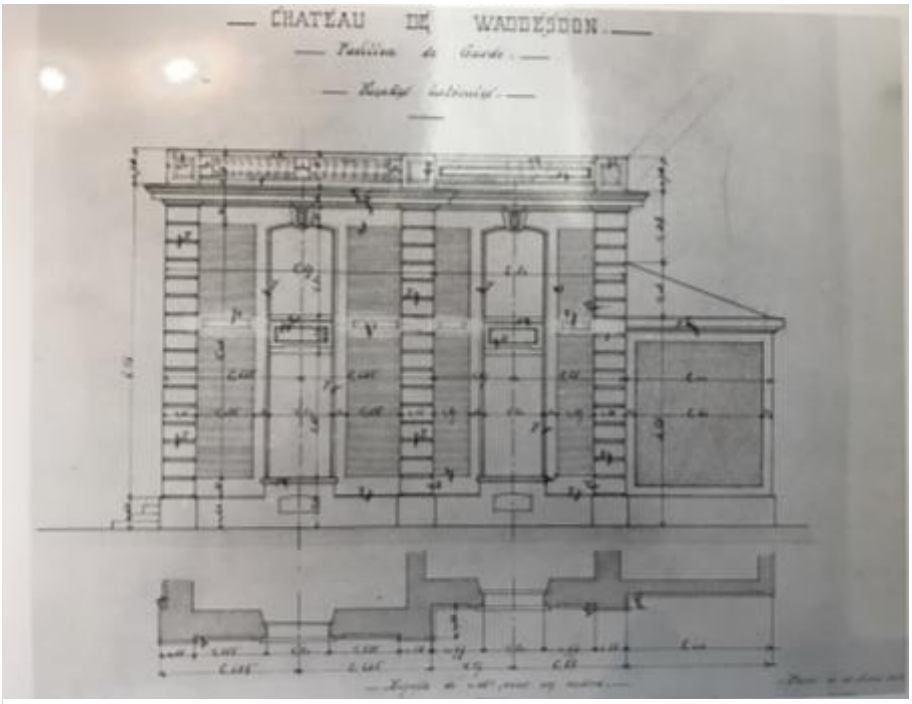

Fig 13: Gabriel-Hippolyte Destailleur, *Chateau de Waddesdon: Pavillon de Garde*, undated


Fig14*:* Domenico da Cortona, *(detail of) Château de Chambord,* 1519

Fig 15: Gabriel-Hippolyte Destailleur, *(detail of) Waddesdon Manor Rustication*, c.1870

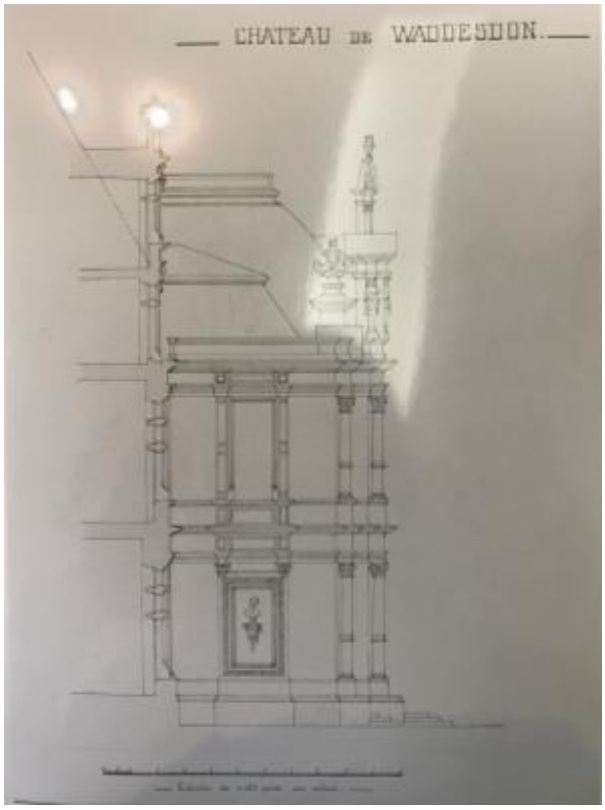

Fig16: Gabriel-Hippolyte Destailleur, *Chateau de Waddesdon*, undated

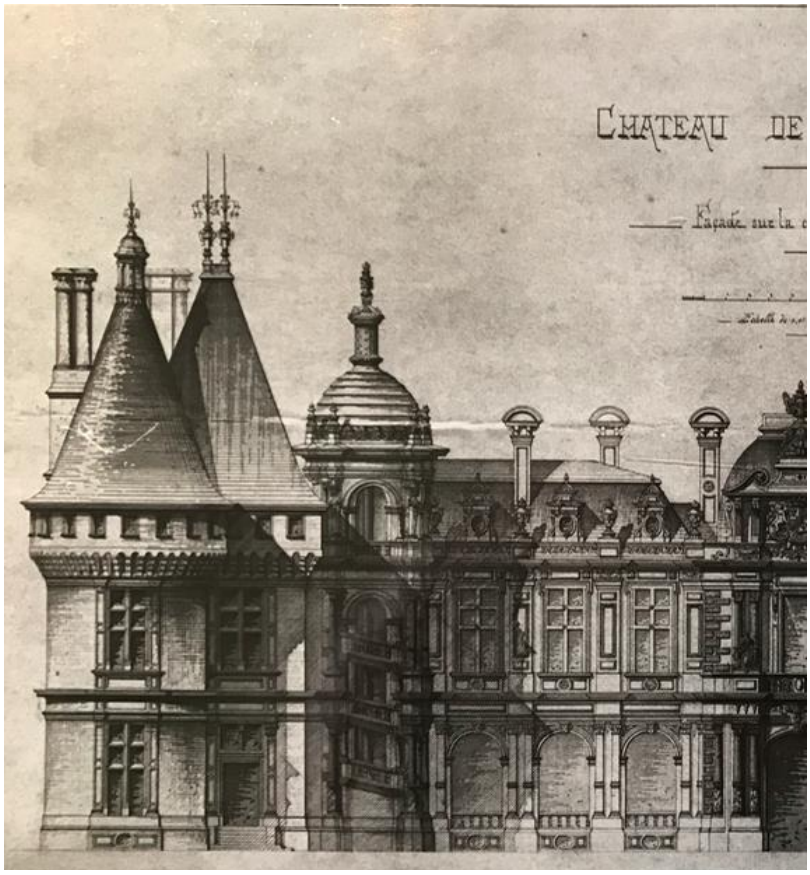

Fig 17*:* Gabriel-Hippolyte Destailleur, *(detail of) Chateau de Waddesdon: Façade sur la cour d'honneur*, undated

Fig 18*:* Domenico da Cortona, *(detail of) Château de Chambord, Inner Courtyard*, 1519

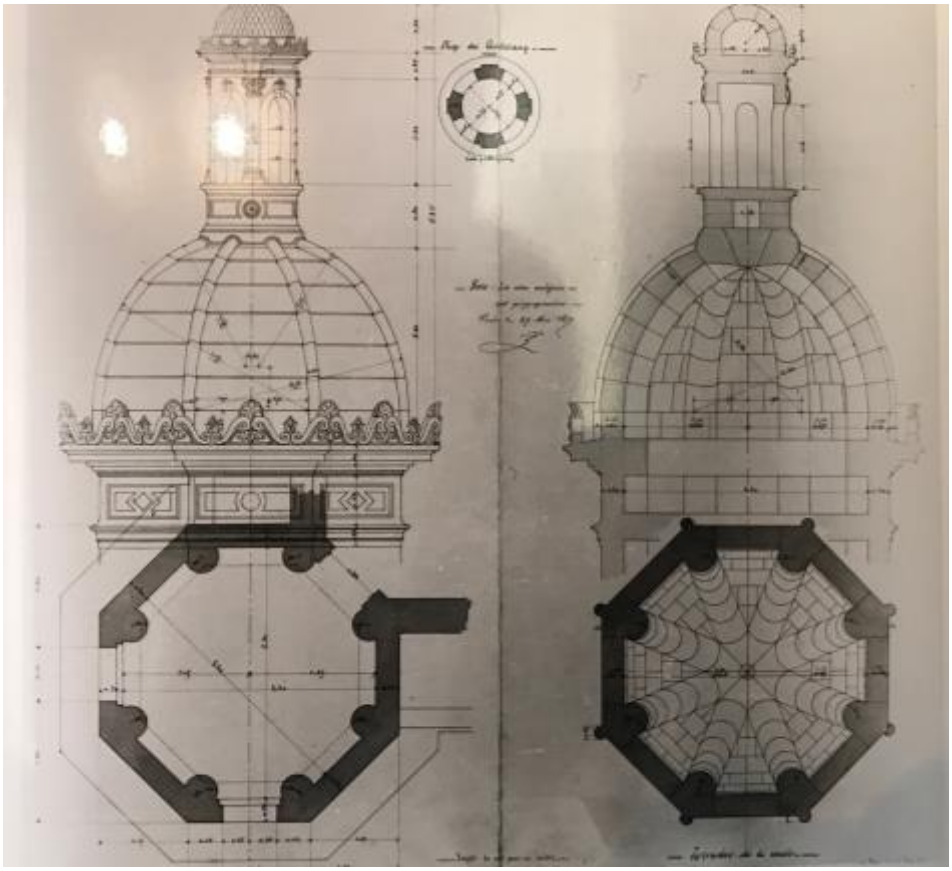

Fig 19: Gabriel-Hippolyte Destailleur, *Chateau de Waddesdon: Tour Octodome,* undated

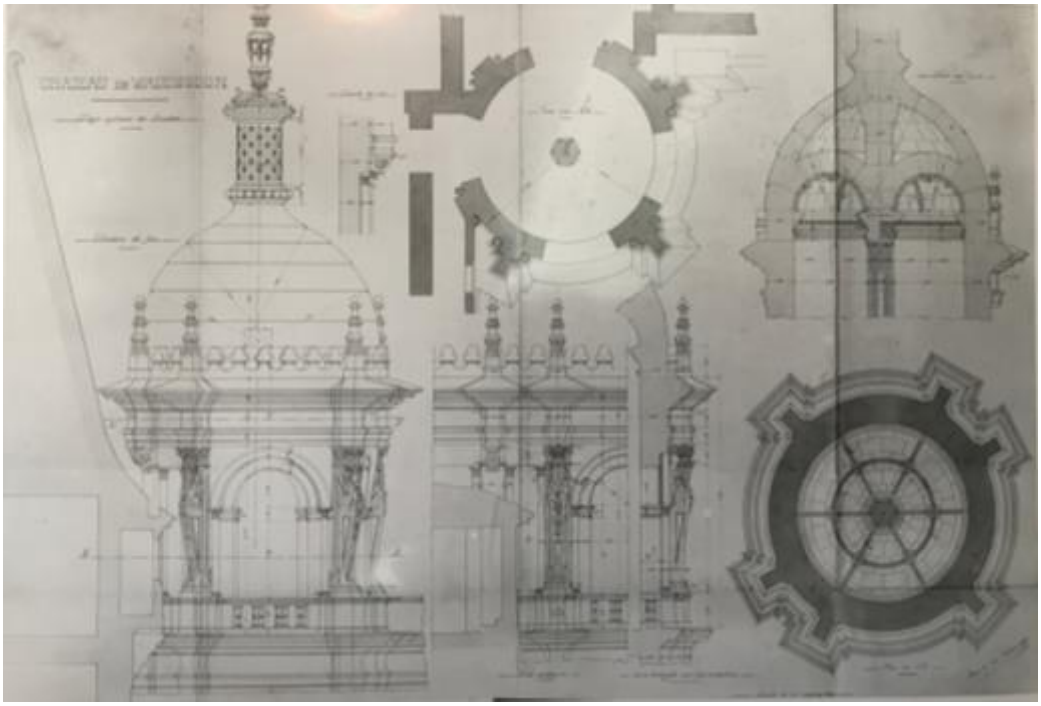

Fig 20*:* Gabriel-Hippolyte Destailleur, *Etage Supécieur des Escaliers,* undated

Fig 21*:* Domenico da Cortona, *Château de Chambord dome,* 1519

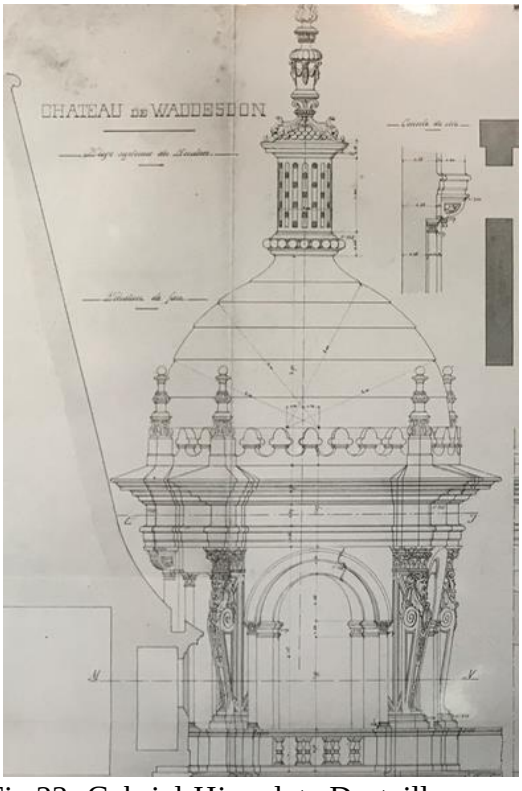

Fig 22*:* Gabriel-Hippolyte Destailleur, *(detail of) Chateau de Waddesdon: Etage Supécieur des Escaliers*, undated

Fig 23: Unknown, *Grey Drawing Room Interior*, c.1883

Fig 24*:* Jean Aubert, *The hôtel Peyrenc de Moras*, 1732-1733

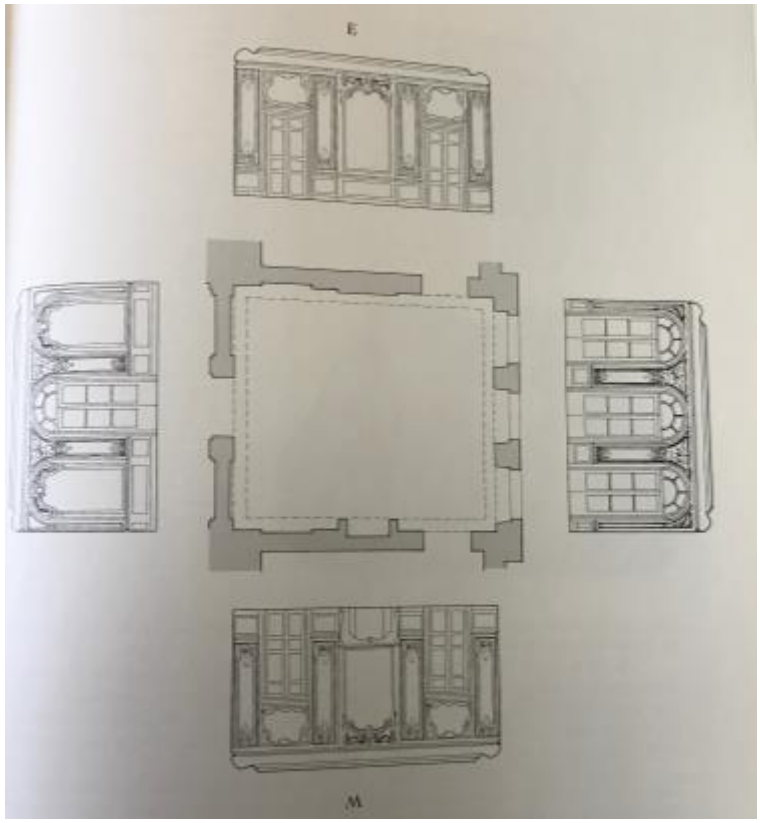

Fig 25: Bruno Pons, *The hôtel Peyrenc de Moras. Drawing showing the disposition of the panels in the salon on the ground floor,* 1994

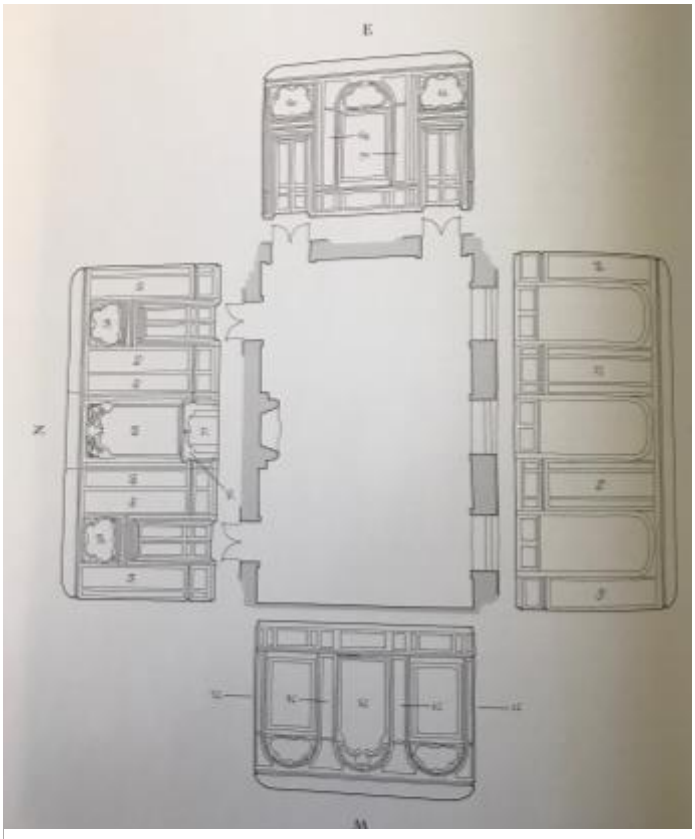

Fig 26: Bruno Pons, *Grey Drawing Room. Drawing showing the arrangement of the panels,* 1996

Fig 27: Unknown, *Four panels and a mirror frame, West wall, undated*

Fig 28: Gabriel-Hippolyte Destailleur, *A design showing the installation of panelling from the salon of hôtel Peyrenc de Moras in the Grey Drawing Room (east wall) at Waddesdon*, undated

Fig 29: Unknown, *The Dining Room*, c.1883

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