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Staging and Collecting French History: John and Joséphine Bowes, c.1845-1885

Lindsay Hannah Macnaughton

Abstract

Staging and Collecting French History situates the founders of the Bowes Museum, John Bowes (1811-1885) and his wife Joséphine née Coffin-Chevallier (1824-1874), in their cosmopolitan contexts. It proposes that the Boweses need to be understood as Parisians, who were deeply engaged with the sociability, culture and transformations of the French capital. New discoveries in the French archives shed light on the founders' biographies and draw attention to networks and people whose influence on the formation of their collections has not been previously acknowledged. The thesis examines other cross-Channel intermediaries – key figures who recur in the Bowes correspondence – as well as John Bowes' controversial second wife, Alphonsine de Saint-Amand (1835-1908).

Parts of the collection that have never been exhibited or studied, including a large corpus of works on paper (newspaper cuttings, ephemera, prints), are mobilised as evidence. By reading disparate parts of the collection together, for example the fine and decorative arts, the library and archive, a deeper understanding emerges of the founders' interests, in particular of their participation in the nineteenth-century preoccupation with the French past.

The Boweses' historical sensibility and understanding of collecting as a way to mediate between the past and the future is a major theme. Their concern for the past took many forms: from their efforts to record changes in the fabric of Paris during their lifetimes, and their decision to acquire, renovate and repopulate the eighteenth-century Château de Louveciennes, to their fascination with the unfolding of the Franco-Prussian War and the Paris Commune, and their hunt for vestiges from the ruins. The Boweses and their circle were profoundly shaped by prevailing cultural trends in mid-nineteenth century Paris; they cultivated an intensely personal relationship with historical personalities, as is evident in their collection of portraits.

**Staging and Collecting French History:
John and Joséphine Bowes, c.1845-1885**

Lindsay Hannah Macnaughton

Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor in Philosophy

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Volume I of II: Text

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List of Abbreviations

ADP – Archives de Paris (Paris)

AN – Archives Nationales (Paris)

Arsenal – Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal (Paris)

BnF – Bibliothèque nationale de France (Paris)

BnF NAF – Bibliothèque nationale de France, nouvelles acquisitions françaises

DCRO – Durham County Record Office (Durham)

MBAR – Musée des Beaux-Arts de Rennes (Rennes)

MC – Minutier central

Rennes – Bibliothèque Rennes Métropole (Rennes)

TBMA – The Bowes Museum Archive (Barnard Castle)

TBM – The Bowes Museum (Barnard Castle)

Author's Note

I have chosen not to translate references to primary sources that are in French. This decision conveys the Boweses' cosmopolitanism. Transcriptions are my own. I have retained the spelling and punctuation in original documents. Any exceptions are indicated in the footnotes.

Statement of copyright

The copyright of this thesis rests with the author. No quotation from it should be published without the author's prior written consent and information derived from it should be acknowledged.

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Before embarking on this PhD journey, my internships in the curatorial departments at Waddesdon Manor and The Wallace Collection fuelled my passion for decorative arts and the history of collecting. Thank you to Kate E. Tunstall for encouraging me to make the leap from eighteenth-century French literature to European cultural history and the nineteenth century, and to everyone who supported me in the summer of 2016. Working with Suzanne Higgott in the early

phases of the Richard Wallace Project greatly inspired me and gave me useful tools for turning my attention to John and Joséphine Bowes. As part of my PhD, I spent a short time on placement with Frédéric Dassas at the Musée du Louvre. Thank you to everyone in the Département des Objets d'Art for making my stay enriching and tremendously fun. This year, the encouragement from Jeremy Howard and the enthusiasm from my MA students in Decorative Arts and Historic interiors at the University of Buckingham have helped me immensely. Caroline McCaffrey-Howarth has been a source of constant support and inspiration. Thank you all for rooting for me.

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In the final stages, my 'Team de choc' has gone above and beyond in helping me: Tom Stammers with last tweaks; Megan Macnaughton with images; Peter Macnaughton with proofreading and constant enthusiasm about parallels with life in Paris today; and Joe with all of the non-thesis-related things. Thank you. All remaining mistakes are my own.

To Joe, Charlotte, Christopher, Megan, and my parents, I could not have done this without your endless love and support. Each of you inspires me and makes me stronger.

Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to Peter and Daphne Macnaughton, and to the memory of Ann Mountcastle Gamble Blechta, b. 18 January 1930, d. 7 April 2020.

It is fitting that the names of three people who have so generously passed down their delight in paper and *assemblage* (Mum), words (Dad), and the arts and travel (Granny Annie) should appear at the beginning of a thesis about cross-cultural collecting.

Introduction

I. Portrait of a gallery

Built by John (1811-1885) and Joséphine Bowes (1825-1874) from 1869 and opened to the public in 1892, the Bowes Museum in Barnard Castle offers a slice of French cultural history to visitors (Fig.1). 'Life in Paris', the second of the three John and Joséphine Story Galleries in the museum today, presents an approximation of the founders' domestic interiors by bringing together elements from different properties (Figs.2-3). Most of the objects in these galleries were purchased to furnish the Boweses' homes in Paris and their country house at Louveciennes.¹ These transactions are recorded in the invoices of the decorating firm Monbro fils aîné, in the notebooks documenting the shipment of objects from Paris to Streatham and in the inventories compiled for cataloguing and notarial purposes. These galleries are the only part of the museum that evokes the founders at home in France, and have been consciously constructed by curators, educators and exhibition installers, no doubt in consultation with conservators and financial stakeholders. Reminiscent of the 'collection museums' described by Anne Higonnet, these galleries impart to the Bowes Museum an aura of private domesticity.²

Purpose-built as a museum, albeit with small apartments in the attic intended to house a curator – and originally Joséphine as she was expected to outlive her husband – the Boweses never lived in the building, despite its passing resemblance to a grand country pile. Often described as a French château in the middle of the English countryside, the building and its contents pose a perplexing problem for visitors and scholars alike. Are its collections a record of the founders' lifestyles and interests in France, or were they acquired primarily to educate audiences in North-East England? Is the Bowes a 'collection museum' like the Wallace Collection, or is it Teesdale's answer to the South Kensington complex? Rather than propose any one solution, the museum shows traces of different phases and strategies of display. According to John's biographer Charles Hardy, it had been the first curator Owen Stanley Scott's aim to simply 'put on show as much

¹ Sarah Medlam, 'Mrs. Bowes' furniture in 19th century Paris', *The Antique Collector*, 3 (1983), pp. 77-81.

² Anne Higonnet, 'Self-portrait as a Museum', *Res: Anthropology and Aesthetics*, 52 (2007), pp. 198-211.

of the Collection as could conveniently be staged'.³ His successor Thomas Wake (curator May 1946-September 1958) assembled furniture from Louveciennes and Paris into one room 'to build up a setting such as Mr. and Mrs Bowes might have made for themselves'.⁴

It is worth carefully considering the contents of the story galleries of the museum: whilst at first sight the quantity of objects displayed can seem overwhelming, each piece illuminates something of the Boweses' tastes and interests. The story galleries are readable if the visitor has the right contexts in mind. Put simply, as a portrait of the founders and a snapshot of their life together in France, the room works. The large space is organised into several groupings. One group of pieces of furniture is arranged as though in a salon, with a suite of seat furniture close to the chimney piece bearing an overmantel portrait of Joséphine, clock and gilt bronze fire dogs (Fig.7).⁵ The large panel paintings on either side of the chimneypiece are by Joséphine Bowes herself, depicting a European landscape view and a view of the Château de Louveciennes, John and Joséphine's country residence from 1852 to 1862 (Fig.5). An ebonised and gilded gueridon decorated with portrait miniatures captures, in material form, one way of imagining the brilliant court women of *ancien régime* France (Fig.6).⁶ Indeed, the Boweses were avid collectors of eighteenth-century French art.⁷ The faces of Marie-Antoinette and Louis XVI adorn a pair of large candelabra in two corners of the room (Fig.4).⁸ Portraits are used throughout the decorative scheme and allude to the founders' interest in history and its actors. Indeed, the Boweses' interiors, as captured in this gallery, were filled with faces from the past and present.

Bookcases and display cases line the walls on the opposite side, below paintings of revolutionary events from 1848 by Nicolas Edward Gabé and François Claudius Compté-Calix, and a portrait of the historian and statesman François Guizot by society painter Joseph Désiré Court (Figs.8-11).⁹ The pair of cabinets on stands by Georges-Boniface Monbro, the most expensive pieces of furniture ever purchased by the Boweses, are also displayed in this gallery, alongside cabinets in

³ Charles Hardy, *John Bowes and the Bowes Museum* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Friends of the Bowes Museum, 1970), p. 270.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 276.

⁵ TBM, FW.93.A-D; B.M.529; CW.22; FW.118.A-B.

⁶ TBM, 1977.53.20/FW. The table was not part of the founders' bequest, but they owned a table of a similar description, see TBMA, JB/6/6/2.

⁷ On the eighteenth-century collections, see Elizabeth Conran (ed.), *The Bowes Museum* (London: Scala, 1992), pp. 44-61.

⁸ TBM, X.4431.1-2.

⁹ TBM, B.M.484, 485, 469, 486 (Gabé), B.M.470 (Compté-Calix), B.M.490 (Court).

other styles of decoration, such as the carved oak vitrine and bronze clock for the dining room at Louveciennes (Figs.12-13).¹⁰ Examples of the troubadour, neo-classical, and *trois-Louis* styles are shown together in the gallery. References to the increasingly important role of the *tapissier-décorateur* during the mid-nineteenth century can be found in the curtains and pelmets, their colour harmonising with the upholstery framing the tapestries on the seat furniture in this imagined salon, which is picked up in the vibrant Second Empire blue painted on the walls. The curtain tiebacks, in the shape of coin-like portrait medallions, add a further layer of historical reference. As well as the cabinets on stands by Monbro, a model of which was exhibited at the Exposition Internationale of 1855, a pair of ewers also introduces the Boweses as purchasers at international exhibitions.¹¹

In the middle of the room, the eighteen chairs and carved oak table supplied for the dining room at Louveciennes in 1854 is set for a meal and lit thanks to a porcelain chandelier—a sign of their interest in ceramics.¹² The fact that the rooms are set up to look like domestic spaces, but the hosts are missing, makes the Boweses seem tantalisingly accessible to visitors. Dress historian Luca Castigliolo's replica of the pink dress sported by Joséphine Bowes in the overmantel portrait further emphasises the founder's absence by evoking her physical presence. The gallery places Joséphine and the sentimental narrative surrounding John Bowes' first wife at the forefront of the visitor's mind. The dress fitted to the mannequin is free-standing – not mounted behind glass – and a modern museum case displays the belt worn by Joséphine in the portrait (Fig.3). Mounted on a velvet stand in the shape of a woman's waist, as though worn, it invokes Joséphine's physical presence by encouraging the visitor to imagine the proportions of her body. Joanna Hashagen, curator of textiles at the Bowes Museum, has alluded to the belt's composite and costume-like qualities, which jar stylistically with the pink dress and perhaps reference the costumes of Joséphine's acting career. More than any other element in the gallery, the dress explicitly reminds the visitor that the exhibits were once part of the Boweses' intimate possessions.

¹⁰ Monbro cabinets FW.104-5. On the cabinets, see Anne-Sophie Brisset, 'La maison Monbro et les modèles et dessins d'André-Charles Boulle' and Camille Mestdagh, 'Monbro et Beurdeley, fabriques des nouvelles curiosités', in Anne Dion-Tenenbaum and Audrey Gay-Mazuel (eds.), *Revivals: l'historicisme dans les arts décoratifs français au XIX^e siècle* (Paris: MAD, 2020), pp. 166-71 and pp. 172-79. Carved oak cabinet TBM, FW.180.

¹¹ See Howard Coutts and Sarah Medlam, 'John and Joséphine Bowes' purchases from the International Exhibitions of 1862, 1867 and 1871', *Decorative Arts Society 1850 to the present*, 16 (1992), pp. 50-61.

¹² Sitzendorf Factory, Germany c. 1860, TBM, X.1949.

II. The founders' lives in Paris

John Bowes was the son of the tenth Earl of Strathmore (1769-1820) and of his companion Mary Millner (1787-1860), who married when his father was on his deathbed. John inherited his father's English estates, but not his title.¹³ Educated at Eton and Cambridge, he displayed a keen interest in theatre, history and French politics and culture. John was close to his tutor, the politician William Hutt (1801-1882), whose family had an important presence in Australia and New Zealand, and married John's mother the Dowager Countess of Strathmore in 1831. The couple took over John's London house in Conduit Street and used Gibside Hall in North East England, which John had inherited from his father, as a country residence.¹⁴ John made at least two trips to mainland Europe in the 1830s.¹⁵ Elected as an MP in the Reform parliament of 1832, he took rooms in London on Suffolk Street, then Charles Street, regularly travelled to the Streatlam estate in County Durham, and spent most winters in Paris.¹⁶ By 1847, John had taken up residence in Paris, bringing to an end his career as a Whig MP for County Durham. His election to the exclusive Cercle de l'Union gentlemen's club in 1846 and his invitation to join the French Jockey Club in its first intake of members give an idea of how he was viewed in Parisian society: an influential figure in exporting British horseracing tradition to France, a member of the landed gentry, and a wealthy English bachelor (Fig.14).

By 1847, John was financially supporting Mlle Delorme, an actress at the Théâtre des Variétés. Mlle Delorme was the stage name of Benoite Joséphine Coffin dit Chevalier, born in Paris on 26 April 1825.¹⁷ Her parents were Joseph-Benoît Coffin, known as Chevalier (or Chevallier), who was a clockmaker originally from Lyon, and Madeleine Antoinette Sergent (1787-1866), whose father had narrowly escaped the guillotine.¹⁸ Joséphine was trained by Laurent-Joseph Morin of the Conservatoire national de musique et de déclamation, who opened a private school with the voice instructor Moronville in 1843.¹⁹ In September 1846, the periodical *La Tribune dramatique* reported that the young actress Mlle Delorme would

¹³ On the peerage case, see Hardy, *John Bowes*, pp. 19-20.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 47.

¹⁵ On the trip in 1830, see Hardy, *John Bowes*, p. 33.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

¹⁷ ADP, Etat civil reconstitué, V3E/N 513.

¹⁸ See Hardy, *John Bowes*, pp. 81-2. The story is told in John Bowes' manuscript catalogue of paintings, 1878, TBMA, JB/6/5/1.

¹⁹ See Kimberly White, *Female Singers on the French Stage, 1830-1848* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), p. 22.

commence a three-year contract at the Théâtre des Variétés.²⁰ Morin's training provided Joséphine with some valuable stage experience.²¹ She performed in *Le Capitaine Charlotte* as an 'exercice des élèves' in December 1846.²² These public performances to showcase promising students were usually by invitation only.²³ Before beginning her career at the Variétés, Joséphine seems to have appeared at the Théâtre Français, another name for the Comédie Française, in January 1846.²⁴ Throughout her career, she was often cast in double roles where she would switch between costumes in a single play or which required her to cross dress ('trouser roles' or *travesti*) (Fig.15).²⁵ The Théâtre des Variétés was known for putting women's bodies on show: the print of Mlle Delorme in *Le Chevalier de Pézénas* depicts her as one of the 'abeilles dont le théâtre des Variétés exhibe [...] les mollets à l'éclat de sa rampe, pour le plus grand agrément des amateurs.'²⁶ Morin was briefly artistic director at the theatre. Joséphine's prior involvement with Morin and her budding relationship with John have been used by some scholars to explain her obtaining starring roles in plays.²⁷ Playwrights and actors often worked together in developing roles and pitching them to theatre directors.²⁸ Joséphine may have had even closer connections within the theatre world: a newly discovered letter written by John from Baden in September 1854 to Laurencin states that Joséphine was a relative of the playwright Ange-Jean-Robert Eustache Angel.²⁹ It was common for work in the theatre to run in families.

²⁰ 'M. Morin dont la classe obtient tant de succès au Conservatoire et qui a obtenu il y a six mois presque tous les prix, vient de faire recevoir et engager pour trois ans, aux Variétés, une jeune personne, Mlle Delorme, qui a donné dans les représentations de l'Ecole lyrique, des preuves d'un talent plein d'avenir.' 'Macédoine', *La Tribune dramatique*, 6 September 1846, p. 432.

²¹ Morin instructed students in 'déclamation lyrique', 'mise en scène', 'diction', and 'opéra comique'. See White, *Female Singers*, pp. 22-3, p. 33.

²² 'Élèves', *Le Mercure des théâtres*, 24 December 1846, unpaginated.

²³ White, *Female Singers*, pp. 25-6.

²⁴ See 'Th. Français', *Le Mercure des théâtres*, 29 January 1846, unpaginated: Mlle Delorme took the role of Mirecour in *Les Préventions* by d'Epagny and Dupin.

²⁵ Her role was 'Andrée, marquise de Savillac... jeune veuve (travesti)' in Laurencin's *Andrée ou Le Chevalier de Pomponne*, which opened as *Le Chevalier de Pézénas* in 1851, see AN, F/18/794.

²⁶ 'Silhouettes dramatiques', *Les coulisses*, 5 December 1841, p. 2. With thanks to James Illingworth for finding this image.

²⁷ Hardy, *John Bowes*, p. 87; Caroline Chapman, *John and Joséphine: The Creation of The Bowes Museum* (Barnard Castle: Museum, 2010), p. 33; Sarah Kane, 'Turning Bibelots into Museum Pieces: Josephine Coffin-Chevallier and the Creation of the Bowes Museum, Barnard Castle', *Journal of Design History*, 9:1 (1996), 1-21 (p. 2).

²⁸ See the example of Alice Ozy's interview with Théophile Gautier, in René Weis, *The Real Traviata: The Song of Marie Duplessis* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), p. 133.

²⁹ John Bowes to Laurencin, 9 September 1854, AN, AJ/13/1044: 'M. Angel est cousin de Mme Bowes et elle désire que cette pièce soit jouée de manière à avoir un nombre

The names Delorme and Bowes regularly appeared separately in the theatre and arts press, with articles covering Delorme's performances and Bowes' business dealings.³⁰ They lived in separate apartments at 8 Rue Rougemont in the 1840s, very close to the Variétés.³¹ On 21 August 1850, *Le Pays* was one of the newspapers which alluded to their relationship and its impact on the Théâtre des Variétés. The newspaper reported that 'Depuis près de dix ans, un riche Anglais, M. Bowes, commandite le théâtre des Variétés. Il vient enfin de s'en rendre possesseur. Il en a fait l'acquisition au prix de 1,260,000 [francs], qu'il a payé comptant. On assure que l'acquisition a été faite au nom de Mlle Delorme, actrice de ce théâtre.'³² Kimberly White's study of female singers on the French stage shows that women who had careers on the stage often married men who were also involved with the theatre.³³ Whilst John was part of English gentry, he was also a theatre man. During his period of ownership, the Variétés underwent significant financial and managerial difficulties, and far from being a distant 'propriétaire', Bowes was actively engaged with his employees in decision-making and logistics.³⁴ Scholars working on the Bowes Museum have addressed John's involvement in the running of the theatre either from the point of view of his personal relationship with Joséphine, seeking to promote her acting career, or as an unprofitable interlude reflecting John's raffish youth, which contrasts to his business pursuits in England and his collecting.³⁵ Yet for nearly a decade, both John and Joséphine were defined in Parisian society in relation to the Variétés and theatre is a relevant context within which to examine the Boweses' lives and their collections.

Notarial archives indicate that Joséphine bought a 'propriété ou maison de campagne' at 42 Rue de Boileau, on 11 December 1848.³⁶ Indeed, the address book of the *homme de lettres* Hippolyte Lucas, co-author with Jautard of several plays

honorable de représentations'. The play in question, *Un Spahi*, by Angel and Cordiez, premiered on 11 August 1854.

³⁰ For example, 'Variétés', *Le Ménestrel*, 15 December 1850, unpaginated, and J. Lovy, 'Bulletin dramatique', *Le Ménestrel*, 25 May 1851, unpaginated.

³¹ See Chapman, *John and Joséphine*, p. 32. I have been unable to check records for this address in the Archives de Paris.

³² 'Echo universel', *Le Pays*, 21 August 1850, unpaginated. On the coverage in the English press, see Hardy, *John Bowes*, p. 88 and Chapman, *John and Joséphine*, pp. 37-8.

³³ See White's discussion of marriage, in *Female Singers*, pp. 90-5.

³⁴ Some records of John's legal and financial affairs are located in a file donated to the Archives de l'Opéra by Alphonsine Bowes, AN, AJ/13/1044. Various disputes were settled in court and publicised in newspapers; the directorship changed multiple times, see Chapman, *John and Joséphine*, p. 39.

³⁵ Chapman, *John and Joséphine*, pp. 35, 40.

³⁶ A copy of the deed for the property is in the inventory taken after the death of Joséphine Bowes, 'Etude des papiers', AN, MC/ET/XI/1284.

for the Variétés, records Mlle Delorme's personal Auteuil address.³⁷ Between 1849 and 1851 John paid Joséphine's roofing, plumbing, building and gardening bills, as well as water and heating bills, insurance, and groceries.³⁸ Joséphine seems to have spent much of her time there in the summer and autumn of 1851, even though some bills were sent to her at 7 Cité d'Antin.³⁹ In October of that year, John paid for some of her furniture to be taken from Auteuil to the apartment in Paris.⁴⁰ John and Joséphine signed a marriage contract in Paris in 1852, set up house at 7 Cité d'Antin as tenants, had a church service conducted in London in 1854, and eventually bought a townhouse at 7 Rue de Berlin. In creating these domestic spaces, John drew on contacts he had made through the theatre, hiring the architect Auguste Pellechet to oversee building and renovation work at the Théâtre des Variétés at the same time as he was working for his client at home. The same can be said of the Monbros' firm of dealer-decorators, who were employed by John to maintain the box he rented at the Opéra, the apartments at the Cité d'Antin and on Rue de Berlin, and also the historic house bought at Louveciennes, as will be explored in Chapter 3. John would employ a man called Chevrier, who had worked for him at the Théâtre des Variétés, his wife Eléonore, and her sister Hortense, as concierge and housekeepers at 7 Rue de Berlin, as we will see in Chapter 5. The esteem earned by the John and Joséphine in the theatre world is a thread that runs through their life in Paris and can also be traced in the museum and its collections.

Other rich Englishmen were investing in property in mid nineteenth-century Paris: both Lord Hertford and Richard Wallace had bought buildings and plots of land in the neighbourhood between the theatre and the fashionable Boulevard des Italiens. Indeed, John wrote to Hertford in 1857 to see if he might be interested in taking the Variétés off his hands.⁴¹ By 1854, John was looking to rid himself of the theatre.⁴² He had been paying Joséphine's bills since 1848 and costs were escalating from the renovations carried out by Pellechet and Monbro at the Château de Louveciennes, which was bought in Joséphine's name in 1852, and in

³⁷ TBMA, JB/7/14/1; BRM, MS 1482. Lucas's address book shows that he knew John and Joséphine before John married his step-daughter, Alphonsine. Further research is needed to establish the relationship between Lucas and the Boweses before 1875.

³⁸ TBMA, JB/3/3/3.

³⁹ For example, bill addressed to Mme Delorme at 7 Cité d'Antin for plants for Mme Delorme in Auteuil, March 1851, TBMA, JB/3/3/3/44.

⁴⁰ Bill from Pressat, October 1851, TBMA, JB/3/3/3/122.

⁴¹ See Suzanne Higgott, *'The most fortunate man of his day': Sir Richard Wallace connoisseur, collector and philanthropist* (London: The Wallace Collection, 2019), p. 59.

⁴² John Bowes to Laurencin, 9 September 1854, AN, AJ/13/1044: 'j'espère que la personne dont vous me parlez est toujours disposée à traiter de l'affaire du théâtre. Je serais très content de me débarrasser de cet ennui.'

their Paris properties.⁴³ For several years after, the Boweses expanded their land holdings around the Château by buying plots via M. Lacroix of Bougival, and in 1863 John invested in a piece of land at 29 Rue Blomet, in the developing Vaugirard district: here, a building was erected to house a temporary gallery and living quarters for the couple's appointed curator of their paintings, Benjamin Gogué.⁴⁴ The Boweses also stored artworks at another property, at 7 Rue Mansart, much closer to where they lived on the Rue de Berlin, which was occupied by Amélie Basset, the daughter of Père Basset, a well-respected paintings restorer. Artworks were stored and packed there before being sent to Streatlam Castle and the planned museum in Barnard Castle, the idea for which was conceived around 1860-62.⁴⁵

III. A Franco-British hybrid

Built as a public museum to house the rapidly growing collections of John and Joséphine Bowes, the museum building is a monument of cultural hybridity. The architect Jules Pellechet, the son of Auguste, coordinated with a Newcastle architect, John Edward Watson, to create a French-looking building. Although drawing heavily on examples of civic architecture – such as the Hôtel de Ville in Le Havre – Pellechet's design has often been misleadingly compared to a French château, despite its function as a museum.⁴⁶ Contemporaries were equally perplexed: Émile Gallé compared the building to the Pavillon de Marsan in the Tuileries Palace in Paris, referring to it as 'votre beau musée', but also as an 'habitation princière et royale', and as Joséphine's 'palais'.⁴⁷ Inside, the couple's paintings are displayed in some of the largest picture galleries in northern Europe, inspired by those found in German museums visited by the couple in 1868; galleries devoted to ceramics, textiles, and metalwork, complement the Second Empire furnishings found in the story galleries. The latter purchases, dating from 1848-

⁴³ The copy of the deed in the inventory taken after Joséphine's death lists 'la future épouse' as the buyer of the Château on 17 August 1852, which was sold by M. and Mme Bowes on 5 June 1862 to the banker Leopold Werner, of 4 Rue Rougemont in Paris, for 500,000 francs, 'Etude des papiers', AN, MC/ET/XI/1284.

⁴⁴ Hardy, *John Bowes*, p. 141.

⁴⁵ Hardy writes that all of the paintings catalogued at the rue Blomet were moved to the Rue Mansard by the end of 1880, *John Bowes*, p. 221. What happened with the property at 29 Rue Blomet has yet to be ascertained in the Archives de Paris; it is not listed as an asset in the inventory taken after John's death in 1885.

⁴⁶ See a print of the Hôtel de Ville, TBM, 2003.2354.167/P.A. Simon Spier has discovered a wealth of sources that inspired the building over the course of his thesis.

⁴⁷ Émile Gallé to Joséphine, 12 September 1871, 18 September 1871, and 17 May 1872, TBMA, JB/5/6/2-4.

1880, were made ‘unconsciously’, or without knowing they would one day be displayed in a museum setting, since they occurred at least a decade before the inception of the museum project, and hence have survived in England ‘quite by chance’.⁴⁸

Too idiosyncratic to be a decorative arts museum in the taxonomic, encyclopaedic mould of South Kensington, the range of objects conserved within the Bowes Museum also takes it far beyond the scope of the ‘collection museum’ too. It does not purport to be an example of either, yet it presents characteristics of both. Those expecting the Bowes to resemble the opulent French art collections found in the Wallace Collection on Manchester Square, or at Waddesdon Manor, have often been disappointed. Indeed, Nancy Mitford recounted her visit in 1950 as follows:

Life in France has taught me never to overlook a provincial museum – indeed, the magic word “Musée” once got me up an Andorran mountain, to be rewarded by the rather surprising sight of an old moth-eaten giraffe. Motoring from Northumberland, we passed the Bowes museum at Barnard Castle, and, of course, in I went. If ever there was a museum of the stuffed giraffe school, this is it. The oddest collection I ever saw.⁴⁹

Mitford’s condescending description emphasised the museum’s muddled sense of priorities and identities. Such criticisms were not new. In 1897, one correspondent reported in *La Liberté*:

de tous les musées provinciaux anglais, le plus curieux est sans doute le musée Bowes, à Barnard Castle. [...] On trouve de tout dans ce musée, des grès, des faïences et des porcelaines, des toiles peintes par Mme Bowes, des tableaux dont on ignorera toujours les auteurs, des Clouet, des Mignard, des Hubert-Robert, des Rigaud, des Boucher, des Coypel, des Fragonard, voire des Philippe de Champagne, des Gudin, des Courbet, que sais-je encore. Ce serait le plus beau monument élevé à l’art français dans un pays étranger, si toutes les attributions étaient exactes. Mais il est à présumer que le catalogue exagère.⁵⁰

The ‘curious’ and bewildering nature of the collection highlighted by Nancy Mitford and the earlier reporter have made it hard to see the collection in the round, with

⁴⁸ Medlam, ‘Mrs. Bowes’ furniture’, p. 77. Conran, *The Bowes Museum*, p. 76.

⁴⁹ Mitford goes on: ‘The handbook describes Madame de Maintenon as the second wife of Louis XVI, thus setting the tone of the whole affair.’ *Sunday Times*, 27 August 1950, quoted in Charlotte Mosley (ed.), Nancy Mitford, *A Talent to Annoy: essays, journalism and reviews* (London: Hamilton, 1987), pp. 78-9. With thanks to Peter Macnaughton for sharing this passage with me.

⁵⁰ A. B., ‘L’art français en Angleterre’, *La Liberté*, 2 February 1897, pp. 3-4. The catalogue in question is by E. Y. Western, see Hardy, *John Bowes*, p. 143.

scholars focusing instead either on the huge corpus of paintings, or on specialist branches of the decorative arts.

The scholarship on the Boweses and their museum has addressed the priorities of the founders and the eccentricity of the collection in various ways. The Bowes Museum Archive (TBMA) was first organised and used by Charles Hardy, a retired local schoolteacher, in his landmark biography of *John Bowes and the Bowes Museum* (1970). Since then, the archive has been accredited and catalogued down to item level, rendering it an invaluable resource for studying the Boweses' lives, the formation of their collection, but also the nineteenth-century art market more broadly.⁵¹ Caroline Chapman's *John and Joséphine: the creation of the Bowes Museum* was commissioned by the museum in 2010, and while Chapman offers a more balanced view of the Boweses' private lives and considers a broader socio-cultural context, both Hardy's and Chapman's histories of the museum downplayed Joséphine's agency and role as a patroness of the arts, belittling and patronising her taste and undercutting her status as a collector, instead casting her as a shopaholic.⁵² In general, Bowes' two wives have been presented as social climbers whose compromised positions in society – the first because she was an (allegedly untalented) actress, the second because she separated from her first husband – were only redeemed by an advantageous marriage.⁵³ Much of the discussion has centred on the social backgrounds of the founders of the museum, interpreted as a means of securing a respectable legacy and erasing tales of illegitimacy and immorality. In two articles published in 1996, Sarah Kane tackled the inconsistencies, eclecticism and complex national identities underpinning the collection, and offered a much more nuanced assessment of the Boweses' socio-cultural context.⁵⁴ Drawing on the work of Rémy Saisselin on 'bricabracomania' and the gendered and misogynistic ideas about collecting in the nineteenth century, Kane positions Joséphine at an intersection between 'random accumulation' and

⁵¹ James Illingworth completed an AHRC-funded placement to catalogue the Boweses' library in 2017. A plethora of AHRC-funded Ph.D. theses are currently underway by Simon Spier, Emmanuela Wroth, Lucy West, and Harriette Moore.

⁵² See Hardy, *John Bowes*, p. 138, p. 154; Chapman, *John and Joséphine*, p. 55; James Illingworth, 'Joséphine Bowes (1825-1874), Shopaholic or Patroness of the Arts?', in *Plaisirs de Femmes: Women, Pleasure and Transgression in French Literature and Culture*, ed. by Maggie Allison et al. (Oxford: Lang, 2019), pp. 73-87.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 53, p. 135.

⁵⁴ For a discussion of the French museum context within which TBM emerged, see Sarah Kane, 'When Paris meets Teesdale: The Bowes Museum, Barnard Castle' in *Northumbrian Panorama: Studies in the History and Culture of North East England*, ed. by T. E. Faulkner (London: Octavian Press Ltd, 1996).

‘systematic collecting’, cast as both a mere shopper drawn to *bibelots* and a collector of *objets d’art*.⁵⁵

In recent years, conscious efforts have been made to question some of these assumptions and reveal Joséphine’s centrality to the making of the collection – even if, as Kate Hill has recently argued, she was not only driven by ‘fashion and frivolity’ in what was collected, which was also atypical even by masculine standards.⁵⁶ Although small snippets of the life of the woman who was to become the first Mme Bowes are presented in the museum, she stole the spotlight in an exhibition marking the 125th anniversary of the museum’s opening. James Illingworth has even warned against the danger of reverse-erasure by focusing too much attention on Joséphine.⁵⁷ In any case, the predominantly sentimental narratives crafted around the founders fail to consider other players who participated in the museum’s emergence and shaped how we interact with it today. Joséphine died in 1874, having laid the foundation stone of the museum in 1869; John Bowes died in 1885, mired in legal and financial struggles. Of the founders’ appointed Trustees, only a few were still alive by the time the museum opened to the public in 1892, and John’s estranged second wife Alphonsine was a hindrance rather than a help when working towards the opening of the museum, a factor which has contributed to her demonisation in museum histories.⁵⁸

IV. The Boweses and the culture of history

In this thesis, I propose to try and move beyond the restrictive parameters within which the founders’ biographies and personalities have been explored to illuminate some of the social and cultural contexts in which the collections were formed (Appendices B, C and D). Some of the confusion generated by the collections stems from their origin in mid nineteenth-century France, and only later relocation to England, a fact which has been acknowledged but very rarely explored. Scholarship on the Boweses has overwhelmingly been written by Anglophone scholars using documents in the Bowes’ archive, or in Durham County Record Office (DCRO).⁵⁹

⁵⁵ Kane, ‘Bibelots’, pp. 10-13.

⁵⁶ Kate Hill, *Women and museums, 1850-1914: modernity and the gendering of knowledge* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016), p. 141.

⁵⁷ Illingworth, ‘Joséphine Bowes (1825-1874), Shopaholic or Patroness’, pp. 73-87.

⁵⁸ See Lindsay Macnaughton, ‘Beyond the Bowes Museum: The Social and Material Worlds of Alphonsine Bowes de Saint-Amand’, 19: *Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century*, 31 (2020), <https://doi.org/10.16995/ntn.3348> [accessed 25 March 2021].

⁵⁹ Exceptions being Véronique Gérard Powell, ‘Un musée français sur les bords de la Tees’, *Revue des Deux Mondes* (2006), pp. 151-155; Sarah Kane, ‘Le Bowes Museum, terre

Whilst these materials are invaluable, there is also much that can be gleaned from Parisian archives and libraries, where extensive records exist that reveal a wealth of information about the couple's social networks, political preoccupations and domestic spaces. Materials found in French archives offer new ways of interpreting some of the objects currently on display at the museum, but also illuminate the significance of many others which linger in the stores or have never been exhibited. Understanding the French context allows us to see why the Boweses invested time and money into acquiring and assembling some groups of objects that were seen as baffling or trivial when transplanted to an English setting.

This thesis argues that the nineteenth-century culture of history was the foundation of the Boweses' engagement with visual and material culture. They benefitted from living in Paris, the centre of the European art market for buying French and non-French objects in the nineteenth century. Their fascination for the French past led them to buy things that can seem a long way from modern criteria of beauty, scholarly utility or authenticity, but which allowed the collectors to imagine and identify with distant personalities and events.⁶⁰ The often-questioned eclecticism of the collections stems from this voracious interest in different chapters of French history, including how history continued to reverberate in their own present.⁶¹ Hence in the story galleries, invocations of Marie-Antoinette co-exist with touches of troubadour style and Boulle furniture, not to mention references to current affairs, such as paintings of revolutionary barricades and the peace negotiations that concluded the Crimean War. The diversity of artifacts which attracted the Boweses speaks to Petra ten-Doesschate Chu's insight that the craze for history was akin to 'pop culture in the making' during the July Monarchy (1830-1848), invading all spheres of cultural production, from literature and dress to design.⁶² The Boweses exemplify one key dimension of this passion for historical

française au coeur de l'Angleterre', *L'estampille*, 129 (1995), pp. 70-8; Anne-Sophie Brisset, 'Les Monbro, de marchands de curiosité à décorateurs' (MA, Ecole du Louvre, 2013); James Vernon Wilkinson, 'John Bowes and Mrs Joséphine Benoite Bowes with special reference to their connection with France' (MA, Durham University, c. 1961).

⁶⁰ There is a vast literature on the complexity of multi-faceted collections and the difficulty of untangling collectors' motivations. See, for example, Krzysztof Pomian, 'Entre le visible et l'invisible: la collection,' in *Collectionneurs, amateurs et curieux. Paris, Venise: XVIe-XVIIIe siècle* (Gallimard, Paris: 1987).

⁶¹ The Boweses' collection of Spanish paintings, purchased in Paris, falls beyond the scope of this thesis. On the Spanish paintings, see Véronique Gerard-Powell, 'Spanish Paintings at the Bowes Museum', in Clare Baron and Andy Beresford (eds.), *Spanish Art in County Durham* (Bishop Auckland: ACT Trading Ltd, 2014).

⁶² Petra ten-Doesschate Chu, 'Pop Culture in the Making: The Romantic Craze for History', in *The Popularization of Images: Visual Culture under the July Monarchy*, ed. by Petra ten-

revivals: namely, the delight not just in learning about but also in actively recreating, repurposing, and even improving, cherished features from the past.

Where did the Boweses learn about European history and how did they refine their interest in it? Paris in the 1830s and 1840s played host to museums and exhibitions which transported nineteenth-century audiences to the Gothic and Renaissance past.⁶³ The prototype for all such displays was Alexandre Lenoir's Musée des Monuments français (1794-1816), the pioneering museum of medieval art which had been created out of the iconoclasm of the French Revolution.⁶⁴ King Louis-Philippe transformed the Palace of Versailles into a museum dedicated 'à toutes les gloires de la France', inaugurated in 1837 and presenting a full account of the history of France through a plethora of portraits and grand history paintings.⁶⁵ On a smaller scale, in 1843 the French government purchased the collection of medieval and Renaissance artworks assembled by Alexandre du Sommerard in the Hôtel de Cluny.⁶⁶ Beyond the romance of the Valois, the July Monarchy also saw the launch of other modes of revivalism, including a deeper appreciation for the elegance of the once despised old regime, visible at all levels, from the renovation of royal apartments (such as those of the duchesse d'Aumale at Chantilly) through to the fashionable interiors created by actresses like Marie Duplessis and the bohemians of the Rue de Doyenne circle.⁶⁷

Throughout his life, John was fascinated with historical anecdotes and in the historical sites that perpetuated history, and many contemporary guidebooks of French historic sites can be found in TBMA today. In the autumn of 1836, John visited the Loire Valley. He kept a travel diary in which he recorded his expenses,

Doesschate and Gabriel P. Weisberg (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), pp. 166-88.

⁶³ See Tom Stammers, 'Salvaging the Gothic in Private and Public Spaces c.1820-1870' in *The Purchase of the Past: Collecting Culture in Post-Revolutionary Paris c.1790-1890* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), pp. 159-202.

⁶⁴ See Geneviève Bresc-Bautier and Béatrice de Chancel-Bardelot (eds), *Un Musée révolutionnaire: Le musée des Monuments français d'Alexandre Lenoir* (Paris: Hazan, 2016).

⁶⁵ See Thomas Gaehtgens, *Versailles, Art and Politics: Studies on the Galerie des Batailles in the Musée Historique of Louis-Philippe* (Antwerp: Mercatorfonds, 1984); Michael Marrinan, *Painting Politics for Louis-Philippe: Art and Ideology in Orleanist France, 1830-1848* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1988).

⁶⁶ Stephen Bann, 'Poetics of the Museum: Lenoir and Du Sommerard' in *The Clothing of Clio: A Study of the Representation of History in Nineteenth-Century Britain and France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), pp. 77-92.

⁶⁷ See Mathieu Deldicque, Laurent Ferri and Nicole Garnier-Pelle Nicole Garnier, 'Chantilly sous le Duc d'Aumale' in *Chantilly: le Domaine des Princes* (Paris: Swan, 2017); Ken Ireland, *Cythera Regained? The Rococo Revival in European Literature and the Arts, 1830-1910* (Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2006).

listed noteworthy places, and described his visits to landmark sites, including châteaux, churches and cathedrals, theatres and galleries ('there are some good pictures in the museum,' he noted in Bordeaux).⁶⁸ In the Church of St Michel in Bordeaux, he visited the exhibition of mummified bodies, which had been discovered during the French Revolution when the cemetery was sacked. John offered a sentimental commentary that 'the most interesting part about it is a tower on top of which the telegraph works, & beneath which is a vault; 'round which are ranged the skins, & skeletons of bodies which once were subject to the hopes, fears, joys, sorrows, or sufferings of mortality.'⁶⁹ One group of the mummies of St Michel can be seen in a lithograph by Alexandre Gabriel Decamps, printed by Eugène Le Roux in 1845-6 (Fig.16); it captured the imaginations of such writers as Stendhal, Théophile Gautier, Victor Hugo (who visited in 1843), Gustave Flaubert and Jules Verne.⁷⁰ While examining the exhibits, John proceeded to imagine the lives of a number of the deceased including a red-headed general killed in a duel who 'sleeps soundly enough poor fellow, too soundly to challenge me for making a fool of myself at his expense; had he lived – he might have been a Bonaparte.'⁷¹ John listened to the tour guides, made quick sketches and copied inscriptions into his notebook, and recorded his impressions.⁷² From what he saw and learned, he created and imagined the biographies of the mummified bodies.

The Loire, with its châteaux, was a region strongly linked to the French Renaissance and became fashionable in the Restoration and July Monarchy, when the histories of the Valois, and people such as François I, Diane de Poitiers, and Marie Stuart became sources of inspiration in the fine and decorative arts in both France and in Britain.⁷³ Its castles were also full of portraits, such as the famed series of French rulers preserved at Beauregard. John remarked that the interiors of the Château de Chambord were 'very plain' but, as he was interested in the layers of history of the places, he spelled out its sequence of owners in relation to the revolutions of the nineteenth century. Chambord opened to the public in 1821 but

⁶⁸ DCRO, D/St/C1/16/14. My thanks go to Lucy West and Simon Spier for discussing the diary with me at various stages of my PhD and sharing transcriptions and photos.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ See Alexandre Ducourneau, *La Guienne historique et monumentale*, vol. 1 (Bordeaux : P. Coudert, 1842), pp. 21-3 and accompanying plate.

⁷¹ DCRO, D/St/C1/16/14.

⁷² 'they tell you a boy must have been buried alive,--I believe them, & so will you', *ibid.*

⁷³ See Stephen Bann and S. Paccoud (eds.), *L'invention du passé. Vol. II Histoires de cœur et d'épée en Europe, 1802-1850* (Paris: Hazan; Lyon, Musée des Beaux-Arts, 2014). These historical figures were staples of troubadour art and can be seen across the Boweses' ceramics collections.

only began to be refurnished from 1848-1850.⁷⁴ John noted the historical figures in whose steps he was walking, taking a particular interest in the modern Bourbons and the Bonapartes. At Chambord, 'one of the halls of the Gardes de Corps was converted into a theatre on the occasion of a visit from Louis XIV where the "Bourgeois Gentilhomme" was acted for the first time' and 'at Ménars there is a château where Mme de Pompadour resided'.⁷⁵ This travelogue highlights John's self-directed study of the turbulent French past, identifying and inserting historic references within a stirring narrative.

To that extent, John as a tourist was also a consumer of the French past, drawing on the sentimental cues learned from popular entertainments, from which painters often drew direct inspiration.⁷⁶ Maurice Samuels has shown that the past became spectacle at this time, allowing history to be staged as a drama full of high emotion and vivid local colour.⁷⁷ John Bowes and Joséphine (Mlle Delorme) were deeply familiar with the popular culture of history on stage. Critics raved when actors donned historical costumes.⁷⁸ Plays that staged historical personalities or that took place in historical settings filled the repertoire of the Théâtre des Variétés before and after Mlle Delorme was employed there: Nestor Roqueplan's script of *Léonard* included 'La Comtesse du Barry' in its cast, the dancer 'La Camargo de l'Opéra' was a character in Bayard's *St-Jacques ou L'Enfant de l'amour* (1847), and *Le Suisse de Marly* by Leuven and Brunswick (1847) was set in the Château de Marly.⁷⁹ Literature also addressed more recent history and the monumental changes that the capital was facing: in the script of *La Maison du Carrousel ou l'Hôtel de Nantes* by Henry de Kock (1850), the protagonist 'Mlle Paris' performs a song deploring the chaos and anarchy created by urban planning works. The song was highlighted by censors as being too politically charged.⁸⁰

This public culture of history fed into the domestic realm too, through interiors and decoration in the home. The work of Elizabeth Emery, Laura Morowitz

⁷⁴ See Luc Forlivesi and Denis Grandemenge, 'Les collections du comte de Chambord à Chambord (1820-1883). Le testament d'un héritier malheureux,' *In Situ*, 29 (2016), <https://doi.org/10.4000/insitu.13228> [accessed 25 March 2021].

⁷⁵ DCRO, D/St/C1/16/14.

⁷⁶ See Stephen Bann, 'Two kinds of Historicism: Resurrection and Restoration in French Historical Painting', *Journal of the Philosophy of History*, 4:2 (2010), 154-71.

⁷⁷ Maurice Samuels, *The spectacular past: popular history and the novel in nineteenth-century France* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004).

⁷⁸ See, for instance, Darthenay, 'Délassements-Comiques', *Le Nouvelliste*, 7 April, 1851; Paul Avenel, 'Variétés, *Le Daguerrotypage théâtral*, 20 November 1850.

⁷⁹ Censorship files, Théâtre des Variétés, AN, F¹⁸ 793.

⁸⁰ Censorship files, Théâtre des Variétés, AN, F¹⁸ 791.

and Anca Lasc has expanded on Leora Auslander's seminal *Taste and Power: Furnishing Modern France* (1996) by framing the home as a site of historical exploration and self-fashioning.⁸¹ Indeed, Emery and Morowitz's *Consuming the Past: The Medieval Revival in Fin-de-Siècle France* (2003) demonstrates that the growing vogue for the *ancien régime* diagnosed in Debora Silverman's *Art Nouveau in fin-de-siècle France: Politics, Psychology and Style* (1989) was matched by an equally important attraction towards neo-medieval interiors.⁸² Lasc explains how combining furnishings that referenced different historical periods and styles, often paired with 'exotic' wares, produced fashionable, eclectic, ensembles that were seen as cohesive.⁸³ Far from being merely derivative, this culture of using the past as inspiration for interiors, fine and decorative arts that are historicist in style has received much more sympathetic attention in recent years.⁸⁴ What early twentieth-century critics often deplored as a random medley of styles and references has been revealed as a playful and deliberate form of historical quotation; similarly, the supposed 'pastiche' quality of revivalist furniture has been reinterpreted less as vulgar copying than as a creative form of homage and emulation. In this vein, Louis-Philippe's reign as King of France has been dubbed 'un âge d'or des arts décoratifs', and recent block-buster exhibitions such as *Spectaculaire Second Empire* (2016) and *Paris Romantique* (2019) have contributed to a rehabilitation of the arts of the nineteenth century.⁸⁵

At the Bowes, too little attention has been paid to how the Boweses decorated their homes before the museum project began to take shape, with the exception of the work of curators on the furnishings of Louveciennes and 7 Rue de

⁸¹ Leora Auslander, *Taste and power: furnishing Modern France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996).

⁸² Elizabeth Emery and Laura Morowitz, *Consuming the past: the medieval revival in fin-de-siècle France* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003); Debora Silverman, *Art nouveau in fin-de-siècle France: politics, psychology, and style* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989).

⁸³ See Anca I. Lasc, 'Interior Decorating in the Age of Historicism: Popular Advice Manuals and the Pattern Books of Édouard Bajor', *Journal of Design History*, 26:1 (2013), pp. 1–24.

⁸⁴ See Camille Mestdagh and Pierre Lécoules, *L'ameublement d'art français: 1850-1900* (Paris: Editions de l'Amateur, 2010); Dion-Tenenbaum and Gay-Mazuel, *Revivals*.

⁸⁵ Recent studies on nineteenth-century French furniture makers include Camille Mestdagh 'La dynastie Beurdeley (1818-1895): entre boutique et atelier Une histoire du commerce des curiosités et de la création d'objets d'art au XIXe siècle' (PhD, Bourgogne Franche-Comté, 2019); Christopher Payne, *La quintessence du meuble au XIXe siècle* (Château de Saint-Rémy-en-l'Eau: Monelle Hayot, 2018). See Daniel Alcouffe (ed.), *Un âge d'or des arts décoratifs 1814-1848* (Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1991); Guy Cogeval (ed.), *Spectaculaire Second Empire* (Paris: Musée d'Orsay, Skira, 2016) and Jean-Marie Brusson (ed.), *Paris Romantique 1815-1848* (Paris: Paris Musées, 2019).

Berlin now in the museum.⁸⁶ The existing scholarship tends to denigrate the Boweses' purchases pre-1860s as shopping and decorating, in contrast to more 'serious' and systematic collecting 'for the museum' which seems to have begun after the Château de Louveciennes was sold in 1862. Yet this distinction between decorating and collecting is not sustainable, as these two activities were profoundly interconnected. The emergence in the nineteenth century of *tapissiers-décorateurs* such as Georges Monbro, who also dealt in antiques, shows the central role played by antiques within a decorative scheme. Indeed, new markets for historical souvenirs emerged at the beginning of the century in order to satisfy the demand to bring history into the home: Manuel Charpy has likened nineteenth-century French bourgeois society to a 'théâtre des objets', examining how interiors evolved to accommodate ever more items, *bibelots*, antiques and souvenirs.⁸⁷ In response to what Mark Westgarth refers to as the 'art market turn', the doctoral research recently undertaken by Judith Phillips and Simon Spier delves further into the dealers, shopkeepers and art advisers used by John and Joséphine: this has brought to the fore dealers and shopkeepers in Paris who had not previously been acknowledged.⁸⁸

Many nineteenth-century collectors were highly self-conscious about how their objects allowed them to summon previous eras and take part vicariously in bigger historical processes. Ferdinand de Rothschild's unpublished memoir, 'Bric-a-Brac' (1897), as well as his essays on the old regime in his *Personal Characteristics of French History* (1896), demonstrate how collecting forged particular historical sensibilities, turning the city and its shops into a vast hunting ground, allowing long dead French men and women to be addressed with a rare intimacy, and prompting

⁸⁶ See Medlam, 'Mrs. Bowes' furniture', *Reprints of a Symposium Held at Colonial Williamsburg* (Colonial Williamsburg, 1990), pp. 92-102; 'At Home with the Bowes', exhibition (Garden Room at Tennants, 2015).

⁸⁷ See Manuel Charpy, 'Le théâtre des objets. Espaces privés, culture matérielle et identité bourgeoise. Paris, 1830-1914' (PhD, Université François-Rabelais de Tours, 2010). On the market for historical souvenirs that emerged out of the French Revolution, see Tom Stammers, 'The bric-a-brac of the old regime: collecting and cultural history in post-revolutionary France', *French History*, 22:3 (September 2008), pp. 295-315; on the antiques market in Britain at the same time, see Mark Westgarth, *The Emergence of the Antique and Curiosity Dealer in Britain 1815-1850: The Commodification of Historical Objects* (London: Routledge, 2020).

⁸⁸ Westgarth, *The Emergence of the antique trade*, p.5. Further work on the dealers and *marchands* patronised by the Boweses will enrich a growing literature on female collectors and art dealers in particular: see Benoît Coutancier (ed.), *A la découverte du Musée Grobet-Labadié. Une vie de collectionneuse: les Cahiers de Marie Grobet* (Marseille: Musées de Marseille, 2018); Elizabeth Emery, 'La Maison Langweil and Women's Exchange of Asian Art in Fin-de-siècle Paris', *L'Esprit Créateur*, 56:3 (2016), pp. 61-75; Elizabeth Emery, 'Madame Desoye, "First Woman Importer" of Japanese Art in Nineteenth-Century Paris', *Journal of Japonisme*, 5 (2020), pp. 1-46.

speculation on the often violent passage from past to present.⁸⁹ John and Joséphine were often seduced into buying artefacts of historical significance thanks to the tales of provenance that fill the pages of dealers' bills, letters and invoices in TBMA. The associations that the owners created with and around their possessions emerge when the seller's descriptions are combined with inventories that indicate how objects were grouped and located within the home. The lens of material culture studies is a valuable way of understanding the psychoanalytically inflected 'desire for history' described by Stephen Bann.⁹⁰ This desire was explored and incited through nineteenth-century French literature. Dominique Pety and Janell Watson have shown that collecting played a central role in nineteenth-century fiction.⁹¹ Authors who were in many cases collectors themselves – such as the Goncourt brothers, Honoré de Balzac and Marcel Proust – used collectibles as vehicles for the 'historical imagination'.⁹²

V. Hidden sources and hidden actors

This thesis shows that John and Joséphine were steeped in such literary materials; working across media allows us to understand the texture of the Boweses' historical sensibility. The recent cataloguing by James Illingworth of the so-called founders' or French library housed in TBMA has facilitated the study of the Boweses' libraries.⁹³ It is a wide-ranging collection of books, from well-thumbed contemporary paperback novels and magazines to topographical guidebooks and richly bound rare volumes, and many of the items reflect this cultural craze for collecting the past. Combined with the little-studied works on paper and ephemera in the collection, which has also rarely been exhibited, many of the books deal with

⁸⁹ Michael Hall (ed.), 'Bric-à-Brac. A Rothschild Memoir of Collection', *Apollo*, CLXVI: 545 (2007), pp. 50-77; Ferdinand de Rothschild, *Personal Characteristics from French History* (London: Macmillan, 1896). See Stammers, *Purchase of the Past*.

⁹⁰ Stephen Bann, 'Romanticism and the Desire for History' in *Romanticism and the Rise of history* (New York: Twayne, 1995). The work of Susan Stewart has helped me conceptualise the different scales on which the Boweses engaged with the past through objects, see *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (Durham; London: Duke University Press, 1993).

⁹¹ Dominique Pety, *Poétique de la collection au XIX^e siècle. Du document de l'historien au bibelot de l'esthète* (Nanterre: Presses Universitaires de Paris-Ouest, 2010); Janell Watson, *Literature and material culture from Balzac to Proust: The collection and consumption of curiosities* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

⁹² See Martin Bressani, *Architecture and the Historical Imagination: Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc, 1814-1879* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014).

⁹³ For an overview of the library, see James Illingworth, 'The French Library of John and Joséphine Bowes', *French Studies Library Group Annual Review*, 13 (2016-17), pp. 37-45.

history and bear associations with objects in the collection.⁹⁴ What the museum visitor sees on display is part of a much broader exercise of engaging with the past. Incorporating ephemera, books, paper traces and works on paper into studies on the Boweses and their collections helps to make sense of what the collectors themselves valued.⁹⁵ We need to transgress traditional hierarchies of the arts and of the historical record to take into consideration fragments, papers and parts of the collection that are not on display or that have been lost because of the complex legal situation which occurred from the time of John's death in 1885 until the museum opened in 1892. The nineteenth century poses obstacles in recovering women's agency in the archive, because of the socio-political context where women were considered as minors.⁹⁶ Thinking through this web of historical associations means thinking about sources normally overlooked in the Bowes archive, as well as players previously neglected in the story of the Bowes museum. The scholarship on the Bowes has on the whole focused on John and Joséphine and their collection as viewed through the lens of the archival and material evidence located in England. Yet the collection was formed in Paris and emerged out of collections within their homes there. What we see in Barnard Castle is a collection created in France and converted to a British context: it has undergone a process akin to translation, where interpretation is unavoidable. On their own, the records in TBMA and DCRO fail to elucidate the broader context within which the collection's founders lived and collected. Joséphine has been idealised thanks to the museum and archives, in the UK and very much on a local level, while she has been all but forgotten in France and in Paris specifically. By contrast, Alphonsine de Saint-Amand (1835-1908), who married John in 1877, has been vilified in Britain, but has left traces in French institutions, whilst also contributing to memorialising her husband despite their estrangement. This thesis repositions John, Joséphine and Alphonsine as part of a network of cross-Channel intermediaries, as evidenced in archival sources in Britain and France. Many of the people whose voices can be

⁹⁴ The Boweses owned works by contemporary historians such as Antoine Claire Thibaudeau and François Guizot.

⁹⁵ The museum's exhibition 'The Allure of Napoleon' guest curated by Tom Stammers and Véronique Gérard-Powell in 2016-17 created links between facets of the collection not normally on public display. See Tom Stammers (ed.), *The allure of Napoleon: essays inspired by the collections of the Bowes Museum* (Barnard Castle: The Bowes Museum, 2017).

⁹⁶ John paid for the transactions made by his wives: he annotated bills and invoices addressed to Joséphine or Alphonsine as 'payé par John' with date and amount paid. The minority of women in French society complicates how to interpret their agency in forming collections. A helpful study of women and the law is Karen Offen, *The Woman Question in France, 1400-1870* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017).

found in the Boweses' private papers were expatriates or lived cosmopolitan lives, leaving archival traces in many different places.

Collecting, and particularly the decorative arts, are valuable prisms through which to address Franco-British connections. Indeed, a focus on Franco-British connections in the field of the decorative arts has developed in recent years, with studies revealing the extent to which France and Britain were entangled in questions of taste, collecting and the patronage of the arts, as well as in historical revivals.⁹⁷ This thesis contributes to these histories of collections that have travelled across the Channel by exploring cultural contexts beyond the Bowes Museum. The evidence examined comes from texts in English and French, many of which remain unpublished, and include private papers such as correspondence, bills and invoices, and also the records of institutions, guidebooks, newspapers and French notarial archives. These textual sources are explored in conjunction with museum objects. Indeed, this thesis considers archival sources not merely as texts or words on a page, but as physical things, in the sense of material evidence that has persisted through time and have been deliberately conserved to record places, people and transactions.⁹⁸ This study also uses the evidence of museum objects and works of art themselves, the close analysis of which can help us to understand manuscripts.

VI. Thesis outline

Chapter 1 positions John and Joséphine Bowes within an influential, cosmopolitan network of Francophiles in Britain and Britons in Paris and explores their residential geographies. It shows how John and Joséphine lived in a changing and revolution-stricken city from the 1840s to the 1870s: the demolition of buildings – planned and

⁹⁷ On Franco-British relations in the decorative arts, see Caroline McCaffrey, "'Sèvres-mania'? The Histories of Collecting Sèvres Porcelain in Britain, c.1789-1886' (PhD, University of Leeds, 2019); Adriana Turpin, 'Appropriation as a Form of Nationalism? Collecting French Furniture in the Nineteenth Century', in *Art Crossing Borders: The Internationalisation of the Art Market in the Age of Nation States, 1750-1914* ed. by Jan Dirk Baetens and Dries Lyna (Leyden: Brill, 2019), 220-55; Barbara Lasic, "'Splendid patriotism': Richard Wallace and the construction of the Wallace Collection", *Journal of the History of Collections*, 21:2 (November 2009), 173–82; Diana Davis, *The Tastemakers: British Dealers and the Anglo-Gallic Interior, 1785-1865* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2020). On the interconnection of Britain and France in the arts more broadly, see also Edward Morris, *French Art in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2005).

⁹⁸ The ways that Ludmilla Jordanova and Leora Auslander use and address visual and material culture in their historical practice are particularly fruitful and useful to me: see Ludmilla Jordanova, *The Look of The Past: visual and material evidence in historical practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012); Leora Auslander, 'Beyond Words', *The American Historical Review*, 110:4 (October 2005), 1015–45.

accidental – had a powerful impact on the way Parisians collected, prompting nostalgia for a lost past, heightening historical consciousness and the impulse to preserve. Chapter 2 explores the traces of topographical changes kept by the Boweses as part of a bigger project of historical recovery based on collecting fragments. This process of meticulous safe-keeping offers a window onto an unacknowledged aspect of the Boweses as collectors of ephemera. Chapter 3 examines how the Boweses participated in the revival of the French eighteenth century during the reign of Louis-Philippe and the Second Empire, not just in the decorative schemes of their homes, but also in the contents of the Boweses' library and at the Théâtre des Variétés. Chapter 4 focuses on portraits and the ways they were used to engage with the past in the nineteenth century, within homes, institutions and museums. The collecting and display of portraits was a means of popularising and commodifying history and the Boweses were avid collectors of images of historical celebrities. The repeated presence of faces in texts and in works on paper creates links between different parts of the collection, between different media, and historical periods. Chapter 5 addresses the memorialisation and collecting of the Franco-Prussian War and the Paris Commune, as one example of the revolutionary moments that occurred in their lifetime.⁹⁹ Many of the Boweses' contemporaries – their banker Edward Blount, the collector Richard Wallace and the librarians Lorédan Larchey and Hippolyte Lucas, for instance – were actively involved in these tumultuous events, but John and Joséphine spent 1870-1871 on the other side of the Channel. The chapter illustrates how material culture could take on the weight of recent historical events and become worthy of a place in the museum. Chapter 6 explores for the first time the influence of Alphonsine de Saint-Amand, the second Mme Bowes, on the collection through her friendships with key figures in the literary world, and John's relationships with librarians of the Arsenal in Paris. The impact of Alphonsine's material and cultural worlds cannot be adequately measured without taking into consideration women's status in French, Swiss and British society at the end of the nineteenth century.

The Bowes Museum has often been misunderstood or lost in translation, and this thesis offers new contexts and explores new routes for approaching it, thanks to lesser-known sources and players involved in the history of the collection.

⁹⁹ The Boweses engaged with the revolutionary moments of 1789, the Terror, Napoleon Bonaparte, 1830 and 1848. See Stammers, *Allure of Napoleon*, p. 33.

Recognising the Boweses as Parisians is crucial to this recontextualisation, for the city left myriad traces on how and what they collected.

Chapter 1: John and Joséphine as Parisians

I. John the Parisian: cosmopolitanism, Francophilia, Anglomania

Bowes. Anglais devenu ~~tout à fait~~ Parisien en restant obstinément Anglais, comme bien d'autres ; ~~que~~ ils ont par le fait anglomanisé Paris où on ne se pique pas autant de fidélité dans le souvenir.¹

So wrote Lorédan Larchey, who figures prominently in the lives of John and his second wife, Alphonsine (Appendix A). The preparatory research and musings of the *homme de lettres* Étienne Lorédan Larchey (1831-1902) are scattered across little bits of paper, filed away in the archives of the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, in Paris. Indeed, as his colleague Paul Cottin wrote, Larchey would rip pages from expensive, lavishly bound volumes, to file the snippets alphabetically alongside the newspaper cuttings he kept and annotated for future use.² Larchey began working there in 1874, having been chosen to complete and review the research and cataloguing undertaken by librarian Paul Lacroix. Larchey was named honorary conservator in 1888.³ In his notes on Bowes, Larchey explains that it was through his colleague Hippolyte Lucas, the stepfather of John's second wife, Alphonsine née de Saint-Amand, that he had met John (see Chapter 6). His thoughts offer us a unique assessment of John's character and a brief biographical overview from the perspective of a Frenchman who became friends with John in his later years, after Joséphine's untimely death.⁴ John Bowes inhabited a spatial and cultural milieu where the distinction between 'British' and 'French' was particularly porous. Larchey's note reveals that John was considered a British Parisian, and that he was one of many cultural chameleons who had adopted Paris as their home in the nineteenth century. According to Larchey, the process of 'having become' a Parisian

¹ BnF, Arsenal, Papiers Lorédan Larchey, MS/9247. Words crossed out in the manuscript.

² 'L. Larchey ne fut point un bibliophile. En effet, les éditions de luxe, les belles reliures le charmaient peu : quelque fut le prix de l'ouvrage ainsi habillé, il en arrachait les feuillets pour classer alphabétiquement, avec ses coupures de journaux, ceux qui l'intéressaient. Il s'était ainsi créé un vaste répertoire auquel il recourait constamment, pour ses amis comme pour lui-même.' Paul Cottin, *Lorédan Larchey (1831-1902). Souvenirs, bibliographies* (Paris: Henri Leclerc), p. 64. Larchey's *Mémorial illustré des deux siècles de Paris*, discussed in Chapter 5, is a case in point.

³ See Henry Martin, *Histoire de la Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal* (Paris: Plon, 1900), pp. 595-6. Bruno Blassel writes about the growing expertise of the library's staff from the 1840s onwards, see 'L'Arsenal au XIX^e siècle: bibliothécaires et bibliophiles', *Revue d'Histoire littéraire de la France*, 115:1 (January-March 2015), 115-25 (pp. 121-2).

⁴ Larchey may have been influenced by the divorce proceedings instigated by John in 1884. He presumably wrote this entry after John's death in 1885; he stayed in close contact with Alphonsine until his own death.

was accompanied by a sense of stubbornness ('obstinément') and even arrogance ('se piquer de') on the part of these expatriates: Bowes was one of these British residents who embraced Parisian life, all the while remaining conspicuously – and defiantly – true to their native roots.⁵ In this chapter, we explore the foundations of John's Francophilia and the context of Franco-British networks in Paris. We situate the Boweses in Paris, exploring where they located themselves, socially and geographically.

The Franco-British community has recently received a flurry of attention which has shown how entangled the histories of France and Britain were, and how they intersected in fruitful exchanges, despite the spectre of the Napoleonic Wars.⁶ Although Britain was at war with revolutionary and then Napoleonic France, scholars have pointed out the strong ties of friendship created with French émigrés and exiles.⁷ The cross-Channel State visits from Queen Victoria and Louis-Philippe in the 1840s, and Napoleon III and Eugénie a decade later, cemented a public diplomatic friendship that had begun between the two nations during the reign of Louis-Philippe, and heralded the beginning of an *entente cordiale*.⁸ Indeed, Britain and France were military allies in the Crimean War, which is recorded in the Boweses' collection (Fig.17).⁹

Literature was a particularly productive field of cultural exchange, as explored in Elizabeth Jay's recent study on British writers in Paris, whilst Diana Cooper-Richet has shown that the French capital was at the epicentre of a literary

⁵ The second part of the sentence is ambiguous: is Larchey implying that the Britons were mocked for staying true to their roots ('fidélité dans le souvenir') or does he mean that the French did not recall 'anglomanisé' Paris as fondly as the Britons?

⁶ On the major descent on Paris of tourists from Britain after 1814, see Philip Mansel, *Paris Between Empires, 1814-1852* (London: John Murray, 2001), pp. 141-64. For an ethnographic overview of foreigners in Paris, see Paul Gerbod, 'Des étrangers à Paris au XIX^e siècle', *Ethnologie française*, 25:4 (1995), 569-80.

⁷ See, for instance, Tom Stammers, 'From the Tuileries to Twickenham: The Orléans, Exile and Anglo-French Liberalism, c.1848-1880', *The English Historical Review*, 133:564 (2018), 1120-54; Debra Kelly and Martyn Cornick (eds.), *A History of the French in London: liberty, equality, opportunity* (London: University of London Press, 2013); Juliette Reboul, *French Emigration to Great Britain in Response to the French Revolution* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017); Kirsty Carpenter, *Refugees of the French Revolution: Émigrés in London, 1789-1802* (Basingstoke; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 1999).

⁸ On these festive affairs, see Rosie Razzall, *Queen Victoria in Paris: Watercolors from the Royal Collection* (Compton Verney, 2016); *Napoléon III et la reine Victoria, une visite à l'exposition universelle de 1855* (Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 2008).

⁹ See Nicolas Edward Gabé, *The Congress of Paris, 1856* (TBM, B.M.536).

cosmopolitanism.¹⁰ If we know of John's infatuation with French culture, then Joséphine's Anglophilia is also manifest in her interest in Walter Scott's novels and her identification with Mary Queen of Scots (see Chapter 4).¹¹ British actors had graced the Parisian stage since the eighteenth century and the trend flourished in the Restoration and beyond.¹² With regards to the Théâtre des Variétés specifically, various newspapers mentioned this Anglophile craze in the early 1840s: 'l'anglomanie s'empare décidément du théâtre des Variétés. [...] La foule envahit la salle,' reported *Les Coulisses* in 1842, and two years later, 'la rage de l'anglomanie' was pushed further still with *Les Anglais en voyage*, a play by Arvers and Davrecourt.¹³

As Larchey indicated, Paris had long become 'anglomanisé'. The household bills in TBMA give a snapshot of this process: John exclusively used the services of the English saddlers R. Jones et fils, successors in business of Mr Anderson, whose shop was located at 13 Place de la Madeleine.¹⁴ The letterhead of a bill from the haberdasher A. Fichot at 78 Rue Neuve des Mathurins indicates that English was spoken at the shop.¹⁵ John called on Harris & Co., court dress and uniform suppliers at 5 Rue de la Chaussée d'Antin (who became Harris and Dreuille frères).¹⁶ He also bought such expatriate fare as ham, bacon, mustard, tea, Scotch ale, Burton ale and Abernethy biscuits from Harris & Co., who were grocers turned wine sellers based first at 6 Rue du Hazard and then 265 Rue Saint-Honoré.¹⁷ Whilst John remained faithful to his French wine supplier, Chevalier de Claussun, he also regularly bought pale ale from John Hooper at 21 Rue de Luxembourg.¹⁸ His banker was Edward Charles Blount (1809-1905), who was from a Roman Catholic, Whig-supporting family and had learned French from a French émigré priest, and turned to banking

¹⁰ Elizabeth Jay, *British Writers in Paris, 1830-1875* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016); Diana Cooper-Richet, 'Paris, capitale des polyglottes ? Édition et commercialisation des imprimés en langues étrangères sous la Restauration', in *Repenser la Restauration*, ed. by Jean-Yves Mollier, Martine Reid et Jean-Claude Yon (Paris: Nouveau Monde, 2005), 197-209.

¹¹ On the craze for Walter Scott's novels in Paris, see Mansell, *Paris Between Empires*, pp. 160-61.

¹² Diana Cooper-Richet, *La France Anglaise de la Révolution à nos jours* (Paris: Fayard, 2018), pp. 70-4.

¹³ *Les Coulisses*, 6 November 1842; 'Théâtre des Variétés', *Mercure des Théâtres*, 4 July 1844.

¹⁴ See TBMA JB/3/3/3/115, JB/3/3/6/46 and JB/3/3/10/115 for examples of bills from the English saddlers'.

¹⁵ TBMA, JB/3/3/11/133.

¹⁶ TBMA, JB/3/3/3/4/2; Harris and Dreuille frères, TBMA, JB/3/3/6/18.

¹⁷ Harris & Co., grocers, first at 6 Rue du Hazard (TBMA, JB/3/3/10/23), then at 265 Rue Saint-Honoré (TBMA, JB/3/3/10/182); for the Abernethy biscuits, see TBMA, JB/3/3/10/172. With thanks to TBMA volunteers for their translations.

¹⁸ TBMA, JB/3/3/6/31.

after beginning a diplomatic career. Blount was an attaché at the British Embassy in Paris and later British Consul during the winter of 1870-1871. His bank eventually opened an English and American office on 4 Place de l'Opéra.¹⁹ As represented in the Boweses' bills and letters, British subjects set up all sorts of businesses in Paris, in clusters around the city.

The Boweses' personal correspondence in TBMA and DCRO reveals a wide-ranging network of British subjects living in Paris, from people employed by John to fellow collectors, property developers, and the diplomatic world. Abbé Rogerson, of the Church of Saint-Roch, presided over the British Roman Catholic community.²⁰ Rogerson was well-known within the Anglophone community and also in elite society more generally: his portrait by Ferdinand Gaillard was exhibited at the 1869 Salon to great acclaim.²¹ Joséphine's circle of close female friends included the English-born Ellen Robinson who had married the Corsican Cosimo Piétri: during the Franco-Prussian War, when her husband had to adopt a pseudonym, Ellen returned to her mother's home in Cambridge (see Chapter 5). In recent years scholars have begun to consider the profile of women who lived on both sides of the Channel, as part of cross-Channel couples, such as the French-born art collectors Yolande Duvernay and Julie-Amélie Castelnau.²² Paris was home to many women who were born in Britain and moved to France, such as Eliza Emma Crouch, aka Cora Pearl, not to mention Francophile women who had links to Paris through their travels, such as Lady Dorothy Nevill, through their husbands' diplomatic careers, such as Lady Elizabeth Stuart, or through friendships, such as the political hostess Lady Waldegrave, whose support the exiled Orléans princes depended on.²³

¹⁹ Blount's Bank was one of the individual branches that came together to form the Société Générale in 1864.

²⁰ Rogerson was 'directeur de la Mission anglaise de Saint-Roch' at 6 Rue Saint-Roch, see Th. De Caër 'Crayons parisiens', *L'Univers*, 15 February 1878, n.p.. He began the English Mission in 1859 and created the 'oeuvres des domestiques anglaises catholiques' in 1866, which provided temporary housing for English *domestiques* while they searched for work, see *Manuel des oeuvres et institutions religieuses et charitables de Paris* (Paris: Librairie Poussielgue Frères, 1867), pp. 327-8. On the charity for English *domestiques*, see G.-F. Audley, *L'Ami de la religion et du Roi*, April 1861, p. 115.

²¹ See a description of the portrait in 'Beaux-Arts. Salon de 1869. III. Le portrait', *Le Constitutionnel*, 17 June 1869, n.p. Abbé Rogerson is a key figure of the Boweses' Franco-British network and warrants further research.

²² See Laure-Aline Griffiths-Jones, 'French Taste in Victorian England: The Collection of Yolande Lyne-Stephens' and Suzanne Higgott, 'Unmasking an Enigma: Who Was Lady Wallace and What Did She Achieve?', both articles in *19: Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century*, 2020 (31), <https://doi.org/10.16995/ntn.3350> ; <https://doi.org/10.16995/ntn.3006> [accessed 25 March 2021].

²³ See Caroline McCaffrey-Howarth, '"Life was a spectacle for her": Lady Dorothy Nevill as Art Collector, Political Hostess, and Cultural Philanthropist', *19: Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century* 2020(31), doi: <https://doi.org/10.16995/ntn.3344> [accessed

As we will see in Chapter 6, Victor Hugo and his family who lived in exile on the Isles of Jersey and Guernsey offer another example of John's contemporaries – specifically Alphonsine and her network – moving between Britain and France.

The seeds of John's Francophile initiation go back to his upbringing and youth as part of a British landowning family.²⁴ John matriculated at Trinity College, Cambridge University, in 1828, as was the family tradition, and indeed, his marriage contract with Joséphine stated that any sons would also go to Trinity College or Saint John's College. His university friends included William Makepeace Thackeray, Alexander William Kinglake, and Richard Monckton Milnes, all of whom were fluent in French and passionate about continental culture and history, later becoming prominent Francophiles. John's early travels to France anchor him further within elite, aristocratic tradition.²⁵ John's university life introduced him to gentlemen's club culture. As a student at Cambridge, John was a member of the Cambridge Beefsteak Club, a Whig society for dining and drinking, associated with the Kit-cat Club.²⁶ Ralph Nevill explains some of the club's traditions, which included making a toast to Mr Bowes, winner of the Derby, while he was still a student at Cambridge.²⁷

In France, John Bowes was one of the first men invited to join the Paris Jockey Club by the founders in its initial intake of members in 1834.²⁸ The Société d'encouragement pour l'amélioration des races de chevaux, as it was then known, was evidently pleased to welcome the young John Bowes, whose horse Mundig

25 March 2021]; Stammers, 'From the Tuileries to Twickenham'. The Orléans and Lady Waldegrave are mentioned in H. Vane to John Bowes, 12 August 1870, DCRO, D/St/C5/233/77.

²⁴ On Francophilia and the elite, see Robin Eagles, *Francophilia in English Society, 1748–1815* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2000), chapter 6.

²⁵ On Whig internationalism, see Morris, *French Art*, pp. 73-90.

²⁶ See Hardy, *John Bowes*, p. 33

²⁷ See Ralph Nevill, *London Clubs: Their History and Treasures* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1903), chapter 2. On the association of beef and English identity, see Ben Rogers, *Beef and Liberty: Roast Beef, John Bull and the English Nation* (London: Random House, 2004).

²⁸ See Fernand Laffon, *Le monde des courses, mœurs actuelles du turf*, 3rd edn (Paris: J. Rothschild, 1896), p. 413. He paid his 'membre permanent' subscription in 1841, see DCRO, D/St/C1/16/33-36. Bowes disappears from the Jockey Club Members' Directory in 1851, see Alcée Gibert and Philippe De Massa, *Historique du Jockey-Club français depuis sa fondation jusqu'en 1871 inclusivement* (Paris: Jouaust, 1893), pp. 40-41; 203. I am extremely grateful to Mme Pascale Lecauchois for her assistance and advice when I visited in 2018, and to Suzanne Higgott for including John Bowes and Edward Blount in her searches. On the Paris Jockey Club, see Anne Martin-Fugier, *La vie élégante ou la formation du Tout-Paris 1815-1848* (Paris: Fayard, 1990), p. 338-9; Charles Yriarte, *Les Cercles de Paris, 1828-1864* (Paris: Dupray de la Mahérie, 1864), pp. 59-68; Gilles de Chaudenay, *Physiologie du Jockey-Club* (Paris: Del Duca, 1958); Edward Blount, *Memoirs of Sir Edward Blount, K.C.B., &c*, 2nd edn (London; New York: Longmans, Green, and co, 1902), pp. 236-43.

won the Derby in May 1835.²⁹ By this point in Bowes' life, Paris was already experiencing a wave of Anglomania, as seen in several hotspots of fashionable society such as the Café Anglais and Tortoni's.³⁰ No record of Bowes having any direct involvement with the Jockey Club after the 1840s has been found, unlike other British Francophiles such as Lord Henry Seymour who was one of the founders, or Edward Blount and Richard Wallace, who were both elected in 1871.³¹ *Le Figaro* nevertheless listed Bowes as one of the better known non-titled members of the English Jockey Club.³² In contrast to the ambiguity of Bowes' place at the Paris Jockey Club, Bowes was keen to keep up his membership of the exclusive Cercle de l'Union following his election in 1846, writing letters from its premises first in the Rue Grammont, and then 11 Boulevard de la Madeleine from 1858.³³ This club was well-known for its exclusivity; extracts of Charles Yriarte's 'Cercles Parisiens', incorporating lists of members and descriptions of the premises, were also published in *Le Figaro*.³⁴ In 1877, Bowes settled his 'membre permanent' subscription to the Cercle, as well as his yearly subscriptions to the London clubs he used, including the Traveller's Club, the Oxford and Cambridge University Club and Arthur's Club.³⁵

Many of the insinuations and judgments made in Larchey's manuscript notes recur in subsequent scholarship on the founders. According to Larchey, Joséphine – unnamed throughout – was an actress and painter of 'mediocre' talent; John's management of the Théâtre des Variétés was as short-lived as Joséphine's career on the stage; the couple hosted evenings in their rather ostentatiously

²⁹ For an overview of Bowes' horses, see David Darbyshire, 'The Thoroughbred and the Swan: Aristocracy and progress towards wives' equality with their husbands in the midnineteenth century' (MA, University of Oxford, 2018).

³⁰ See Cooper-Richet, *La France anglaise*, pp. 66-70, and Mansel, *Paris Between Empires*, pp. 43-6.

³¹ Blount certainly made use of his membership, dining there regularly during the Siege of Paris, see Blount, *Memoirs*, p. 205, 208, 211, 293. Bowes purchased 'two unmounted copies of the "Jockey Club"' from Messrs W. H. Tuck & Co in London on 21 August 1877: TBMA, JB/3/25/112.

³² Auguste Marcade, 'Télégrammes et correspondances', *Le Figaro*, 17 April 1877.

³³ Bowes begins sending correspondence from the Cercle in September 1846; for the new premises' address, see TBMA, JB/3/3/6/96.

³⁴ See Charles Yriarte, 'Cercles parisiens', *Le Figaro*, 3 January 1864. Blount was also a member, as were many men from the French and European aristocracy, see Mansell, *Paris between Empires*, pp. 157-8.

³⁵ See TBMA, JB/3/3/25/185 (Cercle); JB/3/3/25/23 (Traveller's); JB/3/3/25/24 (Oxford and Cambridge); JB/3/3/25/24 (Arthur's). The Oxford and Cambridge Club's secretary wrote to John on 2 May 1864 requesting a photograph to be included in a collection of members' photographs, see DCRO, D/St/C1/16/38. Before moving to France, John was a member of Brook's Club and the Catch Club in London, see subscriptions slips for 1840 and 1841, DCRO, D/St/C1/16/33-36.

decorated Parisian *hôtel*; John spent a great deal of time and money to fulfil his ambition of building a museum that would be the ‘Louvre’ of County Durham. In Larchey’s notes, John Bowes is credited as a solo collector and sole creator of the museum in Barnard Castle. He emphasised John’s need for advice and guidance by French dealers and advisers, such as the picture restorer Basset and his daughter, Marie Louise Amélie. For Larchey, Bowes the collector was a foreigner, one of many ‘acheteurs étrangers’ of the time who benefitted from the help of French accomplices. Larchey noted the tale of a curious episode from Louis Andrieux’s *Souvenirs d’un Préfet de Police*, published in the newspaper *La Ligue* in January 1885.³⁶ Larchey explained:

Ainsi avait-il des toiles provenant des réserves du Louvre affectées par ordre aux appartements de grands officiers de la couronne, puis conservées indument par leurs héritiers comme il arrive parfois dans les résidences où la régie est peu vigilante. Dans une réclamation de ce genre, l’ambassade britannique aida M. Bowes à déjouer les revendications du musée [du Louvre]. Nous n’avons du reste que trop de Français [sic] disposés à se faire, consciemment ou non, les complices d’acheteurs étrangers.³⁷

According to Andrieux, the ‘réclamation’ involved officers arriving at 7 Rue de Berlin after examining the contents of Bowes’ temporary gallery on the Rue Mansart, only to be turned away by Alphonsine, who managed to evade the officers’ questions with the help of her stepbrother Léo Lucas. According to the accounts of Larchey and Andrieux, Lord Lyons, the British ambassador to Paris between 1867 and 1887, intervened on behalf of John Bowes as a British subject. By the time that Larchey recorded this anecdote, the museum project was well under way, with many works of art having already been sent from Paris to the North of England. This inconclusive story has merely served to fuel speculations connecting the Bowes and the Louvre’s collections. More importantly, the connection between British collectors and the diplomatic world – manifest in the British ambassador coming to Bowes’ defence – is worth noting.³⁸ Laure-Aline Griffiths-Jones has shed light on the friendship forged through a shared interest in art between Yolande Duvernay, her companion the British military attaché General Edward Claremont, Richard Seymour-Conway,

³⁶ On John being accused of stealing objects from the Louvre, see Hardy, *John Bowes*, pp. 217-8. Extracts of letters were published in ‘Informations. Souvenirs d’un préfet de police’, *Journal des Débats*, 25 January 1885.

³⁷ BnF, Arsenal MS/9247.

³⁸ John and Alphonsine were sighted at a ball held at the Embassy in 1881, see Chapter 5; other than discussing the news and John’s friendship with Blount who stepped in for the ambassador in 1870-71, the Boweses’ papers show no further relationship with Lord Lyons.

Fourth Marquess of Hertford and his heir Sir Richard Wallace and Lady Wallace, in Paris in 1860s and 1870s.³⁹ These diplomatic networks are important when examining Franco-British collectors and their circles in Paris.

This web of French relationships and geographies has not been sufficiently explored by Bowes' English biographers. The broad outlines that Hardy unearthed of where John and Joséphine lived, and of some of their properties have been recycled in subsequent studies on the founders of The Bowes Museum, without returning to the original French sources.⁴⁰ The research undertaken by Suzanne Higgott and Olivier Hurstel in the Paris archives with regards to the properties owned and leased by the Hertfords and their heir, Richard Wallace, has served to anchor these Franco-British collectors within the neighbourhood of the Boulevard des Italiens.⁴¹ Attending to this specific context helps us to recover detailed information about the family's Parisian networks, thanks to concrete evidence about who their neighbours were, and how their surroundings helped shape the collection. Whilst Higgott's research has considerably fleshed out biographical knowledge about her subjects, these topographical findings also contribute to a growing body of research on the geography of collecting and the art market.⁴² Like the Hertfords and Wallace, John Bowes settled in this neighbourhood, alongside artists, antique dealers and rich financiers. It bustled from the movement provoked by its cafés, theatres, galleries and shops. Let us now outline the Boweses' geographical and social position within the city.

II. The Boweses' residential geographies

Books in the Boweses' library reveal how aware the couple was of the reputation of different neighbourhoods. They owned many topographical works related to the city. Indeed, as Judith Phillips has argued, the sequence of properties inhabited by

³⁹ Griffiths-Jones, 'French Taste in Victorian England'.

⁴⁰ Judith Phillips has indicated to me that Hardy did correspond with several people who may have been checking archives in Paris for him. Since starting this doctoral project, John Findlay has begun cataloguing Charles Hardy's research notes in TBMA.

⁴¹ Higgott, *Sir Richard Wallace*. It is not surprising that British subjects were investing in the Paris property market: on the British-born John Arthur and Henry Tiffen—household names in real estate—see Alexia Yates, *Selling Paris: Property and Commercial Culture in the Fin-de-Siècle Capital* (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 2017), pp. 185-7.

⁴² See Léa Saint-Raymond, Félicie de Maupeou and Julien Caverio, 'Les rues des tableaux: The Geography of the Parisian Art Market 1815-1955', *Artl@s Bulletin*, 5:1 (2016), 120-59 (pp. 123-8).

John and Joséphine were in line with Joséphine's evolving social aspirations.⁴³ This section focuses on John and Joséphine's Parisian social scene by examining the properties themselves, their geographical locations, reputations and histories, and the people in the vicinity.

In her study of Parisian society from 1815 to 1848, Anne Martin-Fugier demonstrates that 'la mondanité n'avait plus de centre. Le monde était devenu un conglomerat de secteurs, ou de cellules, autonomes les unes par rapport aux autres, sans pour autant être étanches.'⁴⁴ Despite the permeability of social spheres, choosing where to live was of fundamental importance: the division of fashionable Parisian society into four distinct areas by the *salonnière* Delphine de Girardin reveals how geography served to categorise the city's inhabitants.⁴⁵ According to the *homme de lettres* Edmond Texier:

Chaque boulevard de Paris a sa physiognomie qui lui est propre, avec ses habitudes, ses mœurs et ses hôtes particuliers. Le boulevard Montmartre touche au boulevard des Italiens, et cependant un abîme les sépare. – Cet abîme de quinze pieds de large, qui est la Rue Richelieu, sert de frontière à deux populations tout à fait différentes.⁴⁶

The Boulevard des Italiens was 'le plus peuplé, le plus bruyant et le plus élégant' and served as a catwalk for 'tout le Paris de la fashion, de la flânerie et du monde élégant'.⁴⁷ North of this new, central artery, in the 9th *arrondissement* of Paris, the shiny new Quartier de l'Europe was separated from the Plaine Monceau and the newly built palatial homes surrounding the Parc Monceau by the Gare Saint Lazare, and had become synonymous with artists, Bohemia and theatres. The new *hôtels particuliers* located here housed collectors' treasures often purchased from the antique shops surrounding the Hôtel Drouot auction house. The exclusive Cercle de l'Union in the neighbourhood surrounding the Church of the Madeleine, the members' club most frequented by John in Paris, provided a link between the Chaussée d'Antin neighbourhood and the area surrounding the Palais Royal and Place Vendôme. At the opposite end of the social spectrum, yet within easy reach, stood the working-class suburb of Montmartre. By establishing themselves first in

⁴³ See Judith Phillips, 'National Identity, Gender, Social Status and Cultural Aspirations in Mid-Nineteenth-Century England and France: Joséphine Bowes (1825-1874), Collector and Museum Creator' (PhD, Teesside University, 2020), p. 180.

⁴⁴ Martin-Fugier, *La vie élégante*, p. 393.

⁴⁵ The four fashionable neighbourhoods were: Chaussée-d'Antin, Marais, Faubourg Saint-Honoré, and Faubourg Saint-Germain, *ibid.*, pp. 100-12.

⁴⁶ Edmond Texier, *Les Français peints par eux-mêmes*, vol. 9 Prisme (Paris: Curmer, 1841), p. 108.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 108, 109.

the Chaussée d'Antin and then the Quartier de l'Europe, the Boweses chose to live in a neighbourhood filled with prominent society figures – a mixed bag of artists, journalists, collectors – whose daily lives were well documented in the press. The fashionable *quartier* appealed to artists such as Gustave Caillebotte who depicted the hustle and bustle of an urban landscape where industrial steel structures, such as the Gare Saint Lazare, contrasted with residential houses and buildings.⁴⁸

The new area also appealed to contemporaries for its history. In the eighteenth century, the Chaussée d'Antin neighbourhood had witnessed the building of prestigious houses and *maisons de plaisance* for the aristocracy and elites. Whilst the area had once been considered as slightly off-centre (north of the Palais Royal), a century later, it had become one of the fashionable spots of the city.⁴⁹ Its long history was well known in the Boweses' time: newspapers boasted about the history of the old buildings and their significant previous inhabitants, thereby contributing to enhancing the area's desirability. A newspaper cutting from 26 February 1861 in TBMA highlights the eighteenth-century creation of the Rue de la Chaussée d'Antin and explains its characterisation as 'une des plus illustrées de la capitale' because of the string of well-known historical figures who had lived there: for instance, the acclaimed dancer Mlle Guimard had lived in an *hôtel* erected for her by her lover, the duc de Soubise, commissioned from the architect Claude-Nicolas Ledoux but later destroyed.⁵⁰ The article lists other earlier inhabitants including Necker and Mme de Récamier, Mirabeau, Mme veuve de Beauharnais (namely Joséphine), General Foy, Comte Roy (a minister of the Restoration), and Cardinal Fesch.⁵¹ Plans by Ledoux for a palace in the neighbourhood for Madame du Barry (1775) were never implemented. The Boweses chose to live in a *quartier* made fashionable in part thanks to its history and the prominence of its old regime inhabitants. The past presence of a historical figure at a certain address gave the house and street cachet.

⁴⁸ See Robert L. Herbert, *Impressionism: art, leisure and Parisian society* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988); Juliet Bareau-Wilson, *Manet, Monet and the Gare Saint-Lazare* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1998).

⁴⁹ For a brief history of the Quartier de la Chaussée d'Antin in the eighteenth century, see Colin Jones, *Paris. Biography of a City* (London: Penguin Books, 2004), pp. 212-3, 286-7.

⁵⁰ 'Démolitions' newspaper cutting, 26 February 1861, TBMA, JB/1/8/3/1. On the Guimard *hôtel* and its neighbourhood, see Kathryn Norberg, 'Goddesses of Taste: Courtesans and Their Furniture in Late Eighteenth-Century Paris', in *Furnishing the Eighteenth Century: What Furniture Can Tell Us about the European and American Past*, ed. by Dena Goodman and Kathryn Norberg (New York; London, Routledge, 2011), pp. 97-114; Edmond de Goncourt, *La Guimard. D'après les registres des Menus-Plaisirs de la Bibliothèque de l'Opéra, etc., etc.* (Paris: Charpentier, 1893), pp. 87-94.

⁵¹ 'Nouvelles diverses', TBMA, JB/1/8/3/1.

Joséphine Coffin-Chevallier also owned a property at 42 Rue Boileau in the village of Auteuil, between 1848 and 1855. Joséphine sold the house in May 1855 to Fanny Mathilde Merlin, who lived at 58 Rue Chaussée d'Antin and was 'séparée de biens' from her husband. Auteuil was one of the fashionable rustic suburbs of Paris in the 1840s to the south of the Bois de Boulogne and neighbouring Passy. A newspaper cutting in the Boweses' collection describes Auteuil as immune to the unsettling changes being experienced elsewhere in Paris under the modernising urban reforms of the prefect Rambuteau:

Pour l'étranger qui entre à Paris par la route de Versailles, cette capitale doit apparaître comme une oasis, comme une ville de jardins, car de ce côté ni monumens ni palais, mais de gentilles demeures à l'ombre de grands arbres, ou des pavillons entourés de charmilles : c'est l'*aurea mediocritas* du sage, c'est le bonheur qui se cache. Ce paradis, c'est le joli pays d'Auteuil si cher à Boileau, à Molière, à Lulli et à tant d'autres, et qui, malgré l'annexion, n'a pas trop l'air de vouloir changer de physionomie.⁵²

Unlike countryside houses located a train journey away from Paris, places such as Auteuil, Neuilly and Passy enjoyed a much closer proximity to the city, and were favoured by those who preferred to remain detached from, but adjacent to, the fast urban pace. The Goncourt brothers moved their collections to a house in Auteuil in 1869.⁵³ Honoré de Balzac chose to install his collection in the Pavillon des Bains of the former Folie de Beaujon, in Passy.⁵⁴ By contrast, Apollonie Sabatier made her exodus to Neuilly, which was also where Théophile Gautier chose to move his family to. The expansion of the various woods and forests surrounding Paris attracted wealthy, bourgeois homeowners to the 'maisons de plaisance' with gardens looking onto the Bois of Boulogne, Vincennes and Saint-Mandé.⁵⁵ Joséphine Bowes would later buy a cottage at Cernay-la-Ville, near Bougival, a place that was renowned for artists and became linked to the Barbizon school. Aside from the Château de Louveciennes, considered to be her primary country house, Joséphine's presence in Auteuil and the rustic cottage in Cernay made her part of a

⁵² Newspaper cutting, TBMA, JB/1/8/3/1.

⁵³ See Silverman, *Art nouveau*; Andrew McClellan, "'Vive l'amateur!': the Goncourt house revisited" in *Rococo echo : art, history and historiography from Cochin to Coppola*, ed. by Melissa Lee Hyde and Katie Scott (Oxford University Studies in the Enlightenment. Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2014), pp. 87-107. The house is described in Edmond de Goncourt, *La Maison d'un artiste*, 2 vols (Paris: Charpentier, 1881).

⁵⁴ See Alexandre Gady, 'Folie Beaujon et Chapelle Saint-Nicolas' in *Rue du Faubourg-Saint-Honoré*, ed. by Béatrice de Andia and Dominique Fernandès (Paris: Délégation à l'action artistique de la ville de Paris, 1994), pp. 354-63; Paul Jarry, *Le dernier logis de Balzac* (Paris: Éditions du Sagittaire, 1924).

⁵⁵ 'maisons de plaisance avec jardins sur le parc' described in newspaper cutting, 7 February 1861, TBMA, JB/1/8/3/1.

fashionable, somewhat bohemian society. Debora Silverman writes that the Goncourts' house in Auteuil was 'a response to the experience of menacing Haussmannization', and Joséphine's house in Auteuil, as well as her cottage in Cernay-la-Ville, would certainly have served as refuges against 'the new invasive metropolis', a city that was insistently modern, overcrowded and undergoing constant renovations.⁵⁶

In *Apartment Stories: City and Homes in Nineteenth-Century Paris and London*, Sharon Marcus demonstrates that the different types of houses on the market emblematised the social mobility of Paris.⁵⁷ Before they were married, when they were both involved with the Théâtre des Variétés on Boulevard Montmartre, John and Joséphine Bowes lived close by in separate apartment 'units' at 8 Rue Rougemont, a street created in 1844 in the Faubourg Montmartre *quartier*.⁵⁸ Marcus explains that these apartments in buildings constructed between the 1820s and 1840s embodied an 'urban domesticity' that brought the private home and the public street with its monuments, shops and cafés, closer together.⁵⁹ These apartments in buildings of multiple (bourgeois) households offered a proximity with other families and classes of people, through the communal areas and the leasing of ground floor spaces to shopkeepers and traders. By 1847, Joséphine's parents, Joseph-Benoît Coffin, known as Chevalier (or Chevallier), who was a clockmaker originally from Lyon, and Madeleine Antoinette Sergent (1787-1866), were living at 8 Rue Cadet.⁶⁰ In the same building, in 1862, someone named Bosse – one of the various misspellings of 'Bowes' encountered in the archives – rented an apartment on the third floor, possibly an indication that John was providing Joséphine's family with financial support.⁶¹ The Chevaliers' fourth-floor apartment was situated in the second building accessed through a hall in the first apartment building and across an interior courtyard.⁶² The interior courtyards and initial hall bridged the divide between the street and the home. In this kind of building, stairwells and hallways were spaces that were shared by the

⁵⁶ Silverman, *Art Nouveau*, p. 20.

⁵⁷ Sharon Marcus, *Apartment Stories: City and Homes in Nineteenth-Century Paris and London* (Berkeley; Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1999), pp. 17-27.

⁵⁸ Hardy, *John Bowes*, p. 79.

⁵⁹ Marcus, *Apartment Stories*, p. 19.

⁶⁰ See Joséphine's mother's passport dated 1848: TBMA, JB/8/4/2.

⁶¹ The name Bowes is sometimes misspelled as 'Beauce', 'Boz' or 'Bovves'.

⁶² See *Calepin des propriétés bâties*, Rue Cadet, 1852-1876, ADP, D1P4/175.

inhabitants in different apartments. 'Ledit Chevalier' also rented a room under the eaves on the sixth floor.⁶³

Michelle Perrot writes that 'la maison est affaire de famille, son lieu d'existence et son point de rassemblement. Elle incarne l'ambition du couple et la figure de sa réussite'.⁶⁴ In 1851, the Boweses moved from separate apartment 'units' at the same address to an *hôtel particulier*, marking a key transition in their relationship.⁶⁵ The theatre critic Hippolyte Lucas' address book listed John Bowes at 7 Cité d'Antin (later replaced with 7 Rue de Berlin, presumably after 1855). A 'cité' was a smaller, residential street, often gated off or with a dead-end. 7 Cité d'Antin was by definition a more secluded address than 8 Rue Rougemont, and the move coincided with Joséphine's retirement from the stage and the establishment of the Boweses' home together. Their first shared home is described as: 'Entrée de porte cochère. 3 croisées de face. Maison double en profondeur élevée sur cave. De rez-de-chaussée 2 étages carrés. 3e attique. Combles au 4^e. Un seul escalier dessert cette maison. Construction en pierre de taille sur la rue et moellons sur cour.'⁶⁶ The courtyard was private and, along with the *porte cochère*, provided a separation between the street and the house. The property deed listed Joséphine (Dame Coffin Delorme) first.⁶⁷ The records of 1852 list the tenants of the property as 'De [Dame] Coffin Delorme, rentière' and 'Bowes, directeur des Variétés' whose profession was listed as 'directeur de spectacles'. In 1862, the banker Jean-Louis Greffulhe leased several properties in the Cité d'Antin, including numbers 15-17, a 'petit bâtiment pour ateliers artiste sculpteur' rented by the artist Nast.⁶⁸ Number 5 Cité d'Antin shared a courtyard (a 'belle cour') with 31 Rue Taitbout, a street where the Hertford family owned several properties.⁶⁹ Acknowledging the proximity of these notable society figures helps us to understand the Boweses' circles.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Michelle Perrot, *La vie de famille au XIXe siècle suivi de Les rites de la vie privée bourgeoise* par Anne Martin-Fugier (Paris: Seuil, 2015), p. 158.

⁶⁵ See bill from Monbro to John for transferring furniture from Rue Rougemont to Cité d'Antin in 1851, TBMA, JB/4/6/1; bill from Société d'Assurance Mutuelle Contre l'Incendie for Madame Delorme's insurance at Auteuil and 8 Rue Rougemont, 1 Jan 1851, TBMA, JB/3/3/3/18.

⁶⁶ Calepin des propriétés bâties, Quartier Chaussée d'Antin, 7 Cité d'Antin, Cadastre de 1862, ADP, D1P4/35.

⁶⁷ Ibid.: 'Baux généraux: en 1851 une quittance de 5000f à De C. Delorme et bail'.

⁶⁸ Calepin des propriétés bâties, Quartier Chaussée d'Antin, Cadastre de 1862, ADP, D1P4/35.

⁶⁹ On the Hertford-Wallace portfolio of properties, see Higgott, *Sir Richard Wallace*, pp. 48-9, 366-7.

From the private house in the Cité d'Antin, John and Joséphine then leased a house at 7 Rue de Berlin. In 1861, John Bowes bought the property for 350,000 francs from Clotilde Françoise Bristuelle, widow of Bontus, via the notaire Bournet-Verron. There the Boweses fitted in alongside the wealthy bankers and artists who lived in the area. Until 1854, the history painter Jean-Etienne Franklin Dubois lived at 27 Rue de Berlin, as did the painter Frédéric Berthon (number 29, 'ancien numéro 7').⁷⁰ The sculptor Alexandre-Georges Fourdinois, a crucial purveyor of revivalist furniture, bought a plot of land at number 31 in 1857, although by this time he had passed on the business to his son.⁷¹ The 1870 edition of the *Annuaire de la Gazette des Beaux-Arts* lists various *amateurs* and artists also living in the Rue de Berlin, including Pierre Defer (collector of prints), Paul Charles Gasnault (collector of 'porcelaines de Chine, faïences persanes'), and the artist Vicomte Gabriel (born in Limoges, and a student of M. A. Loyer).⁷² Well-known artists patronised by the Boweses lived nearby: Charles Chaplin had an elegant town house on the Rue de Lisbonne, and Eugène Fichel lived on the Rue de la Chaussée d'Antin.⁷³ 7 Rue de Berlin was a step up from Cité d'Antin for the Boweses, as it featured two entrances from the street and two staircases, an 'escalier de service' and a 'grand escalier en rotonde' visible from the courtyard at the front of house, as described in the Paris archives: 'hotel entre cour et jardin. 2 portes cochères. Double de profondeur. Rez 1^{er} carré. 2^e mansardé. Gd [Grand] jardin d'agrément.' The 3rd floor housed the servants' quarters. The central (main) house was flanked by separate buildings ('ailes') on either side of the entrance courtyard, one used as stables and the other as a service building. One of these wings was significantly altered by the Boweses to accommodate an 'atelier' or long gallery in 1865.⁷⁴ Bowes added two extensions on either side of the original house in the second courtyard (garden). The plots of land for sale in the neighbourhood encouraged buyers to design fit for purpose

⁷⁰ Sommier foncier, Quartier du Roule, Rue de Berlin, 1809-1859, ADP, DQ18/17.

⁷¹ Ibid. On the Fourdinois firm, see Olivier Gabet, 'French cabinet makers and England. The case of the Maison Fourdinois (1835-85)', *Apollo*, vol. CLV, 479 (January 2002), 22-31.

⁷² *Annuaire publié par la Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (Paris: Gazette des Beaux-Arts, 1870), p. 317, 318, 28.

⁷³ See the announcement of Chaplin's death in 'Nécrologie', *Journal des artistes*, 8 February 1891, p. 39. Chaplin was born in Normandy (les Andély), the son of an English couple. On Fichel, see *Annuaire publié par la Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, p. 27. Fichel began a career as an actor at the Odéon in 1846 before entering the studio of Paul Delaroche: see Ernest Glaeser (ed.), *Biographie nationale des contemporains* (Paris: Glaeser et cie, 1878), pp. 245-6.

⁷⁴ See copy of 'Étude historique et architecturale' conducted by RÉA Cabinet Valérie-Noëlle Jouffre, Bernard Patary and Pascal Simonetti in November 2006, TBMA, TBM/12/2/1.

homes and workspaces. Nearby, on Rue Chaptal, the Scheffer family built a home with two glass 'ateliers' (it now hosts the Musée de la Vie romantique).⁷⁵

The Boweses were associated through their architects Auguste Pellechet and his son Jules with other projects happening in the vicinity. The Pellechets are one example of John surrounding himself with French Anglophiles in France. Jules Pellechet, who is credited with the design of the Bowes Museum, travelled to Italy accompanied by English and French companions as part of his education: a sign of his reputation is his presence at the English architect Frederick Pepys Cockerell's funeral procession, which included some of the most prominent architects of the Second Empire, such as Viollet-Le-Duc, Lefuel, Pellechet, and Daumet and Vaudremer who had been Pellechet and Cockerell's travel companions in Italy.⁷⁶ Pellechet were employed for *hôtels particuliers* of the Parc Monceau, designed a staircase for the Nouveau Cercle de l'Union, and built a house for the Scottish banker Jean Conrad Jameson at 8 Avenue Velazquez.⁷⁷ Pellechet, father and son, were employed to work on each of the Boweses' properties in France and Britain including the Théâtre des Variétés, the Château de Louveciennes, Streatlam Castle and The Bowes Museum, earning Jules the title of 'mon architecte' in John's will.⁷⁸

A closer examination of their addresses, properties and neighbors can help us to situate the Boweses in their socio-cultural contexts. Suzanne Higgott's pioneering biography of Richard Wallace shows how essential it is to look at evidence on both sides of the Channel when examining people who led cosmopolitan lifestyles. John and Joséphine, and later Alphonsine, were all figures who regularly crossed national boundaries, and who surrounded themselves with an international cohort of friends and professionals. Indeed, the examples of Jules Pellechet working for Bowes on both sides of the Channel, of the Monbro dynasty setting up shop in Paris then in London, and of John's participation in club life in both London and Paris, show how he and his contemporaries juggled life, business and leisure between the two cities. John and Joséphine's rich social lives in Paris and the creation of the museum from the 1860s onwards happened very much in

⁷⁵ See Thierry Cazaux, 'Les artistes dans la Nouvelle Athènes', in *Paris romantique*, ed. Bruson, pp. 362-74.

⁷⁶ See Jules Pellechet, *Lettres d'Italie, 1856-1857* (Paris, 1894), pp. 123-5. Auguste Pellechet and Jules Pellechet were made Chevaliers de la Légion d'honneur in 1832 and 1899, respectively. A descendant of Pellechet, Jean-Pierre Chabal, is conducting a survey of his ancestors' work.

⁷⁷ Dossiers Architectes: 'Pellechet', Documentation Musée d'Orsay.

⁷⁸ The 4th codicil of John's will, 20 May 1881, provided Jules Pellechet, 'mon architecte', the sum of 2000 livres, see 'Inventaire après le décès de M. John Bowes', 30 October 1885, AN, MC/ET/XI/1405.

parallel, not separately, and need to be reintegrated in the scholarship. This chapter has begun to map where the Boweses fit into Paris and its environs in the mid nineteenth century, suggesting that their succession of addresses highlights both the course of their own relationship, but also their position within fashionable Parisian society. Whilst they chose to live in neighbourhoods that bore historical connections to the eighteenth century, the Chaussée d'Antin also enabled them to engage with the vibrant worlds of the art market and theatre. This geographical background was in contrast with the rural retreats of Auteuil and Cernay, which provided relief from the commotion of the city, which is the focus of Chapter 2. Being born in England by no means excluded John from engaging with the national past of his country of adoption, and he was keenly interested in the dramatic changes occurring around him in Paris. The Boweses' conception of history was profoundly shaped by their experience as Parisian residents in a time of remarkable transition. The next chapter delves into the Boweses' collections of ephemera to explore how they responded to this metropolitan environment as collectors.

Chapter 2: Collecting Paris

I. Collectors of ephemera

The archives of the Bowes Museum contain hundreds of works on paper that are hardly ever exhibited and have been overlooked by scholars. Devoid of information about when, where and by whom such items were gathered, many of these items appear today out of place, orphaned from the rest of the collection, and rarely displayed to the public (Fig.18). They take a bewildering variety of forms including: printed views of locations visited by John and Joséphine; portrait engravings (as discussed in Chapter 4); editions of celebrity lithograph portraits published in periodicals including *Le Corsaire*; and cuttings of *romans-feuilletons* or serialised reports on court cases, or ‘causes célèbres’. They largely exist in incomplete or fragmentary form, although when added to and assembled together, these images and cuttings could have been read as a cohesive narrative, whether of a journey (through postcards and photographs), or of an event (such as a court case) (Figs. 19-21). These sources force us to reflect on the seriality of the Boweses’ collections, but also the curious gaps in the record; beyond a simple lack of time, or lack of resources, explaining the very incompleteness of these paper archives encourages us to reflect on other aspects of the Boweses’ lived experience.

It is probable that John or Joséphine consciously gathered such material with the intention of one day forming a corpus of documentation, possibly as albums. Indeed, TBMA contains a number of albums, whose pages are filled with collections of sheets of paper – loose or pasted – that have been thoughtfully organised. Some of the albums contain drawings or engravings and are deemed part of the art collection proper, while others have been catalogued as part of the archive or founders’ library due to their text-heavy nature. Some albums are traceable in the Boweses’ receipts or inventories, but ephemera and works on paper were often purchased as lots and are not detailed in archival records. The archive shows that the Boweses purchased ready-made albums between 1863 and 1873 from sellers in various places including Ghent, Bruges and Paris; and they were acquired from booksellers (Begaert-Dufoort), art and curiosity dealers and shopkeepers (Rogiers, Lamer, Lepautre, Amélie Basset), and even a furniture supplier (Valentin).¹ The status of these collections or albums as hybrid, lower-

¹ Bill from Valentin, 35 Rue d’Amsterdam, album of engraved drawings, 80 francs, TBMA, JB/3/3/11/67.

status objects at the intersection between artwork, personal keepsake and text has made them difficult to classify, although typically those albums containing drawings and named works have been valued above the ones containing only printed ephemera, even if their documentary function was similar.²

The practice of album-making was a highly personal and subjective endeavour that resulted in material objects bearing marks of the creator's interests, their location in time and place, and the effort they spent creating it. As Manuel Charpy has noted, albums participated in 'cette construction de la conscience de soi et de ce désir de retenir le temps qui passe' or an 'économie du souvenir' that characterised a generation of bourgeois Parisians between 1830 and 1914.³ Charpy identifies a definite desire of bourgeois citizens born in Paris during the Restoration period to create 'traces de soi' and inject material culture with emotional sentiment and personal memories. Members of the Boweses' entourage were also album-makers.⁴ This self-inscription on and through physical objects was an attempt to resist the erasure of time. The assemblage of fragments enables the voice of the collector to be inferred: albums and memory books are unique; customisation and the personal touch of the assembler is one of their defining traits. At least two examples of albums kept in the archive indicate that John Bowes had a hand in creating his own collection of paper elements, and shaping narratives or sequences in a bound volume.⁵ The first is the set of twelve albums of photographs from the travels he made with his second wife across Europe (Figs. 19-20).⁶ The second is an album of newspaper cuttings in English gathered together into a book, indexed and organised in alphabetical order according to topic.⁷ The cuttings date from 1861 to

² On collecting ephemera in nineteenth-century France see, Tom Stammers, 'The Refuse of the Revolution: Autograph Collecting in France 1789-1860', in *Historicising the French Revolution*, ed. by Carolina Armenteros, Tim Blanning, Isabel DiVanna and Dawn Dodds (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2008), 39-63, pp. 42-4.

³ Manuel Charpy, 'L'ordre de choses. Sur quelques traits de la culture matérielle bourgeoise parisienne, 1830-1914', *Revue d'histoire du XIXe siècle*, 34 (2007), 105-28, p. 109.

⁴ Richard Monckton Milnes' albums, Crewe Collection, Trinity College, Cambridge; William Hutt's various albums preserved at Tyne and Wear Archives (DX985/8 and DX985/9); the Lucas albums in Rennes. Contemporary examples of famous collectors who also kept albums include Baron Ferdinand de Rothschild, Richard Wallace; and bibliophiles such as Victor Luzarche, Lorédan Larchey, 'Bibliophile Jacob'.

⁵ Further examples of albums are catalogued as part of the art collection, notably the collections of Napoleonic prints (such as the ones mentioned in Véronique Gérard-Powell, 'Napoleonic Objects in The Bowes Museum', in *The Allure of Napoleon*, p. 6) and several large albums containing printed matter seemingly gathered in Germany or Austria: TBM, P.A.2005.47.1-84; JB/1/9/2/12; P.A.2005.48.1-158; P.A.2003.2321, in which each item (over 500) is catalogued individually within the album.

⁶ TBMA, JB/1/9/2/1-12 (1875-1877).

⁷ TBMA, JB/1/8/3/2.

1883 and represent a range of John's known interests: art history (for example, a notice on Albert Dürer, a short history of the picture dealer M. de Nieuwenhuis), the commercial relations between England and France, history and current affairs (such as an article on the causes of the Orleanists' unpopularity, Assyrian finds from an excavation near Baghdad), local interest (the Staindrop Farmers Club, for instance – Staindrop being a small town in Teesdale, now County Durham) and international industry and affairs (the American railway system, the Suez Canal). The album of newspaper cuttings is an assemblage of elements that were of interest to the assembler. The variety of subjects echoes the idiosyncrasies of the Boweses' collection as a whole.⁸

The opening image in one of the albums of mixed works on paper in the Boweses' collection indicates how such composite volumes sought to juxtapose and interweave many disparate types of information. The frontispiece 'La Mode réunissant dans son album les différents tribus' captures the practice of collecting and collating ephemera into albums (Fig.22).⁹ Cherubs swirl around a central seated figure representing 'La Mode', handing her bits of paper of varying formats. One cherub swoops down into a large portfolio at the foot of the figure of Painting, another reaches up towards the figure of Music, while yet another lying on the floor extends towards a heap of open books. Different pairs of hands around the woman indicate a collaborative process of gathering papers from many types of sources. The manuscript caption at the bottom of the page emphasises various characteristics of albums and album-making: friendship, gifts and memories ('les tributs', 'souvenir'), as well as the convergence of different arts (music, painting, reading). At the centre of the image is the woman assembling the book. The subject, la Mode, is in the process of selecting what she wants to put into her album.¹⁰ Viewers are invited to wonder which bits she will choose, and in what order she will curate the different elements handed to her, making it a highly subjective, personal

⁸ See Pomian, *Collectionneurs, amateurs et curieux*, pp. 19-20.

⁹ TBM, 2009.40.1/D.A., dated 1821. The frontispiece has a manuscript note, in English, reading 'Frontispiece done by M. de la Perche – tutor to the Duc de Rohan's sons'. The album contains a variety of papers including watercolor drawings of English sites and hand-colored playing cards. There is no indication that the album was assembled by John or Joséphine.

¹⁰ On the feminised practice of album-making, see Patrizia di Bello, *Women's Albums and Photography in Victorian England: Ladies, Mothers and Flirts* (Abingdon: Ashgate, 2007); Freya Gowrley, 'Reflective and Reflexive Forms: Intimacy and Medium Specificity in British and American Sentimental Albums, 1800-1860,' Issue 6 *Albums* (Fall 2018) [<https://www.journal18.org/3036>]; on women's fashion for making albums, see Andrea Kunard, 'Traditions of collecting and remembering: gender, class and the nineteenth-century sentiment album and photographic album,' *Early Popular Visual Culture*, Vol. 4, 2006, issue 3, 227-243.

creation. The woman creating the album in her lap – La Mode – is swayed by the changing fashions of her time, yet she has the agency of choosing what will become fixed in her album; La Mode itself is fleeting and responds to many changing factors.¹¹

This allegory of the album-maker as ‘La Mode’ helps to underline the close connection between creating these works on paper and a perception of transience, or historical change. The Boweses’ interest in the progress and novelties of their age was counter-balanced by a deep sense of the fraught relationship between past and present. This is attested by another corpus of documents in the archives: a bundle of cuttings dated 1859-1860 from Eugène d’Auriac’s short daily column, ‘Éphémérides’, in *Le Siècle*, highlights the importance of each day in the present by putting it in relation to a singular day in the past (Fig.23).¹² This genre of ‘éphémérides’ peeled back layers of history and places the Boweses within Charpy’s ‘économie du souvenir’: by reading the column in 1859 and 1860, they placed themselves in relation to historical events that had occurred on that day in the past. Like an album of disparate elements brought together to form a cohesive ensemble, the *éphémérides* cover religious, social and military history across the Western world, with an emphasis also on cultural history through anecdotes, or the birth and deaths of celebrity figures from the history of medicine, literature and the arts. Moments in the history of France are interspersed with notable ‘faits divers’ and ‘causes célèbres’, such as the execution of Jean l’Écorcheur on 21 November 1803 and the prosecution on 6 December 1823 of Docteur Castaing, who used morphine to murder his victims.¹³ In his work on the social construction of the notion of crime, Dominique Kalifa drew on the development of the genre of the *fait divers* within mass-media culture and explored the strategies employed by journalists, likened to investigators, in selecting *faits divers*.¹⁴ The contributor who penned the

¹¹ Susan Siegfried uses fashion – a central figure in Baudelaire’s conception of nineteenth-century civilisation – as an index of change in ‘Portraits of Fantasy, Portraits of Fashion’, *nonsite*, 14 (2014), <https://nonsite.org/portraits-of-fantasy-portraits-of-fashion/> [accessed 26 March 2021].

¹² Bills in TBMA indicate that John paid subscriptions for the newspaper *Le Siècle* between January 1862 and September 1863: see JB/3/3/10/2; JB/3/3/10/95; JB/3/3/10/153; JB/3/3/10/191; JB/3/3/10/244; JB/3/3/11/65. The contents of the box of cuttings from newspapers has not been catalogued to item level. Some columns are identified with the date of publication, written in ink, TBMA, JB/1/8/3/1.

¹³ TBMA, JB/1/8/3/1.

¹⁴ Dominique Kalifa, *L’encre et le sang. Récits de crimes et société à la Belle Époque* (Paris: Fayard, 1995). On *fait divers* and daily reportage, see also Gregory Shaya, ‘The Flâneur, the Badaud, and the Making of a Mass Public in France, circa 1860–1910’, *The American Historical Review*, 109:1 (February 2004), 41–77; Vanessa Schwartz, *Spectacular Realities: Early Mass Culture in fin-de-siècle Paris* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).

compilations of historical events for *Le Siècle*, Eugène d'Auriac (1815-1891), is described as a 'polygraphe' on his creator page of the Bibliothèque nationale website: as a 'conservateur adjoint' of the Département des Imprimés of the national library, he had access to a wealth of sources which he selected, summarised and published for the entertainment of the newspaper's readers.¹⁵

The historical anecdotes recounted in the *éphémérides* encouraged reflection on historical distance, which d'Auriac achieved by juxtaposing events that were linked by the calendar, but which operated on very different scales of value. For instance, the date of 18 November links together the premiere of Molière's *Précieuses ridicules* in 1659, the battle of Asche forest ('combat du bois d'Asche') in which General Valence defeated the Austrian troops in 1792, and a royal order from 1835 reinforcing laws restricting press freedom, following the Fieschi assassination attempt on Louis-Philippe.¹⁶ The selection of events gives an indication of the assumed interests of readers, favouring vivid details to create a matrix of different historical references. 4 December 1402 saw Charles VI grant the 'confrères de la Passion' permission to stage productions of religious scenes for the public; the death of the *femme de lettres* Madame de Tencin occurred on the same day in 1749, and the journalist gives a summary of her biography within 8 cm of text. By linking the present with the past through bitesize elements of history, the researcher-journalist foregrounded the notion of coincidence, contingency and the passage of time. If the reader were to compile the fragments into an album, they could create a full narrative (or 'l'Histoire' from 'histoires') thanks to the layering of alternate temporalities.

The albums and the *éphémérides* shed interesting light on the Boweses' own tendency to access the past through personalities and stories, or anecdotes, as well as their own preoccupation with historical change. In his book *Romantic Paris: Histories of A cultural Landscape, 1800-1850*, Michael Marrinan has described the post-revolutionary French capital as palimpsest to draw attention to the contrasting memories and rival interpretations that co-existed.¹⁷ The layering of items and the combinations and associations generated by the act of cutting and pasting elements into a book echoes on paper the 'millefeuille effect' of history that Marrinan associates with the metropolitan experience. It is the contention of this

¹⁵ 'Eugène d' Auriac (1815-1891)', https://data.bnf.fr/fr/12057436/eugene_d__auriac/ [Accessed 26 March 2021].

¹⁶ TBMA, JB/1/8/3/1.

¹⁷ Michael Marrinan, *Romantic Paris: Histories of a Cultural Landscape, 1800-1850* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009), pp. 44-65.

chapter that the fragmentary nature of the Boweses' documentation stems from its close connection to the urban environment. The heterogeneity and loose-ends in the printed material reproduce some of the disorder and contradictions of the French capital at a time of profound political, social and architectural change.

Thinking of the Boweses in the first instance as Parisian residents, who only later became museum founders, as we have done in Chapter 1, urges us to consider things they collected in response to their own personal interests and to geographical and cultural circumstances, independently of their didactic value for a British audience. These anomalous collections of ephemera point to their deep interest in the transformation of the French capital during their years of residence, which they sought to record in paper form. Ephemera also signals the Boweses' attraction to the wider market for curiosities, salvage and mementoes of lost times, which was accelerated by urban redevelopment. This chapter draws on new sources to consider how the Parisian environment informed aspects of their collecting: not just shaping their interest in experiences of dislocation and upheaval, but also framing their sensitivity to historical fragments, those material vestiges of an old order that was being noisily and sometimes violently dismantled. Focusing on the fragmentary nature of parts of the collection suggests how the Boweses sought to capture singular moments of time through objects, which when combined, formed coherent ensembles. The first section presents the series of newspaper cuttings related to the demolition of Parisian sites and monuments to highlight the Boweses' awareness of the transformations in the urban fabric. We then move from paper retrieval to the collecting of physical vestiges from sites that were purposefully demolished in and around Paris. The final section focuses on the Boweses' understanding of Paris as a theatre of revolutions, considering how they collected objects that commemorated historic struggles, but also sought to salvage material from sites threatened with destruction (especially after the Paris Commune of 1871).

II. Recording demolitions on paper

During the Second Empire, the Chaussée d'Antin, where the Boweses chose to settle on the Rue de Berlin, witnessed substantial destruction to make way for new homes for the wealthy. Many houses in Cité d'Antin were torn down for urban planning in 1867. Demolitions, construction work and new builds were part of the Boweses' daily experience of the city. South of the Boulevard des Italiens, the

crowded shopping area north of the Louvre and Palais Royal was subject to extensive redesign. Several of the antiques shops frequented by the Boweses, notably, Monbro fils aîné, the dealer A. C. Lamer, and Benjamin Gogu  all had to change premises because of the urban redevelopment that characterised the Second Empire. Evidence of these changes of address survive in their bills and letterheads in TBMA.¹⁸ One of the ‘nouvelles diverses’ preserved by the Boweses reported on the destruction of the Rue Basse-du-Rempart, ‘d molitions rendues n cessaires par le prolongement du boulevard Malesherbes et l’emplacement du nouvel Op ra’.¹⁹ Urban planning also altered the boundaries of ‘quartiers’. Rue de Berlin was initially located in the ‘Premier arrondissement, Quartier du Roule’ (1809-1859) which turned into the 8th Arrondissement (and Quartier de l’Europe) after 1859, and between 1880 and 1945, it became part of the 9th Arrondissement (Quartier Saint-Georges), as it is known today.²⁰ Not only did the Boweses physically witness many of these changes, driven by the campaigns of Haussmann as prefect, but they were also interested enough to make cuttings from newspapers recording this architectural work. A cutting from January 1861 reported the creation of a new street connecting Avenue d’Antin to Boulevard de l’Alma with the aim that it ‘contribuera sans doute   vivifier le quartier Fran ois 1er, qui a tant de mal   se b tir, malgr  sa position exceptionnellement avantageuse pour des habitations de luxe.’²¹

No less than its shifting jurisdictions, instability also characterised the naming of Parisian streets:

La rue Lafitte, autrefois rue d’Artois, rappelle le banquier c l bre dont le nom est attach    l’histoire de la r volution de 1830. Donner son nom   une voie publique quelconque, ne suffit pas, comme on le croyait trop g n ralement au si cle dernier, pour conqu rir un brevet d’immortalit , car si ce nom n’est pas illustre d’ailleurs, il ne tarde pas   devenir un mot vide de sens pour les g n rations suivantes.²²

No mere backdrop, the names of streets could matter in times of political crisis: the Boweses’ street name – Rue de Berlin – caused some unease with their friends during the Franco-Prussian War. In a display of anti-German sentiment, the English-born Ellen Pi tri wrote ‘j’ai pass    l’h tel Rue de Berlin (il faut changer le nom de

¹⁸ For a detailed discussion of the locations of the Boweses’ *marchands*, see Phillips, ‘Jos phine Bowes’, pp. 239-41.

¹⁹ TBMA, JB/1/8/3/1.

²⁰ Sommier foncier, Quartier du Roule, Rue de Berlin, 1809-1859, ADP, DQ18/17.

²¹ TBMA, JB/1/8/3/1.

²² ‘26 February 1861’, TBMA, JB/1/8/3/1.

votre rue)'.²³ Joséphine's response is not known, but it was reported in a handful of newspapers that the residents of the Quartier de l'Europe in the spring of 1871 had taken it upon themselves to rename the street 'Rue Richard Wallace' after the great 'gentleman anglais' who was perceived as one of the heroes of the siege of Paris, thanks to the generosity and loyalty he had shown his adopted city that year. *Le Petit Journal* reported 'un double acte de justice : le mercredi 1^{er} mars, de douloureuse mémoire, les habitants du quartier de l'Europe ont débaptisé la Rue de Berlin, et l'ont renommée Rue Richard-Wallace.'²⁴ The unofficial renaming reached the *Pall Mall Gazette* and Hortense Quinet, wife of the historian Edgar Quinet, wrote about it in her diary: 'notre Rue de Berlin va changer de nom ; ce sera désormais la Rue Richard Wallace.'²⁵ No official record has been found of this event, and one journalist, writing for *La Liberté*, chastised the independent spirit of the locals.²⁶ In the end, the Rue des Bassins in Bois de Boulogne was renamed Boulevard Richard-Wallace at Sir Richard Wallace's death in 1890.²⁷ Rue de Berlin was renamed Rue de Liège at the beginning of the First World War. The Boweses moved houses according to their social standing, and perhaps also in response to the urban restructuring, eventually seeking quieter and more private addresses.²⁸

The toponymical instability of Paris spoke to the fickleness of public recognition in a city whose memories seemed at risk of erasure. Indeed, the historians Stéphane van Damme and Ruth Fiori have pinpointed urbanisation and 'Haussmannization' as the triggers to a pervasive nostalgia for 'Vieux Paris'.²⁹ Along with the outpouring of literary texts, projects to photograph the city in flux, and organisations reacting to these urban changes, the stories of lost sites and new spaces flooded newspapers too, transforming the records of Paris on paper into a 'métropole de papier' in itself, according to van Damme.³⁰ We know the Boweses

²³ Ellen Piétri to Joséphine Bowes, 1 Aug 1870, TBMA, JB/8/1/20/12. Emphasis in original.

²⁴ 6 March 1871.

²⁵ *Pall Mall Gazette*, 3 March 1871. Hermione Quinet, *Paris, journal du siège par Mme Edgar Quinet* (Paris: Dentu 1873), p. 281.

²⁶ L. L., 'Chacun à sa place', *La Liberté*, 6 March 1871.

²⁷ An article in *Le Matin* (24 July 1890) noted the appropriateness of naming the street in a neighbourhood with an important British community – the 'colonie anglo-américaine' – after an English subject. See also *Le Figaro*, 30 July 1890.

²⁸ For a discussion on housing choices and the frequency of moving, see Yates, *Selling Paris*, pp. 178-84.

²⁹ See Stéphane van Damme, *Métropoles de papier: naissance de l'archéologie urbaine à Paris et à Londres, XVII-XXe siècles* (Paris: Belles Lettres, 2012) and Ruth Fiori, *L'Invention du Vieux Paris. Naissance d'une conscience patrimoniale dans la capitale* (Wavre: Mardaga, 2012).

³⁰ Van Damme, *Métropoles*, 'archiver le passé parisien', pp. 100-32. On photography of the city see Shelley Rice, *Parisian Views* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1997); Catherine E. Clark,

responded to these efforts to record the city through text and image, archiving newspaper stories related to the urban renovations that reshaped their environment. We will now examine the contents of a small selection of newspaper cuttings in TBMA kept by the Boweses, ranging from 1860 to 1862, and presumably gathered by them too. This safekeeping of newspaper cuttings was part of a larger practice of retrieving the past in paper form, and is integral to the Boweses as collectors and makers of albums. These acts of preservation offered the Boweses a way of measuring change and recording the passing of time in a city in flux.

The cuttings are unsigned columns of prose, which appeared as ‘Nouvelles diverses’, and they suggest the Boweses’ desire to explore the interrelation of the present and the past. Rather than taking the day’s date as a starting point for looking backwards, they begin with a report of public urban construction work that was physically visible in the streets of Paris, and the report of a demolition, a project for a new building, street or neighbourhood, or information about where citizens might review urban plans for their area. These cuttings furnish a fragmented history of the city in the grips of sweeping change. They suggest a shared effort by both reader and writer to remember the past while building a modern city: *immeubles*, by definition ‘immovable’, were revealed, in fact, not to be that permanent.³¹ For instance, referring to the Collège Mazarin (Collège des Quatre Nations, now housing the Institut de France), the journalist explained in one ‘Nouvelle’:

Quand l’homme élève des édifices de cette importance, il croit toujours bâtir pour l’éternité ; mais le temps, qui dévore tout, se charge de prouver bientôt que la pierre de taille elle-même n’est pas à l’abri de ses atteintes ; et quand Lambert et d’Orbay ont construit le collège des Quatre-Nations, ils ne se doutaient guère que leur œuvre aurait besoin d’être remaniée de la base au faite, cent quatre-vingt-quinze ans après.³²

The architectural renovation of a historical building enabled the journalist to comment on the effects of time on the durable, seemingly immutable material of stone, both in physical terms (the effects of the elements) and more picturesque terms: new façades were seen to cover up a building’s past life. The histories of old buildings told on paper serve as a way of commemorating sites that were being

Paris and the Cliché of History: the City and Photographs, 1860-1970 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018).

³¹ On dealing with and critiquing urban changes in contemporary fiction, see Suzanne Nash (ed.), *Home and its Dislocations in Nineteenth-Century France* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1993).

³² TBMA, JB/1/8/3/1.

destroyed. Making albums in the comfort of one's home was one (safe) way for residents to keep track of the changing landscape they experienced outside.

Taken as a whole, the collection of 'Nouvelles diverses' presents a chronicle for the modernisation of Paris in the 1860s. The redevelopment works were described as necessary on grounds of hygiene (light and air), traffic hazards causing danger for pedestrians and vehicles in narrow streets, of the need to clear or create sites for luxury homes or state buildings, and the urgent necessity to unify the styles of old churches.³³ The newspaper columns also foregrounded the works as a civic enterprise: the town halls (*mairies*) of Paris' arrondissements were advertised as sites of public debate and consultation. The cuttings present new streets as necessary 'traits-d'union' (metaphorical hyphens) between axes and neighbourhoods and a means of physically connecting two separate districts. This use of hyphens recalls the visual lines connecting and demarcating space on the map of the city. A whole specialised vocabulary of construction and demolition was appropriated by journalists to indicate the professions involved and the employment promoted by the works: stone masons, carpenters, sculptors, painters, designers, architects were all working on the sites in the 1860s, but their predecessors (such as Lambert and d'Arbay mentioned above) were also part of the story.³⁴ Action verbs like 'démolir, déblayer, combler, niveler, aligner, dégager, transporter,' but also 'transformer, remanier, purger, sacrifier, rectifier' were often used without a named subject, in the passive voice or using the impersonal form 'on'. This rhetorical strategy drew attention to the monumental scale of the works and to the great number of workmen involved in completing the ambitious plans of previous rulers such as Louis XIV and Napoleon. The unnamed modern workers were contrasted with the named figures from the past who had played a part in the histories of the site.

The Second Empire's intention to unify the city can be seen in the renovation work that took place in a number of churches.³⁵ For example, the journalist in 'Nouvelles diverses' gave a detailed account of the extensive

³³ See David Pinkney, *Napoleon III and the Rebuilding of Paris* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972); Stephane Kirkland, *Paris Reborn: Napoléon III, Baron Haussmann, and The Quest to Build A Modern City* (New York: Picador, 2014).

³⁴ On the different types of architect active at the time (from designer to building entrepreneur), see Yates, *Selling Paris*, pp. 62-6.

³⁵ See Jean-Marie Leniaud, 'Les constructions d'églises sous le Second Empire : architecture et prix de revient', *Revue d'histoire de l'Église de France*, 65:175 (1979), 267-78.

‘corrective restoration work’ being undertaken at the church of St-Germain-des-Prés, founded in 558 by Childebert:

avant d’être livrée à la peinture, chacune de ces parties est rectifiée par les sculpteurs, qui font disparaître les chapiteaux corinthiens, les guirlandes et les mille autres détails anachroniques introduits par les architectes du dix-huitième siècle. [...] enfin le monument sera purgé de l’ornementation hybride qui en dénaturait le style.³⁶

The work of eighteenth-century architects was considered to be an interference with the original, medieval decoration; it needed to be purged, erased and unified. The importance of ‘rectifying’ the decoration of the church of St-Germain was all the more vital given its importance as a burial site for Descartes, Boileau and the Merovingian kings: ‘Cette église a servi de sépulture à un grand nombre de personnages illustres’. One of the newspaper cuttings in the Bowes bundle documents the re-use of a façade salvaged from a convent that was due to be demolished.³⁷ Although destroyed, the convent would live on through the act of recycling, once part of it was attached to the church of the Blancs-Manteaux. In other cases, churches were repurposed and the combination of old and new was celebrated. 1861 saw the completion of the spectacular ‘grand vestibule’ of the Conservatoire des arts et métiers, which was covered in one of the ‘nouvelles diverses’ cuttings:

Mais l’ancienne église du prieuré royal de Saint-Martin mérite surtout l’attention des industriels. Ce monument, parfaitement restauré dans le style du XIIIe siècle, est de chaque côté garni de mécaniques qui toutes fonctionnent [...] L’idée d’avoir placé dans un temple tous ces produits de l’esprit humain nous semble des plus heureuses, c’est la sanctification du travail, et cette manière d’adorer Dieu en vaut bien une autre.³⁸

The building was praised in the newspaper article for the quality of the restoration work and the cleverness of presenting modern technology inside an old church.³⁹

The journalists took it upon themselves to awaken the hidden histories of the sites that were being destroyed, created or remodelled. Concerning one neighbourhood being razed to the ground for the new opera house project, one

³⁶ TBMA, JB/1/8/3/1.

³⁷ The 1706 façade of an unnamed convent was moved to the Church of the Blancs-Manteaux (and eventually installed in 1863), ‘Nouvelles diverses’, 8 December 1860, TBMA, JB/1/8/3/1.

³⁸ ‘Nouvelles diverses’, TBMA, JB/1/8/3/1.

³⁹ On the modernity of restoration, see Astrid Swenson, *The Rise of Heritage: Preserving the Past in France, Germany and England, 1789-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 60-5; Bressani, *Architecture and the Historical Imagination*, pp. 151-5.

journalist wrote, 'Toutes les rues de ce quartier sont d'origine moderne; donc peu de souvenirs historiques à réveiller.'⁴⁰ Each news report follows a similar structure: beginning with a description of the current urban changes happening at the date the article was written, followed by the history of the place, and an anecdote about an associated historical figure or event 'witnessed' by the street or building in question. The impression of an active, living city, whose past was bubbling up into view and at the same time being destroyed, emerges from the cuttings, and this is highlighted by the use of organic figures of speech likening boulevards to arteries. The notion that walls had seen, heard and survived historical events, and that areas, such as the Bois de Vincennes were adopting 'des allures de *gentleman* comme son collègue le bois de Boulogne', by donning new *toilettes*, personified the urban environment.⁴¹ Articles such as these sought to stir readers' conscience about preserving relics and souvenirs from the past, as discussed in the work of Tom Stammers and Astrid Swenson.⁴² One aspect of particular importance for the Boweses, evoked in several of the cuttings, is the opportunity for collectors to salvage elements or fragments from the rubble and recycle them in their homes.

III. From paper retrieval to physical acts of retrieval

Although a market for re-usable architectural fittings (inside and outside) had existed since before the nineteenth century, the idea of collecting from ruins, and the excitement of salvaging collectible material of any kind, is central to the Boweses' acquisitive habits and those of their contemporaries.⁴³ Re-using architectural fragments from previous centuries was a way of extending the memory of the past and anchoring the self into historic narratives.⁴⁴ When describing the extension of the Boulevard Malesherbes (2 February 1861), a newspaper cutting read:

Ici, c'est le quartier des riches demeures ; c'était là que se trouvait, à la fin du siècle dernier, les hôtels de Nicolaï, de Beaufremont, de la Bélinaye, de

⁴⁰ 'Nouvelles diverses', TBMA, JB/1/8/3/1.

⁴¹ 'Nouvelles diverses', 7 February 1861, TBMA, JB/1/8/3/1.

⁴² Tom Stammers, 'Collectors, Catholics, and the Commune: Heritage and Counterrevolution, 1860-1890', *French Historical Studies*, 37:1 (Winter 2014), 53-87; Swenson, *The Rise of Heritage*.

⁴³ See Stammers, *Purchase of the Past*, pp. 238-9. For example, on Lord Stuart de Rothesay's interest in reusing architectural fragments as early as the 1830s, see John Harris, *Moving Rooms: The Trade in Architectural Salvages* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), pp. 59-68.

⁴⁴ See Stammers, 'Collectors, Catholics'.

Créqui et de la Rivière. Aussi tous les amateurs d'antiquité se disputent-ils les cheminées, les trumeaux et les boiseries.⁴⁵

The post-revolutionary demolitions in the early 1800s had brought exceptional ensembles of *boiseries* onto the market, their status as immoveable fixtures having preserved them from the vandalism suffered by moveable objects. The market for the 'uncatalogued material from building sites' was limited to the demolition contractors and specialist dealers in Paris.⁴⁶ The return to favour of the decorative arts of the eighteenth century under the reign of Louis-Philippe resulted in collectors actively seeking vestiges recovered from sites linked to the *ancien régime*. The collector and novelist Honoré de Balzac, for instance, was thrilled to purchase architectural fragments and *boiseries* from the châteaux of Aulnay (near Dreux) and Villarceaux. The painter Joseph-Désiré Court's collection of panelling bought from Georges-Alphonse Monbro (who oversaw the demolition of the Hôtel du Maine) was a rare example of *boiseries* from the time of Louis XIV and bore a supposed association to the Château de Marly well into the twentieth century.⁴⁷

One motor for this salvage enterprise was scholarly. Carolyn Sargentson has explained how the importance of provenance and authentic 'antiquités' increased for collectors in the second half of the nineteenth century, thanks to the publication of the first biographies of cabinetmakers working for the French court, and inventories of royal collections.⁴⁸ This specificity was also echoed in the second-hand trade. The records from antiques dealers and *marchand(e)s de curiosités* the Boweses purchased from reveal a definite interest of the seller and the client in objects linked to historic sites: A. C. Lamer and Mme Lepautre highlighted the provenance or location of estate sales whenever possible: for example, the Château de Pau (birthplace of Henri IV), the Château de Villette (linked to Voltaire) and the Château de Chateaubriand (Princes de Condé) in bills from 1865; statues from the gardens of the Château de Choisy-le-Roi (confiscated at the Revolution and its contents auctioned off) in 1866; the Château de Dreux (site of the mausoleum of

⁴⁵ TBMA, JB/1/8/3/1.

⁴⁶ Bruno Pons, *Waddesdon Manor: architecture and panelling* (London: Philip Wilson Publishers, 1996), p. 154.

⁴⁷ Ibid., pp. 158-9. On the playwright Victorien Sardou's attraction to the Château de Marly, see Elizabeth Emery, 'Staging Domesticity in *La Revue Illustrée*'s photo-interviews: *Belle Époque* celebrity homes in the periodical press', in *Designing the French Interior: the modern home and mass media*, ed. by Anca I. Lasc, Georgina Downey and Mark Taylor (London; New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015), pp. 159-161.

⁴⁸ See Carolyn Sargentson, 'New Out of Old: The Circulation and Recycling of Ancien Régime Furniture on the London Art Market, 1789–1848', in *La circulation des oeuvres d'art. The Circulation of Works of Art in the Revolutionary Era, 1789–1848*, ed. by Roberta Panzanelli and Monica Preti-Hamard (Rennes, 2007), pp. 187-9, p. 191.

the Orléans family) in 1868; the door from Louis-Philippe's library in the Palace of Neuilly (which had been sacked in the 1848 revolution) in 1869; and the Château d'Arbois in 1876.⁴⁹ Further mentions of these provenances were given by the Boweses themselves in the shipping books and the manuscript catalogue of paintings, which indicate their attempts to identify objects from the past and the significance they attached to such romanticised tales.⁵⁰

The dismantling of the Château de Bercy, perceived as the quintessential *maison de plaisance* close to Paris in 1860, marked a turning point in public concern over losing historical sites and efforts to preserve their interior decoration at least as memorials. As Bruno Pons put it, the public was becoming aware that 'a little piece of France was disappearing with each such residence, a page was being turned, and the grasp of the industrial era was tightening.'⁵¹ In 1848, the Paris-Lyon train line cut across the parc de Bercy on the château's doorstep. The sale of the château's contents – furniture and *boiseries* – by the Nicolai family took place between the 5 and 18 July 1860. The dispersal of architectural features was a huge success, attracting the Empress Eugénie, Lord Hertford and Baron James Mayer de Rothschild. Comte Lepic secured the *boiseries* and chimney of the 'grand salon du rez-de-chaussée' for Eugénie (18,700 francs) and installed them in 1861 in the empress's new house on Avenue Gabriel. Some *boiseries* may have been purchased by Napoléon III and installed in the Elysée palace (in the salon des Aides de camp). Catherine Granger notes that twelve armchairs, one stool and two Louis XIV console tables from Bercy were also bought by the imperial couple.⁵²

Aside from the moveable furnishings that were sold off, the Château de Bercy was the first dismantled house to be fully documented on paper, its architectural fragments carefully recorded before their dispersal. The owners of Bercy commissioned architects Joseph-Antoine Froelicher to make survey watercolor drawings and Eugène Rouyer to take casts of the *boiserie*.⁵³

⁴⁹ TBMA, JB/5/10/3/58 and JB/5/10/3/7 (Pau); TBMA, JB/5/2/18 (Villette); TBMA, JB/5/10/3/71 (Chateaubriand); JB/5/10/4/40 and JB/5/10/4/45 (Choisy-le-Roi); TBMA, JB/5/10/6/23 (Dreux); JB/5/10/7/30 (Neuilly); TBMA, JB/5/5/12-13 (Arbois). Two torches from the Château d'Avet (or Anet?) were also bought from Lamer on 1 November 1872 (TBMA, JB/5/10/8/68). Simon Spier and Howard Coutts recently identified a lock in TBM as coming from the Bercy sale using archival evidence.

⁵⁰ Shipping books, TBMA, JB/6/6/2-4; catalogue of 1878, TBMA, JB/6/6/1.

⁵¹ Pons, *Waddesdon Panelling*, p. 160.

⁵² Catherine Granger, *L'Empereur et les arts: La liste civile de Napoléon III* (Paris: Ecoles des Chartres, 2005), pp. 134-5. The console tables survive today: Musée du Louvre, OA 5088 and OA 5049.

⁵³ Rouyer's casts came into the hands of the decorators Cruchet, see Pons, *Waddesdon Panelling*, p. 161.

Photographer Louis-Émile Durandelle produced a full survey of the interiors before they were stripped and sold off and photographed the fragments in Rouyer's studio. Durandelle specialised in photographing architecture and public buildings. He later documented the sculptural decoration of the Paris Opéra over ten years, and the erection of the Eiffel Tower.⁵⁴ The sale of Bercy's historic panelling and decorative fragments took place on site. As Pons has shown, this event marked a change in historical consciousness, the rise of an understanding of artistic and architectural heritage and the urge to preserve fragments of exceptional craftsmanship of the *ancien régime*.⁵⁵ A newspaper cutting in the Bowes bundle records that,

Depuis le morcellement du parc de Bercy, le château était resté intact, et le bruit courait dans le public qu'il avait été acheté par un haut personnage et qu'il serait conservé : c'était une erreur, car depuis plusieurs jours on est en train de le démolir, et l'œuvre de Mansard n'est plus qu'une ruine à l'heure qu'il est. C'était une des plus splendides habitations des environs de Paris.⁵⁶

With the expansion of the railway network, country retreats close to Paris such as Bercy were threatened. At the same time, new railway lines made other country houses and *châteaux* more accessible for Parisians. Announcements for provincial estate sales were often accompanied by the local train times to encourage potential buyers to view the collections in situ. The Boweses' country house, the Château de Louveciennes, purchased in 1854, was easily accessible by train from the Gare Saint Lazare – the station on the doorstep of their urban base. For the Boweses, 1860 marked the beginning of their plans to sell the *château*.⁵⁷ May John and Joséphine have been afraid that the Emperor's expansion plans would eventually reach their own country retreat? M. Lacroix, a local resident who managed the land surrounding the *château* owned by Joséphine, wrote to John on 11 January 1864 about railway plans nearby.⁵⁸ In any case, they commissioned the photographer Pierre Rion to capture exterior views of the house and gardens as they moved its contents first to Paris, and the Rue de Berlin, and then to Streatlam.⁵⁹

⁵⁴ See mounted prints, The Getty Museum, 84.XO.699.9: 27; Louis-Emile Durandelle, *Le Nouvel Opéra de Paris: Sculpture ornementale* (Paris: Ducher et cie, 1876).

⁵⁵ See Bruno Pons, *Grands Décors français, 1650-1800 reconstitués en Angleterre, aux États-Unis, en Amérique du Sud et en France* (Dijon : Faton, 1996), pp. 186-208.

⁵⁶ 'Nouvelles diverses', 21 July 1861, TBMA, JB/1/8/3/1.

⁵⁷ Hardy, *John Bowes*, p. 112.

⁵⁸ TBMA, JB/2/10/5/3.

⁵⁹ TBMA, JB/4/8.

IV. Political vandalism in the city

Urban planning was not the only type of destruction that produced collectibles. The lived experiences of revolution throughout the nineteenth century also encouraged individuals to preserve mementos of the exceptional events that shaped their existence. The impulse to salvage coincided with the growing interest in cultural heritage and 'patrimoine' that intensified at the end of the century, but whose status as a part of national politics began after 1789. Private collectors were pioneers here, and later in the century were often asked to chair societies for the appreciation and protection of monuments of national and artistic interest.⁶⁰ Architects also played a significant part in these narratives of conservation. Founded in 1884 by the architect Charles Normand, the 'Société des amis des monuments parisiens', for instance, planned a *Catalogue des ruines des Tuileries* that would identify architectural fragments from the palace that had been reused across the city and beyond.⁶¹ Excitement, fear and urgency encouraged the aesthetisation and spectacle of disaster, which in turn spurred collectors to become keepers of heritage, or, as Tom Stammers writes 'cultural brokers'.⁶²

The Boweses were deeply aware of how the fabric of Paris had been shaped by the impact of successive political upheavals since 1789. Priscilla Pankhurst Ferguson has written of Paris *as* Revolution, of the history of the city *through* Revolution.⁶³ The sudden and brutal collapse of the old regime created a 'deep rupture in remembered experience' and laid the foundations for the expansion in historical consciousness. For Peter Fritzsche, the restlessness and instability of the post-revolutionary world was experienced by Europeans in two complementary attitudes – 'thinking about events in terms of revolution', and examining the 'revolutionary nature of events themselves'.⁶⁴ John Bowes' life covered no fewer than six different political regimes in France – including monarchies, republics and empires – and the Boweses avidly collected traces of the revolutions of 1789, 1830, 1848 and – as we shall see again in Chapter 5 – the crisis of 1870-71.

⁶⁰ Stammers, 'Collectors, Catholics', pp. 65-8.

⁶¹ See Swenson, *The Rise of Heritage*, pp.95-114. On preserving the Tuileries, see Iandoli, 'The Palace of the Tuileries and its Demolition: An analysis of the years 1870-1883', *The French Review* 79, 5 (2006), 986-1008.

⁶² Stammers, 'Collectors, Catholics', p. 68.

⁶³ Priscilla Pankhurst Ferguson, *Paris as Revolution: Writing the Nineteenth-Century City* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994).

⁶⁴ Peter Fritzsche, *Stranded in the Present: modern time and the melancholy of history* (Cambridge; London: Harvard University Press, 2004), p. 202.

The Bowes collection is full of objects referencing the first French Revolution, from portraits and autographs of people who were executed, to visual depictions of the guillotine, scandalous pamphlets condemning the royal family and memoirs of the survivors. Within the vast collection of works on paper, there is a small number of loose proofs from Jean-Baptiste Prieur's initial edition of 48 *Tableaux historiques de la révolution française*, which fixed the turning-points of the 1790s to the Parisian landscape.⁶⁵ Prieur claimed to being an eyewitness of many of the events depicted and the visual drama helps to give the impression of true, reportage-like accounts, with the action located in recognisable metropolitan locations. Claudette Hould's study of the many editions and alterations of the *Tableaux historiques* made throughout the nineteenth century shows how the plates were doctored and reused, according to shifting attitudes towards the events of the 1790s.⁶⁶ The engravings in the Boweses' collection illustrate this practice: each one is an unfinished proof, capturing the moment that the printmaker's hand superimposed plates on a page building up to create a completed picture. Parts of the image are left blank and ready to be filled by the next plate (Figs.26-27). Frozen in time and incomplete, the selection of proofs from an undated edition of Prieur's *Tableaux historiques* further corroborates the idea that the Boweses were interested in capturing singular moments of a process, or fragments, to capture the passing of time.⁶⁷

Several decades later, in 1848, John and Joséphine had the chance to witness revolutionary events. The Théâtre des Variétés closed, and John, accompanied by Joséphine and later her mother, crossed the Channel to London. A letter from John to Wheldon, sent in March from Boulogne, gives a rare insight into John's political stance:

The revolution was unexpected by every body [sic] from the lowest artisan up to Louis Philippe, but it was but the necessary result of deceit, humbug, and jobbery which that Monarch had managed to substitute for constitutional Government in this Country.⁶⁸

⁶⁵ TBM, 2003.2357.1-21.

⁶⁶ Claudette Hould and Alain Chevalier, *La Révolution par l'écriture : Les Tableaux de la Révolution française. Une entreprise éditorial d'information, 1791-1817* (Vizille: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 2005).

⁶⁷ For a discussion of ephemera and time, see Richard Taws, *The Politics of the Provisional: Art and Ephemera in Revolutionary France* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2013).

⁶⁸ John Bowes to Wheldon, 3 March 1848: TBMA, JB/2/1/17/21. Transcription by TBMA volunteers.

When John returned to Paris for business a few days later, he wrote that 'Things are in a very unsatisfactory state here'.⁶⁹ Twenty years later, in March 1868, the dealer Deshays sold a painting representing events of the 1848 revolution to Joséphine via Mme Lepautre.⁷⁰ 'The Barricade at Porte Saint-Denis' by Edward Gabé (1814-1865), signed and dated 1849, showed an actual incident in the streets of Paris, in which a woman defiantly emerged from behind a barricade and was killed.⁷¹ In 1868, Joséphine bought two further historical paintings depicting moments of the 1848 revolution. The first was 'Madame de Lamartine Adopting the Children of Patriots Slain at the Barricades in Paris during the Revolution of 1848' by François Claudius Compté-Callix (1813-1880), described by John Bowes in the 1878 manuscript catalogue and dated to 1850 (Fig.10).⁷² The episode is fictional, but the painting gives the impression of an actual event, and offers a sentimental vignette inspired by the wife of President Lamartine, Elisa (herself a painter). The second painting bought from Mme Lepautre was a depiction of a 'A scene which took place in the court of the Louvre. A student of St Cyr takes off his hat before the image of Jesus Christ and engages the Insurgents to do the same' by Edward Gabé (Fig.9).⁷³ The Boweses were clearly interested in creating a visual record of events experienced during their lifetime, especially when the recognisable locations of the events rendered all the more familiar.

The events of the Franco-Prussian War (1870-1871) and suppression of the Paris Commune (March-May 1871) are perhaps less visible in the museum today than these scenes of 1848, but exercised a far greater influence on the couple. This final section on living and collecting in a changing urban landscape therefore focuses on the spring of 1871, when Paris was the scene of barricades and street fighting, shelling and arson. In many ways, it brought to a new crisis a long-standing dynamic between radical politics, iconoclasm and the transformation of urban space. As Emmanuel Fureix has explored, the political furies of the post-revolutionary period were often inflicted on hated symbols of authority, leading to repeated struggles over monuments, toponymy and urban memorials.⁷⁴ As will be explored further in Chapter 5, the Boweses read about the destruction of iconic

⁶⁹ John Bowes to Wheldon, 13 March 1848: TBMA, JB/2/1/17/25. Transcription by TBMA volunteers.

⁷⁰ Receipt from A. Deshays to Mme Lepautre, 30 March 1868, TBMA, JB/5/11/4/36.

⁷¹ TBM, B.M.485.

⁷² TBM, B.M.470. Catalogue 1878, TBMA, JB/6/6/1. Bill from Mme Lepautre to Joséphine, 20 June 1868, TBMA, JB/5/11/4/71.

⁷³ TBM, B.M.484.

⁷⁴ Emmanuel Fureix, *L'œil blessé : Politiques de l'iconoclasme après la Révolution française* (Paris: Champ Vallon, 2019).

sites within the city from their refuge in Britain but still searched for mementos of the conflict in the aftermath. Collectors who were in the city recognised that the destruction, however shocking, was also an opportunity.

Amidst the widespread devastation in May 1871, the spectacular loss of two buildings in the Parisian landscape carried a particularly strong symbolic charge: the Hôtel de Ville and the Tuileries Palace. Among his daily accounts of dodging shells in the streets, Edmond de Goncourt's journal captures vividly how the revolutionary events of the Commune made Parisians see the city's monuments afresh. On the morning of the 24 May, in the last days of the Commune government, the 'incendie de Paris' had erupted and Goncourt left Philippe Burty's house: 'nous nous mettons en marche pour Auteuil, avec la curiosité de voir de près les Tuileries'.⁷⁵ The descriptions of his visual surroundings focused on the smoke and eclipse-like atmosphere outside; he waited until 28 May to describe the effects of the fire. Goncourt's *Journal* emphasises the way dramatic historical events became a spectacle, something beautiful to be consumed, as his giddy fascination as he wandered back into the city, 'à la découverte du Paris brûlé!', shows.⁷⁶

The entry for the 28 May alternates between description, narration, interactions (including dialogue) and personal reflection. Goncourt was struck by the effect of the fire on the Hôtel de Ville, which had been transformed from monument to monumental ruin:

la ruine est magnifique, splendide, inimaginable : c'est une ruine, une ruine couleur de saphir, de rubis, d'émeraude, une ruine aveuglante par l'agatisation qu'a prise la pierre cuite par le pétrole. Elle ressemble, cette ruine, à la ruine d'un palais magique, illuminé, dans un opéra, de lueurs de feux de Bengale.⁷⁷

This sentence captures the entrancing qualities of the ruined Hôtel de Ville. In his careful choice of words, Goncourt encapsulated the physical and metaphorical qualities that might make an object collectable for him: beauty, luxury materials, exoticism, combined with a known provenance (here, the Hôtel de Ville). 'Splendeur' is a type of brilliance caused by light, and in this case, it evoked the presence of the physical flames against the stone, at the time of the fire. Captivating in its beauty, the ruin was also characterised as 'aveuglante', or blinding, which again referenced the brightness of the flames that altered the appearance of the

⁷⁵ Edmond et Jules de Goncourt, *Journal des Goncourt : Mémoires de la vie littéraire*, Vol. 4: 1870-1871, 7^e mille (Paris: Charpentier, 1892), p. 317.

⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 326.

⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 327.

building. There is a tension between being drawn to the view with one's eyes, but also having the sense of sight be taken away (blinded): the ruin was both attractive and disturbing. Goncourt contrasted the powers of the imagination ('inimaginable', 'magique', 'dans un opéra') with the physicality of the stone and the chemical reaction provoked by petrol. The use of a neologism, 'agatisation', or the mineralogical process of agate forming in a rock, further intensified the novelty and shock of the event. Goncourt was famous for his collection of artworks brought to France from faraway lands, especially East Asia, and the mention of 'feux du Bengale' conjured up exotic scenes. The visual description is accompanied by a precise description of the material used to provoke the blaze: the stone had been 'cuite par le pétrole', which had come to symbolise arson.

Goncourt's aestheticisation of the Hôtel de Ville after the fire was part of the spectacle that captivated the Parisian public in the aftermath of the *Incendies*.⁷⁸ John and Joséphine had to rediscover Paris once the crisis was over, and *Le Monde illustré* dwelt on the reactions of those returning to Paris:

C'est surtout pour celui qui, revenant du dehors, revoyait pour la première fois la grande ville pleurant sur ses propres ruines, que le spectacle est saisissant et terrible. Plus saisissante et plus terrible peut-être l'apathie curieuse ou plutôt la curiosité apathique avec laquelle s'effectue chaque jour la promenade à travers les ruines. Il est donc incorrigible le caractère national ? Tout lui est spectacle.⁷⁹

The Chevrier siblings who looked after the Boweses' property on the Rue de Berlin in their absence were instructed to collect newspaper cuttings and images about the Commune; Eléonore Chevrier also reported that she purchased some relevant prints from Martinet.⁸⁰ In the summer of 1871, Joséphine was anxious to hear from Mme Lepautre, whose shop was around the corner from 7 Rue de Berlin. The trusted housekeeper dutifully reported: 'je suis allée savoir des nouvelles de votre marchande de curiosités elle va bien ainsi que sa famille. Elle n'a eu qu'une balle qui a percé son volet mais qui n'a rien cassé dans le magasin [...]'.⁸¹ Although they had missed witnessing the revolutionary struggle first-hand, it is clear that between 1872 and 1873, John and Joséphine made a number of purchases explicitly linked

⁷⁸ On the aestheticisation of the ruins, and the 'ruines-spectacles', see Bertrand Tillier, *La Commune de Paris, Révolution sans images? Politique et représentations dans la France républicaine, 1871-1914* (Paris: Champ Vallon, 2004), pp. 345-62, 359.

⁷⁹ *Le Monde illustré*, 17 June 1871.

⁸⁰ Eléonore Chevrier to Joséphine, 24 July 1871, TBMA, JB/8/1/7/37: '[M. Chevrier] regrette bien de n'avoir aucun [sic] journaux ni gravures de la commune cependant il va voir s'il est possible de s'en procurer'.

⁸¹ Eléonore Chevrier to Joséphine, 18 August 1871, TBMA, JB/8/1/7/43.

in one way or another to the Franco-Prussian war and to the destruction of iconic historical sites. These acquisitions can be interpreted as a way of recording the events of 1870-1871, which they lived through vicariously, and marking the end of the imperial regime.

In *John Bowes and the Bowes Museum*, Hardy downplayed the significance of the purchases made by the Boweses in the years directly following 1871.⁸² Yet the bills in the archive demonstrate that these included various objects described as 'souvenirs' from the Tuileries Palace (purchased in 1872), a bust of Bismarck (in 1873), an autograph of Napoleon III (1 March 1872), a drawing of the throne room at the Tuileries (12 April 1872), a gilded bolt from the Tuileries (1 July 1872), a Savonnerie carpet from the Royal Manufactory (28 August) all from Lamer.⁸³ As well as seeking collectibles linked to historical sites, Joséphine was attracted by mentions of high dignitaries of the Second Empire who had privileged access to collections, such as Colonel Comte Lepic.⁸⁴ Lepic's role was to support the Grand Maréchal des Logis by coordinating between architects, the Mobilier de la Couronne and the emperor. Described as an 'homme de goût et de science', he supported and helped execute the empress's decorating choices.⁸⁵ From November 1871, Joséphine started buying again from Madame Lepautre, and in 1872 old locks, door knockers, lock plates and other decorative objects in metal (as well as marble bas-reliefs etc) were mentioned in bills from the *marchande de curiosités* (Fig.28). Hardy dismisses Mme Lepautre by writing that 'she was no expert', but, as we will see in Chapter 5, the role she played in sharing her experience of Paris under siege and the sales she completed immediately upon the Boweses' return, indicate that she (and Lamer) understood perfectly what motivated Joséphine to buy: the capacity of an object to be imbued with historical sentiment and the power of a fragment to refer to a bigger story.⁸⁶

Newspaper reports of the destruction of the Tuileries Palace and the Hôtel de Ville used discourses of loss and nostalgia to emphasise the buildings' architectural importance and significance for the history of France. In newspapers of the time, the destruction of the Tuileries Palace was mourned because the building itself carried references to the history of France's rulers, since the time of

⁸² 'A few things were bought during 1872 from both Lamer and Mme Lepautre', Hardy, *John Bowes*, p. 183.

⁸³ TBMA, JB/5/10/8.

⁸⁴ Shipping book, TBMA, JB/6/6/2.

⁸⁵ Granger, *L'Empereur et les arts*, pp. 71-2, 223.

⁸⁶ Hardy, *John Bowes*, p. 153.

Catherine de Médicis in the sixteenth century. It had been the home to France's rulers from different royal houses (Valois, Bourbon, Bonaparte) and was a central location during the French Revolution, when it housed the Convention. The biggest palace inside the walls of Paris was viewed as the embodiment of absolute monarchy and also a site rich in socio-political tension.⁸⁷ It became the centrepiece of power during the Second Empire, first as a building site, then as the unification of the entire Louvre complex, an objective dreamed up by Louis XIV and accomplished by Napoléon III and the architect Hector Lefuel. Inside, the loss of the lavishly ornamented rooms was cause for serious public concern and regret (Fig.29).⁸⁸ As we will see in the next chapter, the decorative scheme for the private apartments combined historical elements with modern commissions from the artists favoured by the imperial court, such as ceilings by Faustin Besson and overdoors by Charles Chaplin.⁸⁹ Detailed accounts of interiors of artistic importance were carefully recorded in retrospect in newspaper reports throughout the summer of 1871.⁹⁰

For Joséphine Bowes and her friends, the palace and its gardens had been sites of Second Empire sociability, where fashionable people met and attended huge balls. Objects linked to the former glory of the Tuileries Palace may have appealed to Joséphine as symbols of times past or evocations of an era of her life.⁹¹ Plans and correspondence about their museum at Barnard Castle indicate that the Tuileries Palace was of particular importance to the Boweses even before its destruction: the similarities between the buildings were no coincidence. Émile Gallé's reaction to the architectural drawings of the museum – 'avez-vous voulu reconstruire nos pauvres Tuileries en Angleterre ?' – highlighted the visual similarities between the two buildings.⁹² Through their collecting after 1871, the Boweses' contributed to keeping alive the memory of the building that had been destroyed in 1871 and was eventually demolished in 1883 by the republican

⁸⁷ See Guillaume Fonkenell, *Le Palais des Tuileries* (Paris: Honoré Clair, 2010), p. 121.

⁸⁸ *Le Monde illustré*, 3 June 1871.

⁸⁹ On the interiors, see Mathieu Caron, 'Les appartements de l'impératrice Eugénie aux Tuileries : le XVIII^e siècle retrouvé ?', *Bulletin du Centre de recherche du château de Versailles* (2015), 1-18, <https://doi.org/10.4000/crcv.13316> [accessed 26 March 2021]; Alison McQueen, *Empress Eugénie and the Arts: Politics and Visual Culture in the Nineteenth Century* (Burlington : Ashgate, 2011).

⁹⁰ See, for example, illustrations of the Salle des Maréchaux in *Le Monde illustré*, 1 July 1871 and of the Galerie des Stucs, 8 July 1871. A flurry of descriptions flooded the newspapers again in 1883, after the demolition of the ruins, see *Le Monde illustré*, 10 April 1883 and 21 April 1883.

⁹¹ See Ellen Piétri to Joséphine Bowes, c. 1870, TBMA, JB/8/1/20/4.

⁹² Émile Gallé to Joséphine Bowes, 18 May 1871, TBMA, JB/5/6/3.

government, after lengthy public debate.⁹³ By purchasing a design for Napoleon I's Throne Room in the Tuileries, by Percier and Fontaine, the Boweses can be considered as actors in the safekeeping of architectural history.⁹⁴ Indeed, depictions of the palace's interiors and furnishings from the royal or imperial manufactories (such as the Savonnerie carpet and furniture ornaments) acted as surrogates for lost interiors and became collectibles rendered all the rarer by the palace's destruction.

The archives of the 'grands bâtiments' in the French National archives reveal that following the fire that destroyed the Tuileries, the architect Lefuel was in charge of dealing with the site and the rubble.⁹⁵ He seems to have quickly realised that unlike the Hôtel de Ville, the palace would not be rebuilt. The site was cordoned off and watched by the police. The wreckage was cleared away or divided into what could be reused and recycled, sold or discarded.⁹⁶ It is plausible that curiosity dealers would have attempted to recover and resell objects and debris, as had been the case with stones from the Bastille prison in 1789.⁹⁷ There was a market for salvage because the public recognised the immensity of the loss of the Tuileries. Fragments were sought after for their decorative interest but also because of the emotions invested in the debris by contemporaries who had experienced the events first-hand.⁹⁸ Foremost among these fragments for the Boweses were a set of gilt-bronze furniture mounts, although the belief that they were 'souvenirs' of the burned palace was probably delusional: the Boweses' pieces associated with the Tuileries are intact, whereas objects saved from the debris of the Château de Saint-Cloud, also destroyed in the war, are badly disfigured or charred by the effects of smoke and flames. Examples of porcelain allegedly salvaged from Saint-Cloud have suffered Goncourt's 'agatisation' (Figs.32-34).⁹⁹ Whilst their authenticity today might be dubious, the Boweses' interest in such

⁹³ See Iandoli, 'The Palace of the Tuileries'.

⁹⁴ Bill from Lamer, 12 April 1872, TBMA, JB/5/10/8/20; 'Drawing of a throne room, possibly for Napoleon I at Tuileries', TBM, B.M.1050.

⁹⁵ AN, F²¹ 1781.

⁹⁶ On Lefuel's archaeological approach, see Vincent Lemire and Yann Potin, 'Reconstruire le Palais des Tuileries. Une émotion patrimoniale et politique "rémanente" ?', *Livraison de l'histoire de l'architecture*, 22 (2011) <<https://journals.openedition.org/lha/293>> pp. 7-8.

⁹⁷ On salvage from the Bastille, see Colin Jones, *The Great Nation: France from Louis XV to Napoleon* (London: Penguin Books, 2003), p. 433.

⁹⁸ See the example of Achille Picart in Stammers, 'Collectors, Catholics', pp. 81-2.

⁹⁹ See the exhibits in 'Les derniers feux du Palais de Saint-Cloud', Musée des Avelines, 10 octobre 2019 au 23 février 2020. Georges Hoentschel's collection included charred boiseries 'reputedly from Saint-Cloud', see Pons, *Waddesdon Panelling*, p. 166.

objects, and the way these objects were transported and redescribed in Britain, sheds light on the ambiguities at the heart of the collection.

V. Collecting history in Paris and displaying it in Britain

From December 1871, the Boweses packed their collection in Paris into boxes to be shipped to England. A notebook written in John Bowes' hand, in French, lists the objects with enough detail to make them recognisable when they were unpacked at Streatlam Castle.¹⁰⁰ Upon receipt of the boxes, and unpacking at the museum, Owen Stanley Scott, the museum's first curator, listed their contents in English, and disregarded many of the details on their origin. Some of the cultural and historical significance of these fragments was lost in translation when the collection crossed the Channel. The recontextualisation of the gilt bronze mounts exemplify the difficulty of reconstructing a collection that was transported from France to Britain. Boxes A.146, A.116 and A.145 were packed into 'Crate 63'. 'Box A.146' was listed as containing 'Quantité de plaques, entrées de serrures, etc en cuivre, cuivre repoussé, bronze, fer sculpté, etc de diverses époques.' Received at the museum on 8 November 1884 and unpacked on 29 January 1885, Scott listed the contents of crate 63 as 'A variety of antique specimens of plaques and ornaments in bronze, brass, etc, engraved & repoussé.'¹⁰¹ In translation, the replacement of 'de diverse époques' with the generic English 'antiques' poses a problem. Manuel Charpy has explored the use of the terms 'antique' and 'antiquités' in the nineteenth century, demonstrating that these were flexible terms.¹⁰² In the shipping books, the French had named the object according to its use or purpose (lock plate, lock mechanism, fire dog) and added some information about its composition (brass, iron) or technique (repoussé, gilded) as recognisable features.

When packing the objects in Paris, John, and later his housekeeper, had also indicated other visual or contextual elements that might help to identify them. Box A.116 contained 'Un chenêt en bronze doré très fortement sculpté. Epoque 1^{er} Empire. Un verrou doré provenant du Château des Tuileries. Une mouchette Flamande antique. Deux antiques garnitures de fusil. Une antique poudrière en fer.'¹⁰³ In the unpacking notebook in English, details about the styles and periods

¹⁰⁰ Shipping notebook, TBMA, JB/6/6/2. A manuscript note in the book, signed Charles Hardy, names the scribe as John Bowes before Joséphine's death, after which Mairie Paigis took the pen.

¹⁰¹ TBMA, JB/6/6/5.

¹⁰² See Charpy, 'Le théâtre des objets', chapter 5.

¹⁰³ TBMA, JB/6/6/2.

given in the French notebooks are lost in the translation. The stylistic periods were either completely omitted ('1er Empire' is missing in English) or oversimplified: 'de diverses époques' became 'a variety of antique specimens'. The provenance of the gilded lock, 'provenant du Château des Tuileries', was omitted altogether.¹⁰⁴ The description of the lock corresponds to a bill from Lamer's shop, dated 1 July 1872, for a gilded lock, described as a 'souvenir des Tuileries'.¹⁰⁵ The object was purchased with this association in mind, and the provenance had become an integral part of the object's biography according to the list in French. Yet upon its arrival in Britain, when it was unpacked and carefully recorded by Owen Scott, there was no mention of the object's association with the French palace. The discrepancies between the French and English descriptions are emblematic of a collection being moved from one national context to another, and from one language to another, in an act akin to that of translation – by definition, an act of interpretation. The incomplete descriptions in English have no doubt contributed to shrouding these 'found objects' in mystery and removing their historical associations.

In Paris, and a domestic setting, the mounts may have been intended to decorate pieces of furniture – in this way complementing the many examples of eighteenth-century upholstery and seat covers in the collection (Figs.35-36). Whilst we do not know precisely what the Boweses' agenda for the decorative bronzes was after they were unpacked in England, for the museum, we can see the contextual information (or provenance) assigned to some of them by the enterprising *marchands* who succeeded in selling these as 'authentic' vestiges. The antique dealers' framing of objects in relation to historic sites, events or people sparked Joséphine's interest. The shipping book indicates that each item was considered to be unique by the Boweses, thanks to its style, its original purpose or where it had come from. As such, these vestiges are a further indication of the Boweses being guided by the allure of historical romance and assembling historic fragments in a range of material forms.¹⁰⁶ Once we adopt this mindset, seemingly anomalous objects can be seen to evoke wider contexts and histories. The decorative bronze fragments are part of a process of recording France's turbulent history, but also anchoring the self within the passing of time ('traces de soi').

¹⁰⁴ Crate 63 in TBMA, JB/6/6/5.

¹⁰⁵ Bill from Lamer, 1 July 1872, TBMA, JB/5/10/8/44.

¹⁰⁶ They were not alone in adopting this approach: on Léopold Double, see Stammers 'Collectors, Catholics', pp. 71-8.

What links the newspaper cuttings recording *éphémérides* and demolitions, the visual records of episodes of revolution, and the assortment of decorative objects? Despite the differences in media, each conveys something of the fragmentation of Paris, its architecture and its different histories. We know that the Boweses were fascinated by the fall-out from Paris' political upheavals: early catalogues of the museum indicate a desire to display the revolutionary history of France through physical remnants of destruction, such as a piece of shell from the Franco-Prussian War.¹⁰⁷ But the couple's interest in printed stories of fragmentation – namely demolitions – and the residues of historic sites – the bronze mounts doubling up as memorials of lost places – can be understood not just as a way of participating vicariously in dramatic events. It could also be conceived of as an order-making activity. Grouped together, stray fragments were given new coherence and they enabled individuals to participate in the making and unmaking of France. The Boweses' practices of scrapbooking, album-making and collecting press-cuttings shows their search in finding order and pattern in a modern city subject to change, revolution and decay.

This perspective on the couple's collection allows a new insight into the eclecticism of the collection. Sarah Kane has referred to Joséphine aiming to create 'the perfect set' in her collecting practice.¹⁰⁸ John and Joséphine were interested in creating groupings of disparate elements linked together through associations. Yet they were often not aiming for completion, and were interested in groupings that had gaps, or pieces that were rare and exceptional. Printed material (as we will see in Chapter 4), but also porcelain, parchment manuscripts and textiles are other media in which the concept of the exemplary fragment comes into play in the Boweses' collections. For instance, embroidery fragments and scraps of fabric were often bought in job lots from the dealers. The inventory taken after John's death in 1885 singles out items that were identified as exceptional, such as 'un morceau de la robe de la Reine Marie Antoinette' or 'une coupure satin brodé aux armes de Napoléon'. These are inventoried alongside collections of one type of textile, such as 'Un petit lot de broderie orientale' and 'un lot d'appliques de broderie'.¹⁰⁹

To criticize the Boweses' collecting for failing to conform to expectations around assembling complete sets is to use anachronistic standards – characteristic

¹⁰⁷ See Owen S. Scott, *Handbook to the Bowes Museum, Barnard Castle* (Barnard Castle: Teesdale Mercury Office, 1893), p. 9.

¹⁰⁸ Kane, 'Bibelots', p. 13.

¹⁰⁹ AN, MC/ET/XI/1405, Items 457 to 465.

of an encyclopaedic museum of techniques, such as South Kensington – and to misunderstand their belief in the evocative power of the souvenir.¹¹⁰ The possibility of an association of a decorative bronze mount with the Tuileries Palace was sufficient for these objects to earn their place in the museum. Whilst scholars such as Ruth Fiori have argued that the late nineteenth century saw the rise of new preservation societies dedicated to saving ‘Vieux Paris’, conservation was also happening among private individuals, and on a domestic scale, involving not architecture but smaller objects.¹¹¹ Despite the measures taken in their absence from Paris in 1870-71, which are discussed further in Chapter 5, it is essential to consider John and Joséphine as Parisian residents living in a post-Revolutionary city and recording historical events as they unravelled before their eyes. Examining the Boweses’ Paris more closely helps us to understand them as collectors who had a profound sense of the fragility of the past. These collections, as well as the neighbourhoods and historical sites that they chose as their homes, fed into the Boweses’ dialogue with the *ancien régime* in general, and the eighteenth century in particular, which is the focus of Chapter 3.

¹¹⁰ On the value of fragments, see Stewart, *On Longing*.

¹¹¹ Fiori, *L’invention du vieux paris*.

Chapter 3: Collecting, performing and improving 'Le XVIIIème siècle'

The work of Sarah Medlam, former curator at The Bowes Museum, on the furniture and the archival sources relating to John and Joséphine Bowes' homes in France has greatly shaped the research that has emerged in the past decade.¹ By using surviving pieces of furniture from the Boweses' dining room at the Château de Louveciennes, Medlam has demonstrated that the couple closely followed Second Empire furnishing conventions by choosing items that were inspired by historical styles. Medlam describes their carved oak dining table, with its references to late seventeenth-century design, as 'vigorously of the nineteenth century, in no sense a reproduction'.² Medlam goes on to identify a 'free interpretation of historic styles, and the mixing of [styles]' evident in the heavily sprung dining chairs in the Louis XV style that accompany the dining table (Fig.37). Anne-Sophie Brisset's study on 'Les Monbro, de marchands de curiosité à décorateurs' also used the Boweses' bills from Monbro to argue that the couple overwhelmingly selected the 'style Louis XV' when decorating the rooms at Louveciennes, and leaned more towards the 'style Louis XVI' for 7 Rue de Berlin, with some exceptions.³ Both Medlam's and Brisset's work highlights the elasticity of what was considered to be in the 'Louis XIV', 'Louis XV' or 'Louis XVI' style, the typologies offered by Monbro's firm, in the second half of the nineteenth century.

Whilst the bills from Monbro give an indication of how a well-known decorating and antique dealing firm classified styles of furnishing in the nineteenth century, the stylistic labels employed by the Boweses themselves are more elusive. One source is the shipping book, as we know that both John and Joséphine were closely involved in the process of packing and listing possessions. On a page of inventory with a note indicating that in April 1874 the trunks were 'portées comme bagage à Boulogne et envoyées de là pour Londres à Streatlam', item number 100 corresponds to a 'Malle contenant des paquets d'antiquités en Ivoire, Filigrane, & auxquelles Madame Bowes attachait beaucoup de prix. Les paquets faits par elle

¹ Sarah Medlam's work on Monbro's records in TBMA has been incorporated into the museum's online catalogue. See Medlam, 'Mrs Bowes' Furniture'; Medlam, 'Two French Furnishing Schemes of the 1850s', unpublished conference paper, available in TBM for research purposes only. In 2012, Howard Coutts and Véronique Gérard-Powell visited the Château de Louveciennes for in-situ research.

² Medlam, 'Mrs Bowes' Furniture', p. 77.

³ See Brisset, 'Les Monbro', p. 52.

en 1872.⁴ Further on, in crate number 112, some small items had been ‘emballé [sic] par Mme Bowes’.⁵ The first person is used even after 1874 when – according to a note by Charles Hardy inside the notebook – the housekeeper Marie Paigis took over from John to write the entries. For instance, entry number 464 is ‘Un saladier, en faïence (je crois de Nevers) fond blanc, décor bleu à fleurs de lys. Deux portraits de jolies femmes bien connues de l’époque (je ne me rappelle pas leur nom)’ featuring a drawing of the mark underneath. Yet despite Hardy’s careful study, the entry for box 10 in crate 25 included a ‘Grande cuillère à soupe en cuivre jaune qui m’a servi de modèle’, indicating that this entry may have in fact been written or dictated to a scribe by Joséphine rather than John.⁶ Most of the object descriptions written before the note from about 1874 include details on the provenance or an indication of where or when they were purchased.⁷

Elsewhere, pieces of furniture and other items such as candelabra are identified by their stylistic qualities, as we saw in Chapter 2 with some of the gilt bronze fragments: the styles of Henri II, Louis XIII, Louis XV, Louis XVI and Empire are all invoked. The shipping book indicates what visual qualities or circumstantial information made an object stand out for John and Joséphine and the people who were helping them write the list and pack the items. The shipping book records the contents of box 108 as ‘Une table, en porcelaine de Sèvres, fond bleu, au centre portrait de Louis XVI. Et autour les Femmes célèbres de l’Epoque. La table est démontée et les cuivres dorés formant le pied, sont au fond de la caisse.’⁸ Whilst the primary purpose of such a record was to identify the object upon its receipt and unpacking in England, it also gives us an idea of how John and Joséphine Bowes referred to the decorative arts of the eighteenth century. Decorative objects from the old regime were appraised in terms of their references to the past, as part of the ‘broader cultural transformation in which art value was subsumed under historical value’, as Katie Scott puts it in the foreword of *Rococo Echo: art, history and historiography from Cochin to Coppola*.⁹ The use of definite articles (‘les

⁴ TBMA, JB/6/6/2.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ See Joséphine Bowes, *Bodegón*, c. 1860-1874, oil on canvas, TBM, J.20.

⁷ For John relying on Joséphine’s memories of objects, see Phillips, ‘Joséphine Bowes’, p. 316 and the evidence for the claim, TBMA, JB/2/1/42/4.

⁸ ‘Caisses envoyées en Angleterre pour le musée’ (1871), JB/6/6/2: the entry was possibly written by Marie Paigis. The table seems to have been packed in 1874. A file of correspondence about the disposal of museum objects in the 1893 sale and the 1917-1918 sale of duplicate and unwanted articles may yield some answers about the table, see TBMA, TBM/7/2/1. For examples of tables that could fit the description, see Christopher Payne, *19th Century European Furniture* (Woodbridge: Antique Collectors’ Club, 1989), pp. 256-7.

⁹ See Hyde and Scott, *Rococo Echo*, p. 14.

femmes célèbres de l'époque') and the word 'époque' suggest that the person making the inventory viewed the figures on the table as belonging to a particular historical context. This 'époque' was presumably between the time of Louis XVI's accession to the throne in 1774 and the fall of the monarchy in 1792, as his portrait is the central figure on the table, and the only person who is named in the list.¹⁰ The women depicted may have been clearly recognisable to the person writing the inventory, or thought to be important because they were on the table around the king, as they are defined as being well-known ('célèbres'). The modern reader is left wondering: which women were depicted? How many of them? As we will see in Chapter 4, the Boweses were very interested in notable women from the past and in creating series of portraits to celebrate them.

The shipping book indicates how furniture offered a visual counterpoint to contemporary discussions over how best to define the period. By the July Monarchy, 'l'ancien régime' was often synonymous to 'le XVIIIe siècle', and the adjectives 'rococo' or 'pompadour' were used interchangeably when talking about the Louis XV and Louis XVI styles.¹¹ This flexibility in categories was echoed in the hybrid nature of the modern objects inspired by pre-revolutionary design. Helen Jacobsen's research into the terminology used in the nineteenth century to describe furniture by the eighteenth-century *ébéniste* Jean-Henri Riesener shows that 'Riesener' was used as a capacious marketing tool, even in reference to pieces that were drastically altered by dealers for clients.¹² This chapter examines the inclusive notion of 'le XVIIIème siècle' as it was presented in the couple's interiors, analysed here as a case-study for understanding how nineteenth-century collectors and vendors imagined, idolized and adapted the eighteenth century for their own purposes. The first section examines two portraits of Joséphine, to uncover the dialogue they proposed with portraits of eminent women from the eighteenth century, and thereby shows how this modern *femme-artiste* positioned herself in relationship to distinguished figures from the *ancien régime*. The second section

¹⁰ See 'époque' in *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française* (1798 and 1835): 'Point déterminé dans l'histoire qui ordinairement est marqué par quelque événement considérable'.

¹¹ On periodisation and style, the work of Ludmilla Jordanova is particularly helpful, see *The Look of the Past*, pp. 99-106. For a discussion on the reception and uses of Rococo art in the nineteenth century specifically, see Hyde and Scott, *Rococo Echo*; Seymour O. Simches, *Le Romantisme et le goût esthétique du XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1964), pp. 1-22; Davis, *The Tastemakers*, pp. 15-6; Dion-Tenenbaum and Gay-Mazuel, *Revivals*.

¹² See Helen Jacobsen, 'Alteration and appropriation: the 4th Marquess of Hertford and the taste for Riesener', in *Jean-Henri Riesener: Cabinetmaker to Louis XVI and Marie-Antoinette*, ed. by Helen Jacobsen (London, 2020), pp. 67-70.

explores some of the cultural factors that fired John and Joséphine's passion for the period, especially the cultural sources they engaged with: the world of theatre, literature and public displays of privately-owned collections. In the final sections, we move on to the Château de Louveciennes, examining what was known about its history when the couple bought it, and how Monbro fils aîné fitted out the house to suit the Boweses' modern lifestyle.

Until very recently the nineteenth-century phenomenon of historical revivalism was seen as a form of bland or slavish imitation, devoid of originality. This aspect of imitation, which was central in Second Empire artistic production, is partly responsible for its vilification.¹³ More sympathetic interpreters, however, have explored how cabinetmakers combined their own skills and new techniques with the study of eighteenth-century models to create new pieces. Recent studies recognise the depth of knowledge required about the past in order to go beyond it and emphasise the creative response of nineteenth-century artisans.¹⁴ Already in the eighteenth century, the term *pastiche* had become freighted with negative associations in relation to painting, as remarked on by Denis Diderot in his 1767 Salon. His criticism was quoted in the definition of 'pastiche' in Émile Littré's *Dictionnaire de la langue française* (1872-77): 'Je suis bien fâché contre ce mot de pastiche qui marque du mépris et qui peut décourager les artistes de l'imitation des meilleurs maîtres anciens'.¹⁵ Far from sterile copying, Diderot encouraged artists to inject their work with what they had learned from the careful study of old masters. Deeper understanding of the complexity of emulation in painting in the nineteenth century mirrors a growing sympathy to understanding historicism in the decorative arts.¹⁶

Moreover, the concept of originality by which pastiche is judged and condemned is itself a product of Romantic ideas of authorship and genius. As Katie Scott's work on the Rococo interior suggests, such ideas of autonomy do not fit well with the intense collaboration between specialists found in eighteenth-century design.¹⁷ Even into the nineteenth century, Leora Auslander, Anca Lasc, Elizabeth

¹³ See *The Second Empire 1852-1870: Art in France under Napoleon III* (Philadelphia: The Museum; Detroit: distributed by Wayne State University Press, 1978), p. 16.

¹⁴ Camille Mestdag helpfully differentiates copies from 'meubles de styles', see *L'Ameublement d'art français*, p. 47. For her discussion of cabinetmakers' designs inspired by seventeenth- and eighteenth-century furniture, see pp. 47-60.

¹⁵ Littré, *Dictionnaire*.

¹⁶ See, for instance, Marc J. Gotlieb, *The Plight of Emulation: Ernest Meissonier and French Salon Painting* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996).

¹⁷ Katie Scott, *The Rococo Interior: Decoration and Social Spaces in Eighteenth-Century Paris* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1995), pp. 61-77.

Emery and Diana Davis have each analysed the collaborations between different people and professions in creating fashionable interiors.¹⁸ Lasc identifies several key groups of players in particular: collectors and taste advisers; upholsterers (*tapissiers*), architects and cabinet makers; and designers of stage sets. This is a helpful framework for considering how John and Joséphine went about working with taste professionals to create appropriate environments in which to display their collection.¹⁹ The aim was not archaeological, so much as evocative: Stefan Muthesius' idea of the 'poetic home' is useful in understanding how the Boweses borrowed from the past to create a harmonious, and very modern, ensemble. Muthesius refers to the 'poetic effect' produced within the home thanks to a room's design, its shape, textures, colours and lighting, but also 'the way in which certain styles of décor are used to conjure up other cultural worlds'.²⁰ The Boweses' revival of the eighteenth century, expressed most forcefully through the purchase of the Château de Louveciennes, was neither regressive, nor an antiquarian exercise. Rather, they honoured the past and viewed it through the prism of modern technology, consumer comfort, and the popularisation of history. But let us begin by looking at how Joséphine Bowes integrated eighteenth-century references into her self-fashioning.

I. Portraits of Joséphine

There are two known portraits of Joséphine Bowes. The first, attributed to Louis William Desanges shows Joséphine in a pink formal evening dress and jewels, her face made up and her hair styled (Fig.7).²¹ The portrait combines the depiction of intelligence (book) and vivacity (smile) with elements of costume and a luxuriously ornate dress.²² Whilst the pose draws attention to her jewellery, Joséphine's smile

¹⁸ Auslander, *Taste and Power*; Anca I. Lasc, *Interior decorating in nineteenth-century France: the visual culture of a new profession* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018); Elizabeth Emery, *Photojournalism and the origins of the French writer house museum (1881-1914): privacy, publicity, and personality* (Farnham, Surrey, England; Burlington: Ashgate, 2012); Davis, *The Tastemakers*.

¹⁹ The expression 'taste professionals' is defined by Auslander, *Taste and Power*, pp. 190-9.

²⁰ Stefan Muthesius, *The Poetic Home: Designing the 19th-Century Domestic Interior* (London; New York: Thames and Hudson, 2009), p. 27. On the different components brought together to create a fashionable interior, see, pp. 35-63.

²¹ For a discussion of Joséphine's attire in the portrait, and jewellery, see Phillips, 'Joséphine Bowes', pp. 183-4, 164-5.

²² Belt BM X.5264. For another portrait where the sitter's dress is decorated with pearls, see Jean-Etienne Liotard, *Madame Paul Girardin de Vernemoux*, 1764, pastel on vellum, private collection, illustrated in Christopher Baker, William Hauptman, Mary-Anne Stevens (eds.), *Jean-Etienne Liotard, 1702-1782* (London: Royal Academy, 2015), p. 159.

and posture are reminiscent of portraits of prominent *salonnières* of the eighteenth century (Fig.38).²³ The only known full length portrait of Madame Bowes, by Antoine 'Tony' Dury, painted in 1850, and later retouched by Eugène Feyen, reveals Joséphine's intention to be seen as a woman of taste, culture, and ambition in an intellectually elevated manner (Fig.39).²⁴ Archival evidence shows that Dury was part of John and Joséphine's social circle, beyond being the chosen portraitist for Joséphine and later for her dog, Bernardine (B.M.911), as his name appears on an undated manuscript list for complimentary tickets at the Théâtre des Variétés.²⁵ Dury depicted Joséphine with the attributes of a fashionable society figure, whilst also making discrete reference to eighteenth-century prototypes.

Joséphine wears a sheer white *chemise*-style gown with delicate lace around the edges, tied at the waist like a *peignoir* with a red striped sash, over a white satin dress, along with a red tasselled cap, and red Tunisian embroidered slippers adorned with pompoms.²⁶ The portrait follows a tradition of full-length depictions commissioned by prominent members of eighteenth-century court society from artists of their acquaintance; Judith Phillips has convincingly likened the portrait by Dury to the pastel portrait of Madame de Pompadour by Maurice Quentin de La Tour (c. 1748-55) (Fig.40).²⁷ Another echo can be found in François Boucher's *Portrait of Madame de Pompadour* (1756), which showed Louis XV's mistress with her dog at her feet, surrounded by a book case, writing table, elaborate mirror, rich textiles and flowers.²⁸ But it is worth noting in particular the many similarities to François-Hubert Drouais's monumental 1771 portrait of Madame du Barry, from the sitter's clothing, accessories and surroundings to the complexion and natural beauty marks on their faces (Fig.41).²⁹ Du Barry's portraitist

²³ See, for instance, Jean-Marc Nattier, *Portrait of Madame Geoffrin*, oil on canvas, 1738, Tokyo Fuji Art Museum; Jean-Etienne Liotard, *Madame Louise d'Épinay*, c. 1759. Pastel on vellum, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Geneva.

²⁴ Antoine Dury, *Joséphine Bowes, Countess of Montalbo*, 1850, oil on canvas, TBM, B.M.297.

²⁵ 'Théâtre des Variétés. Liquidation Carpié 1854-55. Acquisition par M. Bowes. Donné par Mad. Bowes, née de St Amand, Août 1891', AN, AJ¹³ 1044.

²⁶ The slippers have been identified as purchases from the Paris Exhibition in 1867, but this date does not match with that of the portrait, nor with the assumption that the portrait shows Joséphine at Louveciennes. See several bills for embroidered slippers in TBMA: Bill from Louis Guillot, 12 January 1858, JB/3/3/6/24; Madame Lepautre, 1866, JB/5/11/2/102. There are five pairs of red slippers in the collection today.

²⁷ See Phillips, 'Joséphine Bowes', p. 153-4, 172, 186.

²⁸ On Boucher's portrait of Pompadour, see Alistair Laing, *François Boucher, 1703-1770* (New York, 1986), pp. 267-71, no. 64.

²⁹ François-Hubert Drouais, *Madame Du Barry en muse*, 1771-1772, Versailles, chambre de commerce et d'industrie des Yvelines et du Val-d'Oise. On Du Barry as a collector and patron of the arts, see *Madame Du Barry, de Versailles à Louveciennes* (Paris: Flammarion, 1992); Patricia Lemonnier, 'Les meubles à plaques de porcelaine de Martin Carlin', in *Une*

Elisabeth Vigée Le Brun recalled in her memoirs that ‘robes-peignoirs de percale ou de mousseline blanche’ became the countess’s preferred attire, adopted from 1769.³⁰

Drouais’s portrait of Du Barry in the allegorical guise of a Muse, surrounded by the attributes of the arts, was exhibited at the 1771 Paris Salon. Drouais depicted the arts of music, literature, painting, sculpture and architecture, with luxurious textiles, flower wreaths and a column articulated with fluting on a pedestal in the background. Yet it was promptly taken down and altered after critics objected that the royal mistress seemed too naked, her skin too plain (without the added artifice of rouge), and her influence was not deemed worthy of the attributes of an enlightened patron of the arts.³¹ At 15,000 livres, the painting cost more than ten times any other portrait of the royal mistress according to Drouais’ invoice for the Comtesse. Once altered, Drouais’ portrait was possibly copied twice. Du Barry’s dress was entirely repainted, as the sheer gauzy gown was too revealing in the original (‘gazée en partie d’une draperie légère et transparente’ according to Pidenzat de Mairobert) and her legs were partly uncovered. It was replaced by a billowy transparent gown held in place by a gold-trimmed white *robe-peignoir* tied with a blue sash.³² By the 1850s, when Joséphine’s portrait was painted, such attire was no longer considered scandalous, and the natural treatment of complexion signalled the sitter was ‘at home’.

Indicators of Joséphine’s stylishness and encouragement of the arts in her portrait include a Boulle-work table, the gilded *fauteuil en cabriolet* upholstered in shiny blue silk-damask (which is repeated on the wall and on another piece of seat furniture peeking out from behind a curtain in the background), the Oriental carpet

histoire des savoir-faire. Création et vie artistique à Paris du grand siècle à nos jours, volume 1, ed. by Christophe Henry (Les symposiums d’Histoire de l’Art de la Mairie du 11, 2018), 124-34.

³⁰ Quoted in Melissa L. Hyde, ‘Contesting Beauties: Portraits of Mme Du Barry and Queen Marie-Antoinette,’ in *Cultures de cour, Cultures du corps*, ed. by C. Lanoe and M. Da Vinha (Paris: Presses de l’Université Paris-Sorbonne & Centre de recherche du Château de Versailles, 2011), p. 6.

³¹ On the reception of the portrait, see Hyde, ‘Contesting Beauties’, p. 11; Juliette Trey, ‘Un portrait de Madame Du Barry pour Versailles’ *Versalia. Revue de la Société des Amis de Versailles*, 16 (2013), 187-196 <<https://doi.org/10.3406/versa.2013.933>> [Accessed 28 March 2021]; Thomas E. Crow, *Painters and Public Life in Eighteenth-Century Paris* (New Haven; London, Yale University Press, 1985), pp. 176-8. The collector Camille Groult (1832-1908) bought the portrait (lot number 111) at Eugène Secrétan’s sale held in 1889 at Charles Sedelmayer’s gallery, see Laure-Marie Stasi, *Camille Groult (1832-1908): le rose de Boucher et le rouge de Reynolds* (Villejuif: Emilewen Editions, 2013).

³² Quoted in Trey, ‘Un portrait de Madame Du Barry’, p. 193. See also Katherine Baetjer, *French Paintings in The Metropolitan Museum of Art from the Early Eighteenth Century through the Revolution* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2020), pp. 236-9.

underfoot, the Japanese Imari vase with cut roses on the table, and an imposing black and gold bookcase displaying richly decorated book spines in the background.³³ The elements of the décor allude to concrete objects in the collection and presented Joséphine as a taste-maker who carefully curated an appropriate backdrop for her purchases. Joséphine's tasselled cap indicates that she is sitting comfortably in a domestic space. However, it is not a lace cap of the type worn by women at home; nor is it a turban-inspired headdress used by portraitists such as Vigée Le Brun. In Joséphine's clothing, both the tasselled cap and the slippers allude to the vogue for Oriental designs. Similar caps were also seen in photographs of prominent authors and collectors around the same time (Fig.42).³⁴ Opting for a more Bohemian look over a typical feminine indoor lace cap might also be an allusion to Joséphine's proud status as an artist.³⁵

Joséphine was a prolific landscape painter and her work was exhibited at the Paris Salon in 1867, 1868, 1869 and 1870.³⁶ Letters from friends discussing her entries at the Salon of 1870 reveal Joséphine's need for recognition but also her pride in presenting her work to the public. Ellen Piétri wrote that she would look for her friend's 'étude marine' at the Salon, and the Comtesse Fabre d'Aude would also find 'un moment pour aller l'admirer'.³⁷ Unable to return to Paris from Britain that year, Joséphine sent her friend Madame de Belleyne to fight her corner with jury members Charles Chaplin and Robert-Fleury in the hopes of moving her painting to a more favourable position:

Eh bien tout cela a abouti, ma pauvre amie, à ne rien changer à ce qui était fait bien évidemment. Car vous êtes très haut et n'avez comme dédommagement que d'être très bien éclairé ce qui augmente la rage d'être si haut, car on voit comme c'est joli et charmant et comme ce serait remarqué en étant mieux vu. [...] Pourtant l'année dernière vous n'étiez pas mal placée.³⁸

The art dealer Édouard Carpentier, who also prepared canvases for Joséphine, wrote at length to John Bowes in 1873 to share the 'nouvelles inquiétantes'

³³ For a brief description of the *salon bleu* at Louveciennes, see Hardy, *John Bowes*, p. 109. The most complete picture of the interiors to date is given in Brisset, 'Les Monbros'.

³⁴ For instance, photograph of Théophile Gautier by Nadar (1855) and engraved by Braquemond in 1857; photograph of Richard Wallace by John Thomson, c. 1888; sculpture bust of Charles Sauvageot by Louis Auvray, 1864.

³⁵ The cap recalls self-portraits of artists, such as those of Rembrandt, Jean-Etienne Liotard and Maurice Quentin de La Tour.

³⁶ Howard Coutts, *The Road to Impressionism: Joséphine Bowes and Painting in Nineteenth-Century France* (Barnard Castle: The Bowes Museum, 2002), p. 10.

³⁷ TBMA, JB/8/1/20/8; JB/8/1/11/6.

³⁸ Mme de Belleyne to Joséphine, 7 mai 1870, TBMA, JB/8/1/3/3. See also JB/8/1/3/4.

regarding his wife's submission to the Salon, and implored him to prepare her for the possibility of a rejection. The letter hints at how much she cared about her work. Carpentier graciously relayed the jury's initial reaction of 'ne rien avoir à reprocher à la peinture si ce n'est que le motif ne devait pas être traité sur une toile aussi grande et que par suite de l'emplacement restreint ils ne pouvaient prendre sur eux de l'admettre quant à présent' and he recognised 'la peine qu'elle se donne pour sa peinture et [...] je constate qu'elle est en progrès sensibles en égard à ses œuvres précédentes'.³⁹

Her ambitions as a painter therefore provided a further link to the *ancien régime*. Joséphine purchased a small painting by Fragonard from Lamer in April 1865 and produced a faithful copy of the wooded landscape scene (Figs.43-44).⁴⁰ In doing so, she extended a practice embraced by other women collectors who painted and were known to have made copies of paintings in their collections. For instance, in one of the rooms in her private apartments at Versailles, Queen Marie Leczinska laid out an artist's studio, where she was instructed in painting by Jean-Baptiste Oudry.⁴¹ A painting attributed to the queen is a faithful rendition of a farm landscape by Oudry.⁴² A century later, the copying after originals remained an important part of artistic training and was a practice enthusiastically adopted by amateur women painter collectors, such as the Princesse Mathilde.⁴³ The survival of Joséphine's copy after the painting thought to be by Fragonard reveals a respectful relationship towards the arts of the eighteenth century by an artist and collector – a relationship she sought to articulate through her portraits.

The portraits of Joséphine by Desanges and Dury have been analysed by scholars to emphasise her social aspirations and new-found marital respectability.⁴⁴ In Dury's portrait, the coats of arms, added later, signal her marriage to John Bowes in 1852, which put an end to her days as an actress, and refer to the title of Comtesse de Montalbo created in the Republic of San Marino for Joséphine in

³⁹ Carpentier to John, 4 April 1873, TBMA, JB/2/10/10/4.

⁴⁰ Lamer bill, April 1865, TBMA, JB/5/10/3/18; small painting by Fragonard and carved frame and receipted bill, TBMA, JB/5/10/3/28. The painting in the style of Fragonard is B.M.396; Joséphine's faithful copy is J.37.

⁴¹ Manuel Lalanne, 'L'appartement de Marie Leszczyńska (1725-1768)', *Bulletin du Centre de recherche du château de Versailles*, articles et études (2012), <<https://doi.org/10.4000/crcv.12078>> [Accessed 28 March 2021], pp. 55-7.

⁴² See Marie Leszczyńska, *Une Ferme*, 1753, oil on canvas, Château de Versailles, MV7237.

⁴³ See Carole Blumenfeld (ed.), *Un soir chez la princesse Mathilde, une Bonaparte et les arts* (Ajaccio: Palais Fesch-musée des Beaux-Arts, 2018).

⁴⁴ Chapman writes, 'The portrait of Mlle Delorme painted in France in 1850 [Desanges] presents a very different young woman from the one who cavorted, flirted and sang on the stage of the Variétés [Dury]', *John and Joséphine*, p. 43.

1868.⁴⁵ But beyond signalling her position as a woman of rank, the echo of official court portraiture in Dury's portrait, with references to depictions of the Marquise de Pompadour, the Comtesse du Barry and other prominent artists and women of letters of the past, also signal Joséphine's affinity for and understanding of the *ancien régime*. This was a period whose artistic achievements she collected and whose aura she tried to recreate at Louveciennes, the house whose aspect she also captured on canvas (Fig.5). What she understood as this aura, though, was mediated not just by visual but also literary sources.

II. Sources for imagining the eighteenth century

Mlle Delorme at the Théâtre des Variétés

In *Taste and Power: Furnishing Modern France*, Leora Auslander used the genre of etiquette books and manuals to trace the lexicon of styles.⁴⁶ The founders' library at the Bowes Museum does not feature any manuals exclusively dedicated to decoration or furnishing etiquette. Indeed, the books on French *ameublement* and *décoration* in the library today seem to have been purchased by Owen Scott, the Museum's first curator.⁴⁷ Joséphine's fashionable taste required an education on the part of those in charge of curating her collection in Britain after her death.⁴⁸ This does not mean that print culture was irrelevant, even if decorating manuals are missing: the women's fashion magazines owned by Joséphine covered dress fashion and included society gossip columns, theatre and exhibition reviews, they also featured brightly-coloured illustrations of women displaying their apparel and accessories, sometimes with a backdrop of stylish interiors.⁴⁹

Nonetheless, the primary influence on how the Boweses' thought of historical interiors probably came from the stage. The theatre thrived on the recreation of period styles, exerting an influence on both bourgeois home-makers and professional designers; indeed, Anca Lasc has drawn attention to the impact of

⁴⁵ The coats of arms were used elsewhere too, such as on a piano case by Monbro, and, later, on the façade of TBM. The portrait was retouched by Feyen, see manuscript catalogue of 1878, TBMA, JB/6/6/1.

⁴⁶ Auslander, *Taste and Power*, pp. 61-2.

⁴⁷ For instance, Léon Charles Libonis, *Styles français enseignés par l'exemple : trois cent soixante-huit dessins accompagnés de notices* (signed Owen Scott on the inside cover); Henry Havard, *Serrurerie avec cent vingt-cinq illustrations par B. Méli* (inscribed 'Bowes Museum 1896').

⁴⁸ On national identity and furnishings, Davis, *The Tastemakers*. For the idea of 'Frenchness' and 'natural' French taste specifically, see Auslander, *Taste and Power*, pp. 181-3.

⁴⁹ These include: *Le moniteur de la mode*; *La nouvelle*; *La Sylphide*; *L'abeille impériale*.

the world of entertainment, and particularly stage set design, on the emerging profession of interior decorators at the end of the nineteenth century.⁵⁰ Joséphine Bowes considered herself as an artist, in the first instance, through her career on the stage. Although Charles Hardy measured her talent based on the scathing reviews of the critic Charles de Matharel de Fiennes, many other newspapers praised Mlle Delorme's performances.⁵¹ The Théâtre des Variétés was very much a central part of the visual and material environment of the Boweses, and we have seen that the couple employed the same decorators and architects who worked at the Variétés and other public spaces such as the Opéra to work on their homes too. Joséphine turned to cultural sources, in literature and the worlds of leisure and entertainment, which fed her desire to connect with the past.

The repertoire at the Théâtre des Variétés continuously demanded the simulation of historical periods, including the old regime. One of Joséphine's great successes at the Théâtre des Variétés was her starring role in *Pomponette et Pompadour*, a one-act comédie-vaudeville by Molé-Gentilhomme and Constant Guérault, which premiered on 17 November 1850. It was set in the eighteenth century and revolved around a case of mistaken identity, or *quiproco*. In order to trick various suitors to fall in or out of love with her, Pomponette decides to disguise herself as the Marquise de Pompadour, who happens to be visiting the local village that day. The disguise is so successful that one of the suitors, the Baron, believes that it is the actual Marquise de Pompadour who is disguised as Pomponette and not the other way around.⁵² Mlle Delorme alternated between the garb of a marquise in the role of Pompadour, and a *paysanne* frock that showed off her legs when she was Pomponette.⁵³ The play itself ended with a message about the power of costume and posture to deceive, when Pomponette sings 'De Pompadour c'est le costume / Qui les fait si bien obéir; / Un mot, un geste, un trait de plume!.. / Et tout succède à mon désir.' Indeed, beyond the costume, the critic Paul Avenel applauded Mlle Delorme's haughtiness when incarnating Pompadour:

Cette jeune et jolie actrice est sortie victorieuse de cette nouvelle création. Elle a joué avec beaucoup de gaieté et d'entrain ; sous le modeste costume de *Pomponette*, elle a été vive, accorte, légère ; sous le costume brillant de *madame de Pompadour*, elle a été dédaigneuse, railleuse, impertinente dans la perfection. Mademoiselle Delorme nous a donc montré encore une

⁵⁰ See Lasc, *Interior decorating in nineteenth-century France*, pp. 112-5.

⁵¹ Hardy, *John Bowes*, pp. 84-5.

⁵² See Molé-Gentilhomme and Constant Guérault, *Pomponette et Pompadour* (1850), scene XI.

⁵³ Pomponette exclaims, 'que j'avais hâte de quitter cette belle robe de marquise pour me retrouver dans ce petit jupon court...', *ibid.*, scene VII.

fois toute l'intelligence qui préside au talent qui, chaque jour, agrandit sa réputation.⁵⁴

The intelligence of her performance stemmed from Joséphine's ability to mimic the airs of a 'grande dame' from the past.⁵⁵

The production of such a play at the fashionable Variétés shows the popularity of eighteenth-century subjects. Two decades earlier, Virginie Déjazet had starred in *Sophie Arnould* at the same venue, embodying the celebrated courtesan and donning splendid period costumes (Fig.45). A closer look at the inventories of costumes and stage sets from the Théâtre des Variétés, some of which are held in TBMA, may provide an indication of the style promoted in Parisian theatres in the late 1840s to late 1850s. The costume inventory in TBMA shows that the Variétés relied on the public's ability to recognise historically evocative costumes in plays set in the past, as they included, for example, '49 costumes Moyen-Age', '25 Manteaux Moyen-Age', '3 manteaux en velours noir et serge (Louis XIII)', '18 habits d'uniforme (république)', '11 habits d'uniforme rouge Louis XV'. The style of the costume is given in the inventory and serves to differentiate one period from another in a visual shorthand. The plays in which they were used are sometimes listed. The stage sets were also conceived in recognisable period idioms and were more often than not generic enough to be recycled for other plays. For example, the elements used to create the set for a *Salon de Torton* were reused in other decors. The vaudeville *Mme d'Egmont ou Sont-elles deux ?* by François Ancelot and Alexis Decomberousse and performed at the Variétés in 1833 was set in a 'Palais de style Louis XV'.⁵⁶ The inventories detail the components used to create a 'Salon octogone, style Louis XV', a 'Salon vert de style anglais', a 'Salon gothique' (specifically mentioned as from the play *Paul et Jean*), a 'Salon rouge', but also a 'Maison bourgeoise'.⁵⁷ One critic writing for *L'Abeille impériale* – a periodical that Joséphine subscribed to – expressed his disapproval at the type of

⁵⁴ Paul Avenel, *Le Daguerreotype théâtral*, 20 November 1850.

⁵⁵ Louis Huart, *L'Argus*, 27 November 1850.

⁵⁶ Jenny Colon took the lead as Mme d'Egmont, with period costumes. See Maleuvre, chez Hauteceur Martinet, Editeur, 'Costume de Mlle Jenny Colon, rôle de Mme d'Egmont, dans la pièce de ce nom', BnF, Département Arts du spectacle.

⁵⁷ Théâtre des Variétés, stage sets, costumes and props, TBMA, JB/7/10/3 and JB/7/13/1. See the set of a stylish interior illustrated in Muthesius, *The Poetic Home*, p. 278.

plays put on at the Variétés, whose sole purpose, for him, was to showcase the stage designers' talents in interior decoration.⁵⁸

Whilst many of the scripts for the plays performed at the Théâtre des Variétés while John and Joséphine worked there survive in the archives of the censorship office (held in the Archives nationales today), few of these gave the actors any indication of the visual sets in which they were to perform. Stage sets and costumes were important visual aids for situating the play within a recognisable historical period or social context that could be easily grasped by the audience. The past was theatricalised in plays such as *Pomponette et Pompadour* at the Variétés where historical figures were reimagined through fiction. Stage sets which were generic evocations of the past were repeated across different plays, thereby becoming recognisable by the audience, who learned how to tell styles apart.

Novels and short stories

If stage sets could give the audience clues about when the play was set or the position in society of the protagonists, these imagined settings were equally recognisable when they appeared in novels and short stories, where the reader would easily conjure in their mind the décor described. Joséphine Bowes' library included copies of Théophile Gautier's *Trio de romans* (that comprised *Militona*, *Jean et Jeannette* and *Arria Marcella souvenir de Pompéi*) and *Œuvres humoristiques*, a compilation of *Les Jeunes-Frances* and *Une larme du diable*.⁵⁹ The settings of each story offers a snapshot of 'types' or décor and the kinds of people associated with them. Gautier's novellas use spaces and décor as vehicles for exploring the past, and particularly the *ancien régime*, in the tradition of libertine novellas that were taken up by the *petits-romantiques* of the first half of the nineteenth century. The Régence (1715-1723) is explicitly mentioned as a source of inspiration and fantasy. *Omphale. Histoire rococo* directly references the eighteenth century in the title and in its content. *La Cafetière ou Angela*, a fantastic

⁵⁸ The quote reads: 'Ce que j'adore un peu moins, ce sont toutes ces pièces à tableaux, qui semblent n'avoir qu'un but, celui d'exhiber l'unique talent des décorateurs !', *L'Abeille impériale*, 15 November 1854.

⁵⁹ The works discussed in this chapter figure in the so-called 'Catalogue des livres de Madame Bowes à Streatlam 1869' (TBMA, JB/8/3/1/1). As suggested by James Illingworth, the assertion that the books in this catalogue belonged to Joséphine is dubious (see 'Explanation of Books Lists Spreadsheet' by James Illingworth, TBMA). The works by Gautier in TBMA are under the shelf mark F.843.77/Ga. For ease, direct quotations are taken from Théophile Gautier, *Les Jeunes-France : romans goguenards ; suivis de Contes humoristiques* (Paris: Charpentier, 1880).

tale in which a *cafetière* ‘clopin-clopant’, portraits of ancestors, and *bergères* ‘agitant leurs pieds tortillée’ come to life for one night.⁶⁰ The narrator awakes ‘serrant dans [ses] bras un morceau de porcelaine brisée, comme c’eût été une jeune et jolie fille’.⁶¹ Fine and decorative arts offer opportunities for actual time travel, as in *Arria Marcella*, or merely evoking the decadence of the *ancien régime* brought into the nineteenth century, as with the ‘orgie échevelée’ in *Le Bol de Punch*.⁶² In *Le Bol de Punch*, Gautier deliberately succumbed to the ‘artifice of style’ of such writers as Honoré de Balzac by beginning with a very lengthy description, a quasi-inventory, of the protagonists’ interiors.⁶³ *Jean et Jeannette* is set in the time of Mlle Guimard and combines descriptions of fictional and historical interiors. Théophile Gautier’s use of eighteenth-century decorative arts in these tales has been studied by literary scholars. Rae Beth Gordon singles out Gautier as one of the nineteenth-century ‘craftsmen of the literary form’ who were interested in materials, techniques and the decorative arts, and explored forms of making in their journalistic writings about art as well as in their creative writing.⁶⁴ Gordon analyses his tales of ‘fetichistic erotic phantasies’ – explored through the ‘femme-tapisserie’ in *Omphale* and the ‘femme-cafetière’ in *La Cafetière* – and set within what she terms a ‘decorative frame’.⁶⁵ Janell Watson classifies Gautier’s *La Cafetière* and *Omphale. Histoire rococo* as examples of ‘animated bibelot stories’ that occur in anthropomorphized interiors.⁶⁶ Just as the stage sets were recognizable by the public, interiors could be decoded by the reader of novels to give indications about the occupants’ identity, profession, social status, wealth, upbringing etc.

The Boweses’ library also included a number of eighteenth-century works by authors who used material culture to socially situate their characters, including a copy of Dominique de Voisenon, *Le sultan Misapouf et la princesse Grisemine*, Crébillon fils’ *Ah quel conte !*, and numerous works by Rétif de la Bretonne.⁶⁷ The so-called ‘petits romantiques’ in the 1830s and 1840s built directly on the traditions

⁶⁰ *La Cafetière*, in Gautier, *Contes humoristiques*, p. 252.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 259.

⁶² On *Omphale*, see Rae Beth Gordon, *Ornament, Fantasy and Desire in Nineteenth-Century French Literature* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), p. 97, 102, 106; on *La Cafetière*, see p. 106.

⁶³ Gautier characterised his prose as ‘véritablement superbe et composée d’après les recettes les plus modernes’, *Le Bol de Punch*, in Gautier, *Les Jeunes-France*, p. 214.

⁶⁴ See Gordon, *Ornament, Fantasy, and Desire*, p. 6.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 97-106.

⁶⁶ See Watson, *Literature and material culture*, p. 175.

⁶⁷ TBMA, F.843.59/Su; TBMA, F.843.55/Cr. See Rétif de la Bretonne’s works under shelfmark F.843.59/Re.

of libertine novels from the previous century to present highly moralised descriptions of domestic spaces.⁶⁸ The title of Arnould Frémy's dialogue 'Les deux coins du feu' recalls Crébillon fils' *Le Hasard au coin du feu*. Inspired by the *Dialogues de courtisanes* by the ancient satirist Lucian of Samosota, Arnould Frémy chronicled the vices of nineteenth-century society in *Les maîtresses parisiennes : scènes de la vie moderne* (1855).⁶⁹ He intended to demonstrate 'comment les croquis tout modernes que l'on a réunis ici se rattachent au passé et à des mœurs grecques qui sont séparées de nous par un intervalle de dix-huit à vingt siècles'.⁷⁰ The setting of most of Frémy's stories, to be imagined by the reader, is described with great precision in the opening dialogue, 'Une amie véritable', and give a clear sense of the protagonists' social standing by means of the objects displayed, narrated with great visual detail. Setting the scene for the subsequent tales of older courtisans, their *fournisseurs*, lovers and their wives, the first dialogue takes place in the home of Juliette, a sixteen-year old 'débutante qui commence à réussir' and each room of the apartment is described in the opening pages.⁷¹ The list of decorative objects included, for the *salon* 'tendu en étoffe jaune clair' where the tapestries had not yet been hung, 'deux dressoirs, style de Boule, de chaque côté de la porte', and Japanese lacquer *jardinières* in front of the windows. The bedroom had an alcove for the bed, which was upholstered in printed mousseline, lined with 'percaline rose' and a 'pastel bleu de ciel dans l'alcôve, représentant *Leda recevant dans ses bras Jupiter sous la forme d'un cygne*'. There was also a highly ornate piano ('en palissandre très-orné'), a 'Toilette dite *Pompadour*, construite avec de la mousseline, de la soie et des rubans', a large modern portrait and various porcelain items 'en imitation de vieux Saxe'.⁷²

The opening scene shows Laure Flampot, an older, more established courtesan, taking in Juliette's new interiors: 'J'adore, moi, fouiller dans les vases et les tiroirs !... On apprend une foule de petits mystères très-curieux !... [...] Pour faire croire qu'on a de belles connaissances, on laisse traîner sur sa cheminée, dans une

⁶⁸ See Catherine Thomas, 'Les Petits romantiques et le rococo: éloge du mauvais goût', *Romantisme*, 123:1 (2004), 21-39.

⁶⁹ Arnould Frémy, *Les maîtresses parisiennes : scènes de la vie moderne*, TBMA, F.842.89/Fr (two volumes). The volumes are listed in the catalogue of Joséphine Bowes's books at Streatlam, TBMA, JB/8/3/1/1; one volume appears in the list of books sent in case 12, TBMA, JB/1/8/1/1/4(ii).

⁷⁰ Arnould Frémy, *Les maîtresses parisiennes : scènes de la vie moderne* (Paris: Librairie Nouvelle, 1858), p. 1.

⁷¹ Ibid., p. 7. On the reception of courtisans' homes in the eighteenth century, see Kathryn Norberg, 'Goddesses of Taste: Courtesans and Their Furniture in Late-Eighteenth-Century Paris', in *Furnishing the Eighteenth Century*, ed. by Goodman and Norberg, pp. 97-114.

⁷² Frémy, *Les maîtresses parisiennes*, p. 7.

coupe en japon, des cartes de princes, d'ambassadeurs allemands, qu'on achète tout bonnement chez le graveur en taille-douce.⁷³ In a footnote, the author draws attention to the lack of originality of these *décors*: 'ces indications de mobiliers, si insipides et si usées d'ailleurs, nous serviront pour toutes les scènes qui se passeront dans les intérieurs de femmes. Ce sera toujours, à quelques détails près, le même style d'ameublement, ou, si l'on aime mieux, le même *décor*.'⁷⁴

Frémy's *Scènes* presented readers with snippets of the lives of mistresses and courtesans. Although they were alluded to in most of the dialogues, the tale 'Les Fournisseurs' presented the *commerçants* who were indispensable in launching the careers of kept women: Ragonard ('tapissier de femmes entretenues'), Gossner ('marchand de curiosités' specialising in ceramics and porcelains), Salomon ('carossier' who provided the coaches, horses, coachmen and liveries), Balthasar (jeweller), and Mademoiselle Judith ('marchande de toilette').⁷⁵ Frémy's tale 'Toujours Manon Lescaut', referencing the abbé Prevost's *Histoire du chevalier des Grieux et de Manon Lescaut* (1731), showed the effect of such fashionable interiors, masterminded by teams of tradesmen and women, in flattering a woman's protector: 'quand j'entends vanter quelque part ton mobilier, toutes ces merveilles réunies chez toi, j'éprouve je ne sais quel sentiment d'orgueil et de joie !... Je me dis qu'aucune femme à Paris n'a ton goût ni ta recherche !...'.⁷⁶ In his introduction to a new edition of Abbé Prévost's *Manon Lescaux*, Alexandre Dumas fils mentioned the Monbro's firm of *tapissier-décorateurs* as a specific indicator of wealth and status: 'Autrefois, il n'y a pas longtemps encore, on pouvait prouver que l'on était riche en se commandant un mobilier chez Monbro'.⁷⁷ Rodrigue takes pride in showing off his mistress's apartments to his *roué* friends in another dialogue, 'Le Châtiment': 'Le salon est encore plus merveilleux que les autres pièces ! ... c'est quasi royal...'.⁷⁸ Indeed René, described as 'l'artiste gentleman, qui aime tant les trumeaux, les bimboloteries régence, les brimborions en bois de rose' exclaims to Berthe, 'Madame, la Pompadour à Bellevue, la Dubarry à Luciennes, n'étaient, je vous jure, pas mieux meublées que vous !...' – 'La

⁷³ Ibid., p. 9.

⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 7.

⁷⁵ 'Les Fournisseurs', Frémy, *Les maîtresses parisiennes*, pp. 47-60.

⁷⁶ Frémy, *Les maîtresses parisiennes*, p. 153.

⁷⁷ Alexandre Dumas fils, *Le Figaro*, Friday 25 December 1874.

⁷⁸ Frémy, *Les maîtresses parisiennes*, p. 127.

Dubarry !... la Pompadour !... Quels noms !... Quels temps !... Dieu, la régence !...'.⁷⁹

The characters' recognition that interiors referenced notable women from the past is important. Gautier's *Jean et Jeannette* features descriptions of the home of a fictional aristocrat, the Marquise de Champrosé, as well as those of the well-known eighteenth-century dancer Mademoiselle Guimard.⁸⁰ Both of these women, despite their ambiguous position in society, were inspirations for creating fashionable homes in mid-nineteenth-century Paris. The tradition of critiquing the home decorating choices of courtesans had begun in the eighteenth century and persisted into the nineteenth century, as seen in the opening pages of Alexandre Dumas fils' *La Dame aux camélias* (1848), which begins with the narrator visiting the estate sale of Marie Duplessis.⁸¹ Just as Frémy's epilogue showed the excited reactions of well-to-do readers of his dialogues, the estate sale in Dumas fils' novel elicited the interest of respectable women who ogled excitedly at the 'intérieurs' of a famous courtesan.⁸² This sample of books, all of them in the Boweses' library, indicates contemporaries' awareness of the importance of interiors, which could create an historically convincing ambiance, convey good or bad taste, and give indications of the moral character of the occupier.

The period costumes, stage sets alluding to the past and the fiction that John and Joséphine and their contemporaries engaged with show that they were accustomed to reading rooms, making use of cues related to decoration and design. Whilst they would take in these 'poetic homes' as a total space, the discerning viewer and reader would be able to single out objects that were considered standout treasures or spectacular pieces – the Boulle furniture or the alcove in the débutante Juliette's apartment, for instance. Possessions that were part of the home were becoming legible. The best evidence of this is the dissemination of women's homes and their possessions in print culture and public auctions. Janell Watson singles out the highly sexualised interiors of courtesans and actresses, tracing this trend from Alexandre Dumas fils' *La Dame aux camélias* (1848), to a column on the actress Rachel (1853), where 'non-fiction imitates fiction' and

⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 125, 127.

⁸⁰ Théophile Gautier, *Jean et Jeannette* (Paris: Charpentier, 1888), p. 261 ; chapters III-IV.

⁸¹ See Norberg, 'Goddesses of Taste', pp. 97-114; on other courtesans who classified as 'learned women' because of their collecting, see p. 108. Alexandre Dumas fils, *La Dame aux camélias* (Paris: Lévy, 1852), pp. 1-5.

⁸² Dumas fils, *La Dame aux camélias*, p. 3: 's'il y a une chose que les femmes du monde désirent voir [...] c'est l'intérieur de ces femmes'.

culminating in Emile Zola's *Nana* (1880).⁸³ As a female actor, Joséphine would have been keenly aware of how important it was for her to assert her status through her furnishings and interiors. To increase their reputation as artists, and demonstrate their mastery of fashion, actresses lavishly furnished their homes with the financial support of their admirers. This process had begun in the *ancien régime*, when dancers, actresses and courtisans were heralded and critiqued as 'goddesses of taste'. Indeed, the dependence of actresses and courtesans on taste professionals is explored in Arnould Frémy's dialogues, in which the 'fournisseurs' appear again and again, until we encounter them in their own tale.⁸⁴ For women who led public lives as part of their professional careers, staging themselves at home in fashionable spaces was of the utmost importance.

Emulative Decorating

Invoking the eighteenth century through the poetic home did not only happen in imagined, fictional spaces. Real interiors could also provide inspiration for how to recapture the look and feel of the eighteenth century. Two key platforms for the public display of the eighteenth century were the court of Empress Eugénie, and the array of exhibitions of the second half of the nineteenth century, both of which made interior spaces into a public spectacle. The dissemination of the designs for Eugénie's redecoration of her apartments in the Tuileries Palace, and the large crowds who packed in to see private collectors' loans at exhibitions, both suggest the wide influence of certain prestigious iterations of eighteenth-century revivalism. Such models were powerful not always because they were the most faithful versions of the eighteenth-century interior, but rather because they were often the most evocative. Whether in court apartments, or in the mansions of art collectors, original objects from the era were intermingled with furniture in a revivalist style and modern 'decorative' paintings that recycled eighteenth-century subject matter. The Boweses' contemporaries were not necessarily seeking an exact recreation of the pre-revolutionary past, but sought to associate genuine antiques with modern reproductions for picturesque effect. In this section, I turn to the Empress Eugénie's court apartments, the patronage by Eugénie and Joséphine of neo-rococo painters with the example of Charles Chaplin, and the allure of eighteenth-century provenance.

⁸³ See Watson, *Literature and material culture*, pp. 72-5.

⁸⁴ Frémy, *Les maîtresses parisiennes*.

In her court apartments, the Empress moved away from the widespread rococo revival styles when her rooms at the Tuileries palace in Paris underwent extensive renovation by Hector-Martin Lefuel from 1858.⁸⁵ She came to draw inspiration almost exclusively from Marie-Antoinette's 1770s luxurious neo-classical private furnishing and decorating choices.⁸⁶ Chimney-pieces in the style of Louis XV were removed, in favour of 'le style Louis XVI'.⁸⁷ For the door handles, casts were taken from other former Royal residences – Rambouillet, for instance – under the direction of Lefuel: the space as a whole aimed to evoke the aesthetic choices made by Marie-Antoinette in her private rooms in her last renovation scheme before her death. Even in the consort's apartments, the visual impact of the interior was given precedence over authenticity or reconstruction of how the rooms originally appeared. To adorn the apartments, the architect Lefuel put together a team of artists and decorators inspired by Watteau, Boucher and Chardin. The artist Charles Chaplin was employed for the painted scenes in her bathroom, for instance. But just as Stéphane Castelluccio has shown that it is difficult to extract the French queen's personal taste from contemporary trends and the rigid customs of the court of the *ancien régime*, it is equally problematic to cast the Empress Eugénie as the most devoted admirer of Marie-Antoinette and her interiors.

The watercolour drawings of Fortuné de Fournier and Eugène Lami provide valuable visual records of Eugénie's apartments in the Tuileries Palace.⁸⁸ In the context of the Exposition Universelle of 1867, Rouyer published a book of the designs used in the Empress's apartments, to promote French artistry. By encouraging neo-rococo art, the court was creating a cultural filiation with the *ancien régime* and boosting technical innovation and the market for luxury goods at the same time.⁸⁹ Alison McQueen has focused on the importance the Spanish Empress Eugénie attached to engaging with French art as a way of establishing herself in a continuous line of great French rulers and patrons.⁹⁰ The Imperial court, along with wealthy consumers, were engines driving the imitation of eighteenth-

⁸⁵ For a detailed account of the renovations of the Empress's apartments in the Tuileries palace, see Caron, 'Les appartements de l'impératrice'.

⁸⁶ See Stéphane Castelluccio, *Le Garde-Meuble de la Couronne et ses intendants du XVIe au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Editions du CTHS, 2004), pp. 230-59.

⁸⁷ Quoted in Geneviève Bresc-Bautier and Françoise Heilbrun (eds.), *Le Photographe et l'Architecte: Baldus, Hector-Martin Lefuel et le chantier du nouveau Louvre de Napoléon III* (Paris: RMN, 1995), p. 80.

⁸⁸ Eugène Rouyer, *Les appartements privés de S. M. l'impératrice au Palais des Tuileries* (Paris: Baudry, 1867).

⁸⁹ On technological innovation in the arts, see *The Second Empire 1852-1870: Art in France under Napoleon III*, pp. 11-2.

⁹⁰ McQueen, *Empress Eugénie and the Arts*, p. 77-147.

century styles and were able to re-use and stage objects from the past in their modern interiors. The changes undergone by the Garde-Meuble de la Couronne, then Garde-Meuble Impérial, and the national manufactories that depended on the endorsement of the elite class, illustrate on a bigger scale the ways in which new outlets for luxury goods were created in nineteenth-century France, in imitation of the old regime conventions.⁹¹

The imperial court's patronage of the arts of decoration coincided with the new public buildings that emerged in Haussmann's Paris, such as Charles Garnier's Opéra, where the French artist Paul-Jacques-Aimé Baudry, who had made his name since the 1850s through overdoor paintings for *hôtels particuliers*, was chosen for the distinguished task of painting the ceiling of the Grand Foyer in 1866.⁹² In parallel to the writers mentioned above, who continued in the footsteps of the *petits-romantiques* of the first wave of Romanticism in the arts, a group of painters took inspiration from and emulated eighteenth-century painters of *la vie galante*. These artists-cum-decorators were key players in dictating what was fashionable. Thanks to their patronage by prominent society figures, and to their careful study of French eighteenth-century painters, the production of these decorative painters appealed to the tastes of fashionable buyers seeking out visual or material sources evocative of the eighteenth century.

One example patronised by the Boweses is Charles Chaplin. In his obituary in *Chronique des arts et de la curiosité : supplément à la Gazette des beaux-arts*, E. D. G. describes him as 'un artiste charmant et très original, bien qu'il ait renouvelé les grâces de Boucher en suivant les traditions des maîtres de l'art anglais au siècle dernier'.⁹³ Chaplin was also likened to Chardin, and Théophile Gautier wrote that 'M. Chaplin est une sorte de Chardin gracieux et coquet, et sa peinture, qu'on affecte de regarder comme frivole, possède de sérieuses qualités sous son apparence légère'.⁹⁴ Half-English, Chaplin had lived around the corner from the Boweses during much of the 1860s, and was pivotal as an educator of women artists.⁹⁵ While Chaplin was busy painting cherubs onto the walls of the Elysée and Demidoff palaces (Elysée in 1861, Demidoff in 1866), he also exhibited his work in

⁹¹ Caron, 'Les appartements de l'impératrice'.

⁹² On Baudry, see Christopher Robinson, 'The Artist as "Rénovateur": Paul Paudry and the Paris Opéra', *Art Journal*, 46:4 (1987), 285-290.

⁹³ E. D. G., 'Charles Chaplin', *Chronique des Arts et de la curiosité*, 7 February 1891, p. 46.

⁹⁴ Poésies diverses, 1833-1838, *Œuvres de Théophile Gautier, Poésies*, Lemerre, Volume 1, p. 525.

⁹⁵ See Morris, *French Art*, p. 107.

the Salons, alongside Joséphine Bowes's landscapes.⁹⁶ The peak of Chaplin's fame came from the commissions he received from the imperial regime. Empress Eugénie's influence on the history of art has been neglected because her interest lay not in 'high art' but in the art of decoration.⁹⁷ Yet by patronising modern artists and developing a style of her own, she wrote herself into the tradition of the courtly elite by establishing an official style for the Second Empire.

Joséphine was in tune with current trends in paintings and decoration, and, as an artist herself, was in a privileged position to be in touch with the stars of the Salon. The Boweses purchased a number of small paintings of female subjects by Chaplin, through the dealer Madame Lepautre, between 1866 and 1868. *Petits-romantiques* painters celebrated ephemeral pleasures such as bathing, as explored by Chaplin in *Two Girls Bathing* (Fig.50).⁹⁸ Capturing fleeting moments in playful genre scenes was significant given nineteenth-century consciousness of time passing (Fig.51). Joséphine's collection of modern paintings included many works by artists who were inspired by their predecessors, such as Charles Chaplin, Faustin Besson and Dedreux-Dorcy.⁹⁹ She collected works by contemporary artists who explicitly emulated eighteenth-century masters and re-invented eighteenth-century subjects (Fig.52).

To see original antiques from the period, the Boweses attended public exhibitions, at which objects from the collections of descendants of *ancien régime* aristocrats, collectors, and the Empress Eugénie were loaned to be placed under public scrutiny.¹⁰⁰ Under the Second Empire, the Trianon estate at Versailles was renovated and reopened to the public to coincide with the Exposition Universelle at the request of the Empress Eugénie.¹⁰¹ The public's excitement over objects that

⁹⁶ See TBMA, JB/8/1/3/3 and 4.

⁹⁷ See Patricia Mainardi, *Art and Politics of the Second Empire: The Universal Expositions of 1855 and 1867* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1989), p. 35.

⁹⁸ TBM, B.M.707.

⁹⁹ On the reappearance of these so-called rococo artists, see Mary D. Sheriff, *Fragonard: art and eroticism* (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 1990), introduction.

¹⁰⁰ Examples of public exhibitions invoking the arts under Marie-Antoinette in Paris included: Musée Rétrospectif exhibition organised by the Union Centrale des Beaux-Arts Appliqués à l'Industrie (Palais de l'Industrie, 1865); L'art du XVIIIe siècle, which was accompanied by a lavishly illustrated catalogue (Galerie Georges Petit, 1883-1884); Exposition de l'Art Français sous Louis XIV et sous Louis XV, au profit de l'œuvre de l'Hospitalité de la Nuit (Hôtel Chimay, 1888); Exposition de Marie Antoinette et son temps (Galerie Sedelmeyer, 4bis Rue de la Rochefoucauld, 1894).

¹⁰¹ See Laurent Salomé and Claire Bonnotte (eds.), *Versailles Revivals, 1867-1937* (Paris: In Fine Editions; Château de Versailles, 2019). For an account of how deeply moving such exhibitions of memorabilia could be for the French public, see Stammers, *The Purchase of the Past*, introduction.

were considered to be relics of the *ancien régime* was matched with a growing scepticism over the inflation of bogus pieces. The Fourth Marquess of Hertford, one of the collectors who loaned objects from his homes to public exhibitions across the 1860s, was sceptical about the sheer number of objects labelled as historical relics. In a letter dismissing the idea of commissioning a catalogue of his collection of furniture, the Fourth Marquess of Hertford wrote,

depuis bien longtemps j'achète à droite et à gauche ce qui me semble joli, sans attacher la plupart du temps la moindre importance aux affirmations que beaucoup de marchands ont l'habitude de faire en proposant ce qu'ils ont. Bronzes, pendules et meubles, tout est de Riessner, ou de Boule, ou de Gouthière et tout a appartenu à Marie Antoinette, à Made Du Barry, ou à Made de Pompadour. Quant à moi, il me serait impossible d'affirmer quoi que ce soit à ce sujet.¹⁰²

Downplaying the value accorded to provenance in ascertaining authenticity, Lord Hertford seems to valorise intrinsic beauty and aesthetic appeal over anecdotal and potentially unreliable information about previous owners. By contrast, the dealers' bills to the Boweses are replete with allusions to the context of the finds, sourced with buyers such as Joséphine in mind: from a sale in Versailles on 14 April 1869, Lamer sold her two small paintings from a piece of furniture that had once belonged to Marie-Antoinette.¹⁰³ In February 1867, Lamer presented Joséphine with a Louis XVI faience inkwell with possibly a portrait of Louis XVI and said to have belonged to Marie-Antoinette and 15,000 counters from the gaming rooms of the Convention.¹⁰⁴ Whether connected to the queen or to the revolutionary government, these were objects purported to have been touched, handled and used by important people in the past. The frisson of excitement provoked by objects of domestic use that had been used by historical figures was experienced by many of the Boweses' contemporary collectors.¹⁰⁵ They too favoured objects bearing associations with or evoking people, places and anecdotes.

John and Joséphine also visited the International Exhibitions with their staged displays of furniture, and the *grands magasins*, which offered objects for sale arranged in spaces that increasingly resembled 'period rooms'. Some dealers and ébénistes set up shop in eighteenth-century buildings, thus anchoring

¹⁰² Letter from 4th Marquess of Hertford, 24 November 1865, Wallace Collection Archives, cited in Peter Hugues, *The Wallace Collection Catalogue of Furniture*. Vol. I, (London: The Wallace Collection, 1996), p. 26.

¹⁰³ Bill from Lamer, TBMA, JB/5/10/7/52. Translation by TBMA volunteers.

¹⁰⁴ Letter from Lamer, 16 February 1867, TBMA, JB/5/10/5/16.

¹⁰⁵ On Léopold Double and other examples, see Stammers, *The Purchase of the Past*, pp. 203-242.

themselves firmly in tradition. This was the case of Beurdeley (and Christofle who rented the ground floor) at the Pavillon de Hanovre.¹⁰⁶ Joséphine frequented dealers' shops and luxury fashion outlets such as the Maison Worth on the Rue de la Paix and the shopping galleries of the Palais Royal on a regular basis. A survey of the locations of shops and dealers frequented by John and Joséphine Bowes between the end of the 1840s and the 1870s indicate two hubs: one grouped around the galleries of the Palais Royal (Maison Worth, the jeweller Briquet, and the bootmaker Guillot), and the other to the north of the Rue de Rivoli in the rapidly expanding fashionable 9th arrondissement, clustered around the Hôtel Drouot and various theatres. These carefully curated public spaces aimed to impress and inspire consumption.

The cultural surroundings of John and Joséphine Bowes informed their decorative choices strongly. Beyond the court and exhibitions, another component of John's visual repertoire of historic interiors between the 1840s and 1870s was the clubs of which he was a member. As noted in Chapter 2, Bowes belonged to the Paris Jockey Club and the Cercle de l'Union: both were bedecked in historic furnishings.¹⁰⁷ The focal point of the Salle de Billard at the Jockey-Club in 1864 (in its new premises on the corner of Boulevard des Capucines and Rue Scribe) was the billard table 'en vieux chêne et de grande dimension; les riches sculptures dont il est décoré en font une œuvre d'art d'un vrai mérite ; ce meuble date de 1836, il a été exécuté par Monbro'.¹⁰⁸ The 'vénérable' piece of furniture had taken on a patina that was treasured and looked appropriate with the rest of the room. These spaces, as well as the fictional ones in books and plays, are further indicators of the fashionable material landscape into which the Boweses' homes fitted, a landscape in which modern furniture coexisted alongside antiques. When John and Joséphine decided to buy the Château de Louveciennes in 1852, this was an ideal backdrop for producing their own homage to the arts of eighteenth-century France.

¹⁰⁶ See Sarah Medlam and Howard Coutts, 'John and Joséphine Bowes' purchases from the International Exhibitions of 1862, 1867 and 1871', *Decorative Arts Society 1850 to the present*, 16 (1992), 50-61. On the arrangement of goods in shops, see Auslander, *Taste and Power*, pp. 322-50; Mestdagh, 'La Dynastie Beurdeley', Chapter 2; Patricia Lara-Betancourt, 'Displaying dreams: Model interiors in British department stores, 1890-1914', in *Architectures of Display: Department Stores and Modern Retail*, ed. by Anca I. Lasc, Patricia Lara-Betancourt, Margaret Maile Petty (Abingdon; New York, Routledge, 2017); Charlotte Vignon, *Duveen Brothers and the market for decorative arts, 1880-1940* (New York: The Frick Collection, in association with Giles, 2019), pp. 42-51.

¹⁰⁷ See Ireland, *Cythera regained?*, p. 119.

¹⁰⁸ See Charles Yriarte, *Le Figaro*, 31 January 1864.

III. The Château de Louveciennes

The availability of historic buildings on the market provided collectors such as the Boweses with background environments for their collections, offering empty shells that were both authentic and beautiful. The Boweses' purchase of the Château de Louveciennes as a country house in 1852 expressed a desire to own and repopulate a site of former royal importance.¹⁰⁹ Two decades before, in 1835, the Fourth Marquess of Hertford had purchased the Folie d'Artois at Bagatelle; other pleasure houses of the *ancien régime* (*maisons de plaisance*) that had fallen into disrepair would be adopted as country houses by wealthy Parisians throughout the century.¹¹⁰ For example, in 1875, the sugar magnate Alfred Sommier (1835-1908) bought Vaux-le-Vicomte from the dukes of Choiseul-Praslin, and in 1879, the banker Salomon Stern (1818-1890) purchased the entire estate that had once belonged to Madame Elisabeth in Montreuil next to Versailles. Just as Napoleon III and Eugénie retired to Fontainebleau in the summer months, the Fourth Marquess of Hertford spent increasing amounts of time in his country house on the outskirts of Paris. The Founders' library at the Bowes Museum boasts a great number of guidebooks, maps, and histories of palaces and royal houses around Paris, including catalogues of their collections. The Boweses seem to have been well-read in the histories of such sites, and the volumes range from well-thumbed cheap paperbacks to pristine copies in beautiful bindings. Buying the Château de Louveciennes, which was nestled between other palaces closely connected with their *ancien régime* and First Empire owners – Marly-le-Roi, Saint-Cloud, Malmaison, and close to Bagatelle and Trianon – the Boweses actively wove themselves into the fabric of history by repopulating a former royal site, as seen in the use of the visual language of the eighteenth-century in Joséphine's portrait by Dury (Fig.39).

When purchasing their country house on the historic Louveciennes estate, the Boweses had a choice between various existing buildings and parcels of land. The letters from M. Héloïse suggest that Joséphine initially wanted to buy the Pavillon de musique, designed by Ledoux.¹¹¹ However, the Boweses purchased the Château de Louveciennes. Built under the reign of Louis XIV to accommodate Arnold de Ville, the man in charge of the Machine de Marly, which pumped water to the Château of Versailles, this property at Louveciennes soon became part of the

¹⁰⁹ Chapman, *John and Joséphine*, p. 46.

¹¹⁰ On the 4th Marquess's collection of furniture in Paris and at Bagatelle, see Hughes, *The Wallace Collection Furniture*, vol. I, p. 29, 35-5.

¹¹¹ M. Héloïse to John, 30 March 1852, TBMA, JB/4/1/1/3.

royal collection of properties in the vicinity of Versailles. After being inhabited by the granddaughter of Louis XIV, the house, or 'pavillon' as it was known then (not to be confused with Ledoux's later Pavillon de musique) came into the possession of the Comtesse de Toulouse and the Duc de Penthièvre, the parents of the Prince de Lamballe, who died onsite a year after his marriage to Marie Thérèse Louise de Savoie-Carignan, Princesse de Lamballe, yet another courtly figure represented in the Boweses' collection. Under the auspices of the Penthièvres, the house was extended (leading to an 'aile de Penthièvre') and decorated with rococo *boiseries*. Louis XV assigned the property to Madame du Barry, the new royal mistress from 1769, although she would not spend much time there until after the King's death, when she was given the authorisation by Louis XVI in 1776 to reside there, after her exile from Versailles two years before.¹¹²

The Château de Louveciennes as a building is much less well documented than Ledoux's Pavillon in modern scholarship, with the exception of the catalogue of the exhibition held at the Musée-Promenade de Marly-le-Roi et Louveciennes in 1992.¹¹³ Indeed, the Boweses have been mostly forgotten in the history of the château's inhabitants, perhaps because they made no major alterations, unlike their successors, the Goldschmidts, who would build a new entrance in the Louis XV style.¹¹⁴ At the time of Madame du Barry's occupancy, the architecture and interiors of the buildings on her estate at Louveciennes already displayed a stylistic *panaché*: there had been plans to expand the Château, but the Pavillon, considered to be one of Ledoux's masterpieces, overshadowed any changes or renovations to Du Barry's dwellings. Madame du Barry had inherited Pompadour's role as patron of the arts and understandably focused her attention on establishing a new style, removed from the *rocaille* of Pompadour and Louis XV.¹¹⁵ In this way the wider estate of Louveciennes demonstrated two equally iconic eighteenth-century styles, one linked to Louis XV and representative of the *goût nouveau* or *rococo*, and the other, embodied by Ledoux's Pavillon de Musique, in the neo-classical style that came to be associated with the last quarter of the century. The Boweses' preference for the building in the Louis XV style illustrates the craze for the rococo

¹¹² On Du Barry's apartments at Versailles and Marly, see Pierre Verlet, *Le Château de Versailles* (Paris: Fayard, 1985); Stéphane Castelluccio, 'The Two Apartments of Mme du Barry at the Château de Marly,' *Studies in the Decorative Arts*, 2: (1995), 77-91.

¹¹³ *Madame Du Barry, de Versailles à Louveciennes* (Paris: Flammarion, 1992).

¹¹⁴ See 'Dossier de Protection du Château du Barry' 7350/4/007, Médiathèque du patrimoine, Paris.

¹¹⁵ See Christian Baulez, "Le mobilier et les objets de Madame du Barry," in *Madame Du Barry, de Versailles à Louveciennes* (Paris: Flammarion, 1992), pp. 25-85.

that had characterised fashionable French interiors since the return of the exiled aristocrats after the fall of the First Empire, and came to embody a distinctly French taste for evoking the old régime.¹¹⁶ The history of the famous panels painted by Jean-Honoré Fragonard for the Pavillon (now at the Frick), which Du Barry rejected in favour of a different set by Vien in the neo-classical style, testify to the change in taste occurring at the end of the 1770s. The panels were one of Fragonard's important and prestigious commissions, made only more famous by Du Barry's rejection of them. They continue to be shrouded in speculation because the order in which they were intended to be installed remains unknown.¹¹⁷

Despite the revolutionary looting of Du Barry's property, Louveciennes (or Luciennes, as it was referred to in eighteenth-century memoirs) still bore the architectural marks of the rivalry between the queens of fashion when the Boweses became the owners of the Château.¹¹⁸ The parallels drawn between Du Barry's Louveciennes and Marie-Antoinette's Trianon included the presence of a *laiterie*, a Temple d'Amour, and an Orangerie with potted trees, all of which are described in the books about Trianon in the Boweses' library.¹¹⁹ The Château offered more space, including a chapel and Orangerie, and besides, the Pavillon had been designed as a space for entertainment, as opposed to living quarters. Members of fashionable society such as Voltaire, Rousseau, and the poet Marmontel were regular visitors to the former royal mistress and her lover the Comte de Brissac, and foreign personalities such as Benjamin Franklin and the queen's brother went out of their way to catch a glimpse of her.¹²⁰ For the Boweses, the folklore of the place contributed to its appeal. It was a site steeped in many layers of history, bearing associations with the courts of Louis XIV, Louis XV and Louis XVI, and the tragic end met by its final illustrious owner under the French Revolution. In the same way that Bagatelle carried the story of the wager between Marie-Antoinette and her eccentric brother-in-law the Comte d'Artois, Louveciennes became attached with rumours and anecdotes. Jo Hedley has shown that the emphasis on scandal helped

¹¹⁶ See Simches, *Le Romantisme*, pp. 51-55.

¹¹⁷ See Sheriff, *Fragonard*, pp. 58-97; Donald Posner, 'The True Path of Fragonard's 'Progress of Love'', *The Burlington Magazine*, 114:833 (1972), 526-534; Colin Bailey, *Fragonard's Progress of Love at the Frick Collection* (New York: The Frick Collection, 2011).

¹¹⁸ See Rion photographs of chateau du Barry at Louveciennes, TBMA, JB/4/8.

¹¹⁹ On the gardens at Trianon, see Gabriella Lamy, "'Murs-murs" des pépinières de Trianon', *Bulletin du Centre de recherche du château de Versailles*, Articles et études (2016), <<https://doi.org/10.4000/crcv.13742>> [Accessed 28 March 2021]. See Adolphe Joanne, *Versailles: son palais, ses jardins, son musée, ses eaux. Les deux Trianons*, TBMA, F.914.436/Jo.

¹²⁰ See Hyde, 'Contesting Beauties'.

the rehabilitation in the nineteenth century of figures closely linked to the reign of Louis XV, such as François Boucher, 'symbol of the doomed and decadent regime'.¹²¹

Spicy tales form the bulk of Madame du Barry's *Mémoires* and the *Mémoires secrets* by Lamoth-Langon (1829), copies of which Joséphine owned.¹²² The memoirs, written in the first person, stage the Comtesse holding court at 'Luciennes', which is also how the Boweses would refer to the estate in their own written records. Many of these fictional memoirs were heavily illustrated picture books, which combined simplified engravings after portraits and imagined scenes in which the historical protagonists sprang to life to illustrate the narrative (Figs.53-54). The reading public was keen to read authentic accounts: indeed, some writers such as Charles Vatel, a major collector who wrote *Histoire de Madame du Barry* (1883), included bibliographies of the primary sources he had consulted. These ranged from poems written by contemporaries to accompany portraits of the Comtesse displayed in the *Salon*, to the catalogues of her library and porcelain collection, inventories of her possessions and account books from *marchands-merciers*, and scabrous pamphlets attacking her background.¹²³ The variety of sources used by Vatel is mirrored in the Boweses' library. In terms of visual sources, their collection of prints and paintings also shows that they were taking collecting vestiges of court life seriously: a fine painting of a vestal virgin is referred to in the 1878 catalogue of paintings as a portrait of Madame du Barry (Fig.55-56).¹²⁴ There is also an oval portrait of a young child by Drouais, Du Barry's favourite portraitist before Elisabeth Vigée Le Brun.¹²⁵ The hunting jacket worn by the child is

¹²¹ See Jo Hedley, *François Boucher: Seductive Visions* (London: The Wallace Collection, 2004), pp. 166-8.

¹²² Etienne-Léon de Lamoth-Langon, *Mémoires de Madame la comtesse du Barri* (2 volumes); four volumes about du Barry from the series *Mémoires secrets et inédits sur les cours de France aux XVe, XVIe, XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles*; and one copy from *Panthéon populaire illustré. Chroniques populaires illustrées par Janet-Lange* series, all in TBMA under the shelfmark, F.920/Du.

¹²³ Some examples of published sources included: *Catalogue des livres de madame du Barry, par le bibliophile Jacob* (Paris: Fontaine, 1874); Charles Davillier, *Les porcelaines de Sèvres de madame du Barry, d'après les mémoires de la Manufacture royale* (Paris: Aubry, 1870); Louis Courajod, *Livre-Journal de Lazare Duvaux* (Paris: Société des Bibliophiles Français, 1873).

¹²⁴ TBM, B.M.275. On the portrayal of women as vestal virgins, see Kathleen Nicholson, 'The ideology of feminine virtue: the vestal virgin in French eighteenth-century allegorical portraiture', in *Portraiture: facing the subject* ed. by Joanna Woodall (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), pp. 52-72.

¹²⁵ Circle of François-Hubert Drouais, *Portrait of a child*, oil on canvas, TBM, B.M.294.

reminiscent of that worn by the Comtesse in the famous missing portrait of her by Drouais, made to accompany the oval exhibited at the Salon, now at Versailles.¹²⁶

IV. Reanimating and refurbishing a site of former royal splendour

When the Boweses became the owners of Louveciennes, they set about furnishing rooms that were already lined with panelling dating from the first half of the eighteenth century. They did not seek to bring back to Louveciennes furniture and artworks that had once populated the space. Rather, they decorated the historic shell with fashionable Second Empire furnishings. Inside, the fixed furnishings were left intact, including the sets of boiseries *à la capucine* in the ground floor rooms,¹²⁷ and the suite of carved and unpainted chairs provided by Monbro for the dining room, harmonised with the stripped finish of the panelling by Guibert and Rousseau (1769) (Figs.13, 37, 57-58).¹²⁸

To help John and Joséphine in their quest to live in luxurious surroundings, the firm Monbro *fils aîné* became their *tapissier*-decorators. Reports of the estate sale of Monbro in 1885 referred to the cabinet-maker as ‘cet homme de goût qui s’appelait Monbro et qui introduit la curiosité dans l’ameublement’.¹²⁹ He had been particularly sought after for providing custom-made cases for ladies’ pianos. Jules Lecomte recalled an anecdote about the actress Rachel: ‘Un jour qu’elle donnait une soirée, il lui prit [Mlle Rachel] subitement la fantaisie d’avoir un piano d’Erard monté en marqueterie de Boulle. Où le trouver près ? Elle emmena un de ses amis avec elle, pour chercher partout. [...] Mais elle s’était assise chez Monbro devant un piano quelconque...’.¹³⁰ Reviews and reports on the exhibition sale held at Monbro’s premises at 19 Rue du Helder, in April 1868, give a taste of the firm’s reputation and popularity with collectors, the court, and attractive young women alike. Their creations combined a veneration of antiques, embodied in quality pieces made with outstanding craftsmanship; they also sought to give them a contemporary interpretation, upgrading them for modern use. *Le Figaro*

¹²⁶ See Juliette Trey, ‘Un portrait de Madame Du Barry pour Versailles’ *Versalia. Revue de la Société des Amis de Versailles*, 16 (2013), 187-196 <<https://doi.org/10.3406/versa.2013.933>> [Accessed 28 March 2021], p. 189.

¹²⁷ The *boiseries* may have been stripped by the previous owner, the banker Pierre Laffitte, whose descendants sold the château to the Boweses, see ‘Dossier de Protection du Château du Barry’, Médiathèque du Patrimoine.

¹²⁸ On the attempted theft of the original fixed furnishings including the panelling and chimney pieces, see the ‘Dossier de Protection’.

¹²⁹ *Le Figaro*, 13 January 1885.

¹³⁰ Eugène Woestyn, ‘Mademoiselle Rachel’, *Le Figaro*, 21 January 1858, p. 4.

highlighted at the sale 'un magnifique service en ancienne porcelaine de Sèvres, pâte tendre, à décors fond bleu de roi, orné de médaillons et deux boiseries de salons complètes, blanc et or, provenant l'un d'un hôtel de madame de Pompadour, l'autre d'un appartement du cardinal Fesch.' The newspaper column added that 'plus d'une belle jeune femme fera pousser les enchères pour décorer sa cheminée de ces mille babioles qui, si elles coûtent assez cher, rendent la vie intime si douce et si pleine de charme.'¹³¹

To furnish their Château, the Boweses combined sensual rococo furniture shapes with simple textiles, such as printed cottons like those Marie-Antoinette had favoured at Trianon (Figs.46-48). The 'style champêtre' of the end of the eighteenth century was adapted to fit with new technologies. Monbro fils aîné re-upholstered the suite of Joséphine's bedroom furniture in 1855 or 1856.¹³² A fabric design by Braquenié (still available from Pierre Frey today) and used in the recent renovation of one of the bedrooms at the Petit Trianon at Versailles is named 'Impératrice Eugénie' and it very closely resembles the waxed cotton used to re-upholster Joséphine Bowes's bedroom suite of furniture at Louveciennes (Fig.49).¹³³

Encouraging *pastiche* placed designers, decorators, dealers and craftsmen in the same line as the *marchand-merciers* of the eighteenth-century French market for luxury goods.¹³⁴ These arbiters of taste would evolve into what Leora Auslander refers to as 'taste professionals'.¹³⁵ Nineteenth-century decorators and their clients were inspired by *ancien régime* conventions and traditions. Seymour Simches has identified the bed as one of the most common domestic objects to be made in an eighteenth-century style.¹³⁶ The courtesan's bed designed by Edouard Lièvre that belonged to Valtesse de la Bigne and is on display at the Musée des Arts décoratifs in Paris, the bed paid for by John Bowes for Joséphine before they were married, and the Empress Eugénie's bed at the Elysée Palace all constitute variants of a common theme – the *lit de parade* – adapted to different social contexts (Figs.59-61). They all featured visual cues borrowed from eighteenth-century styles, and the

¹³¹ *Le Figaro*, 18 April 1868.

¹³² See Sarah Medlam, 'Two French Furnishing Schemes of the 1850s' unpublished talk, available for research purposes only, TBMA.

¹³³ I plan to visit the archives of the Maison Pierre Frey.

¹³⁴ See Carolyn Sargentson, *Merchants and Luxury Markets: The Marchands Merciers of Eighteenth-Century Paris* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum in association with the J. Paul Getty Museum, 1996).

¹³⁵ Auslander, *Taste and Power*, p. 190.

¹³⁶ Simches, *Le Romantisme et le goût esthétique du XVIII^e siècle*, p. 53. On playful adaptations of the trope of the royal bed already in the eighteenth century, see Norberg, 'Goddesses of Taste', pp. 100-2.

rococo curves and putti traditionally employed on wedding beds were used in novel ways, combined with neoclassical forms. The addition of the modern techniques of quilting and fabric treatment served to create more comfortable, modern styles, still inspired by the past. In the nineteenth century, especially in high-end furniture, new technologies made it difficult for even the most discerning eye to distinguish between the new and the old, and these are differentiated today on the market as 'd'époque' as opposed to 'de style'. In furniture too, designers employed the same visual grammar of *ancien régime* luxury goods, even though more economical techniques and materials could be used, depending on the clients' budgets. For wealthy consumers such as the Boweses, whole suites of furniture were commissioned from modern *ébénistes* or decorators who were fluent in making pieces in a period style.

Monbro was well known, and his work was familiar to John and Joséphine before they employed him at Louveciennes. Through their rituals of sociability, the couple were very familiar with different strategies for capturing a period style. The Boweses subscribed to a private box, maintained by Monbro *fils aîné*, at the Paris Opéra, which enabled them to display their fine taste in public spaces. Monbro *fils aîné* was one of the Parisian firms that initially specialised in the restoration of antiques. Their work on the wide range of different styles of seat furniture in the Bowes museum, which included incorporating modern spring forms upholstered with eighteenth-century tapestries, English wood carved chair backs, as well as regilding and repainting picture frames, demonstrates how well-versed they were in all stylistic grammars.¹³⁷ In keeping with contemporary fashions, the Boweses chose imitation Boulle case furniture and tables, as seen in Joséphine's portrait by Dury (Fig.39).¹³⁸ The Boweses collected a number of intricate seventeenth-century ebonised table cabinets, but they also bought two new pieces from Monbro that looked like the antique cabinets on stands, which, when opened, offered a spectacle of luxury, showing off technical prowess and expensive materials (Fig.12).¹³⁹ These cabinets were the most expensive pieces purchased to furnish their Paris homes, and featured detailed sculpture, gilt bronze mounts, intricate Boulle-work marquetry and fine columns of lapis lazuli. Monbro took antique

¹³⁷ See Medlam, 'Two Furnishing Schemes'.

¹³⁸ See Brisset, 'La maison Monbro'; Camille Mestdag, 'Les copies à l'ère des premières Expositions universelles: les œuvres de Dasson et de Beurdeley, "un XVIIIe qui continue de vivre" ?', *Bulletin du Centre de recherche du château de Versailles* (2015), <<https://doi.org/10.4000/crcv.13481>> [Accessed 29 March 2021].

¹³⁹ Seventeenth-century cabinet, TBM, FW.219; the Monbro pair of cabinets, TBM, FW.104.A-B.

seventeenth-century cabinets as an inspiration to create a pair of unique highly decorative showpieces.¹⁴⁰ Inspired by the past, they endeavoured to enhance and improve old items for the comfort of their customers.¹⁴¹

Professional decorators, who were themselves well informed collectors of antiques, as Monbro was, staged antique and modern furniture in historic spaces, such as the panelled rooms at Louveciennes, or in newer buildings, such as Cité d'Antin and Rue de Berlin, with taste and respect for eighteenth-century styles. The Boweses were furnishing their homes in Paris at a time when noble families were proudly displaying family heirlooms and antiques alongside modern pieces of furniture.¹⁴² Whilst modes of differentiation and stratification persisted, the Second Empire saw the emergence of homogenous taste in the art of decoration spread across the class mixing-pot that was nineteenth-century Parisian society. However, it was homogenous only through rampant eclecticism.

The Boweses purchased the Château de Louveciennes at a time when the eighteenth century was being re-enacted and re-interpreted on stage, in fiction, in exhibitions, and in homes. The collections of Second Empire furniture in TBM existed against the backdrop of this popular culture of history. Drawing out these different cultural sources for the revival of the eighteenth century helps us to grasp how John and Joséphine's personal affinities could be integrated into the fashionable interiors designed by Monbro – such important stages for the self-fashioning of the social and cultural elites. Revivalism in the fine and decorative arts resulted not only in the creation of entirely new pieces inspired by the past, but also copies, reinventions and adaptations. If John and Joséphine mixed elements of old and new this was not because of ignorance; rather, the care they took in naming styles, in recording stories and anecdotes about objects, and in packing certain objects themselves shows how deeply invested they were in learning about the eighteenth century through material culture. Their collections can be seen as an

¹⁴⁰ See Brisset, 'La maison Monbro et les modèles et dessins d'André-Charles Boulle'.

¹⁴¹ Eugène Rouyer encouraged this practice, as he clearly stated in the introduction to designs for Tuileries apartments: 'Comme l'art Louis XVI procède de l'art Louis XV, [...] de même l'art dont nous montrons aujourd'hui les belles créations, est un prolongement, pour ainsi dire, et une adaptation des styles antérieurs aux besoins et aux moyens d'exécution très perfectionnés de la seconde moitié du dix-neuvième siècle'. Rouyer, *Les appartements privés de S. M. l'impératrice au Palais des Tuileries*, (Paris: Baudry, 1868).

¹⁴² See Elizabeth Macknight, 'A Touch of Distinction: Furnishing French Aristocratic Homes in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries', in *Material Women: Consuming Desires and Collecting Practices, 1750-1950*, ed. by Maureen Daly Goggin and Beth Fowkes Tobin (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), pp. 75-91. On the use of luxury in bourgeois self-fashioning, see Philippe Perrot, *Le Luxe. Une richesse entre faste et confort, XVIIIe-XIXe siècle* (Paris: Seuil, 1995).

attempt to bring people from the past back to life through original artifacts alongside texts, stories and visual motifs. What made an object representative of the old regime hinged not just on its age, but on its imagery, its provenance, its contextual display and its echoes in cultural memory. As part of these efforts to capture and stage the past within the home, portraits were collected and displayed. The extensive print and portrait collections of TBM show the depth of John and Joséphine's passion for history on a domestic scale.

Chapter 4: History and portraits

One of the challenges of writing about portraits is the fact that they can take a variety of forms and they can work differently in different spaces.¹ Portraits were ubiquitous in the collections of John and Joséphine Bowes. As well as the numerous portraits painted in oils displayed in the picture galleries, portraits took a myriad other forms, such as ceramic busts and figurines, or enamel insets on furniture and jewellery. Some of these objects were non-figurative, but arguably they can be treated as closely akin to portraits, such as autographs and heraldic emblems. In the library, textual surveys of Paris and its inhabitants were also packaged as a type of portraiture, such as the anthology of urban physiologies grouped as *Les Français peints par eux-mêmes* (1840-42). The collection of works on paper also contains several hundreds of portrait prints, which vary considerably in quality and subject matter. Somewhat surprisingly for a couple who ordered customised stationery, had photographs taken of themselves, and commissioned external views of the Château de Louveciennes and the museum to send to friends, there are very few photographs in the archive today. Letters and newspaper cuttings have survived in their thousands, yet there is a conspicuous absence of *cartes de visite*, for instance.² It is clear that the Boweses were in thrall to what scholars have recently christened ‘portraitomanie’ – the love of portraits or the ‘maladie’ of collecting images and texts – as well as ‘portraituromanie’ – the vice of loving to be portrayed – phenomena both prevalent during the nineteenth century.³

As with John and Joséphine’s love for the eighteenth century, their interest in portraiture throws into relief the sources, the materiality and the imaginative appeal of many other items of the collection. Portraits were a favoured means for bringing the past to life, and their dissemination in visual, material and written form expanded ways of imagining the past, whilst also enabling the public to select, customise and live with representations of historical personalities within the home.

¹ Marcia Pointon, *Hanging the Head: portraiture and social formation in eighteenth-century England* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 1993); Ludmilla Jordanova, ‘Approaching Visual Materials’, in *Research methods for history*, ed. by Simon Gunn and Lucy Faire (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2016), pp. 30-47; Richard Brilliant, *Portraiture. Essays in Art and Culture* (London: Reaktion Books, 1991).

² The *cartes de visite* might have existed in such large quantities that only those with manuscript notes were kept by the curators in the twentieth century.

³ Erika Wicky and Kathryn Yacavone, ‘Introduction: Portraitomanie and Intermediality in Nineteenth-Century France’, *L’Esprit Créateur*, 59:1 (2019), pp. 1-2.

Both contemporary and historic portraits could elicit strong feelings, especially when a prestigious provenance was involved, and invited reflection upon the passage of time. Commissioning modern portraits was a way of ensuring one's legacy through the persistence of a particular likeness in the future. Regarding the Salon of 1873, André Bonnin commented that, 'Grands ou petits, ignorés ou illustres, les personnages des portraits exposés au Salon, appartiendront demain à l'histoire, à celle de notre vie publique ou bien à celle de nos mœurs.'⁴ Displaying contemporary portraits also transformed the domestic interior, which became saturated with images of relatives produced on a range of material supports.⁵

Portraitomania therefore functioned on many scales, from individual, familial portraits to those of historical figures and contemporary celebrities, which were deemed to possess a public significance. As representations of historic figures proliferated across different genres and media in the early nineteenth century, the definition of portraiture itself was expanded. This chapter will trace the enlarged reach of portraiture across a wide domain of visual and material culture, underlining the complex mix of conventions and accessories through which the identity of a sitter was communicated. At a time when the past was both studied and disseminated as never before, what now counted as a superior or reliable likeness? How did successive technological innovations create new ways of codifying the appearance of historic personalities? Before addressing some examples of portraits in the Boweses' collection, the first part of this chapter explores the importance of portraits, and objects with portrait-like qualities, at a time of widening historical consciousness. It examines the spaces in which John and Joséphine would have encountered groups of portraits – including the institutional space of public museums – and considers how these informed their own attempt to illustrate the history of France. The second part focuses on what constituted a reliable portrait for the Boweses, and explores what originality meant in an age of mass reproduction in print. Finally, I address portraits as vehicles for customising history and bringing the past into the home on paper.

⁴ A. Bonnin, 'Salon de 1873. IV. Les peintres d'histoire', *La Presse*, 1 June 1873, n.p.

⁵ See Manuel Charpy, 'Matières et mémoires. Usages des traces de soi et des siens dans une grande famille bourgeoise de la seconde moitié du XIX^e siècle,' *Revue du Nord*, 390:2 (2011), 395-432; Manuel Charpy, 'Souvenirs perpétuels : une histoire matérielle du portrait au XIX^e siècle,' *L'Esprit Créateur*, 59.1 (2019), 28-46 (pp. 31-32).

I. Definitions

Petra ten-Doesschate Chu has noted that especially during the July Monarchy, 'history was everywhere', representing a kind of proto pop culture which confounded generic distinctions.⁶ Beth Wright has considered the 'disciplinary fluidity' of history in the nineteenth century, which materialised the past across various media and opened up the practice of 'writing' about history too, with many collectors doubling up as amateur historians.⁷ One example is Ferdinand de Rothschild, who published his *Personal Characteristics of French History* in 1896 and gave public lectures to the local community in Waddesdon. Another group of people taking on the role of interpreting history, but in visual terms, was painters, hailed as potential historians and educators of the public. The 'exposition française' of the Beaux-Arts section of the 1855 Exposition Universelle ended with one room devoted to the history painter Dominique-Auguste Ingres and another to Horace Vernet, the leading exponent of historical genre painting in the early nineteenth century. In his impressions of the exhibition, Henri Moulin described Vernet as 'l'artiste de nos jours qui a le mieux écrit notre histoire militaire, et celui dont le riche et fécond pinceau transmettra à la postérité ses grands récits, ses glorieux épisodes'. He identified the artist as 'peintre officiel des batailles' due to his involvement in the depictions of the battles of Empire and the colonisation of Algeria. Yet these detailed battle scenes, commissioned for the Musée de l'histoire de Versailles in the late 1840s, were at the same time 'galeries de portraits historiques, que l'avenir consultera avec un respect religieux, et d'où il viendra détacher les figures de nos grands hommes de guerre, rendues avec la plus scrupuleuse exactitude.'⁸ Indebted to new visual technologies like the diorama, Vernet's scenes appeared to be unmediated thanks to 'meticulously illusionistic concrete components'.⁹ The famed historical figures in the scenes of war were, as was claimed by the critic, exact likenesses, or portraits, in action, designed to draw the public's attention to the people involved in the events.

The cultural production of the nineteenth century presented history in lifelike, relatable ways thanks to new modes of representation and dissemination.

⁶ Chu, 'Pop culture in the making', p. 178.

⁷ Beth S. Wright, *Painting and history during the French Restoration: abandoned by the past* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 11.

⁸ Henri Moulin, *Impressions de voyage d'un étranger à Paris : visite à l'Exposition universelle de 1855* (Mortain: Auguste Lebel, 1856), p. 68.

⁹ Wright, *Painting and history*, p. 9. On Vernet, see Daniel Harkett and Katie Hornstein (eds.), *Horace Vernet and the Thresholds of Nineteenth-Century Visual Culture* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 2017).

As Beth Wright argues, the audience by the late 1820s longed ‘not simply to see the past but to *know* it’.¹⁰ The past became more accessible and intelligible, not only for the literate elite but also, thanks to the expansion of printing and popular means of representation, to a wider public. Stephen Bann notes that for the French public, ‘looking at pictures was a major (and perhaps the major) formative ingredient in the historical-mindedness of the generation that followed the French Revolution’ and that ‘the visual representations have come to belong within a vast web of connected images generated by such complementary practices as book (and magazine) illustration, dramatic *mise-en-scène*, and visual spectacle.’¹¹ These images went beyond serving a mimetic function in relation to texts: they proposed new ways of conceiving the past. Bann identifies two modes of representing what Barthes called the ‘reality effect’ of the past in painting: either through the accumulation of objects or props deemed to be authentic (local colour), or by capturing a specific moment linked to a historic personality.¹² The attraction of being able to identify, and thereby humanise, historic figures fed into this mania of collecting portraits, along with an awareness of the partiality and problems with any given portrait. The Bowes Museum’s manuscript catalogue of paintings (1878), written by John Bowes, testifies to the importance of naming all the subjects in paintings depicting historical events. For instance, notes in TBMA indicate that John called upon the librarian and *homme de lettres* Lorédan Larchey (see Chapter 1) to help identify the figures in the allegorical painting by H. Faber representing the 1763 Treaty of Hubertusburg, which ended the Seven Years War between Prussia, Austria and Saxony (Fig.62).¹³ In the Boweses’ collection, pictorial portraits work alongside other types of artefacts to create a fuller impression of a sitter’s life and character.

The sixth edition of the *Dictionnaire de l’Académie française* (1835) defined the term ‘portrait’ as either the literal image (or visual depiction) of a person reproduced by hand, or the written description of someone or something in words.¹⁴ I consider both of these types of portrait – visual and written – in my study of the genre because the relationship between written and visual depictions of

¹⁰ Wright, *Painting and History*, p. 5.

¹¹ Bann, ‘Two Kinds of Historicism’, pp. 156–7.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ TBM, B.M.623. Cover note in John’s hand reads: ‘Note de Monsieur Larchey sur le Tableau du Traité de Hubertusbourg’; folio of notes is not in Larchey’s hand, see TBMA, JB/6/7/2.

¹⁴ *Dictionnaire de l’Académie française*, 6th Edition (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1835).

historical persons was central to the imagination of the nineteenth century.¹⁵ Émile Littré's dictionary added that 'portrait' could be used colloquially to designate someone's face.¹⁶ His definition also highlighted the 'ressemblance', or likeness, implied when the term was used figuratively, when referring to a person's appearance ('ressemblance physique') or their character ('ressemblance morale'). A visual portrait could be so realistic that it was 'parlant', or, 'si ressemblant qu'il semble parler'. Iconic characters from the distant and not so distant past – such as Marie-Antoinette or Napoleon I – were romanticised or demonised on the basis of a close examination of facial features, expression or skull shape. A copy of Jean-Baptiste Della Porta's *La Physionomie humaine* (1655) in the founders' library suggests that the Boweses were at least aware of this fashionable theory linking facial features, phrenology and character attributes.¹⁷ But portraits were not always facial or figurative, as the *Littré* indicates that a portrait might be a 'description qu'on fait de l'extérieur, du caractère d'une personne'.¹⁸ A portrait could single out one body part – facial or other – in its representation, as in the case of death masks, casts of hands, portrait miniatures of individual facial features or photographs of body parts that stood for the sitter as a whole.¹⁹ In the collection of John and Joséphine Bowes, for instance, a fragment of oil on canvas showing a hand holding a make-up brush is identified as 'The hand of Madame de Pompadour after (or copy of) François Boucher' (Fig.63).²⁰ A painting of a hand has been given portrait-like qualities because of its closeness to the well-known depiction of the Marquise de Pompadour at her toilette table, by François Boucher.²¹

Handwriting and autograph documents were also considered a kind of portraiture. In the introduction to their *Portraits intimes du XVIIIème siècle* (1857-

¹⁵ See Bann, *Clothing of Clio*; Francis Haskell, *History and its images: art and the interpretation of the past* (New Haven ; London: Yale University Press, 1993); Rosemary Mitchell, *Picturing the Past: English History in Text and Image, 1830-1870* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); Wright, *Painting and History*.

¹⁶ 'Populairement et fig. La figure. Crever le portrait, donner un coup de poing au milieu du visage.' Emile Littré, *Dictionnaire de la langue française* 2nd edn (Paris: Hachette, 1872-77).

¹⁷ See Martin Porter, *Windows of the Soul: Physiognomy in European Culture 1470-1780* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005). On Della Porta's theories of physiognomy, see Haskell, *History and its Images*, pp. 61-66.

¹⁸ 'portrait', Littré, *Dictionnaire*.

¹⁹ See Ludmilla Jordanova, *Defining Features. Scientific and Medical Portraits 1660-2000* (London: Reaktion Books, 2000), p. 13-14. On depictions of individual body parts, see Hanneke Grootenboer, *Treasuring the Gaze: intimate vision in late eighteenth-century eye miniatures* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012).

²⁰ 'The hand of Madame de Pompadour, after [or copy of] François Boucher', oil on canvas, TBM, 2007.8/B.M.

²¹ François Boucher, *Jeanne-Antoinette, Marquise de Pompadour*, 1750 with later additions, Harvard Art Museums, Harvard, 1966.47.

8), Edmond and Jules de Goncourt praised the autograph as a ‘miroir magique’ of the writer’s inner, secret, private being: ‘ce papier tâché d’encre, c’est la greffe où est déposée l’âme humaine’.²² This rhetoric is characteristic of the idea that portraits should communicate ‘something about the sitter’s psychological state or personality’.²³ Indeed, the handwriting of a person could reveal attributes of their inner character, or so it was claimed, and an autograph also evoked the physical presence of the person writing. As such, autographs were collected as the embodied trace of a person. Aside from the Boweses – who had many related to the Bonaparte family – and the Goncourt brothers, autographs were collected by many of the Boweses’ friends, including Monckton Milnes, Hippolyte Lucas and Lorédan Larchey, to augment other parts of their collections.²⁴ The growing market for and popularity of collecting autographs should be considered in the context of collecting portraits of historical figures.²⁵ Thanks to the saturation of history in popular culture, the public became increasingly informed and more meticulous when it came to evaluating historical specimens, and the study of handwriting played an important role in this. The evidence of specialised publications, reproductions and forgeries led to a greater awareness of the dangers of credulity.²⁶ The reception of Félix-Sebastien Feuillet de Conches’s *Causeries d’un curieux* (from 1862) is a case in point.²⁷ The first two volumes, copies of which are in the founders’ library in TBMA, included facsimiles of purportedly authentic letters of Marie-Antoinette, written in her hand.²⁸ The reading public, who had become invested in their national past and in the cult of historical personalities, was outraged when Feuillet de Conches was accused of tampering with and embellishing these historical documents. In his review for *Le Journal des débats politiques et littéraires*, the historian and literary critic Alfred-Auguste Cuvillier-

²² Edmond et Jules de Goncourt, *Portraits intimes du XVIIIème siècle* (Paris: Dentu, 1857), pp. ix-x.

²³ Shearer West, *Portraiture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 29-37.

²⁴ That is not to say that autograph collecting was solely a male pursuit. A letter from William Hutt to Joséphine Bowes enclosed two letters, picked out by his wife for the autograph collection, see 23 August (1861), TBMA, JB/8/1/16/3. On TBM collection of autographs, see Tom Stammers, ‘John Bowes and the collectors of Napoleon in nineteenth-century Britain’ in *The Allure of Napoleon*, pp. 33-40.

²⁵ On the idea of material objects embodying ‘an understanding of a sitter’s claim to fame’, see Jordanova, *The Look of The Past*, p. 47. On the market for autographs in post-Revolutionary France, see Stammers, ‘The Refuse of the Revolution’.

²⁶ The Boweses owned H. de Villemessant’s *L’Autographe*, see list signed by Owen S. Scott, TBMA, JB/6/5/2/1/11.

²⁷ See *Le Monde Illustré*, 22 January 1859, p. 64. On this subject, see Tom Stammers’ forthcoming article.

²⁸ Félix-Sebastien Feuillet de Conches, *Causeries d’un curieux. Variétés d’histoire et d’art tirées d’un cabinet d’autographes et de dessins*, TBMA, F.417/Fe. The volume is listed in the books received from Paris after John’s death in June 1885.

Fleury voiced the scepticism of modern readers, whose ‘curiosité’ required ‘[une] exigence susceptible et méticuleuse’.²⁹ Facsimile reproductions of the handwriting sample were even provided in some periodicals for readers to judge the suspected forgeries for themselves.³⁰ The controversy challenged the authenticity of autographs in private hands and the reliability of well-known collectors and historians, such as Feuillet de Conches. It also highlighted the defensiveness of the public on behalf of icons of their national past and the personal “expertise” in making attributions that history-hungry readers had achieved on their own.

Associated objects, such as bits of clothing, are another kind of tactile object that could be ascribed portrait-like qualities.³¹ In this encompassing desire for faithful representations of the past, all the senses were engaged, and it was believed that personality was imprinted on items of clothing or everyday objects used by a famous person. In this sense, the object bearing an association with the historical figure need not be a flat image of their face. Indeed, a historical person’s clothing or furniture could become metonymies of their owners, as objects standing in for the people they were associated with.³² The piece of a dress that had belonged to Marie-Antoinette, indicated in the inventory taken after John’s death of objects at 7 Rue de Berlin that were reserved for the museum, is an example of this practice.³³ On 23 October 1869, John Bowes’ cousin, Susan Davidson, presented Joséphine with a ring containing the hair of Charles Edward Stuart, ‘for her museum’. She wrote that:

The Hair in this ring was given to the Buchanan Family (who were devoted to the Cause of Charles Edward Stuart) by a Person attached to his service, by them given to Mrs. Davidson thro’ Miss Shaftoe on account of her relationship to the Scotch Royal Family – Mrs. Davidson had the hair set in this ring in Edinburgh.³⁴

²⁹ Cuvillier-Fleury, ‘Revue littéraire’, *Journal des débats politiques et littéraires*, 1 November 1864.

³⁰ Henri de Sybel, ‘Les lettres de Marie-Antoinette et leurs derniers éditeurs,’ *Revue moderne*, pp. 436-465.

³¹ Jordanova, *The Look of the Past*, p. 5.

³² Fragments of the upholstery fabrics from Voltaire’s bedroom, for instance, were sold at the sale of the contents of the Château de Villette in 1865. A well-known example of an item of clothing standing in for its previous owner include Diderot’s dressing gown, see Diderot, Denis, *Regrets on Parting with My Old Dressing Gown*, translated by Kate Tunstall and Katie Scott, *Oxford Art Journal*, Volume 39, Issue 2, August 2016, pp. 175–184.

³³ AN, MC/ET/XI/1405, Inventaire après le décès de M. John Bowes, from 30 October 1885 onwards, Item 463.

³⁴ TBMA, JB/6/7/4 (file of notes related to museum objects). Transcription by TBMA volunteers.

This lock of hair had been considered a prized historical relic by its owners who passed it on to close friends. The 1888 Exhibition of the Royal House of Stuart at the New Gallery in London on Regent Street later displayed over 340 objects, which were described as 'relics', including a 'depressing panoply of undifferentiated locks of hair and pieces of tartan that have become so innately characteristic of the material legacy of Prince Charles.'³⁵ Yet the encasing of hair by Mrs Davidson in a ring to be worn on the body made the historical meaning with which it had been invested palpable, rendering the relic even more precious and intimate.³⁶

The Boweses were intrigued by objects that embodied the romance of lost causes such as the Jacobites and the Bourbons. The analogy between the Bourbons and the Stuarts drawn by Chateaubriand in the early Restoration made the historical events of the French Revolution more comprehensible and strangely familiar.³⁷ Morris has examined the British reception of paintings of French early-nineteenth-century history by anecdotal or 'everyday history painters'. He connects their success to the vogue for historical fiction epitomised by the novels of Walter Scott.³⁸ Beyond their travels to Scotland in 1851, the presence of a plaster bust of Walter Scott in the Bowes museum, alongside works by Scott in Joséphine's library, make it possible to infer that the couple shared an affinity with Scott's engagement with the past as a writer and collector.³⁹ Further volumes from Joséphine's books at Streatlam in 1869 confirm her interest in Scotland, its history and landmarks.⁴⁰ Émile Gallé compared Joséphine to Mary Stuart, a glamorous figure who linked together French, English and Scottish histories, and was a staple of troubadour art.

³⁵ See Robin Nicholson, *Bonnie Prince Charlie and the Making of a Myth: A Study in Portraiture, 1720-1892* (Cranbury: Bucknell University Press, 2002), p. 124. On the popularity of Jacobite 'relics' created for the public, see Nicholson, *Bonnie Prince Charlie*, pp. 107-9; Vicky Coltman, *Art and Identity in Scotland: A Cultural History from the Jacobite Rising of 1745 to Walter Scott* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), pp. 139-77.

³⁶ On owners heightening the value of their possessions by encasing them, see Charpy, 'Le théâtre des objets', p. 374.

³⁷ On the parallel drawn between the Stuart Kings and the Bourbons, see Wright, *Painting and History*, p. 49-54, 80-1; Geoffrey Cubitt, 'The political uses of seventeenth-century English history in Bourbon Restoration France', *The Historical Journal*, 50:1 (2007), 73-95.

³⁸ See Morris, *French Art*, pp. 59-61. See also Elizabeth Prettejohn, 'La question de la peinture d'histoire en Grande-Bretagne' in *L'invention du passé*, ed. by Bann and Paccoud, pp. 255-63.

³⁹ TBM, Metalwork, X.4. See Francis Russell, *Portraits of Sir Walter Scott: A Study of Romantic Portraiture* (London: White Brothers, 1987). On the influence of Scott's novels, see Chu, 'Pop culture', p. 169; Coltman, *Art and Identity*, chapter 6.

⁴⁰ See Pierre Le Pesant de Boisguilbert, *Marie Stuart, Reine d'Ecosse* (TBMA, F.920/Ma); William Robertson and N.-P. Besset de la Chapelle, *Histoire d'Ecosse, sous les règnes de Marie Stuart et de Jacques VI jusqu'à l'avènement de ce prince à la couronne d'Angleterre* (3 volumes, TBMA, F.941.05/Ro); Adolphe Joanne, *Itinéraire descriptif et historique de l'Ecosse* (TBMA, F.914.1/Jo) which contained descriptions of the interiors of castles and picture galleries.

The presence of Walter Scott and Mary Stuart within the Boweses' collection shows their keen participation in the contemporary popularisation of history. In September 1885, shortly before he died, and as he was preparing for a visit from Lord and Lady Strathmore, John gave a detailed account of the history of the bedroom called 'the State Bedroom' or 'King's Room' at Streatlam Castle and how it came to be connected to Mary Queen of Scots.⁴¹

II. Portraits in physical spaces

In relation to the mnemonic potential of material objects, and of portraits in particular, Geoffrey Cubitt stresses the importance of analysing the space in which they were displayed: 'the mnemonic functions of a portrait [...] depend not simply on its ability to remind the viewer of the particular past individual who is represented, but on the ways in which it is hung – its relationship to other similar images [...] and the ways these images are encountered as people move through or occupy space [...].'⁴² In this section, we consider some of the institutional spaces where John and Joséphine would have encountered galleries of portraits, and explore what influence these spaces may have exerted on their own collecting endeavours, especially when they purchased suites of portraits or created their own series.

John Bowes spent his formative years at Eton College and Trinity College, Cambridge, where portraits were assembled to create senses of community and of continuity between the institutions' past members and their current ones. The tradition of the leaving portrait, which was given to the master of Eton instead of a leaving fee, was started by Dr. Barnard in 1760 and has resulted in a remarkable collection of portraits of young men, housed in the College, originally in the headmaster's lodge.⁴³ In this vein, the portrait of Master John Bowes by John Jackson, painted in 1826, the year he went to Eton, is considered to have been painted either to mark his leaving home to go to school, or to celebrate his inheritance of the title of Lord Strathmore upon his father's death.⁴⁴ Shared spaces at Eton and Trinity were populated by portraits and portrait busts that displayed

⁴¹ Hardy, *John Bowes*, p. 240.

⁴² Geoffrey Cubitt, *History and Memory* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), p. 194.

⁴³ On the economy of portraits at Eton, see Marcia Pointon, *Portrayal and the Search for Identity* (London: Reaktion Books, 2013), chapter 3.

⁴⁴ See *Streatlam Castle: Rediscover the Home of John and Joséphine Bowes*. Exhibition Catalogue (Barnard Castle: The Bowes Museum, 2018), p. 10.

genealogies of students and staff members. Before John, earlier members of the Strathmore family had attended Trinity College. John and Joséphine's marriage contract stipulated that any sons would be educated at Eton and at either Trinity or St John's College, Cambridge, and makes it clear that they had hoped to create a family tradition.⁴⁵ Eton and Trinity also boasted outstanding intellectual links with eminent historical figures, which were displayed as portrait busts in study spaces, such as Lord Byron, Francis Bacon and Isaac Newton in the Wren library.⁴⁶ The display of portrait busts was a way of highlighting a psychological connection between the space (and its user) and the person depicted, and creating a sense of continuity through links with ancestors.⁴⁷

Other spaces in which John, and later Joséphine, encountered portraits were Gibside Hall and Streatlam Castle, the Bowes family's country seats. When John's mother married William Hutt, John moved most of the Bowes family collection of portraits from Gibside Hall – where the Hutts would reside – to Streatlam Castle, between 1861 and 1862.⁴⁸ Gibside and Streatlam Castle both had rooms referred to as a 'Gallery' in inventories and lists of paintings, and John sent specific instructions on how the portraits should be hung.⁴⁹ The aristocratic tradition of displaying one's genealogy through family portraits (and family trees) echoed the genealogical spirit being employed in the creation of public museums of history that had the power to preserve and evoke the spirit of a nation through a canon of idealised ancestors.⁵⁰ John gave permission in May 1861 to lend a portrait of Sir George Bowes from the family collection to a charity Bazaar at Barnard Castle: he was at ease navigating these upper echelons of society, and

⁴⁵ Hardy, *John Bowes*, p. 31.

⁴⁶ See Jordanova, *The Look of the Past*, pp. 38-52; David McKitterick (ed.), *The Making of the Wren Library, Trinity College, Cambridge* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Philip Gaskell, *Trinity College Library. The First 150 Years: The Sandars Lectures 1978-9* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

⁴⁷ On portrait busts and identity in interiors, see Malcolm Baker, *Figured in Marble: The Making and Viewing of Eighteenth-Century Sculpture* (London: V&A Publications, 2000); Ronit Milano, 'The interiorization of identity: portrait busts and the politics of selfhood in pre- and early revolutionary France,' in Lasc, Downey and Taylor, *Designing the French Interior*.

⁴⁸ See 'Catalogue of books, and Cases and Paintings brought from Gibside to Streatlam, dated April 1861 and March 1862', DCRO, D/St/E1/3/30-31.

⁴⁹ DCRO, D/St/C5/5/5 (Gibside, c. 1840) and D/St/E1/3/7 (Streatlam, c. 1860). John also commissioned a painted ceiling for Streatlam Castle with coats of arms, and this was subsequently installed in the museum.

⁵⁰ On the creation of galleries in country houses, see Mark Girouard, *Life in the French Country House* (London, 2001), pp. 110-114. For examples of this sort of gallery in public museums in Europe, see Francis Haskell, *History and its images*, p. 248 and pp. 282-6.

happy for the portrait to act as an ambassador for the family.⁵¹ In his full-length portrait by the French artist Jacques-Eugène Feyen, John appears as a member of the affluent English landed gentry, with hunting accessories and game birds at his feet, Streatlam Castle visible in the distance (Fig.14).⁵²

As for Joséphine, a pair of portraits in the museum today, also by Feyen, depict her sister Anna-Antoinette and her grandfather Monsieur Sergent as described in the Manuscript catalogue of paintings of 1878. The fact that Feyen reproduced the drawing of her grandfather as an oil painting, to be paired with the portrait of her elder sister, shows Joséphine's intention to display her own family portraits together, even if they had no aristocratic cachet. The entry in the catalogue of paintings for her grandfather's portrait emphasises her ancestor's role in the Vendean War and his escape from the guillotine in 1792, verging on the picaresque. Whilst the portrait drawing is done in pencil, the canvas painting picks up on the colour of the man's striped jacket; he sports a vivid *cocarde tricolore* on his short top hat, as worn by deputies of the Convention nationale (Figs.64-65).⁵³ By inscribing family history within the museum collection, Joséphine connected her own family to the wider national past. Furthermore, by employing the portraitist used for John's likeness, a connection was made between Joséphine's family and her marriage to John.

Another space where portraits articulated collective identity was the theatre, and it was common to find portraits of actors arranged in series. On 10 May 1861, as part of his feuilleton *L'Histoire en pantoufles* for the newspaper *La Presse*, Arsène Houssaye, writing under the pseudonym of the sixteenth-century diarist and collector Pierre de l'Estoile, reported the sale of the Molière enthusiast Henri Augustin Soleirol's collection of portraits of the French stage at the Hôtel Drouot.⁵⁴ Houssaye titled his account of the sale 'La comédie des portraits ou les portraits de la comédie': given the fact that only portraits of Molière and of

⁵¹ See letters from John Bowes to Holmes and Dent, both 5 May 1861, TBMA, JB/2/1/38-39. He also lent the Goodwood Cup.

⁵² TBM, B.M.300, Jacques-Eugène Feyen, *John Bowes*, 1863, oil on canvas, 181.3 × 119.7 cm.

⁵³ On the political connotations at this time, see Jennifer Harris, 'The Red Cap of Liberty: A Study of Dress Worn by French Revolutionary Partisans, 1789-1794', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 14:3 (1981), 283-312.

⁵⁴ On Houssaye and his use of the pseudonym, see Alfred de Sirven, *Journaux et Journalistes. La Presse. La Liberté* (Paris: E. Cournol, 1865-6), p. 301. On Pierre de l'Estoile, see Tom Hamilton, *Pierre de L'Estoile and his World in the Wars of Religion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017). Pierre de l'Estoile, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de France*, 2 vols., appears in book list, TBMA, JB/6/5/2/1/11.

Madeleine Béjart existed, Soleirol had commissioned a series of imaginary images of every member of Molière's troupe in order to create a history of the troupe through portraits. The task was later taken up by Frédéric Hillemacher, who published *La Galerie historique de portraits des comédiens de la troupe de Molière* (1869). The nineteenth-century public coveted images associated with the great playwright, but some actively sought out portraits of reliable provenance. From the estate sale of Vidal held 3-5 February 1868, for instance, the curator of the collections of the Comédie-Française, Edouard Thierry, purchased the portrait of Molière as Caesar by Mignard for the theatre. Vidal had been first violinist of the royal Chapel under Charles X and part of the Paris Opéra's orchestra. His place within court society and elite musical circles seemed to guarantee his discerning eye for quality. Joséphine purchased a fragment of carved *boiserie* painted grey and picked out in gold and featuring a painted musical trophy, as well as several pieces of Sèvres porcelain from Vidal's sale.⁵⁵ Upon paying the dealer Lamer's bill on 25 February 1868, Joséphine bought more items still, including a miniature of Mozart as a child.⁵⁶

The Boweses' collection provides many examples of complete compilations in serialised form. *Les Beautés de l'Opéra ou Chefs-d'œuvres lyriques*, for instance, presented contemporary actresses and the roles they played as fused one to the other: these are portraits of people practicing their art or profession. *Les Beautés* addresses the problem of how to create a fixed pantheon out of actors playing roles onstage in a temporary capacity, especially when these roles could be incarnated by any actor. John and Joséphine's interest in theatre fuelled their art purchases and the collection contains a great number of depictions of performers in particular roles. John and Joséphine sought out painted portraits of famous professionals of the stage, such as that of the ballerina Emilie Bigottini in the role of a bacchante by Jacques-Antoine Vallin, or Mlle Mars by François-Joseph Kinsoen, and also in cheaper newspapers or magazines, such as the portraits of actors published in *Le Corsaire*.⁵⁷ Portraits in different media also exist in the collection behind the scenes. For instance, a lithograph portrait of Mlle Bigottini can be found in the museum's collection of works on paper to complement the portrait displayed in the paintings

⁵⁵ Bill from Lamer, 5 February 1868, TBMA, JB/5/10/6/13. TBM, Carved panel and mirror, FW.184.

⁵⁶ TBMA, Lamer bill, 25 February 1868, JB/5/10/6/15.

⁵⁷ On these portraits, see Katherine Hambridge and Annalies Andries in Stammers (ed.), *The Allure of Napoleon*, pp. 19-22. Jacques Antoine Vallin, *Madame Bigottini as a Bacchante*, 1817, oil on canvas, TBM, B.M.340; Jean-François Kinsoen, *Mademoiselle Mars*, c. 1830-1835, oil on canvas, TBM, B.M.365.

gallery.⁵⁸ Endeavours to create complete galleries of portraits as a way of recounting the history of a family or institution also occurred within public museums of French history.

III. Portraits in history museums

Throughout his life, John eagerly consumed biographies, portraits (written and material), and historical anecdotes about figures from French and European history. This way of identifying, and identifying with, historical personalities had been cultivated within public collections over the previous generation. Judging from the volumes in their library, the Boweses were especially interested in Alexandre Lenoir's *Musée des Monuments français*.⁵⁹ In the *Musée des Monuments français*, created in a former convent on the Rue des Petits-Augustins in 1795 from the debris of the Revolution, Alexandre Lenoir also presented history through anecdotes, by focusing on the protagonists of French history. The funerary sculptures and associated fragments displayed at the museum functioned as portraits, evoking those represented and '[standing] for larger truths'.⁶⁰ Although Lenoir juggled various shifting agendas and allegiances throughout the short life of the museum, his pedagogical approach focused on personalities, beginning with figurative sculptures and monuments and broadening his scope out to associated non-figurative pieces.⁶¹ The novelty of Lenoir's museum came from the juxtaposition of fragments from many different sites and centuries brought together into an over-arching narrative, evoking many facets of France's history.⁶² Lenoir's museum encouraged artists to find inspiration in the exhibits to help them depict historical episodes that had never been visualised before. Troubadour artists, like Pierre Révoil, who were interested in painting the more 'informal' episodes of French history, could use the objects on display to flesh out the personalities and present them to a public thirsty for anecdotes and vivid details.⁶³

⁵⁸ *Mlle Bigottini*, lithograph from the gallery of portraits published in *Le Corsaire*, TBM, 2003.380/P.A.

⁵⁹ See Lenoir's catalogue of paintings on glass, TBMA, F.748/Le, and catalogue of statues in the *Musée des Monuments français*, 4 vols., TBMA, F.730/Le. Both appear in the list of books signed by Owen Scott, TBMA, JB/6/5/2/1/11.

⁶⁰ Wright, *Painting and History*, p. 20, p. 54.

⁶¹ Alexandra Stara, *The Museum of French Monuments 1795-1816: 'killing art to make history'* (Farnham, 2013), p. 27-32.

⁶² Dominique Poulot refers to the *Musée* as a 'nouveau radicalité' in his essay, 'Alexandre Lenoir et les musées des monuments français', in *Les Lieux de Mémoires* vol. 1, ed. by Pierre Nora (Paris: Gallimard, 1997), p. 1528.

⁶³ On the example of the painter Révoil, see Bann, 'Two kinds of historicism'.

The Musée des Monuments français presented authentic relics from the past as props to inspire the translation of tales and written histories into new images. Although Lenoir was criticised for uprooting the monuments from their intended context (or resting place), the 'unified spectacle' of history offered by the museum made the site very popular with visitors.⁶⁴ Some of the museum pieces would have been particularly thrilling to the visitor, not because of the object itself, but because of the revolutionary circumstances under which it had come to be displayed.⁶⁵ Fantasy and imagination were invited into the museum in order to tell a longue durée historical narrative.

Later in the century, and indebted to Lenoir's example, the Musée de l'Histoire de France at Versailles opened in 1837. It also aimed to display national history, not through architecture, but through a combination of history painting (e.g. Galerie des Batailles, Galerie des Croisades) and a panorama of formal portraits. In his *Impressions de voyage d'un étranger à Paris : visite à l'Exposition universelle de 1855*, Henri Moulin described the 'immense musée' of Versailles as 'un palais que la France devait être fière de montrer à un souverain étranger, et certes rien n'était plus glorieux pour elle [Queen Victoria].'⁶⁶ For Moulin the equation of the museum with 'notre histoire nationale écrite en tableaux, en statues ; siècle par siècle, avec tous les événements mémorables et les portraits de nos rois et de nos grands hommes' was a resounding success. Through the collection of portraits and history paintings displayed at Versailles, the visitor could read history like an illustrated book.⁶⁷ Louis-Philippe's decision to transform the palace of Versailles into a historical museum, celebrating 'toutes les gloires' de France, exemplified the wish to make French history accessible through the exhibition and reproduction of historical events and their protagonists.⁶⁸ He sought to represent a seamless narrative in which every French citizen would recognise themselves. At the same time, he curated a space that portrayed the legitimacy of his own rise to power as a logical progression from the past.⁶⁹ Portraiture was

⁶⁴ On the contemporary reception of Lenoir's museums, see Francis Haskell, *History and Its Images*, pp. 247-52; Stara, *The museum of French monuments*, pp. 78-85.

⁶⁵ See Dominique Poulot, 'Alexandre Lenoir', in Nora, *Lieux de Mémoire*, p. 1525.

⁶⁶ Moulin, *Impressions de voyage d'un étranger à Paris*, p. 32.

⁶⁷ See Michael Marrinan in Chu and Weisberg, *The Popularization of Images*, pp. 126-7.

⁶⁸ See Thomas Gaehtgens, 'The Historical Museum at Versailles' in Pierre Nora, *Rethinking France: Les Lieux de Mémoire*, vol. 4: Histories and Memories (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), pp. 161-182; Michael Marrinan, 'Historical Vision and the Writing of History at Louis-Philippe's Versailles' in *The Popularization of Images*, ed. by Chu and Weisberg, p. 142.

⁶⁹ Gaehtgens in Nora, p. 171-8.

deployed in both museums for didactic effect, and the sequence of the exhibits was prescribed through set trails in the case of the Petits-Augustins, and by the order imposed by the *Livret du Musée de Versailles* for the Musée de l'Histoire de France. The latter was received with much excitement by the public: under its section of 'Faits divers' on 20 June 1837, writers at *La Presse* explained at length the structure of the catalogue, and in particular the order in which the catalogue organised the portraits of remarkable figures on typological grounds.⁷⁰

In both Lenoir's museum and the Versailles museum, the story of history was told in a specific order and, in both cases, the accompanying signage (plaques and guidebooks) served a didactic purpose. For the Musée des Monuments français and for the Musée de l'Histoire de France, the guidebooks and illustrated 'galeries' also served as records or points of reference for collectors and bibliophiles outside of the exhibition space, deploying a genre similar to lavish collectors' catalogues of *objets d'art* or paintings.⁷¹ Beyond describing the gallery in question, and its contents, the catalogue also acts as a reference work for coats of arms, useful for identifying portraits of rulers and courtiers in many other contexts too (Fig.78). The Boweses could leaf through the gallery at Versailles on paper, at home, using the catalogue as a reference point when looking at paintings and prints.

IV. Historical portraits

What factors shaped the choice of a suitable portrait? In this section we will review the criteria employed by the founders – and by extension, by the dealers who served them – in establishing a portrait as desirable. First, the desirability of a portrait increased when the exact moment of the subject sitting for the artist could be evidenced. Similarly, its value soared when the work was guaranteed to be by the hand of a named artist, and often when it conveyed the impression of spontaneity. For example, the account of the sale of the studio of Désiré Court mentioned the 'études d'après nature' characteristic of a true likeness. The Boweses came away from this sale with a number of works, including an unfinished or preparatory canvas ('esquisse') of historian and statesman François Guizot (Fig.11). One reviewer reported that 'les esquisses, tableaux et portraits qui garnissaient l'atelier de Court, au moment de sa mort, ont remporté un succès

⁷⁰ 'Faits divers', 20 June 1837, *La Presse*.

⁷¹ See, for example, Charles Gavard's Catalogue of the *Salle des Croisades*, which is a collector's item in its own right, thanks to the engraved illustrations and insets with hand-coloured coats of arms, TBMA, F.940.18/Ga.

d'estime. Les compositions étaient bien faibles, mais quelques études de portraits d'après nature rappelaient par les bons côtés les peintres anglais du commencement du siècle.⁷² In the manuscript catalogue of paintings of the Museum of 1878, the portrait of Maréchal Soult by Désiré Court bore the description: 'This was bought at the sale of the works of Court remaining in his atelier after his death'. Similarly, the Boweses purchased a job lot of seven portraits from the widow of the artist François Joseph Kinsoen.⁷³ In addition to the oil paintings, they purchased a collection of sketches on parchment of the duchesse de Berry and her two children, for 10 francs. The sketch in the collection today adds interest to the portrait of the duchesse with her children in front of a bust, after Gérard (Figs.66-67).⁷⁴

A second type of reliable provenance, linked not to a studio, but to a historic site, can be seen in the example of the sale of the Château de Villette, which took place on site in January 1866. The collections there were associated with Voltaire, who had been close to the Marquis de Villette and his family. Both the dealers A.C. Lamer and Basset informed Joséphine about the exclusivity and rarity of objects in the sale. Lamer highlighted several books that had been given by Marie-Antoinette to the marquis' family, and also mentioned the portraits by Mignard that were of particular historical importance.⁷⁵ The Boweses came away with lot No. 42, described in the sale catalogue as 'Mme de Montespan. Représentée dans un paysage, des Amours lui apportent des fleurs.'⁷⁶ Montespan, mistress to Louis XIV, fitted with the Boweses' growing collection of remarkable women with influence of the French court (Fig.68). The catalogue listed the locations in which the works had been found within the château: the portrait had the added, guaranteed provenance of having been hung in the 'Chambre à coucher

⁷² *Chronique des Arts et de la Curiosité*, 4 March 1866. Joseph-Désiré Court, *François Guizot*, c. 1820-1835, oil on canvas, TBM, B.M.490.

⁷³ Catalogue of paintings 1878, TBMA, JB/6/6/1. For a detailed study of these purchases, see Véronique Gérard-Powell, 'The Emperor and his Entourage: Napoleonic Portraiture' in *The Allure of Napoleon*, pp. 7-14.

⁷⁴ See Catalogue of paintings 1878, TBMA, JB/6/6/1. *Duchess of Berry, her daughter Louise and son Henri, Duke of Bordeaux*, sketch oil on canvas, c. 1800-1825, TBM, 2007.19/B.M.; François Gérard, *La Duchesse de Berri and Her Two Children Praying before a Bust of Her Husband*, c. 1821, oil on canvas, TBM, B.M.830.

⁷⁵ The books were: 'Lot No. 28: *Fables de La Fontaine*, avec les figures d'Oudr. Paris, 1755, in-fol., 4 vol. mar. Rouge, fil., tr. Dor. Très-bel exemplaire relié par Padeloup et portant imprimé, sur le plat de la reliure du premier volume, cette mention : « Donné par Sa Majesté Marie-Antoinette à Mademoiselle de Villette, alors âgée de six ans. »' and 'Lot No. 29 : *Choix de chansons mises en musique* par M. de la Borde. Paris, 1773, gr. In-8, fig. de Moreau et autres, 4 Vol., mar[ouquin] bl[eu], fil. Tr[âme] dor[ée]. 'Charmant exemplaire portant la même mention que l'ouvrage prédécent.' See sale catalogue, TBMA, JB/5/2/18.

⁷⁶ TBMA, JB/5/2/18, p. 8.

de Mme de V...' suggesting that the previous owner valued it highly and placed it prominently in her own bedroom. The Boweses' catalogue of 1892 (in English) stated that 'This picture was lined by order of M. Bowes, before which there was written in French on the back of the original canvas "This picture was painted by order of the King by the painter Mignard" It came from an old Chateau in France'.⁷⁷ Amélie Basset set aside for Joséphine two other portraits of women from the Villette sale: the portrait of a lady from the Comédie française by Largillière, and the portrait of a lady at the time of Louis XIII ('Spanish School, 16th century. From the sale of the Chateau de Villette').⁷⁸ The latter example shows that even if neither the artist nor the sitter could be named, the Boweses were still interested in portraits that referred to a particular century through the style of painting, the school, or physical attributes such as background, hairstyle or clothing. Alexandre Lenoir had also emphasised clothing as a useful tool for dating portraits. Many books depicting costumes from around the world filled the shelves of the Boweses' library, an indication of clothing's value as a historical evidence.⁷⁹ Costume books had long been a distinct genre, one that gave access to aspects of history and geography.

Finally, a portrait could be vetted by a trusted source, such as a historian or specialist (*expert*). The dealer Lamer wrote to Joséphine on 24 August 1865 about the picture of Mme Bigottini, which had been 'guaranteed original by M. Basset' the picture dealer and *expert*.⁸⁰ It appeared in the museum's catalogue of paintings as 'Portrait of Mademoiselle Bigottini, a celebrated Opera Dancer, in the costume of a Bacchante' by E. Vallin. Pictures of the Boweses' contemporaries and of living artists were likely to be considered as authentic portraits of the sitters too, such as the portrait of Alfred de Musset by Stanislas-Henri-Benoit Darondeau, the self-portrait of François Bonvin, or the portrait of Lorédan Larchey by Faustin Besson (Fig.69).⁸¹ The portrait of Larchey carried personal meaning for John Bowes as a

⁷⁷ TBM, B.M.255, see catalogue of paintings 1892, TBMA, TBM/8/2/1. This is the translation of the 1878 Catalogue of paintings.

⁷⁸ Amélie Basset to Joséphine, 4 January 1866, TBMA, JB/5/5/3.

⁷⁹ See, for example, TBMA, Breton de la Martinière, *Russie, ou mœurs, usages, et costumes des habitants de toutes les provinces de cet empire*, 6 vols., F.914/7/Br; Breton de la Martinière, *Japon, ou mœurs, usages et costumes des habitants de cet empire*, 4 vols., F.915.2/Br.

⁸⁰ TBMA, JB/5/10/3/48. The portrait is B.M.340, mentioned above.

⁸¹ Stanislas-Henri-Benoit Darondeau, *Portrait of Alfred de Musset*, 1838, oil on canvas, H 27.1 × W 21.8 cm, TBM, B.M.731. See the bill from Mme Lepautre to Joséphine JB/5/11/2/90. François Bonvin, *Self-portrait*, 1847, oil on canvas, H 66.4 × W 55.2 cm, TBM, B.M.444 (Joséphine purchased a number of works by Bonvin). Faustin Besson, *Lorédan Larchey*, no date, oil on canvas, H 55.5 × W 46.4 cm, TBM, B.M.377.

token of friendship, and because the artist, whom Larchey had written about, was also a friend of the sitter.⁸²

V. Model portraits for reproductive prints

Collectors marshalled large quantities of documentation and reference works in order to judge whether portraits in other media were reliable. Medals and coins were traditionally the reference points for visualising the appearances of the Ancients.⁸³ These sources continued to be used to authenticate a likeness into the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries too, building on the work of numismatists in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.⁸⁴ Aside from numismatists, antiquarians who collected engraved heads and books also formed collections of other printed matter. Galleries of engraved portrait heads might employ the visual model of coins, often in profile, emulating the supposed authenticity of coins in an attempt to record the sequence of historical rulers.⁸⁵ As the number of printed engravings multiplied across the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, some bibliophiles attempted to gather every known likeness of chosen individuals (such as Rousseau), or every known envisioning of a given historical period (for example, the English Civil War). The practice of extra-illustration was a central means for recognising the multiplicity of guises under which the past appeared, and created complex dialogues between text and image.⁸⁶

In the Boweses' collection, some works that may have been used as references for print collecting included Godonnesche's *Médailles du règne de Louis XV* (55 leaves of plates) and *Siècle de Louis XIV. Recueil d'emblèmes*.⁸⁷ Just like coins, engraved portraits were a permanent way through which a historical person's image could be captured and circulated. One series collected by the Boweses was

⁸² See BnF, Arsenal MS 9247 'Besson'. Larchey's notes on Faustin Besson include two pages of manuscript notes and a cutting of an article by Larchey entitled 'La Mère Lhercule. Charge d'atelier'.

⁸³ See Haskell, *History and its Images*, p. 41-59.

⁸⁴ Ibid, pp. 99, 112-115. On nineteenth-century French numismatics, see Felicity Bodenstein, 'L'histoire du Cabinet des médailles et antiques de la Bibliothèque nationale (1819-1924). Un Cabinet pour l'érudition à l'âge des musées' (PhD, Université Paris-Sorbonne, 2015).

⁸⁵ Haskell, *History and its Images*, p. 71-4.

⁸⁶ See for instance, Revd. James Granger, *Biographical History of England from Egbert the Great to the Revolution* (1769) which provided a structure or system for collecting and classifying prints, Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion and Life*, and Gilbert Burnet's *History of His Own Time*. Copies of these could be 'grangerised' by individual collectors. See Pointon, *Hanging the Head*, p. 58.

⁸⁷ TBMA, F.737/Go (oversize) for the former, and the latter listed in the 1869 Catalogue of books at Streatlam Castle but not part of the collection today.

Portraits des Rois de France de Pharamond a Louis XIII, engraved by Pierre Daret and published in the wake of the Fronde with an accompanying ‘discours sommaire contenant les principales actions de leur règne’.⁸⁸ An incomplete set of the images that made up the engraver Pierre Daret’s series can be found in the Bowes Museum today; the border on some indicates that they may have once been arranged in a large, octavo album (Figs.70-71).⁸⁹ Considering this set as one example from the Bowes’ extensive collection of works on paper helps us to understand the tools they used to find reliable representations of French history.

Pierre Daret (c. 1604-1678) was a French engraver and printmaker, who had a shop selling prints in Paris, in Rue Saint-Denis and then on the Rue Saint-Jacques (the heart of the printmakers’ districts). Daret employed the visual iconography of coins to ensure that the viewer would consider the series as accurate and truthful. The heads appear in oval frames that are numbered chronologically, bearing the royal coat of arms, and the cartouches give descriptions of the main exploits of the person. The collection would have appealed to antiquarians and coin collectors, because, as noted by Haskell, the series emphasised the antiquity and continuity of the French monarchy at a time of a crisis in relations between the crown and the aristocracy.⁹⁰ In the nineteenth century, the series had become a reference point for antiquarians, collectors and bibliophiles: they were mentioned in the estate sales of both the bibliophile Victor Luzarche and the architect Gabriel-Hippolyte Destailleur, some of whose albums were purchased by his client Baron Ferdinand de Rothschild.⁹¹ The set also appeared in Louis-Philippe’s own private collection of albums that he assembled and annotated himself, in his free time, over a 25-year period.⁹² The presence of pages from *Portraits des Rois de France de Pharamond a Louis XIII* in the collections

⁸⁸ Louis Boissevin, Pierre Daret and Jean Frosne, *Portraits Des Rois De France: Avec un Sommaire discours contenant Les principales actions de leur Regne, Leurs naissance, Mariages, Decez et autres Remarques Curieuses. Depuis Pharamond Iusques Au Roy Louis XIII* (Paris: Louis Boissevin, c. 1661). See Peter Fuhling, Louis Marchesano, Remi Mathis, Vanessa Selbach, *A Kingdom of Images: French Prints in the Age of Louis XIV, 1660-1715* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2015). The cataloguing notes by Bridget Westmacott on the collections of portrait engravings are invaluable.

⁸⁹ On the preservation of prints in albums, see Antony Griffiths, *The Print Before Photography: an introduction to European printmaking, 1550-1820* (London: The British Museum, 2016), p. 12-27.

⁹⁰ On series of engraved portraits of the rulers of France, see Haskell, *History and its Images*, pp. 52-6.

⁹¹ Tableaux de la Révolution, Waddesdon Manor, acc. no. 4222; Recueils d'adresses, Waddesdon Manor, acc. no. 3686.1-4.

⁹² See Hélène Delalex, ‘La collection de portraits gravés du roi Louis-Philippe au château de Versailles’, *Bulletin du Centre de recherche du château de Versailles, Articles et études*, (2011) <<https://doi.org/10.4000/crcv.11331>> [accessed 27 March 2021].

of many bibliophiles and history enthusiasts is an example of how portrait engravings were used to create a microcosm of French history in their own compilations.

The search for a complete and comprehensive history through portraits encountered a problem when there were no known visual records of a historical figure. This was obviously the case in Daret's series, with Pharamond, the legendary first king of the Franks.⁹³ To fill these gaps, portraits were commissioned and created through imagination or reproduction, thanks to records or collections of known likenesses. Engraved portrait heads also provided a model against which portraits in other media could be compared.⁹⁴ The discussion in *La Chronique des arts et de la curiosité* of the portrait bust of Pierre Séguier, the chancellor of France under Kings Louis XIII and Louis XIV, which was on display in the Louvre in 1877, draws attention to the methods of evaluation deployed by curator Louis Courajod. The subject of the portrait bust was identified as Pierre Séguier thanks to three engraved portrait 'types' of the chancellor, whose traits were circulated thanks to portrait engravings.⁹⁵ Engravers contributed to the production of knowledge by disseminating images of historical persons, as faithful copyists who 'fixed' a subject's traits, and they could also use a portrait as a starting point for new depictions of the subject.⁹⁶ A footnote in the *Chronique* article refers the reader to a published list of engraved portraits of Pierre Séguier in which one sees that three types or depictions had been fixed: first, 'type du magistrat à la barbiche retroussé'; second, 'type du Séguier engraissé, tête à la mode Louis XIV, petite moustache et mouche'; third, 'type du vieillard au visage imberbe'.⁹⁷ The different portraits of Séguier could be divided into three 'types' based on elements of his appearance that had been fixed by portraits throughout his life. Each 'type' was a faithful likeness that showed the sitter at a different moment in his life. In preparation for the 'exposition historique de portraits français' to be held in Paris in June 1878, as part of the Exposition Universelle, and to help the Commission de l'Inventaire des

⁹³ On Pharamond see Haskell, *History and its Images*, pp. 53-5, and in the context of Louis-Philippe's museum, p. 281.

⁹⁴ On the circulation of portraits of public figures that could be placed on permanent display in different spaces thanks to engraved reproductions of oil paintings, see Antoine Lilti, *Figures publiques, l'invention de la célébrité, 1750-1850* (Paris, 2014), p. 84. In the nineteenth century, portrait prints were used to verify likenesses – see National Portrait Gallery print/research collection – a characteristic later taken up by photography.

⁹⁵ 'Un portrait du chancelier Pierre Séguier au Musée du Louvre, par G. Léonard Hérard', by the Louvre curator Louis Courajod in *Chronique des arts et de la curiosité*, 16 June 1877, p. 223.

⁹⁶ On portrait engravings, see Bann, *Parallel Lines*, pp. 137-41, 153-6.

⁹⁷ *Chronique des arts et de la curiosité*, 16 June 1877, fn 1, p. 223.

richesses de l'art de France in their selection of exhibits, the *Chronique des Arts et de la Curiosité* published a special supplement listing every known historic portrait that might be worthy of being included in the exhibition. The portraits were grouped by century and were listed by the name of the person depicted and the location of the work.⁹⁸

The popularity of the realist and naturalist novel, however, offers a supplementary model for measuring reliability, as demonstrated by Dominique Pety.⁹⁹ In Pety's argument, the emphasis is less on the power of a single, normative likeness, than on the richness of understanding achieved by collating many different perspectives. In her work on *Poétique de la collection au XIX^e siècle. Du document de l'historien au bibelot de l'esthète*, Pety examines the writing practices of realist and naturalist novelists and remarks on the fact that each author proceeded to gather snippets of conversation, everyday occurrences, and remarks about the people they encountered and observed. These individual notes were then assembled, arranged and collated to form a collection, in the form of a novel. This act of assembling disparate parts into a whole – a collection – was the novelists' way of convincing readers that these collections were genuine tales of Parisian life. Just as these novelists combined disparate elements together to create a sense of reality and truth, so in a collection, the repetition of a face associated with a name helped perpetuate the impression of 'true' likenesses.¹⁰⁰ An accurate picture of the past could be achieved by sifting through a large quantity of competing versions. Increasingly in the nineteenth century, the multiplication of the same faces could provide a sense of authenticity in collections.

The example of the Princesse de Lamballe, whose face is visible across the Boweses' collection, and in different media, helps us to understand Dominique Pety's argument on this shift in collecting practices towards a massification of data. Multiple objects apparently displayed the likeness of Marie-Antoinette's beloved companion: a loose engraving from Charles Gavard's Catalogue of the Galeries Historiques at Versailles, a ewer, one side of a porcelain *jardinière* and an enamel miniature on a necklace all show the head of a woman wearing a straw hat embellished along the rim with flowers and ribbons (Figs.71-75). On all the images, apart from the necklace, the hat tilts down towards the sitter's left shoulder, the

⁹⁸ *La Chronique des arts et de la curiosité*, 16 June 1877.

⁹⁹ Pety, *Poétique de la collection*, p. 113-8.

¹⁰⁰ On accumulation by antiquarian collectors to achieve accuracy, see Haskell, *History and its Images*, p. 302.

same direction in which her head is flatteringly inclined. The necklace is made up of sixteen polychrome enamels of varying quality depicting women's heads – 'from the coarse to the competent' according to the modern-day object file – and one of the portrait busts is very similar to Lamballe's other portraits, although it is reversed, as would have happened when an image was copied by the porcelain painter.

In his study on *Figures publiques, l'invention de la célébrité*, Antoine Lilti describes how portraits of notable figures were 'déclinés', translated or transferred, onto all manner of consumable objects, especially at the end of the eighteenth century.¹⁰¹ The market responded to the public's fascination with the 'héros du jour' – Lilti gives the examples of Benjamin Franklin and Sophie Arnould – by using different iterations of a celebrity's face on objects of domestic use, such as teacups or jardinières, or collectibles for display, such as the 'figurines' described by Lilti, to be presented within the home. In John and Joséphine's collection, a similar process of bringing together the faces of historical figures can be seen: 'déclinés' in different media, the portraits were reproduced from well-known oil paintings, which become recognisable and identifiable thanks to their mass reproduction. A recognisable picture of Lamballe emerges through the repetition of visual attributes that instantly differentiate her image from other women of the court of Marie-Antoinette, despite many of them wearing hats in a similar style. Although each depiction is an individual object, the six objects together create a set within the Boweses' collection, that visually represents the historical figure of the Princesse de Lamballe. Thanks to the repetition of the same visual motif in different formats, the 'type' of the portrait of Lamballe wearing a hat with flowers creates a sense of stability about her depiction. Moreover, the repetition of visual cues such as clothing, hairstyle, makeup, accessories and props served to represent and reinforce the biographical details disseminated in written works about the subject and helped to recognize faces. In all the likenesses in the Boweses' collection, Lamballe is frozen in youth, a poignant decision in light of the awareness of her brutal death at the hands of the revolutionary crowd in 1792, and identifiable thanks to her accessories.

The image of Lamballe wearing the straw hat with flowers as a reference point had in fact come from the Musée de l'Histoire de France in Versailles. The faces shown on the paper, porcelain and a necklace in the Boweses' collection are

¹⁰¹ Lilti, *Figures publiques*, p. 87.

reproductions of the portrait that Louis-Philippe had chosen to represent the princess in the museum. The king commissioned the painter Louis-Edouard Rioult (1790-1855) to make a copy of a full-length pastel portrait of Lamballe, thought then to be by François-Hubert Drouais, which was in Louis Phillippe's own collection at the Palais Royal in Paris, in 1826 (Fig.76).¹⁰² The iconography of the sitter's accessories thus stemmed from a reliable, legitimate source, in well-known private and public collections, and was believed to have originated from an eighteenth-century portrait. Writing about a different kind of historical image – the picture-dramas of Delaroche – Beth Wright comments on the effect on the public of seeing a picture repeated again and again and states that 'the assurance that the past was the past and that meaning could be drawn from seeing it once again' was achieved by the reproduction and repetition of the picture-drama in print shop windows.¹⁰³ The same effect can be seen to emerge from the portraits chosen for Louis-Philippe's museum, which put into visual terms the history of France, and created reference points, through the people they depicted, that came to permeate elements of popular visual culture. By collecting the image of Lamballe, copied from the reference point in the national Musée de l'Histoire de France, the Boweses acknowledged the influence of a universal gallery of types, which they could replicate in their Barnard Castle museum, and also in their own homes, whether through physical souvenirs or print culture.

VI. Bringing history into the home through portraits

New technologies of reproduction enabled the dissemination of endless combinations of printed pantheons, gathered from multiple collections of oil paintings, which were a way of managing the nineteenth-century thirst for encyclopaedic ensembles. Louis-Philippe's intention to disseminate the contents of the Musée de l'Histoire de France as widely as possible, and thereby inspire its domestic reassembly, is evidenced through the production of a series of seven illustrated catalogues of the collections at Versailles by the engraver Charles Gavard (1794-1871). The first volume was published in 1838, one year after the inauguration of the museum by Louis-Philippe. Gavard's edition focused on the accuracy of the copying instruments used. In a biographical dictionary of engravers, Gavard (who was not considered an engraver in the dictionary) was described as

¹⁰² On the lost Drouais portrait, see Sarah Grant, *Female Portraiture and Patronage in Marie-Antoinette's Court: The Princesse de Lamballe* (New York: Routledge, 2019), p. 44-5.

¹⁰³ Wright, *Painting and History*, pp. 79-80.

the ‘inventeur du diagraph’, the device that he used to publish two sets of reproductive prints.¹⁰⁴ The final volume of the catalogue of the museum at Versailles, published nearly a decade later, contained a list of every work copied by Gavard with the name of its original creator and its engraver, whose work he had reproduced.¹⁰⁵ Importantly, it also featured a notice on the diagraph and the pantograph, which included a written explanation and images of the instruments deployed. When used together, the diagraph and the pantograph could reproduce any image to scale, faithfully. Gavard emphasised the precision and reliability of the techniques he had invented to guarantee a reliable copy of an engraving of any given portrait. His biographer commented on the quality of the images: the copies were quick and simple (‘sommaire et expéditive’).¹⁰⁶ As well as succeeding in rendering each portrait using the line, Gavard’s true achievement, in the mind of the biographer, had been to complete the project of reproducing the entirety of the Versailles museum on paper. He added that perusing the twelve volumes of faces might even entice the viewer to travel to Versailles and see the works in person. If not, it was possible for individuals to possess their own private copies of the history of France through a sequence of credible portraits. Other than inviting the public to also view the original, the specificity and materiality of the original oil paintings were passed over: rather, the techniques of precise, yet simplified, reproduction, and the impression of completeness were more important for Gavard’s customers (Figs.72,77).

Engraved reproductions of the physical portraits housed in galleries and other institutions lent themselves to the creation of miniaturised versions, or paper museums. National, public portrait galleries were shrunk to fit into domestic spaces, in the form of albums and portfolios.¹⁰⁷ The printed form meant that big public collections of oil paintings could be ‘brought home’ and could also be personalised and customized. Gavard’s printed portrait gallery could be purchased

¹⁰⁴ *Versailles ; Galeries historiques*, from 1838, 13 vol., and *Galeries Aguado*, 1839-47, 4 vol. See Henri Beraldi, *Les graveurs du XIXème siècle : guide de l’amateur des estampes modernes* (Paris: L. Conquet, 1885-1892), vol. 6, p. 252.

¹⁰⁵ Many of the portraits were copied from Louis-Philippe’s collection at the Château d’Eu.

¹⁰⁶ Beraldi writes: ‘Néanmoins il est toujours méritoire de voir mettre sur le chantier et mener à bien de pareils travaux. Aujourd’hui on les exécuterait par la photogravure : ce serait nauséabond’, p. 252. If the Boweses were of a similar opinion, this may well explain their choices of engravings and lithographs over photographs when collecting reproductions of known works.

¹⁰⁷ One example in the eighteenth century is the *Recueil Crozat*: see Francis Haskell, *The Painful Birth of the Art Book* (London: Thame and Hudson, 1987); Benedict Leca, ‘An Art Book and Its Viewers: The “Recueil Crozat” and the Uses of Reproductive Engraving’, *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 38:4 (2005), 623-649.

bound, as is the case with the volume on the Salle des Croisades, or as loose sheets (Fig.78). This flexibility in the format of the prints indicates that loose prints could be bound into a series of volumes bearing the arms and bookplates of the collector, or cut down and re-assembled into albums on specific themes, with scope to re-order the visual itinerary. Marcia Pointon and Lucy Peltz have studied the practice in the context of grangerising in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, in which visual documents were creatively combined and juxtaposed into extra-illustrated books.¹⁰⁸ The decision to gift the Sutherland extra-illustrated copy of Clarendon's history of the Civil War to the Ashmolean Museum, for instance, confirms the fact that these prized collections made in domestic settings over the course of a lifetime were considered of value for the public. With the Boweses, we are not dealing with a comparable monument of documentation, but rather a series of intriguing and unfinished traces. The large holdings of prints and ephemera in the Boweses' collection, although peripheral and invisible in today's displays, offer clues into some of the imaginative and evidential parameters of their collection, as seen with the example of the Princesse de Lamballe. The many boxes and portfolios of engraved heads in the Boweses' collection indicate the inclination to participate in national projects by customising the public collections on a smaller, private scale.¹⁰⁹

The capacious definition of a portrait considered in this chapter helps historians to explore nineteenth-century associations that were created between an image and a historical figure. Being able to name the sitter, artist or collection where the work was located seem to have been ways of guaranteeing a reliable likeness for the Boweses. Information or stories about the work provided by *marchands* or specialists, or conveyed in texts, were another way of adding value to a portrait. The Boweses' manuscript catalogue reveals how keen John Bowes was to give a name to faces from the past, even if many of these labels are considered to be misattributions today. For instance, the sitter in the picture of a Vestal Virgin (B.M.275) was identified as Madame Du Barry, and John indicated that the painting had once belonged to the sitter (Figs.55-56).¹¹⁰ A full-length portrait labelled as Madame de Pompadour in the 1892 catalogue has become 'A lady as Flora or

¹⁰⁸ Lucy Peltz, *Facing the Text: Extra-illustration, Print Culture and Society in Britain, 1769-1840* (San Marino: Huntington Library, 2017); Pointon, *Hanging the Head*, pp. 53-78.

¹⁰⁹ On combining portraits of celebrities and friends and acquaintances into albums, Antoine Lilti uses the example of Maxime and Renée in *La Curée* (1872): in their albums, 'les actrices célèbres et les écrivains côtoient des filles entretenues, des hommes politiques, mais aussi des amis : les figures publiques sont ainsi familiarisées [...]', *Figures publiques*, p. 353.

¹¹⁰ Catalogue of Paintings, 1878, TBMA, JB/6/6/1: 'Madame du Barry en Vestale ayant appartenu à elle-même'.

Venus' in the online catalogue (Fig.79).¹¹¹ When the sitter was not named, a painted subject may still be of interest because of the sitter's clothing or hairstyle (Fig.80).¹¹²

This chapter has also shown that copies after alleged originals, whether in the form of portraits in oil on canvas or engraved, were still valued as a stimulus to historical sympathy and understanding, especially when the copy could be traced back to a historically accurate object, as was the case with images drawn from Louis-Philippe's Musée de l'Histoire de France. Moreover, new technologies, such as Gavard's 'diapraphe', and new reproductive techniques, such as lithography, offered not simply transcriptions of existing works, but the potential to creatively improve on an original image, by clarifying its message or imbuing it with extra tone or interest. Stephen Bann has shown that there was not one single concept of originality in 'the age of reproduction': even after the invention of the photographic process in 1839, engraving retained its status as a preferred way to capture human likeness and psychological depth.¹¹³ Effective portraits summoned up anecdotes and stories, such as those told to John and reported in his travel journal, or the tales of provenance related by dealers of curiosities, or through connections and associations, such as the sales held on the sites of historic houses. Portraits played a central part in telling the histories of the national and European past thanks to the evocative nature of faces, thereby making those histories more relatable and accessible. This impression of knowing the people from the past through their facial depictions could pave the way for creating affinities through objects that did not feature faces, such as a salt-cellar thought to have belonged to the Princesse de Lamballe (Fig.81).

Most importantly, the display of portraits reveals John and Joséphine's desire to live amongst and immerse themselves in faces from the past, quite independently from the museum project. For the decoration of her private apartments, a collection of fourteen oval oil paintings seems to have followed Joséphine in her relocation from France to Britain. The fourteen oil paintings on wood are first mentioned in the bill for renovation work undertaken at the Château de Louveciennes in April 1855 by Monbro fils aîné and signed off by the architect

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² For example, 'Portrait of a lady of the time of Louis XIV of France. Lace headdress' and 'Portrait of a lady in a rich dress of the 16th Century'.

¹¹³ Stephen Bann, *Parallel Lines: printmakers, painters and photographers in nineteenth-century France* (New Haven, 2001), p. 15; Stephen Bann, *Distinguished Images, Prints and the Visual Economy in Nineteenth-Century France* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2013).

Jules Pellechet. Fourteen portraits of women accompanied by gilded frames were placed in the Petit Salon.¹¹⁴ The bill for fourteen gilded frames (on one line in the record) makes it reasonable to infer that the portraits were considered as a coherent set. For a party in June of the same year, '14 petits tableaux ovales pet. [petit] Salon' were placed ('posé') in the Grand Salon, along with the pair of candelabra with the faces of Marie-Antoinette and Louis XVI (Fig.4).¹¹⁵ 1861-1862 witnessed considerable changes to the interiors and contents of Streatlam Castle, once the Boweses had sold Louveciennes and Streatlam became their only country residence. Letters in the DCRO reveal John's lengthy instructions to arrange the castle to suit his and Joséphine's needs and the transfer of large-scale furniture.¹¹⁶ There were fourteen 'little oval portraits in Mrs Bowes' Bedroom on either side of the fireplace': Madame de Châteauroux; Louise de Bourbon Mademoiselle de Charolais; Mademoiselle de Bourbon-Conti, Duchesse d'Orléans; Marie-Josèphe de Saxe, Dauphine de France; Madame Elisabeth de France; Marie-Jeanne Antoinette Poisson, Marquise de Pompadour; Jeanne Guimard de Vaubernois, Comtesse du Barry; and on the other side of the fireplace: La Princesse de Salsanne ; a picture of a sitter who was 'not certainly known'; Madame de Parabère; Mademoiselle de Beaujolais ; La Comtesse de Toulouse ; Mademoiselle de Bourbon, Princesse de Conti ; Louise Marie Carignan, Princesse de Lamballe (Fig.82).¹¹⁷

The inventory of 1870 does not describe Joséphine's bedroom, 'the whole of the furniture, pictures, hangings etc in this room belong to Mrs Bowes'.¹¹⁸ The inventory of Furniture at Streatlam Castle of November 1876 reveals that after his wife's death in 1874, Joséphine's bedroom was converted into 'Mr Bowes' Study and Closet', and states that it contained '15 Oval Portraits' and '48 Paintings of different Sizes and Subjects'.¹¹⁹ When the museum's curator Owen Scott was tasked with valuing the pictures at Streatlam Castle on 23 October 1907, Joséphine's Bedroom-turned-John's Study had become Lady Strathmore's Boudoir and it contained '14 small portraits of the court of Marie Antoinette' and a further seventeen works of arts, including two scenes by Boucher and portraits of unidentified women that may or may not have been part of the forty-eight pictures

¹¹⁴ '14 portraits de femmes peints à l'huile sur bois' 45 francs each, 10 francs for each frame, TBMA, JB/4/6/6.

¹¹⁵ 1 june 1855, TBMA, JB/4/6/6. The 'tableaux du petit salon' were 'déposé et reposé' by Monbro's firm on 13 June 1855.

¹¹⁶ DCRO, D/St/E1/3/7.

¹¹⁷ DCRO, D/St/E1/3/40.

¹¹⁸ DCRO, D/St/E1/3/33.

¹¹⁹ DCRO, D/St/E1/3/35. The 14 portraits turned into 15 could simply be a mistake. I have not been able to trace the 14 portraits beyond 1907.

mentioned above. It would seem that Joséphine's collection of portraits of women of the French court originally supplied by Monbro for Louveciennes were not added to the museum's collection (opened in 1892). Later however, in 1922, the museum's trustees accepted the oval portrait of Joséphine Bowes in a pink dress attributed to Alexandre Desanges, from Streatlam.¹²⁰ The possible placement of the portrait of Joséphine alongside the fourteen oil portraits of notable women from the French court would suggest a sense of dialogue or intimacy between sitters of different periods.

Finally, portraiture had an important stabilizing function: through the serial heads of monarchs it helped articulate ideas of historic continuity for a society living through political turmoil and change. Just as Pierre Daret's set of the portrait heads of France's early monarchs had been published during the Fronde (1648-1653), Lenoir's museum had opened shortly after the fall of Robespierre at Thermidor and Louis-Philippe's Versailles followed the July Revolution of 1830. Being able to associate each name with a likeness, and every era with a set of faces – however prone to imaginative embellishment – implied the persistence and emotional proximity of the French past. The next chapter focuses on collecting in the years 1870-1871, when real-life experiences of crisis, war and uncertainty prompted the Boweses and their contemporaries to conserve the fleeting traces of the present, reckoning on their appeal to historians of the future.

¹²⁰ Was the oval portrait by Desanges perhaps the fifteenth portrait in John's study (previously Joséphine's bedroom)? The portrait of Joséphine seems too big to have worked as a set alongside the 'little oval portrait' (H 94 × W 73.5 cm).

Chapter 5: Collecting and recording the experience of 1870-71

I. Private correspondence as part of the museum collection

As we have seen, the Boweses were enthusiastic collectors of ephemera and works on paper, and the example of 1870-71 shows how their correspondence should be considered as part of the museum collection. Paper was omnipresent in 1870-1871: from the multiplication of new newspapers to the pamphlets that circulated during the political crisis. In Paris, the walls in the streets were used to communicate and inform the citizens of Paris, as seen in an illustration of a 'rassemblement' from Lorédan Larchey's *Mémorial illustré des deux sièges* (Fig.83).¹ The vignette depicts people clutching newspapers and huddling together reading in groups, with a Morris 'colonne-affiche' displaying large advertisements for *Le Moniteur Universel* and *Le Monde illustré*. The *Mémorial* mentioned that 'chaque jour, on colle de curieuses affiches sur les murs de Paris'.² In his *Journal*, Edmond de Goncourt remarked on this explosion of political communication: 'Des affiches, toujours des affiches, et encore des affiches,' he noted, adding that 'Le papier blanc du gouvernement fait de véritables épaisseurs sur les murs'.³ These posters were viewed by everyone ('sous les yeux de tous') and updated regularly ('l'affiche du dernier quart-d'heure'), as seen in the painting by Alfred Decaen and Jacques Guiaud, *La Mairie de la rue Drouot, lecture d'une dépêche (19 janvier 1871)* from the Binant series at the Musée Carnavalet (Fig.84).⁴

If paper played a key role in announcing the birth of the Commune, it was also associated with its demise. Walking through Paris on 23 May 1871, Goncourt referred to 'une pluie noire de petits morceaux de papier brûlé'.⁵ Although he was referring to the contents of various buildings that had once contained State records and archives, and had now been incinerated, this 'pluie de papier calciné' can be

¹ Lorédan Larchey, *Mémorial illustré des deux sièges de Paris 1870-1871*. 2nd edn (Paris, 1874), TBMA, JB/1/8/1/1. I am quoting from the third edition held by the BnF, accessible on Gallica.

² Larchey, *Mémorial*, 13 November 1870, p. 151.

³ Goncourt, *Journal*, p. 267.

⁴ Ibid. On the Binant series of paintings, see Hollis Clayson, *Paris in Despair: Art and Everyday Life under Siege (1870-71)* (Chicago; London, 2002) pp. 29-30.

⁵ Goncourt, *Journal*, p. 317. The full quote reads: 'Et tout autour de nous, et sur nous, du ciel obscurci tombe continuellement une pluie noire de petits morceaux de papier brûlé : la Comptabilité de la France, l'État civil de Paris... Je ne sais quelle analogie me vient à la pensée, de cette pluie de papier calciné avec de la pluie de cendre, sous laquelle a été ensevelie Pompéi.'

seen as a metaphor for the explosion and diffusion of paper traces that emerged during 'l'année terrible'. The fall of the Second Empire in September 1870 had brought with it an opening up of the archives and the possibility of writing a well-documented post-mortem. Edmond de Goncourt observed his friend, the art critic Philippe Burty 'entouré, barricadé de papiers, de notes, de dépêches, de carnets, trouvés aux Tuileries' deciphering the fragmentary manuscripts related to the Bonapartist administration.⁶ On 11 May 1871, the vision of a shopkeeper sticking strips of paper up on a storefront to prevent the damage from shattering glass, spurred Goncourt to reflect on the poignancy of 'documents historiques': 'C'est singulier, comme il faut aux documents historiques un enfoncement dans le passé, pour me toucher.'⁷

This chapter demonstrates that paper was a central way by which the Boweses, looking on from Britain, made sense of the crises that overtook the French capital in their absence. The private correspondence received by John and Joséphine Bowes over the course of 1870 and 1871 was at the time considered by their friends to be part of the museum collection. This body of private correspondence located in TBMA and DCRO represent important primary sources for understanding how this circle of Anglo-French observers interpreted the Franco-Prussian War and Paris Commune. The Boweses and their correspondents were both fully aware of the historical weight carried by letters reporting events during 1870 and 1871. As Tom Stammers has shown, from the 1860s onward, private collectors had become increasingly interested in ephemera, in scraps of paper that were perceived as scraps of history.⁸ John and Joséphine Bowes were avid collectors of 'mémoires and lettres intimes' dating back to the old regime and French Revolution, and this probably sensitized them to the value of such transient sources in the present.⁹ The letters and papers gathered over the course of 1870-71 were a key part part of John and Joséphine's collection of ephemera, paper fragments and works on paper. As we will see, John's stepfather, William Hutt, wrote in 1871 that 'one of these days such memorials of the state of France will be

⁶ Goncourt, *Journal*, p. 296.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Stammers, 'The Refuse of the Revolution'.

⁹ See for example the dealer A. C. Lamer offering Joséphine pamphlets about Marie-Antoinette, the Princesse de Lamballe and the Revolution, TBMA, JB/5/10/4/46.

historical curiosities', and that they 'will become worthy of a place in the Museum when the present disasters of France have in some way or other cleared off'.¹⁰

In the first instance, the letters served the purpose of staying informed in a time of war, siege and revolution. When considered as material evidence of historical events that were experienced by them and their peers, the private letters take on a historical dimension, evolving from private documents into collectables worthy of preservation in a public museum.¹¹ The sources have barely been studied before, yet the letters exchanged and shared within the Boweses' network can feed into historians' work on the everyday lives of Parisians under siege by providing in-depth personal accounts of the changing mood in the city, and an international perspective on the unfolding events.¹² This correspondence relates to three other historiographical issues in particular. First, the material housed in their library can contribute to scholarly discussions on the role of the illustrated press at the fall of the Second Empire.¹³ Second, their determination to collect in the wake of the Commune, as described in Chapter 2, parallels other examples of salvaging from the ruins and the repurposing of architectural fragments in the second half of the nineteenth century.¹⁴ Third, the analysis of the Boweses' involvement with current events through collecting fits into their wider interest in the drama of French history and moments of revolution, to which 1871 can be understood as a climax. Their collection can be seen as a singular case study through which to analyse memories of the Commune as they were being created.

The letters from the Commune preserved today in TBMA have been separated out from the other series of Bowes correspondence, currently stored in boxes, and ordered chronologically, by date, by language, by topic or by sender.

¹⁰ W. Hutt to John, 23 June 1871, TBMA, JB/2/5/4/36; W. Hutt to John, 11 February 1871, TBMA, JB/2/5/4/4.

¹¹ On documents 'au service de l'histoire', see Péty, *Poétique de la collection*, p. 97.

¹² The Boweses' personal papers compliment the first-hand testimonies used in studies of 1870-71, see, for instance, Alistair Horne, *The Fall of Paris: The Siege and the Commune 1870-71* (London: Penguin, 2007); Robert Tombs, *The Paris Commune 1871* (London: Longman, 1999); John Merriman, *Massacre: The Life and Death of the Paris Commune* (New York: Basic Books, 2014).

¹³ See Colette E. Wilson, *Paris and the Commune 1871-78: the politics of forgetting* (Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press and Palgrave in the USA, 2007); Albert Boime, *Art and the French Commune. Princeton* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1997); Tillier, *La Commune de Paris*.

¹⁴ Daniëlle O. Kisluk-Grosheide, Deborah L. Krohn, Ulrich Leben (eds.), *Salvaging the Past: Georges Hoentschel and French Decorative Arts from The Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2013); Stammers, *The Purchase of the Past*; Elodie Baillet, 'L'art de la reprise dans la collection de Gaston de Saint-Maurice : entre art mamelouk égyptien et décors intérieurs des XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles', *RIHA Journal* 0147 (2017).

Conscious of the historical value of the documents, Charles Hardy selected letters to use in his chapter 'War and Revolution' in *John Bowes and The Bowes Museum*. Hardy's study of 1870-1871 focused on the practicalities of sending letters by post during the Siege and he noted any unusual routes, postmarks or elaborate means for smuggling letters in and out of the country.¹⁵ Those letters deposited in the DCRO have not yet been disturbed and the bundles remain in chronological order, regardless of the letter's topic or sender. The survival of the letters set aside by Hardy and those still placed in chronological sequence in TBMA, together with John Bowes' correspondence in the Strathmore papers at DCRO, testifies to the perception of this as an exceptional episode, which interrupted the normal pattern of the Boweses' lives, business and social correspondence.

This chapter provides a snapshot of the Boweses' friendships and networks. Their being away from home accounts for the quantity of missives received by John and Joséphine in 1870-71 and provides us with a unique insight into their preoccupations during a time of crisis. Although the lines of communication were limited and controlled, the Boweses and their friends relied on one another to share rare snippets of news received from the front lines. The compelling nature of the missives stems from the combination of front line accounts of what was going on in Paris, local gossip and the preoccupations of wealthy friends of the Boweses. The second part of the chapter explores the question of national identity within the Boweses' cosmopolitan circle. As foreign residents of a city under siege, they feared for their properties and loved ones. The multitude of voices that emerge from the correspondence echo the characteristically eclectic and non-partisan collections of the Bowes museum.¹⁶ Finally, I turn to the opportunities offered to Paris-based collectors, and the paper-based alternatives, such as Larchey's *Mémorial Illustré*, that were available to those who had witnessed the events from a distance.

II. A war seen from across the Channel

John and Joséphine had been in England from 18 August 1869 after spending six weeks at the Hôtel Dessin in Calais, where they waited for both the weather and Joséphine's health to improve for the crossing.¹⁷ Five months later, they set off from Streatlam in early December to return to Paris and were in Dover on the 13th

¹⁵ On the mechanics of sending letters during the Siege of Paris, see Hardy, *John Bowes*, pp. 167-72.

¹⁶ See Stammers, 'John Bowes and the collectors of Napoleon', p. 33.

¹⁷ Hardy, *John Bowes*, p. 160.

where, as John's biographer Charles Hardy writes, they 'began their customary wait for favourable weather for crossing to Calais'. Mentioning their apprehension over the smallpox epidemic and the terrible weather that prevented Joséphine from crossing earlier that year, Hardy closes his chapter on the year 1869 with the following statement: 'It was a long wait; Joséphine did not see Paris again for nearly two years.'¹⁸ In February 1870, Madame la Comtesse Fabre de l'Aude lamented the delay in her friends' return and cursed the weather: 'cette malheureuse Mer sera donc toujours mauvaise ?'.¹⁹ By March, the Boweses were still at Dover, although John had made a quick *aller-retour* at the beginning of the month. The Boweses' friends were eager for them to come back to Paris and Madame de Belleyme, another close friend of Joséphine's, was particularly reproachful, writing that, 'j'espérais bien que vous arriveriez avant le 12 [May]. D'ailleurs, vous me l'aviez formellement annoncé dans votre dernière lettre'.²⁰ Belleyme's disappointment over the Boweses being in England for such a long time reveals that they had in fact expected to be in Paris for the duration of the Salon of 1870, to which Joséphine had sent paintings.

With the exception of a letter from John's stepfather William Hutt, written on 19 January 1870 from the Hôtel de l'Alliance, in which Hutt mentioned the possibility of 'another revolutionary rough season', the letters received from France in the early months of 1870 generally addressed the topic of sickness.²¹ An outbreak of smallpox had reached Paris, and it is mentioned by various correspondents across several months, such as Dr Lorgny who reckoned it had been exaggerated in that year's newspapers.²² The doctor dismissed the severity of the epidemic, and blamed the press for rumour-mongering, yet his letter concluded by advising Joséphine to wait at least one month or five weeks before returning to Paris. Lorgny's optimism was not matched by other correspondents. In reality, the epidemic that had broken out in France in December 1869 was one of the deadliest iterations yet of the disease, and conferences were held in Paris to tackle the

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 163.

¹⁹ 5 February 1870, TBMA, JB/8/1/11/3.

²⁰ TBMA, JB/8/1/3/4.

²¹ W. Hutt to John, DCRO, D/St/C5/233/5. Napoleon III won the plebiscite on the Second Empire in 1870 but with much reduced approval ratings.

²² The full quote reads: 'je veux rassurer Madame au sujet de l'épidémie de variole qui règne dit-on à Paris [...] cette année les petits journaux s'étaient emparés de l'épidémie, ont jeté le trouble dans les familles' (5 March 1870, TBMA, JB/2/9/2). See also A. de Belleyme to Joséphine, 16 March 1870, TBMA, JB/8/1/3/1.

problem.²³ Joséphine's friend the Comtesse Fabre de l'Aude reported that her husband had suffered from a nasty flu for most of the winter.²⁴ It wasn't until May 1870 that Eléonore Chevrier informed Joséphine that her sister-in-law, Hortense, the Boweses' housekeeper at 7 Rue de Berlin, had been ill for months. Eléonore had been helping her with her duties at the house, and from May, she wrote to Joséphine to give her more or less daily updates on Hortense's health.²⁵ Around the same time, Joséphine's close friend Ellen Piétri (née Robinson) wrote that her mother had been suffering, and that the heat in Paris made it even worse for the elderly.²⁶

A letter from Ellen Piétri to Joséphine, written on 24 April 1870, addresses a number of varied and disconnected events, which are indicative of the priorities and concerns of the two friends. The letter closes with, 'À Paris nous sommes en plein plébiscite. Toujours quelque chose pour agiter les esprits'. Napoleon III had resorted to a plebiscite to attempt to reassert his wavering authority, asking French men if they approved – *oui ou non* – of the liberal reforms introduced over the past decade.²⁷ The campaign had lasted for months and left voters divided, politically and intellectually, as demonstrated in a recent article by Neil Rogachevsky.²⁸ Ellen Piétri, born in Cambridge, was married to the Corsican General Cosimo Piétri, and this position made her exceptionally aware of current affairs: she lived in the thick of things. Ten days earlier, in a letter first describing Madame de Noirjean's inappropriate attire and attention-seeking attitude, Ellen had mentioned that her husband was beginning to think that moving to London would be a good option given that 'les affaires sont encore très brouillées, on parle de complots, et un manque de confiance en général'.²⁹

At the outbreak of the war in July, the Boweses were therefore still in England. As a French history enthusiast, John might have shared his university friend Alexander Kinglake's excitement for 'this wonderful war'.³⁰ Hutt, who had

²³ See Gérard Jorland, 'La variole et la guerre de 1870', *Les Tribunes de la santé*, 33 :4 (2011), 25-30.

²⁴ Comtesse Fabre de l'Aude to Joséphine, 19 March 1870, TBMA, JB/8/1/11/5.

²⁵ Eléonore Chevrier to Joséphine, 11 May-1 June 1870, TBMA, JB/8/1/7/4-7.

²⁶ Ellen Piétri to Joséphine, 22 May 1870, TBMA, JB/8/1/20/9.

²⁷ See Merriman, *Massacre*, p. 17; Tombs, *The Paris Commune*, p. 36.

²⁸ Neil Rogachevsky, 'Are plebiscites constitutional? A disputed question in the plebiscite campaign of 1870', *French History*, 27:2 (2013), 249-270.

²⁹ Ellen Piétri to Joséphine, 14 April 1870, TBMA, JB/8/1/20/7.

³⁰ A. Kinglake to John, from London, 20 July 1870, DCRO, D/St/C5/233/57. The full quote reads: 'This wonderful war "unsettles" me, as women say, & I have not yet been able to form any plan for my movements during the autumn'.

taught Bowes and Kinglake at Cambridge, informed John that 'Kinglake seemed to me to be meditating joining the headquarters of the Prussian army. He must take care not to fall into the hands of Louis Napoleon or his soldiers.'³¹ Napoleon III was seen as unreliable by many British observers and cast as the aggressor in the Franco-Prussian War. Kinglake later wrote of his desire to watch the events unravel in real life, but, as Hutt wrote to John, 'the theatre of war is not exactly a "place of amusement"'.³² So Kinglake confirmed to John that he would stay in London:

I have not been abroad, for although strongly attracted, as it were, by the great Havoc going on in Europe, my ignorance of German was an insufferable hindrance to attempt to witness it otherwise than at this respectful distance & through the newspapers.³³

Like Kinglake, John and Joséphine would be armchair travellers witnessing this European conflict from afar, at a 'respectful distance & through the newspapers'. Although they found themselves removed from the excitement of wartime mobilisation, they were able to follow current affairs closely thanks to their regular correspondence with London, Paris and with friends who were travelling around Europe. For example, they benefitted from the privileged insight of friends such as William Hutt, who fired off urgent letters from the Foreign Office. Numerous letters record critical events with the added precision of the exact time and place when the news broke. One letter from Hutt on 15 July 1870 traced the chain of communication from France's decision to declare war on Prussia to the projected moment that it would reach John at Streatlam Castle:

The declaration of war or peace will be made in about an hour from the time when I am writing, in the French Chambers. We shall know it here [London] soon as the telegraph can report it. So that before I send off my letter [to Streatlam] I shall probably be able to communicate the news. No one expects the word will be peace.

And so, Hutt added at the end of the letter: '3 o'clock – the Emperor announced to the Corps Législatif that he found it necessary to declare war against Prussia and the Legislative body formally approved the policy of the Emperor. Such is the official communication made from Paris to the British Government.'³⁴

As well as sending letters by post, the Boweses corresponded by telegram, but few receipts survive in TBMA. John's close friend Henry Morgan Vane

³¹ W. Hutt to John, 15 July 1870, DCRO, D/St/C5/233/52.

³² W. Hutt to John, 15 July 1870, DCRO, D/St/C5/233/51.

³³ A. Kinglake to John Bowes, from London, 16 September 1870, TBMA, JB/2/6/1.

³⁴ W. Hutt to John Bowes, from London, DCRO, D/St/C5/233/51.

responded from London by letter on 12 August 1870 to a telegram from John. The letter illustrates Vane's commitment to sending immediate replies to John, which included any news of current affairs that he heard in London. Once, he realised that 'something serious had occurred', he hastened to send John a second telegram the following day in the afternoon.³⁵ On the day he wrote the letter (12 August) there were further developments across the Channel, so he added:

It is today currently believed that the Prince Imperial is at the French Embassy at Albert Gate. I think the Emperor would not show his fear of his position by proving it by sending the Prince to the care of the Marquis de Lavalette here. It is believed that the Orléans princes are working hard for themselves, that Lady Waldergrave is aiding them.³⁶ Considering that her husband (Chi. Fortescue *in brackets*) is Secretary & [---?] for Ireland, her ladyship had better be neutral.³⁷

The emphasis on temporal markers in a single letter – 'the other evening', 'the following morning', 'that night', 'in the afternoon', '4 pm', 'today currently' – convey the sense of urgency and excitement experienced by Vane who was eager to get the news to John as quickly and as accurately as possible.

It is likely that letters from the Siege and Commune would have been carefully preserved by the Boweses partly as moving reminders of those acquaintances who did not survive the conflict. News of the deaths of Hortense Chevrier, Joséphine's devoted maid, and Benjamin Gogué, the Boweses' trusted curator and friend, was sent by Eléonore in the same letter in 1871.³⁸ Joséphine mourned the death of her devoted employees for weeks. Constant worry over being separated from her possessions took its toll on Joséphine's health: Ellen Piétri was saddened 'que vous [Joséphine] avez été si malade. Sans doute votre esprit, est comme la mienne, très tourmentée avec les affaires si malheureuses dans la pauvre France.'³⁹ Madame Bowes' anxiety was a leitmotif across every bundle of correspondence for the duration of the crisis. For instance, Vane wrote, 'We readily understand the anxiety of Mrs Bowes and yourself to reach Paris & inspect your property, moveable as well as immoveable.'⁴⁰

³⁵ H. Vane to John Bowes, 12 August 1870, DCRO, D/St/C5/233/77.

³⁶ On the Orléans princes in England, see Tom Stammers, 'From the Tuileries to Twickenham: The Orléans, Exile and Anglo-French Liberalism, c.1848–1880', *The English Historical Review*, Volume 133, Issue 564, October 2018, pp. 1120–1154.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Eléonore Chevrier to Joséphine, 8 March 1871, TBMA, JB/8/1/7/23.

³⁹ Ellen Piétri to Joséphine, 17 September 1870, TBMA, JB/8/1/20/16.

⁴⁰ Vane (London) to John, 15 August 1871, DCRO, D/ST/C5/259/2.

Other collectors were equally anxious about the preservation of their properties and possessions.⁴¹ The death of the Fourth Marquess of Hertford in the summer of 1870 occurred while France was at war with Prussia, and Parisians were preparing for the prospect of a siege. Gripped with anxiety over the fate of his collection, the strain inflicted on Hertford's mental health was too much in his old age. George Ferguson reported to John Bowes: 'I think its[sic] highly probable that his death may have been hastened by the War'.⁴² Gripped with the fear of losing his collection, Lord Hertford had already removed his artworks from the site. His fears were well-founded, because in the coming months the Bois de Boulogne would be bombed, and the grounds at Bagatelle would be trampled on by the Prussians; finally, in May 1871, the Versaillais army occupied the Bois de Boulogne as they prepared to attack the Paris Commune.⁴³

III. Building a record of 1870-71

John and Joséphine Bowes used the series of correspondence they received to imagine the events of 1870-1871, as outsiders – at the same time, as Parisians, they were insiders – looking in. Their dependence on written accounts illustrates the notion that, the Commune was, to borrow Bertrand Tillier's phrase, initially 'une révolution sans images': the immediacy of the events of the 'Semaine sanglante' could only be conveyed through the written accounts.⁴⁴ Navigating the practicalities of communicating in a time of international conflict was difficult, and even once those challenges had been overcome, issues of subjectivity and unreliability in the testimony remained. Eric Fournier's demonstration that most written accounts of the occupation and destruction of Paris were at first marked by shock and silence is strengthened by the *Memoirs* of their contact, Edward Blount. In his *Memoirs*, Blount quoted from a letter written in September 1870: 'I feel it totally impossible to convey to anybody the state we are in here [Paris]. The past seems like a frightful dream; the present is impossible to describe.'⁴⁵ Blount relied

⁴¹ See Tom Stammers, 'Salvage and Speculation: Collecting on the London Art Market After the Franco-Prussian War (1870-71)', in *Museums, Modernity and Conflict. Museums and Collections in and of War since the Nineteenth Century*, ed. by Kate Hill (London: Routledge, 2020).

⁴² George Ferguson to John Bowes, 15 September 1870, TBMA, JB/2/8/1.

⁴³ On the provisions made by Richard Wallace for the National Guard, see *La Liberté*, 26 October, 1870; on the damage at Bagatelle, see *Pall Mall Gazette*, 4 November 1870; on the Versaillais army's occupation, see Merriman, *Massacre*, p. 126.

⁴⁴ On the use of visual depictions in the coverage of the events of May 1871, see Tillier, *La Commune de Paris*.

⁴⁵ Blount, *Memoirs*, p. 172, quoting a letter from 18 September 1870.

on letter-writing to anchor him in the present.⁴⁶ When penning his memoirs at the end of his life, he quoted from his private correspondence – and in particular the letters received by his wife who was in England – to help him relive his impressions. Re-exploring what he had written throughout the conflict brought those moments back to him, along with his fears, anxieties and irritations. Other members of the Boweses' circle found it therapeutic to share their fears in correspondence. Ellen Pietri commiserated with Joséphine about their shared apprehensions: 'Vous voyez, chère Madame, vous m'avez donné du courage et je commence de voir un feu du soleil arriver après les nuages.'⁴⁷ The housekeepers at 7 Rue de Berlin depended on their employers not only for their material comfort but also for emotional reassurance.⁴⁸

In addition to preserving the voluminous private correspondence, John and Joséphine also sought out works related to the crisis after the event, and particularly vivid descriptions and depictions of the events to complement the contents of their letters. Many collectors who lived through the horrors of 1870-71 sought to document the experience through manuscripts or photographs, including Jérôme Pichon and Richard Wallace.⁴⁹ One example in the Bowes collection is a loosely-bound copy of the second edition (1874) of the *Mémorial illustré des deux sièges de Paris*, by Lorédan Larchey.⁵⁰ *Le Monde illustré* of 19 December 1874 had advertised the 'magnifique volume de 408 pages grand format du Monde illustré' that was available in paperback form for 14 francs, or 'relié richement, tranche doré' for 20 francs. A later review in *Le Monde illustré* referred to the *Mémorial* as a work 'que toutes les bibliothèques voudront posséder'.⁵¹ It is possible that John may have wished to have the paperback copy bound as an important addition to the collection of books about history. As we will see in Chapter 6, the journalist Etienne Lorédan Larchey (1831-1902), visible in the portrait by Faustin Besson in TBM, was a central figure in Paris' fashionable literary circles, and a friend of John's second wife Alphonsine. From 1873, he worked as a librarian at the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, becoming a curator there in 1880. Larchey's *Mémorial* is of special interest because of his idiosyncratic attempt to piece together the splinters of

⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 177: 'the uncertainty made me write constantly.'

⁴⁷ Ellen Piétri to Joséphine, 25 November 1870, TBMA, JB/8/1/20/20.

⁴⁸ Eléonore Chevrier, 20 September 1870, TBMA, JB/8/1/7/17: 'Quand nous avons de vos nouvelles nous sommes bien moins tourmenté [sic]'.
⁴⁹ On Jérôme Pichon, see Stammers, *The Purchase of the Past*, pp. 205-7; Richard Wallace's albums of photographs of the ruins, which warrant further research, see Higgott, *Sir Richard Wallace*, p. 114.

⁵⁰ The *Mémorial* does not appear in any lists of books owned by Joséphine.
⁵¹ *Le Monde illustré*, 23 December 1871.

different incidents into a cohesive literary monument. The *Mémorial* reprinted fragmentary events and information that would come to characterise how 'l'année terrible' was remembered. Assembled by Lorédan Larchey, he organised the newspaper cuttings and letters he had received throughout the year and organised them as pieces of evidence to create a public 'mémorial'. His preparatory papers in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal are divided into main categories such as pigeon-post, food, bread, uniform, all topics that were raised in letters received by the Boweses (Figs.85-86). When read alongside the letters received by John and Joséphine Bowes, the *Mémorial* serves to corroborate and elucidate the contents of their correspondence.

The illustrations of the eccentricities and novelties of the sieges provided in the *Mémorial* helped the Boweses to imagine and record an event that they had not experienced first-hand. For instance, solutions to the food and postal crises were recorded in the *Mémorial*, seen in the coverage on pigeon-post and the manufacturing of balloons (Fig.87). From July 1871, comparable special issues and albums were published by *Le Monde illustré* and *L'Univers illustré*, which offered compilations of press coverage of the repression of the Commune. These newspapers were heavily illustrated with copper-plate engravings of photographs, sketches and drawings completed during and after the events, following the model of *Le Monde illustré*. The large-scale images were printed in black and white, and illustrations in the centre pages could be detached to be saved.⁵²

IV. Newspapers

The Boweses waited avidly for the news they received directly from Paris. As noted above, Joséphine received letters from Eléonore Chevrier who had stepped in as housekeeper to help her brother, Robert, at 7 Rue de Berlin since Hortense had fallen ill. Eléonore promised to keep Joséphine up to date with any developments in current affairs in general, but especially from within her household. She responded to Joséphine's concerns and questions throughout the turmoil. For instance, on 15 August 1870, she wrote that 'il est vrai qu'il y a des rassemblements à Paris qui font bien du tort à tout le monde', presumably in response to Joséphine inquiring about the state of affairs in Paris. In an attempt to ease Joséphine's mind

⁵² On the coverage of the Commune by *Le Monde illustré* in 1871 and 1878, see Wilson, *Paris and The Commune*, p.34-91. On the use of color, see Fournier, *Paris en ruines*, p. 117, 126.

about the general situation, the housekeeper focused on their particular neighbourhood: 'Quant à votre quartier dieu merci il a été jusqu'à présent très calme je ne crois pas qu'il y ait du danger.'⁵³ Anticipating her employer's further questions, she reassured Joséphine, 'cependant si cela devenait plus grave je vous préviendrais de suite.' Eléonore promised to forward any news. In the same letter, she added hastily after signing off, 'à l'instant on annonce une victoire remporter [sic] par les Français', giving Joséphine the sense of experiencing the events in real time, 'à l'instant'.⁵⁴

Talk of French victories proved short-lived, however. By 27 August, Eléonore could no longer hide the state of anxiety and fear that gripped Paris – 'je pense que vous savez l'inquiétude qui règne à Paris depuis quelques temps' – especially because 'depuis hier le ministre de l'intérieur a annoncé que les Prussiens arrivaient sur Paris'.⁵⁵ In his own recent blow-by-blow account of the end of the Second Empire, John Merriman writes that anxiety over a possible siege of Paris had been looming since mid-August but it only became inevitable once nothing stood between the capital and Prussian troops.⁵⁶ In late August Chevrier reported that, 'tout le monde est consterné tout [sic] ceux qui peuvent ne sont occupés qu'à s'approvisionner. On craint manquer de tout. Voilà Madame dans quelle position nous sommes.'⁵⁷ On 1 September, the housekeeper wrote that 'aujourd'hui les nouvelles sont meilleures sans qu'il n'y ait rien de certain. Aussitôt qu'il y aura quelque chose d'officiel bon ou mauvais je vous préviendrai de suite.'⁵⁸ In reality, the French army, which had been surrounded in the town of Sedan since the previous day, was badly defeated by the German army, and Napoleon III and his troops surrendered the following day. The news of the defeat reached Empress Eugénie on 3 September.⁵⁹ Eléonore Chevrier's letter emphasises the fact that most Parisians were unaware of what had happened at Sedan until Jules Favre's proclamation of the end of the Empire in the early hours of 4 September. Her words also show that the flow of news reaching Paris was peppered with uncertainty fuelled by unofficial and word-of-mouth rumours. The next letter from Eléonore

⁵³ Eléonore Chevrier to Joséphine, TBMA, JB/8/1/7/11/1. Civilian solidarity is a recurring theme in Larchey's Mémorial. On the local nature of the Commune, see Roger Gould, 'Multiple Networks and Mobilization in the Paris Commune, 1871', *American Sociological Review*, 56:6 (1991), 716-729.

⁵⁴ Eléonore Chevrier to Joséphine, 15 August 1870, TBMA, JB/8/1/7/11/1.

⁵⁵ Eléonore Chevrier to Joséphine, 27 August 1870, TBMA, JB/8/1/7/12.

⁵⁶ Merriman, *Massacre*, pp. 22-3.

⁵⁷ Eléonore Chevrier, 27 August 1870, TBMA, JB/8/1/7/12.

⁵⁸ 1 September 1870, TBMA, JB/8/1/7/13.

⁵⁹ Merriman, *Massacre*, pp. 23-4.

was sent the following week, on 7 September, and explained that 'depuis ma dernière lettre où les nouvelles paraissaient meilleurs il y a bien du changement. Vous savez que nous sommes en République. De plus on dit que les Prussiens arrivent sur Paris.'⁶⁰ Indeed, while Prussian armies continued to move towards Paris, the Third Republic was established by default as a government of national defence.⁶¹ The sense of immediacy that is palpable in her letters testify to her devotion to her employers; she reassured Joséphine that 'tant qu'on pourra vous écrire je vous donnerai des nouvelles.'⁶²

As well as keeping up-to-date through personal correspondence, the Boweses and their entourage read newspapers to inform their view of the situation. The Boweses subscribed to various newspapers which continued to be sent to their Paris address throughout the war and into 1871. They paid for six-month subscriptions to the pro-Bonapartist newspaper *La Patrie*, each for 27 francs, on 1 October 1869 and again on 1 March 1870, after which Eléonore sent Joséphine a reminder to renew the subscription.⁶³ They also subscribed to the republican (but anti-Communist) daily newspaper, *Le Siècle* from 1 October 1869 to January 1872.⁶⁴ *Le Siècle* was a 'low circulating but highly influential republican newspaper'.⁶⁵ This deliberate decision to engage with papers from a number of political positions is striking: the Boweses also read *Le Figaro*, which, along with *Le Gaulois*, was closely tied to Adolphe Thiers – the conservative head of the provisional government –, and both papers were shut down by the Central Committee of the Communist government in March 1871.⁶⁶ Of the popular illustrated journals of the period, the Boweses also read *Le Monde Illustré*, 'an ostensibly non-political, conservative, and family-orientated weekly illustrated journal' and 'a good barometer of the establishment view.'⁶⁷ The newspaper was

⁶⁰ 7 September 1870, TBMA, JB/8/1/7/14.

⁶¹ Merriman, *Massacre*, pp. 25-6.

⁶² Eléonore Chevrier, 20 September 1870, TBMA, JB/8/1/7/17.

⁶³ For an overview of the role of the press in nineteenth-century French bourgeois society, see Wilson, *Paris and the Commune*, pp. 17-20. On *La Patrie*, see Natalie Isser, *The Second Empire and the Press: A Study of Government-Inspired Brochures on French Foreign Policy in Their Propaganda Milieu* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1974), pp. 586-8. For the Boweses' subscription to *La Patrie*, see TBMA, JB/3/3/18/10; Eléonore Chevrier to Joséphine, 1 September 1870, TBMA, JB/8/1/7/13.

⁶⁴ *Le Siècle* subscriptions paid on 1 October 1869 for 6 months and on 1 November 1871 for 3 months, TBMA, JB/3/3/18/9; JB/3/3/19/50.

⁶⁵ Wilson, *Paris and the Commune*, p. 123.

⁶⁶ Merriman, *Massacre*, p. 68.

⁶⁷ Wilson, *Paris and the Commune*, p. 18.

sent to 7 Rue de Berlin weekly from May 1870 to April 1872.⁶⁸ As part of the Paul Dalloz publishing empire, *Le Monde Illustré* was sister to *Le Moniteur universel*, or, ‘the government’s quasi-official newspaper’.⁶⁹ The Boweses continued to receive the *Journal des amateurs d’objets d’art* in 1870.⁷⁰ There is no evidence that any of these were forwarded to John and Joséphine at Streatlam Castle, but it is certain that they received British papers while at Streatlam as well.⁷¹

The Boweses’ correspondence indicates that members of their network were reading widely and sharing snippets of information between themselves. By pooling together their resources, all parties could create as full a picture as was possible despite the distance from Paris, and despite the reporting restrictions and interruptions. Kinglake promised to send on ‘anything not conveyed in the Newspapers’.⁷² In April 1871 Hutt reported that he had received ‘no news from Paris save what is in the Times’ and later added on a separate sheet of paper, ‘No Paris news except that the 1st instalment of the indemnity money – 20 millions sterling has been paid by the Thiers Government’.⁷³ The whole network shared opinions, conjectures and interpretations, and understood the benefit of such a cosmopolitan and politically broad range of views. Given their Franco-British union, it seems that their friends thought John and Joséphine were in a privileged position to share their opinions on French politics. Once she had relocated from Paris to Cambridge with her mother, Ellen Piétri was particularly eager to hear Joséphine’s thoughts: ‘Ecrivez moi ma chère madame vos pensées sur la situation actuelle. [...] Je voudrais savoir l’opinion des Français sur les graves évènements’.⁷⁴ Henry Vane commented that John’s ‘account of the state of business in Paris [was] very distressing’.⁷⁵

⁶⁸ *Le Monde Illustré* subscription, 1 May 1870 for 6 months, TBMA, JB/3/3/19/18; 16 November 1870 for 6 months, TBMA, JB/3/3/19/30; letter from Eléonore Chevrier, 5 May 1871 asking for Joséphine’s permissions to renew the subscription, TBMA, JB/8/1/7/30; subscription paid on 29 October 1871 for 6 months, TBMA, JB/3/3/19/72.

⁶⁹ Wilson, *Paris and the Commune*, pp. 16-8, 34.

⁷⁰ Subscription paid 31 July 1870, TBMA, JB/3/3/19/22.

⁷¹ See W. Hutt to John, 16 July 1870, DCRO, D/St/C5/233/52.

⁷² Kinglake to John, 6 January 1871, TBMA, JB/2/6/3. The full quote reads: ‘In the event of my chancing to hear anything not conveyed by the Newspapers I will not fail to let you know without delay. At this moment however I have no knowledge except what the public journals give in regard to the probable course of events in Paris.’

⁷³ W. Hutt to John, 3 April 1871, DCRO, D/ST/C5/288/1(ii).

⁷⁴ Ellen Piétri to Joséphine, 6 September 1870, TBMA, JB/8/1/20/15.

⁷⁵ H. Vane to John, 22 August 1870, DCRO, D/St/C5/233/83.

V. Private networks for news from the front lines

The network was not, however, only limited to Britain and France. In the Autumn of 1870, William and Fanny Hutt embarked on a European trip.⁷⁶ They planned to spend the winter season along the Mediterranean coast, travelling via Germany, but quickly realised that they would need to change their plans.⁷⁷ They took the train from Dijon to Neufchâtel, but Hutt was careful to ask Edward Blount, who had a fascination for locomotives and a financial interest in French railways, for advice on the best route. The Huttss wished to avoid crossing the line of troops.⁷⁸ Once in Switzerland, they travelled to Milan via St Moritz, and Hutt expressed his annoyance once more: 'this unhappy war disconcerts all one's plans & prospects previously entertained'. He dismissed 'Spain for the winter' given its proximity to France, which was 'in a state of uproar', and concluded 'I think it better to keep out of troubled waters.'⁷⁹ Fluent in French like John, Hutt's accounts of the events in Europe revealed that he mistrusted the French-language press; he read local newspapers in each destination but ultimately relied on news from Britain. From Villa Ivos in St Moritz, Switzerland, Hutt wrote: 'we get abundant news here from both parties in the war. Of course they never agree & we hardly know what to believe till the arrival of the Times about noon.'⁸⁰ Writing from Turin a few weeks later, Hutt disapprovingly observed that 'the accounts from French authorities always represent their army as victorious & the country as doing well. If one had no other knowledge of the events of the war than what has been published by official gentlemen & their allies in Paris since the beginning of last month, one would be puzzled to understand why the French troops were not in Berlin at the moment.'⁸¹

By contrast, Ellen Piétri would have preferred to receive the British and French sides of the story at the same time: 'nous lisons les journaux anglais avec le plus grand intérêt mais il y a longue temps [sic] depuis que j'ai lu un journal

⁷⁶ I am extremely grateful to Lucy West for alerting me to the existence of Hutt's travel diaries in the Tyne and Wear Archives. The diary of interest is William Hutt's 'Diary of a tour in France, Switzerland and Italy, 1870-1871' (DX985/4) and possibly 'Diary of a tour of Spain, 1872' (DX985/5). I plan to examine these in the future.

⁷⁷ Hutt wrote that 'One of the evils will be this, that there will be no visiting the Rhine.' (W. Hutt to John, 15 July 1870, DCRO, D/St/C5/233/51).

⁷⁸ Colonel Claremont had left Paris and entrusted Blount, 'en l'absence des Représentants officiels du Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique, de veiller officieusement à la conservation des propriétés de l'ambassade, aux objets et archives qui y sont renfermés, et de requérir au besoin la protection des autorités Françaises', letter dated 10 December 1870, quoted in Blount, *Memoirs*, p. 191-2.

⁷⁹ Hutt, 1 September 1870, from St Moritz, DCRO, D/St/C5/233/89.

⁸⁰ W. Hutt to John, 13 August 1870, from St Moritz, TBMA, JB/2/5/3/2.

⁸¹ W. Hutt to John, 28 September 1870, from Turin, DCRO, D/St/C5/233/99.

Français.⁸² She relied on Joséphine for keeping in touch with French friends during her time in Cambridge. First- and second-hand accounts of events were valuable additions to what was reported in newspapers: 'Les journaux ne peuvent pas vous dire toutes les cruautés de nos innombrables ennemis. Il faut entendre nos malheureux soldats échappés de Metz par miracle et qui en se sauvant ont traversé la Lorraine [sic],' wrote Mme Dessin, of the Hôtel Dessin in Calais.⁸³ The following year, Joséphine's Calais correspondent declared again: 'Vous avez du [sic] bien souffrir en lisant toutes les horreurs commises par les Prussiens. Les journaux n'ont cependant pas dit toutes les infâmies.'⁸⁴ Rudston Read, writing from the Carlton Club in London, looked forward to John returning to Paris so that he might share 'any further news to be relied on, as the papers must be filled with lies'.⁸⁵ Personal accounts of events that were covered in newspapers gave them authentic texture and were used by their recipients to confirm or discredit the news that readers had access to.

Novel ways of posting letters and sending news were characteristic of 1870-71. Pigeon-post was a source of fascination in memoirs written about this time and, along with using balloons for sending letters, became one of the curiosities of the siege.⁸⁶ One page of the *Mémorial illustré*, explains the process of pigeon-post and the different elements involved in its success (Fig.87).⁸⁷ The bird's feathers were stamped 'avec les timbres du point de départ', as shown in the first vignette. Some of the means of sending letters and communicating were shown in the France-Allemagnes exhibition at the Musée de l'Armée in 2016, among them minutely written letters so that the pigeon could carry them.⁸⁸ The *Mémorial* offered a detailed description of the complicated means by which telegrams were communicated, the text reduced to fit into minuscule tubes.⁸⁹ Upon receipt, the messages were projected onto the wall in a dark room at the offices of the 'Administration des Télégraphes'. The title of the full-page image added that 'l'administration des postes est autorisée à faire reproduire par la photographie

⁸² Ellen Piétri to Joséphine, 6 September 1870, TBMA, JB/8/1/20/15.

⁸³ Mme Dessin to Joséphine, undated [winter 1870], TBMA, JB/8/1/10/1.

⁸⁴ Mme Dessin to Joséphine, 30 January 1871, TBMA, JB/8/1/10/8.

⁸⁵ Rudston Read to John from Carlton Club London, 3 June 1871, TBMA, JB/2/8/12.

⁸⁶ See John Milner, *Art, War and Revolution in France 1870-1871* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000); Clayson, *Paris in Despair*, pp. 159-62.

⁸⁷ Larchey, *Mémorial*, p. 84.

⁸⁸ Mathilde Benoistel, Sylvie Le Ray-Burimi and Christopher Pommier (eds.), *France Allemagne(s) 1870-71. La guerre, la Commune, les mémoires* (Paris: Gallimard/Musée de l'Armée, 2017).

⁸⁹ Larchey, *Mémorial*, p. 154.

microscopique des dépêches adressées à Paris': full segments of messages sent by carrier pigeon were published in the pages of newspapers.⁹⁰ During the siege especially, the French press pooled together any news they received, in much the same way as the Boweses and their entourage were doing.

Once safely delivered to the Boweses at Streatlam Castle, they were much more easily sent across Britain, despite Hutt reporting miscommunication at various points in the telegram service from London to the North-east of England.⁹¹ John Bowes circulated to his stepfather, William Hutt, the first-hand accounts that he and Joséphine were receiving from Paris.⁹² Two sets of letters received by John and Joséphine were considered to be particularly memorable and were shared with their friends in Britain. The first, from John Mount, a British citizen who worked for Blount's Bank in Paris, described his encounter with National Guardsmen along a barricade in February 1871. The second example is from an American woman in Paris, Mme Schliecker, and gave first-hand accounts of the food crisis that was being suffered by Parisians, who were resourceful in hunting down meat, and confirmed that residents were resorting to butchering their pets.⁹³ Both of these first-hand tales would have confirmed the reports in newspapers and added a thrillingly personal touch to these shocking reports. Indeed, Larchey collated many accounts of such events in his *Mémorial*.

Forwarding letters was a sure way for anxious friends to share valuable information sent directly from Paris. On 23 June 1871, Hutt returned to John by post a letter that had been addressed to Joséphine, thanking her for letting him peruse it. He added that, 'One of these days such memorials of the state of France will be historical curiosities.'⁹⁴ Hutt was most grateful to the Boweses for letting him read the 'Paris letters', because 'they give a terrible insight of what is going on there'.⁹⁵ The authors of these letters are not specified, although the length of the

⁹⁰ See Larchey, *Mémorial*, p. 148 (misprinted as 418) showing four examples in astonishing real size.

⁹¹ See Hardy, *John Bowes*, p. 175.

⁹² Hutt and Bowes regularly exchanged newspaper cuttings of interest, see for example Hutt, 14 June 1870, London Grosvenor Sq: 'I send you the Iron & Coal Review with best thanks. You will find with it an article in the French paper on the vicious system pursued by the Royal Academy in the selection of pictures for the Annual Exhibition. I do not want it back.'

⁹³ John Mount to John Bowes, 24 March 1871, TBMA, JB/2/8/8; Mme Schliecker to Joséphine, 23 January 1871, TBMA, JB/8/1/22.

⁹⁴ W. Hutt to John Bowes, 23 June 1871, TBMA, JB/2/5/4/36.

⁹⁵ '...but as relates to your own House & property the communication is rather reassuring as I trust Madame also considers it.' W. Hutt to John Bowes, 27 April 1871, TBMA, JB/2/5/4/28. A 'Paris letter' is mentioned in a letter from Hutt from 31 May 1871 (TBMA, JB/2/5/4/37).

frequent accounts of life at 7 Rue de Berlin sent by the Chevaliers might lead one to identify the housekeepers' letters generally as the set of 'Paris letters'. The missives from John Mount described his personal experiences in great detail.⁹⁶ Mount first wrote to John at the end of the first siege, in February 1871.⁹⁷ In October of the same year, the Blounts Bank office in Paris was closed and all accounts were transferred to the Société Générale.⁹⁸ Edward Blount's son, Henry, explained that he and his colleague Mr Mount – who both wrote to John in English – would be 'at the "English Office" of the Société Générale' in Paris and affirmed that John's business would be done 'in exactly the same manner as it was with Messrs Blount & Co.'⁹⁹ One of the letters that was forwarded from John to Hutt is Mount's extraordinary account of his encounter with 'miscreants' on 22 March 1871.¹⁰⁰ Writing from the office at 3 Rue de la Paix 'in an awful state of fear and excitement', Mount described how he 'witnessed the Massacre in the street the day before yesterday – it was really horrible' and was even 'arrested' that morning on the corner of Rue de la Paix and Rue Neuve des Capucines 'where a barricade [was] erected facing the Place Vendôme'. The story continues:

'I was told by the assassins who guard it that I could not pass to No. 3 unless I carried a paving stone and placed it on the barricade – this I refused to do, when I was immediately surrounded and a villain pointed his gun at me and said I must – I called out immediately to an officer – another scoundrel – who was looking on – he came towards me laughing, and he spoke to me a few words in very bad English. He said it would please his men if I carried the paving stone to the barricade. I decidedly refused saying it was no concern of mine, and besides I had no right, as a foreigner, to interfere in their affairs – he then allowed me to pass – I did not see the danger I had incurred until afterwards.'

The episode is told in a way that positions Mount, the helpless foreigner with no investment in the matter, face to face with real-life, armed villains, reinforcing the common perception of the Communards as violent criminals. Mount pleaded that he was merely a foreigner – clearly understood by the guards – and mentions their attempt to communicate with him in 'very bad English'. The seriousness of the situation for Mount, who was held at gunpoint, is at odds with the guards' drunken cheerfulness and playful nature. Bullying passers-by appears to have been a

⁹⁶ W. Hutt to John, 27 March 1871, TBMA, JB/2/5/4/21: 'Thanks for Mounts' letter which I return. I know him pretty well & appreciate his report of the scene of the 21st.'

⁹⁷ TBMA, JB/2/10/8/1.

⁹⁸ TBMA, JB/2/10/8/16.

⁹⁹ TBMA, JB/2/10/8/5.

¹⁰⁰ Mr Mount to John Bowes, sent from Paris, 24 March 1871, TBMA, JB/2/8/8.

common pastime for members of the National guard, who were portrayed as bored (and often drunk) in other contemporary accounts.¹⁰¹

The repetition of the dare – to carry a paving stone and place it on the barricade – is an example of passers-by being encouraged to become political participants. Jokingly, the guards' superior laughed the matter off and reiterated that it would 'please' his men for Mount to comply. Yet Mount writes that it was not until after the event that he realised the scale of the threat and that 'I was totally in their power.' He concludes by telling Bowes that he is unwilling to check on 7 Rue de Berlin if it means having to 'face these assassins' again.¹⁰² Mount denounced the guards as 'assassins', 'miscreants', 'villain', 'scoundrel', and 'drunk'. The barricades that invaded the urban landscape in 1870-71 had captured the imagination of international onlookers and become an alarming symbol of revolution ever since 1830.¹⁰³ Eléonore Chevrier mentioned the barricades too: 'vous savez déjà sans doutes que depuis la nuit de vendredi Paris est en révolution. Il y a des barricades partout et tout le monde dit que les Prussiens vont venir. Nous sommes dans la plus grande inquiétude.'¹⁰⁴ The combination of revolution, barricades and the oncoming Prussians was a terrifying prospect, and the first-hand account from Mount addressed to John Bowes would have been a thrilling, yet chilling read that he was eager to share with Hutt.

Letters from Mme E. Schliecker were also passed from John to Hutt and they provided a first-hand account of life in Paris from an American woman's perspective and amused the Hutt's immensely: 'I return Mde Schliecker – with best thanks to Madame for the amusement the letter has given us – tho' it is usually a sad story'.¹⁰⁵ Two letters from Madame E. Schliecker still exist in TBMA. The amusing but sad letter is surely the one addressed to Joséphine from Paris on 23 January 1871.¹⁰⁶ By that point, the Prussians had been bombing the city for 18 days consecutively, mainly in the South, but the North would be targeted as well from 24 January onwards.¹⁰⁷ Parisians were suffering from hunger and temperatures had

¹⁰¹ See Clayson, *Paris in despair*, pp. 89-97.

¹⁰² J. Mount to John, TBMA, JB/2/8/8: 'If any barricades exist between the Place du Havre and your house, I shall not be able to get there. I know that barricades are thrown up in all directions round the Place Clichy at the top of the Rue d'Amsterdam. It is really most dangerous to face these assassins. Many of them are completely drunk'.

¹⁰³ See Alain Corbin and Jean-Marie Mayeur (eds.), *La Barricade* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1997).

¹⁰⁴ Eléonore Chevrier to Joséphine, 24 March 1871, TBMA, JB/8/1/7/26.

¹⁰⁵ W. Hutt to John, 11 February 1871, TBMA, JB/2/5/4/4.

¹⁰⁶ TBMA, JB/8/1/22/2.

¹⁰⁷ See Fournier, *Paris en ruines*, pp. 40-2.

been below freezing for months.¹⁰⁸ Schliecker's letter confirmed that the fear of being both bombed and starved were real, and a source of constant worry. She complained about the lack of meat: 'we have never any other meat but horse'. Underlining the word 'horse' emphasises her surprise or unease that people had resorted to eating their service animals. A month before Edward Blount, who was passionate about racing, had been ordered to send his remaining horses to the abattoir.¹⁰⁹ Blount dreaded that his beloved horses would be seized to turn into meat, a concern that John Bowes, as a horse breeder, would have sympathised with.

Schliecker went on to write that 'I know many persons who eat cat and dog habitually', perhaps because the price of ordinary meat had increased drastically: 'Chicken, and Rabbits are still very abundant, but the former sell for 30 francs ^{to 50} & the latter for from 30 to 40.' This personal account of the meat crisis in Paris in the winter of 1870-1871 would have confirmed what the French and foreign press were reporting regarding inventive solutions for fighting famine. For instance, the Boweses would no doubt have heard the rumours that the zoos had closed to fill butchers' shops across the city.¹¹⁰ Adding to the anxiety for her properties and possessions, we may reasonably assume that Joséphine would have also feared for the safety of her animals in her absence. The letters from her housekeeper are peppered with mentions of the dog, Palette, and the cat who remained at 7 Rue de Berlin throughout the war and the siege. Although Palette was ill on several occasions in 1870, Madame Lepautre, whose curiosity and antiques shop was located around the corner from the Boweses' house, wrote in August that Palette was looking beautiful and that she never missed the chance to stroke her head when Madame Chevrier walked past on her way to the post office.¹¹¹ In the letter shared with the Hutts, Madame Schliecker added, 'the dog, fine fellow, is still in good health and spirits', and that the housekeepers were keeping watch 'to prevent him from being stolen to make mutton chops of.'¹¹² Given Hutt's reaction to reading

¹⁰⁸ J. Mount to John Bowes, 1 February 1871, TBMA, JB/2/10/8/1: 'the provisions, absolutely necessary for us, have not yet arrived. I have suffered a good deal'. On the 'crisis of food', see Clayson, *Paris in despair*, p. 163-91 and on Manet's *Queue devant la boucherie (siège de Paris)* as emblematic of the siege of Paris by the Prussians, pp. 226-31. On the cold weather, see Fournier, *Paris en ruines*, p. 43.

¹⁰⁹ Blount, *Memoirs*, p. 220, 236.

¹¹⁰ Of course, these rumours were ultimately true, and the Jardin d'Acclimatation and Jardin des Plantes were raided, see Larchey, *Mémorial*, p. 210, 218, 246. Clayson, *Paris in despair*, pp. 164-9.

¹¹¹ Mme Lepautre to Joséphine, 27 August 1870, TBMA, JB/5/11/6.

¹¹² TBMA, JB/8/1/22/2. Underlined in manuscript.

the letter however, any news of the trials and tribulations of the citizens of Paris was valuable for those absent, because reliable information was so rare. Finally, Hutt's letter opened with 'the American letter is a real curiosity & will become worthy of a place in the Museum when the present disasters of France have in some way or other cleared off', thus explicitly underlining the historical value of the letter and the urge to preserve it as a museum piece.¹¹³

Larchey's *Mémorial* confirms that views of crowds queuing outside the capital's *boucheries municipales* were a common sight.¹¹⁴ Larchey brought together several episodes to record the severity of the food crisis, and Parisians' ways of finding meat, including when a racing horse collapsed in the neighbourhood of La Villette and a butcher offered his services: 'la foule passe un hourrah et se précipite sur le cheval. Chacun veut en avoir un morceau.'¹¹⁵ Larchey provided evidence of the increasing cost of meat, thus corroborating Madame Schliecker's letter. When a charity auction was organised, a turkey reached 200 francs, compared to a drawing by Gustave Doré that reached 270 francs.¹¹⁶ In the same feature in Larchey's *Mémorial*, he reproduced a copy of the special menu offered at the fashionable Café Tortoni in celebration of the 100th day of the Siege of Paris and published in the papers.¹¹⁷ On Christmas Eve, an extract from a private letter from a soldier stationed at Nanterre shared his menu for the holiday: the first course promised a 'filet de cheval aussi cuit que possible. Pas de poisson.' For the main, the roast was 'Cuissots de rats à la crapaudine. Côtelette de chien, sauce verte. Entrecôtes de chat à la bordelaise' and he yearned for vegetables. The dessert was 'Tout ce qu'on peut désirer en... imagination'.¹¹⁸

VI. Range of correspondents

The range of correspondents who wrote to John and Joséphine during the period is striking and is indicative of their social status, friendships and commercial dealings. The couple received letters from correspondents writing from the North and the South of England, Scotland, a number of places in France (Paris, Calais, le Midi), as

¹¹³ TBMA, JB/2/5/4/4.

¹¹⁴ Larchey, *Mémorial*, p. 96. The topic was taken up in Bidant's series of paintings commissioned by the City of Paris as illustrations of the Siege of Paris, see Clayson, *Paris in despair*, pp. 18-47.

¹¹⁵ Larchey, *Mémorial*, p. 210.

¹¹⁶ Ibid. Also worth noting was 'le vin de Champagne sorti des Tuileries s'est vendu 5 fr le verre'.

¹¹⁷ Ibid. p. 210

¹¹⁸ Ibid., p. 206.

well as Switzerland and Italy. The war of 1870 shook the whole of Europe in different ways, and the Boweses' correspondence provides evidence of the disturbance of everyday life on a number of levels. The letters are surviving products of the disruption of lines of communication: they convey a sense of the worry and anxiety rippling across the continent and felt by Europeans of all backgrounds and political persuasions; they are a physical trace of how individuals experienced living through momentous and revolutionary events.

British and French correspondents alike agreed on the immense significance of the Franco-Prussian war. William Hutt wrote that 'no public incident has been so deplorable in our time. I want to hear what you say to it, who see it under so many aspects.'¹¹⁹ George Ferguson shared his 'disgust & contempt' for the imperial regime that had led France into the war. He announced that 'there never was such a collapse'.¹²⁰ The French wine-maker, le Chevalier de Claussun, who wrote to John from his Château d'Aurès, expressed his incredulity at the monstrosity of the war: 'Il semble en écrivant, que l'on relate des faits historiques du Moyen-Age, l'on ne peut se persuader qu'à notre époque il y a eu en cinq mois plus de 600 000 hommes enterrés.'¹²¹ The war affected the Boweses' entourage on a personal level, regardless of their position in society, with some acquaintances joining the French troops enlisted from every corner of the country. The *Pall Mall Gazette* of 9 December 1870 reported the scenes in great detail: 'Old and young, rich and poor, veterans and conscripts, are seen mingled together in the various companies. Some wear spectacles, others comforters, some are rheumatic, others bandy-legged, and a considerable proportion exhibit an undue development of stomach; but all look determined and prepared for the worst.'¹²² On 11 August 1870, after enumerating the pain and suffering inflicted on both sexes and all ages in a similar way to the *Pall Mall Gazette* – 'les grands, les petits, les jeunes, les vieux' – the Boweses' curator Benjamin Gogué explained that his newly married nephew was also 'susceptible d'être demandé'.¹²³ Joséphine later learned through Eléonore Chevrier that Gogué's nephew had left Paris 'le dernier jour où l'on pouvait en partir afin de n'être pas obligé de faire le service de la Garde nationale'.¹²⁴ Joséphine's correspondents committed to paper the effect of the current situation on their

¹¹⁹ Hutt to John, 1 September 1870, DCRO, D/St/C5/233/89.

¹²⁰ George Ferguson to John, 15 September 1870, TBMA, JB/2/8/1.

¹²¹ Chevalier de Claussun to John, 12 December 1870, DCRO, D/St/C5/233/115.

¹²² *Pall Mall Gazette*, 9 December 1870.

¹²³ Benjamin Gogué to Joséphine, 11 August 1870, TBMA, JB/5/7/9/3.

¹²⁴ Eléonore Chevrier to Joséphine, 21 April 1871, TBMA, JB/8/1/7/28. Joséphine received news that the nephew had returned to Paris on 14 June 1871 (TBMA, JB/8/1/7/34).

everyday lives. The group of missives conveys the closeness and familiarity of the people in the Boweses' service in Paris.

When read together, the letters show that the couple's social circle articulated a wide range of different political opinions. Their correspondents denounced the excesses of the Second Empire, and expressed anti-German, anti-Republican and anti-Bonapartism sentiment in turn. Hutt expressed his disapproval of the Germans, with regards to their 'disagreeable spirit' and the 'irregularities in regard to the trains which [in January 1871] are ordered to satisfy, avant tout, the army and the exigencies of the War.'¹²⁵ Mme Dessin openly expressed her disgust and raw hatred of the Prussians, referring to them as 'vandales', 'monstres', 'barbares' who pillaged the French countryside. In December 1870, she wrote that 'les Prussiens se vengent sur les malheureux Français, de la contrariété qu'ils éprouvent de ne pouvoir fêter la Noël en famille.'¹²⁶ She had no qualms about sharing her views: 'c'est non seulement une nation barbare, mais elle est infâme. Comment les allemands, les Prussiens surtout, seront-ils reçus en France après la Paix, quand l'on connaîtra tous leurs crimes.'¹²⁷ In the face of such brutality, Mme Lemoine, who was a friend of Mme Dessin's, also based in Calais, celebrated the perseverance of the French and characterised Paris as 'héroïque'.¹²⁸ Writing from Calais, Mme Dessin sent Joséphine lengthy letters in the winter of 1870 that bear witness to the scale of the war on a national level. Young men were being sent straight to their deaths and the Prussians showed no mercy to civilians: 'nos courageux enfants ne nous sauverons pas ; sans officiers, sans armée, sans direction ils se battent en héros contre des Barbares qui brulent les femmes et les enfants.'¹²⁹ Mme Dessin later exclaimed, 'Quel chagrin pour ceux qui ont père, mari, enfants et frères.'¹³⁰ The woman's tirades were understandable: Mme Dessin witnessed the comings and goings of soldiers, prisoners and foreigners through Calais, and also of

¹²⁵ W. Hutt to John, from Hôtel de Russie, Naples, 6 January 1871, TBMA, JB/2/5/4/1.

¹²⁶ Mme Dessin to Joséphine, 21 December 1870, TBMA, JB/8/1/10/6.

¹²⁷ Mme Dessin to Joséphine, 30 January 1871, TBMA, JB/8/1/10/8.

¹²⁸ Madame Lemoine to Joséphine, 31 December 1871, from Calais, TBMA, JB/8/1/17: 'Quoiqu'il en soit il [Paris] est héroïque & a bien gagné dans l'estime de tous par son courage, contre ses dévastateurs – cruels Prussiens, barbares tombés en dessous de la brute, par leurs atrocités commises de sang froid, puissent-ils périr jusqu'au dernier à commencer par leur hypocrite Roi !'.

¹²⁹ Mme Dessin to Joséphine, 30 November 1870, TBMA, JB/8/1/10/3.

¹³⁰ Mme Dessin to Joséphine, 8 December 1870, TBMA, JB/8/1/10/4.

carrier pigeons, statesmen and post being carried by balloon, as well as the poverty- and famine-stricken countryside.¹³¹

Dessin was equally scathing in her references to Republicanism: 'on croit à la Paix et l'on espère une monarchie [sic] l'on a [sic] assez de la République. Surtout des Républicains je crois que la France est unanime sur ce point. Il faut enlever [?] les faux et les mauvais citoyens.'¹³² For the Chevalier de Claussun, the only way that France would flourish again ('refleurira'), would be 'une grande décision monarchique.' George Ferguson was simply outraged: 'I do not wish to express my disgust & contempt for those who have, by their falseness and imbecility brought that great country to such humiliation.'¹³³ The fault lay with French character itself; in a moralistic turn the wine-maker blamed 'son industrie et de son luxe immoral' for the deterioration of national pride and duty.¹³⁴ At the other end of the spectrum, and somewhat surprisingly, the Comtesse Fabre de l'Aude (who owned the Château de Belvianes which we know was manned by peasants who depended on her family) responded jubilantly to the proclamation of the Commune, declaring: 'Nous avons quitté le midi le 17 mars juste pour jouir en entier du régime de la Commune à laquelle nous n'avons cependant pas de reproches à faire.'¹³⁵ Their Paris-based picture restorer and curator, Benjamin Gogué, expressed his belief that Paris would certainly be able to resist both Prussian and socialist forces, later announcing that 'la politique est bonne, venez'.¹³⁶ Even though it is unclear with whom Joséphine agreed with politically, it is undeniable that the Boweses' circle of correspondents represented an array of political beliefs as well as their different faiths and national allegiances.¹³⁷ As a collection, these letters convey a

¹³¹ See 'série R : guerre de 1870-1871', Archives départementales du Pas-de-Calais, at Calais.

¹³² Mme Dessin to Joséphine, 24 Feb 1871, JB/8/1/10/10.

¹³³ George Ferguson to John, 15 September 1870, TBMA, JB/2/8/1.

¹³⁴ 'j'espère de la Chambre une grande décision monarchique. Je l'espère et alors la France refleurira, elle est riche et intelligente et artistique. Il ne lui manque que le sentiment du devoir et de l'honneur qu'elle a laissé fondre au souffle de son industrie et de son luxe immoral. Les malheurs la retromperont peut-être sinon il faut désespérer de son avenir. Mais tout est dans les mains de Dieu. Si la France est finie nous le verrons bientôt. Si elle doit se relever ses mœurs et ses institutions se modifieront bientôt aussi. Dans un mois nous verrons les tendances de la majorité de la chambre.' Ch. De Claussun to John, 1 July 1871, TBMA, JB/2/9/3.

¹³⁵ Ctsse Fabre to Joséphine, 15 Aug 1871, TBMA, JB/8/1/11/7. The Comtesse seems to have stayed in Paris from then on, see Eléonore Chevrier to Joséphine, 16 May 1871, TBMA, JB/8/1/7/31.

¹³⁶ 'nullement le désir de se laisser manger par les Prussiens ou les socialistes' Gogué to Joséphine, 11 August 1870, TBMA, JB/5/7/9/3; Gogué 3 March 1871, TBMA, JB/5/7/10/1.

¹³⁷ 'hier 4 septembre où l'on craignais quelques manifestations la journée s'est passée tranquillement espérons que maintenant tout ira pour le mieux' Eléonore Chevrier to Joséphine, 5 Sept 1871, TBMA, JB/8/1/7/45.

variety of opinions: mirroring the way the Boweses collected the fragmentary and anecdotal, the letters from 1870-71 tell history from many different angles.

VII. National identity and flying the British flag in Paris

The Boweses' 1870-1871 correspondence is an intriguing example of Franco-British solidarity, as sympathy for what was happening in Paris was mingled with concern for how it must be affecting the couple. Some correspondents accepted that even though they had been absent throughout the upheaval, the Boweses were entitled to share the distress of Frenchmen and women. These letters confirm the claims made in Chapter 1 about John being considered a Parisian: France was his adopted country. The use of pronouns across letters that reveal anxiety, loss or hurt, conveys a sense of shared experience. Abbé Rogerson wrote from Paris in the days following the insurrection in Montmartre that, 'Having such important interests in Paris, I am sure that you and Mrs Bowes must continue to experience as equally with all of us here the keenest anxiety as to the immediate future.'¹³⁸ He added that 'the city has been at the hands of the mob since Saturday morning, solely and entirely. And at the moment I write, the government has left them in undisturbed possession.' He did not go into detail – 'the English papers will have given you details of the insurrection, & you will be aware that the origin of the outbreak is referable to the affair of Montmartre' – namely, the execution of Generals Lecomte and Thomas on 18 March 1871 after trying to retake the cannons from Montmartre hill and ordering their troops to fire into the crowd – but stated instead that 'we have been living in hourly terror and violence & no one sees what the Executive power means to do.'¹³⁹

The sympathy for the plight of Paris was expressed most evidently through philanthropy. At the beginning of the war, the *Pall Mall Gazette* reported that British subjects in Paris were dependent on the resources provided by charitable organisations. Reverend Henry Cleveland, of Romaldkirk Rectory, Darlington, provided local support: 'One of my daughters has collected nearly £10 in small sums, in this parish, & has founded besides, packages of linen, lint pillows etc for the sick and wounded.'¹⁴⁰ Joséphine made donations to the poor in Calais through

¹³⁸ Abbé Rogerson to John, 21 March 1871, DCRO, D/St/C5/260/001.

¹³⁹ Abbé Rogerson to John Bowes, 21 March 1871 from Paris, DCRO, D/St/C5/260/001. For an account of the birth of the Paris Commune, including the execution of Generals Lecomte and Thomas on 18 March 1871, see Merriman, *Massacre*, pp. 40-45.

¹⁴⁰ Reverend Henry Cleveland to John, DCRO, D/St/C5/233/95.

Mme Dessin, who distributed cards in Joséphine's name for the 'fourneaux économiques' there. Although they commiserated with the victims in their letters, Reverend Cleveland was relieved that the Boweses were 'in this land of freedom & safety.'¹⁴¹ Richard Hodgson Huntley, who wrote from Carham Hall in Coldstream, expressed his great relief that John and Joséphine were 'out of the siege of Paris'.¹⁴² The following month, Rudston Read wrote to Streatlam Castle that he 'every day [dreaded] serious news from Paris'.¹⁴³ Friends inquired about the Boweses' properties, and they were also keen to share the fact that they were keeping themselves up to date with news from France in their own time. The Reverend Henry Cleveland wrote that 'one reads with horror the details of the Continental war', while their Newcastle-based architect, John Edward Watson, who was busy building the museum, spared a few lines at the end of his letters in the summer of 1871 to express his 'grief when hearing news from Paris' and convey his sense of relief on learning that Mrs Bowes' valuables had been kept safe.¹⁴⁴

As a French native, Joséphine was understandably crippled with fear over the fate of her country and the replies to her letters convey deep feelings of patriotism.¹⁴⁵ The Comtesse Fabre de l'Aude likened her own patriotism to that of her friend: 'j'ai bien pensé que vous étiez restée trop Française pour ne pas souffrir de toutes nos douleurs'.¹⁴⁶ Under the Code Napoléon, Joséphine would have technically given up her nationality of birth when she married John. Yet she continued to be considered as French by her friends. Ellen Piétri occupied the same position, but in reverse, being a British native who married a Frenchman. Ellen valued Joséphine's letters as a symbol of Franco-British friendship. In one letter, she wrote that, 'le souvenir de toute votre amitié pour mon pauvre mari et moi reste fidèle dans mon cœur et je le conserve comme la plus chère de toutes mes

¹⁴¹ Ibid. On philanthropy during the war, see Bertrand Taithe, *Citizenship and Wars: France in Turmoil 1870-1871* (New York: Routledge, 2001); on foreign help, see Rebecca Gill, *Calculating Compassion: Humanity and Relief in War, Britain 1870-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013).

¹⁴² R. Hodgson Huntley to John, 13 September 1870, DCRO, D/St/C5/233/97.

¹⁴³ Rudston Read to John, 14 October 1870, DCRO, D/St/C5/233/106.

¹⁴⁴ Rev. Henry Cleveland, 10 September 1870, DCRO, D/St/C5/233/95; Watson to John, 27 May 1871, DCRO, D/St/C5/291/33 and 2 June 1871, DCRO, D/St/C5/291/36.

¹⁴⁵ Hutt was quick to note that if Joséphine's plans to gift the museum to the British nation failed, she would just as easily make the donation to France instead: 'I told Whittread(?) & begged he would repeat it that if the law did not allow you to give the Munificent Charity to this country, that you must transfer it to France, Mrs Bowes' mother land, where it would be accepted with the greatest consideration & gratitude.' (W. Hutt, 7 April 1870, DCRO, D/St/C5/233/24a).

¹⁴⁶ Ctsse Fabre, 15 August 1871, TBMA, JB/8/1/11/7.

affectueux souvenirs de notre pauvre Paris.’¹⁴⁷ Fond memories and friendship become objects to be beheld and cherished ‘dans mon coeur’. The use of pronouns further links Joséphine to Ellen, through the first person plural ‘notre’.¹⁴⁸ Joséphine and Ellen were united by a place of shared memories and friendship: the beleaguered city of Paris. Memories (written in the message) and material tokens (the letters) connected Joséphine’s friendship to the thought of Paris.

Ellen’s outpourings provide a fascinating view of one woman’s difficulties in negotiating her allegiance to two countries, her own motherland (Britain) and hers and her husband’s home (France). Joséphine became Ellen’s confidante in 1870: ‘Vous êtes la seule amies [sic] Française qui prend un intérêt si affectueux pour moi’. She confided that her husband’s family profoundly disliked her because of her Englishness:

Ses parents n’avaient jamais beaucoup de sympathie pour moi, ils étaient toujours jealous de l’Anglaise, comme ils m’appelaient entre eux. Et je suis sûre, ils ne seront pas fâchés de voir mon mari éloigné de moi. Ces personnes avec cette [sic] défaut peuvent faire beaucoup de mal quand ils trouvent une occasion.¹⁴⁹

In the light of these displays of Anglophobia, Joséphine’s nationality of birth made Ellen doubly grateful for her friendship. Although some of Joséphine’s British friends such as Ellen, or John’s cousin Susan Davidson or Lady Fanny Hutt (William Hutt’s second wife), could sometimes be found writing to her in English, the vast majority of the letters addressed to Joséphine are in French.¹⁵⁰ Now looking on from Britain, the couple were nonetheless perceived as intimately involved with the affairs of France. Abbé Rogerson spoke of their shared sense of belonging, in the first person, lamenting, ‘what is to come of poor France and of our adopted home – Paris!’.¹⁵¹

France’s struggle compelled some British subjects, such as Edward Blount who was made consul at the British Embassy, to act upon a sense of duty towards

¹⁴⁷ Ellen Piétri to Joséphine, 17 November 1870, TBMA, JB/8/1/20/19.

¹⁴⁸ Another example of using pronouns to designate solidarity: ‘Que le bon Dieu protège notre capitale, et tous nos chers amis, et mon mari avec eux.’ Ellen Piétri to Joséphine, 6 September 1870, TBMA, JB/8/1/20/15.

¹⁴⁹ Ellen Piétri to Joséphine, 17 September 1870, TBMA, JB/8/1/20/16. I have italicized the English and kept the words underlined in the manuscript letter.

¹⁵⁰ Ellen Piétri apologised about her French getting worse since she had moved to England: Ellen piétri to Joséphine, 18 August 1870, JB/8/1/20/13.

¹⁵¹ Rogerson from Glasgow, to John, 29 September 1870, DCRO, D/St/C5/233/100a. Ellen Piétri also referred to France as her adopted country: ‘je partage sincèrement avec vous tous les chagrins pour les malheurs de votre pauvre pays qui est le mien par adoption’, 25 November 1870, TBMA, JB/8/1/20/20.

their adopted homeland. While the *Pall Mall Gazette* reported that ‘all hopes of foreign mediation have died out, and England is often abused for not coming to the rescue of France and forgetting Inkerman,’ Hutt confirmed that ‘the English are scampering home from the continent,’ all memories of their erstwhile Crimean alliance forgotten.¹⁵² A member of the Hutt family even came to France’s literal defence. In February 1871, Hutt wrote: ‘A nephew of mine quitted his Regt in August to assist the French cause. The authorities wd [sic] not appoint him to the regular service on account of his imperfect knowledge of French so he joined the Franc Tirailleurs Parisiens as a private.’¹⁵³ A fortnight later, Hutt followed up the tale again: ‘He was in the Army, I mean the English Army, but he felt himself called on to protect France from foreign foes so he left his Regiment & he has saved France as we know & see.’¹⁵⁴ Such acts of devotion were rare, though, and Blount felt betrayed by his countrymen: ‘Has France for the last twenty years ever been false to England, and will she ever pardon those who abandon her in her direst moments?’¹⁵⁵ After the crushing of the Commune, Blount would be singled out in Britain and France for his noteworthy support of the French cause.

Another British subject considered Parisian by adoption was Richard Wallace, who also heeded the city in its hour of need. When the illustrated newspaper *L’Univers illustré* published an article covering the funeral of Sir Richard Wallace, the accompanying illustrations included a view of the Château de Bagatelle, the ‘folie d’Artois’ located in the Bois de Boulogne, that had been inherited by Wallace on the death of Lord Hertford.¹⁵⁶ Hertford’s heir, and illegitimate son, had inherited a vast fortune, a number of properties in Paris, and a remarkable collection of fine and decorative art. ‘Richard Wallace’ became synonymous with public philanthropy in a time of need, through his many donations during the war and the creation of the Wallace fountains to help the city’s poorest as part of the 1870-71 crisis.¹⁵⁷ It is revealing that Bagatelle was recorded as being Wallace’s home (‘l’habitation de Sir Richard Wallace’) as it

¹⁵² ‘Inside Paris’, *Pall mall gazette*, 4 November 1870 paper: ‘the English are scampering home from the continent, getting into the lines of communication between the great military arsenals & their armies, have left all their baggage behind them.’ See also W. Hutt to John Bowes, 21 July 1870, DCRO, D/St/C5/233/59.

¹⁵³ W. Hutt to John, 11 February 1871, TBMA, JB/2/5/4/4.

¹⁵⁴ W. Hutt to John, 21 February 1871, TBMA, JB/2/5/4/7.

¹⁵⁵ Blount, *Memoirs*, p. 173. See Jonathan Parry, *The Politics of Patriotism: English Liberalism, National Identity and Europe, 1830-1886* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

¹⁵⁶ *L’Univers Illustré*, 2 August 1890, pp. 485-6.

¹⁵⁷ See Higgott, *Sir Richard Wallace*, pp. 123-9.

created a link between the British subject and the national history of France, embodied by the former royal site, latterly overrun by the Prussians. The interesting question of Wallace's dual identity, and his choice of flying the British flag over the property provides some context about the conundrum of flying the flag over 7 Rue de Berlin.

John and Joséphine were considered 'absents' and were required to pay a special tax.¹⁵⁸ In his position as John's banker, Blount wrote, 'Nous paierons votre souscription de 300 francs pour les Anglais indigents et Mme Chevrier refusera ainsi que nous d'acquitter la taxe des absents'.¹⁵⁹ It seems that by casting themselves as part of the British community in Paris, the Boweses were able to talk their way out of paying the tax. They were not so lucky when it came to the obligation to house soldiers and people from the countryside whose homes had been destroyed by the enemy. At the beginning of September 1870, Eléonore Chevrier explained that some thousand 'mobiles' were arriving in Paris and needed housing. Despite their protests of their building's concierge – 'il a dit que vous étiez Anglais et absents depuis un an' – it was their duty as Parisians to shoulder this burden.¹⁶⁰ A few weeks later, someone came to check 'si les locataires étaient absents, nous avons dit qu'il y avait 14 mois et que vous étiez étrangers, c'était pour envoyer loger chez vous les campagnards dont les maisons ont été détruites'.¹⁶¹ During the Commune, Rogerson found out from Blount that, 'the Prussians were affected to enter [7 Rue de Berlin], and did enter as you know, on the 1st of March. Providentially no evil results ensued from that experiment & up to this day no one since.'¹⁶²

When it came to signalling to the outside world that the Boweses' had no involvement in the various conflicts, the topic of flying the British flag arose in a surprising number of letters. Eléonore Chevrier sought advice from Blount's Bank.

¹⁵⁸ Eléonore Chevrier to Joséphine, 20 September 1870 : 'Depuis hier il y a des affiches partout pour faire payer les personnes absentes je ne sais pas si cela vous concerne. Je vous envoie l'article afin que vous nous disiez comment faire si on envoyait l'ordre de payer.' (TBMA, JB/8/1/7/17). In the new year, Eléonore Chevrier reported that they had received two further 'avertissements', Eléonore to Joséphine, 24 January 1871, TBMA, JB/8/1/7/20. Olivier Berger, 'Résolution de l'impôt de guerre des 10 millions, une sortie de crise majeure au sein de la guerre franco-allemande de 1870', In *Sortir de crise: Les mécanismes de résolution de crises politiques (XVIe-XXe siècle)*, ed. by Jérôme Grévy (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2010), pp. 71-82

¹⁵⁹ E. Blount to John, 15 February 1871, TBMA, JB/2/10/8/2.

¹⁶⁰ 'Nous ne savons comment faire n'ayant ni linge ni les clefs des chambres de domestiques. Veuillez nous dire ce qu'il faut faire. J'ai peur qu'il n'en vienne avant votre réponse. Il y en a déjà beaucoup rue St Lazard et dans certaines maisons il faut les nourrir.' Eléonore Chevrier, 9 Sept 1870, TBMA, JB/8/1/7/15.

¹⁶¹ Eléonore Chevrier, 20 Sept 1870, TBMA, JB/8/1/7/17. Hardy, *John Bowes*, p. 167-8.

¹⁶² Rogerson to John Bowes, 21 March 1871, DCRO, D/St/C5/260/001.

The *Pall Mall Gazette* reported the damage caused to the Château de Bagatelle on 4 November 1870, despite the attempt to badge it as neutral. The Bois de Boulogne had witnessed fighting even though ‘the Genevan, the British, and the black flags’ waved over Bagatelle and the property was ‘wantonly damaged’. The reporter added that,

Considering that Mr. Wallace has started three ambulances at an expense of £12,000, and that he nobly gives £400 a month to the poor, his château (from which the wonderful works of art it contained had fortunately been removed) might have been left untouched, and the Genevan, the British, and the black flags which waved over Bagatelle not have been torn down. The amount of wanton destruction done in the suburbs of Paris is simply atrocious.¹⁶³

The Versaillais later occupied the grounds at Bagatelle, which stood in the way of the army’s descent onto Paris. It became a strategic base, but for the Boweses and their entourage, this news sounded uncomfortably close to home, especially as they pondered the insecurity of their former country home. Vane mentioned the Château de Louveciennes, which the Boweses had sold in 1862, on two occasions. In August, he wrote, ‘it must be a comfortable reflection that you sold Louveciennes at a time when the affairs of the country were in a state of quiescence.’¹⁶⁴ In December, when writing about the Boweses’ ‘articles of vertu and art treasures,’ he ‘[hoped] they have been left intact, and not shared the fate of some of the contents of Bagatelle.’¹⁶⁵ Vicomte Frédéric de Janzé, the new owner of the Château du Barry, wrote at the beginning of 1870 to inquire about purchasing the remaining pieces of land on the property that still belonged to Joséphine.¹⁶⁶ Having not received an answer, he wrote again: ‘dans l’attente d’une réponse j’ai ajourné le rétablissement d’une partie de mes clôtures que les Prussiens avaient brûlés’.¹⁶⁷ The Louveciennes area had already been brought up in a letter from Madame Dessin, when she recounted the tale about a Bavarian soldier who made an assassination attempt on the Kaiser on the road between Louveciennes and

¹⁶³ ‘Inside Paris – 25 Oct.’, *Pall Mall Gazette*, 4 November 1870, p. 10.

¹⁶⁴ Vane to John Bowes, 22 August 1870, DCRO, D/St/C5/233/83.

¹⁶⁵ Vane to John Bowes, 10 Dec 1870, DCRO, D/St/C5/233/114.

¹⁶⁶ Charles Hardy, *John Bowes*, p. 113. See Vicomte Frédéric de Janzé to Joséphine, 18 August 1871, TBMA, JB/2/10/8/10.

¹⁶⁷ Vicomte Frédéric de Janzé to the Bowes, 23 Nov 1871, TBMA, JB/2/19/8/19.

Bougival.¹⁶⁸ The sites mentioned were all too familiar to John and Joséphine, and the scenes described would have been easily pictured in the Boweses' imagination.

The Boweses had their own army of volunteers checking up on 7 Rue de Berlin.¹⁶⁹ Ellen wrote on 29 August 1870 that her husband, the Bonapartist-turned-National guardsman Cosimo Piétri, would stop by.¹⁷⁰ She informed Joséphine on 6 September that 'Il m'a dit que il avait visité votre hôtel et trouvé tout en bon ordre, le brave concierge à son poste...'. After the 'bombardement de Paris' by the Prussians, Blount even reported that 'la maison de la Rue Blomet n'a nullement souffert du Bombardement'.¹⁷¹ In response to the Boweses' fears for the future, the housekeepers did everything in their power to prevent an attack on 7 Rue de Berlin and the temporary gallery of the Rue Blomet.¹⁷² Éléonore enlisted the help of trusted British expat Abbé Rogerson and the staff at Blounts Bank. Rogerson advised John to 'prudently' hang the British flag at 'n°7 Berlin Street'. He added that 'Our friend Mount at the Bank has done everything for me, and I am sure would see to your property being overshadowed by the National flag, and protected as far as he is able.'¹⁷³ After receiving a reply from John, Rogerson sent further instructions to protect their home:

Why not forward to Paris & run the risk of its eventually arriving – 1st an inscription – *Propriété de M John Bowes (Anglais)*. to be *affichéé* on the inner (hall) door: and 2ndly two small water (or oil) coloured paintings of the British Arms – one for the court and gates outside – the other for the front door? I could also suggest that the missive containing these should be forwarded to the Embassy, and be left open to disarm suspicion.¹⁷⁴

Next, John contacted the bank to make sure that the Chevaliers were supported financially. John relied on the support of Mount and Mr Rogerson to advise the housekeepers: 'Je prie M. Mount de passer chez nous. Mr Rogerson m'a dit qu'il pourrait peut-être donner des conseils en cas de besoin. Ecrivez par ballon si vous pouvez.'¹⁷⁵ Éléonore reported, in her regular correspondence with Joséphine, that

¹⁶⁸ Mme Dessin to Joséphine, 30 November 1870, TBMA, JB/8/1/10/3.

¹⁶⁹ Ellen Piétri to Joséphine, 6 Sept 1870, TBMA, JB/8/1/20/15; Éléonore Chevrier to Joséphine, 14 June 1871, TBMA, JB/8/1/7/34.

¹⁷⁰ Ellen Piétri from Cambridge to Joséphine, 29 Aug 1870, TBMA, JB/8/1/20/14(i).

¹⁷¹ E. Blount to John, 15 Feb 1871, TBMA, JB/2/10/8/2.

¹⁷² Éléonore Chevrier to Joséphine, 21 April 1871, TBMA, JB/8/1/7/28: 'jusqu'à présent il n'est rien arrivé tout va bien ainsi que rue Blomet où je suis allée ce matin.' On the temporary gallery of the Rue Blomet, see Charles Hardy, *John Bowes*, p. 141.

¹⁷³ Rogerson to John, 29 September 1870, DCRO, D/St/C5/233/100a.

¹⁷⁴ Rogerson to John, 4 Oct 1870, DCRO, D/St/C5/233/103. I have italicised the French in the manuscript for clarity.

¹⁷⁵ Copy of a letter from John to Blounts Bank, December 1870, TBMA, JB/2/10/7/8. Underlined in manuscript.

‘il est venu hier comme je venais de partir Monsieur l’abbé Rogerson qui a dit au concierge qu’il fallait absolument mettre un drapeau, que monsieur avait regretter [sic] n’en pas avoir fait mettre un plus tôt’. Rogerson had told them that ‘Monsieur [John] serait très mécontent si nous n’en mettions pas’. Eléonore was clearly flustered and regretted not having been able to speak to Rogerson in person. She did not find him at his house, and ‘pour éviter un retard j’ai fait commander un drapeau que nous aurons ce soir car il n’a pas été possible d’en trouver un tout fait.’¹⁷⁶ By the time she wrote her letter, on 20 March 1871, the Paris Commune had been proclaimed.¹⁷⁷ The lack of punctuation in the housekeeper’s letter conveys a sense of urgency and panic; she did not want to follow the wrong advice. *En parallèle*, Rogerson wrote to John on 21 March 1871: ‘I walked up yesterday, and your concierge seems quite on the alert. I suggested the British Flag over the hall door, as Lord Lyons is now with us to vindicate our claims, and requested them to refer to Mount & myself if needed.’ Hoping to dampen Bowes’ concerns, he added: ‘You have 9 cannons ranged at the top of the Rue de Clichy, but the attack now will rather be about the Public Offices (the Hotel de Ville, Tuileries etc) if a struggle does follow.’¹⁷⁸

Meanwhile, according to the Comtesse Fabre de l’Aude, Paris was ‘en fête’ at the hands of the Commune, and Eléonore continued to agonize over the British flag dilemma. Failing to get hold of Rogerson, she walked to Blounts Bank: ‘il m’a dit qu’il ne pouvait me conseiller mais que ces messieurs avaient des drapeaux et que jusqu’à présent ils n’avaient pas cru utile d’en mettre’. Cursing Rogerson’s words, and confused by the conflicting advice, ‘je me suis empressée de rentrer et de faire retirer celui que malheureusement j’ai fait acheter.’¹⁷⁹ The following month, Eléonore mentioned the flag dilemma again: a man from Rue de la Paix (Blounts Bank), had come to 7 Rue de Berlin to tell them ‘de mettre le drapeau afin d’éviter autant que possible une perquisition, chose qui s’est fait dans plusieurs maisons, on m’a dit que l’on devait respecter les maisons qui appartiennent aux étrangers. Le drapeau est hissé et j’espère Dieu merci que personne ne viendra.’¹⁸⁰ The flag was still flying above the building in August: ‘le drapeau est toujours hissé avec la pluie il est tout abimé je n’ose pas le faire retirer sans votre ordre.’¹⁸¹ The

¹⁷⁶ Eléonore Chevrier to Joséphine, 20 Mars 1871, TBMA, JB/8/1/7/25.

¹⁷⁷ See Merriman, *Massacre*, p. 39-52.

¹⁷⁸ Rogerson to John, 21 March 1871, DCRO, D/St/C5/260/100.

¹⁷⁹ Eléonore Chevrier to Joséphine, 24 Mars 1871, TBMA, JB/8/1/7/26.

¹⁸⁰ Eléonore Chevrier to Joséphine, 21 April 1871, TBMA, JB/8/1/7/28.

¹⁸¹ Eléonore Chevrier to Joséphine, 3 August 1871, TBMA, JB/8/1/7/40.

issue of using a nation's flag to protect a site first from the hands of the Prussians and then from the Versaillais and Fédérés, arose in at least four threads of correspondence: signalling national identity was a crucial question for these expatriates throughout the war and revolution. Where did foreigners stand? Were they expected to take sides?¹⁸² Mount's episode at the barricades demonstrated the risk of remaining neutral, but it also saved him. Many Britons left France, abandoning her to face her continental European problems alone. Others, such as Richard Wallace and Edward Blount, were instrumental in helping Paris survive. They would be especially celebrated in France during the event but were only credited as heroes by their own countrymen on the other side of the Channel after the crisis had passed. Throughout the letters they received in 1870-71, John and Joséphine come across as outsiders looking in on a crisis that profoundly impacted them, but that they lived through at a distance. The safekeeping of their correspondence was consistent with people's attempts to record and collect the events.

VIII. Opportunities for collectors

In the depths of war, Larchey mentioned that civilians' had taken up the practice of picking up Prussian weapons kept as 'trophées ou comme objets de spéculation.'¹⁸³ The 'violations' on buildings and monuments illustrated in the *Mémorial* had a profound effect on collectors, but also generated a desire to gather fresh trophies. One of these 'violations' shows the stages of the demolition of the Colonne Vendôme: 'La Colonne Vendôme avant sa chute' (Plate 13), followed by 'La Colonne Vendôme après sa chute' (Fig.88).¹⁸⁴ The second picture is a close-up of the base of the monumental column that crumbled into segments across the square, as though it had been sliced in spheres before crumbling to the ground (Fig.89). The Colonne Vendôme was torn down by public demolition on 18 May 1871 in a calculated and drawn-out spectacle. Mentions of people uncontrollably scrambling to take home a remnant of the monument filled contemporary accounts, from newspapers to memoirs such as Edmond de Goncourt's *Journal* and Malvina Blanchecotte's *Tablettes d'une femme pendant la Commune*.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸² See Patrick C. Jamieson, "Foreign Criticisms of the 1871 Paris Commune: The Role of British and American Newspapers and Periodicals," *intersections*, 11:1 (2010), 100-115.

¹⁸³ Larchey, *Mémorial*, 7 December, p. 190.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 355-5.

¹⁸⁵ On rummaging in the rubble for bits of semiprecious stone or charred wood to take home as souvenirs, see Tillier, *La Commune de Paris*, p. 350; Goncourt, *Journal*, p. 333.

The 'execution' of the Colonne Vendôme was reported in *Le Monde illustré*, ten days after it had happened, and during the last stand of the Commune government.¹⁸⁶ The report described the scene: 'Les cordons de sentinelles qui gardent la place sont rompus. Vingt mille personnes se précipitent autour des débris de la colonne ; chacun cherche à s'emparer de quelques bribes de bronze, de fer ou de pierre.'¹⁸⁷ The engraved lines forming the images reproduced in Larchey's *Mémorial* hint at the different textures and materials constituting the monument (Fig.89). *Le Monde Illustré's* article condemned the Commune's iconoclasm 'ce monument élevé à la gloire de la France', referring to what it was made of, namely the melted down weapons captured by the Grande Armée of Napoleon I: 'fait avec l'airain conquis par ses enfants sur tous les champs de batailles de l'Europe.'¹⁸⁸ The column, once a 'trouphée national,' had been broken into individual trophies, each salvaged piece serving to commemorate both the nation's earlier military victories and the act of witnessing its demolition.

One such witness was Richard Wallace's secretary, John Murray Scott. Upon returning to the demolition site in the evening, Scott noticed that the statue of Victory by Chaudet, once held by the figure of Napoleon as Caesar at the top of the column, had fallen out of the hands of the Emperor (Fig.90). Murray Scott was able to bribe a guard, borrow a wheelbarrow and deliver the statuette to Richard Wallace.¹⁸⁹ *Le Monde Illustré* had mentioned this iconographic centrepiece of the monument, 'le Génie que portait César dans sa main' as having disappeared from the scene within seconds of its fall.¹⁹⁰ Although the tale of rescue seems extraordinary given the practicalities of the situation, Richard Wallace returned the statue to his secretary three years later, as a token of gratitude. At Scott's death, it passed to his descendants. The statue was sold in 1943 at Christie's for £40 to Mr. Clarke of the Fitzwilliam Museum, who offered it to Versailles. It now sits in the Emperor's bedroom in the Musée Malmaison at the Château de Malmaison (Fig.91). Other objects linked to the destruction of Paris in 1870-71 on display in French museums today include a bust of Voltaire by Houdon found by the sculptor Adolphe-Victor Geoffroy-Dechaume 'dans les décombres d'un monument public

¹⁸⁶ V.-F. Maisonneuve's 'Démolition de la Colonne Vendôme', *Le Monde Illustré*, 27 May 1871; see Wilson, *Paris and the Commune*, pp. 44-50.

¹⁸⁷ V.-F. Maisonneuve's 'Démolition de la Colonne Vendôme', *Le Monde Illustré*, 27 May 1871.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid.

¹⁸⁹ Donald Mallett, *The Greatest Collector: Lord Hertford and the Founding of the Wallace Collection* (London, 1979), p. 127 and footnote.

¹⁹⁰ V.-F. Maisonneuve's 'Démolition de la Colonne Vendôme', *Le Monde Illustré*, 27 May 1871.

incendié lors de la Commune de Paris'. He donated it to the State in 1876.¹⁹¹ These relics were steeped in memories and myth.

For John and Joséphine, their opportunities for salvage had to wait until they returned to Paris in the Summer of 1871 (see Chapter 2). Visual depictions, such as those gathered together and published in Larchey's *Mémorial* served the purpose of helping them visualise events described in their private letters. The second part of the *Mémorial*, titled 'l'insurrection dans Paris', was a series of 85 engraved plates ('suite de 85 planches'), organised under six headings: 'les barricades', 'à l'Hôtel de Ville', 'les violations', 'les attentats', 'les incendies', 'l'expiation', the latter imbued with a religious sense of righteous sacrifice. The images that followed in the *Mémorial* included topographical views, descriptive or narrative scenes, and portraits *in memoriam*. After the repression of the Commune, floods of images saturated the pages of newspapers in an attempt to blame the Communards for the destruction of the whole city. The dissemination and recording of images of the physical state of Paris played a big part in the memorialisation (and *dé-mémorialisation*) of the events of 1870s.¹⁹² Surveying and documenting the scale of the damage, Parisians slowly started to return to their city and newspapers began to denounce the voyeuristic qualities that the ruins encouraged. In June 1871, Théophile Roussel gave a speech demanding the preservation of the ruins of the Tuileries and the Hôtel de Ville for them to be used to 'donner dans la capitale du monde civilisé un enseignement salutaire, en inspirant l'horreur de toute insurrection contre la loi et de tout recours à la violence'.¹⁹³ But the journalist begged, 'Pussions-nous ne pas en arriver là ! N'étaions pas nos plaies aux regards avides de l'Europe. Le plus simple orgueil nous le commande.' Walking tours of Paris had already begun, guidebooks to the ruins were being published, and British tourists were flocking to Paris and to Mr Cook's tours of what was left.¹⁹⁴

¹⁹¹ Musée du Louvre, RF 245. On collectors embedding fragments into their homes and gardens, see Stammers, 'Salvage and Speculation'.

¹⁹² See Alisa Luxenberg, 'Creating "Désastres": Andrieu's Photographs of Urban Ruins in the Paris of 1871', *The Art Bulletin*, 80:1 (1998), 113-157; Colette D. Wilson, 'Memory and the Politics of Forgetting: Paris, the Commune and the 1878 Exposition Universelle', *Journal of European Studies*, 35:1 (2005), 47-63; Varley, Karine, 'Memories not yet formed: commemorating the Franco-Prussian War and the Paris Commune', *Journal of War and Culture Studies* (2020), <<https://doi.org/10.1080/17526272.2020.1726008>> [Accessed 29 March 2021].

¹⁹³ *Le Monde Illustré*, 10 June 1871.

¹⁹⁴ *Le Monde Illustré*, 24 June 1871. On these 'visiteurs des ruines', see Fournier, *Paris en ruines*, pp. 219-32; Merriman, *Massacre*, p. 242. Recent work has shed light on the foreign collectors and visitors to Paris in the aftermath of 1871: see, for instance, McCaffrey-

In the days that followed the repression of the Commune, what comes across in contemporary sources addressing the destruction of buildings in Paris is a sense of overwhelming sadness and physical emptiness. Long lists of incinerated artworks accompanied the images of the empty shells of buildings. The lost masterpieces were not reproduced in the newspapers, the printed illustrations focusing instead on the skeletons left by the fire. Echoing the physical absence of the real-life artworks, the absence of any form of visual reproduction is striking and reinforces the melancholy and grief over the loss of national treasures. The apparent absence of mourning the deaths of thousands of French children, women and men, is replaced in newspaper reports by mourning for lost masterpieces for which the Communards carry all of the blame.¹⁹⁵ Through a subtle manipulation of tenses, *Le Monde illustré* denounced the fires as attacks by the Communards on architecture, painting, sculpture, gilding, furniture and ornamentation, namely civilisation itself: ‘tout ce qui a fait *dans le passé et dans le présent* la gloire et la richesse de la France, la variété et l’attrait de Paris a été tordu, brûlé, noirci, défiguré, anéanti sur cent points différents.’¹⁹⁶

When viewed as historical evidence, correspondence received during 1870-71 would have been highly desirable objects for contemporary collectors. The uncertainty of the postal service transformed the ordinary means of communication – the letter – into something unique and rare, which, when received, could survive through time. The letters were objects that carried valuable snippets of information that were at times alarming, amusing or disheartening, but when delivered to and interpreted by the recipient were capable of capturing history in the making, mixed with emotion. The Boweses’ letters betray an awareness among their extended network of living through events that would define the future of Europe, and every stage of ‘l’année terrible’ is carefully recorded in a heterogeneous chorus of voices. On a personal level, John and Joséphine were gripped with the fear that their carefully amassed collection stood no chance against external forces, and this concern drove them to observe French politics closely. In the summer of 1871, before they returned to their Paris home, Joséphine received a reply from Eléonore Chevrier with an update about her

Howarth, ‘“Life was a spectacle for her”: Lady Dorothy Nevill’; McCracken, ‘The Author as Arsonist: Henry James and the Paris Commune’, *Modernism/modernity*, 21:1 (2014), 71-87.

¹⁹⁵ Robert Tombs, ‘How Bloody was La Semaine Sanglante of 1871? A Revision’, *The Historical Journal*, 55:3 (2012), 679-704.

¹⁹⁶ *Le Monde illustré*, 3 June 1871.

brother, Robert. The housekeeper wrote that: ‘Depuis que tout est fini il y retourne [to work] mais c’est pour les journaux comme pour beaucoup de choses, cela ne va guère bien. Il regrette bien de n’avoir aucun [sic] journaux ni gravures de la commune [sic] cependant il va voir s’il est possible de s’en procurer’.¹⁹⁷ Perhaps already intending to safely preserve their bundles of letters, carefully filed by John as was his habit with all incoming paperwork, Joséphine had begun her hunt for other printed accounts – in written or visual form – of the events.

The Boweses’ correspondence throughout the war and the sieges, along with the *Mémorial* focused especially on the curiosities of the siege, such as the fascination with carrier pigeons or the transformation of domestic animals into meat, in individual accounts exchanged among friends and also disseminated on a larger scale by the illustrated press. Capturing these moments of unusual or unconventional behaviour that were at risk of vanishing into history, into the past, was something that the Boweses, like most collectors of their social status, were interested in. Larchey’s *Mémorial* provided the Boweses with a comprehensive visual catalogue of these moments, and of the fires from which they would ultimately benefit, as collectors. The Boweses’ inability to experience the events first-hand made them potential targets for souvenir-sellers. Just as they were lured by the images reproduced and curated into a collectible volume by their friend Lorédan Larchey, Joséphine succumbed to purchasing a number of ‘souvenirs’ linked to 1871 from her trusted *marchande de curiosités* in the following years. Their letters, Larchey’s compilation of revolutionary *faits divers* and the gilt-bronze fragments (described in Chapter 2) reflect the eclecticism and historical self-consciousness of their collecting.

The copy of Larchey’s *Mémorial* is not part of the lists of books owned by Joséphine, however.¹⁹⁸ It was sent from Paris to the museum in 1885. Its presence suggests that John’s second wife, the much-maligned and little-studied Alphonsine, was central to giving him an introduction to the bookish milieu of the Arsenal library. It is to her other cultural contributions that we now turn.

¹⁹⁷ Eléonore Chevrier to Joséphine, 24 July 1871, TBMA, JB/8/1/7/37.

¹⁹⁸ The *Mémorial* has an archive number in TBMA (JB/1/8/1/3), as opposed to a shelf mark.

Chapter 6: Alphonsine, the second Mme Bowes

Very little work has been done on the years following Joséphine's premature death in 1874, which left John Bowes devastated. Yet little more than a year later, John had found a new companion: Alphonsine de Saint-Amand, born in Paris on 1 May 1835, the daughter of Eulalie Soline (or Solime?) Terme and Alphonse-Eugène Saint-Amand-Coysevox.¹ Her mother's second marriage to the writer Hippolyte Lucas (1807-1878) had propelled the family into the heart of literary society. In 1868 Alphonsine had married the Swiss Comte Emmanuel de Courten (1833-1892) in Paris, a descendant from an old aristocratic family of the county of Valais.² Within a year, Alphonsine began proceedings in France to separate from her husband, which was complicated because he was a foreigner: under the terms of the Code Napoléon, by marrying a foreigner, Alphonsine had rescinded her nationality of birth and was henceforth classified as 'étrangère'.³ She nevertheless obtained a separation from the French court, custody of their son, Alphonse (1868-1874), and permission to leave the marital home.⁴ The Comtesse married John Bowes in 1877: a marriage contract was signed in Paris on 27 July 1877, and a ceremony was held on 18 August 1877 at St James's Church, Piccadilly.⁵ Despite John's attempt to divorce her in 1884 on the grounds of adultery, as his widow, Alphonsine inherited the contents of 7 Rue de Berlin when he died in 1885.⁶

The second Madame Bowes is all but invisible from the museum's narrative. When she does make an appearance in the two published studies of the museum and its founders, by Charles Hardy and by Caroline Chapman, Alphonsine appears as an unsavoury conclusion to John's life. She has been largely defined – and judged – through her failed marriages. While John is presented by Hardy as Joséphine's devoted saviour, her protector in society, John as a widower is cast as the victim of his scheming second wife.⁷ Caroline Chapman's *John and Joséphine*:

¹ ADP, état civil reconstitué, V3E/N 706.

² See Lorédan Larchey, 'Les Suisses de France', *Le Monde illustré*, 23 January 1886, p. 58.

³ Nicole Arnaud-Duc, 'The Law's Contradictions' in *A History of Women in the West*, Volume IV: Emerging Feminism from Revolution to World War, ed. by Geneviève Fraisse and Michelle Perrot (Cambridge; London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1993), pp. 81-113 (p. 99).

⁴ See *Le Droit*, 3 May 1869.

⁵ See 'contrat de mariage' in AN, 'Inventaire après le décès de M. John Bowes', 30 October 1885, MC/ET/XI/1405. For some detail on the English wedding, see Chapman, *John and Joséphine*, p. 133.

⁶ See National Archives, Kew, J 77/314/9376, Divorce Court File (1884).

⁷ Hardy, *John Bowes*, p. 190.

The Creation of The Bowes Museum, commissioned by the museum, ends with Bowes' death in 1885, alleging that Alphonsine had '[taken] advantage of [John's] age, failing health and loneliness [...]. He had paid a high price, both emotionally and financially, for his gullibility and faulty judgment'.⁸ The demonisation of Alphonsine in the narratives of the Boweses and their museum stems from John starting divorce proceedings against his second wife in 1884, and the damaging consequences of the divorce settlement for the finances of the museum. The mistrust of Alphonsine is compounded by her distance from the British dimension of the Boweses' story and the museum project. As with Julie Amélie Castelnau, the French wife of Sir Richard Wallace, who has been ignored or underestimated by scholars, but who ultimately bequeathed the collection to the nation in 1897, it is too easy to make Alphonsine disappear behind the heroic narrative around her husband.⁹

Research into the Comtesse Bowes de Saint-Amand's life reveals that she was part of an influential network of intellectuals, artists, writers and politicians, both before and after she met John. Although Hardy gives the impression that Alphonsine was a greedy, selfish woman without an inkling of cultural interest nor any conscience about preserving heritage, her familial and social network, the way she chose to decorate her home and the legacies she sought to leave in French museums each testify to a keen interest in national history and living with the past.¹⁰ She shared these interests with John, bringing him into her circles and introducing contexts that help expand our understanding of the museum's evolution after Joséphine's death. In this chapter, I start by looking at relevant social contexts and frameworks, before showing how these impacted on the collections. Before turning to Alphonsine's social worlds, her interiors, and her legacies, however, it is useful to examine the socio-historical and legal context in which her relationship with John developed between 1875 and 1885.¹¹ The late nineteenth century was a period of considerable fluidity within French society, in which legal

⁸ Chapman, *John and Joséphine*, p. 138.

⁹ See for instance, Judith Phillips' 'Joséphine Bowes' thesis p. 287-8. See Higgott, 'Unmasking an Enigma'.

¹⁰ 'with [John's] sense of sad disappointment must have mingled the feeling of a poor return for the kindnesses he had long lavished on Alphonsine [...] He thought he had chosen his second wife most prudently, but evidently his judgment was sadly at fault.' Hardy, *John Bowes*, p. 231.

¹¹ Hardy hints at changes in the Swiss law that made it possible for Alphonsine to remarry, but not one study of the Boweses' founders has ventured into the matter in detail (*Ibid.*, p. 207).

structures and the constraints of the moral code were being both questioned and tested.

I. John, Alphonsine, and the politics of divorce

The nature of Alphonsine and John's relationship before they were married is unclear. John wrote that he had known Alphonsine since she was twelve years old.¹² They were travel companions in the Summer of 1875, when the couple visited Bagnères-de-Bigorre, Salies, Nîmes and Marseille.¹³ John was unwell during the trip, but he was well taken care of by Alphonsine, while she enjoyed the benefits of mineral bathing for her rheumatism.¹⁴ From the moment they returned to Paris, John took over financial responsibility for her affairs, and became involved in her, and her mother's, households. At this stage of her life, Alphonsine de Saint-Amand, Comtesse de Courten, had lost a son due to sickness and was 'séparée de biens et de corps' from her husband, but she remained a married woman, by Swiss law. John and Alphonsine met at a time when the subject of divorce was being hotly debated across the Western world.¹⁵

On 19 April 1874, Switzerland voted for a revision of the federal constitution, and in favour of a secular system of civil registration for marriages and births (registre d'état civil laïc), which was accepted by referendum in 1875 and put in place from 1 January 1876. The 1874 proposal details the procedure for Swiss citizens divorcing.¹⁶ All records would be handed over from the Church to the State. A divorced woman could not remarry within a period of 300 days (nine months), as Hardy observed, to avoid illegitimate births. The 300-day period was also required by French law.¹⁷ While Swiss law gave women more freedom than France, (in practice from 1876), the preservation of patrilineal succession remained of prime importance in both countries. Indeed, Elizabeth Macknight writes that sex before

¹² Hardy, *John Bowes*, p. 198.

¹³ Marie Paigis to John, 18 September 1875; expenses, TBMA, JB/3/3/23/143A.

¹⁴ John (Salies-de-Béarn) to R.J. Dent, 8 September 1875, TBMA, JB/2/1/43/48.

¹⁵ See Roderick Phillips, *Untying the Knot: A Short History of Divorce* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Patricia Mainardi, *Husbands, wives, and lovers: marriage and its discontents in nineteenth-century France* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), pp. 219-20; Offen, *The Woman Question in France*, pp. 53-4, 237.

¹⁶ See *Gazette du Valais*, 16 August 1874, p. 2; '3.5 Les femmes dans le droit civil : majorité, mariage et divorce', in *Femmes Pouvoir Histoire. Histoire de l'égalité en Suisse de 1848 à 2000* (Berne: Commission fédérale pour les questions féminines CFQF, 2001).

¹⁷ See Arnaud-Duc, 'The Law's Contradictions', p. 110.

marriage was rare among aristocratic couples.¹⁸ The law reinforced the double-standard of moral discourse which 'prescribed fidelity for wives and chastity for daughters but tolerated sexual relations outside marriage on the part of men'.¹⁹ These legal provisions revolved around the safekeeping of the patrilineage, which could be attacked and weakened by a woman bringing the child of another man into a respectable household. Thus, wives could not condemn an adulterous husband if they saw or kept another woman in a 'secret' or discreet location, away from the marital home. These strict moral codes were upheld by the law, but in practice, things were becoming more fluid in the second half of the nineteenth century, as examples from John and Alphonsine's circle suggest.

In France, Alfred Naquet's efforts to legalise divorce in the early Third Republic highlighted the discrepancies between French legislation, which permitted a 'séparation de corps', and the Catholic Church, for which annulment was required for remarriage.²⁰ Naquet's proposal to Parliament for legalising divorce in June 1876 was met with 'bruit et rire'.²¹ On 26 June 1876, the *Journal de la république française* devoted three pages to the ongoing debate, detailing how divorce was allowed in 'la plupart des pays civilisés' in the Western world.²² The complication in a country of Catholic tradition, such as France, arose because while individuals could be granted a separation, they were not able to remarry unless the union was annulled by the Church. These measures were detrimental to the wife, who remained subservient to her husband even in the event of a civil separation. Naquet's campaign for the legalisation of divorce had begun eight years before it finally became legal in France in 1884. The topic was discussed everywhere from legal circles to popular culture.²³ Alexandre Dumas' novel *Madame de Chamblay* was first published as a *feuilleton* in 1858, then as a two-volume novel in 1862. The

¹⁸ Elizabeth Macknight, *Aristocratic families in republican France, 1870-1940* (Manchester; New York, 2012), p. 52.

¹⁹ James F. McMillan, *France and Women, 1789-1914: gender, society and politics* (London; New York: Routledge, 2000), pp. 39-41; Arnaud-Duc, 'The Law's Contradictions', pp. 101-2. See Keith Thomas, 'The Double Standard', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 20:2 (1959), 195-216.

²⁰ The debate over divorce was influenced by Republican anticlericalism and fears over population size, see H. D. Lewis, 'The Legal Status of Women in Nineteenth-Century France', in *Journal of European Studies*, 10:39 (1980), 178-188 (p. 185).

²¹ 'Chambre des députés, présidence de M. Jule Grévy', *Journal des débats politiques et littéraires*, 7 June 1876.

²² *Journal de la république française*, 26 June 1876, p. 4542.

²³ See Nick White, *The Family in Crisis in Late Nineteenth-Century French Fiction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

themes at the heart of Dumas' work were still popular six years later when it opened as a play at the Théâtre de la Porte-Saint-Martin in June 1868.²⁴

By the time Switzerland legalised divorce, the topic was still being debated in France. Emile Augier's *Mme Caverlet*, performed at the Théâtre du Vaudeville on 7 February 1876, addressed the question of divorce in the English, French and Swiss contexts.²⁵ Living happily with the honest M. Caverlet in a small town near Geneva, it was believed that the eponymous French character had divorced her English husband and father of her two children in order to become Henriette Caverlet. The truth is revealed when the woman's daughter is due to be wedded: her French mother had in fact been granted a 'séparation de corps et de biens' from her first husband, M. Merson, who was from France, where divorce was illegal, and she could not legally remarry. The play highlighted the difficulty and stigma attached to being a woman with children, legally and willingly separated from her husband, but unable to form a new legally-sanctioned union. Her vulnerability at the hands of her first husband, to whom she was still married in the eyes of the Church, despite being 'séparée de corps et de biens', eclipsed her capacity to live an honest and respectable life with another man. As the critic Clément Caraguel summarised in his review of the play, 'comme la séparation n'est pas le divorce, la malheureuse femme reste encore la proie de son tyran'.²⁶ In return for half of Henriette's inheritance from a horrible aunt, to which he was entitled as her husband, M. Merson agreed to take Swiss nationality in order to initiate formal divorce proceedings – the only way that Henriette could lawfully become Mme Caverlet. Indeed, naturalisation or conversion was the only solution for French people who wanted to divorce before 1884.²⁷ The play presented 'le monstrueux spectacle que l'on peut voir dans les pays où le divorce n'existe pas; mais, que l'on transporte la scène dans une contrée où le divorce est admis [Switzerland], et aussitôt tout change de face'.²⁸ The play's realistic scenario commended the contemporary improvement in women's rights in Switzerland in contrast to the inadequacy of French law. In addition to the stigma and financial precariousness experienced by the female protagonist in Augier's *Mme Caverlet*, the character of Caverlet,

²⁴ Jules Janin, *Journal des débats politiques et littéraires*, 8 June 1868: 'Les spectateurs les plus blasés sur cette espèce de supplice qui consiste à torturer une femme innocente et belle, en proie à tous les démons de la séparation de corps, ont écouté pendant trois actes, trois longs actes, cette abominable élogie.'

²⁵ Emile Augier, *Madame Caverlet, pièce en quatre actes* (Paris: Calmann Lévy, 1885).

²⁶ Clément Caraguel, *Journal des débats politiques et littéraires*, 7 February 1876.

²⁷ See Macknight, *Aristocratic families*, pp. 49-50.

²⁸ Clément Caraguel, *Journal des débats*, 7 February 1876.

Henriette's honest fifty-year-old Swiss companion, forced the audience to forget 'ce qu'il y a d'irrégulier dans une situation qui convient si peu à un homme de son âge', thus acknowledging mature love and that an unconventional household set-up could be wholesome in spite of the public's alleged unease about such unions.

Freedom by divorce was granted to Alphonsine on 7 October 1876, thanks to the new Swiss legislation, and Alphonsine was notified on 13 October 1876. According to the 300-day requirement for remarriage to avoid the birth of an illegitimate child, the new wedding to John Bowes could not happen before August 1877. Hardy writes that E. Y. Western, John's solicitor, advised John to err on the side of caution by counting nine months from 13 October.²⁹ John had Alphonsine installed in an apartment at 44 Rue de Clichy, conveniently located on the corner of the Rue de Berlin, less than 100 metres from number 7. They were nevertheless cautious, if not discreet, which was advisable given Alphonsine's legal status. In October 1875, John's housekeeper Marie Paigis reported that the concierge had been spreading rumours and nasty gossip to Madame Lepautre, the *marchande de curiosités* around the corner with whom Joséphine had been very close. As John was dealing with the Lucas women's household affairs, Mlle Paigis explained the need to invite Alphonsine's mother into the house when she called by, even if John was not home, and requested permission to speak with her upstairs in the Salon Bleu, rather than in the courtyard outside.³⁰ Becoming involved with a new female friend so soon after Joséphine's death had the potential to raise eyebrows, and it seems that only a small group of people recorded in household correspondence (Dr Tardieu, Mlle Paigis, Edmond Gaucherot and the architect Pellechet) were in the know, as they routinely sent their greetings to 'Madame la Comtesse' in their letters.³¹

The inventory after John's death (1885) indicates that prior to the church ceremony in London on Saturday 18 August 1877, the couple delivered a French marriage contract to the notaries Batardy and Bournet de Verron in Paris on 24 July 1877, who approved it on 27 July 1877. The newlyweds chose the 'régime de la

²⁹ Hardy, *John Bowes*, p. 207. By this point, John Bowes knew he had a venereal disease, see Judith Phillips, 'Mercury, sulphur baths and fine art: the sexual health of John and Joséphine Bowes, co-founders of The Bowes Museum' (forthcoming book chapter).

³⁰ Marie Paigis to John, 9 October 1875, TBMA, JB/2/10/12/126: 'ce que je dit est reporté et cancané. Je sais d'où viens [sic] les cancans de Mme Lepautre, ce sont les concierges qu'ils [sic] lui conte [sic] tout ce qui se passe dans la maison [...] je désire que les méchantes langues ne sachent rien'.

³¹ On the stereotype of concierge feeding the neighborhood with gossip or 'commérages', see Marcus, *Apartment Stories*, pp. 42-3. On servants working for aristocratic households, see Macknight, *Aristocratic families*, pp. 92-116.

séparation des biens' which protected individual assets acquired before the union, as opposed to a 'régime de communauté' in which the wife was wholly dependent on the husband.³² In his first marriage, John and Joséphine had also drawn up a contract that protected the spouses' individual assets. Their inclination towards the protection of the woman's property within marriage indicate an openness to progressive arrangements.³³ By waiting the due period before taking Alphonsine (who was in her forties) as a second wife, sixty-six year old John ensured that she was freed from the shackles of her first marriage and would be protected by the benefits of widowhood after his own death. Although seemingly unconventional when viewed through modern-day eyes, this arrangement would have enabled Alphonsine to rid herself of legal ties from her first marriage, while still protecting her assets in France, and ensuring that she would gain some independence at John's death, within the constraints of French law, as she would regain her French citizenship.

Among the Boweses' friends, a wide range of non-traditional or alternative relationships existed, symptomatic of the growing latitude regarding the rigours of marital union, especially in artistic circles. First, within the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal circle, the Thoré-Bürger art collection inherited by Paul Lacroix' wife provides a concrete example of French inheritance law regarding married women. Although she was married to the bibliophile Paul Lacroix (bibliophile Jacob) in 1834, the actress Apoline Biffe (1805-1896) was the companion of her husband's colleague and collaborator, the art dealer and critic Théophile Thoré (1807-1869) for thirty years. She accompanied Thoré into exile when he used the pseudonym William Bürger, and returned to live with her husband Lacroix, who had been named curator of the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal after Thoré's death in 1869. With her she brought Thoré's collection, which she had inherited as 'légataire universelle', but which, by law came under the care of her husband, Paul Lacroix.³⁴ Second, the composer and librettist Comtesse Anaïs Perrière-Pilté is an example of a prominent *salonnière* and patroness of the arts, who was a widow in Paris, and good friends with the Lucas family. Anne Laure Joséphine Hure (1809-1878), who composed

³² See Anne Martin-Fugier, *Les rites de la vie privée bourgeoise*, in Michelle Perrot, *La vie de famille au XIXe siècle, suivi de Les rites de la vie privée bourgeoise par Anne Martin-Fugier* (Paris: Seuil, 2015), p. 224-5.

³³ See Arnaud-Duc's concise explanation of the laws of matrimonial property in 'The Law's Contradictions', p. 105-9.

³⁴ See Magali Charreire, 'Vermeer à l'Arsenal : la bibliothèque-musée de Paul Lacroix', in *Littératures* [online], 75 (2016), pp. 45-56. John Bowes met Paul Lacroix through Hippolyte Lucas.

under the pseudonym Anaïs Marcelli, had married the rich industrialist Pierre Perrière-Pilté in 1836. Her husband's death in 1853 did not hinder Anaïs' social ambitions in 'le monde', as she enjoyed the freedoms granted by widowhood and was able to acquire the title of Comtesse from the Pope in 1863. She moved her fashionable salon from the Rue Monsieur-le-Prince to the Rue de Babylone in 1867.³⁵ Mme Perrière-Pilté's obituary mentions Hippolyte Lucas as a regular attendee at her Monday gatherings, to which he often brought Alphonsine.³⁶ During the Franco-Prussian War, Lucas was invited to dine in her house in the Faubourg Saint-Germain several times before she left for Belgium.³⁷ Considered to be a great protector of women in the arts, but also capable of holding her own in political conversations, she hosted a salon for 'tous les mondes', no doubt providing an example of social and political eclecticism for Alphonsine to emulate in her own home.³⁸

Another close friend of Alphonsine's worth noting not only for her worldly and literary influence but also for her rebellious lifestyle, and negotiation of European marriage laws, is the *salonnière* Marie Bonaparte-Wyse (1831-1902). Referred to in turn as 'la princesse brouhaha' by the writer Alphonse Karr, 'la magicienne' by her admirer, the poet François Ponsard (1814-1867), 'la vraie princesse' by Eugène Sue, another admirer, but also as 'une putain entretenue par le niais Pomereux', or, 'une catin comme l'était sa mère' in Horace de Viel-Castel's venomous words, one journalist wrote that 'la chronique la suivit pas à pas et à toute heure'.³⁹ A cousin of Louis Napoléon, she was born in Ireland, and lived most of her early career as a woman of letters exiled with her lover Comte Alexis de Pommereu in the town of Aix-les-Bains, then in Savoy (Kingdom of Sardinia). Her home in Aix-les-Bains attracted the literary intelligentsia of the period. Catherine L. Schmitz's work shows that the Princesse de Solms used the plays she wrote and put on in her private theatre in Aix-les-Bains to criticise gender inequality, promote

³⁵ On the *hôtel* of the Rue de Babylone, see Marquise de Firmiani, *La Sylphide*, 20 February 1870, pp. 4 -5.

³⁶ Montjoyeux, 'Chroniques parisiennes. La Comtesse Pilté', *Le Gaulois*, 2 January 1879, first page. Mme Pilté was the daughter-in-law of the Comtesse Perrière-Pilté, see 'Naissances, Mariages, Décès', *Le Gaulois*, 27 February 1879.

³⁷ Letter of 6 September 1870, Hippolyte Lucas, *Correspondance d'Hippolyte Lucas pendant le siège* (Vannes: Lafolye, 1900), p. 4.

³⁸ Montjoyeux, 'Chroniques parisiennes', *Le Gaulois*, 2-3 January 1879.

³⁹ See Hamlet, *Le Gaulois*, 18 December 1891; Horace de Viel Castel, *Mémoires du Comte Horace de Viel Castel sur le règne de Napoléon III (1851-1864)*, Vol. 2 (Paris: Chez tous les libraires, 1883), p. 167; p. 54.

female emancipation and enact alternative models of relationships.⁴⁰ Indeed in her works, she depicted key figures in the debate on women's rights, both real, such as Madame de Staël, and fictional, such as Corinne, from the novel by Mme de Staël. In her private life, Marie de Solms explored the possibilities available to a cosmopolitan woman of considerable means, notoriety, and aristocratic descent. Her first husband was Comte de Solms (1815-1863), whom she married in 1848, and soon after eclipsed himself to America. Her son, Alexis de Solms (1852–1927), fathered by Pommereu, was nevertheless given de Solms' name. Upon learning of her husband's death in 1863, Marie was free to remarry. Within two weeks, she became Mme Rattazzi and lived between Turin, Aix-les-Bains and Paris: her second husband, Urbano Rattazzi, was one of the founding fathers of the Republic of Italy. Then, as the widow of Urbano Rattazzi, Marie was able to return to Paris in the early years of the Third Republic and resume an active social life, hosting in the Hôtel d'Aquila on the Avenue du Bois de Boulogne (formerly Avenue de l'Impératrice, now Avenue Foch). She settled in Madrid with her daughter Isabel Roma Rattazzi at the end of 1875.⁴¹ In 1880, Marie married the engineer Luis de Rute (1844-1889) in Malaga Cathedral and they lived in Madrid (Calle San Bernardo). He contributed to *Les Matinées espagnoles* (1883-1888), later *Nouvelle revue internationale*, published under Marie's penname Baron Stock. Other regular contributors to the literary journals she produced throughout her life were friends of Alphonsine and the Lucas family, namely Arsène Houssaye, Victor Hugo, Paul Lacroix, Henri Martin, Anaïs Ségalas and Mary Summer. Some of Alphonsine's connections may have been linked to Hippolyte Lucas' role as an ally and protector of female writers: Anaïs Ségalas wrote asking him to publish a response to a nasty comment she and a group of female poets had received; he corresponded with the Peruvian-born Sara Oquendo (pseudonym Arsène Arüss) who married the designer-decorator Comte Ambroise Saint-André de Lignereux.⁴² The Lucas family was also friendly with Louise Colet (Flaubert's long-term mistress).

Linked to Alphonsine through the dedication of her tale *Isoline* (discussed below), Judith Gautier (1845-1817) obtained a 'séparation de corps' from Catulle Mendès following their disastrous marriage, changing her name to Mme Judith

⁴⁰ Catherine L. Schmitz, 'Une idée généreuse ou un esituation intéressante' : Les femmes et le bonheur conjugal dans le théâtre d'Aix-les-Bains de Marie de Solms Rattazzi', *Women in French Studies*, 24 (2016), 13-32.

⁴¹ Isabel Roma Rattazzi married Luis Villanova de la Cuadra (1859-1901), an engineer and political figure in Huéscar (Granada), on 28 November 1889 in Paris.

⁴² Anaïs Ségalas to Hippolyte Lucas, BRM, Rennes, MS 1195, p. 114; Lucas, *Correspondance d'Hippolyte Lucas pendant le siècle*, p. 35.

Gautier (she remained 'madame' because she was still legally married). A single, modern woman, estranged from her family, Gautier was a marginal figure in society, yet was cast as a genius by her contemporaries in the press.⁴³ This status and her successful career as a writer enabled her to be financially independent. She was also referred to as a 'beauté olympienne', and counted Victor Hugo as a lover when he was in his eighties.⁴⁴ After Mme Hugo's death, Victor Hugo and his long-term companion Juliette Drouet could live under the same roof for the first time since they had started their relationship in the mid-1830s. Hugo and Drouet lived close to 7 Rue de Berlin, in an apartment at 21 Rue de Clichy from April 1874 until November 1878. Highlighting the biographies of these exceptional women who were friends of Alphonsine's helps us to understand the flexibility of marital relations within Alphonsine and John's milieu.

John and Alphonsine's ages are used as evidence in both Hardy's and Chapman's biographies to undermine their union. Chapter 25 of Hardy's book, 'A Marriage on the Rocks', begins with claims that Alphonsine had been after John's money and 'that at forty-two she was marrying a man of sixty-six who through illness was old for his years'.⁴⁵ John in turn alluded to Alphonsine's age when writing to Dent about his wife's alleged adultery in 1884: 'It is sad that possessed of great talent and intellect she should break up a comfortable home when at upwards of 48 years of age'.⁴⁶ By the time the case was due at court in 1885, 'Bowes decided that at his age the divorce no longer mattered' as, according to Hardy, he was 'heartily sick of the whole business'.⁴⁷ Chapman's account provides more detail, including the fact that Alphonsine had planned to accuse John of collusion and infidelity with the Paris collection's curator Amélie Basset, with whom he spent 'every day of his life from 4 to 6.30'.⁴⁸ Chapman presents the Strathmores' investment in the outcome of the case, explaining their alarm at the possibility of John marrying Mlle Basset if the divorce was granted and thus producing an heir to his possessions and estates. Chapman concludes, perhaps dubiously, that 'the idea of Bowes, now seventy-three and a sick man, should have entered into a liaison

⁴³ *L'Univers illustré, journal hebdomadaire*, 21 April 1888, pp. 242-3.

⁴⁴ See Théodore de Banville, *Gil Blas*, 4 June 1886, cited in Rémy de Gourmont, *Judith Gautier. Les célébrités d'aujourd'hui* (Paris: Bibliothèque internationale d'édition, 1904), p. 27.

⁴⁵ Hardy, *John Bowes*, p. 231. In fact, her correspondence shows that Alphonsine also suffered from ill-health.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 232.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 236.

⁴⁸ Chapman, *John and Joséphine*, p. 137.

with any woman, let alone Amélie Basset, is surely preposterous'.⁴⁹ Bearing in mind Victor Hugo's renowned sexual appetite and exceptional health – and his affair with Judith Gautier around this time –, the stigma of age difference underlying Chapman's conclusion epitomises the moralising and subjective judgments that underpin recent studies on the Bowes.⁵⁰

Considering the precautions taken by John and Alphonsine before they were married, and given the ongoing stigma attached to divorce, it remains puzzling that John would later file for divorce in England (London in 1885), and would risk putting his public reputation at stake.⁵¹ With regards to his English connections and family, John had to tread with caution when announcing his engagement with both Joséphine and Alphonsine to his family. Despite his own illegitimacy, he belonged to the social sphere of the English landed gentry and maintained civic and philanthropic duties to the people of County Durham.⁵² Moral scandal in the form of a public divorce in the English court might threaten to hinder the museum project and both John and Joséphine had been mindful of maintaining a good (and morally sound) reputation locally.⁵³

In her study of the French aristocracy of the Third Republic, Macknight mentions the stigma surrounding divorce, given that 'fear of ostracism was very real, especially for women whose social reputation was seen as a measure of personal worth'.⁵⁴ In some cases, the grounds for 'séparation de corps' were deemed too sensitive to be divulged to the press, as was the case of 'la dame L...', reported in *Le Journal des débats politiques et littéraires* in 1869, before the change in French law.⁵⁵ Conversely, the Princesse de Caraman-Chimay's case in Belgium and Germany was widely publicised. The press coverage of her private affairs made

⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 137.

⁵⁰ On intergenerational marriage, see Mme Adèle Hugo's comment, 'Mon mari [Victor Hugo] est enchanté des succès de sa génération, maintenant que les têtes blondes aiment les cheveux blancs', cited in Jean-Marc Hovasse, *Victor Hugo. Tome II. Pendant l'exil I, 1851-1864* (Paris: Fayard, 2008), p. 421.

⁵¹ John Bowes vs Mrs Bowes and Millet. Hardy refers to letters in DCRO hinting that Alphonsine was having an affair. Proven adultery was grounds for divorce in both France and England. 'The divorce case came on in London at the beginning of February 1885', Hardy, *John Bowes*, p. 235.

⁵² I am grateful to Judith Phillips for discussing the matter of John's reputation in England with me.

⁵³ For details on Joséphine's philanthropy in the North East, see Phillips, 'Joséphine Bowes', p. 117.

⁵⁴ Macknight, *Aristocratic families*, p.50.

⁵⁵ *Journal des débats*, 11 January 1869.

her notorious and may have closed the doors to some Parisian circles.⁵⁶ In promoting scandal, the press played an important role in dissuading people – mostly women – from filing for a separation. To Dr Pamard's proposition of an amendment regarding the press coverage of private life, the Republican Eugène Pelletan responded that 'beaucoup de procès du genre de ceux dont a parlé M. Pamard, et notamment beaucoup de procès en séparation de corps, seraient intentés si les parties ne reculaient devant le scandale.' Pamard, who had sued *Le Courier du Dimanche*, *Le Charivari* and *la Gazette de France* for defamation in 1862, exclaimed that 'dans ces procès douloureux de séparation de corps, d'interdiction, de nullité de testament, l'honneur des familles est souvent engagé. Si le nom des parties est publié par les journaux, les lecteurs dévorent avec avidité les détails des débats'.⁵⁷

Although previous scholars have emphasised the controversial nature of divorce in nineteenth-century England, it did become legal and accessible in 1857, and the subject warrants further research. Both Hardy and Chapman's accounts of the divorce case are muddled, and it is unclear in their books whether John entered divorce proceedings in France or in England. Alphonsine demanded that the divorce petition be dismissed, and her lawyers negotiated a very favourable settlement. Still today, Alphonsine is seen as having jeopardised both the preservation and legacy of the collection because of the hefty compensation John paid her for the divorce case, funds that might otherwise have been used for the museum. Yet not once did John attempt to alter the provisions set out by their marriage contract, through the 'régime de la séparation des biens', which granted his widow some influence over the French estate, even though his trustees, Alexander William Kinglake, Henry Morgan Vane and Edward Young Western, did dispute the inheritance in favour of the museum.⁵⁸

II. Social worlds

Contrary to the assumption that the Comtesse depended on John Bowes to shine in society, Alphonsine de Saint-Amand was born into 'le monde'. As the great-

⁵⁶ The princess does not appear in the index of Anne Martin-Fugier's *Les Salons de la IIIe République. Art, littérature, politique* (Paris: Perrin, 2003).

⁵⁷ Morel-Dupeyré, *Journal des débats politiques et littéraires*, 11 February 1868. For the history of 'private life' and the press in France, see Jean-Louis Halpérin, 'Diffamation, vie publique et vie privée en France de 1789 à 1944', *Droit et cultures*, 65 (2013), 145-163.

⁵⁸ The 10th and final codicil to the 'Testament de John Bowes' was recorded with the French notaries in 1882.

granddaughter of the sculptor Antoine Coysevox, she was proud of her artistic heritage from the *ancien régime*, as evidenced in her calling card, and she displayed ancestral portraits and works of art by him in her home (Fig.92).⁵⁹ Her marriage to Comte Emmanuel de Courten further anchored her within elite Parisian society. Reported in *Le Mémorial diplomatique*, the glittering wedding was the first event of the season mentioned in *Le Journal des Marchandes de Mode*, which lingered upon 'la jeune mariée rayonnante de beauté, et portant, avec cette aisance et cette simplicité que donne l'usage du monde, une ravissante toilette du meilleur goût'. A dozen lines went on to describe the bride's outfit.⁶⁰ Despite the separation less than a year later, Alphonsine maintained some ties with the Courten family, writing to Larchey that her cousin, de Riedmatten, had shipped her wine from Sion, and the Comte and Comtesse Speyr de Courten sent their condolences at the death of her stepfather.⁶¹ Regardless of her marital status, she continued to socialise in high society, frequenting spas and chic holiday spots in the summer, such as Bagnères-de-Bigorre, where the Jubinal family seems to have been a central contact.⁶² Her friends there were part of Paris society too. When Amélie Jubinal, the daughter of local politician and collector Achille Jubinal, married the historian George Duruy (an event 'célébré en grande pompe à la Madeleine') Alphonsine was mentioned in *Le Figaro* alongside guests such as Princess Mathilde and Henry Houssaye.⁶³ Amélie Jubinal would inherit the collection of her maternal grandfather, Alexandre Rousselin de Saint-Albin (1773-1847), expanded further by her mother who married Achille Jubinal.⁶⁴ Amélie had a splendid collection of eighteenth-century artworks in her home, according to Carle Dreyfus, including remarkable specimens of furniture, watches and gold boxes purchased by her mother, tapestries and Old Master paintings.⁶⁵

A feature on the 'salon de Mme Rattazzi' from 25 January 1880 mentioned Alphonsine and her mother at the top of the hostess's regular guests: 'Parmi les

⁵⁹ See 'Les Descendants de Coysevox', by Comte Albert de Mauroy in *Revue de l'art français ancien et moderne* (1886).

⁶⁰ *Le Mémorial diplomatique*, 23 January 1868; *Le Journal des marchandes de mode*, January 1868.

⁶¹ Alphonsine Bowes de Saint-Amand to Lorédan Larchey, Arsenal MS 9260 (undated, and signed 'A. Bowes'): 'Demain je fais mettre du vin en bouteilles, vin qui a nom : 'aimable' et m'a été envoyé de Sion, par mon cousin de Riedmatten, non moins aimable que son vin'.

⁶² See a letter to Alphonsine from an aunt, sent from Montapeine on 24 November 1878, which mentions M. Jubinal, his sister, and Mlle Jubinal: Rennes MS 1193.

⁶³ *Le Figaro*, 13 July 1882.

⁶⁴ Mme Jubinal lent her collection of knives and daggers to the 1873 South Kensington Exhibition, see Carle Dreyfus, 'La Collection Saint-Aubin-Jubinal-George Duruy', *Les Arts*, 45 (1905), 2-21.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 13-14 for examples of furniture.

noms connus, vus aux réunions Rattazzi alors que le ministre [Urbano Rattazzi] vivait encore, nous citerons: Mme de Courten, aujourd'hui Mme Boz (sic) ; Mme Hippolyte Lucas, sa mère [...].⁶⁶ Six undated letters held by the municipal archives in Rennes reveal that Marie Bonaparte-Wyse corresponded with the Lucases during her second and third marriages and endeavoured to see them whenever she passed through Paris.⁶⁷ The only letter addressed to Eulalie Lucas, signed by Marie de Rute, shows that the women had been introduced to the Spanish diplomatic scene during Marie's most recent visit to Paris: 'Mon mari a refusé l'ambassade de Rome voulant rester dans la politique active. C'est M. del Mazo son ami avec lequel vous avez diné chez vous et qui a passé la soirée chez Alphonsine qui va l'occuper à son grand regret. Pour exemple il eut préféré retourner à Vienne.'⁶⁸

Just as important as her connection to (old) high society and the diplomatic world was her standing within literary circles, through her mother's second marriage. The letters of condolence received by Alphonsine and her mother after Hippolyte Lucas' death in 1878 from their cosmopolitan family and friends, such as the Vicomtesse de Neuville, included many men and women of letters, the stage and the arts.⁶⁹ The Lucases were regulars at the salon of Mme Perrière-Pilté. Her lengthy obituary in *Le Gaulois* stated that 'Le salon de la rue Madame vit défiler tous les mondes'. Indeed, Second Empire dignitaries and politicians such Noël Lefèvre-Duruflé (1792-1877) and La Guéronnière (1816-1875), members of the aristocracy, notable figures in literature, journalism and the musical and theatre world all flocked together to her salon, first on the Rue Madame and then on the Rue de Babylone, where she held concerts once a week on Mondays.⁷⁰ Hippolyte Lucas and the dramatist Auguste Anicet-Bourgeois (1806-1871) both brought their daughters, Alphonsine and Anaïs Stéphanie Bourgeois (1837-1913) to Mme

⁶⁶ *L'Europe*, 25 January 1880. See an earlier mention of Mme Rattazzi's Thursdays in *La Fantaisie Parisienne*, 15 January 1873.

⁶⁷ Letters, Rennes MS 1222/33/40/1-6; a note to Lucas on a calling card, BRM Rennes MS 1222/33/40/7; and a short manuscript poem by Lucas for Isabelle Rattazzi, 'La profession de foi d'Isabelle Ratazzi', Rennes MS 1222/33/40/8.

⁶⁸ Rennes MS 1222/33/40/5 is the longest letter in the series (3 sides) and is addressed to Eulalie Lucas, from 88 Rue Serrano in Madrid. M. del Mazo is Cipriano del Mazo, the Spanish diplomat.

⁶⁹ Arsène Houssaye, Léopold Double, Alexandre Dumas fils, Paul de St-Victor, M and Mme Delaunay, M. and Mme Figuiet, Christian Ostrowski (1811-1882), and the widow of Paul Dubois were among the many who sent letters or visited the women to present their condolences.

⁷⁰ For instance, the *homme de lettres* Edmond Texier (1815-1887), the librettist Emilien Pacini (1811-1898) who worked for the censorship office of the Ministère de l'Intérieur and his companion Mme Cohen 'avant la lettre' (before they married).

Perrière-Pilté's salon, introducing them to fashionable society.⁷¹ In their apartments above the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Alphonsine's mother and stepfather hosted their own social gatherings which were reported in the press for the quality of the artistic performances, the attendees and the brilliance of the women's *toilettes*. The season of January 1867 opened with the Lucas's Sunday salon, where a puppet theatre stole the show.⁷² In March of the same year, the *Journal des marchandes de mode* reported a second remarkable soirée, with singing, Anaïs Ségalas reciting poems and Coquelin aîné performing a number of pieces among the entertainments.⁷³

With the Lucases, Alphonsine visited the Hugo family in exile on Guernsey three times in the summers of 1857, 1858 and 1860.⁷⁴ Alphonsine's presence is recorded in at least two photographs at Hauteville House, a group shot and an autographed portrait in Joséphine Nicolle's album with a dedication by Alphonsine: 'A la bonne et charmante Miss Joss, Souvenir de la plus affectueuse sympathie' (Figs.93-94).⁷⁵ 1858 was an important year for the decoration of Hauteville House. When the Lucas women arrived in September, work on the 'Notre-Dame de Paris' entrance porch had begun, the wallpaper 'à décors chinois' had been placed on the walls and ceiling of the vestibule/entrance hall, and the Salon des Tapisseries and entrance to the look-out were complete (Figs.95-97).⁷⁶ In March of the same year, Hugo wrote to his wife about the progress of 'mes petites Épopées et la grande

⁷¹ In 1866, Anaïs Bourgeois married Elie de Vassoigne, a general born in Martinique, who had an important military career in France and the colonies; he was stationed in China and Cochinchine.

⁷² 'On remarquait chez M. Hippolyte Lucas beaucoup de notabilités de toutes sortes', *Journal des marchandes de modes*, 2 January 1867.

⁷³ *Journal des marchandes de mode*, March 1877. Probably Constant Coquelin known as Coquelin aîné (1841-1909). From 1860, Coquelin aîné would perform in private salons with fellow students from the Conservatoire. See Louis Péricaud, *Le Panthéon des comédiens de Molière à Coquelin aîné* (Paris: Eugène Fasquelle, 1922), p. 360; referred to as 'le déjà très grand comédien' in 1867, p. 362.

⁷⁴ The visits are recorded in Victor Hugo's carnets, held at BnF, Département des Manuscrits: NAF 13446. Fonds Victor Hugo. III -- CARNETS. 31 octobre 1855-30 septembre 1857; NAF 13448 Fonds Victor Hugo. III -- CARNETS. 1er octobre 1857-12 mars 1859; NAF 13449. Fonds Victor Hugo. III -- CARNETS. 1er mars 1859-22 octobre 1860. References to the manuscript correspondence are taken from *Lettres de Juliette Drouet à Victor Hugo*, Publications numériques du CÉRÉDI (Université de Rouen-Normandie), (c) www.juliettedrouet.org, 2012.

⁷⁵ About the Hugo albums, see Alexandrine Achille, 'La photographie à l'œuvre', in *Genesis*, 45 (2017), pp. 124-136.

⁷⁶ '21 avril [1858]. les deux verrières des deux côtés de N.D. sont terminées'; '3 mai 1858: Mauger a commencé à coller le papier de l'Inde dans le vestibule.'; '5 May 1858: 'Le salon de tapisserie et l'antichambre sont terminés.'; '7 May 1858: 'Tom a commencé le 2e corps de bibliothèque près ma porte.' Carnet de Victor Hugo du 1er octobre 1857 au 12 mars 1859, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, BnF NAF 13448.

Épopée de Mauger', his local builder, including the kitchen. For the 1860 visit, Alphonsine and her mother lodged nearby, 'chez Mme Ménage'. Le Balleur and Anjou were invited to stay while they photographed the house.⁷⁷ While the photography session was underway, the younger set began to rehearse a comedy by Charles Hugo, which would be performed in the Salon Bleu on 28 September: 'on a joué au soir la comédie de Charles dans le salon bleu *je vous aime*. Charles, Victor, M. Leballeur, Mlle Alphonsine et Allix. Spectateurs : nous, plus le groupe habituel. Souper ensuite on a dansé dans le Salon des tapisseries jusqu'à 4h du matin.'⁷⁸

In the meantime, Mme Lucas had left Guernsey on 19 September, leaving Alphonsine with the Hugo family until 1 October. The poet recorded a mention of paying Alphonsine, which may suggest compensation for sexual favours, as was his custom.⁷⁹ Juliette Drouet's letters to Victor Hugo convey her jealousy of Eulalie Lucas and her daughter: she turned a blind eye to their arrival and snidely referred to their 'plaisirs débordés' (unbridled pleasures) a few weeks later.⁸⁰ Her hostility crept into the correspondence again on their next visit, culminating in November 1860, when she challenged 'les Alphonsines passées, présentes et futures' who consumed Hugo's attention and exclaimed that 'tous leurs amours bout à bout et [surposés] n'iraient même pas à la cheville du mien'.⁸¹ These visits in her youth would play an important part in Alphonsine's perception of home decoration, and, as we will see, she cherished her relationship with Victor Hugo.

Hippolyte Lucas and Victor Hugo corresponded regularly.⁸² Lucas' career was summarised by *homme de lettres* Edmond About in the eulogy he delivered at

⁷⁷ See 23 July 1860 (fol. 126 recto). Me Balleur and Anjou (fol. 128 recto). BnF, Département des Manuscrits. NAF 13449.

⁷⁸ Fol. 133 recto. Hugo noted that he watched the rehearsal on 22 August 1860 (fol. 132 recto).

⁷⁹ 19 September 1860: 'Mme Lucas est partie pour Jersey à 9h du matin. Elle nous laisse sa fille jusqu'au 1er octobre. (fol. 140 recto). A note in parentheses reads: 'je paierai [illegible] à [illegible] pour Mlle Aphonsine 1 l. 5à par jour' (fol. 139 verso). See Jean-Marc Hovasse, *Victor Hugo*, p. 421-422. I have not been able to access Henri Guillemin, *Victor Hugo et la sexualité*, in which Hugo's codes were first deciphered.

⁸⁰ Juliette Drouet to Victor Hugo, 22 September: 'Demain, vous aurez affaire à Mme Lucas et, ce qui est plus doux encore, à Mademoiselle mais cela ne me regarde pas. Je ferme les yeux.' BnF, Mss NAF 16379, fol. 269. 10 October 1858, BnF, Mss NAF 16379, fols. 287-288. Transcriptions by Anne-Sophie Lancel and Florence Naugrette.

⁸¹ 2 August 1860: 'Gardez-en un peu beaucoup pour moi ce soir, et surtout ne faites pas trop de MÉNAGE sous prétexte de fioritures à Mme Lucas' BnF, Mss NAF 16381, fol. 202. See also Mss NAF 16381, fol. 246 (both transcribed by Amandine Chambard and Florence Naugrette). BnF, Mss NAF 16381, fol. 290. Transcriptions by Amandine Chambard and Florence Naugrette.

⁸² Rennes MS 1195, fols. 17, 19, 21, 41.

his friend's funeral.⁸³ The esteem Hippolyte Lucas enjoyed amongst his peers is palpable in the letters bound together and donated to his native city of Rennes by his son, Léo. For instance, Alexandre Dumas was one of the writers who sent Lucas copies of his works: 'Si vous trouvez l'occasion d'en dire quelques mots, votre opinion lui fera du bien.'⁸⁴ Balzac addressed Lucas as 'un rival beaucoup trop dangereux pour que je vous fasse des compliments', signing off with his 'félicitations inquiètes et les vœux que vous soyez un paresseux'.⁸⁵ Upon learning the news of her stepfather's death Arsène Houssaye wrote to Alphonsine that he would miss 'cette charmante figure que j'aimais comme celle d'un frère'.⁸⁶ Lucas could shape someone's career and the *Livre d'Or* is rich with examples ranging from bestselling authors to budding actors.⁸⁷ The gallery owner Louis Martinet wrote to Lucas on 4 May 1859, addressing him as 'mon bon Lucas' and asking him to 'parler chaudement de l'exposition Scheffer', adding that 'la plus grande publicité est nécessaire'.⁸⁸ Lucas also translated the works of Pedro Calderón de la Barca and William Shakespeare, and his interest in the latter led him to call upon Bowes, around 1856, about a project. Bowes remarked that,

La traduction des Sonnets de Shakespeare sera plus difficile que je ne croyais. Les phrases sont si anciennes, les figures tellement forcées, et le sens parfois si obscur, que sans une édition avec notes et commentaires, je désespère d'arriver à quelque chose de bien. Mes compliments empressés, John Bowes. Nous verrons ce que fera Mme George Sand de 'as you like it'. Je parie qu'elle omettra les chansons qui sont des plus jolies que Shakespear [sic] à écrites.⁸⁹

⁸³ Eulogy published in Hippolyte Lucas, *Portraits et souvenirs littéraires* (Paris: Plon, 1890), pp. 235–37.

⁸⁴ Alexandre Dumas to Hippolyte Lucas, undated ('184...'), Rennes MS 1195, p. 77.

⁸⁵ Honoré de Balzac to Hippolyte Lucas, 1835, Rennes MS 1195, p. 81.

⁸⁶ Arsène Houssaye to Alphonsine, Rennes MS 1193, unpaginated.

⁸⁷ Mlle Mars wrote to Lucas on 20 November 1841, asking 'Voulez-vous, mon cher Monsieur Lucas que je vous présente demain dimanche ma protégée' and a manuscript footnote identifies 'Mlle de Doze, du Théâtre Français, et auteur, qui devint Mme Roger de Beauvoir'. Rennes MS 1195, p. 205. Some of these letters were published by Léo Lucas in Lucas, *Portraits et souvenirs littéraires*.

⁸⁸ Louis Martinet to Hippolyte Lucas, Rennes MS 1188, p. 273.

⁸⁹ Rennes MS 1188, fol. 303.

At Hippolyte Lucas' death, Alphonsine, Léo and their mother received visits and letters from the doyens of the literary world.⁹⁰ The funeral party was led by Léo Lucas and John Bowes and counted hundreds of Lucas' peers.⁹¹

After their marriage in 1877, John and Alphonsine mingled with high society, from taking the waters at Baden and Salies, to attending balls in Paris during the season. Mme Bowes was cited as one of the most beautiful guests at a charitable ball held at the British Embassy in 1881, where Lord Lyons made an appearance.⁹² At home, the Boweses held dinner parties for Alphonsine's family friends from the literary sphere alongside republican politicians. According to Larchey,

Elle usa de son ascendant pour faire arriver rue de Berlin le ban et l'arrière-ban de la littérature. M. et Mme Renan, et surtout Arsène Houssaye, Edmond Texier et sa fille. Richarme, Chirès, Recipon, Batbie, Martin-Feuillée, Waldeck R., et quelques autres représentaient le côté politique et financier. J'y ai vu Lesseps, adossé à la cheminée du fumoir, causer gaiment du Panama.⁹³

Hugo attended John and Alphonsine's wedding in 1878, and he notes in his diary that 'Mme Alphonsine de Courten nous a présenté son nouveau mari, M. Bowes' on 2 December 1877.⁹⁴ In the new year, the Lucases, the Boweses, another couple and Edouard Thierry, the theatre critic, retired from the direction of the Comédie française and Arsenal librarian, joined Drouet and Hugo's usual party of six for dinner.⁹⁵ Juliette Drouet and Victor Hugo regularly hosted the Boweses, often accompanied by the Lucases and other notable figures.⁹⁶ Drouet complained of the frequency of dinners with Alphonsine: 'Ce soir nous avons tous les Bowes et tous les Lucas, ce qui commence à devenir menaçant surtout si c'est hebdomadaire à perpétuité...'.⁹⁷ The dinners must have conjured awkward memories of Guernsey for Juliette Drouet, as she complained to Hugo, 'c'est-à-dire : joie et délire autour,

⁹⁰ Rennes MS 1193.

⁹¹ Guests included Mme. Edmond About, Emmanuel Gonzalès, A. Vacquerie, Albéric Second, Edouard Thierry, Pierre Zaccane, E. Dentu, A. Decourcelle, Siraudin, Henry Houssaye, le comte d'Algara, 'etc., etc.' *Le Figaro*, 17 November 1878.

⁹² *Le Voltaire*, 9 June 1881.

⁹³ Pétrus Richarme, Emile Récipon, Anselme Batbie, Félix Martin-Feuillée and Pierre Waldeck-Rousseau were Republican politicians, many connected to Brittany. The diplomat Ferdinand Marie, vicomte de Lesseps presided over the Panama Canal Company.

⁹⁴ BnF, MSS, NAF 13481, Fonds Victor Hugo. III -- CARNETS. 1er août 1877-11 mai 1878, 2 December 1877, fol. 49 recto.

⁹⁵ BnF, MSS, NAF 13481, Fonds Victor Hugo. III -- CARNETS. 1er août 1877-11 mai 1878, 11 January 1878, fol. 62 recto.

⁹⁶ BnF, Mss NAF, 16399, fol. 19 (22 January 1878) and fol. 38 (10 February 1878).

⁹⁷ BnF, Mss, NAF, 16399, f. 73 (15 March 1878). Transcription by Chantal Brière.

dessus et surtout dessous la table. J'espère que ton pied exercé dans ces parties de tric-trac occultes ne se trompera pas de pédales et que tu ne confondras pas la fille avec la mère et réciproquement'.⁹⁸ Although Alphonsine was now accompanied by 'son bonhomme de mari', and Hugo was receiving regular visits from Judith Gautier (from at least 1877 to 1881), Drouet conceded to Hugo:

tant pis pour les amours jaloux et exclusifs comme le mien ; foin de leur martyr et de leurs jérémiades, ne faut-il pas au sultan des sultanes et des perles au poignard ? Donc amuse-toi bien, mon cher sultan, pendant que moi je tâcherai de me tenir debout jusqu'à la fin.⁹⁹

Despite Drouet's enduring jealousy, both Alphonsine (Mme Bowes) and her half-brother, Léo Lucas, attended her funeral in 1883.¹⁰⁰ Whether return invitations were extended is not known, but the Boweses regularly invited Lucas' colleagues from the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paul Lacroix and Lorédan Larchey to dinners at 7 Rue de Berlin.¹⁰¹ A tribute column for Bibliophile Jacob (Paul Lacroix) posited Alphonsine's as the only *salon* capable of luring him from his home.¹⁰² Echoing Lacroix's limited social habits at the end of his life, Larchey wrote, 'je vis le plus possible en dehors de ce qu'on appelle le monde', but he accepted an invitation from Bowes 'avec grand plaisir', while Lacroix declined.¹⁰³

Thanks to Alphonsine's family connections, John was able to benefit from the expertise of these researchers and historians. Larchey remembered John's hunger for information about his collections: 'C'était un homme méthodique en tout et désireux d'être renseigné exactement sur la valeur des objets qu'il achetait de toutes mains'. According to Larchey, John purchased things 'à l'aveuglette' and frequently requested 'des renseignements sur la valeur de ses acquisitions qui me paraissaient faites surtout à l'aveuglette. Comme beaucoup d'amateurs, il n'aimait ni ne comprenait la valeur artistique des choses qu'il se plaisait à réunir.'¹⁰⁴ Paul

⁹⁸ Juliette Drouet to Victor Hugo, 10 février 1879, BnF, Mss, NAF 16400, f. 43.

Transcription by Chantal Brière. I am grateful to Simon Spier for alerting me to this letter. See also f. 40 and f. 44.

⁹⁹ BnF, Mss, NAF 16400, f. 43. Transcription de Chantal Brière.

¹⁰⁰ *Le Rappel*, 14 May 1883.

¹⁰¹ Paul Lacroix to John Bowes, 11 December 1876, TBMA, JB/2/10/13/57.

¹⁰² *Le Soir*, 18 October 1884.

¹⁰³ Paul Lacroix to John Bowes, 11 December 1876: 'Cher monsieur, je suis au regret de ne pouvoir accepter l'invitation que vous me faites l'honneur de m'adresser [...] C'est une agréable soirée que je perds, monsieur, en ne me réunissant pas chez vous, à la famille de mon ami et collègue Hippolyte Lucas. Je suis bien sensible à votre bon souvenir.' (TBMA, JB/2/10/13/57).

¹⁰⁴ Arsenal MS 9247.

Lacroix also shared bibliographical information on Spanish paintings.¹⁰⁵ John sought out Larchey's historical expertise on at least two occasions. Larchey provided notes concerning the history of the town of Ostend and his thoughts on the scene and figures depicted in Bowes' painting of the treaty of Hubertusberg (Fig.62).¹⁰⁶ The records of these transactions are undated, but cannot predate the beginning of John's relationship with Alphonsine, and the Ostend notes are given on his Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal card.¹⁰⁷ Indeed, Alphonsine's legacy in the museum may run deeper than has ever been acknowledged. Larchey's friendship with the couple persisted, separately, after the attempted divorce. He explains that the gift of his portrait by Faustin Besson to John's museum had been his way of pouring oil on troubled waters in the aftermath of the inconclusive divorce proceedings.¹⁰⁸

Acknowledging the impact of these heterogeneous networks on John Bowes' professional and private life leads to new avenues of research where Alphonsine may be shown to be instrumental. The so-called founders' collection at TBM was profoundly but subtly shaped by these friendships and familial ties with figures such as Hippolyte Lucas and Lorédan Larchey. Aside from his *Mémorial illustré des deux sièges de Paris*, discussed in Chapter 5, Larchey published biographies based on historical sources he had privileged access to through his attachment to libraries. The Boweses' library contains several of these works by Larchey, including a signed copy of *Histoire du gentil seigneur de Bayard*, 'avec les compliments affectueux est cet hommage à la bibliothèque particulière de M. Bowes' that was sent from Paris to the museum in 1885.¹⁰⁹ It is one indication that traces of the couple's lives together can still be found in the galleries of a public

¹⁰⁵ 17 April 1877, TBMA JB/6/7/4.

¹⁰⁶ TBMA, JB/6/7, with thanks to John Findlay for alerting me to the notes on the painting. Bowes sent Larchey a print of B.M.623.

¹⁰⁷ Henry Martin, *Histoire de la bibliothèque de l'Arsenal* (Paris, 1900), pp. 595-596.

¹⁰⁸ 'Je m'entremis pour aboutir à un accommodement qui finit par se conclure. Sans vouloir accepter à dîner chez M. Bowes je le vis souvent alors en particulier ainsi que sa femme qui avait élu domicile à l'hôtel. Dans l'intérêt de la cause j'avais même offert au musée de M. Bowes mon portrait peint par Faustin Besson.' BnF Arsenal, MS 9247. TBM, B.M.377.

¹⁰⁹ *Histoire du gentil seigneur de Bayard* (TBMA, F.920/Ba). See James Illingworth, 'Tales From the Archive: Something Fishy', <<https://thebowesmuseum.wordpress.com/2017/01/25/tales-from-the-archive-something-fishy/>> [Accessed 31 March 2021]. The other books by Larchey in TBMA – none of which appear in any lists linked to Joséphine Bowes – are: *Journal de marche du sergent Fricasse de la 127e demi-brigade, 1792-1802* (F.920/Fr); *Dictionnaire historique, étymologique et anecdotique de l'argot parisien: sixième édition des excentricités du langage, mise à la hauteur des révolutions du jour* (F.447/La).

museum: evidence that is confirmed when we look at the Boweses' homes and interiors in France.

III. Interiors

In Chapter 3 we already explored the importance of the domestic interior as a stage for the articulation of women's interests and identities. Lady Blessington's visit to the actress Mademoiselle Mars' home on Rue de la Tour-des-Dames, behind the Sainte Trinité Church, in 1841, confirmed that 'a just notion of the character of a person can always be formed by the style of his or her dwelling'.¹¹⁰ The home was seen as an extension of the woman's beauty, intelligence, elegance and refinement. Lady Blessington was invited to see two semi-private rooms Mademoiselle Mars had curated for visitors: the boudoir and the library, which also acted as a picture gallery and recorded her theatrical career. Women who received guests in their homes took care to display themselves through their things. In this section, we interrogate the records of the material possessions collected by Alphonsine at 7 Rue de Berlin between 1876 and 1885. The historian Véronique Long has explained the pitfalls of using inventories drawn up by notaries to examine the homes of art collectors. While these records do give a sense of the hierarchy of rooms and their contents, they reduce objects to their basic appearance and monetary value, often grouped together for the convenience of classification. When analysed with care, however, inventories are vital documents for understanding women like Alphonsine who left few other documents.¹¹¹

The two properties occupied by Alphonsine, overseen by John, first at 44 Rue de Clichy and then at 7 Rue de Berlin, were platforms for her to display her personal collection and aesthetic tastes. Alphonsine's domestic environments have never been examined before. In the summer of 1875, while on holiday with Alphonsine, Bowes asked his housekeeper, Marie Paigis, and the upholsterer-decorator Edmond Gaucherot to oversee a new apartment for his companion upon their return. Alphonsine would be moving from her apartment on the Rue d'Alger, in the affluent Faubourg Saint-Honoré neighborhood, to 44 Rue de Clichy. Gaucherot wrote to Bowes on 25 August and 5 September 1875 about 'l'appartement de Madame de Courten' and the renovation work being undertaken

¹¹⁰ Marguerite Countess of Blessington, *The Idler in France* (Paris: Baudry's European Library, 1841), p. 81-2.

¹¹¹ Véronique Long, 'Collections et intérieurs à Paris de 1850 à 1914', *Hypothèses*, 1 (2004), p. 23-32.

there by masons, joiners and painters. 'Sitôt que cela sera prêt,' wrote Gaucherot, 'je transporterai les malles de la Rue d'Alger et attendrai des ordres pour poser tapis et rideaux.'¹¹² Her new apartment in the Rue de Clichy, leased by John, would be decorated with a combination of her own furniture and hangings, from the Rue d'Alger and tapestries from John's ample collection stored in the house on Rue de Berlin, selected by Alphonsine on Gaucherot's advice.¹¹³ The least damaged tapestries selected by Gaucherot and Paigis from those in storage are described by Gaucherot as follows:

1 tapisserie couronnes chiffre 2m60 de haut, 1m70 large.¹¹⁴

1 de sujet de chasse au sanglier avec chateau à colonnes dans le fond sans bordure 2m55 haut, 2m32 wide.

1 ditto – la ferme. Hauteur 2m52, largeur 2m95.¹¹⁵

1 ditto (même fond) paysage bucheron & femme. Hauteur 2m40, largeur 3m10.

1 tapisserie sujet Guerrier & femme l'implorant à genou, tapisserie très fine avec 4 belles brodures mais bien attaqué par les vert [sic] 2m70 de haut – 2'' de large.¹¹⁶

1 ditto beau gobelin [sic] bien conserve avec bordure à droite et à gauche seulement. Sujet enfance de Bacchus. 2''70 de haut, 3''85 de large. (Fig.98)¹¹⁷

1 tapisserie sujet Henri II sans bordure (chasse au cerf) 2''17 de haut, 4''40 de large.¹¹⁸

1 tapisserie encadrée. Berger dans un paysage avec ruine au fond. 2''27 de haut, 1''60 de large.¹¹⁹

The housekeeper reported to John that Alphonsine had stopped by to make her selection on 1 December 1875. John and Alphonsine's marriage contract specified that Alphonsine had full ownership of the furniture housed in the apartment including the pictures, *objets d'art*, domestic items for personal use, jewellery, diamonds and silverware.¹²⁰ When re-assessing Alphonsine's supposed

¹¹² Edmond Gaucherot to Bowes 5 September 1875, TBMA, JB/2/10/12/113.

¹¹³ Marie Paigis to Bowes, 1 December 1875, TBMA, JB/2/10/12/138: 'Le tapissier est à poser les tapis et demain Mme la Comtesse viens pour les tapisseries.' The list that follow sis: Gaucherot to John, 5 September 1875, TBMA, JB/2/10/12/113.

¹¹⁴ Possibly TBM, TAP.61 or TAP.62.

¹¹⁵ Possibly TBM, TAP.30.

¹¹⁶ Possibly TBM, TAP.29.

¹¹⁷ TBM, TAP.45.

¹¹⁸ Possibly TBM, TAP.14.

¹¹⁹ Possibly TBM, TAP.149.

¹²⁰ 'le mobilier garnissant l'appartement qu'elle occupait à paris, rue de Clichy n°44, les tableaux, objets d'art qui se trouvaient dans le dit appartement' as well as 'objets à usage personnel' and 'divers bijoux, diamants, son argenterie'.

dependence on Bowes' financial support, it is essential not to lose sight of the bride's assets, valued at 840,000 francs – 'totalité de l'apport de la future épouse' – thanks to shares and investments in railway companies. In addition to this, the possessions she brought to the marital home were worth 29,721 francs and 40 centimes in the inventory of 7 Rue de Berlin taken after John's death, excluding her paintings, which were inventoried separately.

A bill from Gaucherot from 28 August 1877 indicates the beginning of a redecorating spree at 7 Rue de Berlin, where Alphonsine seems to have settled that November.¹²¹ Moving to a new house was time consuming and it would take nearly twelve months to move Alphonsine's belongings to her new home.¹²² On 19 October 1877, Gaucherot sent Bowes fabric samples for the landing, already approved by the architect Pellechet, but the final decision would be made by Alphonsine.¹²³ Contemporary accounts draw attention to the most striking aspects of Alphonsine and John's interior decorating, and the tapestries at 7 Rue de Berlin in particular. Larchey's manuscript notes on Bowes read: 'Ses salons de réception étaient tendus de tapisseries du 18^{ème} siècle provenant de quelque vente du Garde Meuble car plusieurs étaient semées de fleurs de lis', which recall the first item on the list offered to furnish Alphonsine's home, given above. Unconventionally, 'elles couvraient même les plafonds, ce qui n'étaient [sic] pas fort heureux, car elles assombrissaient et rapetissaient tout'.¹²⁴ When Arsène Houssaye chronicled 'La semaine d'un paresseux' in 1884, he too was struck by the Boweses' 'Salon des Tapisseries', and his account focuses on the luxury of the interiors, the quality of the company and the talent of the assembled performers:

Lundi, la journée fut très compliquée : course au Bois, déjeuner bruyant, visites aux expositions. C'était un rude labeur. Dîner chez la comtesse Bowes, avec les deux Renan, Batbie qui tient bien sa place, et Albéric Second qui ne cède pas la sienne. Le prince l'a salué comme un maréchal de France. Puis le marquis de Barthélémy, le baron Larrey, Victor Duruy, Andrieux, Edmond About, pas du tout académique. On disait que son discours de réception ferait sauter les voûtes séculaires de l'Institut. Une multitude de femmes charmantes, entre autres... Toutes ! Après le dîner dans le salon des tapisseries— (et quelles tapisseries !) Paul Legrand a joué

¹²¹ TBMA, JB/3/3/25/161.

¹²² TBMA, JB/3/3/25/156 Compagnie d'Assurance Phénix insured the transport of effects between Rue de Clichy and Rue de Berlin beginning on 20 November 1877.

¹²³ TBMA, JB/3/3/25/153.

¹²⁴ 'Ses salons de réception étaient tendus de tapisseries de 18^{ème} siècle provenant de quelque vente du Garde Meuble car plusieurs étaient semées de fleurs de lis [...] elles couvraient même les plafonds, ce qui n'étaient [sic] pas fort heureux, car elles assombrissaient et rapetissaient tout.' BnF, Arsenal, MS 9247.

avec sa troupe, --sa dernière ! —une fort jolie pantomime. On n’a jamais eu plus d’esprit sans dire un mot.¹²⁵

Houssaye’s account reveals the circle of intellectuals, critics and playwrights who dined with the Boweses, brought together in search of conversation and entertainment, against the splendid backdrop of their home. For both Larchey and Houssaye, the tapestries in the salon were one of the most striking features. While the latter’s impressions of 1884 clearly refer to the Comtesse Bowes’ home, that is to Alphonsine, Larchey’s notes are undated and it is not clear whether he is referring to the house in Joséphine or Alphonsine’s day. His brief description of the Boweses’ house follows on from a sentence evoking John and Joséphine’s transition from the Variétés to a married life socialising in the home: ‘Elle [une actrice médiocre] ne dura pas plus que sa direction et s’en consola par un mariage avec M. Bowes qui tint dès lors grand train de maison dans son hotel de la Rue de Berlin’. While Larchey seems to be referring to Joséphine and John’s home at the time of their marriage, the Boweses’ first marital home was at 7 Cité d’Antin. Yet Larchey describes the ‘grands diners qui étaient nombreux’ at the house on Rue de Berlin that boasted ‘l’argenterie un peu lourde et les grands crus de Bordeaux achetés à la vente des caves de Louis Philippe’ in contrast to John’s own ‘digne simplicité’. The mention of Alphonsine at the end of the notes implies that Larchey had only met Bowes through Hippolyte Lucas: ‘j’avais connu M. Bowes par Hippolyte Lucas dont il avait épousé en seconde noce la belle fille alors veuve et venant de perdre un petit garçon’.¹²⁶ Although some of the reception rooms at 7 Rue de Berlin remained more or less the same as they had been in Joséphine’s day, it was only after Alphonsine’s arrival that the interiors began to be known and described.

The inventory taken at 7 Rue de Berlin at Joséphine’s death in 1874 reveals that ceiling tapestries had already been a feature in the first Mme Bowes’ day: three rooms are listed as having tapestries on the ceilings. The Grand Salon on the first floor boasted a large tapestry of Actaeon ‘en tapisserie ancienne’ on the ceiling alongside six Flanders tapestries on the walls and three tapestry door covers ‘représentant différents sujets allégoriques’.¹²⁷ A Petit Salon or Boudoir featured

¹²⁵ *Le Gaulois*, 22 February 1884.

¹²⁶ Lucas knew Mlle Delorme (his address book contained her Rue de Boileau address). Further archival research may yield information about their relationship. Indeed, Tom Stammers has located some relevant files in the Bibliothèque Historique de la Ville de Paris, which was closed for a large part of the duration of this doctoral research.

¹²⁷ item 27, Grand Salon: ‘six tapisseries et trois portières en ancienne tapisserie de Flandre, représentant différents sujets allégoriques, une grande tapisseries recouvrant le

‘une grande tapisseries [sic] Flamande formant le plafond de la pièce et représentant la mort de Léandre’, and the striped curtains and door covers of the Salle de Billard on the second floor were accompanied by ‘une ancienne tapisserie de Flandre représentant un paysage avec figures’ on the ceiling.¹²⁸ While unconventional, we know that Alphonsine, who was familiar with the Hugo family’s house on Guernsey, had already seen tapestries – and indeed other decorative arts such as ceramics – displayed in this way (Figs.95,97). The narrator of *Chez Victor Hugo par un passant*, published with twelve illustrations by Maxime Lalanne in 1864, wrote that ‘pour qui aime à tout ramener à une idée générale, il est évident que Victor Hugo a le goût du démesuré’. He went on to note the Gobelins tapestry on the ceiling of the Dining Room.¹²⁹ Tapestry-clad ceilings were examples of the ‘decorative excess’ characteristic of Hauteville House and featured in the Atelier-Fumoir (Studio-Smoking Room), Galerie de Chênes (Oak Gallery) and Salon des Tapisseries (Tapestry Room).¹³⁰ Véronique Long singles out tapestries as an example of the most expensive objects found in the public rooms of collectors’ homes. Tapestries performed the functions of being prized artworks, providing insulation, and were also highly decorative and shaped the character of the room.¹³¹ Highly stylised homes such as Hauteville House show how tapestries could be used to stage the owner-decorator’s fantasies or interest in history.¹³² Both Corinne Charles and Elizabeth Emery highlight the ambiguous nature of the writer-decorator’s house on Guernsey: they classify Hugo as a decorator and his house as a decorative venture that was envisaged as a stage set, as opposed to a collection.¹³³ The incorporation of important historical artworks (collectors’ pieces)

plafond du salon, représentant Actéon, également en ancienne tapisserie, le tout 1800 francs’ AN MC/ET/XI/1284.

¹²⁸ Item 46, valued at 100 francs; item 104, worth 66 francs. AN MC/ET/XI/1284.

¹²⁹ *Chez Victor Hugo par un passant, avec 12 eaux fortes par Maxime Lalanne* (Paris: Cadart et Luquet, 1864), p. 37, 40.

¹³⁰ See Corinne Charles, *Victor Hugo, visions d’intérieurs : du meuble au décor. Interior visions : from furniture to decoration* (Paris: Paris Musées, 2003), p. 37. See figures 5, 9, 10, 25, 72.

¹³¹ Long, ‘Collections et intérieurs’, p. 26.

¹³² On cutting up Beauvais tapestries to suit a highly theatrical decorating scheme, see Elizabeth Emery on Victorien Sardou’s home, ‘Staging Domesticity in *La Revue Illustrée*’s Photo-Interviews,’ in Lasc, Downey and Taylor, *Designing the French Interior*, p. 160. The Goncourt brother’s Salle à Manger and Grand Salon in their Auteuil house also boasted tapestries fixed to the ceiling: in the dining room, ‘une vraie boîte comme je les aime, où on ne se voit ni murs ni plafond sous les tapisseries’ and the Aubusson tapestry is described on the following page, see Edmond de Goncourt, *La Maison d’un artiste*, Vol. 1 (Paris: Charpentier, 1881), pp. 14-5. For the Grand Salon tapestry depicting of ‘Venus aux forges de Vulcain’, see pp. 181, 186-7. The ceiling of the Cabinet de Travail was covered with an Oriental velvet fabric ‘clouée en l’air [...] comme le noir ciel d’un pays fantastique’, p. 240.

¹³³ Charles, *Visions d’intérieur*, pp. 45-6; Emery, *Photojournalism*, pp. 30-1.

into the nineteenth-century home highlights the decorative function of tapestries, which were also prized as collectibles.¹³⁴ Their use on the ceilings in some of the Boweses' reception rooms was an intensely theatrical way of announcing the couples' taste for history, creating a warm and textured environment for the display of artworks inside.

Aside from the perceptions of some guests, the richest record of how the couple lived is provided by notarial accounts, such as the inventory taken at 7 Rue de Berlin after John Bowes' death in 1885, by Adolphe Dubourg, who had completed the inventory after Joséphine's death in 1874, and Edme Edouard Cailleux, both auctioneers working for the Département de la Seine.¹³⁵ The inventory is a dry document, and, unlike a catalogue of artworks, it skims over provenance, manufacturer or creator, without giving dimensions. Inventories offer an indication of the disposition of objects in different rooms and record whether any object had been moved for the purpose of taking the inventory. For instance, some of the furniture from the Grand Salon had been moved into the Dining Room, and the Smoking Room had been emptied of most of its contents.¹³⁶ It is useful to visualise other interiors that Alphonsine would have known, such as Hauteville House, because these comparisons help us to better appreciate the decorative effects that inventories cannot capture.

According to the terms of the Boweses' marriage contract, the inventory distinguishes Alphonsine's purchases made with her own money ('de ses propres deniers') from objects already belonging to her ('objets faisant partie de l'apport de Mme Bowes'), and 'objets divers' not reserved for the museum in 1877.¹³⁷ The 1885 inventory shows that Alphonsine's belongings populated all the house's formal, public rooms, such as the Dining Room, Ballroom and Grand Salon. She owned many items that complemented John's existing collection. In the Grand Salon, Alphonsine contributed two massive cloisonné enamel fishbowls on wooden stands

¹³⁴ On the tapestries in TBM, see W. G. Thomson, 'Pages for the connoisseur. Tapestries In The Bowes Museum. – I' and 'Pages for the connoisseur. Tapestries In The Bowes Museum. – II', *Country Life*, 26 August 1922, pp. xlv-xlvi, and 2 September 1922, pp. xlviii-l.

¹³⁵ AN, 'Inventaire après le décès de M. John Bowes', 30 October 1885, MC/ET/XI/1405.

¹³⁶ Grand Salon: 'Mme Veuve Bowes déclare que ce salon est absolument vide et dégarni de ces tentures. M. Ninglat déclare que le mobilier qui garnissait ce salon avait été transporté dans la salle à manger et a d'ailleurs été inventorié dans lad. Salle à manger'. Fumoir: 'Mme veuve Bowes déclare que les meubles qui garnissaient autrefois cette pièce n'y figurent plus aujourd'hui. M. Ninglat fait observer qu'il croit savoir que ces meubles ont été emportés par M. Bowes il y a environ un an'.

¹³⁷ My thanks go to Joséphine Grimm for helping me to decipher 'de ses propres deniers'.

(1500 francs, purchased by Alphonsine), dramatic showpieces suited to the Louis XVI style of the room featuring Beauvais tapestries. The Ballroom (Salle de danse) and the formal 'Grand escalier blanc' were spaces for hosting parties on a large scale. In the former, she added two carved statues on carved wooden stands, one of Saint Fiacre (250 francs), the patron saint of gardeners, whose relics were preserved in Meaux Cathedral, and the other of a bear holding a tray (150 francs).¹³⁸ The motif of a bear holding a tray was characteristic of Black Forest carvings made in Switzerland throughout the nineteenth century and so may stem from her first, Courten marriage. The grand white staircase leading from the Ballroom featured ancestral portraits belonging to Alphonsine, a painting of a parrot and another of a cockerel, all marked in the inventory as by Hyacinthe Rigaud.

The Salon Rouge, and adjoining Petit Salon Rouge, were semi-public spaces where a rosewood Érard piano with gilt-bronze porcelain plaques matched the rest of the furniture. The Petit Salon Rouge was one of the rooms that boasted tapestries on the ceiling, which so intrigued guests. This unconventional mode of display created a darker, intimate setting, as Larchey pointed out, while also providing a historically harmonious background for Alphonsine's European porcelain. Shades of red were popular as a backdrop for European and Oriental ceramics: Adèle, Baronne Salomon de Rothschild displayed her European porcelain collection in a Salon Rouge at the hôtel Berryer in Paris and the 'couloir aux faïences' and Salon Rouge at Hauteville House both served as large scale display cases ('écrin') for ceramics and lacquerware.¹³⁹ The advice of Gaucherot and Pellechet as 'taste-professionals' would have ensured that no decorating faux-pas were made, so that each room reflected the refined taste of the hostess.¹⁴⁰ In addition, Alphonsine was well versed in decorating styles and ways of displaying collections in domestic settings, thanks to the numerous examples of salons she frequented that incorporated family heirlooms with design schemes in appropriate and fashionable styles for receiving guests.¹⁴¹ She knew well the red and blue

¹³⁸ Lot 264: 'Une statue St Fiacre sur fut de colonne en bois sculpté' and Lot 265: 'un ours tenant un plateau sur socle en bois sculpté' (both 'Objets acquis par Mme Bowes de ses deniers').

¹³⁹ See Long, 'Collections et intérieurs', p. 28; Charles, *Victor Hugo: visions d'intérieur*, p. 46, figures 33 and 34.

¹⁴⁰ Auslander, *Taste and Power*, pp. 190-224.

¹⁴¹ See Colombe Samoyault-Verlet's overview of Second Empire Furnishings and the trends for individual rooms in *The Second Empire*, p. 75.

drawings rooms at Hauteville House, which were decorated in rococo style.¹⁴² The curators' apartments above the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, where her mother and Hippolyte Lucas hosted gatherings, are an example of a fashionable salon within an institutional setting steeped in history: 'Si l'ombre de Sully errait Dimanche soir dans les appartements de l'Arsenal, elle a dû s'amuser, et je suis sûre qu'elle n'a pas regretté sa soirée'.¹⁴³ Mme Perrière-Pilté's reception rooms were described as 'de magnifiques salons princiers' by one society columnist, while another wrote that 'le nouvel hôtel de la Rue de Babylone est très complet et très beau', with its 'galerie' and spacious conservatory, the ceiling of the 'grand salon d'honneur' painted with 'une réduction de Versailles: le Char d'Amphitrite', and three further salons, each with 'un cachet typique et artistique'.¹⁴⁴

Care was taken in Alphonsine's personal reception rooms to display a wealth of colourful textiles enhanced by warm lighting. In these less formal rooms, curtains and door covers did not need to match the other textiles, and she used screens to display embroidered silks and canvases, tapestries, and 'Algerian' fabrics. Lighting played a central role in the creation of the atmosphere of mystery and homeliness at Hauteville House, where Victor Hugo used a combination of glass, windows and textures to welcome in or block out the natural light. Hugo's diary records that 'on a posé les transparents chinois du salon des tapisseries'.¹⁴⁵ These were paintings made on translucent rice papers to darken the room. Conversely, in Mme Perrière-Pilté's *hôtel particulier* on the Rue de Babylone, 'tout est éclairé de gaz, même sa chambre à coucher', which was fitting for the widow of Pierre Perrière-Pilté, one of the pioneering lighting engineers responsible for the installation of gas streetlights in Paris. In keeping with this aesthetic, the 'petit salon de Mme Bowes' presented lustrous textures, from porcelains and Bohemian glass to Japanese bronze statuettes and mounted shells, all of which glistened under the glimmer of gilt-bronze mounted crystal lights, 'dix porte bougies variés verre de

¹⁴² See, for instance, the 'banc d'Amsterdam' painted by Victor Hugo, *Maison de Victor Hugo* – Hauteville House, inv. 2012.0.187. Petra Chu, 'Victor Hugo and the Romantic Dream of China', in Chu and Mylam, *Beyond Chinoiserie*, 149-177.

¹⁴³ *Journal des marchandes de modes*, 2 January 1867.

¹⁴⁴ 'Cercles et salons', *Le Conseiller des artistes, revue esthétique de l'art en général*, 1 June 1862; Marquise de Firmiani, *La Sylphide*, 20 February 1870, pp. 4-5: 'Le grand salon d'honneur a pour plafond une réduction de Versailles : le Char d'Amphitrite. Le tapis est émaillé de folâtres amours qui se jouent avec des guirlandes de roses. Trois autres salons précèdent le salon de réception et ont chacun un cachet typique et artistique.' The *Char d'Amphitrite* could be a reference to Charles Le Brun's *Triumph of Neptune and Amphitrite* in the Galerie d'Apollon in the Louvre.

¹⁴⁵ 7 avril 1859, *Carnet de Victor Hugo* du 1er octobre 1857 au 12 mars 1859, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, BNF NAF 13451.

Venise' and the wall lights mounted on a pair of Venetian engraved mirrors. Comparison with the fashionable interiors of Princess Mathilde reveals that the apartments where hostesses held court needed to provide visitors with things to divert them, spur conversation, or provide inspiration for artists and writers: the furniture therefore should be arranged to offer scope for spontaneity (Fig.99).¹⁴⁶ In Alphonsine's rooms, this meant breaking away from matching suites of seat-furniture in favour of smaller groups of armchairs combined with carved oak chairs featuring old tapestries, and upholstered poufs and low stools, some of which were listed as 'chinois', blackamoor or 'marocain'.¹⁴⁷

Gauging Alphonsine's taste solely from an itemised list is problematic because the inventory is orientated towards registering mere quantity. In some cases, the clerks resorted to listing a 'une petite étagère bois laqué et porcelaine de Chine contenant quinze bibelots' or 'cinquante cinq [sic] pièces bibelots d'étagères en ivoire, porcelaine, saxe, chine, filigrane, argent, cuivre tel que croix, statuettes, breloque'. Even though the spaces were no doubt densely packed, by omitting the human context that made every object unique for its owner, inventories perpetuate a sense of accumulation, reducing prized treasures to mere lists. Nevertheless, within these lists we can detect Alphonsine's engagement with ceramics and textiles, both of which were considered to be specifically feminine interests and are strongly associated with Joséphine Bowes too. As mentioned above, in the Petit Salon Rouge she positioned a mahogany vitrine, which showcased a set of biscuit figures, Meissen animals and 'vingt neuf pièces grosses figurines de porcelaine de Saxe' valued at 350 francs. She was also interested in modern ceramics, and kept Nancy porcelain cats, one each in her water closet and Petit Salon; meanwhile, faience pieces from Lorraine, Rouen, Nevers and Moustiers came together in her Cabinet de toilette.

Manuel Charpy has noted that the desire to collect items associated with rural France was characteristic of bourgeois consumers bringing 'authentic' national history into their homes, and Alphonsine sent home cases of furniture and porcelain purchased with John in Arles and Saint-Malo in 1877 and 1878.¹⁴⁸ Family heirlooms also took pride of place in her personal reception rooms and a group of bronzes representing Coysevox's *Chevaux de Marly* were displayed on Louis XIV

¹⁴⁶ See Blumenfed, *Un Soir chez la princesse Mathilde*, pp. 274-5; Martin-Fugier, *La Vie élégante*, pp. 168-9.

¹⁴⁷ 'tabourets nègres en bois supportant tabouret en zinc formant jardinière'; 'deux grands torchères nègres sur socle en bois doré supportant des lampadaires en verre de Venise'.

¹⁴⁸ Charpy, 'L'ordre des choses', pp. 105-28.

console tables in her Petit Salon. Alphonsine's literary connections were omnipresent in the marital home with her collection of books stored in cupboards and armoires, amongst which could no doubt be found Gérard de Nerval's *Petits Châteaux de Bohême*, a copy of which had been inscribed by hand to Hippolyte Lucas and later given to Alphonsine.¹⁴⁹ She also contributed a bust of Hippolyte Lucas to John's Study. Portraits of the hostess herself were dotted around the house. A view of Saint-Malo in her bathroom, along with a painting of a Canelais interior recorded her familial connection to Brittany, while various 'objets-souvenirs' – keepsakes of the self – decorated her private rooms. Amongst these, photographs and a Victor Hugo watercolor reminded her of friendships, and a facsimile of the Column of Constantine evoked her travels with John to Italy.¹⁵⁰

Alphonsine's travels to Italy and Germany with John are recorded in twelve albums of photographs, dated 1875 to 1877, now in TBMA.¹⁵¹ Beyond its appeal as a tourist destination, Italy also furnished many of the prize objects in the apartment. In October 1875, Alphonsine had purchased four crates worth from the Florentine antique dealer Tito Gagliardi, and in December 1877, John also footed the bill to send fourteen pieces of furniture from Venice to Paris.¹⁵² TBM displays three pieces of furniture purchased by John from Tito Gagliardi: '1 grand armoire noyer ancien provenant de la maison Ducal de Parme' (FW.157), a 'portantine Louis XVI avec sculptures très-fines provenant du Palais ducal de Luque [sic]' (FW.366) bearing the arms of the Duke Ferdinand of Parma (1765-1802) and a 'casapanca' or bench-chest combining the functions of a cassone and a sofa (FW.159) from the seventeenth century (perhaps the 'canapé en noyer ancien provenant de la maison Martelli de Florence' on the bill).¹⁵³ Gagliardi's records in TBMA indicate that as well as these, John purchased two paintings by Rosa da Tivoli from the Martelli house, a painting of D. Garcia Medici, two Caffagiolo majolica vases (16th century), two Abruzzi vases (majolica), one Urbino vase decorated in the style of Raphael, two

¹⁴⁹ Lot 207 sold at Christie's, Paris, 9 October 2018, 'Bibliothèque R. & B. L. VII, XIX^e siècle (1840-1898. Editions originales, revues, lettres et manuscrits autographes.' Sale number: PF1823.

¹⁵⁰ In French, 'une aquarelle de Victor Hugo'.

¹⁵¹ TBMA, JB/1/9/2/1-7 (Rome); JB/1/9/2/8 (Florence, Venice, Padua) ; JB/1/9/2/9 (Pompei); JB/1/9/2/10 (Pisa, Como, Padua, Lake Maggiore, Lake Garda); JB/1/9/2/11 (Naples); JB/1/9/2/12 (Germany).

¹⁵² Gagliardi, 27 October 1875, TBMA, JB/5/14/4; bill from Girard Frères & Gondrand Frères, 4 December 1877, TBMA, JB/3/3/25/161.

¹⁵³ A search of TBM online catalogue yields three results for pieces of furniture: TBM FW.157 (Armoire, c. 1695-1705), FW.366 (Sedan chair, 1775-1799) and FW.159 (Casapanca bench-chest, c. 1600). There are three letters from Gagliardi to John (JB/5/14/4, JB/5/14/9 and JB/5/14/12), 1 receipt (JB/5/14/5) and 1 bill (JB/5/14/7).

Chelsea groups, one Ginori porcelain salt cellar, a gilded tabernacle with Virgin and child, and on another occasion, five volumes of *Vite dei Pittori celebri* by Bardinucci (Florence, 1846).¹⁵⁴ Avowedly cosmopolitan in style, Alphonsine had contemplated further travels in southern Europe. Two letters sent from Hippolyte Lucas to the Peruvian-born writer Sara Oquendo, published by Léo Lucas as an epilogue to *Correspondance d'Hippolyte Lucas pendant le siège et la commune*, reveal that Alphonsine had been planning a trip to Spain in 1878: 'pour faire un échange avec vous, je vous envoie les vers que j'ai composé sur le projet de voyage de ma belle-fille en Espagne. Ce sont peut-être les derniers que je ferai...'.¹⁵⁵

Historian Anca Lasc's unpicking of interiors that could appear haphazardly eclectic to us today helps to explain the presence of 'Oriental' objects across John and Alphonsine's home. These items, which were inventoried as 'Moroccan', 'Algerian', 'Indian', 'Chinese' or 'Japanese' were seen by contemporaries to be ahistorical and could easily be fused with a European period style, as was the case in Alphonsine's medieval-inspired bedroom, worthy of the Musée de Cluny.¹⁵⁶ A gothic vision seems to have governed her bedroom, which contained a Dutch marquetry desk containing objects of devotion and a small dagger, an ivory-incrusted 'prie-dieu', two antique walnut armchairs with embroidered seats. Enamel plaques and medals are listed in the inventory, including 'un petit médaillon or deux personnages Charles II et Elisabeth'. The bed was 'à colonnes et baldaquins' (four poster and with canopy), with a giltwood frame, 'capitoné' with satin padding and crimson velvet and silk brocade.¹⁵⁷ Many religious objects appear in the bedroom's inventory.¹⁵⁸ Like the cabinet de toilette, the bedroom boasted various textures of textiles including several tapestry screens, tapestry door covers

¹⁵⁴ See Gagliardi to John, 27 October 1875, TBMA, JB/5/14/4 and bill for 8130 francs, sent by John Bowes on 3 November 1875, TBMA, JB/5/14/7. Bardinucci volumes TBMA, JB/5/14/5. JB/5/14/9 and JB/5/14/12 refer to negotiations about paintings including by Bronzino and Ghirlandaio). The pieces of furniture acquired in Italy warrant further research.

¹⁵⁵ Letter from H. Lucas to Sara Oquendo, 1 November 1878, *Correspondance d'Hippolyte Lucas*, p. 36.

¹⁵⁶ Lasc, 'Interior Decorating in the Age of Historicism'.

¹⁵⁷ 'un lit à colonnes et baldaquins en bois doré, capitonné en satin broché avec sa housse en crétonne. Garniture de lit velours grenat et soie brochée, sommier, traversin, matelas, 600 francs (Apport Mme Bowes)'

¹⁵⁸ 'Lot 426: deux petites croix ivoire et nacre, quatre petites appliques en bronze, une petite vierge madeleine cadre argent, une tête d'ange en ivoire, une petite statuette vierge et l'enfant son cadre velours, une peinture vierge et l'enfant cadre en bois doré'.

and an animal hide rug.¹⁵⁹ Similarly to Victor Hugo at Hauteville House, Alphonsine infused her decorating scheme with gothic and oriental elements.¹⁶⁰

The combination of objects from different cultures and eras aspired to create harmonious ensembles according to the taste of the time. The inventory alludes to *chinoiseries* and *japonaiseries* in the shape of Japanese dolls, mother of pearl incrustated furniture, lacquerware, embroidered silks, fans, decorated ceramics, and small sculptured items that were typical of women's spaces. Elizabeth Emery has pointed out that although associated with female sensuality and home decoration, *chinoiseries* and *japonaiseries* could contribute to a cosmopolitan and intellectually sophisticated ensemble of artworks.¹⁶¹ Alongside paintings on porcelain after European old masters in her Petit Salon, objects that stand out include a pair of umbrella stands made from elephant tusks, a four-leaf Chinese bamboo screen, another made from peacock feathers and a tapestry depicting the Biblical heroine Judith. Elephants were a recurrent motif: her portrait bust was placed in the dark, intimate setting of the Petit Salon Rouge, where its bronze and golden pedestal in the shape of an elephant's head would have produced a dramatic effect: 'buste en plâtre (Made Bowes)' and 'Le socle dud. Buste bronze noir et or tete d'éléphant'.¹⁶² The marriage of East and West in Alphonsine's private spaces and in highly performative representations of the self – the elephant portrait bust for instance – signals Alphonsine's engagement with Asian cultures beyond *chinoiseries* and *japonaiseries*.¹⁶³

Alphonsine's social networks shed further light on her attraction to exotic subjects. When she wrote to Larchey around 1900 about meeting Jean Sawas Pacha, whose company she enjoyed, she described him as a 'relic' of the Ottoman

¹⁵⁹ Animal skins around the house seem to be one of Alphonsine's touches. On animal hides as a sensual trope in paintings of women, see Ann C. Colley, *Wild Animal Skins in Victorian Britain: Zoos, Collections, Portraits, and Maps* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2016), pp. 128-30. Edmond de Goncourt noted some 'grandes peaux d'ours blancs' when he visited Sarah Bernard's *atelier* on 17 October 1893, see *Journal*, p. 166.

¹⁶⁰ See Charles, *Victor Hugo. Visions d'intérieur*, pp. 21-4 for the Gothic and p. 63 for the Far East; Petra Ten-doesschate Chu, 'Fragmentation and bricolage in Victor Hugo's Hauteville House,' *Word & Image*, 1:37 (2021), 61-73.

¹⁶¹ Elizabeth Emery, 'The Musée d'Ennery and the Shifting Reception of Nineteenth-Century French Chinoiseries', in *Beyond Chinoiserie Artistic Exchange between China and the West during the Late Qing Dynasty (1796-1911)* ed. by Petra ten-Doesschate Chu and Jennifer Milam (Leiden: Brill, 2018), pp. 204-234.

¹⁶² The elephant stand itself was valued at 100 francs and the portrait bust would have been listed separately in the wedding contract (items 244-245 in the inventory).

¹⁶³ On women's engagement with Asian art, see Manuel Charpy, 'L'objet et ses horizons: La fabrique des objets exotiques à Paris et New York au XIX^e siècle', *Revue de la Culture Matérielle/ Material Culture Review*, 79 (2014), pp. 24-45.

Empire. She invited him to dinner at her house, where, unintentionally, he would be the only male guest. She wrote that, as a result, Sawas Pacha 'va se croire encore à Constantinople avec un petit 'Harem' à la hauteur de ses moyens' at her house.¹⁶⁴ As well as the possible effect on Alphonsine of Victor Hugo and Juliette Drouet's taste for the Far East in their homes, the most revealing factor is the association between Alphonsine and Judith Gautier, not through their respective affairs with Hugo, but in the genesis of a literary work. Judith Gautier's novel *Isoline* (1881), a tale of female emancipation, and the second and final of the author's 'romans personnels', was dedicated to Alphonsine. Set in the Breton landscape, it was imbued with chivalric romance, thanks to Isoline's discovery of literature: 'l'histoire la séduisait, mais les vieux romans de chevalerie la passionèrent'.¹⁶⁵ A household bill from 1883 records Alphonsine's purchase of an *Histoire de France* and one volume of *Contes de Perrault* from the book seller Meuthey, suggesting her own interest in French history and fairytales.¹⁶⁶ Isoline's dreams of faraway times, which she had read about, are matched by the young sailor's descriptions of his travels to India, Cochinchina, West Indies and Senegal. As a teenager, Gautier had learned Mandarin from her tutor, Ding Dungling, introduced to the family household by the Orientalist Simon Clermont-Ganneau. Gautier dedicated *Le Livre de jade* (1867), an anthology based on her translations of Chinese poems, to the former, and *Le Vieux de la montagne* (1893), a historical novel set in the Middle-East during the crusades, to the latter.¹⁶⁷ *Isoline* combines a Romantic fascination for the past and a yearning for the faraway that is symptomatic of Alphonsine's taste in home decorating.¹⁶⁸ Gautier's own home in the Avenue des Champs-Élysées, where she lived on her own, was filled with 'quantité de cigognes qui déploient leurs ailes au plafond et de sapajous qui grimpent à tous les cordons. Les murs y sont couverts de japonaiseries dont cette charmante femme est l'auteur ; car elle peint comme un ange'.¹⁶⁹ Like Victor Hugo, Gautier made her living space into a work of art. She also exhibited an elaborate Chinese-inspired bronze inkwell she had made in the Exposition des arts

¹⁶⁴ BnF, Arsenal MS 9260.

¹⁶⁵ Judith Gautier, *Isoline* (Paris : Charavay Frères, 1882), p. 64. Gautier's fascination with the past is described in *Le Collier des jours* (Paris: Juven, 1904), p. 170-171.

¹⁶⁶ Personal and household expenditure at 7 Rue de Berlin, DCRO, D/St/C1/16/37. This could be *Histoire de France depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'à la mort de Louis XVI* by Anquetil (TBMA, F.944/An) as this does not feature in the catalogue of books belonging to Joséphine, and was sent from Paris to the museum in 1885 (TBMA, JB/6/5/2/1/9).

¹⁶⁷ See Pauline Yu, "'Your Alabaster in This Porcelain': Judith Gautier's 'Le Livre de jade'", *PMLA*, 122:2 (2007), 464-482; Bettina Liebowitz Knapp, *Judith Gautier: Writer, Orientalist, Musicologist, Feminist, A Literary Biography* (Dallas: Hamilton Books, 2004).

¹⁶⁸ Alphonsine paid tribute to Walter Scott by visiting Abbotsford and Melrose in 1878, see Hardy, *John Bowes*, p. 215.

¹⁶⁹ *L'Univers illustré*, 21 April 1888, pp. 242-3.

de la femme at the hôtel des Modes in 1909: 'Avons-nous omis de citer ce bel encrier en bronze où siège un Fils du Ciel maniant avec gravité le roseau du poète ? Un poète en est l'auteur, une femme illustre.'¹⁷⁰

Inventories and notarial records can be used to evoke the spaces in which Alphonsine lived and are especially useful when objects cannot be traced or have been lost. Home decorating was a way for Alphonsine to demonstrate her position within elite social groups, and also as a way of feeding her historical imagination.¹⁷¹ Her home displayed her affluent and intellectual familial background yet also domesticated elements from the Far East, thereby advertising her cultural sophistication and glamorous connections with a bohemian set. Alphonsine's interiors fit the model examined by Elizabeth Macknight, with personal apartments promoting autonomy and independence, and spaces for the hostess to reveal her personal tastes alongside prized, inherited items.¹⁷² When examining the homes of French noble women, Macknight reminds us that collecting was a hobby for men and women alike, and the many vitrines, shelves and cabinets in Alphonsine's rooms show that she took pride in displaying her possessions for others. Looking at the process of decorating shows how difficult it is to disentangle the label of collector from that of consumer, despite the very different prestige accorded to these two terms.¹⁷³

IV. Legacies

Reinserting the second Mme Bowes into John's biography and into the history of the museum in Barnard Castle offers new perspectives on what is considered to be the founders' collection. Anne Higonnet, in *A Museum of One's Own*, examines the measures diverse male and female collectors took in their lifetime to determine the fate of their collections and ensure that the conditions they set were met. 'Any private collection turned into a museum,' writes Higonnet, 'was bound to be a contradiction or at least a compromise'.¹⁷⁴ Joséphine's unexpected death left the museum project solely in John's hands. The inventory of the contents of the house

¹⁷⁰ *Les Modes: revue mensuelle illustrée des Arts décoratifs appliqués à la femme*, June 1909.

¹⁷¹ See Auslander, *Taste and Power*, pp. 303-4, 295.

¹⁷² Macknight, 'A Touch of Distinction'.

¹⁷³ Leora Auslander, 'The Gendering of Consumer Practices in Nineteenth-Century France,' in *Sex of Things: Essays on Gender and Consumption* ed. by Victoria de Grazia and Ellen Furlough (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), pp. 79-112.

¹⁷⁴ Anne Higonnet, *A Museum of One's Own: Private Collecting, Public Gift* (Pittsburgh: Periscope Publishing, 2009), p. 169.

at 7 Rue de Berlin differentiates between objects John had specifically set aside for the museum, leaving the rest as his second wife's inheritance. His will stipulated that his trustees could contest Alphonsine's inheritance regarding any object they thought to be suitable for the museum. Notes in the margins of the inventory reveal that both parties did contest the inventory on several occasions, with Alphonsine reclaiming items that she considered belonged to her, and the Trustees singling out both artworks and objects of domestic use to be sent to the museum. Negotiations, such as those between Bowes' trustees and his legatee, illuminate the complex processes through which a 'public' collection was constituted. In the comparable case of the Hertford-Wallace collection, for instance, the part of the collection housed at Rue Lafitte was lost, as Lady Hertford bequeathed the Paris collection to John Murray Scott.¹⁷⁵

John's will suggests that the majority of the contents of the house on Rue de Berlin which were yet to be shipped to England had been set aside in Joséphine's former *atelier*, or studio, and in rooms bearing 'réservé pour le Musée' labels. In addition, a long inventory of items in temporary storage on the Rue Mansard were overseen by the curator Amélie Basset. These objects are listed in the *inventaire après décès*, but were not included in Alphonsine's inheritance. Joséphine had begun to set out her legacy through cahiers that survive and are mentioned in the inventories taken after her death and John's death, which have never before been interpreted in the context of Joséphine's French will and inventories of their possessions. A series of notebooks were made listing Joséphine's collection in categories, such as books, ivories, porcelains, watches and jewellery, medals.¹⁷⁶ Several of these notebooks survive in TBMA, yet without reading them in the context of Joséphine's will, the purpose and contents of the lists make no sense.¹⁷⁷ The notebooks divide the collection into taxonomic categories and do not indicate that they were made under Joséphine's instructions. Following his separation from his second wife, John had planned for several lots of furniture and decorative items, which had been moved from the Petit Salon and Boudoir into the *atelier*, to be packed up and shipped to the museum, even though they had been purchased by

¹⁷⁵ See Higgott, *Sir Richard Wallace*, pp. 262-3, 338.

¹⁷⁶ The 'catalogues divers' mentioned in the 'analyse des papiers' in the inventory taken after John's death, AN, MC/ET/XI/1405, are: 'Catalogue de divers livres de Mme Bowes à Streatlam 1879 (Coffin-Chevalier)'; 'Ivoire et os'; 'Buis et bois sculptés'; 'faïences, objets achetés à l'Exposition internationale de Paris en 1867'; 'Porcelaines, Chantilly & à la Reine'; 'Porcelaines de Sèvres'; 'Porcelaines diverses Saxe. Louisbourg'; 'Montres et Bijoux'; 'Emaux'; 'Orfèvrerie'; Catalogue des médailles pontificales frappées de l'année 1417 à 1870'.

¹⁷⁷ Simon Spier has used the notebook of 'Buis et bois sculptés' as part of his research.

Alphonsine. Examples of such items included ten chairs ‘se trouvant auparavant dans le fumoir’, which had been brought into the ‘atelier’ and labelled ‘réservés pour le Musée’. Alphonsine claimed these items back and they are marked in the margin as ‘accordé à Madame’.¹⁷⁸ In accordance with the terms of her wedding contract, Alphonsine was similarly within her rights to claim various items of jewellery bearing her initials.¹⁷⁹ The sets of tapestries were claimed by both parties, as some had been bought by Alphonsine and other belonged to John, and compromises were necessary. As for the rest of the house, the trustees picked out certain items deemed of domestic use from John’s private rooms, perhaps as a way of memorialising him in the museum through his personal belongings. They claimed a suite of bedroom furniture and the suite of seat furniture in his study, along with a panel painting depicting card players.¹⁸⁰

The library at 7 Rue de Berlin is another area of the collection where Alphonsine’s involvement, through her network, needs to be reconsidered. James Illingworth’s 2017 survey of the library in TBMA revealed that the books carry many layers of significance, including offering a glimpse into John and Joséphine’s social lives.¹⁸¹ The contents of three bookcases in John’s study were claimed by the trustees for the museum. These included two hundred paperback novels in French, two volumes of autographs, and sixty volumes with expensive bindings. As mentioned above, there is evidence in TBMA that John used Alphonsine’s connections with the Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal network to research his own collection, and there is scope to track these relationships through the library books. Despite the breakdown of their marriage, it is striking that Alphonsine worked to preserve records of John’s cultural activities. With Lorédan Larchey acting as intermediary, Alphonsine donated a set of records concerning the Théâtre des Variétés to Charles Nutter, the archivist at the Opéra de Paris in August 1891. The

¹⁷⁸ AN, MC/ET/XI/1405: ‘Dans l’atelier éclairé par une fenêtre sur la Rue de Berlin, sur la porte duquel se trouve l’Etiquette « Objets réservés au Musée » : [‘accordé à Madame’ added in pencil next to item 424] ‘dix chaises, escabeau en chêne se trouvant auparavant dans le fumoir prisés cent francs’. Both of these sets of chairs are marked as ‘Objets acquis par Mme Bowes de ses deniers’. Another example is item 313: ‘deux chaises Louis XIII en bois sculpté et marqueterie’ found in the corridor. It is interesting to note that Alphonsine had purchased furniture for the *fumoir* or smoking room, a traditionally male-gendered space, see Auslander, *Taste and Power*, p. 279-281.

¹⁷⁹ For instance, ‘a gold and enamel snuff box with *fleurs de lys*, A. B. initials and inscription ... 800 francs’.

¹⁸⁰ ‘Une peinture sur bois prisee soixante francs (joueurs de cartes)’, possibly TBM, B.M.610 or B.M.421.

¹⁸¹ James Illingworth, ‘The French Library of John and Joséphine Bowes’, *French Studies Library Group Annual Review*, 13 (2016-17), pp. 37-45.

scope of the records offers new insights into John's varied activities as proprietor of the theatre.¹⁸²

Achille Jubinal (1810-1875) and Paul Lucas (1810-1880) represent two further examples of male collectors in Alphonsine's social circles who were involved in the foundation of local museums. Their cases serve as evidence that Alphonsine was indeed well-connected in the world of museum donors.¹⁸³ The local politician Achille Jubinal helped found museums in at Salies and Bagnères-de-Bigorre in 1852 and made substantial bequests of artworks to both institutions, drawing on his connections with influential figures of the Second Empire and the reserves of the Louvre. Although a medievalist at heart, Jubinal focused on making the Bagnères museum a tourist attraction for 'a specific kind of Parisian clientele' thanks to a collection of modern 'orientalist' paintings that would attract wealthy, chic and cosmopolitan visitors to his constituency.¹⁸⁴ The Jubinal family's collection combined Achille Jubinal's scholarly interest and investment in the Middle Ages, especially historic tapestries, with his wife's vast collection of eighteenth-century art, and patronage of contemporary Orientalist painters at the Salies museum. Closer to home, in 1894, Paul Lucas, whom Alphonsine called 'uncle', bequeathed a collection of early Italian paintings to his native city of Rennes, to join the nucleus of the Musée des Beaux-Arts, created 1794, and named as one of the 'musées de France' in 1801. The context for the formation of his collection is not known.¹⁸⁵ During the Franco-Prussian War, Alphonsine, her son and mother stayed at his home in Rennes. Hippolyte Lucas wrote to his wife that 'vous ne pouvez être mieux que chez Paul, malgré la gêne que cela peut lui causer'.¹⁸⁶ In his father's *Correspondance pendant le siège et la Commune*, Léo Lucas notes that Paul Lucas was in charge of preparing the defense of the city of Rennes.¹⁸⁷

Achille Jubinal's and Paul Lucas' involvement in provincial museums was typical of the philanthropy of a local elite in the second half of the nineteenth century, which served the dual purpose of attracting resources, while also securing

¹⁸² Archives nationales, AJ/13/1044.

¹⁸³ See Chapman, *John and Joséphine Bowes*, p. 133.

¹⁸⁴ Arnaud Bertinet, 'Les fondations de musées sous le Second Empire: l'exemple M. Jubinal', *Histo.Art. Travaux de l'Ecole doctorale d'Histoire de l'art*, 4, (Paris: Presses Universitaires de la Sorbonne, 2012), pp. 195-210.

¹⁸⁵ Mylène Allano, *La Collection des peintures italiennes du musée des Beaux-Arts de Rennes* (Paris : Somogy, 2004), p. 16.

¹⁸⁶ Musée Carnavalet, AUT228 and AUT227-6.

¹⁸⁷ *Correspondance d'Hippolyte Lucas pendant le siège et la commune*, letter of 21 November, p. 12 and 14 January, p. 16-17.

the donor's legacy.¹⁸⁸ Alphonsine and her half-brother Léo Lucas were at the forefront of the annual commemoration festivities for Hippolyte Lucas. The Temple du Cerisier, in the commune of Saint-Jacques, near Rennes, was the Lucas' country house, which had belonged to Alphonsine's mother's family and been renovated in 1855.¹⁸⁹ The place inspired a poem by Hippolyte Lucas and a prose piece in Louis Tiercelin's *Bretons de lettres*, and the pilgrimages were organised yearly after his death.¹⁹⁰ These gatherings were an opportunity for writers, actors and literary figures to come together in celebration, both in Rennes and Paris.¹⁹¹ Alphonsine's connection with prominent local figures such as Jubinal and Paul Lucas, as well as her role in securing Hippolyte Lucas's legacy, may have encouraged her own desire to create an enduring cultural legacy in France.

When Alphonsine died in 1908, *La Chronique des arts et de la curiosité* was one of the newspapers to announce a series of donations to museums made by 'l'arrière petite-fille du sculpteur Coysevox'.¹⁹² Starting with the museum of the city of Rennes, her bequest of ancestral portraits highlighted her descent from Coysevox and Coustou, while at the same time enhancing the historical collections of a provincial museum. The portrait of Antoine Coysevox by Alain-Marie Michel-Villeblanche was a copy made in 1882 after Hyacinthe Rigaud, described on the canvas as painted from authentic documents (Fig.100).¹⁹³ The portraits of Nicolas Coustou (1658-1733) and Guillaume Coustou (1716-1777) were also copies by the same artist after existing portraits.¹⁹⁴ As part of a prominent Rennais family, there was a bid to create a gallery of family portraits within the local museum. Alphonsine sought to leave traces of more recent generations and bequeathed a portrait of her grand-mother, 'Dame en pelisse blanche', and her own portrait 'Petite fille au manteau bleu', both by Henry Scheffer (Figs.101-102).¹⁹⁵ Léo Lucas had already gifted a portrait of his father by Louis Martinet to the museum in 1891 (Fig.103, and he would secure the memorialisation of the family further upon his death, when he

¹⁸⁸ Dominique Poulot, 'L'Invention de la bonne volonté culturelle: l'image du musée au XIXe siècle', in *Le Mouvement Social*, 131 (1985), pp. 35-64. Daniel J. Sherman, *Worthy Monuments: Art Museums and the Politics of Culture in Nineteenth-Century France* (Cambridge, MA, 1991).

¹⁸⁹ See Groupe Mémoire du Centre de la Lande, 'Mémoires de Saint-Jacques,' (2008), <https://www.st-jacques.fr/media/memoire_de_st_jacques_n15.pdf> [Accessed 31 March 2021].

¹⁹⁰ Louis Tiercelin, *Bretons de lettres* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1905), pp. 199-240.

¹⁹¹ *Le Glaneur breton*, July 1891, p. 277-278; *Le Pays*, 24 August 1893.

¹⁹² *Chronique des arts et de la curiosité*, 30 May 1908, p. 214.

¹⁹³ MBAR, INV 08.43.1.

¹⁹⁴ MBAR, INV 08.43.3 and INV 08.43.2 (both now destroyed).

¹⁹⁵ MBAR, INV 08.42.2 and INV 08.42.1. Alphonsine's grandmother was Mme Veuve Terme de Courbesac (see Lucas' obituary notice, ADP, AD75-V7E75-bis-Lua-Lul).

donated his portrait as a young boy, and portraits of his parents by Henry Scheffer (Fig.104).¹⁹⁶

The local newspaper *l'Ouest-Éclair* regularly reported donations, and a few years earlier, the donor of a pastel portrait by Emile Lévy had been praised for '[enriching] the collection with something entirely new'.¹⁹⁷ Alphonsine had prominently displayed her own pastel portrait by society portrait painter Emile Lévy in the Salon Rouge at 7 Rue de Berlin, and she intended it, and another 'petit portrait, tête d'enfant' by Ary Scheffer, for the Musée du Luxembourg in Paris. The latter had been shown to Charles Moreau-Vauthier for his publication on *Les portraits de l'enfant* (1901), which described 'le joli portrait de Mme Bowes de Saint-Amand, à l'âge de deux ans' as a fine work by Scheffer, 'où la grâce juvénile est exprimée avec délicatesse et émotion'.¹⁹⁸ Alphonsine's wish to leave her likenesses by two prominent portraitists of her time to the museum that acted as a temporary resting place for works before entering the Louvre indicates that she understood the cultural value of Lévy and Scheffer's work, but also wished to see herself represented within national collections.¹⁹⁹

La Justice detailed the large sums of money Alphonsine left to charitable causes, including 150,000 francs for the Association Valentin-Haüy (deaf children), 30,000 francs for the Hospitalité de nuit in Paris, and the same sum for the Société centrale de sauvetage des naufragés in order to build a shelter and buy safety boats.²⁰⁰ As a founding member of the 'Société centrale de sauvetage' a charity supporting lifeguards, she made regular donations and memorialised both her deceased son, Alphonse de Courten, and John Bowes by having boats named after them.²⁰¹ In her will she left further sums for the Œuvre de l'Abri (5,000 francs), Œuvre des Ecoles foraines, founded by Mlle Bonnefois (5,000 francs), 'à l'Ecole maternelle Koppe 5,000 francs', Union française pour le sauvetage de l'enfance

¹⁹⁶ *Portrait of Hippolyte Lucas* by Louis Martinet, c. 1840. MBAR, INV 891.35.1. *Portrait of Hyppolite Lucas*, by Henry Scheffer, MBAR, INV 25.47.1. *Portrait of Léo Lucas as a child*, by G Lipouilly (?), c. 1846. MBAR, INV 25.13.42. *Portrait of Madame Hippolyte Lucas*. MBAR, INV 25.13.41 (missing). His parents' portraits were no doubt the ones Alphonsine had destined to the Musée du Luxembourg.

¹⁹⁷ *l'Ouest-Eclair*, 17 February 1900.

¹⁹⁸ Charles Moreau-Vauthier, *Les portraits de l'enfant* (Paris: Hachette, 1901), p. 353.

¹⁹⁹ On the function of the Musée du Luxembourg, see Granger, *L'Empereur et les arts*, pp. 337-48; Julien Bastoen, 'L'Art contre l'État ? : la trajectoire architecturale du Musée du Luxembourg dans la construction de l'illégitimité de l'action artistique publique, 1848-1920' (PhD, Université Paris-Est, 2015).

²⁰⁰ *La Justice*, 26 May 1908.

²⁰¹ *Annales du sauvetage maritime*, October 1911.

(5,000 francs) and for the Asile maritime de Berc-sur-Mer, a public charity supporting homeless sailors founded in 1891 (3,000 francs).²⁰²

So far, Alphonsine's gifts to public museums and charitable institutions are typical of a woman of her class. The final bequest worth highlighting was intended for the Musée Victor Hugo:

Je lègue au Musée Victor Hugo, place royale à Paris, une aquarelle de Victor Hugo faite par moi, à Guernesey, avec dédicace (1860) et une photographie de Victor Hugo avec au bas, autographe de Victor Hugo 'Je vous obéis' etc... cadre en velours rouge comme au précédent.

These personal items were testimonies of Alphonsine's involvement with Hugo and their donation was a way of writing herself into the biography of the poet, and by extension, into the nation's cultural heritage. This was no doubt the 'aquarelle de Victor Hugo' that Alphonsine displayed in her bathroom in the Boweses' home, and her description of it as drawn by her hand elucidates the ambiguity over authorship given in the inventory. As for her vast collection of decorative art and furnishings, by that point in her home on the Rue Matignon, her estate sale took place at Drouot over the course of three days for the jewellery, and one day for furniture and objets d'art.²⁰³ The sale was covered in the papers, and the contents praised for the quality of the tapestries, Limoges enamels, European porcelains and Moustiers faience.²⁰⁴ Alphonsine's donations were widely publicised in the local and national press, as was her estate sale, which raised 355,441 francs.²⁰⁵ A watercolor by Victor Hugo thought to have been given to Alphonsine, representing a landscape and Hauteville House, in pen, ink and brown wash heightened with white, and recently sold at auction, shows that Alphonsine may have left other legacies that scholars have not yet acknowledged.²⁰⁶

Alphonsine, a well-connected society figure in France both locally and nationally, has been omitted from, and demonised, in John's biography and in the

²⁰² *La Justice*, 26 May 1908. *L'Ouest-Eclair*, 27 May 1908.

²⁰³ Alphonsine sold the house in May 1887 to Alfred Pierre Laclaverie, and it stayed in the family until its demolition after 1913 (ADP, DQ18/1372). Writing to Lorédan Larchey from 24 rue de Courcelles on 29 December [1901 – the Tsar of Russia's visit to Paris is mentioned], Alphonsine complains about moving house when suffering from sciatica, BnF, Arsenal MS 9260.

²⁰⁴ *Catalogue des importants bijoux, objets d'art et d'ameublement dépendant de la succession de Madame Bowes de Saint-Amand*, Paris, Hôtel Drouot, 17-20 June 1908. See also *Le Journal*, 25 June 1908.

²⁰⁵ *Le Figaro*, 21 June 1908.

²⁰⁶ Lot 191, Victor Hugo, 'Paysage de Guernsey' by Victor Hugo, Sale number 4015, Christie's, Paris, 25 March 2015.

history of The Bowes Museum. In fact her life and interests intersected with John and Joséphine's on every level examined in this thesis: urban life in Paris, portraiture, the *ancien régime*, theatre and literature, the Franco-Prussian War and the Commune. The letters from the Lucas family in 1870-71 show her awareness of living through dramatic historical changes. She bequeathed family portraits to prominent museums in Paris and Rennes in an attempt to ensure her family's legacy. Her travels, the books that she bought and the way she furnished her home testify to her historical and Romantic sensibility. The spaces she furnished provided highly fashionable environments for displaying her own collections of ceramics, textiles, paintings and sculptures, and items acquired on her travels; she also incorporated elements from her husband's collection, such as tapestries. What had not yet been shipped to England, and was not yet packed up, was lived with at 7 Rue de Berlin.²⁰⁷

In England, Alphonsine has been viewed only in a negative light in relation to TBM, but John Bowes and the Bowes collection were only one facet of her life and drive to memorialise herself. The moralising judgements regarding Alphonsine within the existing scholarship are entangled with fears about the preservation of John and Joséphine's legacy. Alphonsine is seen to have jeopardised the founders' collection, and yet the deterioration of her marriage might have actually meant that more pieces ended in the museum, as seen in the annotations on the inventory of the contents of 7 Rue de Berlin taken after John's death, which show the items that were 'réclamé par Madame' or 'attribué au Musée'. The damning verdicts about John's second marriage in the historiography fail to take into account the social and cultural context in which John and Alphonsine's relationship occurred: Alphonsine should be considered within a network of cosmopolitan and independent women who were able to move across national borders to suit their relationships and embraced progressive ideas. Whilst the library and archive offer the most explicit traces of Alphonsine in the museum today, she also left traces in the museum's collection of fine and decorative art in the form of artworks that joined the collection and furnishings in the couple's house at 7 Rue de Berlin acquired after they were married. The homes and lives of John and Alphonsine, like those of John and Joséphine, shaped the public institution left behind in Barnard Castle. These stories have not yet received sufficient scholarly attention, no doubt because they

²⁰⁷ At the point of submitting this thesis, the fate of the contents of 7 Rue de Berlin that was not moved to the museum after the 1885 inventory remains unknown. The inventory taken after Alphonsine's death would yield some answers.

require us to move beyond the narrative in the collection and the archive in Barnard Castle. Considering the wider contexts of Alphonsine and her circles makes it possible to put the archival sources in Britain into dialogue with forms of textual, visual and material evidence that are scattered across institutions in France.

Conclusion

In his biographical note on John Bowes, Lorédan Larchey made a distinction between the furnishings of the hôtel in the Rue de Berlin, and the artworks stored offsite, waiting to be packed up for the museum.¹ Larchey wrote that John 's'était mis en tête de doter son comté de Durham d'une sorte de musée du Louvre'. His comparison with the Louvre gives us a vivid sense of the founders' ambition for the museum. Larchey substantiates his claim by invoking the quantity of paintings in storage and the scale of the process involved in shipping the works across the Channel. The published scholarship on the Bowes museum's collection has attempted to distinguish what was purchased for their homes from what was purchased for the museum; it tends to separate the fine arts from the decorative arts. The latter have been considered in the context of the Boweses' domestic spaces, even though fine and decorative art coexisted in both locations.² The distinction between museum and home is problematic for a collection that is characterised by its hybridity, breadth of media and eclecticism. This thesis has traced connections between many different aspects of the collections, especially less prestigious and little known objects, to try and provide a profile of the Boweses beyond the museum that they created.

Their collecting certainly preceded the idea of the museum, and the private lives and domestic arrangements of John, Joséphine and Alphonsine very much influenced the formation and fate of what is now a public collection. A chronological approach, beginning with their homes in Paris and taking into consideration the purchases made by John and his second wife after Joséphine's death, is central to my attempt to introduce new spatial and temporal contexts for the Boweses' collections. These contexts help us appreciate the contingencies in the Bowes story, allowing us to recognize that it was by no means inevitable that these collections would be housed on this side of the English Channel. In the discussions for what would culminate in the Public Parks, Schools and Museums Act of April 1871, William Hutt suggested to John Bowes that he make clear that 'if the law did not allow you to give the Munificent Charity [the collection] to this country,

¹ At 7 Rue de Berlin, Larchey saw the 'tapisseries du 18^e siècle provenant de quelque vente du Garde Meuble car plusieurs étaient semées de fleurs de lis', 'l'argenterie un peu lourde', 'les grands crus de Bordeaux achetés à la vente des caves de Louis Philippe'. Arsenal MS 9260.

² The shipping book shows that both fine and decorative art were packed for shipping across to the museum.

that you must transfer it to France, Mrs Bowes' mother land, where it would be accepted with the greatest consideration & gratitude'.³ Taking the French dimensions of this Anglo-French couple seriously foregrounds John and Joséphine's status as Parisians who were profoundly shaped by the culture of the city in a time of radical change. Bringing in information from French notarial and administrative archives provides better biographical understanding of the couple, anchoring them within the fabric of the city. The Boweses' cosmopolitanism becomes all the more apparent in the details of where they lived. The work of Suzanne Higgott on Sir Richard and Lady Wallace has shown how delving into Parisian archives can widen biographical contexts and place historical subjects within interconnected circles. *Collecting and Staging French History* seeks to map the Boweses' social and cultural connections in a similar spirit, which help us to situate the couple within broader Franco-British social networks, alongside other people such as Edward Blount and his family, the Monbro firm, and the Lucas family.

Paris was not just where John and Joséphine formed their collection, it also made a major contribution to the content of what they collected, as they gradually mapped the city's history across different genres and media. John and Joséphine's efforts to record a city in flux exemplify how their interest in history intersected with their engagement with their own times. This interest is evidenced here through sources that are not usually exhibited, including ephemera (such as cuttings and albums), parts of the vast corpus of works on paper (prints, engravings), and objects previously seen as miscellaneous and lacking proper provenance (such as the decorative bronze mounts), and titles kept in the library. Considering these new types of source makes it possible to shed light on some characters who have not until now been acknowledged in either the founders' biographies or the history of the collection. The wide range of John and Joséphine's network of correspondents can be seen in the letters received in 1870-71, which were carefully preserved as historical documents. Figures such as Alphonsine and Lorédan Larchey, who are present in the archives and library, have not been lent sufficient consideration in other studies of the museum and its founders. When put into conversation with sources in France, the untapped body of sources at the museum takes on new significance. These archival records allow us to understand figures who have otherwise left few traces in their own hand, particularly John's

³ William Hutt to John Bowes, 7 April 1870, DCRO, D/St/C5/233/24a.

wives, who were considered as minors under French law and as foreigners through their marriage to an Englishman.

Alongside the preservation of their lived experiences of change and revolution, John and Joséphine collected in order to connect with the past. There was a widespread hunger in the nineteenth century for a personal connection with past personalities, which can be traced through the Boweses' portrait collections, and can also be seen in their delight in historic interiors. They were especially drawn to the eighteenth century and strove to revive it at the Château de Louveciennes, thanks to a combination of historical and modern furnishings and artworks. For Alphonsine too, arranging collections within the home was a way of reconnecting with her ancestry. For Joséphine and Alphonsine, the home was a stage for performing their filiation to distant times and places. The desire for a connection with the past through material and visual culture was often at odds with contemporary understandings of authenticity and completeness, and the number of mis-readings or misattributions identified today can be very revealing.

Connecting the 'peripheral' sources with the artworks on display reveals that the Boweses actively participated in the popular nineteenth-century cult of the past. The culture of history manifest in public museums and contemporary literature helped shape the collections in the Bowes Museum. Being part of the world of the theatre meant that John and Joséphine were particularly well-versed in period styles, re-interpretations and visual re-creations of the past on stage. John and Joséphine were interested in using modern techniques to help bring the past to life – such as the prints by Charles Gavard derived from the galleries of Louis-Philippe's Versailles – and exploring the past through a number of new consumer objects, such as the high-quality furniture of the Monbros. The popularisation of the past was evident on various scales, from galleries and exhibitions to the practices of album-making and newspaper cutting at home.

Collecting and Staging French History challenges the impression of the *Liberté* reporter and others that 'on trouve de tout dans ce musée'.⁴ It does often suffer from comparison to grander, more prestigious French collections in Britain, such as The Wallace Collection or Waddesdon Manor, but that is because the Boweses were operating with a different agenda and a different budget.⁵ At the

⁴ A. B., 'L'art français en Angleterre', *La Liberté*, 2 February 1897, p. 3.

⁵ Despite the potential for comparisons between the Boweses' collections and others in France, such as that of Nélie Jacquemart, Léopold Double, Maurice and Jeanne Magnin or Marie Grobet, née Labadié, the specific characteristics and idiosyncrasies of each of these

same time, it is less systematic and didactic than other nineteenth-century design museums, such as the South Kensington Museum. It is a public collection which nonetheless strongly reflects some of the idiosyncrasies and personal interests of the founders. Some of the confusion over its core identity was compounded by the growth of the collections after Joséphine's, and even John's, deaths. Unlike other collecting couples such as Nélie Jacquemart and Edouard André, whose entire residences were turned into museums, the Bowes museum's collections are unexpected; as Nancy Mitford remarked, 'if ever there was a museum of the stuffed giraffe school, this is it'.⁶ It is only when the Boweses and their collections are examined within wider contexts, and the different parts of the collection interpreted together, that its singularity as a collection museum from France, assembled in a purpose-built museum in Barnard Castle, can fully be appreciated.

examples fall beyond the scope of this thesis. The works of Anne Higonnet and Véronique Long make use of ambitious and convincing comparative frameworks: see Higonnet, *A Museum of one's own* and Véronique Long, *Mécènes des deux mondes: les collectionneurs donateurs du Louvre et de l'Art Institute de Chicago, 1879-1940* (Rennes, Presses Universitaires de Rennes: 2007).

⁶ Mitford, *A Talent to Annoy*, p. 79.

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Appendix A: Lorédan Larchey on Bowes

'Bowes. Anglais devenu ~~tout à fait~~ Parisien en restant obstinément Anglais, comme bien d'autres ; ~~que~~ ils ont par le fait anglomanisé Paris où on ne se pique pas autant de fidélité dans le souvenir. M Bowes jouissait d'un revenu annuel dépassant 1500 mille francs. J'ai pu le constater par son affidavit, déclaration qu'il fut obligé de produire dans son instance au divorce abandonnée ensuite. Vers 1853 on parlait déjà de sa fortune lorsqu'il prit la direction des Variétés uniquement pour faire jouer une actrice médiocre à laquelle il s'intéressait. Elle ne ~~resta~~ dura pas plus que sa direction et s'en consola par un mariage avec M. Bowes qui tint dès lors grand train de maison dans son hotel de la rue de Berlin. Ses ~~app~~ salons de reception étaient tendus de tapisseries du 18^e siècle provenant de quelque vente du Garde Meuble car plusieurs étaient semées de fleurs de lis. Elles couvraient même les plafonds, ce qui n'étaient pas fort heureux, car elles assombrissaient et rapetissait tout. Aux grands dîner qui étaient nombreux on remarquait l'argenterie un peu lourde et les ~~vins~~ grands crus de Bordeaux achetés à la vente des caves de Louis Philippe. A ses jours de réception, l'amphytrion se tenait à la porte du premier salon et serrait la main de chaque arrivant avec une digne simplicité, les parlait peu d'ailleurs et avec une certaine lenteur. Les sujets de préoccupations et de dépenses ne lui manquaient point. Ainsi il s'était mis en tête de doter son comté de Durham d'une sorte de musée du Louvre qu'il avait fait construire royalement et qu'il travaillait à orner par des acquisitions considérables poursuivies dans ses fréquents voyages. On jugera de leur importance en apprenant qu'à Paris seulement, il avait deux grands entrepôts où les acquisitions venaient se centraliser avant de passer la Manche. L'une d'eux se composait d'une galerie bien éclairée où venaient s'accrocher toutes les toiles. J'y ai vu toutes les toiles d'un ancien surintendant des Beaux Arts d'Espagne achetées d'un seul coup de filet. Dans des pièces contigues étaient engerbées en bon ordre des cadres en bois sculpté ~~de m~~ et doré réservées à la même destination. C'était le grand magasin. Quand leur départ était décidé les œuvres d'art en sortaient pour aller rue ~~Chalgrin~~ Mansart dans un petit hotel où l'on procédait à leur dernière toilette et aux préparatifs de départ. Le chef de ce département était un ancien marchand de tableaux de la rue de Seine, le père Basset, bien connu et assez aimé des artistes. Après sa mort, sa fille qui était capable lui succéda et pour récompense de ses services reçut de M Bowes l'immeuble en toute propriété. Presque chaque jour M. Bowes qui était à deux pas faisait atteler sa grande calèche fortifiée de deux valets de pied et venait conférer les (expéditions?). C'était un homme méthodique en tout et désireux d'être

renseigné exactement sur la valeur des objets qu'il achetait de toutes mains. Ainsi avait-il des toiles provenant des réserves du Louvre affectées par ordre aux appartements de grands officiers de la couronne, puis conservées induement par leurs héritiers comme il arrive parfois dans les résidences où la régie est peu vigilante. Dans une réclamation de ce genre, l'ambassade britannique aida M. Bowes à déjouer les revendications du Musée. Nous n'avons du reste que trop de Français disposés à se faire, consciemment ou non, les complices d'acheteurs étrangers. [Une somme assez ronde était payée par M. Bowes à l'église de la Trinité pour un dépôt d'un genre tout particulier. C'était le cadavre embaumé, paré, de sa première femme qu'une glace enchassée à hauteur de la figure permettrait de (ressusciter/reconnaître?) à l'heure du départ pour l'Angleterre indéfiniment ajourné. Son atelier avait été non moins pieusement conservé rue de Berlin ainsi que les ~~médiocres~~ produits de son pinceau, et une faveur toute spéciales me permit de constater leur médiocrité.

J'avais connu M. Bowes par ~~l'intermédiaire d'~~ Hippolyte Lucas dont il avait épousé en seconde noce la belle fille. Alors veuve et venant de perdre un petit garçon, Mme Bowes deuxième du nom était née Saint-Amand. Elle avait divorcée à la suite d'une union malheureuse avec un Cte de Courten membre peu digne d'une excellente famille du Valais.

~~Sa gaité~~, son originalité, son esprit avaient rajeuni et séduit M. Bowes. Elle usa de son ascendant pour faire arriver rue de Berlin le ban et l'arrière-ban de la littérature. M et Mme Renan, et surtout Arsène Houssaye, Edmond Texier et sa fille, Richarme, Chirès, Recipon, Batbie, Martin-Feuillée, Waldek R., et quelques autres représentaient le côté politique et financier. J'y ai vu Lesseps, adossé à la cheminée du fumoir, causer gaiment du Panama. Un beau jour les réceptions cessèrent. M. Bowes (s'arreta?) avec quelque apparence de raison de l'effacement à laquelle sa femme semblait le condamner en faisant personnellement toutes les invitations. D'autres griefs furent mis en avant, et beaucoup d'argent fut dépensé à Londres pour un procès en adultère qui n'aboutit point. Je m'entremis pour aboutir à un accommodement qui finit par se conclure. Sans vouloir accepter à dîner chez M. Bowes je le vis souvent alors en particulier ainsi que sa femme qui avait élu domicile à l'hôtel. Dans l'intérêt de la cause j'avais même offert au musée de M. Bowes mon portrait peint par Faustin Besson. Le soin de son honneur marital ne l'empêchait pas du reste de me demander chaque fois des renseignements sur la valeur de ses acquisitions qui me paraissaient faites surtout à l'aveuglette. Comme beaucoup d'amateurs, il n'aimait ni ne comprenait la valeur artistique des choses qu'il se plaisait à réunir. Sa mort survenue peu après laissa Mme Bowes héritière de l'hôtel et d'une centaine

de mille francs ; elle avait en outre, me dit-il, pu économiser sur sa toilette une quinzaine de mille francs de rentes.’

Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal, ‘Papiers Lorédan Larchey’, MS/9247. Transcribed by the author.

Appendix B: Timeline

This timeline gathers information relating to the personal lives of John, Joséphine and Alphonsine, their social and artistic pursuits, changes of address, legal documents and principle historic events that impacted them.

Some information has been extracted from the biographies by Charles Hardy and Caroline Chapman. English legal documents relating to John and Alphonsine’s divorce were consulted in the National Archives (digital access), The Bowes Museum Archive and Durham County Record Office. Information about legal documents (including properties) in France has been gathered from the inventories taken after the deaths of Joséphine and John. Other useful resources for topographical research include: Félix Lazare, *Dictionnaire administrative et historique des rues de Paris* (1844); Hillardet, *Rues de Paris*; the ‘Recherche topographique’ tool on the website of the Archives de Paris (see Appendix D).

1811

19 June - John Bowes is born in Chelsea, London. He was christened ten days later.

1820

2 July - John’s parents, 10th Earl of Strathmore and Mary Millner, are married.

3 July - 10th Earl of Strathmore dies.

1821

April - Strathmore Peerage case, resulting in the Scottish estates and title going to John’s uncle in 1825.

1825

26 April - Joséphine Coffin-Chevallier is born in Paris, Rue de Basville, 11th Arrondissement.

1826

Spring - John begins his studies at Eton College.

1828

4 February - John Bowes matriculates at Trinity College, Cambridge.

1831

William Hutt marries John's mother, the Dowager Countess of Strathmore.

1832

John Bowes earns his B.A. at Trinity College, Cambridge. Bowes is elected as an MP for South County Durham. His parliamentary career ends in 1847.

1834

John Bowes listed as one of the first invited members of the Paris Jockey Club.

1835

1 May - Alphonsine de Saint-Amand is born in Paris.

John Bowes's horse, Mündig, wins the Derby.

1836

Autumn - John Bowes records his travels to the Loire region.

1843

John Bowes's horse, Cotherstone, wins the Derby.

1846

John Bowes is elected to the Cercle de l'Union, in Paris.

September - Mlle Delorme is reported as entering a three-year contract at the Théâtre des Variétés.

1847

John Bowes buys the Théâtre des Variétés.

December - John Bowes begins corresponding from 8 Rue de Rougemont, 2nd then 9th Arrondissement (continues paying insurance at the property until at least January 1851).

1848

11 December - Joséphine buys a house at 42 Rue de Boileau, in Auteuil ('propriété ou maison de campagne').

February - Revolution breaks out. John and Joséphine leave Paris for London. They return to Paris five months later.

1851

John Bowes no longer listed in the members' directory of the Paris Jockey Club.

John Bowes and Joséphine 'Coffin-Delorme' move to 7 Cité d'Antin, Paris (lease).

1852

John Bowes and Joséphine Coffin-Chevallier sign a marriage contract in Paris.

Joséphine's father, Joseph-Benoit Coffin known as 'Chevalier', dies in Paris.

17 August - Joséphine ('la future épouse') purchases the Château de Louveciennes. The property is listed under Joséphine's name in the paperwork.

1854

John and Joséphine are married at St Marylebone Paris Church, in London.

1855

23 and 25 May - Joséphine Bowes sells the property at 42 Rue de Boileau to Mme Merlin for 44,000 francs.

Hippolyte Lucas writes to John Bowes about collaborating on a translation of Shakespeare's sonnets.

1857

Summer - Alphonsine de Saint-Amand and her mother visit the Hugo family on Guernsey.

Divorce becomes legal in England.

1858

Summer - Alphonsine de Saint-Amand and her mother visit the Hugo family on Guernsey.

1860

Summer - Alphonsine de Saint-Amand and her mother visit the Hugo family on Guernsey.

1861

John Bowes requests changes to the furniture arrangement at Streatlam Castle.

8 and 10 May - John Bowes buys the property at 7 Rue de Berlin, 8th Arrondissement, Paris.

1862

5 June - John and Joséphine sell the Château de Louveciennes to Leopold Werner for 500,000 francs.

16 June and 14 July - John Bowes takes a loan of 175,000 francs (Crédit Foncier de France) for the purchase of 7 Rue de Berlin.

1863

John Bowes buys a plot of land on Rue Blomet, in the Vaugirard district of Paris.

1865

30 September - Joséphine Bowes buys a property ('maison d'habitation') at Cernay-la-Ville for 6,500 francs.

1866

Joséphine's mother dies.

1867

Joséphine Bowes exhibits in the Salon de peinture in Paris. She participates in 1868, 1869 and 1870. Her entry was rejected in 1873.

1868

Alphonsine de Saint-Amand marries Emmanuel, Comte de Courten, in Paris.

Alphonsine and Emmanuel de Courten's son, Alphonse, is born (dies in 1874).

Joséphine becomes Countess of Montalbo, a title created for her by the Republic of San Marino. In practice, the title was rarely used during her lifetime.

1869

Joséphine Bowes lays the foundation stone of the museum in Barnard Castle.

May - Alphonsine obtains a legal separation from Comte de Courten in the Paris court.

Some of John and Joséphine's possessions are moved to Streatlam Castle.

December - John and Joséphine are at Dover to return to Paris.

1870

The 'Catalogue of Furniture, Pictures etc. belonging to Streatlam' is written.

July - France is at war with Prussia.

John's banker Edward Blount becomes consul when the ambassador, Lord Lyons, leaves Paris.

1-4 September - Napoleon III surrenders at Sedan. Government of National Defence.

19 September - Siege of Paris by Prussian troops begins. Alphonsine, her son and her mother are staying at the home of Paul Lucas, 8 Rue de Paris in Rennes.

1871

28 January - armistice. Adolphe Thiers government 8 February.

28 March - proclamation of the Paris Commune.

May - Public Parks, Schools and Museums act of Parliament becomes law in England.

12 July and codicil 19 July - Joséphine writes her will in England. Her trustees are appointed: John Bowes; William Hutt; Rev. Thomas Witham of Lartington Hall; Alexander W. Kinglake; E.Y. Western and G.A. Western (London solicitors); J.D.Holmes (Barnard Castle solicitor); Ralph Dent (John's agent for Streatlam and Gibside); R.J. Dent (son of Ralph Dent and successor as John's agent).

21-28 May - Semaine Sanglante, Paris, bringing the Commune to an end.

Packing of artworks begins at 7 Rue de Berlin, recorded in a shipping book.

1874

Joséphine Bowes dies in Paris. The inventory of Joséphine's possessions is taken at 7 Rue de Berlin.

September - John enquires about selling Joséphine's cottage at Cernay.

1875

Summer - John and Alphonsine travel to spa towns in the South of France. They both receive health treatments and medical advice.

September - John Bowes begins renting an apartment for Alphonsine at 44 Rue de Clichy, 8th Arrondissement, Paris.

Alphonsine's possessions are moved from her apartment on Rue d'Alger, 1st Arrondissement, to 44 Rue de Clichy.

1876

Divorce becomes legal in Switzerland.

'Inventory of Furniture at Streatlam Castle' is taken.

7 October - freedom by divorce granted to Alphonsine (Swiss law). She and John were notified on 13 October 1876.

1877

24 and 27 July - John Bowes and Alphonsine de Saint-Amand sign a marriage contract in Paris.

17 August - Alphonsine and John Bowes are married in church, in Paris.

18 August - Alphonsine and John Bowes are married at St James' Church, Piccadilly, London.

August - redecorating at 7 Rue de Berlin, overseen by Edmond Gaucherot.

20 November (for 11 months) - Alphonsine's possessions are transported from 44 Rue de Clichy to 7 Rue de Berlin.

1878

1 June - codicil added to John's will.

14 November - Alphonsine's stepfather, Hippolyte Lucas, dies in Paris, 1 Rue de Sully (Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal). John Bowes leads the funeral procession.

1879

Alphonsine's first recorded visit to England since the wedding.

1880

17 July - codicil added to John's will.

1881

20 May - codicil added to John's will.

Judith Gautier's *Isoline* is published, with its dedication to Alphonsine de Saint-Amand.

1882

27 May - codicil added to John's will.

1884

1 April - charges of adultery are brought to Alphonsine and Louis Millet in London, citing four occasions between 1881 and 1883.

July - divorce becomes legal in France.

1885

9 October - John Bowes dies at Streatlam Castle. Alphonsine's address is 19 Quai Voltaire (72 Rue de Rivoli), 7th Arrondissement, Paris. At John's death, the documents indicate that Alphonsine was residing at 72 Rue de Rivoli. The inventory of John's possessions is taken at 7 rue de Berlin and Rue Mansart.

1887

Alphonsine sells 7 Rue de Berlin to Alfred Pierre Laclaverie.

1891

August - Alphonsine is writing from 14 Rue de Matignon, 8th Arrondissement.

August - Alphonsine donates a box of documents regarding the Théâtre des Variétés to the Archives de l'Opéra (via Lorédan Larchey and Charles Nutter).

1892

The Bowes Museum, Barnard Castle, opens to the public.

1902

Lorédan Larchey dies.

1908

Alphonsine dies in her home at 14 Rue Matignon, Paris, leaving artworks to the Musée du Luxembourg and Musée Victor Hugo in Paris, and Musée des Beaux-Arts de Rennes.

17-20 June - Alphonsine's estate sale (jewelery, objets d'art and furniture) takes place at Hôtel Drouot, Paris.

Appendix C: Biographical Notes

This list gathers information on the Boweses' social milieu thanks to biographical information on the principal individuals whose names appear throughout the thesis and in the archives relating to John, Joséphine and/or Alphonsine. Many of the lesser-known people included here expand our current knowledge on the Boweses' networks and social worlds. In most cases, these connections and relationships require further research.

Where the information is known, I have included dates of birth and death, maiden and married names, and a brief description of the relationship with the Boweses. Links to the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* are given, as well as references to files in the archives of the Légion d'Honneur. I have found the following sources to be useful: Chaix d'Est-Ange, *Dictionnaire des grandes familles françaises* (1903); Gustave Vapereau, *Dictionnaire des contemporains* (1880); Adolphe Robert, Edgard Bourloton and Gaston Cougny, *Dictionnaire des parlementaires* (1889-91); Théophile de Lamathière, *Panthéon de la Légion d'honneur* (1875-1911).

BOWES, John. British art collector, Francophile, parliamentary. John Bowes did not have a title.

<https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-46647?rskey=wCDmvR&result=2>

BOWES, Joséphine, née COFFIN-CHEVALLIER (1825-1874). French actress, artist and collector. Stage name: Mlle Delorme. Listed in some legal documents as a 'rentière'. Married John BOWES in 1852.

BOWES, Alphonsine, née de SAINT-AMAND, Comtesse de COURTEN (1835-1908). Born in Paris. Married Comte Emmanuel de COURTEN in 1868 and separated in 1869. Well-connected in the French literary world, nurturing friendships with Victor HUGO and his daughter Adèle, Lorédan LARCHEY, Arsène HOUSSAYE, Judith GAUTHIER and Marie de SOLMS, to name a few. Married John BOWES, whom she knew through her stepfather (Hippolyte LUCAS), in 1877.

BELLEyme, Mme de (dates unknown). Possibly Augustine Marie Adèle BESSIRARD DE LA TOUCHE, who married into a prominent family of lawyers and magistrates (her father-in-law is President Louis de Belleyme). Close friend of Joséphine's; continues writing to John after Joséphine's death and sends her condolences to Alphonsine when Hippolyte Lucas dies. Her son was taken prisoner during the Franco-Prussian War. Her husband dies in 1871. Alternative spelling: Debelleye.

BLOUNT, Edward Charles (1809-1905). British banker, founder of Blount's Bank. Other notable clients were the Fourth Marquess of Hertford and Richard WALLACE. Attaché at the British Embassy in Paris and British Consul during the winter of 1870-1871. Member of the Paris Jockey Club (1871) and Cercle de l'Union. Decorated with the Légion d'Honneur in 1871.

<https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-31934>

DESSIN, Mme (dates unknown). French, owner of the Hôtel Dessin, a central location for Franco-British subjects on their travels. Regular correspondent of Joséphine's.

FABRE DE L'AUDE, Comtesse (dates unknown). Close friend of Joséphine's. Lived in Paris and her ancestral home, the Château de Belvianes, near Quillan (Aude). Her husband was Comte Fidèle Désiré Achille Fabre de l'Aude.

HUTT, Sir William (1801-1882). British politician and John's tutor at Trinity College. Married John's mother, Mary, Dowager Countess of Strathmore, in 1831. Married Frances Stanhope in 1861. MP for Kingston upon Hull (1832-1837; 1838-1841). Heavily involved with his family in the colonisation of Australia and New Zealand.
<https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-14296>

KINGLAKE, Alexander William (1809-1891). British lawyer, historian, writer and parliamentary. Friend of John's at Trinity College. Trustee of John's estate and one of the executor's of John's Will.
<https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-15611?rkey=r9wisQ&result=2>

LACROIX, Paul (1806-1884). French collector and Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal librarian. Published as Bibliophile Jacob. His wife was Apolline BIFFE. Part of the social circle of John and Alphonsine. Decorated by the Légion d'Honneur (Officier) in 1860:
<https://www.leonore.archives-nationales.culture.gouv.fr/ui/notice/205560>

LARCHEY, Etienne Lorédan (1831-1902). French journalist, writer and historian. Military career. Chef de bureau du ministère de l'instruction publique. Bibliothèque Mazarine librarian in 1852. Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal (conservateur) 1880. Close friend of Alphonsine's. Decorated by the Légion d'Honneur in 1878 (Chevalier):
<https://www.leonore.archives-nationales.culture.gouv.fr/ui/notice/212828>

LUCAS, Eulalie Soline Marie, née TERME (c.1808-?). Descendent of the sculptor Coysevox. Married Alphonsine's father, Alphonse Eugène de SAINT-AMAND, in 1832, and took Hippolyte LUCAS as second husband. Family country house, Temple du Cerisier, near Rennes. Well-connected in the literary world and visited Victor Hugo's family in 1850s-60s.

LUCAS, Hippolyte Julien Joseph (1807-1878). French writer, born in Rennes, where he had family (art collector and local politician Paul LUCAS). Alphonsine's stepfather. Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal librarian. Decorated by the Légion d'Honneur (Chevalier) in 1845:
<https://www.leonore.archives-nationales.culture.gouv.fr/ui/notice/239412>

LUCAS, Léo Julien (1841-1924). French local politician, born in Paris to Hippolyte LUCAS and Eulalie Soline TERME. Decorated by the Légion d'Honneur (Officier) in 1893: <https://www.leonore.archives-nationales.culture.gouv.fr/ui/notice/239448>

PIETRI, Côme (1810- 1884). Corsican soldier. Adopted the name COSIMO during the Franco-Prussian War. Decorated by the Légion d'Honneur in 1852 (Chevalier) and in 1882 (Officier) following his exploits in the Garde Nationale during the Siege of Paris:

<https://www.leonore.archives-nationales.culture.gouv.fr/ui/notice/298431>

PIETRI, Ellen, née ROBINSON (dates unknown). Married Côme PIETRI in Paris on 10 March 1863. Lived in Paris, returning momentarily to Cambridge during the Siege of Paris. Close friend and correspondent of Joséphine's.

PELLECHET, Jules Antoine François Auguste (1829-1903). French architect, son of Auguste PELLECHET, referred to in John's will as 'mon architect', having worked on all of the properties owned by the Boweses in France and the Museum in Barnard Castle. Anglophile. Decorated by the Légion d'Honneur (Chevalier) in 1899: <https://www.leonore.archives-nationales.culture.gouv.fr/ui/notice/289064>

PELLECHET, Auguste Joseph (1789-1874). French architect. Employed by John Bowes in France. Decorated by the Légion d'Honneur (Chevalier) in 1832: <https://www.leonore.archives-nationales.culture.gouv.fr/ui/notice/289062>

SEYMOUR-CONWAY, Richard, 4th Marquess of Hertford (1800-1870). British art collector and Francophile, lived in Paris, owner of the Château de Bagatelle. Member of the Paris Jockey Club and Cercle de l'Union. Acquaintance of John Bowes.

<https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-1013773?rskey=5Wl7x3&result=7>

WALLACE, Richard (1818-1890). British art collector and philanthropist who lived most of his life in Paris. Member of the Paris Jockey Club (1871). Decorated by the Légion d'Honneur (Commandeur) on 17 June 1871 after the Siege of Paris: <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-1003263?rskey=Udn3rU&result=1>

Appendix D: Notes on Archival Sources

The archival holdings in TBMA and DCRO relating to the lives and collections of John, Joséphine and Alphonsine are vast and varied. This thesis draws heavily on the connections made between archival sources of different genres and situated in different locations. This appendix is intended to demonstrate the necessity of using archives located in France to better make sense of the archival holdings in Britain. These notes explain why certain sources have been privileged in the thesis over others. This appendix, in addition to the bibliography of the thesis, will help future researchers navigate this complex web of documents and is divided into five categories: furnishings, interiors and the home; personal correspondence; French properties and topographical information; legal matters; Théâtre des Variétés.

Furnishings, interiors and the home

Information on the Boweses' furnishings and interiors in Britain and in France can be traced by piecing together letters, bills and receipts from dealers, decorators and shopkeepers (TBMA and DCRO), together with inventories (DCRO and Minutier Central, AN).

DCRO, Strathmore estate archive, D/St

The bundles of household expenses, divided by year but not yet itemised, include some relevant correspondence relating to purchases of books, paintings and furnishings, which have generally not been considered alongside the domestic records in TBMA. DCRO holds inventories of the contents of Gibside and Streatlam Castle and John's instructions to his agents about the arrangement of furniture and paintings.

TBMA, Papers of John and Joséphine Bowes, JB/1-10

The papers of known dealers (bills and letters) have been itemised and catalogued into series under the dealer's name. These records show how the sellers described items, often attempting to catch the attention of the client.

The majority of letters, invoices and lists of objects are addressed to Joséphine, with some addressed to both John and Joséphine, and a handful addressed only to John. Their purchases in France were all paid for by John Bowes. Purchases made by Alphonsine were also settled by John. John annotated each bill on the reverse with the name of the dealer, date received, and the amount and date he paid the bill. It is impossible to establish who was 'buying' what: Joséphine was generally the person who was physically present when decisions on what to buy were made, but the accounts were settled by her husband, according to French laws limiting married women's financial autonomy.

The lists of annual household expenditure include some names of *marchands de curiosité* and specialist shopkeepers (including booksellers in Paris and London) that were not singled out from the chronological order before 2010, when the

archive began to be catalogued by Judith Phillips. They also include useful details of the Boweses's subscriptions to newspapers, magazines, and John's club memberships.

The lists relating to the Boweses' books have been deciphered and extensively studied by James Illingworth and give an indication of what John and Joséphine read and collected.

The shipping books present the contents of crates and boxes in list form, intended to be used by the people unpacking the crates sent from Paris to Streatlam Castle and the Museum. John Bowes began writing the entries; the housekeeper Marie Paigis finished the job after Joséphine's death. Some objects were packed by Joséphine and entries sometimes explain why the object was considered of particular interest or value.

Personal correspondence

Letters received by John and Joséphine in 1870-71 (TBMA and DCRO)

The correspondence received by John and Joséphine Bowes from friends and employees in 1870-71 was used in this thesis to examine the Boweses' vicarious experience of a historical moment. Of these, the letters received from the housekeepers at 7 Rue de Berlin, Hortense and Eléonore Chevrier, account for 46 letters, the majority of which were addressed to Joséphine (JB/8/1/7).

The letters to John from 1870-71 in the DCRO centre on plans for the museum and the Parks Act in England, which fall beyond the scope of this thesis. However, the letters are also peppered with mentions of the war and sieges of Paris.

The letters received in 1870-71 helped me to gain a better understanding of the Boweses' home network and the recurring names of friends and employees (Ellen Pietri, Comtesse Fabre de l'Aude, Mme de Belleyme, William Hutt, Alexander Kinglake, Abbé Rogerson, the banker Edward Blount, the Calais hotel owner Mme Dessin, the wine seller Chevalier de Claussun, the dealer Mme Lepautre, the solicitor Maître Bournet-Verron...).

Other letters received by John and Joséphine - John's papers in DCRO

DCRO contains John Bowes' logbooks of letters received before he moved to Paris and some documents created by him in his youth, such as the notebook recording his visit to the Loire valley. Letters to John and Joséphine in TBMA are catalogued in series, either by year or by name of recipient. Specific matters are covered in some series, such as the Château de Louveciennes (letters from M. Lacroix of Bougival), Joséphine's artwork (M. Carpentier), or replies to John's queries about the collection (Paul Lacroix and Lorédan Larchey).

Even though the missives in TBMA and DCRO only give one side of the Boweses' correspondence, key people can be identified, and some of their more prominent correspondents' papers traced in French archives.

Papiers Hippolyte Lucas (Bibliothèque Rennes Métropole, Papiers Hippolyte Lucas) - Papiers Lorédan Larchey (Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal) - Letters received by Victor Hugo from Juliette Drouet and Victor Hugo’s notebooks (Bibliothèque Nationale de France)

The letters received by Hippolyte Lucas from contemporaries and the condolence letters sent to Alphonsine and the Lucas family demonstrate their social networks and the high esteem with which Lucas was regarded by his peers. Lorédan Larchey’s papers evidence his friendship with John Bowes and Alphonsine. Juliette Drouet’s letters and Victor Hugo’s notebooks give information about the interiors of Hauteville House and their friendship with Alphonsine and John. The papers of Hippolyte Lucas, Lorédan Larchey and Victor Hugo position Alphonsine within an important social and cultural circle.

The letters in TBMA also provide us with the Boweses’ and their correspondents’ addresses in Paris.

French properties and topographical information

Archives de Paris - Minutier Central des notaires (Archives Nationales) - Médiathèque du Patrimoine

Each Parisian address is searchable in the Archives de Paris, where the files yield information on buildings, neighbours, owners, leases, prices and dates of transactions. The information is dry and is given in lists and note form but can be used to comment on the social status and visual surroundings of Parisians.

In addition to these details, topographical records in the Archives de Paris indicate the name of the solicitor or lawyer used for every property transaction (sales, leases, inheritances, demolitions...). The files of each *notaire* (or ‘études’) can then be traced in the Archives Nationales thanks to the Minutier Central des Notaires in Paris. The ‘répertoires’ of the *notaires* are digitised. The *répertoires* give clients’ names and the dates of each transaction. Transaction files can then be called up in the Archives Nationales.

For addresses outside of Paris, the local archives need to be consulted (Yvelines, Seine-et-Marne etc...). Information on listed properties, such as the Château de Louveciennes, is held in the Médiathèque du Patrimoine (Charenton-le-Pont).

Legal matters

French notarial archives

The Boweses’ *notaire* was Maître Bournet de Verron (sometimes spelled Bournet-Verron) and he was succeeded by Maître Batardy. Identifying solicitors’ names thanks to either the Archives de Paris or correspondence with clients (TBMA and DCRO) unlocks a wealth of notarial archives in the Archives Nationales, including wills and inventories.

The inventories taken after Joséphine's death in 1874 and John's death in 1885 ('Inventaires après-décès') have been central in my research. As part of the inventory of material possessions, legal documents were copied in a section titled 'Analyse des papiers'. Copies of wills and codicils are enclosed in the file. In addition to a list of material possessions, the 'Inventaires après-décès' therefore offers an overview of a person's life through legal transactions in legible handwriting. John's *inventaires* cover over 400 unpaginated folios. The inventory indicates items that were destined by John for the museum, items that belonged to Alphonsine, and items that were part of Alphonsine's inheritance. Notes in the margins show which items were contested by Alphonsine or John's trustees. They also show that some of the items were seized by Bedel, an official sequestrator, to pay John's creditors.

Births, deaths and marriages are registered in the 'registre civil', once contained in the Hotel de Ville of Paris. Since 1871, the records have been registered in the *mairies* of each *arrondissement*. Many records were destroyed in the fire in May: the *acte civil reconstitué*, created after the fire, is digitised (Archives de Paris).

Another useful resource for finding biographical information on the Boweses' friends and correspondents of similar and higher social standing is the database of the Légion d'Honneur (Base LEONORE, Archives Nationales). These digitised records contain copies of the documents that were required before medals were awarded and can be used to verify the names of men's wives, children, addresses, and dates of birth and death (Appendix C).

Legal documents in Britain

John and Joséphine both registered wills with their solicitors in England. Copies of these are in TBMA. Translations are held in the Archives Nationales as part of the 'inventaires après-décès', and were generally consulted in Paris for this thesis.

John's petition for divorce was filed in London. The documents pertaining to the case are held in the National Archives, Kew. Supplementary information about the divorce can be found in the Strathmore papers (DCRO).

Théâtre des Variétés

TBMA holds documents relating to the Théâtre des Variétés, including scripts of plays and inventories of sets and costumes, which helped me to understand the popular culture of history in Paris in the mid to late nineteenth century. The censorship files for the Théâtre des Variétés in the Archives Nationales contain the scripts of plays that were edited before being performed. These sometimes include the names of the actors. A miscellaneous file in the Archives Nationales contains a wide variety of documents – bank statements, letters, records of legal disputes, lists of names, bills from the architect Pellechet – dating to John's ownership of the theatre. The file was donated to the Archives de l'Opéra by Alphonsine via Lorédan Larchey, an action that provides further evidence of both Alphonsine's involvement in cementing John's legacy and her position in the Parisian cultural and literary landscape.

**Staging and Collecting French History:
John and Joséphine Bowes, c.1845-1885**

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Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor in Philosophy

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Volume II of II: Figures

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Photograph of The Bowes Museum, Barnard Castle, 2019. Author's photograph.

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Photograph of the 'Life in Paris' story gallery, The Bowes Museum, c.2017. Source: Tripadvisor.

Figure 3

Photograph of the 'Life in Paris' story gallery, The Bowes Museum, 2018. Author's photograph.

Figure 4

Monbro fils aîné, Pair of Candelabra, c. 1855, Hard-paste porcelain, coloured enamels and gilt-bronze, 137 cm, The Bowes Museum, X.4431.1-2. Founders' bequest. Image courtesy of The Bowes Museum.

Figure 5

Joséphine Bowes, *The Château du Barry at Louveciennes, France*, c. 1860-1862, Oil on canvas, 225 × 107.5 cm, The Bowes Museum, J.45. Founders' bequest. Image courtesy of The Bowes Museum.

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Unknown maker, Guéridon with portrait miniatures, c. 1835, The Bowes Museum, 1977.53.20/FW. Donated by Garfield Weston. Image courtesy of The Bowes Museum.

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Louis William Desanges, *Joséphine Bowes (1825-1874)*, c. 1852-1860, Oil on canvas, 94 × 73.5 cm, The Bowes Museum, B.M.529. Presented to the museum by the Earl of Strathmore in 1922. Image courtesy of the Bowes Museum.

Figure 8

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Nicolas Edward Gabé, *Incident of the Revolution of 1848 in Paris in the Court of the Louvre*, c. 1848, Oil on canvas, 78.7 × 96.2 cm, The Bowes Museum, B.M.484. Founders' bequest. Image courtesy of The Bowes Museum.

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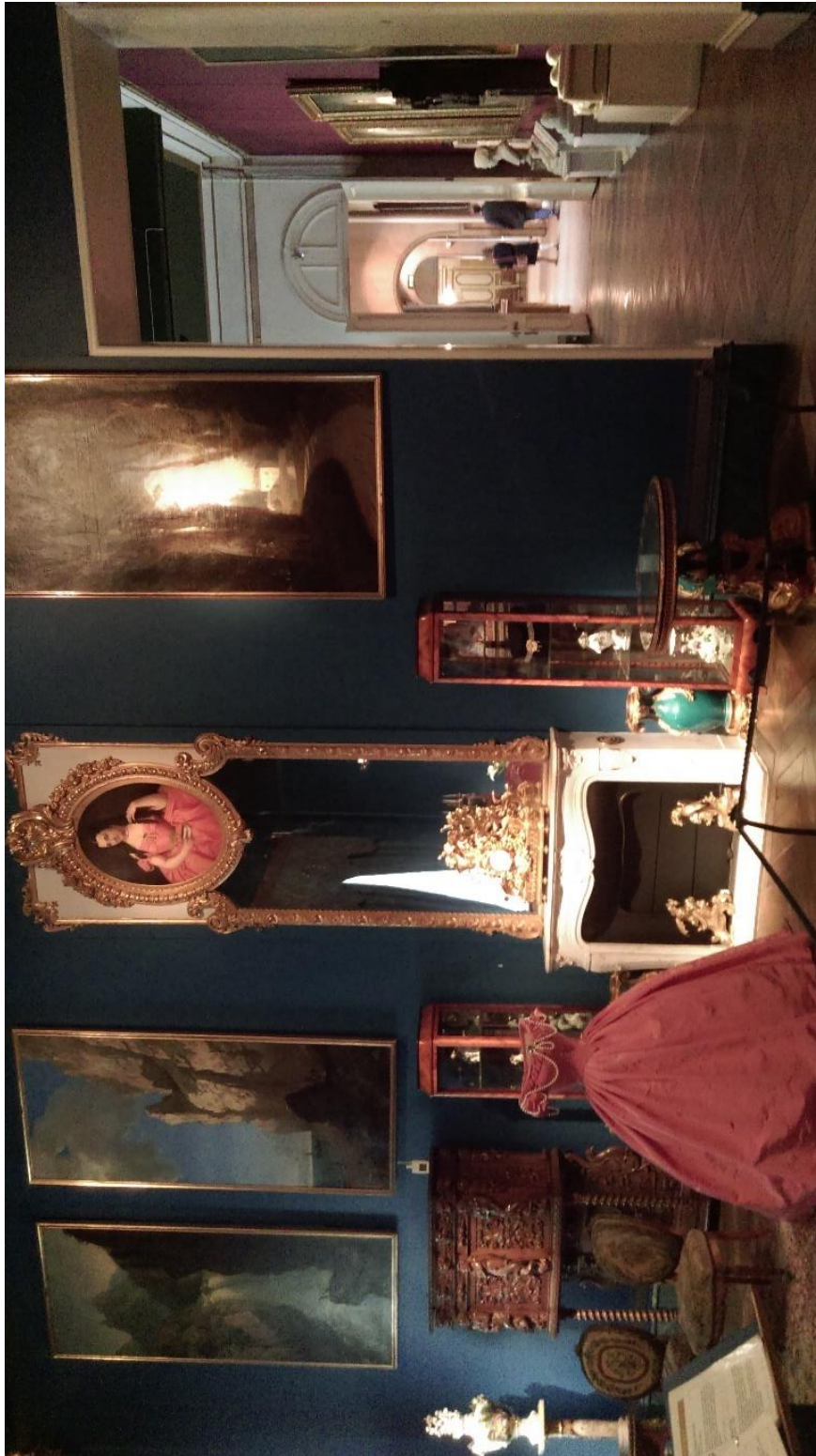
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Monbro aîné, Cabinet, c.1853, ebony, tin-glazed, gilt-bronze, hardstone, 163,2 × 85 × 47,2 cm, The Bowes Museum, FW.104-A. Founders' bequest. Author's photograph

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Monbro fils aîné, Carved oak cabinet and clock, c. 1855, oak, gilt-bronze, 152 cm.
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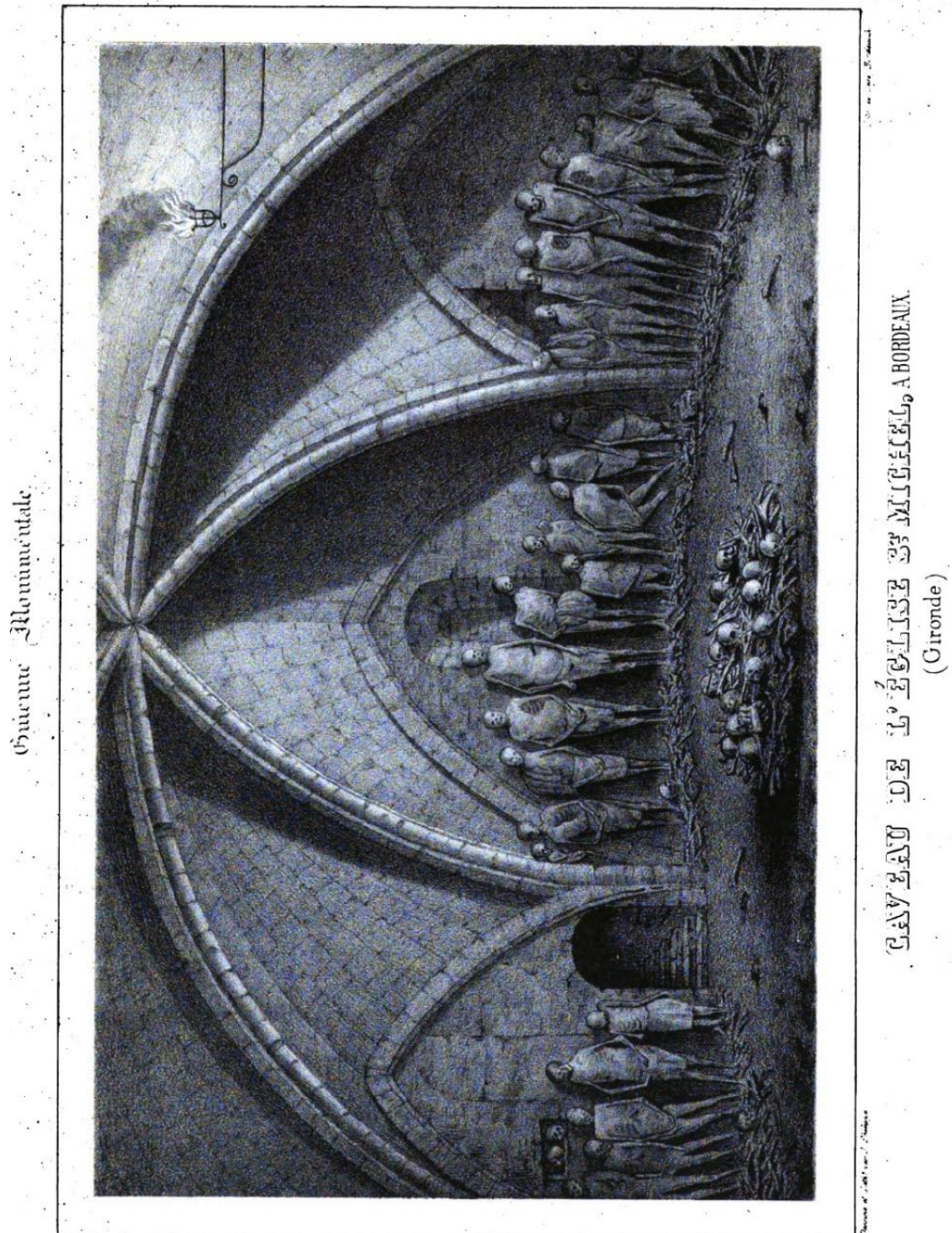
Jacques Eugène Feyen, *John Bowes, Esq. (1811-1885)*, 1863, Oil on canvas, 181.3 × 119.7 cm, The Bowes Museum, B.M.300. Founders' bequest. Image courtesy of The Bowes Museum

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Mademoiselle Delorme, *Le Daguerriotype théâtral*, 19 February 1851,
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Alexandre Ducourneau, *Eglise St Michel Bordeaux*, 1842, Dimensions unknown.
Source: Wikimedia Commons

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Nicolas Edward Gabé, *The Congress of Paris*, 1856, Oil on canvas, 79.7 × 99.4 cm, The Bowes Museum, B.M.536. Founders' bequest. Image courtesy of The Bowes Museum

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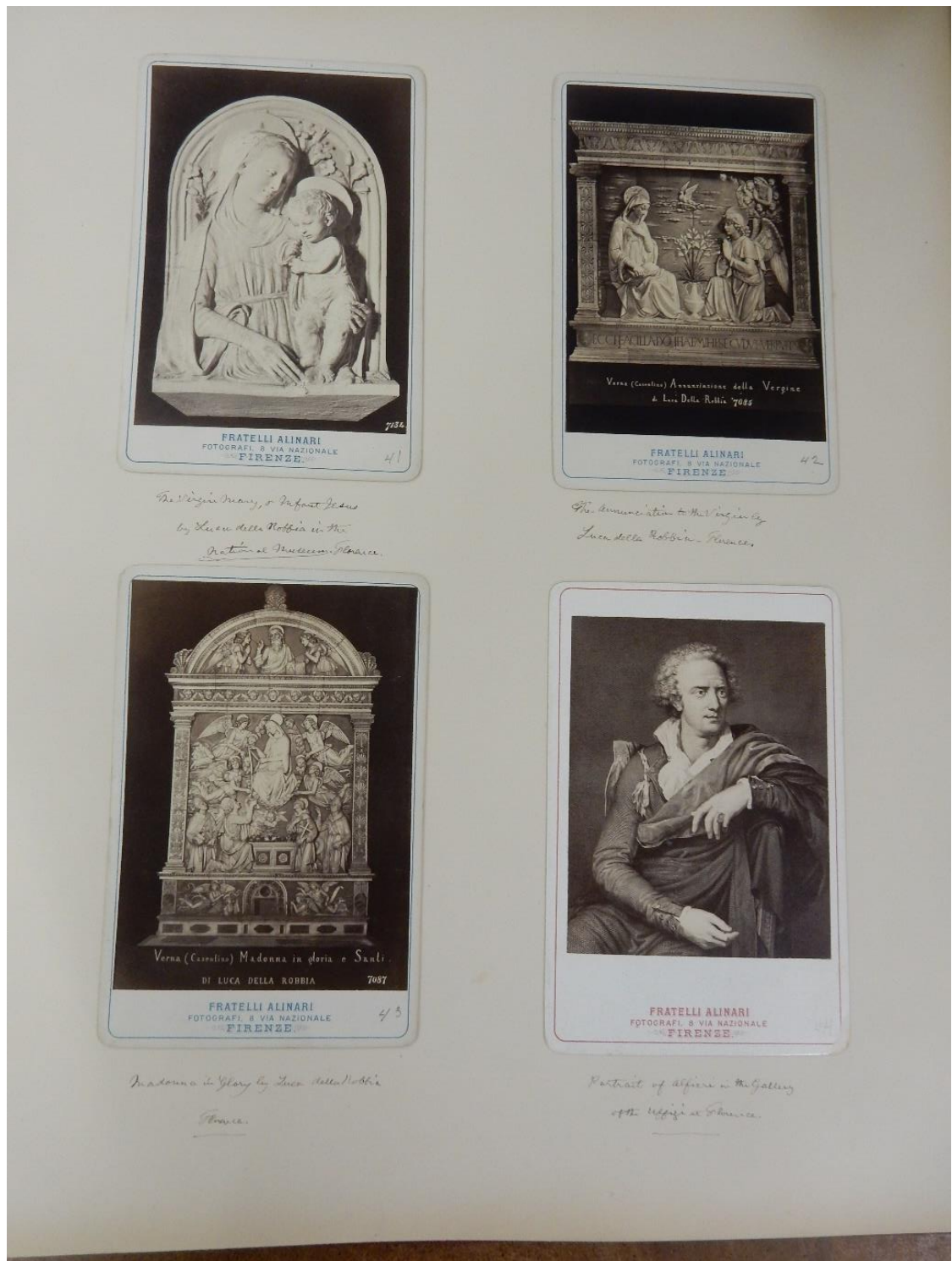
Example of newspaper cuttings, one of two files, The Bowes Museum Archive, JB/1/8/3/1. Author's photograph

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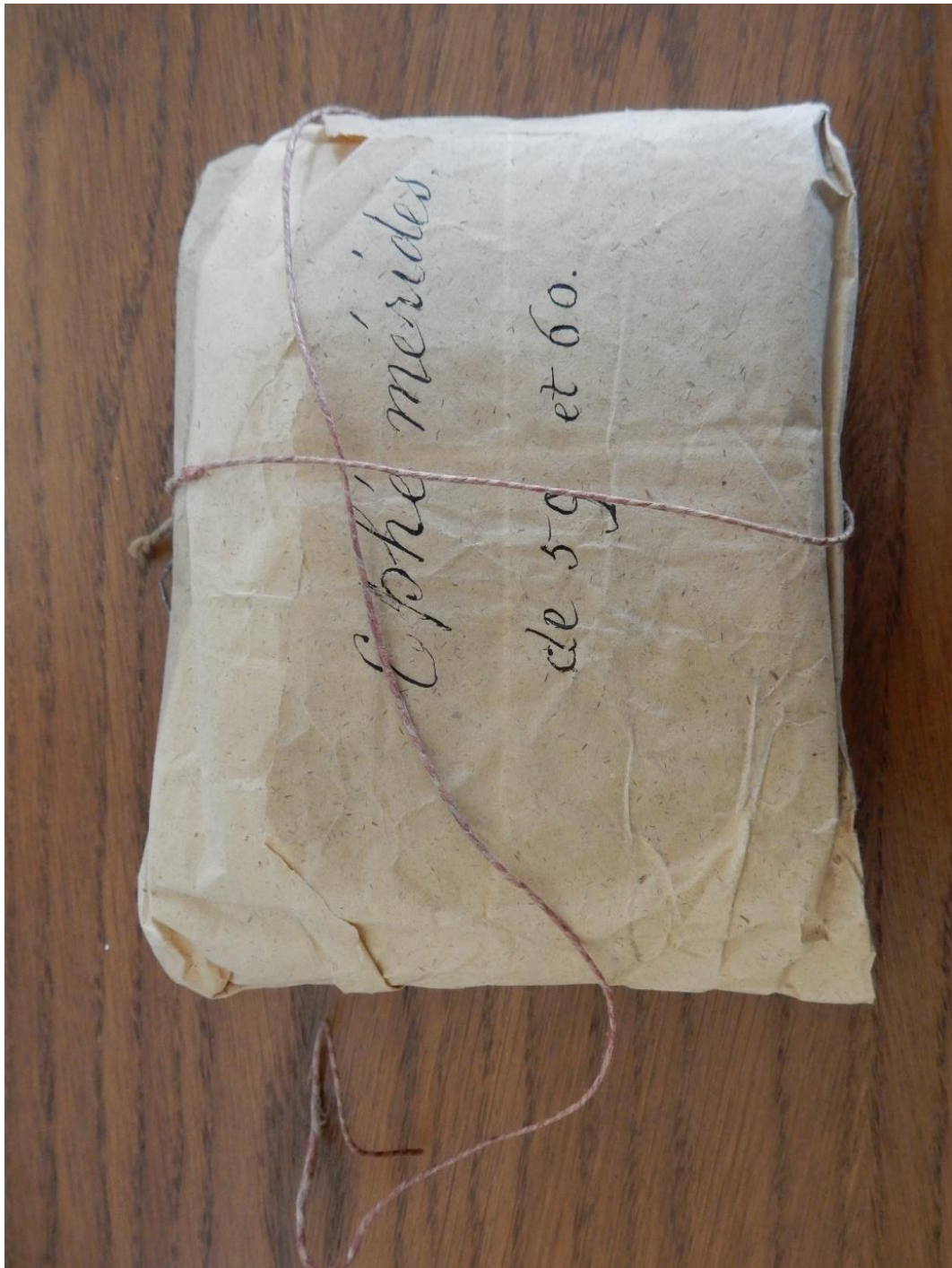
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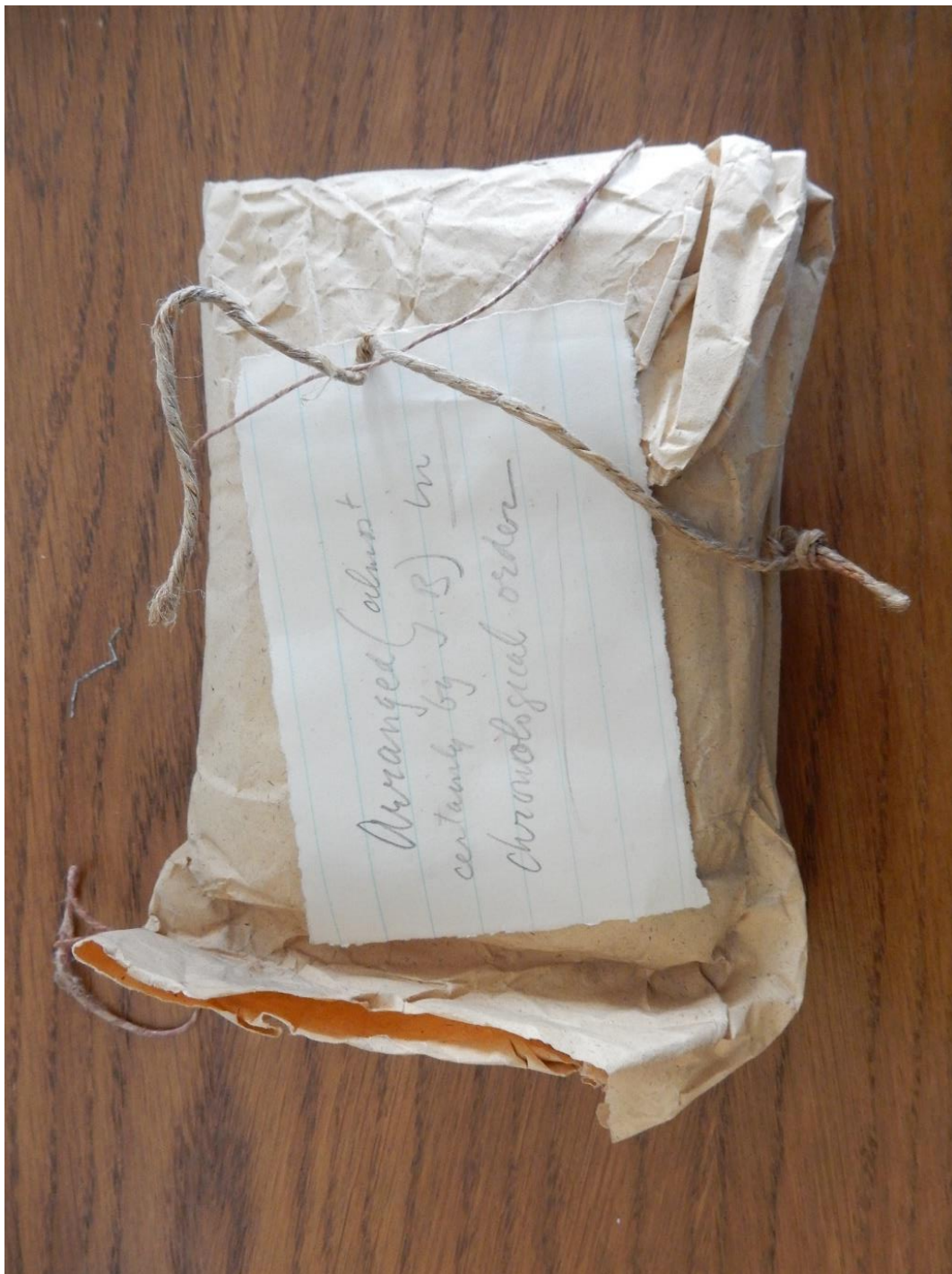
Example of a bundle of cuttings, annotated by hand and folded together, The Bowes Museum Archive, JB/1/8/3/1. Author's photograph

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Photograph of a bundle of French newspaper cuttings, 'éphémérides', The Bowes Museum Archive, JB/1/8/3/1. Author's photograph

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Photograph of a bundle of 'nouvelles diverses' French newspaper cuttings marked 'démolitions' with handwritten note by Charles Hardy, The Bowes Museum Archive, JB/1/8/3/1. Author's photograph

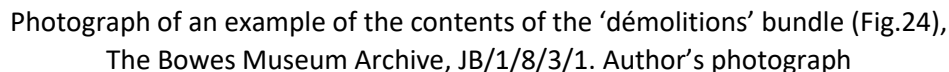
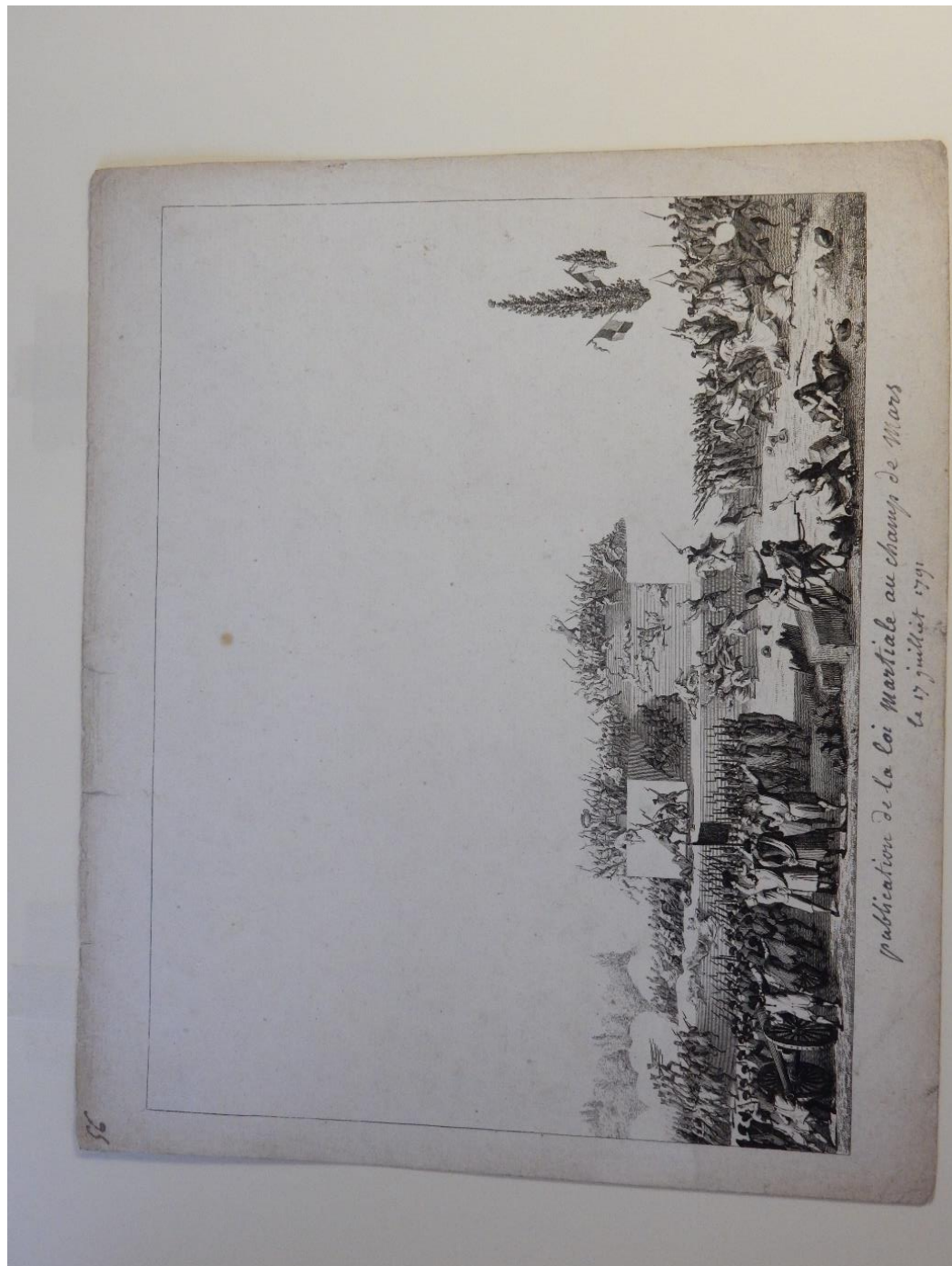


Figure 26



Jean-Louis Prieur, Pierre-Gabriel Berthault, *Publication de la loi martiale au champs de Mars, le 17 juillet 1791*, engraved proof, 28 × 23,6 cm, The Bowes Museum, 2003.2357.16/P.A. Author's photograph

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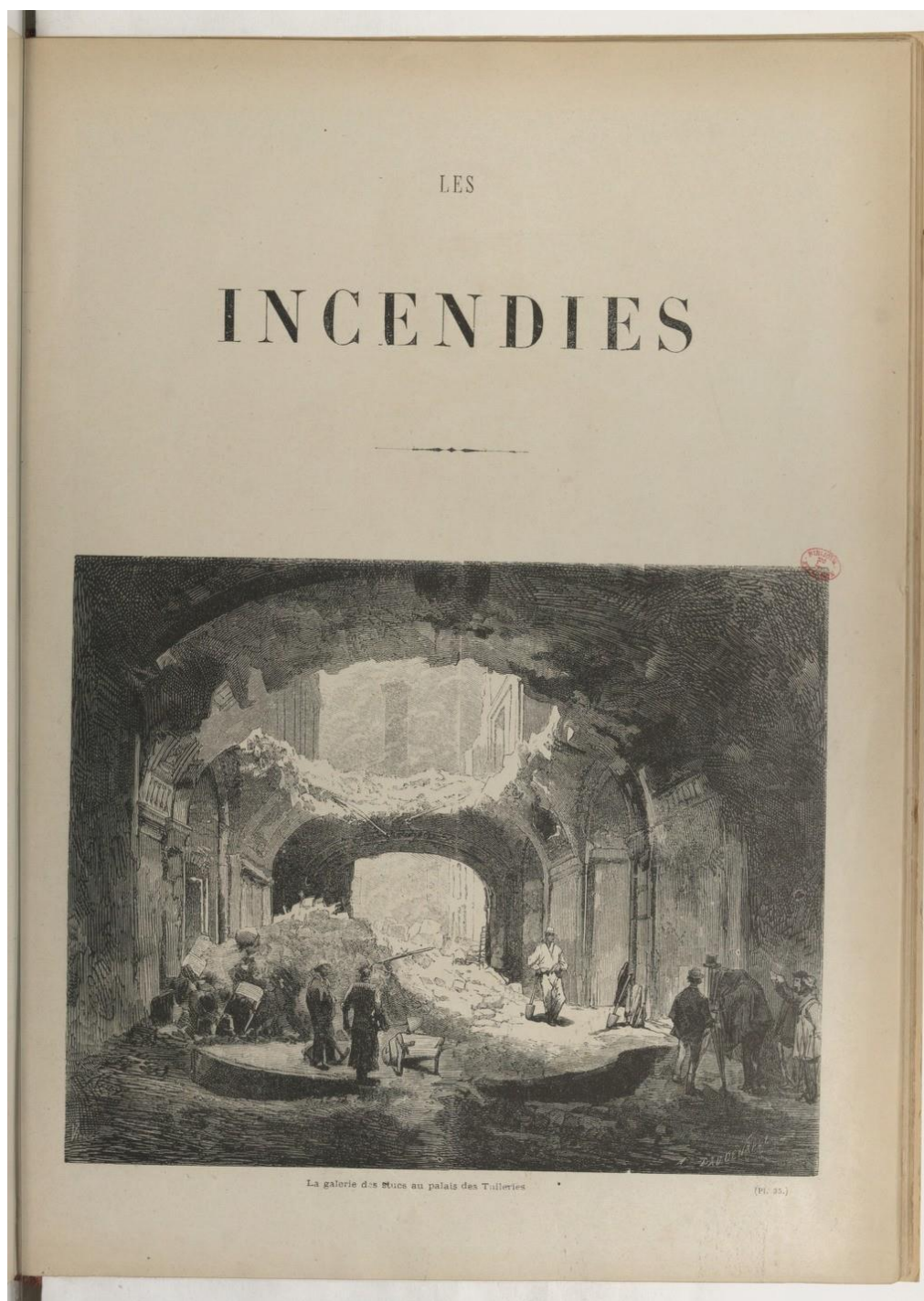
Jean-Louis Prieur, Pierre-Gabriel Berthault, *Publication de la loi martiale au champs de Mars, le 17 juillet 1791*, etching, 1791, 24.3 × 28 cm, Musée Carnavalet, Histoire de Paris, inv. G.28409. CC0 Paris Musées / Musée Carnavalet

Figure 28



Examples of gilt bronze objects in storage, clockwise top left: The Bowes Museum, M.223.1-2; X.5015; X.5007. Author's photographs

Figure 29



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

Lorédan Larchey, *Mémorial Illustré des deux sièges de Paris*, Vol. 2 (Paris: 1872), p. 369. 30,5 × 48,3 cm. Bibliothèque nationale de France

Figure 30



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

Lorédan Larchey, *Mémorial Illustré des deux sièges de Paris*, Vol. 2 (Paris: 1872), p. 378, 30,5 × 48,3 cm. Bibliothèque nationale de France

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Henri Walter, *Le Jardin des Tuileries*, c. 1850, lithograph, 34.3 × 53.5 cm (unmounted), edited by Thierry Frères, Musée Carnavalet, Histoire de Paris, inv. G.22055.

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Figure 32



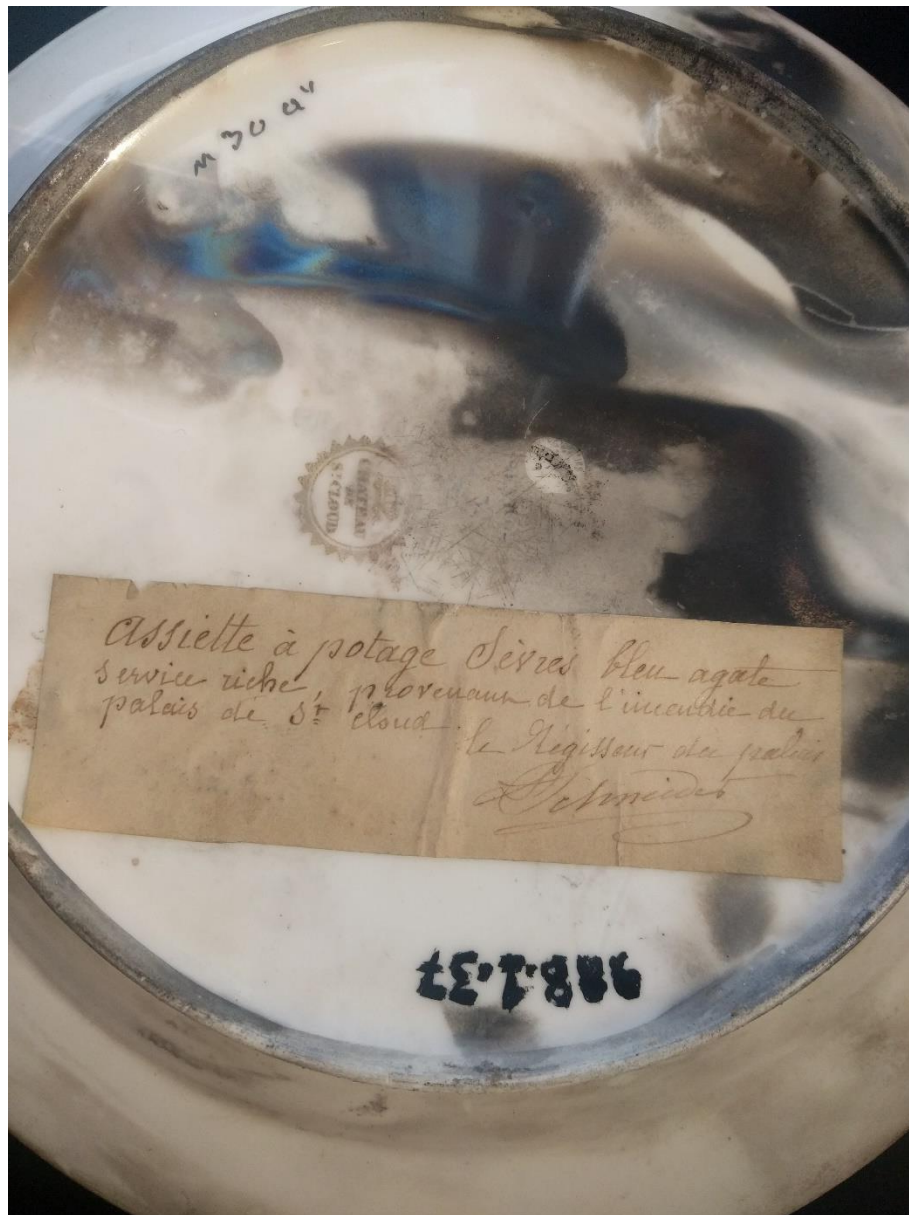
Bolt, The Bowes Museum, Author's photograph

Figure 33



Bolt displayed in *Les derniers feux de Saint-Cloud* exhibition as having been salvaged from the rubble. Author's photograph

Figure 34



Underside of a Sèvres plate displayed in *Les derniers feux de Saint-Cloud* exhibition as having been salvaged from the rubble. Author's photograph

Figure 35



Refurbished by Monbro aîné, Fauteuil, c. 1855, kingwood, gilt-bronze, upholstered with 18th-century French tapestry seat covers, The Bowes Museum, FW.93A. Founders' bequest. Image courtesy of The Bowes Museum

Figure 36



Tapestry fragment, French, c.1725-50. The Bowes Museum, TAP.176. Founders' bequest. Image courtesy of The Bowes Museum

Figure 37

Chair, Monbro aîné, from a set of eighteen, supplied in 1854 for the dining-room at Louveciennes, carved oak, heavily sprung and upholstered in moquette, The Bowes Museum, FW.98.E. Founders' bequest. Image courtesy of The Bowes Museum

Figure 38



Jean-Etienne Liotard, *Madame Louise d'Épinay*, c. 1759. Pastel on vellum, 69 × 55 cm. Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Geneva, Inv. 1826-7. Source: Wikimedia Commons

Figure 39



Antoine Dury, *Joséphine Bowes, Countess of Montalbo*, 1850, Oil on canvas, 195.8 × 127.9 cm, retouched by Eugène Feyen in 1861. The Bowes Museum, B.M.297. Founders' bequest. Image courtesy of The Bowes Museum

Figure 40



Maurice-Quentin Delatour, *Portrait of the Marquise de Pompadour*, Pastel with gouache highlights on at least eight sheets of blue paper including one for the face, glued to canvas on a stretcher, 177 × 136 cm. Musée du Louvre, Département des arts graphiques, Inv. 27614

Figure 41



François-Hubert Drouais, *Madame Du Barry en muse*, 1771-72, Oil on canvas, 207 × 142 cm. Versailles, Chambre de Commerce et d'Industrie des Yvelines et du Val-d'Oise

Figure 42



James Roberts, *Charles Sauvageot dans son appartement du 56 rue du faubourg Poissonnière*, 1856, Gouache on paper, Musée du Louvre, Département des arts graphiques, RF 24032

Figure 43



Painting in the style of Jean-Honoré Fragonard, *Avenue with Figures*, c. 18th century, Oil on canvas, 26.8 × 20.3 cm, The Bowes Museum, B.M.396. Founders' bequest. Image courtesy of The Bowes Museum

Figure 44



Joséphine Bowes, *Landscape (copy after Jean-Honoré Fragonard)*, c. 1860-1874, Oil on canvas, 31.2 × 25 cm, The Bowes Museum, J.37. Courtesy of the Bowes Museum. Founders' bequest. Image courtesy of The Bowes Museum

Figure 45



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

Maleuvre, Virginie Déjazet in the role of Sophie Arnould, Vaudeville de Pittaud de
Forges, Leuven, Dumanoir, 1833, print (engraving), Dimensions unknown. Paris,
Bibliothèque nationale de France

Figure 46



Lit à la polonoise, c. 1760, carved oak, painted and re-hung with glazed cotton and lace by Monbro aîné in 1855-56, The Bowes Museum, FW.372. Founders' bequest, image courtesy of The Bowes Museum

Figure 47



Fauteuil en cabriolet, c. 1765-75, carved and painted beech wood, re-painted and re-upholstered by Monbro aîné in 1855-56. The Bowes Museum, FW.374A. Founders' bequest. Image courtesy of The Bowes Museum

Figure 48



Chair, one of a pair, Monbro aîné, c. 1855-56, painted beech wood, glazed cotton.
The Bowes Museum, FW.106B. Founders' bequest. Image courtesy of The Bowes
Museum

PIERRE FREY
PARIS

TISSUS > IMPERATRICE EUGENIE



B7600002 IMPERATRICE
EUGENIE

BRAQUENIÉ

Imprimés, Cotons

Ce très bel imprimé a été réalisé pour orner une des chambres du petit Trianon à Versailles lors de sa restauration. L'impératrice Eugénie vouant un véritable culte à Marie-Antoinette appréciait particulièrement ce lieu. Les conservateurs de Versailles ont souhaité rendre hommage à l'Impératrice qui a remis au goût du jour les créations Louis XVI. Reproduisant fidèlement une toile imprimée à la planche de bois sous le Second Empire, cette toile présente un décor de branches sinueuses fleuries. Fabriqué en France et imprimé au cadre. Tissu du Petit Trianon du Château de Versailles.

Coloris
2 coloris disponibles



Composition Cotton : 100%

Informations techniques

Poids : 150 gr

Laize : 128 cm / 50.39 inch

Type de raccord : Horizontal 84 cm / 33.07 inch

Test abrasion

Figure 50



Charles Chaplin, *Two Girls Bathing*, 1866, Oil on canvas, 17 × 12 cm, The Bowes Museum, B.M.707. Founders' Bequest. Image courtesy of The Bowes Museum

Figure 51



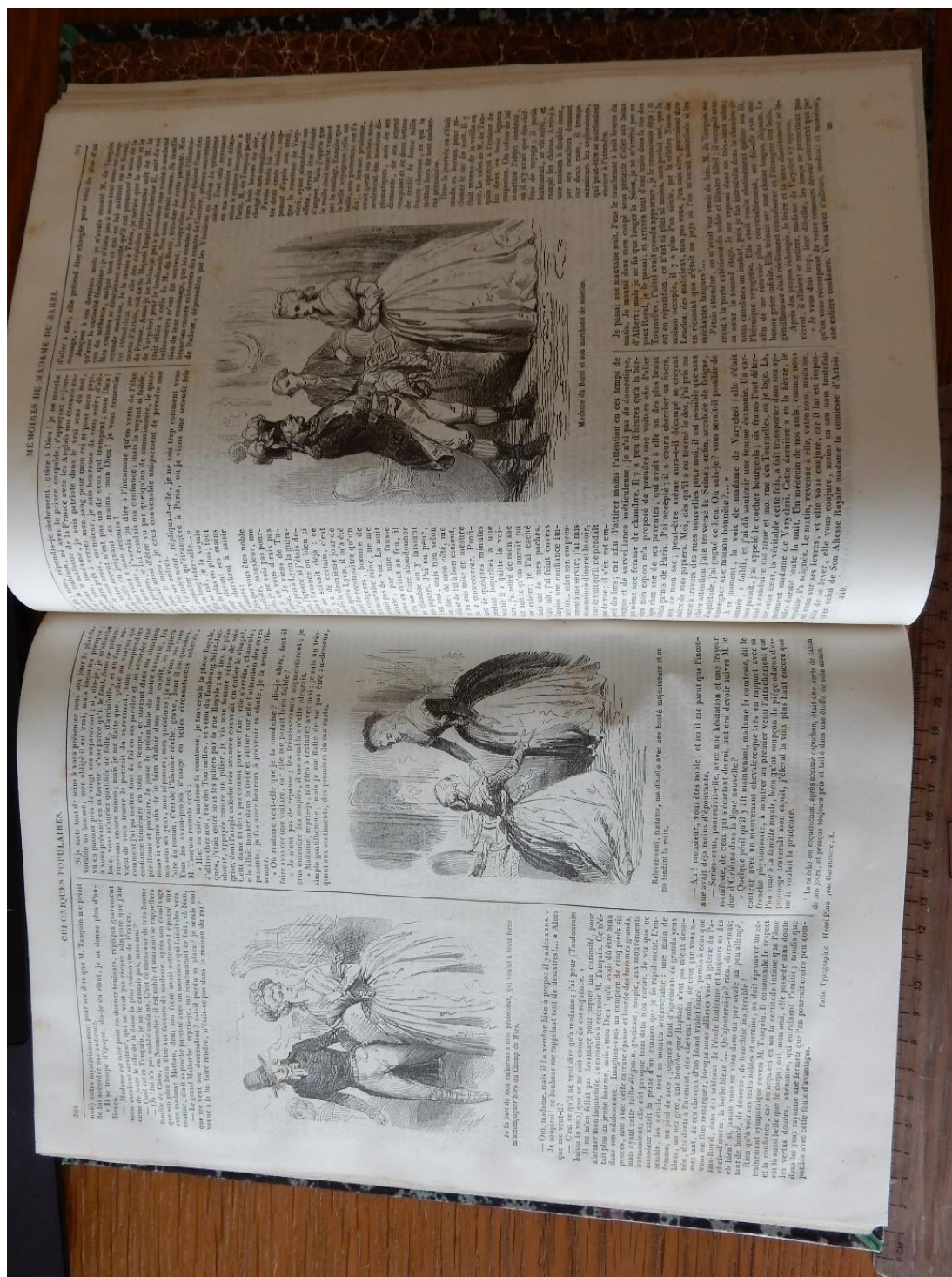
Charles Chaplin, *The Lost Bird*, c. 1860-1870, Oil on panel, 32.4 × 24.1 cm, The Bowes Museum, B.M.705. Founders' bequest. Image courtesy of The Bowes Museum

Figure 52



Pierre Joseph Dedreux-Dorcy, *A Fête Champêtre*, Undated, Oil on canvas, 33.8 × 25.3 cm, The Bowes Museum, B.M.740. Founders' bequest. Image courtesy of The Bowes Museum

Figure 53



Panthéon populaire illustré. Chroniques populaires illustrées par Janet-Lange, The Bowes Museum Archive, F.920/Du.

Figure 54



Panthéon populaire illustré. Chroniques populaires illustrées par Janet-Lange series, The Bowes Museum Archive, F.920/Du.

Figure 55



Follower of Jean Raoux, *Vestal Virgin*, 18th century, Oil on canvas, 59.4 × 49.4 cm, The Bowes Museum, B.M.275. Founders' bequest. Image courtesy of The Bowes Museum

Figure 57



Salle à manger, Louveciennes, c. 1900.

Dossier de protection Château du Barry à Louveciennes, Médiathèque du Patrimoine. Author's image

Figure 58



Salle à manger Louveciennes c. 1901 (Goldshmidt), négatif, support verre,
Médiatèque du Patrimoine, Charenton-le-Pont, mémoire APMH00082147

Figure 59



Lit à la duchesse, possibly by Monbro aîné, c. 1850. The Bowes Museum, FW.112.
Founders' bequest. Image courtesy of The Bowes Museum

Figure 60



Édouard Lièvre, State bed of Valtresse de la Bigne, c. 1875, Carcass of wood, gilt bronze, green silk velvet, Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Inv. 18176. © MAD

Figure 61



Lit à colonne de l'Impératrice Eugénie au palais de l'Elysée, Style louis XVI. Atelier de menuiserie et de tapisserie du Garde-Meuble impérial, Maison Mathevon et Bouvard (pour le Damas d'origine). Musée Château de Compiègne, Inv. GME435; C7296. © RMN-Grand Palais (domaine de Compiègne) / Christophe Chavan

Figure 62



H. Faber, *The Treaty of Hubertusburg, 15 February 1763*, 1763, Oil on canvas, 101.3 × 131.3 cm, The Bowes Museum, B.M.623. Founders' bequest. Image courtesy of The Bowes Museum

Figure 63



The hand of Madame de Pompadour, after [or copy of] Francois Boucher, Oil on canvas, 22 × 11.5 cm, The Bowes Museum, 2007.8/B.M. Founders' bequest. Image courtesy of The Bowes Museum

Figure 64



Drawing of Joséphine's father, 18th century, Pencil and crayon on paper, 16.9 × 12.8 cm (unframed), The Bowes Museum, B.M.1042. Founders' bequest. Image courtesy of The Bowes Museum

Figure 65



Jacques Eugène Feyen, *Monsieur Sergeant*, Undated, Oil on canvas, 22.2 × 16.5 cm, The Bowes Museum, B.M.516. Founders' bequest. Image courtesy of The Bowes Museum

Figure 66



Duchess of Berry, her daughter Louise and son Henri, Duke of Bordeaux, Sketch oil on canvas, c. 1800-1825, The Bowes Museum, 2007.19/B.M. Founders' bequest.

Image courtesy of The Bowes Museum

Figure 67



François Gérard, *La Duchesse de Berri and Her Two Children Praying before a Bust of Her Husband*, c. 1821, Oil on canvas, 190 × 139 cm, The Bowes Museum, B.M.830. Founders' bequest. Image courtesy of The Bowes Museum

Figure 68



Pierre, Studio of Mignard, *Madame de Montespan*, Oil on canvas, 126.9 × 95.6 cm, The Bowes Museum, B.M.255. Founders' bequest. Image courtesy of The Bowes Museum

Figure 69



Faustin Besson, *Lorédan Larchey (1831–1902)*, c. 1860, Oil on canvas, 55.5 × 46.4 cm, The Bowes Museum, B.M.377. Founders' bequest. Image courtesy of The Bowes Museum

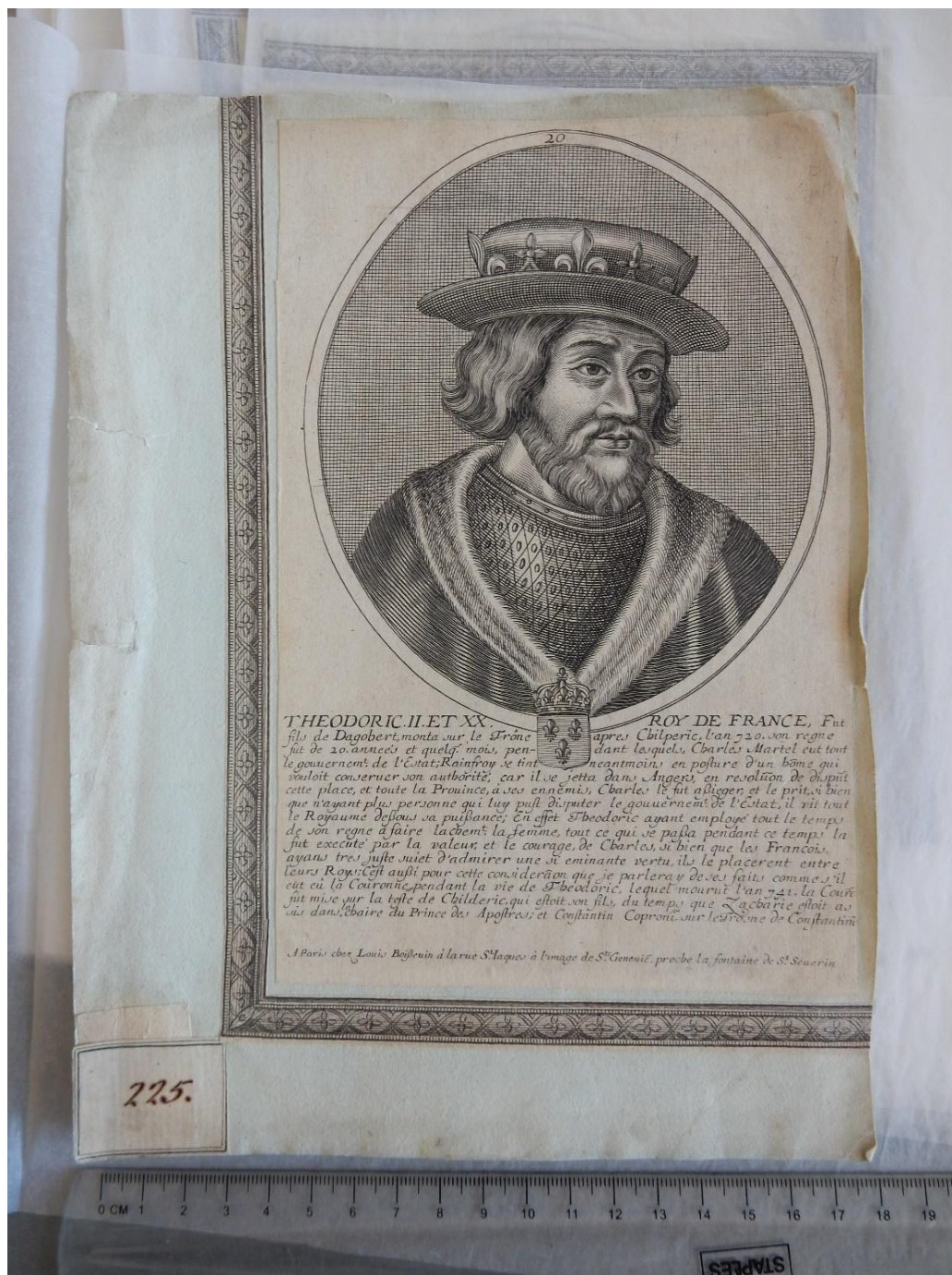
Figure 70



Engraved portrait heads from Pierre Daret, Louis Boissevin, Pierre Daret and Jean Frosne, *Portraits des Rois de France : Avec un sommaire discours contenant les principales actions de leur règne, leurs naissances, mariages, decez et autres remarques curieuses. Depuis Pharamond jusques au Roy Louis XIII*, c. 1661.

Author's photograph

Figure 71



Louis Boissevin, Engraved portrait heads from Pierre Daret, Louis Boissevin, Pierre Daret and Jean Frosne, *Portraits Des Rois De France: Avec un Sommaire discours contenant Les principales actions de leur Regne, Leurs naissance, Mariages, Decez et autres Remarques Curieuses. Depuis Pharamond Iusques Au Roy Louis XIII*, c. 1661, 15 × 20 cm. The Bowes Museum Archive. Author's photograph

Figure 72



Charles Gavard reproduction of Marie-Thérèse Louise de Savoie-Carignan, Princesse de Lamballe, print, The Bowes Museum, 2005.48.89/P.A. The Bowes Museum, Author's photograph

Figure 73



Jug and basin, porcelain, gold, enamel, Imitation Sevres marks for 1758, 25 cm (Jug) × 36 cm (Basin). The Bowes Museum, X.2180B.1 & 2. Founders' bequest.
Image courtesy of The Bowes Museum

Figure 74



Pair of Jardinières, Portraits of Marie Antoinette, Louis XVI and the Princess de Lamballe, Made of imitation Sevres Porcelain, c.1875, Hard paste porcelain. The Bowes Museum, X.2556.1 & 2. Founders' bequest. Image courtesy of The Bowes Museum

Figure 75



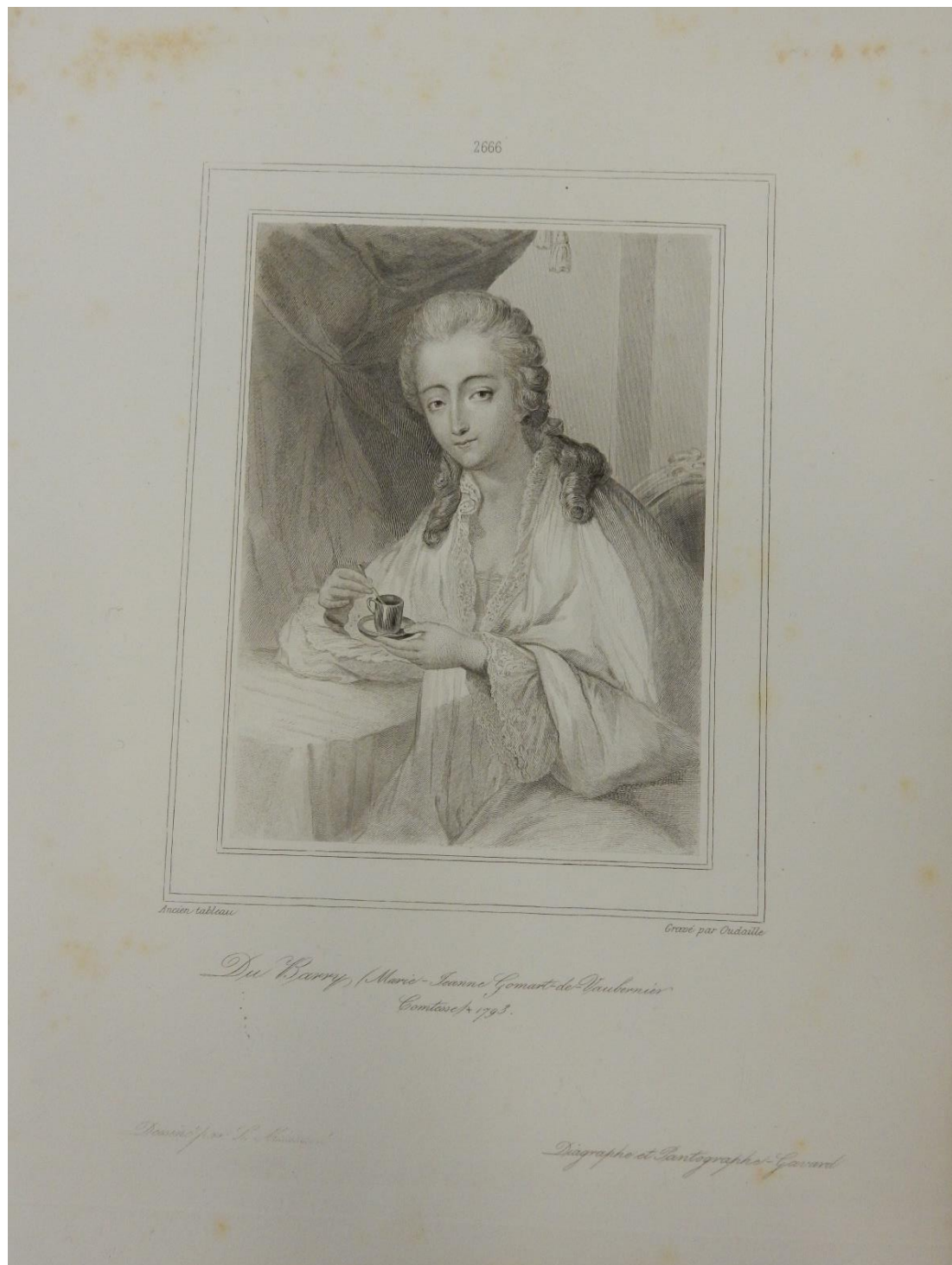
Necklace with portraits, c.1850, Gold, copper, polychrome enamel. The Bowes Museum, X.5259. Founders' bequest. Image courtesy of The Bowes Museum

Figure 76



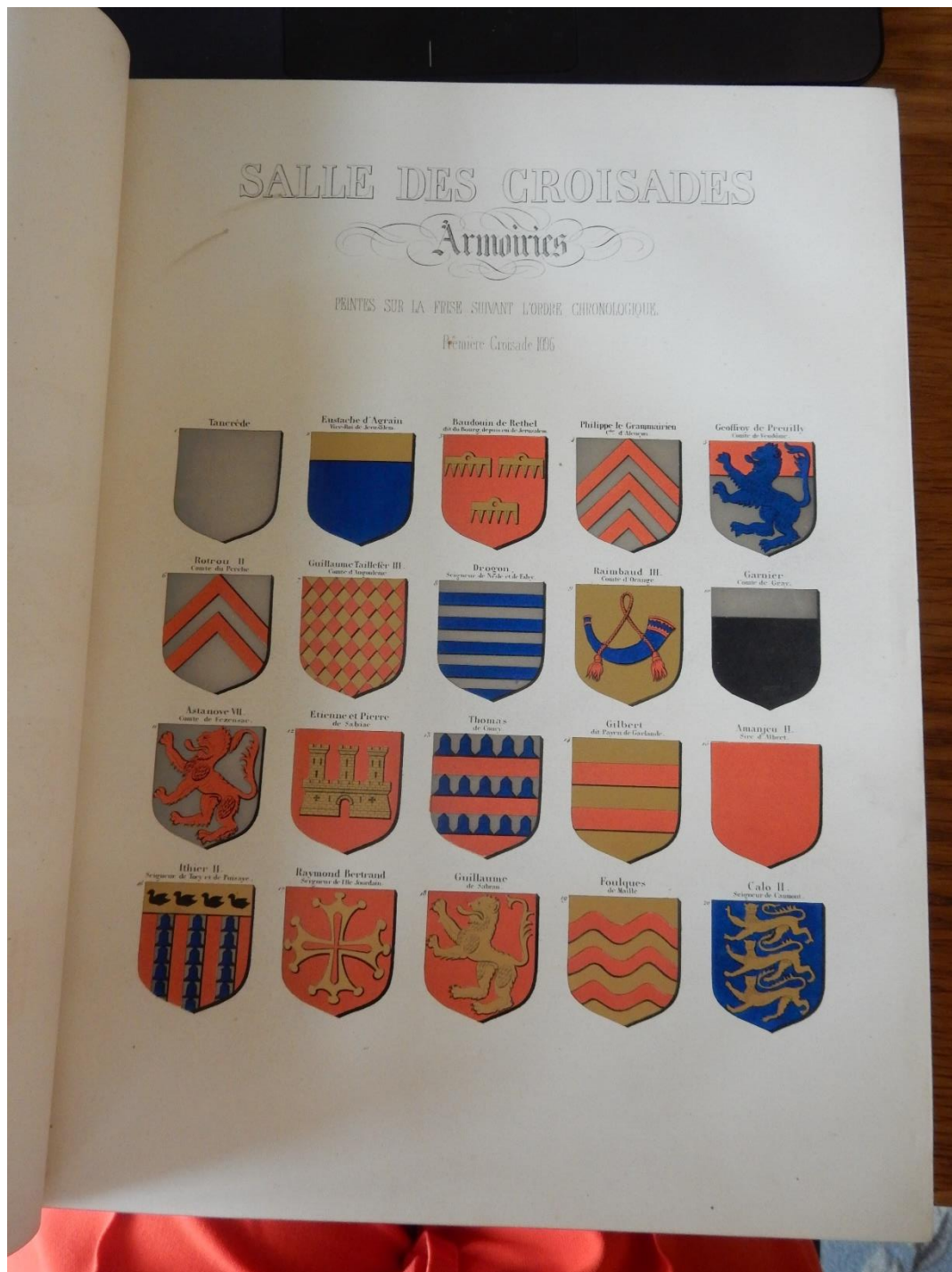
Louis-Edouard Rioult, *Portrait of Madame de Lamballe (1749-1792)*, 1843 after an 18th century portrait, Oil on canvas, 64 × 53 cm, MV 4523. Source: Wikimedia Commons

Figure 77



Charles Gavard reproduction of Madame Du Barry, print, The Bowes Museum,
2005.48.82/P.A. Autho's photograph

Figure 78



Charles Gavard, *Versailles. Salles des croisades (armoiries)*, The Bowes Museum Archive, F.940.18/Ga. Author's photo

Figure 79



French School, *La Marquise de Pompadour* (1721-1764), c. 1740-1760, Oil on canvas, 132.5 × 96.2 cm, The Bowes Museum, B.M.860. Courtesy of the Bowes Museum. Founders' bequest. Image courtesy of The Bowes Museum

Figure 80



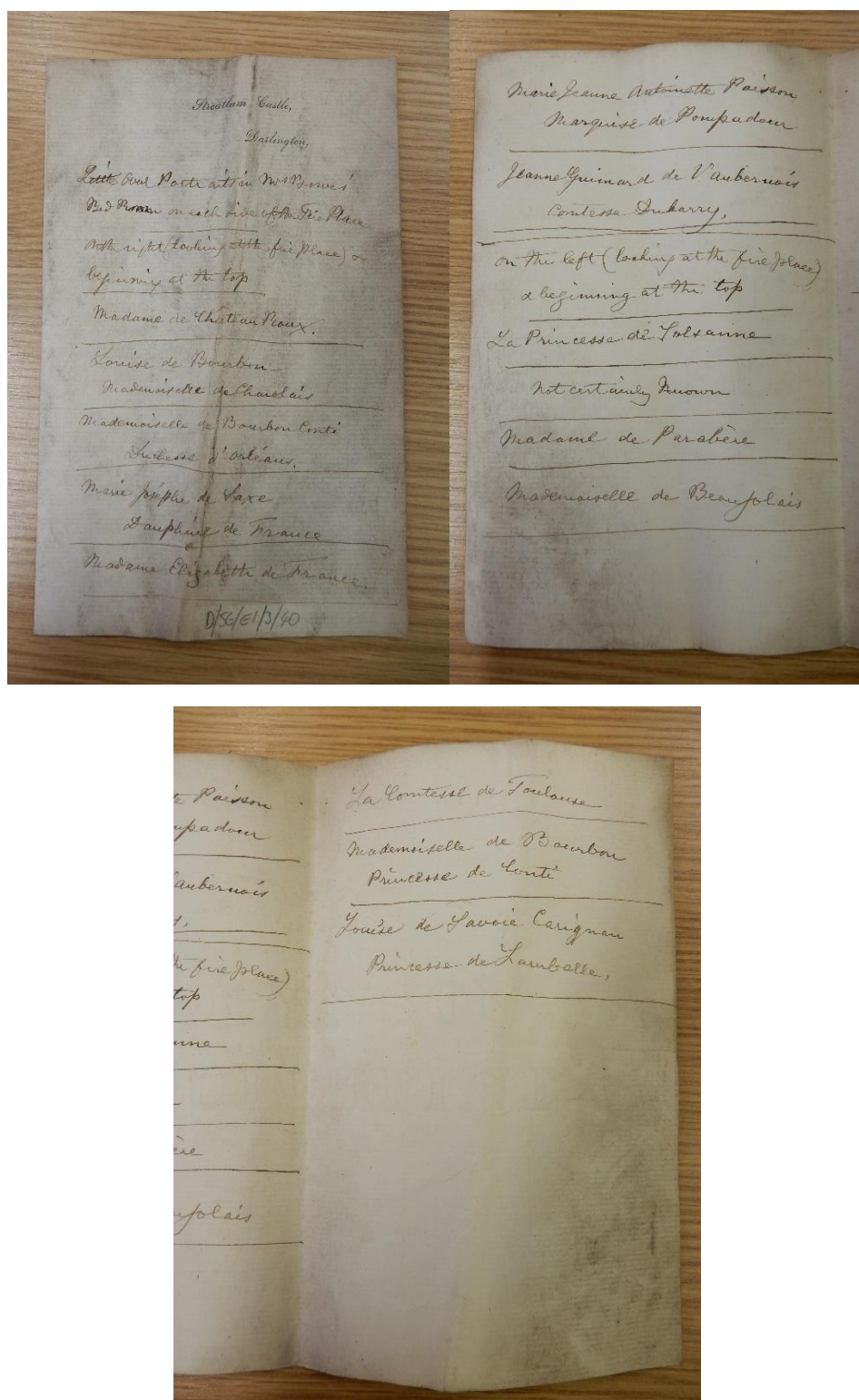
French School, *Portrait of a Lady with a Lace Fontange Headdress*, 1680-1700, Oil on canvas, 71.9 × 58.7 cm, The Bowes Museum, B.M.899. Founders' bequest.
Image courtesy of The Bowes Museum

Figure 81



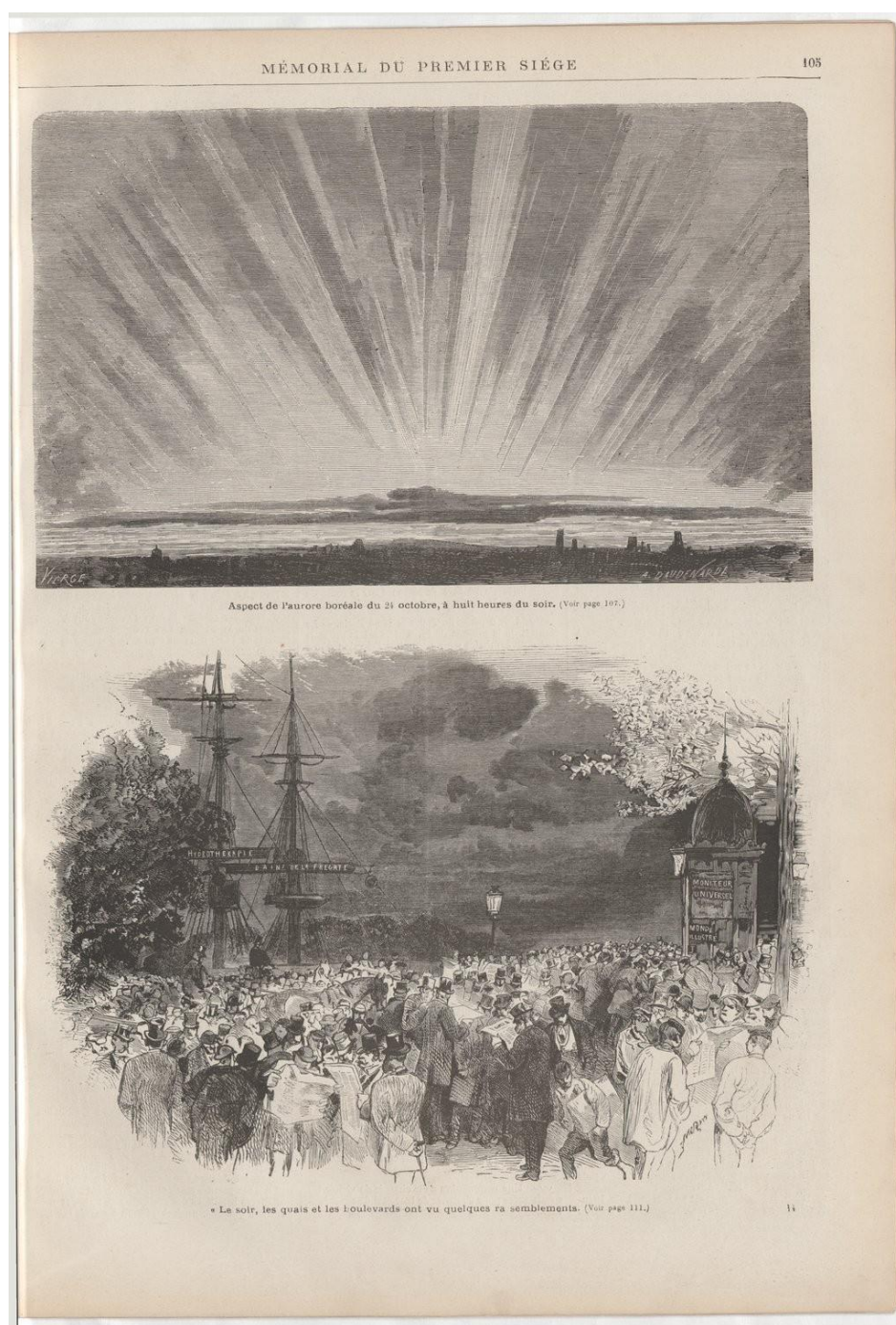
Salt cellar, 1787, Sèvres porcelain, Mark: interlaced L's, date letter and decorator Rachel Bouillat. The Bowes Museum, X.2451. Founders' bequest. Image courtesy of The Bowes Museum

Figure 82



'Little oval portraits in Mrs Bowes' Bedroom on each side of the fireplace', DCRO, D/St/E1/3/40, Author's photograph

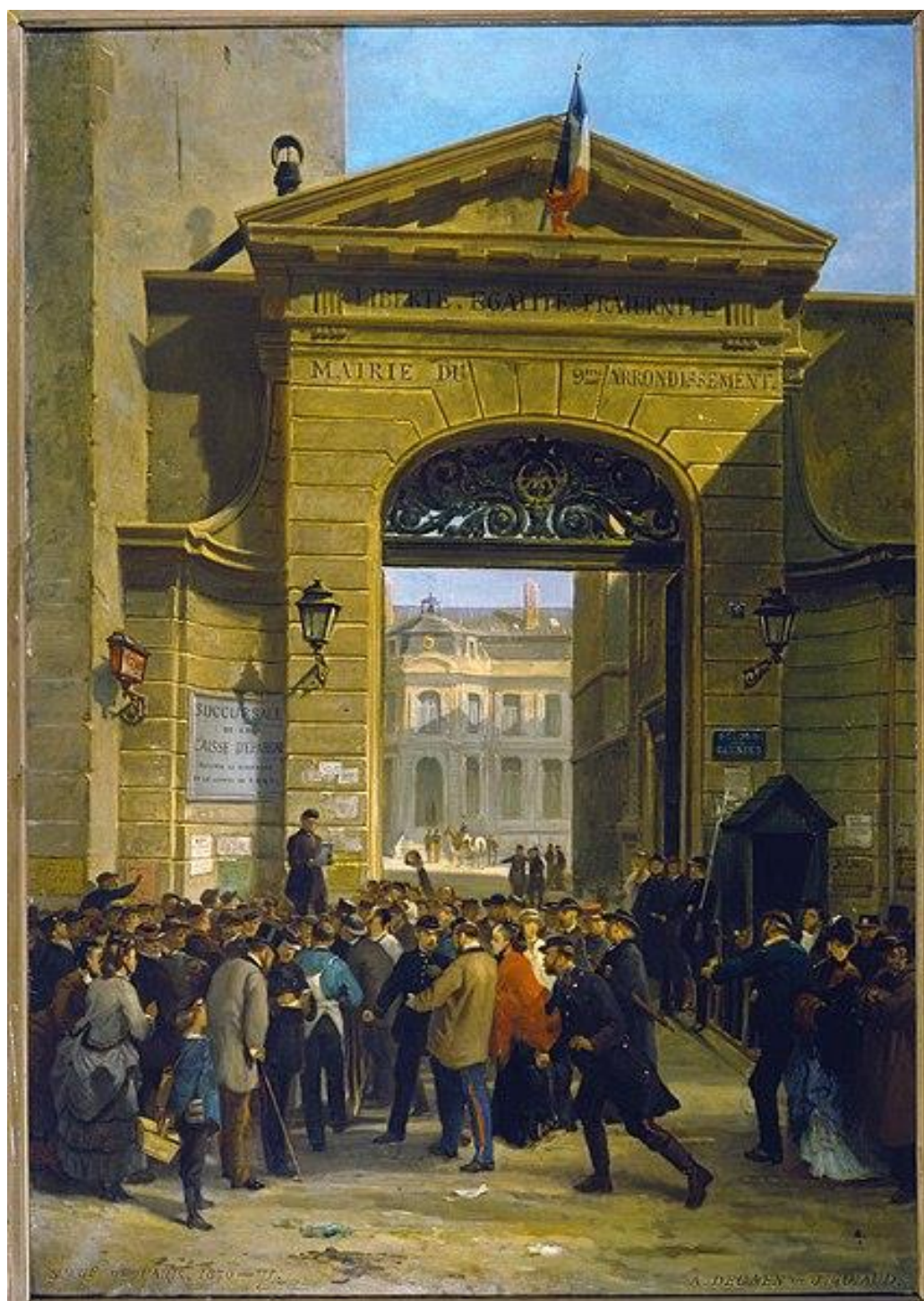
Figure 83



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

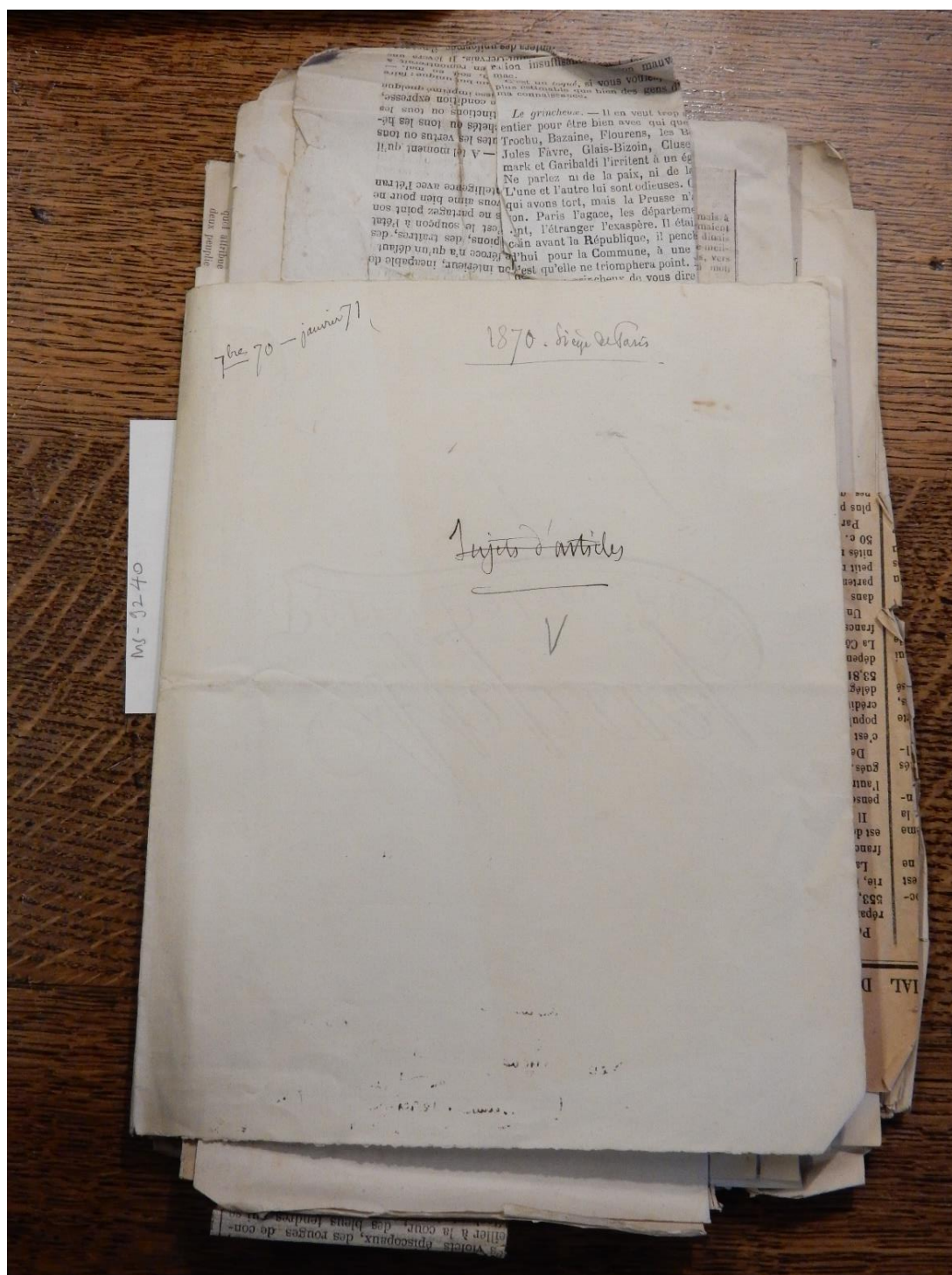
Lorédan Larchey, *Mémorial Illustré des deux sièges de Paris*, Vol. 2 (Paris: 1872), p. 105, 30,5 × 48,3 cm. Bibliothèque nationale de France

Figure 84



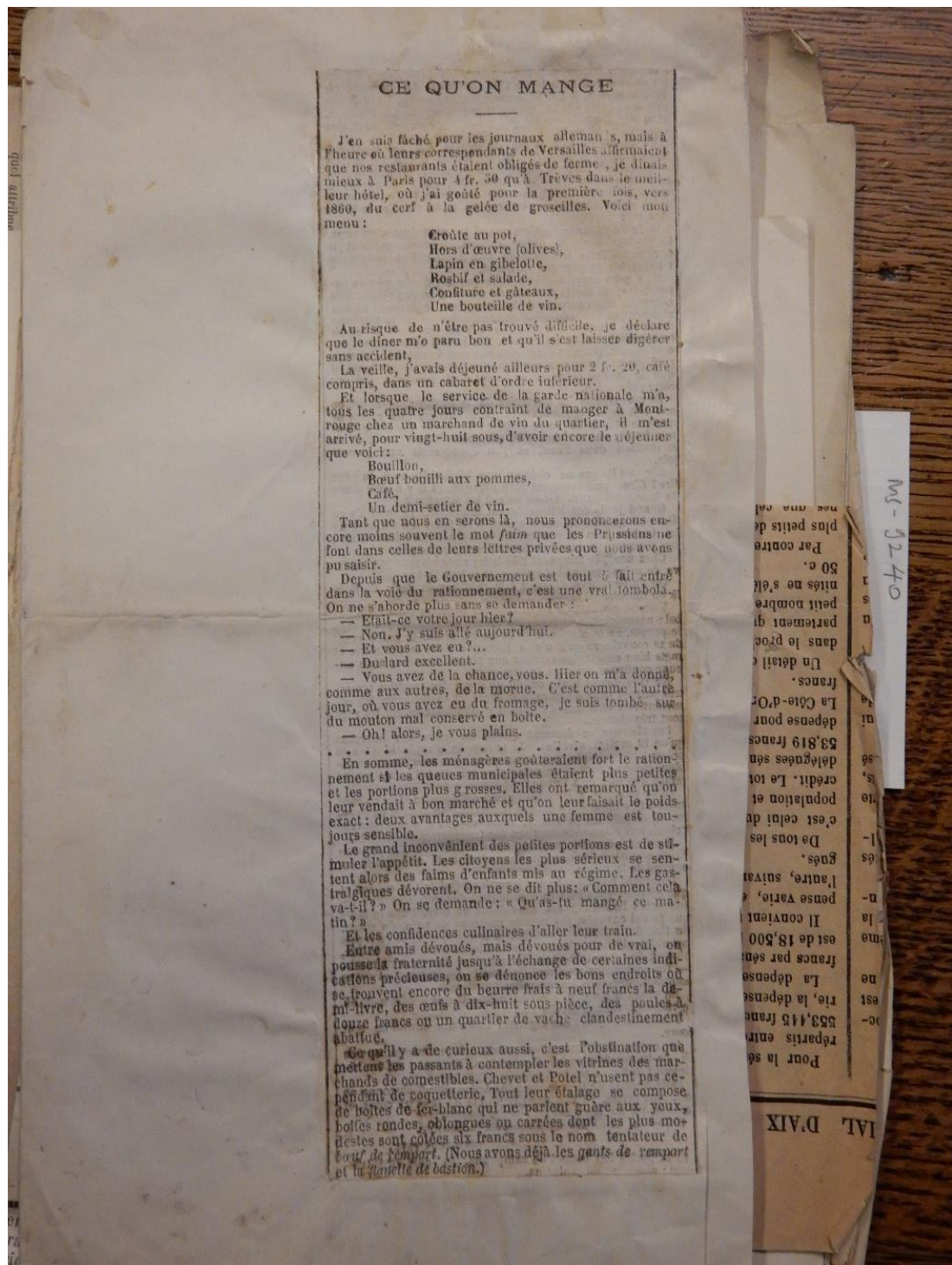
Alfred Decaen and Jacques Guiaud, *Lecture d'une dépêche à la mairie du IXème arrondissement, rue Drouot (19 janvier 1871)*, 1871, Oil on canvas, 100 × 70 cm, Musée Carnavalet, Histoire de Paris, inv. P1224. CC0 Paris Musées / Musée Carnavalet

Figure 85



File belonging to Lorédan Larchey with ephemera and notes used in his *Mémorial Illustré des deux sièges*, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris, MS 9240, Author's photo

Figure 86



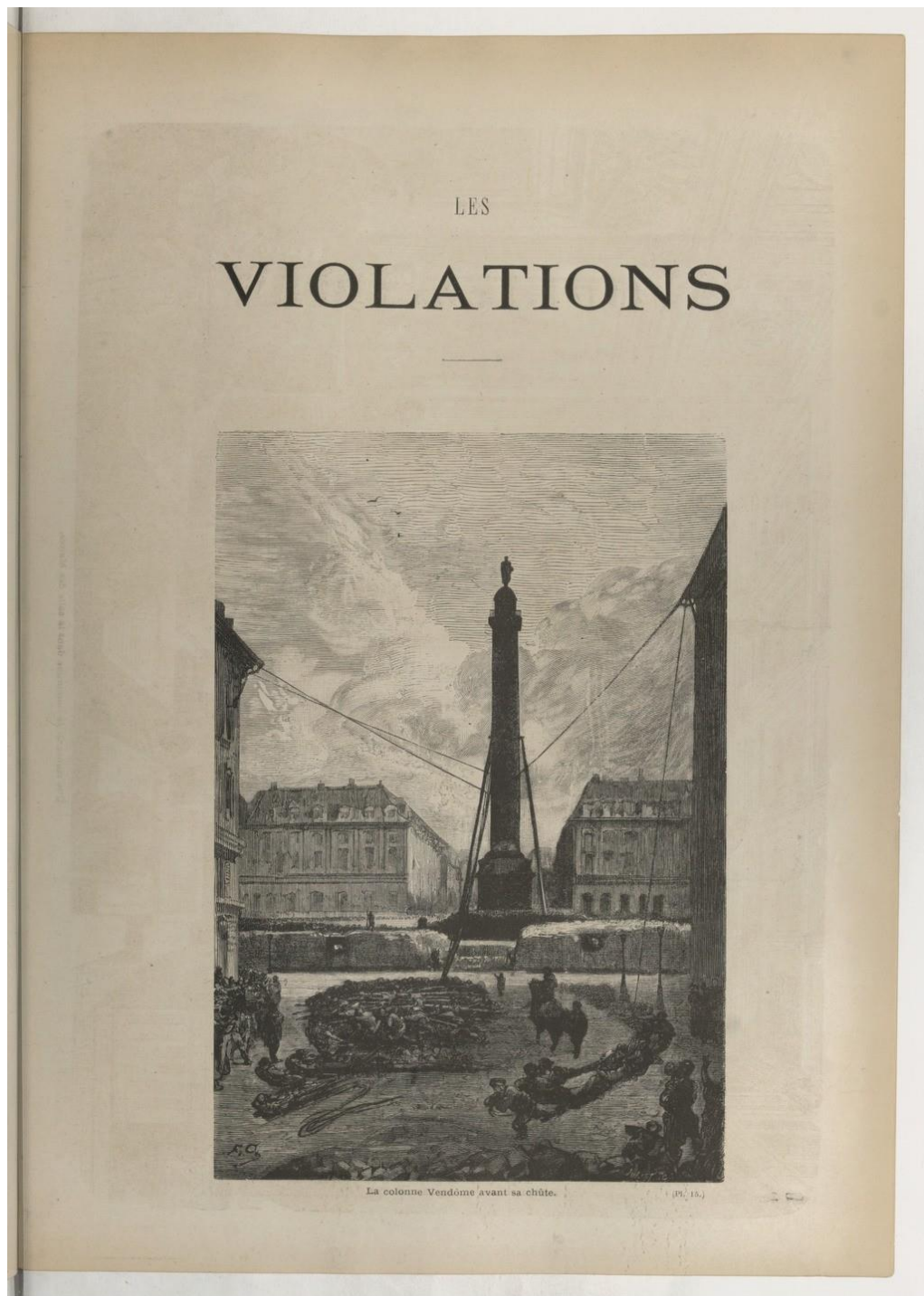
Lorédan Larchey's file with cuttings used in his *Mémorial Illustré des deux sièges*,
Arsenal MS 9240, Author's photo

Figure 87



Lorédan Larchey, *Mémorial Illustré des deux sièges de Paris*, Vol. 2 (Paris: 1872), p. 81, 30,5 × 48,3 cm. Bibliothèque nationale de France

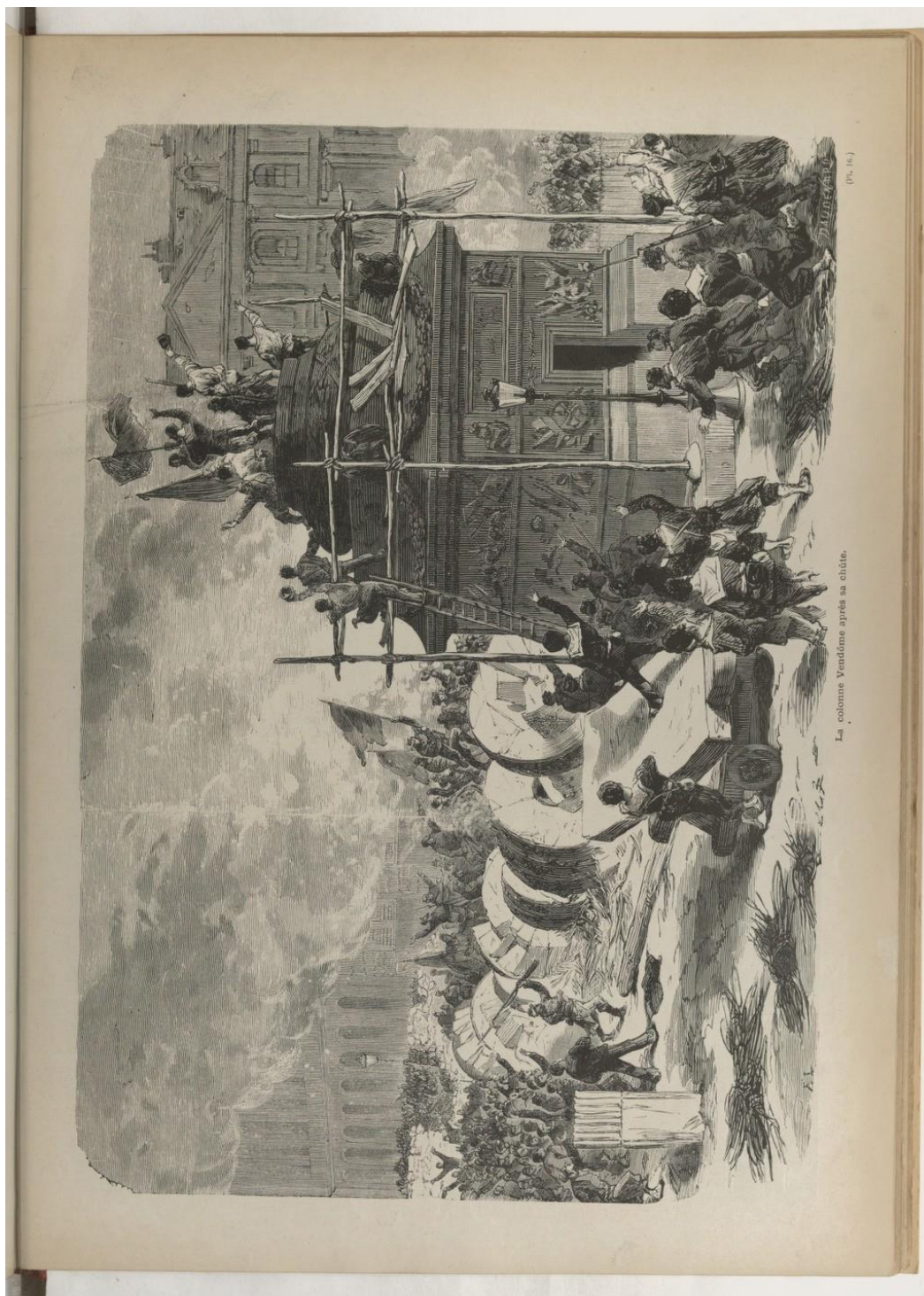
Figure 88



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

'La colonne Vendôme avant sa chute', Lorédan Larchey, *Mémorial Illustré des deux sièges de Paris*, Vol. 2 (Paris: 1872), p. 353, 30,5 × 48,3 cm. Bibliothèque nationale de France

Figure 89



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

'La colonne Vendôme après sa chute', Lorédan Larchey, *Mémorial Illustré des deux sièges de Paris*, Vol. 2 (Paris: 1872), p. 355, 30,5 × 48,3 cm. Bibliothèque nationale de France

Figure 90



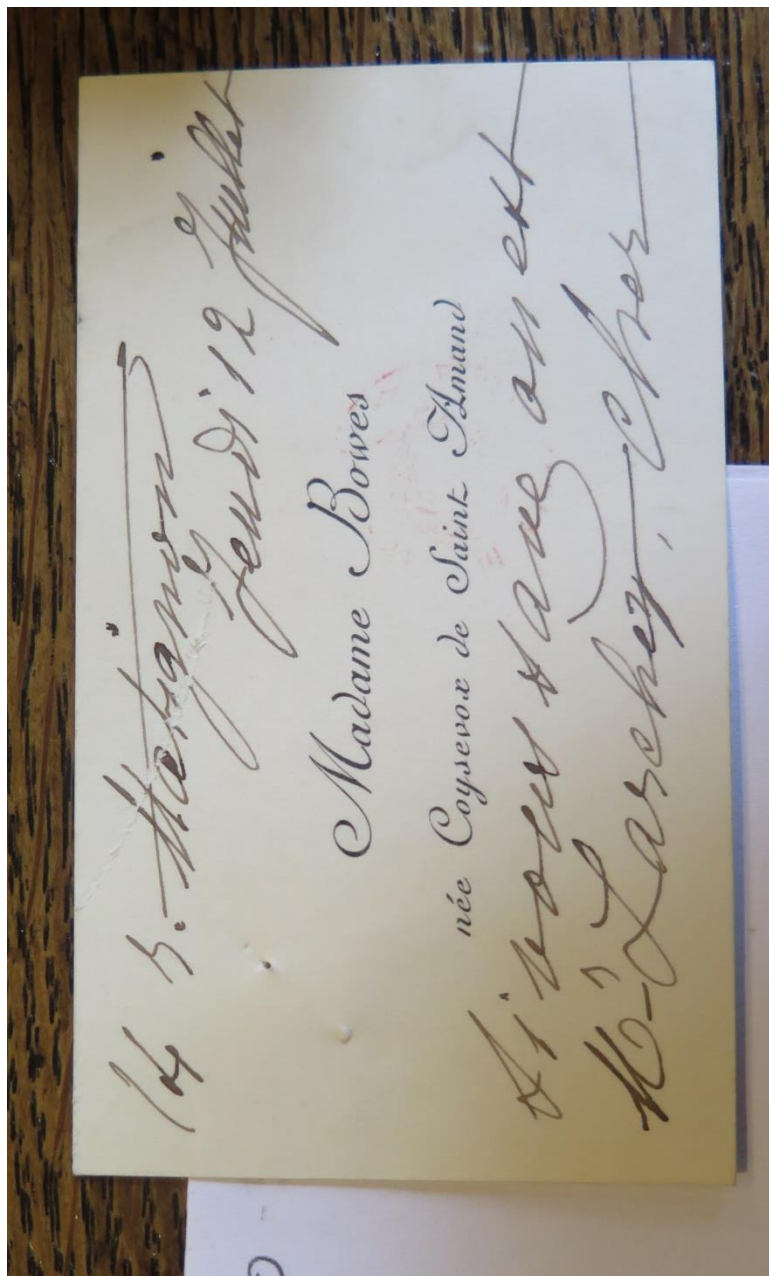
Unknown source. Vue de la colonne vendôme après sa chute.

Figure 91



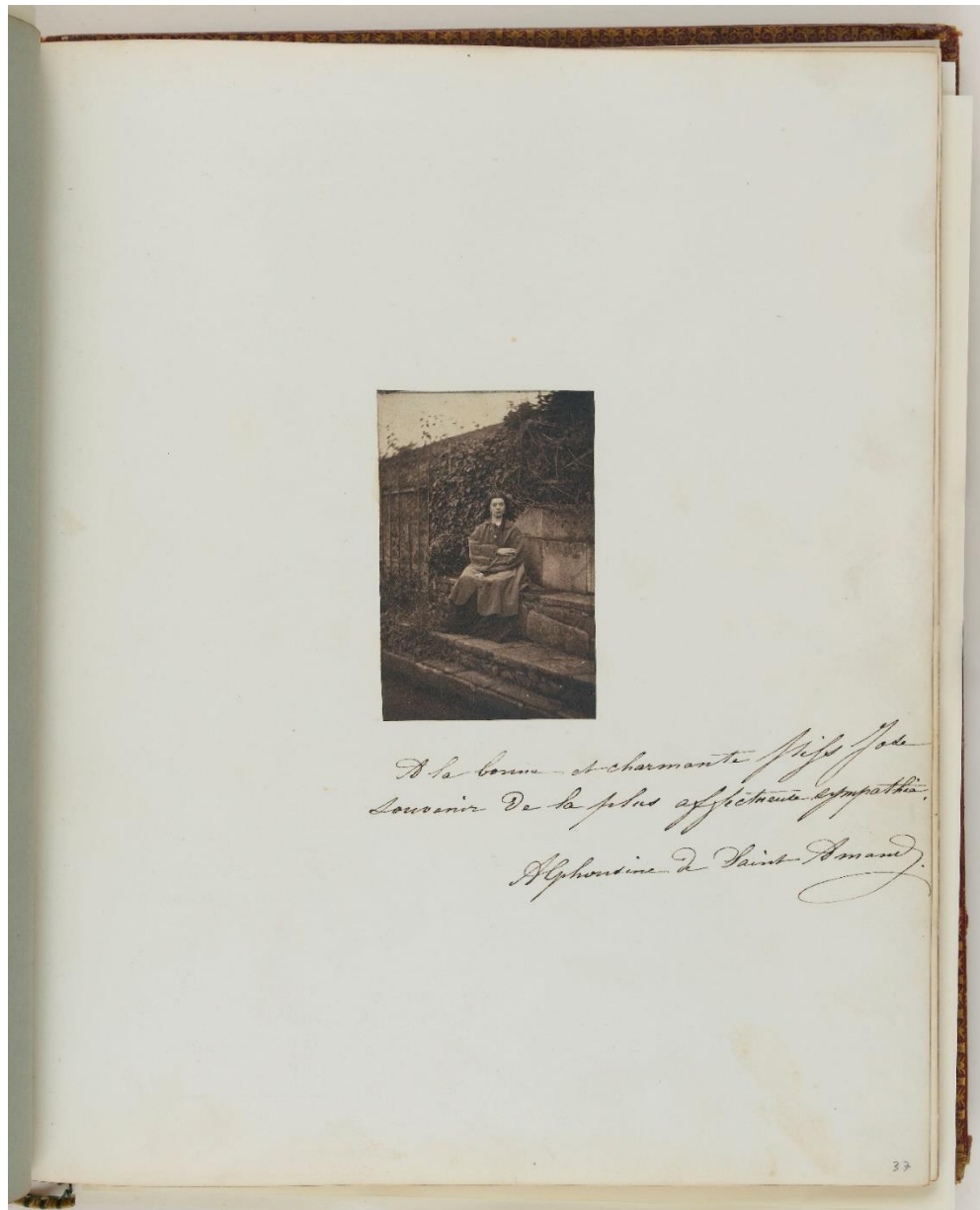
Antoine Denis Chaudet, *La Victoire*, c. 1818, bronze. Musée Malmaison, inv. M.M.66.2.1. Photo © RMN-Grand Palais (musée des châteaux de Malmaison et de Bois-Préau)

Figure 92



Calling card of Alphonsine Bowes de Saint-Amand, c. 1900, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Papiers Lorédan Larchey, MS 9260. Author's photograph

Figure 93



Photograph and autograph of Alphonisine de Saint-Amand, *Album de Miss Joss*, c.1860, 8,2 × 5,5 cm (photograph). CC0 Paris Musées/Maisons de Victor Hugo Paris-Guernesey.

Figure 94



The Hugo family and friends in the garden of Hauteville House, c. 1860, photograph. CC0 Paris Musées/Maisons de Victor Hugo Paris-Guernesey.

Figure 95



Salon des tapisseries, Hauterive House. © Graham Jackson

Figure 96



LE LOOK OUT.

Cabinet de Victor Hugo.

A. CADART Edit. Imp. Paris.

Maxime Lalanne, etching, *Chez Victor Hugo par un passant* (Paris: Cadart et Luquet, 1864), p. 71

Figure 97



Couloir aux faïences, Hauterive House. © Graham Jackson

Figure 98



The Bowes Museum, TAP.45. Founders' bequest. Image courtesy of The Bowes Museum

Figure 99



Saint-Gratien, *l'atelier de la princesse Mathilde*, épreuve sur papier baryté, 23,3 × 18 cm, musée Hébert, inv. MNEH1997-4-1093. © RMN-Grand Palais (musée d'Orsay) / Stéphane Maréchalle

Figure 100



Alain-Marie Michel-Villeblanche (after Hyacinthe Rigaud), *Portrait of the sculptor Antoine Coysevox*, 1882, oil on canvas, 120 × 84.5 cm, Rennes, Musée des Beaux-Arts, INV 08.43.1. © MBA, Rennes, Dist. RMN-Grand Palais / Jean-Manuel Salingue

Figure 101



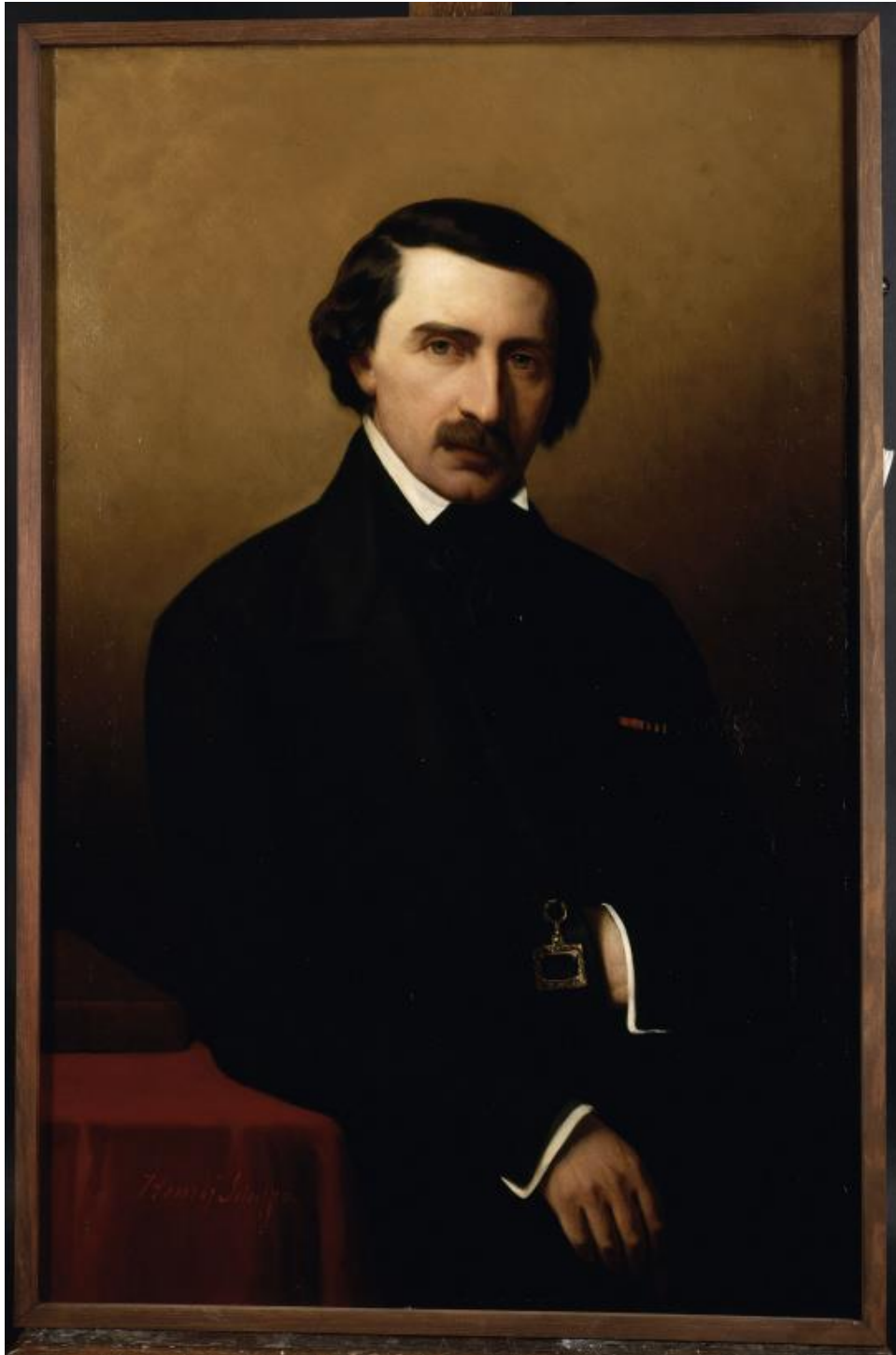
Henry Scheffer, *Dame en pelisse blanche*, undated, oil on canvas, 61 × 50 cm, Rennes, Musée des Beaux-Arts, INV 08.42.2. © MBA, Rennes, Dist. RMN-Grand Palais / Jean-Manuel Salingue

Figure 102



Henry Scheffer, *Petite fille au manteau bleu*, 1844, oil on canvas, 49 × 43.5 cm, Rennes, Musée des Beaux-Arts, INV 08.42.1. © MBA, Rennes, Dist. RMN-Grand Palais / Jean-Manuel Salingue

Figure 103



Henry Scheffer, *Portrait of Hippolyte Lucas*, c. 1848-55, oil on canvas, 98 × 63,5 cm. Rennes, Musée des Beaux-Arts, INV 25.47.1. © MBA, Rennes, Dist. RMN-Grand Palais / Adélaïde Beaudoin

Figure 104



G. Lipouilly(?), *Portrait of Léo Lucas as a Child*, c. 1846, oil on canvas, 65 × 54 cm.
Rennes, Musée des Beaux-Arts, INV 25.13.42