



The General Exhibition of Pictures of 1851: National Schools and International Trade in the Mid-Victorian Art Market

Jan Dirk Baetens

To cite this article: Jan Dirk Baetens (2016) The General Exhibition of Pictures of 1851: National Schools and International Trade in the Mid-Victorian Art Market, *Visual Culture in Britain*, 17:3, 270-289, DOI: [10.1080/14714787.2016.1259013](https://doi.org/10.1080/14714787.2016.1259013)

To link to this article: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14714787.2016.1259013>



© 2016 The Author(s). Published by Informa UK Limited, trading as Taylor & Francis Group



Published online: 29 Nov 2016.



Submit your article to this journal [↗](#)



Article views: 205



View related articles [↗](#)



View Crossmark data [↗](#)

Jan Dirk Baetens

The General Exhibition of Pictures of 1851: National Schools and International Trade in the Mid-Victorian Art Market

This article examines a little-known but important moment in the history of the London art market and exhibition scene, namely, the organization of the General Exhibition of Pictures by the Living Artists of the Schools of All Countries, which was set up in London by Ossian Verdeau and Henry Mogford in 1851, concurrently with the Great Exhibition. It argues that the General Exhibition was not only the first universal art exhibition, but also constituted a major step towards the development of the London art district as a vast universal exhibition in its own right, featuring art from all countries and based on a logic of 'national branding' and cosmopolitanism.

Keywords: art market, history of exhibitions, art dealers, international art trade, General Exhibition, universal exhibitions, Henry Mogford, Ossian Verdeau, Ernest Gambart

Introduction

In 1851, an ambitious international exhibition of contemporary art, entitled the 'General Exhibition of Pictures by the Living Artists of the Schools of All Countries', was staged in Lichfield House, St. James's Square, London. The exhibition aimed to unite contemporary works of art from all major national schools. Borrowing the structure and style of the Great Exhibition itself, the show focused on fine arts in an attempt to benefit from the influx of visitors and tourists attracted by the more prominent event. However, in contrast with the latter, the General Exhibition was both a commercial flop and critical failure, and, as a result, it has solicited only limited scholarly attention.¹ Nevertheless, in the light of recent studies of the fundamental changes in the London art market and exhibition scene of the nineteenth century, and the impact of these changes on collecting practices, the General Exhibition now appears as a milestone in the history of the English art world and, probably, the European art world more generally.²

First, despite its unequivocally commercial agenda, it is the earliest example of an international exhibition dedicated to contemporary art, preceding by four years the 'Exposition universelle' in Paris in 1855, with that show's magnificent display of modern art from all over Europe. Secondly, and more importantly, it also constituted a major step towards the development of what Pamela Fletcher has called the 'Grand Tour on

Bond Street', the system of 'national branding' that was adopted by commercial art galleries in London in the second half of the nineteenth century, and which quickly came to structure London's market for modern art as a whole.³ This article analyses the General Exhibition's role in the internationalist dynamic of the London and European art world in the mid-nineteenth century. This was a time characterized by the increasing importance of the concept of 'national schools' in art history and art criticism, the emergence, and subsequent proliferation, of universal art exhibitions, the gradual integration of the European art market, and, on the intersection of all these elements, the development of the system of 'national branding' in London, Europe's leading market for contemporary art. The article draws, amongst other sources, from the hitherto unknown and unstudied correspondence archives of Henry Mogford, the secretary of the General Exhibition.⁴

Working the network: the organization of the General Exhibition

The original scheme for the General Exhibition was conceived in the early spring of 1851 by Ossian Verdeau, a French entrepreneur who was active in construction, railways and trade. Nowadays, Verdeau is primarily remembered for the invention of a system of rental of linen for hotels in Paris, and for his involvement in the construction of shopping arcades in that city, particularly the building of the Passage Verdeau on the Boulevard Montmartre in 1847, which was named after him and housed his office.⁵ Verdeau was seconded in his exhibition scheme by Henry Mogford, who, as the exhibition's secretary, was responsible for the majority of the practical organization. Mogford is a shadowy but interesting figure, who undertook wide-ranging activities in the mid-Victorian art world.⁶ He had trained as an artist and enjoyed a career as a restorer of, and dealer in, Old Master paintings, but in the 1840s he reinvented himself as a journalist for the *Art-Union*, later *The Art-Journal*. In this role, he contributed to the journal's crusade against the trade in (often spurious) Old Master paintings, and its concomitant promotion of contemporary art, thus somewhat reflecting the shift in the London art market's focus from older work to contemporary art.⁷ Verdeau probably recruited Mogford because of his connection with the influential *Art-Journal*, but the substantial international network that Mogford had developed as an international correspondent for the journal, and his experience in organizing at least one prior exhibition, may also have played a role.⁸

It was undoubtedly the absence of the fine arts in the Great Exhibition of 1851, justified because of its focus on industry, but controversial because of its official aim of educating and elevating taste, that gave Verdeau the idea for the General Exhibition.⁹ His plans were based on the Great Exhibition's own logic, which combined ideas of international collaboration, peaceful competition and fruitful emulation with an underlying agenda that was unmistakably commercial. In fact, a variety of actors set up various schemes in response to the heavily criticized lacuna at the Great Exhibition, including the opening of private art collections in London to the public and the extension of opening hours of public art galleries, all

competing with dozens of other shows, displays and exhibitions for the attention of the millions of people who visited the British capital.¹⁰ At least two other exhibition schemes comparable to Verdeau's were pursued, one by Charles Wentworth Wass, an engraver and picture dealer who set up a Gallery of British Art, and a more ambitious, and similarly internationally oriented, scheme, conceived by the firm Prince, Green and Company, which unsuccessfully tried to establish an international picture gallery close to the Crystal Palace.¹¹ What distinguished Verdeau's plans, however, and gave them a greater chance of success, were his contacts with Baron Taylor's Association des peintres, sculpteurs, architectes, graveurs et dessinateurs in France. Indeed, the collaboration of French artists was an essential ingredient for success, since French art was generally regarded as exemplary and trend-setting and was virtually always the main point of reference in any discussion on the comparative merits of the various national schools, in Britain as in Europe.¹² According to *Le Palais de cristal*, a short-lived journal published in 1851 on the occasion of the Great Exhibition, Baron Taylor's Association had received several offers for participation in projected art exhibitions in London, including, in fact, an offer made by Prince, Green and Company, but it had opted for Verdeau's scheme, because he had provided the best guarantees for transportation, insurance and other practical matters.¹³ The Association's involvement secured Verdeau with works by Paul Delaroche, a favourite with the British public, Léon Coigniet and other French crowd-pullers, which he and Mogford would complement with the work of lesser-known painters.¹⁴

Verdeau and Mogford planned to show around 1000 paintings, combining, in Patricia Mainardi's terminology, 'pictures to see' and 'pictures to sell'.¹⁵ The former would attract paying visitors (one shilling each or five shillings for a season ticket), while the latter would yield a commission in case of sale.¹⁶ Transportation costs and custom duties were covered for the most prestigious paintings and, up to a certain amount, for popular pictures that they hoped would sell easily.¹⁷ All other pictures could only be submitted and transported at the expense of the artist or owner. These lesser artists would be attracted to the exhibition by its international prestige and, more importantly, by the prospect of London's highly capitalized art market.

In accordance with these plans, Verdeau convinced his friend, the renowned French sculptor, Antoine Étex, to participate in the exhibition, and attempted to draw in a wide variety of other famous French artists, including Horace Vernet, Eugène Delacroix, Eugène Isabey, Rosa Bonheur, Camille Corot and Théodore Rousseau.¹⁸ Mogford, in his turn, called upon his friend, the Belgian artist Gustave Wappers, who was court painter to the Belgian king, and director of the prestigious Royal Academy of Fine Arts in Antwerp, and whose work featured in the collection of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert. Wappers responded by submitting three paintings, including *Louis XVII of France*, owned by the Belgian king, and *Geneviève of Brabant*, from the collection of Prince Albert.¹⁹ In addition, Mogford and Verdeau contacted agents, dealers and other intermediaries all over Europe and asked them to submit

works or ask others to do so, including the Belgian art dealer Gustave Coûteaux, the Munich-based dealer Franz Bolgiano, the art historian Gustav Waagen in Berlin and a number of exhibition societies and artists.²⁰ Submissions were assembled by local coordinators in cities all over Europe and were subsequently shipped to London together by the firm of McCracken or one of its international partners.²¹

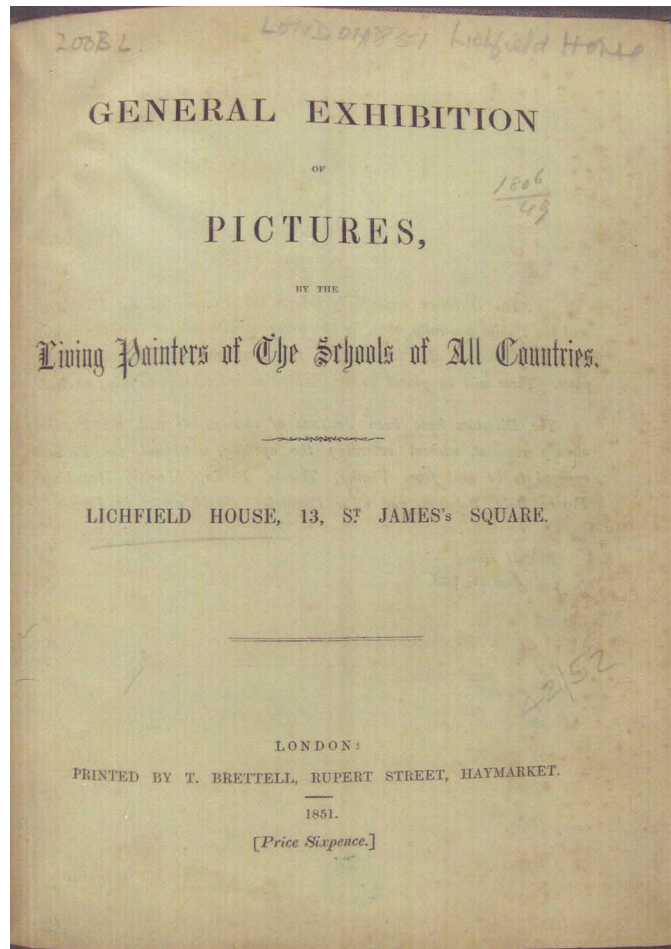
To accommodate all these paintings in a fitting environment, Verdeau rented Lichfield House, an aristocratic London townhouse on St. James's Square, which was close to the fashionable shopping area in the West End and in the heart of what was quickly becoming London's art district (Figure 1).²² A system of gas lighting was put in place for evening

Figure 1. John Stuart.
Lichfield House, St. James's
Square, London, 1763–1770.
Courtesy of Patrick Baty.



openings, and plans were made to build an extra temporary exhibition space on the terrace and in the courtyard of the house, although these plans were probably never executed.²³ An exhibition catalogue was also prepared (Figure 2), and Verdeau and Mogford combined their networks to appoint a committee of patronage composed of aristocrats, such as the Marquess of Lansdowne, the Earl of Eglinton, the Earl of Malmesbury and Lord Northwick, some of whom Mogford may have known through his presence in antiquarian circles.²⁴ Their support was stressed in announcements of the exhibition in the art press, which gave the venture an aristocratic and disinterested appearance, in keeping with its aristocratic premises.²⁵ Following the same logic, announcements of the exhibition downplayed the private and commercial character of the enterprise in general. Mogford's own *Art-Journal* wrongfully claimed that most works on view had been borrowed from collectors, implying that they were not for sale.²⁶ *The Art-Journal* also wrote that the initiative for the exhibition had been taken by French artists, who had allegedly

Figure 2. Catalogue for *General Exhibition of Pictures by the Living Painters of the Schools of all Countries*, Lichfield House, 1851.



been disappointed that they could not exhibit at the Great Exhibition, in order to give the show the less commercial aura associated with artist-controlled exhibitions.²⁷ Many of the announcements also suggested a hint of official sanctioning of the General Exhibition. They often referred to the lacuna in the Great Exhibition itself, emphasizing the fact that the guiding principles of both exhibitions were the same and thereby attributing a semi-official status to the General Exhibition, which would '[elucidate] the actual progress and scale of excellence in all the contemporary Schools of the present epoch'.²⁸ In reality, the exhibition was, of course, not 'official' at all. When Gustave Wappers asked Prince Albert if he could show his *Geneviève of Brabant*, from the Royal Consort's private collection, the Prince replied at first that he was not aware of any place where the work could be exhibited.²⁹ Nevertheless, the result of Mogford's and Verdeau's strategic communication was the general expectation of an innovative and ambitious international exhibition that would allow people to learn and elevate their taste, much as they would be capable of doing at the official universal art exhibitions organized in the following years and decades, in a truly international environment and (comparatively) unhindered by commercial exigencies.

The failure of the General Exhibition

Despite the ambitions and careful preparations of Verdeau and Mogford, the General Exhibition was a failure in almost all respects. On the evening of the private view preceding the opening of the exhibition in early June, many of the expected works of art had not yet arrived, or had not been properly hung.³⁰ The system of gas lighting was also badly placed, which made it impossible to see the pictures on display properly, and, in addition, the catalogue had not yet been published.³¹ As the summer progressed, new arrivals came, and rearrangements of the galleries were effected. Despite this, the criticism of the exhibition only grew harsher, especially with respect to the poor quality of the pictures on view. Only *The Art-Journal* maintained a positive tone, which was not unexpected in view of Mogford's involvement. A review published in August 1851 stressed the innovative, internationalist character of the exhibition. The author, possibly Mogford himself, remarked that the 'novelty of an exhibition of this kind, in immediate proximity with our own [the annual exhibition at the Royal Academy], fixes the attention more conclusively on the comparative merits, greater or less, of existing schools', and, along the same lines, concluded that 'there is so much to be learned from it that every painter should visit it'.³² *The Athenaeum*, in its turn, applauded the new idea of the 'honourable rivalry' between nations that was behind the General Exhibition, which also guided the Great Exhibition and which would later be the principle behind the first official universal art exhibitions.³³ Nonetheless, the journal also lamented the quality of the pictures on display, which gave no real idea whatsoever of the actual state of the arts in Europe. Perhaps the most damning criticism came from Dante Gabriel Rossetti, who wrote a review of the show for

The Spectator at the request of his brother, William Michael, in which he called it 'a veritable Pandora's casket, whence every ill quality of art is let forth to the light of day'.³⁴ Rossetti concluded that:

[to] argue, from its contents, anything as regards the relative position of the different schools, would of course be out of the question, since among the specimens contributed are scarcely any from artists who enjoy a decided celebrity in their respective countries.

A look at the exhibition catalogue makes it clear that Rossetti's criticism was probably justified. Just over 500 works were exhibited, thereby falling short of the projected 1000 by almost half. Few major foreign artists were represented, and those that were had only modest works on view. A sketch by Delacroix, a view of Paris by Vernet and Curtius Grolig, and even Delaroche's *Cromwell before the Coffin of Charles I*, which had already been on display in London the previous year, were hardly the hoped-for new sensation pictures that would baffle the critics or pull in the crowds.³⁵ English art in particular was hardly present at all. Mogford had announced in the press that the exhibition wanted to 'afford the fullest opportunity to English painters of placing their best performances in association with the works of distinguished foreign artists', and, in a letter that accompanied the prospectus distributed to English artists, he had specified that pictures previously exhibited elsewhere would also be received.³⁶ Fewer than thirty English artists ultimately responded to Mogford's call, however, with George Frederic Watts, Edward Matthew Ward and Henry William Pickersgill among the few prominent names in the catalogue. The remainder undoubtedly preferred the safer haven of the annual show at the Royal Academy, at the time still uncontested as London's most prestigious venue for the exhibition of contemporary art.

The failure of the General Exhibition was primarily due to its failure to balance its ostensible ambition to be a veritable display of national, and even international, importance, and its parallel, more prosaic function as a marketplace that tested the growing potential amongst collectors of the internationalizing currents in the art world of the time; a delicate balance between seemingly lofty and disinterested goals and simple commerce, which many institutions wrestled to find.³⁷ Even if the exhibition ultimately succeeded, accidentally, in almost becoming an official extension of the Great Exhibition, by accommodating a number of paintings mistakenly sent to the Great Exhibition by the Swedish king, too many of the exhibits presented in Lichfield House were perceived as commercial junk.³⁸ This was the logical outcome of the plan that Verdeau and Mogford had devised in the first place. Attractive works by famous artists would draw in the crowds and generate press attention, but the real profits were to be made by reselling less important pictures submitted by less important artists. A remark made by Verdeau to Mogford is telling in this respect. In a letter from April 1851, he observed that the pictures he would forward to London would do honour to the French school, clarifying sarcastically 'I mean the paintings chosen by us, not [...] those sent to us at the expense of the exhibitors'.³⁹ The majority of

these latter exhibitors were, in any event, more interested in the easy profits they hoped to reap in London, a place of wealth and abundance in the eyes of most continental painters, than in building a critical reputation.⁴⁰ The French painter Jean Achard wrote in a letter that he preferred London's 'vast scene' to any other exhibition, and several other artists eagerly observed in similar letters that they had heard that they could set higher prices in London than in other places.⁴¹

Verdeau and Mogford hoped to benefit from the sale of these less important pictures during the exhibition. This group of pictures was also essential for the plan they had in mind for when the exhibition closed. From the beginning, they had intended to organize an auction of the works of art that would remain unsold after the exhibition. This would earn them 7.5 per cent in case of sale and 2.5 per cent on the reserve in case of non-sale.⁴² The scheme worked because many artists wanted to avoid the heavy costs of shipping their often modest works back home, which was probably what Verdeau and Mogford had counted on. Some of the artists also agreed to lower their prices substantially, or even sell without reserve, in order to test the British market.⁴³

It was owing to Mogford and Verdeau's plan of organizing this auction, in which many artists were compelled to participate, that their venture was, ultimately, moderately successful in commercial terms. Mogford's correspondence indicates that collectors seemed hardly interested at all in buying the works on view during the exhibition, and that regular sales were low. The two-day auction, held at Lichfield House on November 27 and 28, 1851 by Messrs. Foster & Son, seems to have been a little more profitable. Mogford and Verdeau distributed a letter inviting exhibitors at the Great Exhibition to also submit works, and they succeeded in obtaining a small number of mosaics, bronzes and other pieces that had been on view in the Crystal Palace.⁴⁴ The auction finally included almost 300 works of art, of which about one-third were sold, including thirty-one bronze sculptures from the Crystal Palace, and a few other works that had not been on view at the Lichfield House exhibition.⁴⁵ It yielded £832 in total, although this included over £117 for the bronze sculptures. The majority of the pieces were sold for a few pounds; usually those for which no minimum price had been set. The most expensive work was a *Water Party* by Pierre or Jules-Alexandre Duval-Lecamus, which sold for £48 and six shillings, only slightly more than the minimum price of 1200 francs determined by the artist.⁴⁶ The other two-thirds of the offered works remained unsold, to the disappointment of artists and dealers alike, who had expected much more from the famous London art market. Moreover, anger was added to disappointment when Mogford and Verdeau also claimed their commission of 2.5 per cent on the unsold pieces. Following the auction, at which none of his paintings had found a buyer, the German art dealer Bolgiano complained indignantly: 'If I had had the least idea that London would offer such bad results, I would not have withdrawn my paintings from other sale venues... oh! and then you want a percentage on paintings that have not been sold!'⁴⁷

The resonance of the General Exhibition: the internationalization of the art market and 'national branding'

Despite the negative reception of the General Exhibition and its moderate commercial success, Verdeau and Mogford discussed the idea of a follow-up project during the months after the auction. Initially, they considered staging an exhibition of the objects that had been left unsold in the spring of 1852, but these plans were never executed, possibly because of Lord Lichfield's refusal to extend the rent of Lichfield House.⁴⁸ Subsequently, Verdeau suggested to Mogford the setting up of a trade in modern French art in London on a more modest scale. In a letter dated March 12, 1852, he wrote that he was 'often visited by [French] artists, coming to ask [him] to have their paintings sold in London', reassuring Mogford that nowadays these French painters 'knew the English taste' and that he would be able to make 'a good choice against prices that would ensure a good chance of selling'.⁴⁹ Verdeau proposed starting off with about twenty paintings, which he would send over and which Mogford could subsequently place.

It is not clear whether these plans were carried out, but it is telling that, in spite of the lack of success of the General Exhibition, Mogford and Verdeau seem to have perceived a momentum for the promotion of contemporary foreign art in London. The same idea led to the very similar plans at the time, and eventually the fortune, of Ernest Gambart, who would quickly become London's leading art dealer, with a business model based on the importation and sale of contemporary French and other continental art in England. Gambart, born in Belgium in 1814, started his career in the London art world in the 1840s as a print publisher, first as an agent for the Paris-based Goupil firm and later on his own.⁵⁰ In the late 1840s, he moved into paintings and, concurrent with the emerging 'exhibition mania' in London, he was involved in a number of commercial selling exhibitions of contemporary art. His crucial move came in 1854, when he started organizing the so-called French Exhibitions on an annual basis in his gallery at 120/121 Pall Mall, introducing the London public to contemporary French pictures by fashionable artists, such as Rosa Bonheur and Paul Delaroche, and casting himself in the role of promoter of the modern French school and transnational arbiter of taste.

Gambart's French Gallery, as it became known, was a great success, and became a model for other entrepreneurs. As the London art world emerged as the central hub in an international network that extended 'from Great Britain to North America, the European Continent, and the far reaches of the Empire' in the following decades, other dealers followed Gambart's example, naming their galleries after specific national schools and regularly promoting artists from them.⁵¹ Strolling through the London art district around Bond Street thus became, in Pamela Fletcher's words, a 'Grand Tour on Bond Street', bringing the art lover to places such as the German Gallery, the Belgian Gallery, the Dutch Gallery, the Continental Gallery and even the Japanese Gallery.⁵² Put slightly differently, the London art district as a whole came to resemble

one of the universal art exhibitions that were organized ever more frequently in various European cities at that time, where amateurs and collectors could compare the most recent productions of the various schools of art, much as they had been meant to do in Mogford and Verdeau's General Exhibition.

This similarity between the scheme of Mogford and Verdeau and the subsequent developments set in motion by Gambart's French Gallery may suggest that the latter was already involved in the General Exhibition.⁵³ None of the available evidence, archival or other, points in this direction, but there are clear indications that Gambart's business operations were largely inspired by Mogford and Verdeau's enterprise. Following the General Exhibition, Mogford attempted to pursue the same internationalist business approach in several other projects. In 1852 and 1853, he served as the English agent for the tri-annual Salons in Antwerp and Ghent, thus introducing contemporary English art to Belgium.⁵⁴ In 1852, he was also briefly in charge of the 'Fine arts and antiquities' section of the Great Industrial Exhibition that would take place in Dublin in the following year, once again trying to combine international commerce with the prestige of an official universal exhibition.⁵⁵ Finally, in 1854, Mogford was actually recruited by Gambart, who made him secretary of the first French Exhibition, organized that year.⁵⁶

Mogford's involvement may have played a substantial role in the French Gallery's rapid success. In many ways, the organization and marketing of the French Exhibition resembled that of the General Exhibition. Much like Verdeau and Mogford, Gambart made sure that his exhibition premises carried an air of luxury and privilege, he charged entrance fees in order to maintain a certain level of exclusivity, he installed a committee of patronage in order to create a disinterested image for his enterprise, and kept a close eye on his relations with the press, especially *The Art-Journal*, to which Mogford still contributed in 1854.⁵⁷ A substantial amount of sales and re-sales were generated by commission, ten per cent in this case, as they had been in the General Exhibition.⁵⁸ Most importantly, Gambart deliberately set out to give the French Gallery a cosmopolitan appeal and ostensibly balanced private, commercial interests with public values, such as education and the elevation of taste through international collaboration, in accordance with the aims professed by the organizers of the General Exhibition.⁵⁹ Although not much remains of Mogford's correspondence during this period, it is also clear that he was instrumental in establishing contact with many of the foreign artists who would become associated with the French Gallery. Many of the artists who participated in the General Exhibition or contributed to Mogford's other schemes were later promoted by Gambart. In late 1853 or early 1854, for instance, Mogford was already negotiating with Rosa Bonheur for the exhibition in London of *The Horse Fair*.⁶⁰ Gambart would show the painting in the French Gallery in 1855, following which Bonheur would quickly become one of the most successful artists he represented.⁶¹ In 1854, Mogford was also already mobilizing his network in Belgium to set up a Belgian exhibition at

Gambart's gallery, thus laying the basis of the latter's move to change his French Exhibitions to annual exhibitions of the French and Flemish schools in 1860.⁶²

By the spring of 1855, Gambart and Mogford had fallen out, and Mogford was already pursuing new plans, once again trying to combine the attraction and disinterested aura of a universal art exhibition with a straightforward commercial agenda.⁶³ These plans materialized in 1856, when Mogford became director of the newly arranged picture gallery in the Crystal Palace, which had been relocated to Sydenham in 1854 and had quickly become a popular entertainment site.⁶⁴ In the Crystal Palace Picture Gallery, as it became known, Mogford set out to organize a permanent 'universal exhibition', with regularly changing displays. The official goal of the gallery, an impressive 3000 feet long, was to provide 'enjoyment for the visitors, while they are instructed', by presenting pictures from various European countries, thus enabling the visitors to compare the different schools of painting and to educate themselves.⁶⁵ The underlying logic was, however, as commercial as that of the General Exhibition or Gambart's French Gallery: virtually all pictures were for sale and a commission of five per cent on sales was due to the gallery.⁶⁶ In contrast with Gambart's French Gallery, and despite an alleged £3000 worth of pictures sold in the first year, the Crystal Palace Picture Gallery was, again, not a great success, and in 1858 Mogford was replaced by Charles Wentworth Wass, who had already been his competitor in 1851.⁶⁷ The permanent universal art exhibition that Mogford wanted to establish so desperately would grow in the following years around the galleries of Gambart and his peers in and around Bond Street, not in the Crystal Palace.

Conclusion: national schools, international markets

The question that remains is what, in the larger picture of the mid-Victorian London art market, was the significance of the General Exhibition. Measured in terms of critical and commercial success, the General Exhibition of 1851, the Crystal Palace Picture Gallery and Mogford's other international projects were not very significant. Considered within the larger context of the English art world, however, the General Exhibition represented a major step in the structural changes that reshaped the London art scene in the nineteenth century. From the second half of the eighteenth century onwards, two developments played a major role in the trajectory of the English art scene and its reconciliation with modern society: first, the successful negotiation of art's commercial dimension; and second, the development of a rational system of knowledge to serve as the discursive basis for the expanding public engagement with art. In this system of knowledge, nationality and national identity became increasingly important, in parallel with concerted efforts in Britain to identify and promote a truly national art and create a market for it. The significance of the General Exhibition is located at the precise intersection of these two developments.

David Solkin has described how in the art world, as early as the eighteenth century, the high-flown ideals and ostensibly disinterested virtues of civic humanism were reconciled, at least on the level of discourse, with the logic of commerce and profit.⁶⁸ While one may argue, along the lines of Pierre Bourdieu's thinking, that such a strategic reconciliation was hardly a unique phenomenon in Europe, the particularities that moulded the debate in Britain were bound to have lasting effects in the nineteenth century and, most likely, beyond. Certainly, Mogford always carefully balanced his pursuance of personal success and gain with a professed agenda of public benefits.⁶⁹ Pamela Fletcher has described Gambart's commercial enterprise in similar terms, which undoubtedly also apply to much of the rest of the art business.⁷⁰

The operation directed at reconciling the lofty heights of the arts and the mundane reality of commerce often intersected with the concomitant development and dissemination of systems of art knowledge. Indeed, these systems of knowledge could usually operate both in an ennobling programme of art education, and in a simple commercial logic. In fact, the conversion of an honourable scheme of rational and aesthetic education into a utilitarian transfer of knowledge, geared at stimulating commerce and consumption, was just one of the logical consequences of the marriage between civic humanism and the modern, commodity-centred society that came of age in the nineteenth century. The efforts of London's leading art periodical, *The Art-Journal*, for instance, to make high art ideals accessible and comprehensible to a broad, middle-class public, was informed and facilitated by, rather than opposed to, commercial considerations, as Katherine Haskins has shown.⁷¹

A central element in the system of art knowledge developed and promoted by *The Art-Journal* and other periodicals, as well as by museums and many other institutions and agents in the field, was the distinction, or rather the capacity to distinguish, among the different national schools of painting. In parallel with attempts to identify, or even create, a national, British school of painting, national categories became increasingly important as a means of judging works of art and of organizing art knowledge in a rational and straightforward way. As early as the late eighteenth century, John Boydell's Shakespeare Gallery was the result of an ambitious plan, grounded in a logic of national pride, for promoting the national British school as equivalent to the leading schools of painting on the continent. Nonetheless, it was also a commercial enterprise strategically aimed at two distinct national markets, the British and the French.⁷² The national and the international thus intersected here, both in the economic logic behind the scheme and in the altruistic rhetoric of artistic advancement and public betterment that veiled this logic. Around the same time as Boydell's operations, private and public art collections on the continent were reorganized and began to display works of art produced in different countries in separate sections, making nationality one of the pillar stones of public aesthetic education. The same mode of classification and presentation was adopted in the early nineteenth century in leading private collections in Britain, and eventually by the National Gallery, founded in 1824.⁷³

Originally, the educational goal behind this type of installation was to encourage the viewer to compare the different schools and to evaluate them on the basis of a set of supposedly objective and universal criteria derived from academic theory: the different national schools could then be judged, for better or worse, by their allegiance, or lack thereof, to academic theory.⁷⁴ As the nineteenth century progressed, however, romanticism's endorsement of individual differences and its interest in national character gradually led to a more equal treatment and appreciation of the different national schools, even if this equal treatment was far from absolute and was often kept in check by nationalist, patriotic considerations.⁷⁵ The arrangement of the collections in the Louvre in France, as the archetypical 'universal survey museum', for instance, presented virtually the complete panorama of Western art, embodied in the various national schools, but also privileged the French school as its culmination point.⁷⁶ In Britain, on the other hand, arrangements by national schools were characterized by 'a tacit avoidance of obvious competition', resulting from 'a sense of unease about the quality of the native school'.⁷⁷

The increasingly refined distinctions between, and more equal treatment of, the different national schools not only restructured the public's art knowledge, but also ran parallel with the growing internationalization of the market, which effectively necessitated a more developed system of knowledge and, in a sense, logically suggested a central role for nationality in this system. First, these new modes of art knowledge could make the international market more transparent, both to consumers and producers, and thus substantially stimulate its development. Secondly, the very idea of treating all schools, at least in theory, on an equal footing massively increased the fluidity of goods on the market. Henceforward, national differences in art production no longer had to be impediments to the internationalization of the art market, as they often had been in the face of the now superseded universal academic standards. They could now actually stimulate the circulation of goods and open up major new markets by securing a richer supply and catering to more varied tastes or demands.

It was at this time, then, that the commercial potential of a system of art knowledge based on national categories could be fully developed. National labels had already been used in order to stimulate commerce in the eighteenth century. From 1792 to 1796, for instance, the influential French art dealer Jean-Baptiste-Pierre Lebrun had published the *Galerie des peintres flamands, hollandais et allemands*, three volumes dedicated exclusively to the schools of the north. The aim of the publication was both educational and commercial: it provided collectors with conceptual tools that enabled them to distinguish between the different schools of the north, but it also stimulated them to acquire works by the lesser-known artists belonging to these schools rather than by the more familiar, generally Italian, old masters.⁷⁸ References to national schools had also been often included in eighteenth-century British auction catalogues. Here, they usually served as 'indicators of connoisseurship credentials' and, thus, also stimulated trade.⁷⁹ These developments gained

momentum in the first half of the next century. In the early nineteenth century, the American John Wilson ran the so-called 'European Museum' in London, a 'museum' allegedly founded in 1789 which was, in fact, a commercial gallery that functioned as a marketplace for mostly low-end old master pictures. Its name, however, clearly inscribed it in the educational discourse and internationalist perspective of public art collections abroad and thus explored the commercial potential of these features.⁸⁰ Before long, national categories became actual brands that could be promoted in new markets. Thus, in the 1820s, the dealer John Arrowsmith famously promoted English and English-styled contemporary paintings and prints in France.⁸¹ In the same decade, a substantial number of large-scale French sensation pieces found their way to the London exhibition circuit, and in the years that followed, dealers, including Arrowsmith, started organizing exhibitions specifically dedicated to French art.⁸² This evolution culminated in the success of Gambart's trendsetting French Gallery in the 1850s and 1860s and the subsequent reshaping of the London art district as a vast universal exhibition based on a logic of commercially driven 'national branding' on the one hand, and ostensibly disinterested educational cosmopolitanism on the other.

Seen from this perspective, the typical universal arts exhibition of the second half of the nineteenth century, which the General Exhibition effectively aspired to be, was the commercial and contemporary variant of the 'universal survey museum'. Much like the art museum of the time, the universal exhibition kept two competing ideas in balance: first, the idea of presenting a universal survey of art from all nations, rationally categorized by school, but easily consumable under one single roof, like shops in a bazaar⁸³; and secondly, the ambition of emphasizing the glory of the proper, national school, an effort that was obviously not free from economic motives.⁸⁴ Much more than the museum, however, the universal exhibition also directly stimulated the internationalization of the art market: here, more than in any other place, potential buyers could show or further develop a taste for foreign art, and foreign artists could explore new markets.

The General Exhibition of 1851 came, then, at a decisive moment in these developments. Systems of knowledge developed by museums, art historians, periodicals and art critics had responded to, and reinforced, the idea of an individualized aesthetic response to art from all nations, all considered on a more or less equal footing. This new educational conceptual framework had suggested, in its turn, a potentially massive expansion of the art market, not only by educating a larger audience and fitting them with the knowledge that would allow them to constitute, in due time, a new consumer base for the arts, but also by broadening taste patterns and, thus, stimulating a wider range of demand and tapping into new international production resources. The involvement of Gustav Waagen as a commercial agent in the organization of the General Exhibition is telling in this respect, for as one of Europe's most respected art historians, he also actively promoted the use of national categories in art history and art criticism in his scholarly work, most famously in the British context in relation to the Manchester Art Treasures Exhibition of 1857.⁸⁵

Thus, at the General Exhibition, the ideal citizen could truly become the ideal consumer. Armed not only with eclectic taste but also with knowledge, he could both compare and consume the artistic productions from the various national schools, while the central importance of art knowledge in this activity also gave him the means to deny the primacy of consumption. In this way, the General Exhibition was the harbinger of the enormous success of universal art exhibitions all over Europe in the following decades (the commercial importance of which is yet to be fully explored). Together with the Crystal Palace Picture Gallery, it also constitutes the missing link between the proliferation of these universal exhibitions in the increasingly commodified art world, the growing emphasis on nationality in the art discourse of the time and the simultaneous restructuring of the London art market along internationalist lines.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

Notes

- 1 Maas, *Gambart, Prince of the Victorian Art World*, 54–6.
- 2 See for instance: Bayer and Page, *The Development of the Art Market in England*; Fletcher and Helmreich, *The Rise of the Modern Art Market*.
- 3 Fletcher, 'Shopping for Art', 60; Fletcher, 'The Grand Tour on Bond Street', 139–53.
- 4 Brussels, Royal Library, Manuscripts, Correspondence Henry Mogford (hereafter 'RL'), B.R.3674, B.R.II.3675/1, B.R.II.3675/2 and B.R.3675/3. This is the most comprehensive archival collection of Mogford's correspondence. A limited number of letters from and to Mogford are scattered throughout other archives and libraries.
- 5 De Grandeffe, *Paris sous Napoléon III*, 78; Grive and Sonnet, *Passages couverts de Paris*, 98.
- 6 Baetens, 'For Public Good and Private Benefit'.
- 7 Bayer and Page, *The Development of the Art Market in Britain*, 99 ff; Morris, *Hand, Head and Heart*, 13.
- 8 The Belgian artist Victor-Jules Génisson alludes to an earlier exhibition in a letter to Mogford. See: RL, B.R.II.3675/2, 60, undated letter from Génisson to Mogford [1850].
- 9 Auerbach, *The Great Exhibition of 1851*, 114–15. See for example: 'The Great Exhibition. The Fine Arts Department', 153–4.
- 10 Altick, *The Shows of London*, 460–9; Davis, *The Great Exhibition*, 172–6.
- 11 Mainardi, 'The Unbuilt Picture Gallery', 294–9; Fletcher, 'The Grand Tour on Bond Street', 142.
- 12 Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas*, 201–7; Morris, *French Art in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, 1–2.
- 13 'Séance annuelle de l'Association des peintres, sculpteurs, architectes, graveurs et dessinateurs', 183.
- 14 Strong, *And When Did You Last See Your Father?*, 40.
- 15 'General Exhibition of Pictures of the Various Schools of Painters', 179; Mainardi, *The End of the Salon*.
- 16 Advertisement in *The Athenaeum* 22 (1851), 679.
- 17 RL, B.R.II.3675/3, 412–13, 414–15 and 638, letter from Petrus Johannes Schotel to Mogford dated May 12, 1851; letter from Schotel to Mogford dated July 13, 1851; and letter from Verdeau to Mogford dated April 17, 1851.
- 18 RL, B.R.II.3675/3, 638 and 639, letter from Verdeau to Mogford dated April 27, 1851; and letter from Verdeau to unknown recipient [Mogford?] dated April 30, 1851.
- 19 RL, B.R.II.3674, 47–8, letter from Wappers to Mogford dated May 17, 1851.
- 20 RL, B.R.II.3675/1, 123–6 and 429, and B.R.II.3675/2, 259–60, letter from Bolgiano to unknown recipient [Mogford?] dated August 17, 1851; letter from Coûteaux to Mogford dated May 12, 1851; and letter from Louis Gurlitt to unknown recipient [Mogford?] dated July 1, 1851.
- 21 RL, B.R.II.3675/3, 640, letter from Verdeau to Mogford dated May 2, 1851.
- 22 Hewlings, 'The London Houses', 234–42; Fletcher and Helmreich, 'Local/Global: Mapping Nineteenth-Century London's Art Market', s.p.
- 23 RL, B.R.II.3675/3, 638, letter from Verdeau to Mogford dated April 27, 1851.

- 24 *General Exhibition of Pictures*; RL, B.R.II.3675/3, 640, letter from Ossian Verdeau to Mogford dated May 2, 1851.
- 25 Advertisements in *The Athenaeum* 22 (1851), 465 and 742.
- 26 'General Exhibition of Pictures of the Various Schools of Painters', 179.
- 27 *Ibid.*; Bayer and Page, *The Development of the Art Market in England*, 133 ff.
- 28 Advertisement in *The Art-Journal (The Art-Journal Advertiser)* 3 (1851), cxiii; 'Fine-Art Gossip', 458; advertisement in *The Athenaeum* 22 (1851), 465.
- 29 RL, B.R.II.3674, 56, undated letter from Wappers to Mogford [1851] with a note by Colonel Charles Grey, Prince Albert's secretary, enclosed.
- 30 'Fine-Art Gossip', 640.
- 31 *Ibid.*; 'Fine-Art Gossip', 691.
- 32 'General Exhibition of the Works of Living Painters', 217.
- 33 'Pictures by the Living Painters of the Schools of All Countries', 1074-5.
- 34 Rossetti, *The Collected Works of Dante Gabriel Rossetti*, vol. II, 476-84.
- 35 See on Delaroche's painting: 'General Exhibition of the Works of Living Painters', 217.
- 36 'Fine-Art Gossip', 458; RL, B.R.II.3675/1, printed letter from Mogford to unidentified number of recipients.
- 37 See for similar cases: Smith, 'An Art Suited to the "English Middle Classes"?' , 121; Tromans, 'Museum or Market? The British Institution', 47.
- 38 'Fine-Art Gossip', 1026.
- 39 RL, B.R.II.3675/3, 638, letter from Verdeau to Mogford dated April 27, 1851.
- 40 Ten-Doeschate - Chu, 'The Lu(c)re of London', 39-54.
- 41 RL, B.R.II.3675/1, 3-4 and 260-1, and B.R.II.3675/3, 220-1, letter from Jean Achard to the organizing committee of the General Exhibition dated June 18, 1851; letter from Paul Chevandier de Valdrôme to unknown recipient [Mogford?] dated September 27, 1851; and letter from Josef Anton Rhomberg to Verdeau dated April 28, 1851.
- 42 See for instance: RL, B.R.II.3675/2, 371 and B.R.II.3675/3, 171-2, letter from Jean-Baptiste-Louis [?] Hubert to unknown recipient [Mogford?] dated November 9, 1851; and letter from Francesco Podesti to Mogford dated November 4, 1851.
- 43 See for instance: RL, B.R.II.3675/2, 371, letter from Jean-Baptiste-Louis [?] Hubert to unknown recipient [Mogford?] dated November 9, 1851.
- 44 *A Catalogue of the Unsold Pictures of the Exhibition of the Works of Artists of all Nations*. A distributed prospectus is mentioned in a letter by the Belgian sculptor Charles Geerts, who submitted some of his wood sculptures that had been on view at the Great Exhibition in the auction in order to avoid customs duties and transportation costs when shipping his work back home. See: RL, B.R.II.3674, 1, 14-15 and 16, letters from Geerts to Mogford dated October 20, November 20 and November 23, 1851.
- 45 For all the data and figures, see the annotated copy of the auction catalogue in the National Art Library, London.
- 46 RL, B.R.II.3675/1, 589, undated letter from Pierre or Jules-Alexandre Duval-Le Camus to Mogford [1851].
- 47 RL, B.R.II.3675/1, 130-1, letter from Bolgiano to unknown recipient [Mogford?] dated December 7, 1851.
- 48 *Ibid.* and B.R.II.3675/3, 641-2, letter from Verdeau to Mogford dated March 12, 1852.
- 49 RL, B.R.II.3675/3, 641-2, letter from Verdeau to Mogford dated March 12, 1852.
- 50 Fletcher, 'Creating the French Gallery', s.p.; Maas, *Gambart, Prince of the Victorian Art World*, 63 ff.
- 51 Fletcher and Helmreich, 'Introduction: The State of the Field', 20; Bayer and Page, *The Development of the Art Market in England*, 99 ff. French and continental art in general was of major importance for many of the most prominent dealers in London at the time. See for instance: Helmreich, 'The Goupil Gallery'; Helmreich, 'The Art Dealer and Taste'.
- 52 Fletcher, 'The Grand Tour on Bond Street', 139-53.
- 53 Maas, *Gambart, Prince of the Victorian Art World*, 54-6.
- 54 RL, B.R.II.3674, 57, 59 and 60, and B.R.II.3675/3, 212, letter from Gustave Wappers to Mogford dated February 12, 1852; letter from Théophile Smekens (in the name of The Royal Society for the Encouragement of the Fine Arts in Antwerp) to Mogford dated March 11, 1852; circular letter from The Royal Society for the Encouragement of the Fine Arts in Antwerp dated April 15, 1852; and letter from Louis Roelandt (in the name of The Royal Society for the Encouragement of the Fine Arts in Ghent) to Mogford dated May 16, 1853.
- 55 'Fine-Art Gossip', 433; RL, B.R.II.3675/1, 431, letter from Gustave Coûteaux to Mogford dated June 21, 1853.
- 56 *First Annual Exhibition of the French School*, s.p. Mogford's papers at the Royal Library in Brussels include a few letters written by Mogford on the letterhead of Gambart's gallery at Pall Mall or addressed to Gambart, some of them relating to the first French Exhibition.

- 57 Fletcher, 'Creating the French Gallery', s.p.
- 58 The available correspondence relating to the first French Exhibition suggests a mix of works from Gambart's own stock, purchased in advance, and works sold on commission. Two pictures by Théodore Frère were part of a series of 14 that had been ordered by Gambart for his own stock, at 400 francs each. Two more expensive pictures by Claudius Jacquand were offered on commission, but they remained unsold, to the frustration of the artist, who observed in a letter that Gambart bought from everyone except from him. See: RL, B.R.II.3675/1, 662 and B.R.II.3675/2, 395 and 405, letter from Frère to Gambart dated April 3, 1854; and letters from Jacquand to unknown recipient [Mogford?] dated May 24, 1854 and August 15, 1854. See also: Fletcher, 'Creating the French Gallery', note 62.
- 59 Fletcher, 'Creating the French Gallery', s.p.
- 60 RL, B.R.II.3675/1, 563–4, letter from unknown author [Dieudonné] to Mogford dated January 9, 1854.
- 61 Maas, *Gambart, Prince of the Victorian Art World*, 73 ff.
- 62 RL, B.R.II.3675/1, 485–6, letter from Joseph-Octave Delepierre to Mogford dated July 31, 1854; *Seventh Annual Exhibition in London*; Baetens, 'The Belgian Brand', 1284–93.
- 63 RL, B.R.II.3675/1, 360–1, letter from Joseph Coomans to Mogford dated May 28, 1855. Mogford still worked for Gambart in December 1854. See: Roundell, *Thomas Shotton Boys*, 58.
- 64 'Fine-Art Gossip', 368–9; Piggott, *Palace of the People*, esp. 133 ff.
- 65 'Fine-Art Gossip', 368–9; 'Minor Topics of the Month', 354.
- 66 Advertisement in *The Athenaeum* 27 (1856), 377.
- 67 'Minor Topics of the Month', 61; 'Minor Topics of the Month', 286.
- 68 Solkin, *Painting for Money*.
- 69 Baetens, 'For Public Good and Private Benefit'.
- 70 Fletcher, 'Creating the French Gallery', s.p.; Denney, *At the Temple of Art*, 50; Helmreich, 'The Art Dealer and Taste', 32.
- 71 Haskins, *The Art-Journal and Fine Art Publishing*.
- 72 Dias, *Exhibiting Englishness*, esp. 21–2 and 65–125.
- 73 Klouk, *Spaces of Experience*, 21–2.
- 74 Klouk, *Spaces of Experience*, 23.
- 75 Klouk, *Spaces of Experiences*, 37–43; Poulot, 'The Changing Role of Art Museums', 99–100.
- 76 Duncan and Wallach, 'The Universal Survey Museum', *passim*.
- 77 Waterfield, 'The Origins of the Early Picture Gallery Catalogue', 71.
- 78 Prigot, 'Une entreprise franco-hollandaise', 212.
- 79 Miyamoto, "'Set upon a Level'", forthcoming 2017.
- 80 Murgia, 'From Private to National: Exhibiting Fine Arts in London around 1800', forthcoming.
- 81 Whiteley, 'Art et commerce d'art en France', 69–71; Whiteley, 'Goupil, Delaroche and the Print Trade', 75–8.
- 82 Morris, *French Art in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, 127 ff.
- 83 Klouk, *Spaces of Experience*, 26.
- 84 See for instance: Mainardi, *Art and Politics*, *passim*.
- 85 Pergam, *The Manchester Art Treasures Exhibition of 1857*, 64; Waterfield and Illies, 'Waagen in England'.

Bibliography

- A Catalogue of the Unsold Pictures of the Exhibition of the Works of Artists of all Nations*, London: J. Davy & sons, auction cat., November 27–8, 1851.
- Advertisement in *The Art Journal (The Art-Journal Advertiser)* 3 (1851): cxiii.
- Advertisements in *The Athenaeum* 22 (1851): 465, 679 and 742, and 27 (1856): 377.
- Altick, Richard D., *The Shows of London*, Cambridge (MA) – London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1978.
- Auerbach, Jeffrey A., *The Great Exhibition of 1851: A Nation on Display*, New Haven – London: Yale University Press, 1999.
- Baetens, Jan Dirk, 'The Belgian Brand: Ernest Gambart and the English Market for Nineteenth-Century Belgian Art, c. 1850–1870' *Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Filologie en Geschiedenis – Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*, 92 (2014), 4: 1277–1309.

- Baetens, Jan Dirk, 'For Public Good and Private Benefit: Henry Mogford and the Mid-Victorian Art Scene', in *Animateur d'art: Dealer, Collector, Critic, Publisher. The 'Animateur d'art' and His Multiple Roles*, ed. Ingrid Goddeeris and Noémie Goldman, 127–39. Brussels: Royal Museums of Fine Art of Belgium, 2015.
- Bayer, Thomas M., and John R. Page, *The Development of the Art Market in England*, London: Pickering & Chatto, 2011.
- Davis, John R., *The Great Exhibition*, Stroud: Sutton, 1999.
- Denney, Colleen, *At the Temple of Art: The Grosvenor Gallery, 1877–1890*, Madison – Teaneck: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2000.
- Dias, Rosie, *Exhibiting Englishness: John Boydell's Shakespeare Gallery and the Formation of a National Aesthetic*, New Haven – London: Yale University Press, 2013.
- Duncan, Carol, and Allan Wallach, 'The Universal Survey Museum', *Art History* 3 (1980), no. 4: 448–69.
- 'Fine-Art Gossip', *The Athenaeum* 22 (1851): 458–9.
- 'Fine-Art Gossip', *The Athenaeum* 22 (1851): 640.
- 'Fine-Art Gossip', *The Athenaeum* 22 (1851): 691.
- 'Fine-Art Gossip', *The Athenaeum* 22 (1851): 1026–7.
- 'Fine-Art Gossip', *The Athenaeum* 23 (1853): 433.
- 'Fine-Art Gossip', *The Athenaeum* 27 (1856), 368–9.
- First Annual Exhibition of the French School of the Fine Arts in London at the Gallery, exh. cat.*, London: W. Brettell, 1854.
- Fletcher, Pamela, 'Shopping for Art: The Rise of the Commercial Art Gallery, 1850s–90s', in *The Rise of the Modern Art Market in London, 1850–1939*, ed. Pamela Fletcher and Anne Helmreich, 47–64. Manchester – New York: Manchester University Press, 2011.
- Fletcher, Pamela, 'The Grand Tour on Bond Street: Cosmopolitanism and the Commercial Art Gallery in Victorian London', *Visual Culture in Britain* 12 (2011): 139–53.
- Fletcher, Pamela, 'Creating the French Gallery: Ernest Gambart and the Rise of the Commercial Art Gallery in Mid-Victorian London', *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide* 6 (2007), no. 1: s.p. [<http://www.19thc-artworldwide.org/index.php/spring07/143-creating-the-french-gallery-ernest-gambart-and-the-rise-of-the-commercial-art-gallery-in-mid-victorian-london>].
- Fletcher, Pamela, and Anne Helmreich, 'Introduction. The State of the Field', in *The Rise of the Modern Art Market in London, 1850–1939*, ed. Pamela Fletcher and Anne Helmreich, 1–24. Manchester – New York: Manchester University Press, 2011.
- Fletcher, Pamela, and Anne Helmreich, eds., *The Rise of the Modern Art Market in London, 1850–1939*, Manchester – New York: Manchester University Press, 2011.
- Fletcher, Pamela, and Anne Helmreich, 'Local/Global: Mapping Nineteenth-Century London's Art Market', *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide* 11 (2012), 3: s.p. [<http://www.19thc-artworldwide.org/autumn12/fletcher-helmreich-mapping-the-london-art-market>]
- General Exhibition of Pictures, by the Living Painters of The Schools of All Countries, exh. cat.*, London: T. Brettell, 1851.
- 'General Exhibition of Pictures of the Various Schools of Painters, Lichfield House, St. James's Square', *The Art Journal* 3 (1851): 179.
- 'General Exhibition of the Works of Living Painters', *The Art Journal* 3 (1851): 217.
- Grandeffe, Arthur de, *Paris sous Napoléon III. Mémoires d'un homme du monde de 1857 à 1870*, Paris: A. Chaix, 1879.
- Greenhalgh, Paul, *Ephemeral Vistas: The Expositions Universelles, Great Exhibitions and World's Fairs, 1851–1939*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988.
- Grive, Catherine, and Sylvian Sonnet, *Passages couverts de Paris*, Paris: Éditions Déclics, 2009.
- Haskins, Katherine, *The Art-Journal and Fine Art Publishing in Victorian England, 1850–1880* Farnham: Ashgate, 2012.

- Helmreich, Anne, 'The Goupil Gallery at the Intersection between London, Continent, and Empire', in *The Rise of the Modern Art Market in London, 1850–1939*, ed. Pamela Fletcher and Anne Helmreich, 65–84. Manchester – New York: Manchester University Press, 2011.
- Helmreich, Anne, 'The Art Dealer and Taste: The Case of David Croal Thomson and the Goupil Gallery, 1885–1897' *Visual Culture in Britain* 6 (2005), no. 2: 31–49.
- Hewlings, Richard, 'The London Houses', in *James "Athenian" Stuart 1713–1788: The Rediscovery of Antiquity*, ed. Susan Weber Soros, 195–263. New Haven – London: Yale University Press, 2006.
- Klonk, Charlotte, *Spaces of Experience: Art Gallery Interiors from 1800 to 2000*, New Haven – London: Yale University Press, 2009.
- Maas, Jeremy, *Gambart, Prince of the Victorian Art World*, London: Barrie and Jenkins, 1975.
- Mainardi, Patricia, 'The Unbuilt Picture Gallery at the 1851 Great Exhibition', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 45 (1986): 294–9.
- Mainardi, Patricia, *Art and Politics of the Second Empire: The Universal Expositions of 1855 and 1867*, New Haven – London: Yale University Press, 1987.
- Mainardi, Patricia, *The End of the Salon: Art and the State in the Early Third Republic*, *Cambridge Studies in New Art History and Criticism*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- 'Minor Topics of the Month', *The Art Journal* 8 (1856): 354–5.
- 'Minor Topics of the Month', *The Art Journal* 10 (1858): 61–2.
- 'Minor Topics of the Month', *The Art Journal* 10 (1858): 285–7.
- Miyamoto, Bénédicte, "'Set upon a Level": School Categories and Their Influence on the British Public in the Long Eighteenth Century', in *Art Crossing Borders: The International Art Market in the Age of Nation States, 1760–1914*, ed. Jan Dirk Baetens and Dries Lyna. Leiden: Brill (forthcoming, 2017).
- Morris, Edward, *French Art in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, New Haven – London: Yale University Press, 2005.
- Morris, Hazel, *Hand, Head and Heart: Samuel Carter Hall and the Art Journal*, Wilby: Michael Russell, 2002.
- Murgia, Camilla, 'From Private to National: Exhibiting Fine Arts in London around 1800 In *London and the Emergence of a European Art Market (c. 1780–1820)*, ed. Susanna Avery-Quash and Christian Huemer, Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2017 (forthcoming).
- Pergam, Elizabeth A., *The Manchester Art Treasures Exhibition of 1857: Entrepreneurs, Connoisseurs and the Public*, Farnham: Ashgate, 2011.
- 'Pictures by the Living Painters of the Schools of All Countries', *The Athenaeum* 22 (1851): 1074–5.
- Piggott, J.R., *Palace of the People: The Crystal Palace at Sydenham 1854–1936*, London: Hurst & Company, 2004.
- Poulot, Dominique, 'The Changing Role of Art Museums', in *National Museums and Nation-Building in Europe 1750–2010: Mobilization and Legitimacy, Continuity and Change*, ed. Peter Aronsson and Gabriella Elgenius, 89–118. London – New York: Routledge, 2015.
- Prigot, Aude, 'Une entreprise franco-hollandaise: La galerie des peintres flamands, hollandais et allemands de Jean-Baptiste-Pierre Lebrun, 1792–1796', in *Les échanges artistiques entre les anciens Pays-Bas et la France, 1482–1814*, ed. Gaëtane Maës and Jan Blanc, 215–22. Turnhout: Brepols, 2010.
- Rossetti, Dante Gabriel, *The Collected Works of Rossetti*, London: Ellis and Elvey, 1901.
- Roundell, James, *Thomas Shotter Boys*, London: Octopus Books, 1974.
- Séance annuelle de l'Association des peintres, sculpteurs, architectes, graveurs et dessinateurs, présidée par M. le Baron Taylor, président-fondateur, *Le Palais de cristal. Journal illustré de l'exposition de 1851 et du progrès des arts industriels* 1 (1851): 182–3 and 186.
- Seventh Annual Exhibition in London of Pictures, the Contributions of Artists of the French and Flemish Schools*, London, 1860.

- Smith, Greg, 'An Art Suited to the 'English Middle Classes'? The Watercolour Societies in the Victorian Period', in *Governing Cultures: Art Institutions in Victorian London*, ed. Paul Barlow and Colin Trodd, 114–27. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000.
- Solkin, David H., *Painting for Money: The Visual Arts and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century England*, New Haven – London: Yale University Press, 1993.
- Strong, Roy, *And When Did You Last See Your Father? The Victorian Painter and British History*, London: Thames and Hudson, 1978.
- Ten-Doesschate - Chu, Petra, 'The Lu(c)re of London: French Artists and Art Dealers in the British Capital', in *Monet's London: Artists' Reflections on the Thames 1859–1914, exh. cat.*, 39–54. Ghent: Snoeck, 2005.
- 'The Great Exhibition. The Fine Arts Department', *The Illustrated London News* 10 (1851): 153–4.
- Tromans, Nicholas, 'Museum or Market? The British Institution', in *Governing Cultures: Art Institutions in Victorian London*, ed. Paul Barlow and Colin Trodd, 44–55. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000.
- Waterfield, Giles, The Origins of the Early Picture Gallery Catalogue in Europe, and its Manifestation in Victorian Britain, in *Art in Museums*, ed. Susan Pearce, 42–73. London – Atlantic Highlands, 1995.
- Waterfield, Giles, and Florian Illies, 'Waagen in England', *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* 37 (1995): 47–59.
- Whiteley, Linda, 'Art et commerce d'art en France avant l'époque impressionniste', *Romantisme* 13 (1983), no. 40: 65–76.
- Whiteley, Linda, 'Goupil, Delaroche and the Print Trade', *Van Gogh Museum Journal* (2000): 75–81.

Jan Dirk Baetens, is assistant-professor at the departments of Art History and Arts & Culture Studies of the Radboud University Nijmegen (the Netherlands). He has published widely on nineteenth-century historicism and on the history of the nineteenth-century art market. He is currently co-editing a volume on the internationalization of the art market in the nineteenth century and writing a monograph on the Belgian painter Henri Leys.