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‘Sèvres-mania’ and collaborative collecting networks

The 2nd Earl of Lonsdale, Henry Broadwood and Edward Holmes Baldock

Caroline McCaffrey-Howarth

This article examines the relationship between a rising mania for ‘old’ pâte-tendre Sèvres porcelain and a growing specialization in collecting practices during the 1830s in Paris and London. Using newly discovered archival evidence, it questions the idea that individuals make collecting histories, and instead posits the notion of collaboration in creating an art collection. It examines a series of interactions between collecting networks and prioritizes the process of collecting rather than the collection itself. This provides an opportunity to consider constructions of identity, class and gender, and also shines a light on the methods of acquisition and value structures of ‘old’ Sèvres and the market for it during this time. At its core, it proposes a collaborative paradigm of object and knowledge exchange between an art collector, the 2nd Earl of Lonsdale (1787–1872), his friend and agent Henry Broadwood (1793–1878) and the dealer Edward Holmes Baldock (1777–1845).

ON 27 November 1835 the art collector Henry Broadwood (1793–1878) wrote from London to William Lowther, 2nd Earl of Lonsdale (1787–1872), in Paris: ‘I will look round the town for what you want in the Sevres way, and you may depend upon my not getting any but the very best.’¹ On the one hand, this undertaking might represent a fairly typical interaction within elite society, particularly between lifelong friends who, as we shall see, shared the same collecting interests. However, new archival evidence, including previously unknown letters from Broadwood to Lonsdale, provide an opportunity to examine what was evidently a collective exercise,² for Lonsdale also frequently went ‘a china hunting’ in both London and Paris with the dealer in antiques and curiosities Edward Holmes Baldock (1777–1845). Engaging in a cosmopolitan collecting rhetoric, Lonsdale relied almost exclusively on Broadwood and Baldock – Broadwood as an already established collector and connoisseur of French decorative art, and Baldock as a dealer who had handled Sèvres for more than thirty years.

Lonsdale, whose extensive archive of diaries, bills and letters provides the foundation for this study, became an obsessive collector of ‘old’ Sèvres in the

1830s. Acquiring ‘old’ pâte-tendre Sèvres porcelain became a persistent daily obsession for him, often involving a lengthy decision-making process. From 17 October 1835 to 12 September 1842, he spent £10,139 9s. 6d. in England and 16,770.5 francs in France on Sèvres porcelain.³ In the only previous study of his collection, Rosalind Savill notes that by 1844 he had an astonishing 2,192 pieces.⁴ By 1848 Lonsdale was praised for possessing the ‘choicest collection’ of Sèvres porcelain in England.⁵ In investigating how Lonsdale and his trusted network of agents, dealers and fellow collectors navigated the collecting of ‘old’ pâte-tendre Sèvres, this article posits that such a specialized collection was not achieved by the collector alone. Accordingly, it is proposed that a collaborative collecting paradigm emerged through a transnational web of reciprocal relations between the collector Lonsdale, his close friend, fellow collector and sometime agent Broadwood, the dealer Baldock, and an interconnected social and commercial network of contemporary collectors and dealers in the 1830s. I use the term ‘Sèvres-mania’ to characterize the complex socio-cultural processes underpinning this web of connections, and to provide an insight into the

collecting practices and market for French decorative arts during the era of the July Monarchy (1830–48). Revealed throughout is a ramified network of trust, mercantile friendships and transnational collecting practices among the aristocracy, the patrician class, and the antique and curiosity trade.

It is useful to consider the dynamics at play within this network. Some earlier scholarship has privileged collectors of decorative art as individuals, often preoccupied with empirical investigation and provenance research, at the risk of neglecting the influences of broader cultural contexts and processes of collecting.⁶ Russell Belk once claimed that ‘the collection is the creation of the collector who has brought it into existence’.⁷ Placing the onus solely on the collector, not only omits the agency of other potential actors but distances discourse from the complexity of the collecting process. More recently, the significant role played by dealers and agents as connoisseurs and producers of knowledge in the decorative arts has been recognized.⁸ Building on this, I use this case-study to support a more dynamic way of thinking about collecting, in which networks and the process of collecting, rather than the finished product of the collection, are prioritized. This approach highlights the methods of acquisition, the value structures and the increasing specialization in the collecting of ‘old’ *pâte-tendre* Sèvres. It affords an insight into the interplay between collaborative collecting networks and concepts of class and gender in a complex social culture of masculine commercial exchange, through the discrete identities of ‘collector’, ‘agent’ and ‘dealer’. Ultimately, by focusing on one distinct category of decorative art, I mine one relatively untapped archive to reveal how a plurality of actors contributed to a ‘Sèvres-mania’ network.

‘Sèvres-mania’

As a product of the French royal porcelain manufactory, *pâte-tendre* Sèvres was a material relic of the *ancien régime*. During the eighteenth century, Sèvres embodied the political and socio-cultural systems of the monarchical regimes of Louis XV (1710–1774) and Louis XVI (1754–1793).⁹ Yet, after the nationalization of the factory during the French Revolution, the new director, Alexandre Brongniart, sought to distance production from what had come before by concentrating on the manufacture of *pâte-dure*

or hard-paste porcelain, which was considered to be much more affordable and therefore more fitting for an egalitarian post-Revolutionary society. Brongniart received permission from the Minister of the Interior, Lucien Bonaparte, to sell off warehouses full of *pâte-tendre* Sèvres, and by 1801 decreed that *pâte-tendre* production would stop completely, rendering the supply finite.¹⁰ Whereas, from the onset of the Revolution, British collectors such as the 3rd Marquess of Hertford, Edward, Viscount Lascelles, and the Prince Regent engaged with and actively sought out, in particular, *objets d’art* of the *ancien régime*, this was not always the case in Paris.

It was not until the 1820s that an upsurge in historical awareness and a growing desire to recollect *ancien régime* France through its material culture truly emerged.¹¹ This was in part encouraged by the emphasis placed by Louis XVIII on the former royal family, especially after the reburial of Louis XVI and Marie-Antoinette at Saint-Denis in 1815. This growing interest in salvaging objects from the recent past fuelled rising interest in collecting ‘old’ Sèvres, which was defined by its materiality as *pâte-tendre* porcelain. The obsession with collecting *pâte-tendre* Sèvres also shines through contemporary French literature. For example, in *Le Cousin Pons* (1847) Honoré de Balzac notes that Pons had ‘Sèvres porcelain, pate tendre, bought off Auvergnats, those satellites of the Bande Noire who sacked chateaux and carried off the marvels of Pompadour France in their tumbril carts’.¹²

A critical engagement with the collaborative networks of Lonsdale, Broadwood and Baldock calls into question canonical accounts put forward by scholars such as the economic historian Gerald Reitlinger, who mistakenly suggested that ‘the Paris market had disdained the English taste for eighteenth-century Sèvres during the first sixty years of the [nineteenth] century, and Paris prices had almost invariably been lower’.¹³ The present study demonstrates that this was certainly not the case. Instead, it sheds light on a growing demand for ‘old’ Sèvres during the July Monarchy, symptomatic of changing collecting paradigms, which resulted in rising prices, and a growing rivalry among collectors, dealers and agents. As demand outweighed supply, ‘old’ Sèvres was also subjected to a growing counterfeit market, in both Paris and London.¹⁴

Lonsdale–Broadwood–Baldock

A consideration of the backgrounds, motivations, and social classes of Lonsdale, Broadwood and Baldock reveals that each is a socio-cultural construction of early nineteenth-century British society.¹⁵ At this time the British ruling class was still predominantly aristocratic, with a political monopoly over the House of Lords and unprecedented wealth through land ownership and the consolidation of estates and titles.¹⁶ However, it has been observed that by the end of the eighteenth century there was a 'blurring of old lines of social distinction' among masculine social networks.¹⁷

Discernibly, Lonsdale can be situated within the designated aristocratic class structure of England at this time. Lord William Lowther, who succeeded to the title of 2nd Earl of Lonsdale in 1844, divided his time largely between Carlisle (where his family seat of Lowther Castle was located), London and Paris (Fig. 1). A fellow of the Society of Antiquaries from 1808, he stood as a Conservative MP and was associated with key figures in nineteenth-century society, including the Prince Regent, later George IV, and



Fig. 1. William Ward, *William Lowther, later 2nd Earl of Lonsdale*, after James Ward, mezzotint, published 23 October 1827. National Portrait Gallery, NPG D37472.

Louis XVIII of France.¹⁸ From a young age, Lonsdale demonstrated an intellectual curiosity in French history, politics and culture. His interest was directed particularly towards the royal family: he once composed a list of the mistresses of Louis XIV and Louis XV, though he was confused about which of the kings had an affair with Madame de Montespan.¹⁹ In Benjamin Disraeli's *Coningsby*, written in 1845, Lord Eskdale – whose character is based on Lonsdale – is said to have 'only read French novels'.²⁰ In fact, it was while visiting Paris that Lonsdale seems to have dedicated himself to the collecting of *pâte-tendre* Sèvres. Determined to develop his own first-hand knowledge, he also visited dealers' premises, auction salerooms, private collections and the Sèvres manufactory itself. Although reclusive by nature, collecting gave Lonsdale social, emotional and intellectual fulfilment, as he interacted with dealers, agents and fellow collectors in Paris and London; at one stage he even created a list in his diary of notable rivals, termed 'China fanciers' (see the Appendix).

Lonsdale fathered at least one illegitimate child, Fanny Lowther (1818–1890). She lived with her mother, Pierre-Narcisse Chaspoux (1783–1838) – commonly referred to simply as Narcisse – a dancer at the Paris Opéra, until she moved to England to live in Brighton and London with Lonsdale.²¹ In London, on 19 May 1840, Fanny married Lonsdale's fellow Conservative MP, Henry Broadwood (Fig. 2), which led to a cementing of the two men's friendship.²² Broadwood, the youngest son of the owners of the Broadwood piano manufacturers, was 'a man of large fortune', who owned a brewery with his fellow collector of French art James Goding.²³ Broadwood had received a classical education and stood in parliament for Bridgwater in Somerset; he was also a founder of the Garrick Club. By the 1830s Broadwood had already established a significant collection of Sèvres porcelain and eighteenth-century French paintings, including works by Jean-Siméon Chardin, Jean-Honoré Fragonard and François Boucher.²⁴ That his artistic taste aligned with Lonsdale's is confirmed by the latter's purchase of a large proportion of Broadwood's collection, sold at auction between 1831 and 1837:²⁵ and at Christie's on 8 June 1836, Lonsdale purchased almost twenty lots from Broadwood's 'exquisite collection of rare old Sèvres Porcelain'.²⁶

In 1837 Broadwood also sold his residence at 15 Carlton House Terrace to Lonsdale, together with



Fig. 2. Andrew Geddes, *Henry Broadwood, Esq.*, c.1821, drypoint. Aberdeen Archives, Galleries and Museums, ABDAG007604.

most of its contents, including a significant portrait of Madame de Pompadour by Boucher.²⁷ Interestingly, the dealer chosen by Lonsdale to mediate this process was Edward Holmes Baldock. On 15 July 1837 Lonsdale wrote: 'Met Baldock at Broadwood house & looked over what I should like – & discarded that I did not like.'²⁸ By December that year, the process was complete and, as reported in the press: 'the collection of pictures by Watteau, made at vast expense by Mr. Broadwood, are included in the purchase'.²⁹ Such a transaction further confirms how highly Lonsdale regarded Broadwood's taste and judgement as a connoisseur, and perhaps even indicates that Broadwood was acting as an agent of sorts for pictures, as well as for porcelain. Writing about the sale of Broadwood's house, the late art historian Jon Whiteley states: 'to what extent Lowther's (Lonsdale's) interest in eighteenth-century painting was formed by Broadwood or vice versa is impossible to say'.³⁰ Whiteley distances Lonsdale's collecting process from any form of commerciality, yet undoubtedly the modes of acquisition here are not linked simply to a 'shared taste' between Broadwood and Lonsdale.³¹ Despite their social and familial connections, their

relationship was never a wholly egalitarian one owing to the difference in their social rank. That being so, a hybridity emerges between their commercial arrangements, and their long-standing friendship, which presumably disguised such mercantilism to society. Undoubtedly, the two must have developed a strategic relationship of trust through the various sales of Broadwood's house, paintings and porcelain collection to Lonsdale. This rapport was further enhanced by Fanny's marriage to Broadwood in 1840.

Broadwood frequently accompanied Lonsdale to dealers' premises in London, including those of John Jarman and Abraham Joseph, as well as Baldock: 'Broadwood m'a conduit dans son cabriolet voir chez Joseph et apres chez Baldock.'³² At one stage, in 1848, Lonsdale notes down in his diary a list of 'receipts from agents', in which Broadwood is shown to be owed £8,300 for that year; there is no indication as to whether Broadwood ever received commission for orchestrating such transactions.³³ It has been suggested that 'the term "agent" should be interpreted as referring to a *function* rather than to a *profession*'.³⁴ one might argue that owing to their relatively close social standing and friendship, Broadwood is perhaps best understood as a hybrid collector-agent, or what Anne Helmreich has termed a 'cultural mediator'.³⁵ This notion of a 'cultural mediator' is most fitting, especially when Broadwood is compared with other collectors who acted more explicitly as agents, such as Gregory Franchi working on behalf of William Beckford, or Lord Yarmouth collecting for the Prince Regent.³⁶ Broadwood did not depend financially on this role, yet his activities surpassed the traditional function of a collector providing an aristocratic collector with advice, which perhaps further reinforced the blurred distinctions between the patrician classes during this period. The complexity of their interconnected collecting network is also revealed in Broadwood's letters, which provide a significant insight into his friendship with Lonsdale and their working relationship.³⁷

Although Lonsdale constantly 'dined at Broadwoods',³⁸ and his diaries reveal that they socialized together at theatres, clubs and restaurants, this type of social exchange did not exist between Lonsdale and Baldock: it has indeed been observed that antique and curiosity dealers, operating within the commercial sphere, belong to a distinct social structure in comparison with collectors.³⁹ As was customary in the

trade, dealers frequently sought out Lonsdale, who in his turn recorded almost daily social visits: 'Jarman called here in the morning & tempted me with some china.'⁴⁰ Despite this, Lonsdale appears to have developed a more personal connection with Baldock. While both Lonsdale and Broadwood can be recognized as gentleman collectors within the patrician class, Baldock was a tradesman, and the proprietor of a 'Foreign China and Antiques Furniture Warehouse' in Hanway Street, London.⁴¹ Nineteenth-century society and contemporary literature witnessed several common and enduring tropes in the cultural biography of the dealer.⁴² Dealers were commonly seen as problematic figures because of their involvement in the commercial trade in objects; they were also linked to more underhand practices, such as the counterfeit market.⁴³ Through the Lonsdale archive, an amicable but ultimately mercantile affinity emerges between the earl and Baldock. Such a relationship was built on reciprocal trust, developed strategically over time, whereby each had the potential to gain something from the other. Between 1835 and 1837, Lonsdale often 'went a china hunting with Baldock', even bringing him to Paris.⁴⁴ As we shall see, such buying trips further blurred Baldock's role as dealer and agent by making him also a friendly companion. Lonsdale visited Baldock's premises on Hanway Street, where he made regular purchases, once admitting that every time he visited 'chez Baldock, c'est difficile d'aller la, sans depenser cent Louis'.⁴⁵ Baldock was also involved in designing the cabinets for Lonsdale's displays of porcelain in Carlton House Terrace, and he frequently charged him for 'cleaning china' and moving it.⁴⁶

While dealers like Baldock could exert a great deal of influence over the taste of their clientele, their own social status must also have been enhanced and legitimized by their associations with key collectors⁴⁷ – for example, Baldock's position as 'Chinaman by appointment to his Majesty'.⁴⁸ Throughout his career, Baldock developed close working relationships with a network of aristocratic collectors, built on trust and aided by his expertise in objects.⁴⁹ Notably, when he retired in May 1843, he sent letters to a number of aristocratic collectors, including the 10th Duke of Hamilton, Lord Lonsdale and the 5th Duke of Buccleuch, thanking them for their custom and offering his remaining stock at low prices.⁵⁰ This cultivation of mercantile friendship and the interdependency established among collectors and dealers

is interesting. Baldock not only provided objects: he also controlled the market for such antiques and manoeuvred himself within a closely interconnected network of rival collectors, many of whom were all vying for 'old' Sèvres, both in France and England, and most of whom appear in Lonsdale's list (see the Appendix). As Talia Schaffer notes, the success of the connoisseur, whether dealer or agent, 'depended upon demonstrating that he had a better artistic education than his clients'.⁵¹ By the 1840s Baldock had cultivated these elite social and commercial networks and managed to reinvent himself as a member of the gentry. One can also surmise that, by the end of his life, he had formed a more genuine social friendship with Lonsdale.⁵² When Baldock died in 1845, he was replaced by his son Edward Baldock Jr, who continued to offer advice and support to Lonsdale. This Edward Baldock sat in the House of Commons as a Conservative member between 1847 and 1857, and the two developed a friendship, dining together at the Carlton Club,⁵³ horseracing at Tring with the Rothschilds,⁵⁴ on one occasion Lonsdale even wrote that he gave 'Baldock my box at the opera'.⁵⁵

Collecting 'old' Sèvres in Paris

Lonsdale's diaries and accounts provide an insight into the quotidian organization of the roles played by Broadwood and Baldock as mediators and expert advisers instrumental to his collecting process. This interaction offers a richly detailed view of the dynamic collecting processes for 'old' Sèvres during the 1830s in Paris and London. By this stage, Sèvres collectors were regularly operating internationally. For example, owing to financial restraints, the well-known collector George 'Beau' Brummell was forced to sell his Sèvres in 1830 to an auctioneer named Crockford, who travelled to Calais to retrieve the pieces: 'Mr Crockford described the china as "the finest and purest ever imported into England" . . . some of these rare specimens of porcelain are now in the collection of the Duke of Buccleuch'.⁵⁶ Several other collectors, besides Lonsdale, travelled between Paris and London, including members of the Rothschild family, the Marquess of Hertford, Joseph-Louis-Léopold Double and Richard Wallace. At her Wardour Street shop, Sarah Coleman Isaac sold to a 'young Mr Rothschild of Paris' (most likely James Mayer de Rothschild), at

a time when Baron Lionel de Rothschild travelled frequently from London to pick up pieces in Paris.⁵⁷ For example, in 1831 Lionel wrote from Paris to his mother Hanna: 'Be so good to let me know if you would like some old inlaid furniture, a secretaire or commode made in the time of Louis XV. Here these things are quite the rage, or if you would prefer, some old Sevres China.'⁵⁸ Writing about the changing state of collecting in France in 1832, the diarist and traveller Thomas Raikes acknowledged that:

everything now tends to old recollections . . . Old names, old furniture, old chateaux, old forms and ceremonies, old tapestry, old china, old plate, are now the rage even with the nouveaux riches, and, singular to say, it is English society that has brought about this wonderful change here.⁵⁹

As the cultural fabric of Paris changed, it impacted greatly on British collecting networks, which, until this point, had received little competition in the French capital. In 1835 Lonsdale wrote that 'the dealers say the French are beginning to buy'.⁶⁰ Once collector demand for Sèvres increased, so too did its price, as the level of demand soon outweighed supply. On another occasion, Lonsdale noted that the English dealer John Jarman had recently advised him that 'the Sevres china was nearly exhausted at Paris & that he [Jarman] should send his china from London to be sold here'.⁶¹ Although Jarman's comment may have been a flippant one, made in passing to a trusted client, there is something to be said about the fact that London dealers envisioned a scenario whereby they would send French stock from London to Paris, to be snapped up, presumably, by both English and French collectors. Certainly this points to a cross-fertilization between the two cities and further evidences the emerging dynamism of the Parisian antique and curiosity market during the July Monarchy.

Lonsdale's obsession with 'old' Sèvres began in earnest in September 1835, when he was on one of his regular visits to Paris. At first, it was spurred on by a French dealer in *curiosités* named Berthon, who 'mentioned a beautiful service of china'.⁶² This probably refers to Berthon *filis*, Antoine-Jacques-Philippe, son of the dealer Jacque-Philippe Berthon *père*. By 1835 Berthon *père* was almost fully retired, though he was still listed in the *Almanach du Commerce de Paris* in 1835 as based at 14 Rue des Saints-Pères.⁶³ His son had, in fact, taken over the business and had been based at 1 Quai Voltaire since 1824, acting as a 'marchand de curiosités, objets d'arts, etc.' for several

key collectors, including Ferdinand Philippe, Duc d'Orléans.⁶⁴ From 8 October 1835 Lonsdale started visiting china shops in Paris on an almost daily basis: 'je suis aller [*sic*] avec Des[?] à Gleizes chez la [*sic*] marchand de curiosités et il avait deux pieces de Sevres'.⁶⁵ Gleizes was a *marchand de curiosités* at 8 Rue Neuve du Luxembourg in 1835.⁶⁶ As the weeks continued, Lonsdale viewed a French porcelain collection in an old gentleman's house in Bordeaux,⁶⁷ and on 17 October in Paris purchased twenty-four pieces of turquoise blue Sèvres porcelain for 900 francs from Max, a 'Marchand d'Objets d'Art et de Curiosité', also in Rue Neuve du Luxembourg, at no. 21 (Fig. 3).⁶⁸ This purchase also included a teaset with tray of nine pieces costing 300 francs.⁶⁹ Geographically speaking, these dealers were closely connected, often found on Rue Neuve du Luxembourg or the Quai Voltaire, which must have suited them well, as collectors like Lonsdale moved back and forth between the shops, searching for the best pieces.

On 5 November 1835 another dealer named Joseph – most likely Joseph Theret, the 'marchand orfèvre, d'objets d'arts et de curiosités', based at 5 Rue de l'Ancienne-Comédie⁷⁰ – instructed Lonsdale that the French dealer Madame Jamar had 'made some good purchases near town [Paris]'.⁷¹ This prompted Lonsdale to pay her a visit the next day: 'Looked over some old china shops – articles not good prices high – Madame Jamar the best'.⁷² Jamar was the widow of the 'marchand de curiosités et d'ancienne porcelaine de

MAX, Marchand d'Objets d'Art et de Curiosité, 21, Rue Neuve du Luxembourg		
Paris, le 17 octobre 1835		
Envoyé à Monsieur Lonsdale		
12	Service affilé en porcelaine de Sèvres Bleu Turquoise avec des fleurs	420 f
9	un Cabinet en porcelaine de Sèvres	300 f
1	Coffre en Sèvres Bleu Turquoise	120 f
2	petit pot à glace idem Turquoise	60 f
Les 24 pièces ensemble pour le service		900 f
Pour ce qui		
Max		

Fig. 3. Bill from Max, 'Marchand d'Objets d'Art et de Curiosité', to the Earl of Lonsdale, dated 17 October 1835. Cumbria Record Office. Photograph: the author.

Sèvres' Louis Jamar, with premises in the Rue Louise-Grand. After her husband's death in 1829, she had continued to manage the business and to enlarge her clientele. Her illustrated letterhead, for example, suggests that she sold a wide range of objects, including pottery, weapons, armour, and façon de Venise glassware (Fig. 4). The following day, 7 November, Lonsdale returned to Jamar's and claimed proudly that 'I visited some china shops – as yet I have not been extravagant'.⁷³ Again, on Wednesday 18 November 1835, he noted that he 'visited the china shops – they are too dear to even make an offer'.⁷⁴ Lonsdale's cautious method of acquisition shines through, as he visits the same shops again and again, continuing his search for the best items (and best prices), but perhaps also attempting to train his eye through repetitive looking. Such forms of knowledge, developed by a repetition of practice, have been characterized as common and implicit, in the sense that they were 'richer than any written authority on the subject . . . born of experience, of the concrete and individual'.⁷⁵ Lonsdale's repeated looking can also be understood as 'epistemic seeing', defined as a form of connoisseurial knowledge developed and gained from sight.⁷⁶ Furthermore, dealer premises offered collectors the opportunity to apply haptic skills, 'understood as perception based on touch and grasp'.⁷⁷ One can imagine Lonsdale learning to familiarize himself with the distinct soft, almost soapy touch of *pâte-tendre* Sèvres, in order to distinguish it from the other historic ceramics on display.

However, on another visit Lonsdale learned that his earlier hesitation to purchase had cost him: 'went



Fig. 4. Letterhead of Madame Jamar, 'Curiosités', November 1835. Cumbria Record Office. Photograph: the author.

to Madame Jamar to get my china – I regretted I did not get her cups, van Demidoff [*sic*] bought it over my head'.⁷⁸ The sense of rivalry here is palpable. To a certain extent the mania for 'old' Sèvres may have been fuelled through specific gendered behaviours, particularly in relation to masculine networks of emulation and competitive rivalry: Lonsdale often compared the collecting of Sèvres to 'hunting'.⁷⁹ In 'Les collectionneurs' in 1842, Viel-Castel notes that there was 'une guerre sourde' between two collectors based in Paris.⁸⁰ Likewise, the Marquess of Hertford, when seeking a 'little Cabinet . . . with the plaques of Sevres china' at auction, demanded of his agent Samuel Mawson to 'put on your sword & armour & fight for me'.⁸¹ The masculinized norms of the collectors' chosen language deserve further scrutiny. By essentially framing the act of shopping for porcelain in such a prescribed masculine way, these figures carved out a space where such activity became akin to a hunt or a duel – traditional accomplishments of the nineteenth-century aristocratic gentleman.⁸² Perhaps this was a subconscious way of counteracting the perceived femininity often associated with china collecting and shopping.⁸³ As early as 1823 the collector Charles Lamb confessed that he had 'an almost feminine partiality for old china'.⁸⁴ Although much scholarship has challenged this gendered connotation of porcelain, contemporary prejudices and anxieties evidently existed during this era.⁸⁵ In order to claim their territory within the collecting process and to transgress any perceived boundaries of femininity, collectors of decorative art positioned themselves as actors in a performative battle of possession and ownership within the collecting process.⁸⁶ Similarly, albeit much later in the century, the noted ceramics collector Lady Charlotte Schreiber would also describe her collecting of porcelain, as going 'en chasse' or 'on the hunt', once again adopting such language to indicate a serious and calculated approach to collecting ceramics.⁸⁷

Letters from Broadwood

By the middle of November 1835, having spent more than a month collecting alone, and perhaps feeling overshadowed by more experienced rivals like Demidov, Lonsdale sent letters to Broadwood to seek out his advice.⁸⁸ The earliest surviving letter from Broadwood to Lonsdale is dated 20 November 1835:

I have just read your two letters together – Max has the best Sèvres of any of the people in Paris always, but he asks generally expensive prices – on this account I have been unable to do much with him – He counts before Baldock's taking all off his hands 'en bloc' when he cannot sell at these prices . . . I have never yet seen any ice pails with more than 35 £ each, I have no doubt that you have seen a very fine, but (not having seen them I should not advise your giving more than 1500 fr. for the complete pair) – I should think Max is too good a *vendeur* to market them if they are (not) perfect. The finest Sèvres always booms in value in that way.

madam jamar's you must take care of – she is a regular do, & makes more old sevres & doctors more, – than anyone else in Europe. – Her place makes a great show but she has seldom anything very good I think I recall the plates, that they are good – but 80 fr! Why the very finest bleu I think would hardly bring the money in London! The very outside of what they can be worth is 50 or 55 fr. She had some fine knife handles like those you had but of Jarman for paper knives some time ago.⁸⁹

This previously unknown correspondence between Lonsdale and Broadwood reveals a collective dialogue, as Broadwood offers advice in an amicable and often authoritative way. By the time Lonsdale received Broadwood's letter, he had already made several purchases from Max, although no ice pails were acquired. Broadwood clearly felt these were too expensive and potentially not of the best quality, and, ultimately, this influenced Lonsdale's decision-making process. Subsequently the records indicate that Lonsdale did not pursue the purchase, although in the end he did buy some *bleu céleste* ice pails, but not the pair offered by Max. This letter reveals the collaborative acquisition process that became central to Lonsdale's collecting practice, as he interacted with the Parisian antique and curiosity market, while simultaneously drawing on Broadwood's experience back in London.

Even when Lonsdale was out shopping in Paris, Broadwood was always on the lookout for him in London, visiting salerooms and dealer premises, in an attempt to acquire whatever Lonsdale desired 'in the Sevres way'.⁹⁰ In spring 1836, for example, Broadwood advised:

My dear Lord L,

Jarman has 14 very beautiful dinner plates best work of sevres – which would match the coffee cups and your load of Berri,⁹¹ he has also about as many more, as good, but not quite the same patterns, they have all flowers & birds. He has also a good 'Sucrier' as well as two of the most beautiful tureens I ever saw. – He asks too much for them, I think (about 100 £) they will not be sold before you return & then you will I have no doubt be able to make a bargain with him you (will) like them – The plates he asks £3.10 each for &

would take a little less I have no doubt – you will do better here than in Paris with such things & the amateurs are not half so eager to buy – They will all keep until your return.⁹²

Broadwood's function as a cultural mediator is evident here, as he involved himself directly in the process of sourcing and acquiring suitable pieces for Lonsdale's collection. Indeed, we could speculate that Lonsdale paid Broadwood as an agent for excursions such as these. Broadwood adopts emphatic language to engage Lonsdale's attention and reassures him of the aesthetic value and quality of the pieces in question. The hyperbolic language often used to describe objects by dealers (or by agents) has been said to have enabled them to play a game to 'generate desire'.⁹³ Broadwood claims boldly that a dinner service which also happens to match objects already in Lonsdale's collection is the 'best work' of the factory. This strategic yet subtle linguistic flattery both reinforces Broadwood's intimate knowledge of Lonsdale's collection and strengthens his position as an expert connoisseur, deserving of Lonsdale's trust.

The two men's correspondence also provides further insight into the correlation between the two cities, as Broadwood was convinced that Lonsdale would do better buying in London than in Paris. In fact, Lonsdale frequently visited dealers like Jarman with Broadwood: 'j'ai sorte [*sic*] avec Broadwood nous sommes aller [*sic*] acheter la porcelaine de sevres chez Jarman'.⁹⁴ Given the hybridity of Broadwood's position, one wonders if he ever received any commission from Jarman or other London dealers for coordinating these purchases. Certainly the power dynamics at play are interesting. Presumably Broadwood left strict instructions for Jarman not to sell these pieces until Lonsdale had returned and had been given first refusal. Similarly, by stating 'you will do better here than in Paris', Broadwood presented Lonsdale with direct instructions, and once again engaged in a self-performative demonstration of his connoisseurial judgement. When the extant bills are consulted it becomes obvious that Broadwood's well-planned arrangement succeeded: on 4 July 1836 Lonsdale bought from Jarman 'Two Sevres Tureens Covers & Stands figures grand medallions' at a reduced price of £84 and '13 Dinner Plates for £50.8.0'.⁹⁵

In another letter, Lonsdale entrusted Broadwood with the task of helping him find a particularly rare Sèvres dinner service in Paris. In his reply Broadwood stated:

I do not know what Louis Philippe has – Perrequaix No. 9 Rue de la Chapelle d/l'antier Berthon to the Duchess de Raguse [?]⁹⁶ has some fine good pieces, but I never saw a complete service at his house, at which I have dined at many of his grand parties. The Old Chaufferts⁹⁷ also has some little good – but I do not know either of a fine service at any rate I will give you a letter to renew acquaintance with her, & if she knows (which is quite probable [?]) such a service, I am quite sure she will be very happy to get if you like it.⁹⁸

Once again Broadwood is quick to demonstrate to Lonsdale the well-connected position he holds among elite French society. Nonetheless, as he was not able to trace the service, on this occasion Broadwood failed to fulfil his duty as a cultural mediator. Despite this, Lonsdale spent several weeks pursuing it, depending instead on local contacts, including a French dealer called Madame Floral, who told him 'she knew of a good service of blue sevrès china to sell'.⁹⁹ The following week, Lonsdale 'Called on Floral',¹⁰⁰ he mentioned that 'She is to give me the address of the person who has the Sevres china',¹⁰¹ and a few days later Lonsdale waited to receive the seller.¹⁰² His strategy to involve a transnational range of advisers appears to have been successful, and two extensive dinner and dessert services are listed by Lonsdale in the concluding pages of his diary for autumn 1835.¹⁰³

Even from afar, Broadwood still managed to set up meetings by writing letters of introduction on Lonsdale's behalf. Through this practice, the interdependent nature of their relationship emerges, as Lonsdale certainly listened to and acted upon Broadwood's instructions. For example, as advised, he visited the dealer Madame Chauffert in the Palais Royal in November 1835. Here Lonsdale saw 'a beautiful green Sèvres snuff box', but added, 'the price however is 600 [francs]'.¹⁰⁴ In the end, it was not until six months later that he decided to make the purchase.¹⁰⁵ It is also worth considering how Lonsdale would have been received by the French dealers – such as Madame Chauffert, particularly – if their acquaintance was predicated on an introduction by Broadwood. What would Broadwood have said in his letter? And would he have received from the French dealer any sort of commission for this arrangement if a sale was made? Would Broadwood have hinted at Lonsdale's particular passion for 'old' Sèvres, or his significant financial means? Unfortunately, we can only speculate, though we may assume that Chauffert was especially welcoming. Perhaps there is much more to be said about the role of women working in

the commercial trade of antiques who bestowed flattery upon male collectors like Lonsdale. For example, we know that Sarah Coleman Isaac often 'made a little ceremony' when visiting collectors such as Ralph Bernal.¹⁰⁶ And in one of his letters, Broadwood informed Lonsdale that Madame Jamar's 'place makes a great show'.

'China hunting' with Baldock

Despite the competitive rivalry and apparently high prices, by the end of Lonsdale's first few months of collecting he had amassed a significant collection of Sèvres porcelain, totalling almost 400 pieces.¹⁰⁷ Nonetheless, in spring 1836 Lonsdale insisted that Baldock accompany him to Paris to offer object expertise, but also, presumably, to help negotiate with Parisian dealers and navigate auction salerooms. During the trip, Lonsdale wrote: 'Met Baldock & so I got through two or three shops without buying anything – so much saved'.¹⁰⁸ It appears that Baldock not only offered knowledge but in some way regulated the amount of money that Lonsdale spent on Sèvres. Although this influence on Lonsdale's buying could have been motivated by Baldock's own desire to sell to the earl, such tactics also gave Baldock the opportunity to demonstrate his trustworthiness to Lonsdale in helping him to acquire the best pieces. For example, we learn from Broadwood's letters that Baldock was not averse to spending and buying Sèvres 'en bloc' from Parisian dealers such as Max. However, in order to develop the necessary trust between himself and the wealthy aristocratic Lonsdale, one can imagine that Baldock wove a particular kind of narrative on this trip. Perhaps he embraced a performative game of chess, driving a hard bargain with the French dealers, or feigning interest, in order to strengthen the commercial relationship with his client. If successful, perhaps Baldock might also be able to convince Lonsdale to spend more money with him upon their return to London. We know that Lonsdale struggled to visit Baldock's shop without making a purchase of a piece of Sèvres. A later bill entitled 'China Ornaments' states that in just one year in 1839–40 Lonsdale spent £1,564 on porcelain from Baldock.¹⁰⁹ This suggests that Lonsdale must have bought into the linguistic narrative typically adopted by dealers like Baldock for whichever 'Milord' entered their shops.¹¹⁰

During their trip to Paris in spring 1836, Baldock also expanded Lonsdale's collecting network by arranging visits to dealers and private or lesser-known collections which had particular objects for sale: 'Baldock called . . . went with him to see the vases of Houssy at the Porte Chinois opposite. He has two perlé dark blue vases, for which he asked 6500 francs. Some orange flower stands & two fine large plates framed.'¹¹¹ The two vases were probably the pair described under the heading 'Vases des âges à têtes d'enfants', which remained unsold in Housset's auction sale in March 1836, probably owing to their high price.¹¹² Thanks to Baldock they were eventually purchased by Lonsdale (Fig. 5).¹¹³

The two also attended auctions together, something which Lonsdale does not appear to have attempted to do by himself. In Paris the growing market for historical objects was boosted by a number of public auctions, such as those held at the saleroom on the Rue des Jeûneurs, or those that took place at the Quai de la Ferraille; other venues were the Hôtel Bullion and premises at the Place de la Bourse, at the corner of the Rue Notre Dame des Victoires.¹¹⁴ After attending one auction in Paris in December 1836, Lonsdale explained:

Went with Lyon to the auction room Rue St Laurent – It was rather good fun. The auctioneer has two pages & things are selected at the choice of the bidders – there was a great cabal against Baldock – one thing they ran him up to a thousand & offered him the same thing at 2000 afterwards – & another, to 165 – not worth above a hundred. I was lucky in getting two cups & saucers & a service within their value.¹¹⁵

Such detail provides a fascinating insight into the mechanisms of the French auction process during this period. Here Lonsdale appears to describe a variation of 'La Graffinade', a term used by Louis-Sebastian Mercier in *Tableau de Paris* to describe an auction 'ring'.¹¹⁶ Even an established dealer like Baldock was still greeted with some opposition in Paris. This is especially interesting given that he was one of the few English dealers listed in the *Almanach du Commerce de Paris*. Moreover, Lonsdale's comment that he got his pieces 'within their value' begs the question of how he made such a value judgement?¹¹⁷ Surely, in order to attain some sense of objectivity when buying at auction, it was crucial for a collector like Lonsdale to be able correctly to identify and judge the quality and price of 'old' Sèvres, or at least turn to those who could, for their guidance and object expertise.

Lonsdale's mind was frequently preoccupied with the expenses incurred as a result of his new collecting habit and the rising price of 'old' Sèvres in Paris.¹¹⁸ At one stage he notes: 'We then went to the Port Maillot there was a made up service of very ordinary turquoise blue Sevres – though there were two very large dishes – with good painting of Watteau, – I think the prices he asked 12000 francs there was also a large pink service for which he asked 16000 francs there was a little plateau that was broken.'¹¹⁹ The rising cost also filtered into literary accounts: as Cousin Pons exclaimed in Balzac's novel, 'a complete dinner service of Sevres pate tendre for twelve persons is not merely worth a hundred thousand francs, but that is the price charged



Fig. 5. Garniture of three vases ('vases des âges'), Sèvres porcelain, 1781. J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, inv. no. 84.DE.718.

on the invoice'.¹²⁰ In his letters, Broadwood too condemned the French repeatedly for asking 'such foolish prices',¹²¹ and at one juncture advised Lonsdale: 'You will not find any Sevres as good or as cheap as in London – it has all been brought to this country years ago & in changing hands *here* we may get a bargain sometimes but not often – never in Paris.'¹²²

There were clearly tensions between French and British dealers, and a pervading anti-Gallican spirit, yet there were also practical considerations.¹²³ Notably, there was a 10 per cent levy on the importation of ceramics into England at this time.¹²⁴ For example, Broadwood informed Lonsdale: 'You will do better with Baldock than in Paris without the London ship duty.'¹²⁵ Indeed, Lonsdale regularly owed Baldock for duty and the cost of transporting his china, including, early in 1839, £7 15s. for 'duty and expenses on the cases from Marseilles' and £16 18s. for 'duty and expenses on goods from Paris'.¹²⁶

Rival 'China fanciers'

Lonsdale's collecting networks for 'old' Sèvres continued to evolve, not only through his interactions with Broadwood and Baldock, but also through visits to other collectors, especially those he considered to be his rival Sèvres 'China fanciers' (see the Appendix). The act of compiling a list of his fellow collectors enabled Lonsdale to place himself within a wider collecting community, perhaps in a desire to validate himself and his own collection. Moreover, it suggests a further move away from the trope of the reclusive or singular collector, although it may also have been a means by which Lonsdale could keep track of objects in case they resurfaced one day on the art market. In fact, Baldock was the supplier for most of the listed collectors and it may be imagined that he managed Lonsdale's visits. Here again, mercantilism is central to Baldock's socio-cultural role as a dealer. As we have already seen, he *knew* objects, and by sourcing the best items for his clients he not only formed good relationships but kept a controlling rein over the market for old luxury French goods, knowing where certain pieces were located, perhaps on the assumption that they would probably come to market again during his lifetime.

Lonsdale held several of these 'China fanciers' in high regard, including the banker and East India Company director Charles Mills, who had 'a

respectable dessert service – a large jardinière – with painted ships – some smaller ones'.¹²⁷ He was also impressed by the 5th Duke of Buccleuch's collection, which included 'a fine desert [*sic*] service, several ornamental pieces'.¹²⁸ Wathen Waller's Sèvres collection also caught his attention: 'he has some fine vases – a set of green – some ribbon vases – & a variety of plates'.¹²⁹ Incidentally, it was Baldock who had advised Lonsdale that 'Sir W Wathen' had the most beautiful pieces of Sèvres.¹³⁰ While it is likely that many collecting networks encountered Sèvres porcelain in the houses of their social peers, Lonsdale's determination to seek out collections and compile lists of their contents, points to a more strategic collecting rhetoric. Moreover, it also suggests a desire to foster a collaborative connoisseurial discourse among like-minded collectors, almost foreshadowing the collecting societies that emerged from the 1850s, such as the Collector's Club and the Burlington Fine Arts Club.¹³¹

Conclusion

Using the 'Sèvres-mania' of the 2nd Earl of Lonsdale as its nucleus, I have here considered the dynamics operating within networks of dealers, agents and collectors of 'old' Sèvres during the first half of the nineteenth century. In exploring practices of elite sociability, networks of trust and mercantilism, and the gendered nature of acquisition, this article lays a foundation on which to reframe the collecting of a distinct category of decorative art within the discourses of art history and the history of collecting. It demonstrates how a collaborative collecting paradigm was facilitated by a plurality of actors operating across markets in Paris and London in the 1830s. By focusing on the collecting *process*, it encourages a move away from a more connoisseurial or empirical approach that celebrates the genius of the single collector or dealer, and fixes on the role of object provenance or the collection itself. This research paves the way for a more theoretical interrogation of the socio-cultural life, knowledge structures and material significance of collecting decorative arts, such as 'old' Sèvres porcelain.¹³² This, in its turn, will enable a better understanding of the complex, cultural and collaborative processes of collecting throughout the nineteenth century, which involved a series of interactions between transnational mediators and actors – from dealers to collectors and agents, as well as exhibitions, auction houses and

museums. From another perspective, the article also reveals the need to rethink the way in which the history of collecting ceramics has been written so far. It argues for an approach that will ultimately situate the object within the wider context of changing collecting paradigms, the history of connoisseurship, taste, the art market and the emerging discourse of the decorative arts during the nineteenth century.

Appendix

Between 1 January 1836 and August 1836, the 2nd Earl of Lonsdale made, in his diary, a list of the names of notable collectors of Sèvres, each of whom he regarded as a 'China Fancier' (Carlisle, Cumbria Record Office, Diary 42).

Sir Wathen Waller

Charles Mills – a respectable dessert service – a large jardinière – with painted ships – some smaller ones, a green coffee – some vases given him by H Baring.

Lord Harrington

Lord Eden

Duchess of St Albans

Captain Ricketts

Broke Grenville

Lord Castlevaugh – a fine service 60 pieces – bought at Ld Gwdyrs Sale

Lord Harewood

Lord Melbourne – a fine desert service

Lady Grenville

The King a fine dark blue service

Duke of Buccleuch – a fine desert service, several ornamental pieces, a large coffee

Lord Dudley & Ward – a part of green service of Ld Gwdyrs'

Sir H Goode – some good pink sceaues & jardinière of old sevrès

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Notes and references

- 1 Born William Lowther in 1787, named Lord Lowther in 1807 and granted the title 2nd Earl of Lonsdale in 1844; for ease and clarity this article refers to him throughout as Lord Lonsdale.

- Lonsdale's archive now exists at the Cumbria Record Office (hereafter CRO) in Carlisle. It is wide ranging, though not fully complete, from c. 1810 to 1860. Much of it is written in French, English and Italian, the transcription and interpretation of which has not always been straightforward. Any errors in the transcription and translations are my own, but throughout I use Lonsdale's original spellings and phrases; it is important to note that his French is especially erratic. Letter from Henry Broadwood to 2nd Earl of Lonsdale, 27 November 1835, CRO, D/LONS/1/2/113.
- 2 The letters from Broadwood are published here for the first time.
 - 3 'Cost of Money Spent on China', 1842, CRO, D/LONS/L3/5/223.
 - 4 His purchases included 1,295 plates, 122 *seaux* (ice pails), and 29 vases; R. Savill, 'A profusion of fine old Sèvres china: the collection of the 2nd Earl of Lonsdale (1787–1872)', *French Porcelain Society Journal* 3 (2007), pp. 253–71.
 - 5 Christie, Manson & Woods, *Stowe Catalogue, Priced and Annotated: by Henry Rumsey Forster* (London, 1848), p. 38.
 - 6 For example, B. McLeod, 'Horace Walpole and Sèvres porcelain: the collection at Strawberry Hill', *Apollo* 147 no. 431 (1998), pp. 42–7; E. Goëssant, 'The Sèvres porcelain collection of George Watson-Taylor', *French Porcelain Society Journal* 7 (2018), pp. 73–109; R. Savill, 'The Sèvres porcelain collection of the Fifth Duke and Duchess of Buccleuch', in *Boughton House: The English Versailles*, ed. T. Murdoch (London, 1992), pp. 142–7.
 - 7 R. Belk, 'Collectors and collecting', in *Handbook of Material Culture*, ed. C. Tilley, W. Keane and S. Kuechle (London, 2006), p. 534.
 - 8 D. Davis, *The Tastemakers: British dealers and the Anglo-Gallic interior, 1785–1865* (Los Angeles, 2020); M. Westgarth, *A Biographical Dictionary of Nineteenth Century Antique and Curiosity Dealers* (Glasgow, 2009) [Regional Furniture 23, special issue]; G. de Bellaigue, 'Philippe-Claude Macrondt, supplier to George IV', *Burlington Magazine* 146 (2004), pp. 386–95.
 - 9 L. Auslander, *Taste and Power: Furnishing modern France* (Berkeley, CA, 1996), p. 1.
 - 10 T. Préaud and D. E. Ostergard, *The Sèvres Porcelain Manufactory: Alexandre Brongniart and the triumph of art and industry* (New York, 1999), pp. 149–55.
 - 11 S. Bann, 'Historical text and historical object: the poetics of the Musée de Cluny', *History and Theory* 17 (1978), pp. 251–66; see also T. Stammers, *The Purchase of the Past: Collecting culture in Post-Revolutionary Paris, c.1790–1890* (Cambridge, 2020), p. 23.
 - 12 'Des porcelaines de Sèvres, pâte tendre, achetée chez les Auvergnats, ces satellites de la Bande-Noire, qui ramenaient sur des charrettes les merveilles de la France-Pompadour.' Tumbrels were used to take the condemned to the guillotine. H. de Balzac, *Le Cousin Pons* (London, 1950), p. 9.
 - 13 G. Reitlinger, *The Economics of Taste*, vol. II (London, 1963), pp. 157–9.
 - 14 In fact, many of the 'blanks' sold off by Brongniart ended up circulating in the market, and were later redecorated in both London and Paris.
 - 15 D. Sachko Macleod, *Art and the Victorian Middle Class: Money and the making of cultural identity* (Cambridge, 1996), p. 3.
 - 16 K. Kumar, *The Making of English National Identity* (Cambridge, 2003), p. 167.

- 17 L. Peltz, 'A friendly gathering: the social politics of presentation books and their extra-illustration in Horace Walpole's circle', *Journal of the History of Collections* 19 (2007), pp. 33–49, at p. 36; see also P. Mandler, 'Caste or class? The social and political identity of the aristocracy since 1800', in *What Makes the Nobility Noble? Comparative perspectives from the sixteenth to the twentieth century*, ed. J. Leonhard (Göttingen, 2011), pp. 178–88, at p. 178.
- 18 He was elected a fellow of the Society of Antiquaries on 16 June 1808: Society of Antiquaries of London, Archives, Minute Book xxxi, 528.
- 19 Concluding pages, Diary 41, CRO, D/LONS/L2/25-44.
- 20 M. C. Rintoul, *Dictionary of Real People and Places in Fiction* (London, 1993), pp. 620–21; H. Owen, *The Lowther Family: Eight hundred years of 'a family of ancient gentry and worship'* (Chichester, 1990), p. 392.
- 21 R. Collins, *Charles Meryon: A life* (London, 1999), p. 92.
- 22 *The Times*, 6 April 1872.
- 23 R. H. Barham, *The Garrick Club: Notices of one hundred and thirty-five of its former members* (London, 1896), p. 15.
- 24 J. Whiteley, 'Collectors of eighteenth-century French art in London: 1800–1850', in *Delicious Decadence: The rediscovery of French eighteenth-century painting*, ed. G. Faroult, M. Preti and C. M. Vogtherr (Farnham, 2014), p. 46.
- 25 *Ibid.*, p. 47.
- 26 The registry list for 1836 in the Christie's archives, London, lists sale no. 42, 8 June 1836, as the property of Henry Broadwood.
- 27 'Lord Lowther has purchased the mansion of Mr Broadwood, M.P. on Carlton-terrace', *Kendal Mercury*, 9 December 1837. The portrait is François Boucher, *Madame de Pompadour*, 1756, Nr. HUW 18, Alte Pinakothek, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich.
- 28 London, Saturday 15 July 1837, Diary 44, CRO, D/LONS/L2/44-63.
- 29 *John Bull*, 3 December 1837.
- 30 Whiteley, op. cit. (note 24), p. 52.
- 31 Some historiography has distanced the legitimate collector from the commercial character of the dealer or agent, a trope contested by scholars including Mark Westgarth. See, for example, M. Westgarth, *The Emergence of the Antique and Curiosity Dealer in Britain, 1815–1850: The commodification of historical objects* (London, 2020), pp. 36–7.
- 32 'Broadwood brought me in his carriage to go to Joseph's and then afterwards on to Baldock's'; London, 21 May 1836, Diary 42, CRO, D/LONS/L2/25-44. Abraham Joseph was recorded as a dealer in furniture, pictures and china.
- 33 'Receipts from agents', 1848, Diary 52, CRO, D/LONS/L2/44-63.
- 34 M. Keblusek, *Double Agents: Cultural and political brokerage in early modern Europe* (Leiden, 2011), p. 3.
- 35 A. Helmreich, 'The art dealer and taste: the case of David Croal Thomson and the Goupil Gallery, 1885–1897', *Visual Culture* 6 no. 2 (2005), pp. 31–49, at p. 31.
- 36 Westgarth, op. cit. (note 8), p. 12.
- 37 Letters from Broadwood to Lonsdale, CRO, D/LONS/L2/113.
- 38 London, 1 March 1837, Diary 41, CRO, D/LONS/L2/25-44.
- 39 K. Pomian, *Collectors and Curiosities: Paris and Venice, 1500–1800*, trans. E. Wiles-Portier (Cambridge, 1990), p. 260.
- 40 London, 12 April 1837, Diary 44, CRO, D/LONS/L2/44-63. John Jarman was known for dealing in 'old china'.
- 41 There have been several biographical studies on Baldock as a dealer: G. de Bellaigue, 'Edward Holmes Baldock', pts. I, II, *The Connoisseur* 189 (1975), pp. 290–99, 190 (1975), pp. 18–25; Davis, op. cit. (note 8), pp. 247–9; M. Levy, 'Edward Holmes Baldock', in *Sold! The Great British antiques story*, ed. M. Westgarth (n.p. [Barnard Castle], 2020), pp. 117–19.
- 42 For further discussion, see Westgarth, op. cit. (note 31), pp. 26–33.
- 43 *Ibid.*, pp. 33–5.
- 44 Paris, 25 November 1836, Diary 43, CRO, D/LONS/L2/25-44.
- 45 'At Baldock's, it's difficult to go there without spending one hundred pounds'. London, 7 January 1836, Diary 42, CRO, D/LONS/L2/25-44.
- 46 E. H. Baldock to Lord Lonsdale, invoice, 13 March 1841, Baldock, CRO, D/LONS/L3/5/217.
- 47 Davis, op. cit. (note 8), pp. 247–9.
- 48 As noted on Baldock's bills.
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- 50 National Records of Scotland, Hamilton Papers, NRAS2177/Bundle 955.
- 51 T. Schaffer, *The Forgotten Female Aesthetes: Literary culture in late-Victorian England*, (Charlottesville, VA, 2000), p. 79.
- 52 This blurring of the relationship between dealer and collector is also discussed by Lucy Wood in relation to William Hesketh Lever and his dealer James Orrock: L. Wood, 'Lever's objectives in collecting old furniture', *Journal of the History of Collections* 4 (1992), pp. 211–26, at p. 217.
- 53 London, 5 June 1855, Diary 55, CRO, D/LONS/L2/44-63.
- 54 'Went to Tring with Baldock', London, 2 November 1855, *ibid.*
- 55 London, Tuesday, 28 July 1856, Diary 56, CRO, D/LONS/L2/44-63.
- 56 J. Marryat, *Collections Towards a History of Pottery and Porcelain* (London, 1850), p. 202.
- 57 Westgarth, op. cit. (note 31), p. 83.
- 58 Lionel de Rothschild to Hanna de Rothschild, London, 17 April 1831, Rothschild Archive, London, 109/24/42.
- 59 T. Raikes, *A Portion of the Journal Kept by Thomas Raikes, Esq., from 1831 to 1847* (London, 1856), 4 May 1836, p. 411.
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- 61 Paris, 25 August 1836, Diary 42, *ibid.*
- 62 Paris, Wednesday 22 September 1835, Diary 41, *ibid.*
- 63 S. Bottin, *Almanach du Commerce de Paris* (Paris, 1835), p. 96.
- 64 S. Cordier, 'The dispersal of furniture by Bellangé from the Maëlrondt collection', in *Makers, Dealers and Collectors*, ed. J. Marsden (London, 2007), p. 37 [*Furniture History Society* 53, special issue].

- 65 'I went with Des[?] to Gleizes' antique shop and he had two pieces of Sèvres'. 8 October 1835, Diary 41, CRO, D/LONS/L2/25-44.
- 66 Bottin, op. cit. (note 63), p. 96.
- 67 Bordeaux, Wednesday 28 October 1835, Diary 41, CRO, D/LONS/L2/25-44.
- 68 Paris, 17 October 1835, CRO, D/LONS/L3/5/218.
- 69 Rosalind Savill has identified this Sèvres teaset in the collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, inv. no. C440-446-1921.
- 70 *Bulletin des lois de la République française* (Paris, 1839), p. 467.
- 71 Paris, 5 November 1835, Diary 41, CRO, D/LONS/L2/25-44.
- 72 Paris, 6 November 1835, *ibid.*
- 73 Paris, 7 November 1835, *ibid.*
- 74 Paris, 18 November 1835, *ibid.*
- 75 C. Ginzburg, trans. A. Davin, 'Morelli, Freud and Sherlock Holmes: clues and scientific method', *History Workshop* no. 9 (1980), pp. 5-36, at p. 21.
- 76 E. Eisner, *The Enlightened Eye: Qualitative inquiry and the enhancement of educational practice* (New York, 2017), p. 68.
- 77 K. Smith, 'Sensing design and workmanship: the haptic skills of shoppers in eighteenth-century London', *Journal of Design History* 25 no. 1 (2012), p. 3.
- 78 Paris, 21 November 1835, Diary 41, CRO, D/LONS/L2/25-44. Lonsdale is probably referring to the wealthy Russian Anatoly Demidov, Prince of San Donato.
- 79 Paris, 25 November 1836, Diary 43, *ibid.*
- 80 Viel-Castel, 'Les collectionneurs', in *Les Français peints par eux-mêmes: Encyclopédie morale du dix-neuvième siècle*, vol. II (Paris, 1842), pp. 95-9, at p. 96 ('a silent war').
- 81 Marquess of Hertford to Samuel Mawson, Paris, 9 May 1856, in *The Hertford Mawson Letters*, ed. J. Ingamells (London, 1981), pp. 83-4.
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- 83 E. Kowaleski-Wallace, *Consuming Subjects: Women, shopping, and business in the eighteenth century* (New York, 1997), pp. 4-6.
- 84 C. Lamb, *The Works of Charles Lamb*, vol. III (London, 1838), p. 213.
- 85 M. Finn, 'Men's things: masculine possession in the consumer revolution', *Social History* 25 (2000), pp. 133-55.
- 86 Susan Crane has suggested that collecting involves a 'performance of ownership'; S. Crane, *Collecting and Historical Consciousness in Early Nineteenth-Century Germany* (Ithaca, NY, 2000), p. 61.
- 87 *Lady Charlotte Schreiber's Journals: Confidences of a Collector of Ceramics and Antiques throughout Britain, France, Holland, Belgium, Spain, Portugal, Turkey, Austria and Germany from the year 1869 to 1885*, ed. Montague J. Guest, 2 vols. (London, 1911), 18 May 1869, vol. I, p. 4.
- 88 Matter underlined once by Broadwood in the original letter is printed here in underscored type; what appears here in bold type, underscored, was underlined twice or sometimes three times in the letter.
- 89 Henry Broadwood to Lord Lonsdale, 20 November 1835, CRO, D/LONS/L2/113.
- 90 Broadwood to Lonsdale, 27 November 1835, *ibid.*
- 91 Probably a reference to *rose du barry* – pink-ground Sèvres.
- 92 Broadwood to Lonsdale, undated [autumn 1935 or spring 1836], CRO, D/LONS/L2/113.
- 93 Harrison Moore, op. cit. (note 49), p. 32.
- 94 'I went out with Broadwood and we went to Jarman's to buy Sèvres'. London, 5 January 1836, Diary 42, CRO, D/LONS/L2/25-44.
- 95 John Jarman to Lord Lonsdale, bill, 4 July 1836, CRO, D/LONS/L3/5/217.
- 96 Possibly a reference to a *marchand* who worked for the Duchesse de Raguse. See A. Jacquemart, *Histoire artistique, industrielle et commerciale de la porcelaine* (Paris, 1862), p. 596.
- 97 A reference to Madame Chauffert, a *marchande* at 165 Palais Royal, Paris.
- 98 Broadwood to Lonsdale, 27 November 1835, CRO, D/LONS/L2/113.
- 99 Paris, 16 November 1835, Diary 41, CRO, D/LONS/L2/25-44.
- 100 Paris, 21 November 1835, *ibid.*
- 101 *Ibid.*
- 102 Paris, 25 November 1835, Diary 41, CRO, D/LONS/L2/25-44.
- 103 Concluding pages, Diary 41, *ibid.*
- 104 Paris, November 1835, *ibid.*
- 105 Madame Chauffert to Lord Lonsdale, bill, 14 April 1836. The snuffbox was also listed in the back of Diary 42 as 'green – Dog & Birds lined with gold bought at Chauffert'.
- 106 Westgarth, op. cit. (note 31), p.83.
- 107 These pieces included garnitures, déjeuners and two extensive dinner and dessert services, listed on the concluding pages of Diary 41, CRO, D/LONS/L2/25-44.
- 108 Paris, 9 April 1836, Diary 42, *ibid.*
- 109 E. H. Baldock to Lord Lonsdale, 'China Ornaments 1839-1840', bill, CRO, D/LONS/L3/5/217.
- 110 Harrison Moore discusses the hyperbolic performance delivered by dealers within the art trade as they created a narrative to win over the desire of their potential clients. Harrison Moore, op. cit. (note 49), pp. 31-5.
- 111 Paris, April 1836, Diary 42, CRO, D/LONS/L2/25-44.
- 112 T. Préaud, 'Sèvres and Paris auction sales, 1800-1847', *International Ceramics Fair and Seminar Handbook* (1991), pp. 27-34.
- 113 The vases are now in the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, inv. no. 84.DE.718: Savill, op. cit. (note 4), p. 256.
- 114 O. Uzanne, 'The Hotel Drouot, and auction rooms in Paris', *The Connoisseur* 3 (1902), pp. 235-42, at p. 240.
- 115 Paris, 1 December 1836, Diary 43, CRO, D/LONS/L2/25-44.
- 116 L.-S. Mercier, *Tableau de Paris* (Paris, 1781).
- 117 Paris, 1 December 1836, Diary 43, CRO, D/LONS/L2/25-44.
- 118 Lonsdale was not alone in his concern about the cost of his collecting; see, for example, Raikes, op. cit. (note 59), p. 361.
- 119 Paris, 16 August, 1836, Diary 42, CRO, D/LONS/L2/25-44.
- 120 'Non-seulement un service complet pour un dîner de douze personnes, en pâte tendre de Sèvres, qui n'est pas de la

- porcelaine, vaut cent mille francs, mais c'est le prix de facture'; Balzac, op. cit. (note 12), p. 49.
- 121 Broadwood to Lonsdale, 27 November 1835, CRO, D/LONS/1/2/113.
- 122 Broadwood to Lonsdale, undated [possibly spring 1836], *ibid.*
- 123 L. Colley, *Britons: Forging the nation, 1707–1837* (New Haven, 1992), p. 89.
- 124 Westgarth, op. cit. (note 31), pp. 86–7.
- 125 Broadwood to Lonsdale, 20 November 1835, CRO, D/LONS/1/2/113.
- 126 31 January 1839, Baldock, CRO, D/LONS/L3/5/217.
- 127 'China Fanciers', 1836, Diary 42, CRO, D/LONS/L2/25-44.
- 128 *Ibid.*
- 129 London, 13 April 1837, Diary 44, CRO, D/LONS/L2/44-63. Waller was oculist to the Prince Regent.
- 130 London, 7 January 1836, Diary 42, CRO, D/LONS/L2/25-44.
- 131 S. Pierson, *Private Collecting, Exhibitions, and the Shaping of Art History in London: The Burlington Fine Arts Club* (London, 2017).
- 132 This is the subject of my forthcoming monograph, currently entitled *Sèvres-mania: The craft of ceramics connoisseurship*, which traces the formation of ceramics connoisseurship through collaborative collecting networks in the long nineteenth century.

