

‘And Wot does the Catlog tell me?’: Some social meanings of nineteenth-century catalogues and gallery guides

Catherine Flood

Victorian exhibition catalogues are tantalising objects, carrying in their pages a fugitive memory of a visual experience.¹ Long after canvases have been dispersed, paintings remain bound together as a sparse printed list of names and titles, offering the art historian an often useful but frustratingly blind record. Many of their original readers describe these catalogues as a necessary evil – one of the little practical annoyances of gallery-going (along with being parted from your umbrella at the door):

Sir – In Royal Academy and other picture exhibitions when shall we be delivered from the bondage of catalogues? Why should we be doomed to the wearisome operation of bobbing head up to the picture and down to the catalogue? Why not hang the title and the artist’s name to the picture?²

While an official exhibition catalogue was often just a simple stitched pamphlet, it was nevertheless an object that had a very physical presence in the gallery. It occupied visitors’ hands – their only tactile form of interaction with the exhibition. It governed the movement of their heads between wall and page, and perhaps also the route they took around the gallery. Catalogues pepper descriptions and depictions of nineteenth-century art galleries. They loll in hands, are casually consulted, pored over, brandished, scribbled in, or stuffed into pockets. In fact, behaviour with a catalogue or gallery guide often contributes to the characterisation of a fictional viewer, particularly when the tone is satirical, suggesting that catalogues attracted a range of meanings that went well beyond their practical function.

Words, in the form of printed information, lectures, published criticism and verbal opinion, were central to the social operation of Victorian art galleries and museums. Displays of art were hailed as an opportunity for curators and critics to instruct the public with the aim to improve national taste and ‘inculcate virtue’³ and to this end Henry Cole announced that the new South Kensington Museum ‘will be like a book with its pages always open’.⁴ And, as a demonstrable ability to appreciate art became an increasingly important marker of social status, the gallery

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visitor was expected to find a voice and deliver his or her opinion ‘under the ordeal of a conversable sociable visitation of pictures’.⁵ It is in the context of these concerns with words in the gallery that this article looks at attitudes to the catalogue, its symbolism and reflection on the viewer. I have drawn on pictorial and printed satires, serious press articles, letters to *The Times*, institutional papers, and the introductions and layout of a range of catalogues. I conclude with a case study of a copy of the official catalogue for the Art Treasures exhibition at Manchester in 1857 that was heavily annotated by its owner to see what can be traced of one woman’s actual relationship with her catalogue.

What nineteenth-century catalogues and gallery guides told their readers varied. The official Royal Academy summer exhibition catalogue simply gave the artist’s name and the title of the work (including any lines of verse that artists linked with their work), and this format was more or less mirrored in most official catalogues for temporary sale exhibitions of modern work. There were then the official catalogues for giant ‘blockbuster’ shows of the day such as the Art Treasures Exhibition at Manchester in 1857 and the International Exhibition in 1862, handbooks to permanent collections and a plethora of unofficial catalogues and guidebooks assisting the British viewer in exploring art at home and abroad – all providing varying amounts of introduction, interpretation and guidance. In many instances the lack of labels in the gallery made an official catalogue a necessity.

I

Educating viewers

A basic catalogue supplying only the ‘tombstone’ facts of title and artist was far from being a neutral text. The very lack of further explanation assumed a certain level of cultural knowledge and an ability to understand and apply the references to subject matter embedded in the printed titles. Many satires on the inadequacies of gallery-goers target the visitor’s comprehension of the words in the catalogue. ‘At the Academy Perplexed’, an article in *Punch* (1870), looks to the humiliating plight of ‘the young gentleman of the period’ who is accompanied in the Royal Academy by female friends or relatives and finds himself unable to answer the barrage of questions that arise from their difficulties with the words in the catalogue. ‘What is a

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rebec? What is a mangold? What is an acolyte, how is pharmaceutical pronounced? Where do you put the emphasis on Tadema?’ Without recourse to ‘dictionaries, encyclopaedias, gazetteers, compendiums or manuals’ he is lost.⁶ The catalogue has exposed gaps in his general education before questions of taste and appreciation even arise. No better seems to be expected of the female visitors but the imagined young gentleman has negotiated the social test poorly.

A basic catalogue was felt to exclude uneducated, inexpert viewers, the most obvious examples of which for many mid-nineteenth-century commentators were the working classes. In ‘Robert at the Academy’, a piece in *Punch* (1886), a London waiter buys a catalogue in the Royal Academy exhibition to find out what the paintings are all about. ‘And wot does the catlog tell me?’ he asks, only to conclude that ‘Strange to say it wasn’t hardly of no use’.⁷ He is thwarted by names from classical mythology he has never heard of and, undirected by the title, interrogates the visual material in a way unintended by the artist to comic effect. ‘Robert the city waiter’ was a character who appeared frequently in *Punch* for over a decade making a genial hash of a variety of socially pretentious situations. In this instance it is his performance with the catalogue that reveals his absurdity as a Royal Academy viewer and reaffirms his social place, deflecting ideas about culture as a path to social advancement. It is in Robert’s interaction with words that the satirist most easily pinpoints a cultural divide between the waiter and *Punch*’s audience. Thirty years earlier an article in the *Art Journal* questioning the lack of educational provision for working-class visitors to the Manchester Art Treasures Exhibition made the same point, in a more serious tone, about the barrier posed by a simple artist/title catalogue. In the hands of working-class visitors, it maintains, a basic catalogue can ‘do little more than either awaken a curiosity that could not be gratified or increase a perplexity already sufficiently distressing’.⁸

In the 1850s the Manchester Art Treasures exhibition and the development of the South Kensington Museum both focused debate on the practicalities of how a gallery or museum display could be made to realise the ‘special educational influences’ of art objects.⁹ If the public were left to their own devices it was assumed that their gallery visit would amount to nothing more than a passing entertainment ‘when relaxation and the pleasurable influence of curious novelties

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will be more thought about than any definite instruction the objects may be capable of conveying'.¹⁰ At South Kensington the solution posited was the systematic organisation and labelling of collections which were then to be clad in information by means of lectures and extended descriptive and analytical catalogues. In the curator Charles Robinson's view:

Catalogues full and complete, and also judiciously abridged, should be prepared, accompanied by historical and descriptive essays, and illustrated by engravings; by these aids each section of the collection would be as it were a standing treatise, designed to allure and lead on the observer to methodic study of the subject.¹¹

The collections are to become a 'standing treatise' that can be read by the uninitiated. However, as Anthony Burton has pointed out, after a few exemplary publications, such ideal catalogues were unsustainable.¹² As early as 1854 we find Robinson acknowledging the alternative model – the vague cliché of the silent refining power of simply standing before a work of art. But in his words the idea lacks conviction as an educational proposition:

Whilst the fact is obvious that the public is very ignorant in these matters, and that active teaching is impractical, what is there to trust to but the silent refining influence of the monuments of Art themselves.¹³

The Royal Academy exhibition was also considered a site ripe with the potential to educate and improve, but here the onus was on the visitor to seek out guidance and criticism. In 1878 an impassioned editorial article appeared in *The Times* exhorting Royal Academy visitors to discipline themselves to bring as much information as possible to bear on their exhibition experience:

They ought to have the catalogue on their table some days before the intended visit, and ought to avail themselves thankfully of any opportunity of hearing criticisms of the works they are about to see. The majority of visitors learn nothing by what they see because they knew nothing about it before ... [there is] nothing in their minds to which the new fact before their eyes can fit itself. They feel the difficulty, and avoid it by passing on as quickly as possible to something else.¹⁴

They are to expand the role of their official catalogue to become a nexus for further reading and discussion. In the same year Whistler, in his famous attack on Ruskin and art critics, summed up the ascendancy that words had gained in the gallery:

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The people are to be educated on the broad basis of ‘taste’, forsooth, and it matters but little what ‘gentleman and scholar’ undertake the task. Eloquence alone shall guide them – and the readiest writer or the wordiest talker is perforce their professor.¹⁵

Where there was an educational zeal for more guiding words in the gallery it was nearly always tempered by a concern to differentiate those who must rely on support and information from an awkwardly defined class of educated visitor whom it was assumed ought not to need it. If a basic catalogue was woefully inadequate for some, it should be barely needed and held at arms length by others. The *Art Journal* article on Manchester Art Treasures quoted above maintains that:

The exhibition itself would indeed be sure to attract certain classes of visitor; and these persons, who would not fail to be found within the walls of the Art Palace of Old Trafford, were precisely the individuals who would scarcely need the simplest catalogue to guide and assist them in their inspection and study.¹⁶

One Manchester Art Treasures viewer wrote to *The Times* suggesting object labels in the galleries:

I myself am an educated person fond of art and conversant with many of the great galleries both at home and abroad, yet there are several classes of picture of which I know very little, of which I should like to know more [...] if I could walk up to a picture and see at once by a label on the frame its subject and its painter’s name [...] and if such labels would be a boon to me being such a person as I have described myself to be, how much greater a boon would they be to persons less acquainted with art and virtu than I am!!¹⁷

In calling for better information in the gallery, the letter writer feels the need to qualify himself and assert his status as a man with knowledge of art. Indeed, during the Manchester Art Treasures Exhibition the visitors’ status as viewers was frequently defined through their relationship to printed resources. To supply those who required more than a simple catalogue, a plethora of unofficial guides and lengthy press reports were published and nearly all include an overt statement about the intended user making the reader fully conscious of his or her presumed ability to appreciate art. Several were dedicated to working-class viewers such as *What to see and where to see it! Or the Operatives Guide to the Art Treasures Palace*. Others address a middle ground between the working-class viewer and the connoisseur.

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Gustave Friedrich Waagen's *A walk through the Art-Treasures Exhibition at Manchester, under the guidance of Dr Waagen* begins:

The following pages are destined not for the small number of connoisseurs, but for the larger proportion of lovers of art who seek both pleasure and instruction within the walls of this exhibition.¹⁸

Jerrold's guide to the Exhibition: How to see the Art Treasures Exhibition; a guide systematically arranged, to enable viewers to take a view, at once rapid and complete, of the Art Treasures Palace seemed to be aimed at Manchester merchants and states in the introductory paragraphs:

We address ourselves more particularly to those persons who never wandered through the gorgeous galleries of the Louvre, who are strangers to the Pitti Palace, who have never pressed the floors of the Venetian galleries nor found their way to the art collections of the German capitols. For to these there is much in our Exhibition which left unexplained must remain wholly incomprehensible.¹⁹

Even Thomas Morris's short biographical dictionary *The painters and their works; an historical, descriptive, and directional handbook to the Art Treasures Exhibition* concludes with a note on 'Essentials to formation of taste', a brief list of the attributes of a qualified viewer against which readers were implicitly invited to measure themselves.²⁰ In these texts assumptions about the sophistication of the viewer in appreciating art intersect with allusions to occupation, amount of leisure time and experience abroad. They reveal an irresistible impulse to characterise as well as to instruct the reader and they promote aspirations for improvement while simultaneously affirming a cultural hierarchy. A belief in the social and educational benefits of widening access to artworks characterised galleries and museums as shared cultural spaces encompassing all social classes. But the terms of participation and response were determined by exhibition organisers and the writers of catalogues and review so that new working and middle-class viewers were drawn into and positioned within a framework of cultural reference that was controlled by the elite of the art world.

II

Authority and Autonomy in the Gallery

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By supplying, withholding or targeting information a catalogue could signal the viewers' need for words of explanation and serve to label them within a hierarchy of the gallery crowd. The weight that visitors gave to the words in their catalogue relative to their visual experience was also interpreted as a measure of viewing capabilities. Reliance on the catalogue challenged viewers' ability to make sense of the visual, and raised issues about the sincerity of their response in the face of accepted and pre-determined opinions.

The most intimate collision of images and words in the gallery is between a painting and its title, and in many nineteenth-century galleries this meeting was conducted through the catalogue. Specific, fixed titles (like catalogues themselves) were a product of eighteenth-century academic exhibitions where it became necessary to differentiate between paintings displayed en masse. Research into the relationship between works of art and their titles further suggests that titles will often supersede their function as identity tags, becoming 'generators of meaning' that can 'guide the spectator towards a particular reading of a work'.²¹ Interpretation becomes a process of matching words to images. When the title is presented in a catalogue it is physically separable from the paintings and its role in interpretation can appear more palpable. It is the time taken turning up an entry in the catalogue – that disjointed moment between reading the title and viewing the painting (or vice versa) – that makes the importance of the title and the desire to know it more obvious. In the nineteenth-century gallery most agreed that it was necessary to have the official catalogue, but there was nevertheless a conceit that the sophisticated viewer should find interpretation on visual engagement. The image of the connoisseur was of someone who knew what he was looking at and could enter into a direct communion of mind and paint. As we saw in reference to the Art Treasures exhibition, the educated viewer only 'scarcely' needed a simple catalogue and a request for artist/title information involved some posturing. Several of *Punch's* inevitable Royal Academy satires play on this kind of anxiety, insisting on the indispensable nature of the catalogue by showing what happened when words were taken away. In 'Oil and Water' (1870) words and images repel because the viewer has the wrong catalogue ([see fig. 1](#)). The caption explains, 'No wonder the old gentleman from the country is puzzled. His friends have carelessly sent him to the

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Royal Academy Exhibition with a ‘water-colour’ catalogue’.²² The thrust of the joke is his confusion. By looking at the paintings, he has not immediately grasped the mistake and continues to endeavour to match up the wrong words. As an unsophisticated provincial he is dependent on words explaining images. He is contrasted with the more sophisticated gentleman on the right, an equal part of the satire, who holds the catalogue more coolly and only has to glance down at it, assuming the pose of scarcely needing it. In another example *Punch* proposes that visitors test themselves to see if they know what they are looking at without the aide of the catalogue entry:

First look at the picture without reference to the catalogue. Settle in your own mind all about it, its subject, what it ought to mean, its drawing, its painting, see if you recognise the style. Then refer to the number in the catalogue and prepare for astonishment. Your immediate remarks will generally be ‘Is it indeed? Well I should never have thought that was the subject. And whose is it, Surely not!’²³

Punch implies that (maybe without the viewer being aware of it) the process normally happens the other way around, with the catalogue guiding and containing viewing. The hypothetical viewers have been exposed – their independent exploration of the painting does not match the facts in the catalogue and their pride is dented by having got their visual interpretation wrong. Wrong, at least, in terms of what the artist or curator intended. The piece teases readers over their powers of visual perception but also raises the potential discrepancy and tension between official meaning and independent response in the gallery. A painting might support multiple interpretations, but when a title is printed in a catalogue it frames an official meaning.

When it came to discourses on judgement and appreciation in the gallery, the space for personal response was fraught. Curators expounded definite ideas of good taste and critics tended to encourage consensus rather than cultivating the individual eye.²⁴ Yet many satires mock viewers for blindly parroting what they have heard or read, sacrificing their integrity or simply not thinking for themselves. Personal preference was the essence of taste, but good taste was often described as an absolute. The introduction to the National Gallery guidebook (which provided mainly historical and biographical context) articulates the ambiguous position of personal preference against printed information: ‘The information thus offered,

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without superseding individual predilections, may sometimes assist in the formation of a correct judgement which is the basis of correct taste'.²⁵ The author acknowledges the claim of 'personal predilections', but they sit uncomfortably next to the holy grail of 'correct taste'. In Ruskin's view of developing taste, personal preference was the battle ground where intuitive response and feeling had to be trained into submission: 'we should have so much faith in authority as shall make us repeatedly observe and attend to that which is said to be right, even though at present we may not feel it so'.²⁶ Lucy Snowe, the heroine of Charlotte Brontë's *Villette*, gives a compelling testimony to this internal, psychological conflict:

I was happy; happy, not always in admiring, but in examining, questioning, and forming conclusions. In the commencement of these visits there was some misunderstanding and consequent struggle between Will and Power. The former capacity exacted approbation of that which it considered orthodox to admire; the latter groaned forth its utter inability to pay the tax; it was then self-sneered at, spurred up, goaded on to refine its taste, and whet its zest. The more it was chidden, however, the more it wouldn't praise. Discovering gradually that a wonderful sense of fatigue resulted from these conscientious efforts, I began to reflect whether I might not dispense with that great labour [...] and so sank supine into a luxury of calm before ninety-nine out of a hundred of the exhibited frames.²⁷

She goes on to dismiss the main painting in the gallery as 'an enormous piece of claptrap'.²⁸ She makes her own detailed criticism of it before she turns dismissively to her catalogue to learn the title: 'Cleopatra'. She rejects every device directing her to appreciate the painting, discounting its size and prominent position, a bench placed before it, and the glamorous historical title.²⁹

In this pull between individual autonomy and authority, the catalogue was a symbol of the orthodox, the institutional and the authoritative. Held in a physical triangle with the painting and the viewer it could represent the interface between accepted knowledge and personal response. It was an inventory of objects that had been selected, a map of how they had been ordered and a source of information about them; it encapsulated the curator's means of directing the viewer. Even a sparse publication like the Royal Academy catalogue made the guiding forces behind the exhibition very present. The first page was a list of regulations for (future) exhibitors including the stern reminder that 'all works sent to the Royal Academy for Exhibition are submitted to the approval or rejection of the council

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whose decision is final'. Readers also learnt how the submission of the catalogue information itself was controlled – 'no advertisement, unnecessary quotation or narrative can be admitted'.³⁰ There is then a hierarchical list of Royal Academy personnel before the catalogue proper begins. On a far grander scale, the introduction to the Official Illustrated Catalogue for the Great Exhibition celebrated its own compilation as a feat of energy, administration and structure that underpinned the whole organisational achievement of the Crystal Palace. A key aspect of Lucy's freedom and autonomy in the gallery is that she is selective, discounting 'ninety-nine out of a hundred' paintings. Conversely, the visitor who follows his or her catalogue doggedly around the whole gallery was often evoked as the epitome of docile and limited viewing – although such a viewer might be congratulated on putting in a worthy amount of effort. An 1880 letter to *The Times* reads:

Connoisseurs and collectors, enthusiastic as they may be about art, have little enjoyment at a picture gallery compared with the very poor. It is a real pleasure to watch a group of a working man and his family, catalogue in hand (and alike indifferent to a little bad drawing, false perspective or the mysteries of chiaroscuro) looking alone at a subject and its treatment, beginning at number one and thoroughly exhausting the exhibition from end to end.³¹

The idealised working-class family accept the exhibition exactly as it has been presented to them by their superiors (poor quality work and all) and their deference to the catalogue upholds social hierarchy in the gallery. Their response is further stereotyped by their concentration on the subject of the paintings while more high-brow viewers might be expected to engage with the aesthetic and technical qualities of the works. With similar assumptions about inexpert viewing and lack of agency, genteel female viewers were also frequently depicted passively taking in an exhibition in its entirety. An article in the *Illustrated London Times* describing the 1862 International Exhibition remarks that:

To the ladies who 'do' the gallery with glass at eye and catalogue at hand it is a hot and weary tussle in which they must be tumbled and disarranged, glad to sink into the nearest vacant place.³²

Fatigue is habitually linked with catalogues. As a list of all the items on display a catalogue represented the total exhibition and carried a tacit imperative to see

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everything. Yet it was felt that unselective viewing in exhibitions where works were often hung floor to ceiling could only result in visual numbness. The December 2 issue of *London Society* included a series of wood engravings on the enervation caused by visiting the International Exhibition. The central vignette was captioned ‘The Last Visit to the Exhibition: Paterfamilias pockets his catalogue and feels glad that he has done with it’.³³ It shows a family driving off as the father tucks the catalogue away, implying that, after several visits, they have completed its pages and finished the exhibition – but their expressions are set and glazed. In the Louvre, Newman, the central character of Henry James’s *The American* (1877)

had looked out all the pictures to which an asterisk was affixed in those formidable pages of fine print in his Baedeker; his attention had been strained and his eyes dazzled; he had sat down with an aesthetic headache.³⁴

In this context the catalogue or guidebook was an object with oppressive tendencies. An article in *Household Words*, ‘The catalogue on itself’, personified the Great Exhibition catalogue and imagined it gossiping with its readers. In order to speak freely it tries ‘to un-catalogue myself, to loosen myself from the accustomed bondage by which I am compelled to travel on a certain path’.³⁵

‘Doing’ the gallery was a euphemism for a surface-level interaction where quantity overtook quality of viewing. The phrase suggested a process of ticking off whereby the activity of following the catalogue becomes more significant than the works of art seen. It was a model of viewing particularly connected with the British middle-class tourists who were travelling to Europe in noticeable numbers by the middle of the century.³⁶ They were a favourite object of satire, with the guidebook as their emblem. [Figure 2](#) is a ferocious French satire of British tourists in the Louvre and is typical of a genre of Parisian satire that mocked British travellers for moving around in self-contained groups and speaking no French.³⁷ An appallingly-dressed English family, sporting varied expressions of stupidity, are focused in an isolated social group around their guidebook, signalling their lack of knowledge and engagement with their surroundings. An article in *Punch* (1861) described the viewing style of female British tourists abroad comparing their approach to that encouraged at the Royal Academy by the vast number of works on display. The author’s persona as an earnest, disgruntled young artist contributes to the humour:

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I dare say while staying at Rome or Paris or Dresden or Munich, you have not failed to observe the wonderful confidence with which our fair countrywomen trip through the picture galleries of those famous cities, making running notes on Raphael – dotting down Titian with an HB pencil, transferring Mantegna to the flyleaf of Murray [...] I once heard a young lady (who certainly did know how to turn her eyes to excellent account) remark that she had ‘done’ the capitol between the hours of breakfast and lunch and would be able to give me a full description of the Borghese collection by the time we met for dinner [...] Seeing an exhibition indeed! Give me one picture, in one room for one hour and I will try and tell you something about it.³⁸

The accusation, of course, is that they have not used their eyes to good account. Following and filling in their guidebooks has become a substitute for actually looking and great paintings are trivialised by being translated into pencilled notes.

When styles of viewing are differentiated catalogues and guidebooks belong with the social crowd, conversation, exertion, and fatigue, as opposed to stillness, silence, space, and individual aesthetic contemplation, and were lamented as a physical and mental distraction from the visual. In order to identify different modes of viewing within the growing gallery throng, certain behaviours with the catalogue were characterised through association with particular social groups. The ‘catalogue in hand approach’ was frequently assigned to middle-class women and working-class visitors – groups felt to be appropriately dependent on the exhibition organisers. Descriptions of middle-class women ‘doing’ the gallery and parroting correct taste also drew on assumptions about feminine superficiality and social display to suggest a style of viewing aimed at fulfilling social criteria, in contrast to the serious, sophisticated appreciation of connoisseurs, artists and critics. Both catalogue-wielding women and tourists could be used to epitomise the superficial outsider and non-expert.

III

Marking the catalogue

Annotating the catalogue was a common, even an expected aspect of gallery behaviour. In the example above of British women abroad, it contributes to the picture of industrious, but limited viewing. An exchange of letters in *The Times* in 1886 argued about annotating the catalogue along similar lines. ‘WHW’ wrote to

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suggest that the Royal Academy should give visitors the option of hiring a catalogue. He explained that:

I take my pictures in small and frequent doses. To burden oneself with a catalogue from after lunch till one goes home to dinner is a nuisance, to go to the Academy without a catalogue is unsatisfactory.

Catalogues for hire 'would not interfere with purchase of catalogues by those who from necessity or choice spend long hours at the academy and religiously pencil mark the margin'.³⁹ A few days later a sardonic reply was printed:

Possibly WHW does not care to spoil the symmetry of his coat by carrying anything so immense in his pockets. If so let me recommend to his notice a small and compact edition of the catalogue bound in cloth for 6d with a pencil attached in case WHW should for once condescend to make a note.⁴⁰

For one commentator, annotating the catalogue represented a laborious moribund experience in the gallery; for the second, not making notes suggested a flippant attitude to the exhibition. As an interactive practice, however, annotating has significance as more than a trope. It was an interactive practice that could help viewers to negotiate an individual experience and identity in the gallery. The margin of the catalogue had become an accepted space for the viewer's own opinion and criticism, to the extent that humorous published 'reviews' often assumed the guise of marginalia from someone's catalogue. There is Edward Armitage's *Marks and Remarks for the catalogue of the Exhibition of the Royal Academy* (1856) or *Academy Rhymes (from the margin of Mr Punch's catalogue)* (1871). Serious criticism could also echo the format of the annotated page. Gustave Friedrich Waagen's *A walk through the Art-Treasures Exhibition at Manchester, under the guidance of Dr Waagen* reproduced the official catalogue information for selected paintings, adding brief comments in a smaller font below, which are sometimes as simple as 'Very interesting' or 'Very true'.⁴¹ Annotation was presumed to be the method of the professional critic as well as the eager viewer. *Punch's* 1871 'art correspondent' announced that 'I did my duty as a British critic normally does in any circumstances, I marked my catalogue'.⁴²

As an actual practice annotating the catalogue could offer an outlet for self-expression in the gallery. It allowed the viewers to intervene and register themselves within a display by altering and enhancing the official description of it. Even a

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simple cross or line marked against certain entries allowed the annotator to indicate decisive selection and judgement, and was just the kind of exercise that might be calculated to develop taste. Alienation in the gallery was a feeling often imagined in inexperienced fictional or hypothetical viewers. For James's Newman in the Louvre, Raphael, Titian and Rubens 'inspired our friend for the first time in his life, with a vague self-mistrust'.⁴³ The 1878 *Times* journalist (already quoted) saw visitors asking themselves 'what they are expected to admire in this picture, what is it to them, and what have they to do with it all in vain'.⁴⁴ Making a judgmental mark or giving form to thoughts by noting them down was a process of forming opinion and through it identity and self-definition as a viewer. In the introductory verses to his *Marks and Remarks* Edward Armitage explains that he publishes his 'marks' for those who don't mark their own catalogues:

...all the countless people
 Who will never take the trouble
 For themselves to make selection
 Think and form their own opinion.⁴⁵

Writing in the catalogue was not necessarily a more private form of response than making a verbal comment. Our 1878 *Times* journalist, for example, suggests that an annotated catalogue 'ought to be kept for comparison with the notes of other people'.⁴⁶ Even if there is no definite audience in mind, writing notes down creates the possibility of someone else reading them and can make annotation a highly self-conscious act. As H. J. Jackson suggests in relation to writing in books, in the annotators' mind there is a 'silent audience that will sooner or later witness the performance. It becomes a semi-public occasion on which annotators have an opportunity to show what they can do'.⁴⁷ It is for this kind of self-conscious performance that one journalist mocks a female visitor to the Royal Academy:

scribbling her criticism on the margin of the catalogue, doubtless for the benefit of some aftercomer whom she wishes to impress with respect to her discriminating powers of Art.⁴⁸

A further motive for annotating the catalogue was as an aid to memory. For those concerned with the educational benefit of an exhibition, the need for viewers to retain their impressions of what they had seen after leaving the exhibition was key.

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For the 1878 *Times* journalist an un-annotated catalogue represented a terrible waste:

If anyone will take the trouble to recur to a catalogue of the Royal Academy pictures half a dozen years old, supposing it not assigned to the housemaid's tender mercies long ago, and will turn over a few leaves, he will feel, or at least ought to feel, a tingle of shame at the very small surviving trait of a great opportunity; whatever the impressions received at the time, they have long since been effaced.⁴⁹

The catalogue was the part of the exhibition that you purchased and carried away with you. Even in sale exhibitions like the Royal Academy the majority of visitors did not have purchasing power and as Kate Flint has noted 'cultural capital' rather than canvases was the commodity on offer, 'with the possession of knowledge or opinion taking the place of the acquisition of the work itself'.⁵⁰ In this respect an annotated catalogue might act as tangible record of what the viewer had gained – proof that they had participated in a valued cultural experience. New facts and discoveries might be copied in and a critical comment could chart the development of taste. The British women satirised in the *Punch* article quoted above come away with guidebooks full of notes and readily repeatable opinions. Even a simple cross or dash against a catalogue entry recorded a visitor's presence in front of a painting and witnessed their engagement with it. In *The American*, Christopher Newman writes to Mrs Tristram about his travels in Europe:

You want to know everything that has happened to me in these three months. The best way to tell you, I think, would be to send you my half-dozen guide-books, with my pencil marks in the margin. Wherever you find a scratch or a cross, or a 'Beautiful!' or 'So True!' or a 'Too thin!' you may know that I have had a sensation of some sort or other.⁵¹

IV

Maude Alethea Stanley's Manchester Art Treasures catalogue

The V&A holds a copy of *The Official Catalogue of the art treasures of the United Kingdom: collected at Manchester in 1857* that has been extensively annotated in the hand of the Hon. Maude Alethea Stanley (1833-1915) who has inscribed her name on the flyleaf and again opposite page five. It includes sketches by Maude Stanley's friend Charlotte Isabella Ellis and some humorous pen drawings by the well known illustrator Richard Doyle (1824-1883). It is Doyle's contributions that

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have probably ensured the volume's survival and it was catalogued under Doyle's name when it entered the V&A Collection in 1948.⁵²

The Stanleys of Alderley were a liberal and in some ways exceptional aristocratic family. Maude Stanley's father Edward John Stanley, Second Baron Stanley of Alderley, was a Liberal career politician, verging towards the radical, and her mother Henrietta Maria was a political hostess and campaigner for women's education. Two of Maude Stanley's younger sisters, Kate and Rosalind, became women's suffrage campaigners. Her eldest brother Henry Edward John was an orientalist and convert to Islam, attracting scandal throughout his life. While the family were brought up Anglican, another brother became a Roman Catholic Bishop and two of her other siblings were openly agnostic. Maude Stanley herself gained recognition as a women's welfare activist, setting up the first Club for Working Girls in 1880 and publishing on the subject. She never married. Her nephew Bertrand Russell (Kate's son) described the Stanleys as 'a large family of exceptional vigour, healthy, boisterous, argumentative, each with his or her own very definite opinions on religion and politics'.⁵³ Lady Stanley apparently did not apply her principles on women's education to her own daughters, who were educated at home with no tuition in the classics or science. According to Nancy Mitford (another Stanley descendant) they 'could not even spell or punctuate their native language'.⁵⁴ However intellectual pursuits were encouraged. As an annotator Maude Stanley had a secure social status and came from a family where candid expression was the norm.

Richard Doyle had known the Stanley family since 1850 when he had met and fallen in love with Blanche Stanley, one of Maude's elder sisters. She was socially beyond his reach as a wife and married the 10th Earl of Airlie shortly afterwards, but Doyle apparently remained devoted to her.⁵⁵ After his resignation from *Punch* in 1850 he spent much of his time as a guest of aristocratic acquaintances. He was by this time a household name and was sought after by society hostesses as an addition to their drawing rooms.

On a blank page towards the beginning of the catalogue, Maude Stanley has listed fourteen dates between 10 August and 16 October with a string of names written against each, which seems to be a record of the days she visited the

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exhibition and the people who accompanied her. Many are family members.⁵⁶ ‘Mr Doyle’ is mentioned on four occasions between 15 and 29 September and ‘Miss Ellis’ appears once. The list reveals that Maude Stanley was a frequent visitor to the exhibition and that she visited in groups of between two to nine others. At the end of the list she writes ‘Finis’. This version of the official catalogue is interleaved with blank pages to facilitate annotation.⁵⁷ On the pages of the actual catalogue she has added vertical dashes next to the numbers of certain entries. Sometimes there are several dashes together giving the impression of a crescendo of interest. On the blank interleaved pages she has added notes and sketches of some of the paintings. Her notes are made in various strengths of pencil or in ink, and a pencil note is sometimes over-written in pen. The annotation runs sporadically through the ‘Ancient masters’, ‘Modern masters’, ‘British Portraits’ and ‘Watercolours’ sections, bypassing those on ornamental art.

Her notes range in content, tone and length. They include brief reactions (‘very pretty’, ‘charming’, ‘horrid’), judgements (‘good specimen’) and observational discoveries (‘effects of light wonderful in watercolours’). There are snippets of information about artists or the provenance of paintings and an extended note on the history of Gainsborough’s portrait of Mrs Graham. She draws comparisons – a work by Thomas Faed is noted as ‘surpassing Wilkie in feeling and equal in humour’. Where she makes aesthetic analyses her vocabulary tends to echo the phraseology of printed reviews, but these comments are fluidly interwoven with more prosaic and personal observations. Opposite ‘Home and the Homeless’ by Thomas Faed she writes: ‘lovely in feeling and execution, lovely children, little girl so like Clemy’, which was probably a reference to her three-year-old niece Clementine Ogilvy (born 1854) Blanche Stanley (born 1854).

Reading Maude Stanley’s annotation in conjunction with published criticism of the Manchester Art Treasures Exhibition, it becomes clear that a number of her critical comments (though by no means all) pick up on a series of reviews published in the *Manchester Guardian*. To give a few examples: where the *Manchester Guardian*’s review of the Ancient Masters describes the Wilton Diptych as a ‘curious foreign painting’,⁵⁸ Maude Stanley echoes with ‘curious’. The article describes Raphael’s ‘The Crucifixion’ as ‘Peruginesque’ and remarks that:

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all the peculiarities we observe in it are those of his master's school. The affected angels ... holding strips of parchment [...] are equally common in both the works of Pietro Perugino and Raffaellino Garbo.⁵⁹

Next to this painting in her catalogue Maude Stanley notes 'quite in Perugino's style. The same angels bearing ... [illegible]'. In the section of the catalogue for the British Portrait Gallery she has copied out extracts verbatim from the relevant *Manchester Guardian* review and in places credits the author 'T. T.'. In both cases she is cherry-picking what she notes and copies in.

Many of her notes draw comparisons between the works on display and paintings in European museums, mostly in Florence. Maude Stanley may have been making these comments from first hand knowledge as she was likely to have been well-travelled. Possibly she was noting down information from her mother who was brought up in Florence, or drawing again on published material. As we saw earlier, familiarity with museums abroad was often invoked as an attribute of the knowledgeable viewer. However, such comparisons were a natural form of assessment and concern in an exhibition that presented 'Art Treasures of the United Kingdom', and it would be difficult to interpret them confidently in terms of a conscious display of knowledge.

Some of Maude Stanley's most animated comments are made when she discovers an idea of character or mental state in a painted face. Next to the entry for a portrait of the Earl of Essex she writes 'An amusing & roguish thought working his mind. Full of life and expression'. A portrait of a young man is 'looking pensively into the future'. She also registers disappointment. 'The Three Maries' by 'Carracchi' [sic] have 'No variety in the expression of grief' and Van Dyck's 'Ignatius Loyola' is 'Not near as like (probably) as Titian opposite. This one might be [illegible name]. No individuality'.⁶⁰ In another instance, next to a portrait of Adrian Pulido Pareja by Velasquez, she writes 'Portrait of a ruffian' followed by a shaky version of the 'RD' monogram used by Richard Doyle. The note is in her hand, but she seems to be attributing it to Doyle. Possibly she is recording a verbal comment that he made. This raises interesting difficulties about how we interpret the authorship of her annotation. As well as reflecting her reading of printed resources, her notes are likely to have been informed by verbal exchanges in the gallery. It is

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tempting to conjecture that it might have been Doyle with his interests as a caricaturist who turned her attention to facial expressions.

The most elaborate instance of annotation in the catalogue relates to the painting ‘St Augustine and St Monica’ by Ary Scheffer ([see fig. 3](#)). Stanley has sketched the painting in pencil and written ‘My favourite picture’ in pencil underneath. She has written a list of colours which she seems to have used as a reference to colour the image in. Squashed in to the left of the sketch, and therefore presumably written later, is a note in darker pencil:

Monica Thankful, earnest, confide [illegible]. See her last conversation with her son from St Augustine Confessions p104. Beautiful feeling of duty, joy and confidence in this picture, perfect conception of the comfort of religion.

On page 104 of the catalogue she has copied out at length the relevant extract from St Augustine’s *Confessions*. Her notes on this painting appear to have been made at different times, both in the presence of the painting and once she left the gallery.⁶¹ They show her using the catalogue to extend her engagement with the painting, retaining her visual and emotional impressions of it, matching it with written sources and above all making a personal claim on it by designating it her ‘favourite painting’.

Some of Maude Stanley’s comments have the feel of conscious art appreciation and she flexes her taste and judgement. However, the catalogue does not reveal a concerted effort to either acquire or display knowledge, but rather suggests a process where paintings and scraps of information have randomly caught and fired her interest. Vicky Mills in her recent article, responding to Patrizia Di Bello’s investigation of Mrs Birkbeck’s album, uses the model of the ‘constructivist’ museum visitor, where the ‘visitor is at the centre of the interpretative process and effects her own metonymic collisions’, to draw a parallel between museum viewing and the female practice of compiling albums.⁶² The comparison is highly pertinent to Maude Stanley’s annotated catalogue which traces a selective viewer moving through an exhibition and also reveals album-like tendencies. Maude Stanley’s comments and dashes in the margin are a form of virtual collecting from within the exhibition and we further see her filtering and copying in a range of printed and perhaps verbal sources to create a highly personalised compendium of information –

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plausibly taking pleasure in the satisfaction of piecing things together. She has also accepted contributions from friends (Doyle's with some cache attached) in the style of a genteel album that captured social relationships.

Richard Doyle's contributions to the catalogue are two caricatures of portraits in the exhibition, a generic fairy-like vignette and three scenes of exhibition visitors. The first exhibition scene shows visitors arriving on an over-packed omnibus – and is directly comparable to one of Cruikshank's illustrations of the Great Exhibition. It was drawn on a separate sheet that has been tipped in at the front of the catalogue so that the catalogue begins with a scene of visitors arriving. On a page where Maude Stanley has drawn a painting, Doyle has added in a crowd of spectators for her pencil sketch ([see fig. 4](#)). They are a chaotic mix of social types, and possibly include a few personal caricatures – the man in the front of the crowd in the top hat has a striking resemblance to Doyle himself. Two are holding catalogues. The page is humorously self-reflexive with the satirical responses of Doyle's characters absorbed into Maude Stanley's actual response – the sketch she made in the catalogue when she stood in front of the real painting. The third gallery scene, drawn opposite the catalogue description of the armour display, depicts a group of small girls looking at suits of armour that bear a large 'Do Not Touch' sign and captures the possibilities of chaos and rebellion that exist in the gallery visitor ([see fig. 5](#)). The little girls are suitably awed by the signage and the scale of the armour, but the directive not to touch fills the image with the possibility that they might intervene at knee-height to bring the top-heavy suits of armour crashing down. Doyle's illustrations relish the unruly element that visitors introduce into an exhibition and he translates the effect in the orderly pages of the catalogue with his humorous, irreverent interventions. The catalogue is made to make fun of itself and the serious business of art criticism is juxtaposed with the social satire that clung to exhibitions and catalogues.

The catalogue also contains two rough sketches of visitors with their catalogues in specific galleries, possibly made on the spot in pencil and later over-traced in pen, signed by the Hon Charlotte Isabella Ellis ([see fig. 6](#)). Like Doyle's omnibus illustration these sketches were made on separate sheets and have been added into the catalogue. Maude Stanley herself has drawn small sketches recording

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individual paintings directly onto the interleaved sheets throughout the volume. The three forms of illustration found inside the catalogue – social satire, scenes of exhibition halls and object illustrations – were all established forms of visual response to major exhibitions in the illustrated press. All the illustrative additions are carefully placed next to the relevant entries and gallery sections in Stanley's catalogue, fleshing out its terse printed description of space and progression with glimpses of objects and impressions of what the exhibition looked like. The effect is a form of personal illustrated souvenir edition that has some formal resonance with published souvenir catalogues such as the *Official Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogue of the Great Exhibition* (1851), which included wood-engraved illustrations of objects opposite the text descriptions ([see fig. 7](#)) as well as a few peopled vistas of the exhibition itself. As a handmade version, Maude Stanley's catalogue goes beyond capturing the visual to preserve a strong sense of its owner's presence and social interactions in the gallery and is a highly individualised souvenir of an event.

The list of dates and names written in at the beginning of the catalogue have a diary-like quality describing a two-month window in Maude Stanley's life during which she devoted a great deal of time to the exhibition. The list was originally written in pencil but has been over-written in pen, except for the '20 Sept' entry which is therefore differentiated on the page ([see fig. 8](#)). This was the only day on which Richard Doyle, Charlotte Ellis and Maude Stanley all visited the exhibition together. Also listed on this day is Sir H. Rawlinson, a man with whom Maude Stanley was romantically linked at around this time.⁶³ Nancy Mitford from her study of the Alderley letters believed that Maude Stanley had been in love with Henry Rawlinson and that on his marriage to someone else two years later, she gave up the idea of marriage herself.⁶⁴ Underneath the list of visits there is a further note recording 'Sept 20th Johnny started for India', a reference to her soldier brother who was sent to India to serve during the 1857 'mutiny'. The published Alderley letters from these months are full of references to reports of atrocities from India and of Johnny's imminent departure.⁶⁵ Potential meanings for the catalogue as a sentimental keepsake begin to emerge. She has singled out a date where her memories of the exhibition have become conflated with events in her emotional life.

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So what does the catalogue tell us? Nineteenth-century catalogues and gallery guides were a front-line tool for aiding and instructing the viewer and as such they were liable to interpretation as cultural-social markers differentiating the museum crowd. As conceptual objects they existed within a dynamic of developing and limiting the viewer. In satire and popular discourse, viewers' relationship with their catalogues could be mobilised to evoke naïve, dependent and word-bound viewing or to uncover cultural pretensions. They could represent physical and intellectual control and pose a distraction from the visual. The practice of marking the catalogue could play into these modes of characterisation, but it offered further possibilities. Maude Stanley's *Art Treasures* catalogue provides one individual example of annotation disrupting, appropriating and personalising the official description of an exhibition, fluidly combining social, emotional, moral and intellectual responses. It is a multidimensional memory of an event that Stanley experienced through the visual, the verbal, the printed and the autographic.

List of Figures:

Fig. 1 Charles Samuel Keene (1823-1891), *Oil and Water*, published in *Punch* (1870), wood engraving. The Victoria and Albert Museum.

Fig. 2 Attributed to Philippe Jacques Linder (active 1857-1880), *English Tourists at the Louvre*, about 1861, oil on board. The Victoria and Albert Museum.

Fig. 3 Maude Alethea Stanley (1833-1915), *Ary Scheffer's St Augustine and St Monica*, pencil drawing and annotation opposite page 107 in Stanley's copy of the *Catalogue of the Art Treasures of the United Kingdom collected at Manchester in 1857*, bequeathed by H. H. Harrod. The Victoria and Albert Museum.

Fig. 4 Maude Alethea Stanley (1833-1915) and Richard Doyle (1824-1883), *Reynold's portrait of Nelly O'Brien with a group of spectators*, 1857, drawing in pencil and ink opposite page 74 in Stanley's copy of the *Catalogue of the Art*

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Treasures of the United Kingdom collected at Manchester in 1857, bequeathed by H. H. Harrod. The Victoria and Albert Museum.

Fig. 5 Richard Doyle (1824-1883), *Girls looking at Armour*, 1857, drawing in ink in a copy of the *Catalogue of the Art Treasures of the United Kingdom collected at Manchester in 1857*, bequeathed by H. H. Harrod. The Victoria and Albert Museum

Fig. 6 Charlotte Isabella Ellis (d. 1891), *Gallery scene*, 1857, drawing in pencil and ink in a copy of the *Catalogue of the Art Treasures of the United Kingdom collected at Manchester in 1857*, bequeathed by H. H. Harrod. The Victoria and Albert Museum.

Fig. 7 Maude Alethea Stanley (1833-1915), *Titian's daughter holding up a jewelled casket*, pencil drawing and annotation opposite page 31 in Stanley's copy of the *Catalogue of the Art Treasures of the United Kingdom collected at Manchester in 1857*, bequeathed by H. H. Harrod. The Victoria and Albert Museum.

Fig. 8 List of dates and names written on a blank page in Maude Stanley's copy of the *Catalogue of the Art Treasures of the United Kingdom collected at Manchester in 1857*, bequeathed by H. H. Harrod. The Victoria and Albert Museum.

Endnotes:

¹ The quotation in the title is from 'Robert at the Academy', *Punch*, 3 July 1886, p. 9.

² E. M. J., 'The Academy Catalogue', *The Times*, 11 May 1886, p. 16.

³ Henry Cole cited in Susan Fagence Cooper, 'The British School at the Manchester Art Treasures Exhibition of 1857', *Apollo*, 153 (2001), 30-38 (p. 33).

⁴ Henry Cole, *The Functions of the Science and Art Department and the South Kensington Museum: Introductory Addresses on the Science and Art Department and the South Kensington Museum; no. 5*, (London: Chapman and Hall, 1858), p. 21.

⁵ Charlotte Brontë, *Villette*, first published 1853, (Wordsworth Editions, 1999), p. 185.

⁶ Unknown, 'At the Academy Perplexed', *Punch*, 14 May 1870, p. 191.

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⁷ Unknown, 'Robert at the Academy', *Punch*, 3 July 1886, p. 9. The article appeared with a wood engraved illustration showing Robert in front of a painting with an open catalogue. Robert first appeared in 1881 and the character continued into the 1890s.

⁸ Unknown, 'The Art Treasures Exhibition', *Art Journal*, n.s. 3 (1857), 316-363 (p. 361).

⁹ The museum opened first at Marlborough House in 1852 and then on the South Kensington site in 1857; J. C. Robinson, *On the Museum of Art: Introductory Addresses on the Science and Art Department and the South Kensington Museum; no. 5*, (London: Chapman and Hall, 1858), p. 7.

¹⁰ Robinson *On the Museum of Art* p. 7

¹¹ Robinson *On the Museum of Art* p. 8

¹² Anthony Burton, 'The uses of the South Kensington Art Collections', *Journal of the History of Collections*, 14 (2002), 79-95.

¹³ Cited in Burton, 85.

¹⁴ Unknown, 'In the Art and Science of Living', *The Times*, 8 May 1878, p. 11.

¹⁵ J. A. MacNeill Whistler, *Whistler v. Ruskin: Art & Art Critics* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1878), p. 15.

¹⁶ *Art Journal*, p. 361.

¹⁷ H., 'The Manchester Exhibition', *The Times*, 18 September 1857, p. 8.

¹⁸ Gustave Friedrich Waagen, *A Walk through the Art-Treasures Exhibition at Manchester, under the Guidance of Dr Waagen* (London: Murray, 1857), p. 1.

¹⁹ Blanchard Jerrold, *Jerrold's Guide to the Exhibition: How to See the Art Treasures Exhibition: A Guide Systematically Arranged, to Enable Viewers to take a View, at once Rapid and Complete, of the Art Treasures Palace* (Manchester: Ireland and Co., 1857), p. 6.

²⁰ Tom Morris, *The Painters and their Works: An Historical, Descriptive, and Directional Handbook to the Art Treasures Exhibition*, (London: Houlston & Wright, 1857), p. 61.

²¹ F. D. Lilley, 'How Far can you go? Manet's use of titles', *Word & Image*, 10 (1994), 163-169 (p. 163). On this subject also see Margery B. Franklin, Robert C. Becklen and Charlotte L. Doyle, 'The Influence of Titles on How Paintings are Seen', *Leonardo*, 26 (1993), 103-108 and Stephen Bann, 'The Mythological Conception is the Name: Titles and Names in Modern and Post-modern Painting', *Word & Image*, 1 (1985), 176-190.

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- ²² Charles Keene, 'Oil and Water', *Punch*, 7 May 1879, p. 179.
- ²³ Anon, 'Our Own Academy Guide', *Punch*, 10 May 1879, p. 209.
- ²⁴ Kate Flint, *The Victorians and the Visual Imagination* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 196.
- ²⁵ Ralph Wornum, *Descriptive and Historical Catalogue of the Pictures in the National Gallery. Foreign Schools* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1856), p. 4. This form of words was retained in the introduction in subsequent editions.
- ²⁶ *The Works of John Ruskin*, ed. by E.T. Cook and Alexander Wedderburn, 39 vols (London: George Allen, 1903- 1912), iv (1903), 58.
- ²⁷ Brontë (1999), p. 185.
- ²⁸ Brontë (1999), p. 185.
- ²⁹ On this scene see Barbara J. Black, *On Exhibit: Victorians and Their Museums* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2000), pp. 110-114.
- ³⁰ These phrases first appear in the 1841 catalogue and were retained until 1976.
- ³¹ A Dog in the Manger, 'Sunday Exhibition of Pictures', *The Times*, 18 December 1880, p. 6.
- ³² Unknown, 'Toujours Perdix', *Illustrated Times*, 23 August 1862, p. 272.
- ³³ See the record for Unknown, "The Last Visit to the Exhibition. Paterfamilias pockets his catalogue, and feels thankful that he has done with it" (1862), in J. Thomas, P. T. Killick, A. A. Mandal, and D. J. Skilton, *A Database of Mid-Victorian wood-engraved Illustration* <<http://www.dmvi.cf.ac.uk>> [accessed 27 June 2007]: LSF049
- ³⁴ Henry James, *The American*, first published 1877, (London: Penguin Books Ltd, 1986), p. 33.
- ³⁵ Unknown, 'The Catalogue's Account of Itself', *Household Words*, 74 (1851), 519-522 (p. 519). The article makes comic reference to the Official descriptive and illustrated catalogue of the Great Exhibition, 1851.
- ³⁶ See for example Richard Doyle's illustration 'They "do" Cologne Cathedral' in Richard Doyle, *The Foreign Tour of Messrs. Brown, Jones, and Robinson: Being a History of What they Saw and Did in Belgium, Germany, Switzerland & Italy* (London: Bradbury & Evans, 1854), p. 8. A proof of this wood engraving is in the Victoria and Albert Museum.
- ³⁷ On this see Christophe Leribault, *Les Anglais à Paris au 19e siècle* (Paris: Paris-Musées, 1994).

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- ³⁸Unknown, 'Our roving correspondent', *Punch*, 27 July 1861, p. 39.
- ³⁹W. H. W., 'Catalogues for Hire at the Royal Academy', *The Times*, 8 May 1886, p. 7.
- ⁴⁰A.N. 'The Academy Catalogue', *The Times*, 11 May 1886, p. 16.
- ⁴¹Gustave Friedrich Waagen, *A Walk through the Art-Treasures Exhibition at Manchester*, pp. 20-21.
- ⁴²Anon, 'Morals at the Academy', *Punch*, 13 May 1871, p. 196.
- ⁴³James (1986), p. 34.
- ⁴⁴*The Times*, 8 May 1878.
- ⁴⁵Edward Armitage, *Marks and Re-marks for the catalogue of the Royal Academy, MDCCCLVI* (London: Golbourn, 1856).
- ⁴⁶*The Times*, 8 May 1878.
- ⁴⁷H. J. Jackson, *Marginalia: Readers Writing in Book*, (London: Yale University Press, 2001), p. 95.
- ⁴⁸Anonymous, 'First Day of the Royal Academy Exhibition', *Sharpe's London Magazine of Entertainment and Instruction for General Reading*, 9 (1856), cited in Susan P. Casteras and Linda H. Peterson, *Women Artists and Authors* (New Haven: Yale Centre for British Art, 1994), p. 15.
- ⁴⁹*The Times*, 8 May 1878.
- ⁵⁰Flint (2000), p. 177.
- ⁵¹James (1986), p. 115.
- ⁵²Victoria and Albert Museum number E.389-1948, bequeathed by Hubert Henry Harrod in 1948.
- ⁵³*The Amberley Papers. The Letters and Diaries of Lord and Lady Amberley*, ed. by Bertrand Russell and Patricia Russell (London: Woolf, 1937), p. 39.
- ⁵⁴*The Stanleys of Alderley: Their Letters between the years 1851 –1865*, ed. by Nancy Mitford (London: Hamilton, 1939), p. xix.
- ⁵⁵Michael Heseltine, 'Doyle, Richard [Dick Kitcat] (1824–1883)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8005>> [accessed 28 June 2007]
- ⁵⁶These include 'HMS' (her mother Henrietta Maria Stanley who signed her letters HMS); Kate (her sister Katherine Louisa Stanley), Rosalind (her sister Rosalind Frances Stanley), 'Col & Mrs Fox'

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(her sister Alice and husband Augustus Henry Lane-Fox-Pitt-Rivers); ‘Lyulph’ (her brother Edward Lyulph Stanley) and a number of ‘Dillons’ who may have been relatives on her mother’s side.

⁵⁷ The official Manchester Art Treasures catalogue seems to have been provided both with and without interleaved pages. Maude Stanley’s catalogue has been crudely re-backed later in its life. The loss of some of Maude Stanley’s notes show where the pages have been trimmed down – possibly as a result of this re-backing. Three drawings on separate sheets have been added to the catalogue. One is tipped in but the re-backing has obscured how the other two are attached.

⁵⁸ Anon, *A Handbook to the Paintings by Ancient Masters in the Art Treasures Exhibition, being a Reprint of Critical Notices Originally Published in the Manchester Guardian* (London: Bradbury and Evans, 1857), p. 14.

⁵⁹ Anon, *A Handbook to the Paintings* p. 25

⁶⁰ She is comparing Van Dyck’s portrait of Ignatius Loyola with a portrait by Titian of the same sitter which seems to have hung opposite in the gallery.

⁶¹ The longer notes in ink are mainly those which are copied verbatim from other sources and are in ink in more controlled handwriting suggesting that they were not made on the spot in the gallery.

⁶² See Vicky Mills, ‘The Album as Museum? A Response to Patrizia Di Bello on an interdisciplinary approach to Mrs Birkbeck’s Album’, *19: Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century*, 2 (2006) <www.19.bbk.ac.uk> and Patrizia Di Bello, ‘Mrs Birkbeck’s Album: the Hand-Written and the Printed in Early Nineteenth-Century Feminine Culture’, *19: Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century*, 1 (2005) <www.19.bbk.ac.uk>; Mills, p. 4.

⁶³ See Mitford, letter 302 (late 1857) from Maude Stanley’s grandmother Maria Josephia Lady Stanley to her mother Lady Stanley in which she writes that she has heard rumours of an engagement between Maude Stanley and Henry Rawlinson.

⁶⁴ *The Stanleys*, Mitford, p. xviii.

⁶⁵ See for example letters 281 and 282 in *The Stanleys*, Mitford.

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