

*La Lorraine Artiste: Nature, Industry, and the Nation in the Work of
Émile Gallé and the École de Nancy*

By

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Abstract

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My dissertation explores the intersection of art and politics in the career of 19th-century French designer Émile Gallé. It is commonly recognized that in fin-de-siècle France, works such as commemorative statues and large-scale history paintings played a central role in the creation of a national mythology. What has been overlooked, however, is the vital role that 19th-century arts reformers attributed to material culture in the process of forming national subjects. By educating the public's taste and promoting Republican values, many believed that the decorative arts could serve as a powerful tool with which to forge the bonds of nationhood. Gallé's works in glass and wood are the product of the artist's lifelong struggle to conceptualize just such a public role for his art. By studying decorative art objects and contemporary art criticism, then, I examine the ways in which Gallé's works actively participated in contemporary efforts to define a unified national identity and a modern artistic style for France.

My dissertation begins with an examination of Gallé's works produced for the *Exposition Universelle* of 1889, works that focused on forging consensus among members of the French nation through their appeal to patriotic values. I argue that the divisive events of the Dreyfus Affair, however, led Gallé to reevaluate the idea of both artistic and political consent. In response to these challenges, Gallé developed a Symbolist style that privileged subjective sensation as an expression of the artist's political commitment to the rights of the individual. I contend that Gallé's encounter with Japanese art, meanwhile, informed his decision to abandon conventional forms of allegory in favor of defining the national through the natural. My dissertation concludes with a discussion of Gallé's role as the founder of the *École de Nancy*, a group that brought together artists and industrialists in an attempt to reformulate ideas of artistic community and national identity in the wake of the Affair. In his works, then, I argue that Gallé sought to redefine what it meant to be French and, in the process, transformed the way in which his contemporaries viewed the decorative arts and their cultural significance.

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Introduction

Object Nation: The Role of the Decorative Arts in Defining a Modern Style for France

Prologue: Requiem

The new century has only a handful of years to its name. A man, just this side of gaunt, sits draped like an empty sack in a hard wooden chair. In his hands he holds a delicate, spiraling shape made of light and color and the hard smoothness of glass. He is dying. His life is as brittle and as ephemeral as glass itself. The hand that he holds in his own is not human, but mineral—the substance to which he, too, will soon be reduced (fig. 0.1). And yet, to him, this glass hand, reaching eternally up from the depths of the ocean, is not cold and dead. It is alive with the energy and brilliance of light, with the pulsation of color, and with the writhing torsion of its complex shape, alive in a way that transcends mere existence. This fragile, barely formed and yet eternal object, he thinks, *this* will be his legacy—a hand that reaches out from the depths of the primordial sea, coming into being as it emerges, symbolizing our shared humanity and our common struggle. For Émile Gallé (1846-1904), the glass he holds is life itself—a crystal matrix permeated with the energy of fire and the mystery of transformation.

The Politics of Arts Reform

While this description of Gallé's *Main aux algues* (Hand with Algae, 1904) might seem at first glance rather extravagant, I think that it is one with which Gallé and many of his contemporaries would have concurred. Gallé and his fellow arts reformers placed an enormous importance on the ability of the decorative arts to communicate profound truths through formal means and on what they perceived to be the pivotal role that the decorative arts played in (re)defining what it meant to be *French*. As the visual expression of French taste and French style, arts reformers such as Gallé's friend Roger Marx (1859-1913) hoped that the decorative arts would reestablish France's superiority in the spheres of culture and commerce.¹ By the time of his death in 1904, critics of all persuasions praised Gallé's art in particular as exemplifying the essence of French style and the pinnacle of French taste. Neither the artist's lifelong interest in the arts of foreign nations nor his demonstrated commitment to his native province of Lorraine prevented his work from being consistently described as somehow quintessentially French in character.

Gallé's career spanned nearly four decades and coincided with a pivotal moment in the history of the decorative arts in France. Critics, cultural commentators, and government arts officials had decried a "crisis" in the French arts of design as early as mid-century. Rapidly changing methods of production, increased competition with other industrialized nations, and the proliferation of historicist styles all contributed to a widely held perception that the decorative arts were in decline. In the course of the subsequent half-century of design reform, one common theme emerged: the belief that the arts, and the decorative arts in particular, were absolutely central to both the prosperity and unity of the French nation.

The Great Exhibition, held in London in 1851, offered visitors a unique opportunity to compare the products of their country's arts industries with those of rival nations. Whereas

previous exhibitions held sporadically since the late 18th century had displayed the goods of a single nation, the Crystal Palace exhibition brought together products from around the globe. Visitors from the official French delegation were dismayed by what they witnessed: it seemed to them that France risked losing once and for all its preeminence in the twin realms of art and industry.

The official report of the exhibition published by the French delegation included a widely circulated essay entitled “Application de l’art à l’industrie,” by Comte Léon de Laborde (1807-1869).² In his report, Laborde claimed that England’s creation of government-supported schools and museums devoted to the decorative arts posed a serious threat to French supremacy in the area of design.³ In order to compete with its European rivals, Laborde argued, France needed to establish similar programs encouraging innovation and excellence in the decorative arts. It was hoped that educating producers would aid in the creation of a new style, one not reliant on historical pastiche but one that would instead express France’s modernity and its unique character as a nation.

Laborde’s arguments in favor of educating artists and manufacturers are characteristic of the early years of the decorative arts reform movement. France’s defeat in the Franco-Prussian War (1871) and the economic recession of the 1880s gave added urgency to the search for a modern, national style that could be successfully marketed at home and abroad. In the second half of the 19th century, the French government sponsored numerous studies of arts institutions in Germany, England, Austria and other European countries, focusing on design education and the establishment of museums devoted to the decorative arts.⁴ Marius Vachon’s study *Nos industries d’art en péril* (1882) was influential in this regard, as was a series of official reports on the arts institutions of other European nations that Vachon published in the 1880s and 1890s.⁵ In 1894, government officials also commissioned arts reformer and entrepreneur Siegfried Bing (1838-1905) to study the decorative arts in America. His report, delivered to the director of the Administration of Beaux-Arts, was published in 1896 as *La culture artistique en Amérique*.⁶ Although they purported to discuss the fine as well as the decorative arts, such publications invariably emphasized the latter as the area of greatest concern *and* of greatest potential for reestablishing France’s status as the taste-maker of Europe.

Private interest groups met government initiatives with efforts of their own to encourage reform in the decorative arts. The founding of the *Société pour le Progrès des Arts Industriels* in 1851, for example, was in direct response to the perceived threat posed by other European nations’ progress in the arts of design. The Society’s members were primarily artists and manufacturers who campaigned for the establishment of a national decorative arts museum, a central design school, and an annual exhibition devoted to the decorative arts.⁷ In 1864, artists and manufacturers founded a second group with similar aims, the *Union Centrale des Beaux-Arts Appliqués à l’Industrie*. This group later joined forces with the *Société du Musée des Arts Décoratifs* (f. 1877) to form the *Union Centrale des Arts Décoratifs* (f. 1882), a group still in existence today. The new society combined the aims of the *Union Centrale des Beaux-Arts*, namely, the improvement of industrial design, with those of the *Société du Musée des Arts décoratifs* (f. 1877), which focused on promoting the creation of a national museum devoted exclusively to the decorative arts. The overarching goals of such groups were nationalistic in origin: progress in the design and manufacture of decorative art objects was seen as a way to restore France’s prestige and economic prosperity—but also to unify French society.

Prior to the French Revolution, French citizens had been united by their common status as subjects of the king. No such shared identity existed, however, in a Republican state. Events

such as the Franco-Prussian War and the resulting annexation of the province of Alsace and parts of Lorraine, as well as the spread of colonialism, also called into question the nature of national identity in fin-de-siècle France. Contemporaries wondered—were all citizens of France, even those of another race or those born in France but now living outside its borders, necessarily *French*? Was French identity defined by law, by geography, or by customs such as language and dress?

The Third Republic needed to address these questions in order to foster a sense of belonging among its citizens, for the Commune of 1871 was an all too potent reminder of the internal divisions that could tear apart a nation. As Debora Silverman has persuasively demonstrated, over the course of subsequent decades the Third Republic endeavored to mobilize culture in all its manifestations as a unifying force.⁸ Government officials were no doubt influenced by contemporary theories of nationhood such as that penned by the historian Ernest Renan (1823-1892), which cited the significance of language, religion, and other cultural factors, rather than geography or ancestry, in creating a sense of shared national identity.

The decorative arts were perceived, then, as central to the program of nation-building. Not only were they representative of the glorious history of French art, but according to arts reformers and government officials, they could embody the true essence of French character in a way that painting or sculpture could not. Because of their potential for mass production and distribution, moreover, the decorative arts contributed directly to the prosperity of the nation. Moreover, while individual works might have less influence than, say, a publicly exhibited painting, the very ubiquity of such works could communicate patriotic messages to a broad cross-section of consumers. Thus arts reformers and government officials celebrated what they viewed as the inherently democratic nature of such objects and called for the creation of, in the words of Marx, a new “social art” (*art social*).

The same factors that made the decorative arts in many ways an ideal form for the communication of patriotic themes, however, also limited their impact. Whereas mass-produced works might have widespread influence through their sheer proliferation, the public role of decorative art objects was limited by the essentially private nature of their consumption. There was no simple equivalent in the decorative arts, for example, to the tradition of public mural painting. In the course of the 1880s and 1890s, however, the status of the decorative arts vis-à-vis the fine arts gradually rose, due in large part to the efforts of Gallé and other arts reformers. Beginning in 1891, for example, decorative art objects were included in the annual Salon, and numerous journals devoted specifically to design, such as the *Revue des Arts décoratifs*, were founded in the same period.

The largely private nature of the decorative arts, however, could also be an advantage. Some fin-de-siècle critics saw the presence of art objects in the home, for example, as essential to the task of nation-building. As Leora Auslander has argued, many late 19th-century cultural commentators believed that the domestic sphere was where citizens first learned the values of Republicanism and became acquainted with the history and traditions of their nation in the form of domestic objects.⁹ A shared culture experienced at the individual level in the home, government officials believed, would serve to unite citizens once they ventured into the public realm.

Nonetheless, the use of a primarily decorative vocabulary in such works necessarily entailed the risk of ambiguity and in many cases illegibility. Without the power of narrative at their disposal, the messages conveyed by works of decorative art could all too easily be disregarded or misread. The problem was, above all, how to give legible visual form to a

theoretical concept of nationhood. What elements were necessary to foster unity? Reference to artistic tradition, the use of conventional emblems and allegories, or more abstractly, the construction of a specific French *style*? And if the latter, how was this characteristic style to be defined? And by whom? In my dissertation, I assert that it is precisely these issues that Gallé addresses in some of his most polemical works produced between the *Exposition universelle* of 1889 and the artist's death in 1904.

The role of the decorative arts in fostering national unity also brings us to a paradox at the heart of late 19th-century rhetoric. As stated, cultural critics and government officials believed that the decorative arts had two equally important roles to play in the well-being of the nation. On one hand, they were to foster economic prosperity through the cultivation of a modern, national style. On the other hand, they were to instill Republican values and a sense of national identity in French citizens. Yet if what it was to *be* French was in part defined by the search for a collective French *style*, how and why would this style appeal to consumers in other nations? By embracing products designed in a French style, would consumers in foreign nations *become* French?

By tying the question of identity so closely to that of style, in other words, French manufacturers risked isolating themselves and their goods. The search for market preeminence was in many respects incompatible with the rhetoric of stylistic nationalism. This tension between the particular and the universal, I contend, also strongly marks Gallé's works, in which the artist continually struggles to define the place of the individual within the larger nation. In Chapters One, Two, and Three of my dissertation, then, I discuss how Gallé explores these issues in works produced for the *Exposition universelle* of 1889 and in commemoration of the Franco-Russian Alliance of 1893. In these early works, I argue that Gallé pairs conventional symbolism with the use of natural forms in an effort to forge a new, quintessentially French style.

The influence of Japonisme on this style, however, was undeniable. In fact, Gallé's works often drew inspiration from the depiction of nature in Japanese prints, and yet critics rarely viewed this strategy of emulation as irreconcilable with the idea of an original French style. On the contrary, many critics suggested that it was precisely the encounter with the arts of Japan that allowed Gallé to liberate his art from historical pastiche, thus rendering it truly modern. In Chapter Four, then, I ask how exoticism could be seen as compatible with critics' understanding of Gallé's works as inherently French. It is ultimately nature, I argue, that allows Gallé to reconcile the paradoxes both in his own work and in the nationalist rhetoric of fin-de-siècle France.

Gallé's works produced for the *Exposition universelle* of 1889 focused on forging consensus among members of the French nation through their appeal to patriotic values. In Chapter Five of my dissertation, however, I contend that the events of the Dreyfus Affair (1898-1899) led the artist to reevaluate the idea of both artistic *and* political consent. By the time of the *Exposition universelle* of 1900, I maintain, Gallé developed a Symbolist style that privileged subjective sensation as an expression of his political commitment to individual rights. Thus the artist briefly returned to narrative subject matter in one of his most striking creations, the vase *Les Hommes noirs* (The Black Men, 1900), but paired this figural language with a symbolic use of light in order to denounce the injustices perpetrated against Dreyfus and to champion moderate, Republican values.

In Chapter Six of my dissertation, I conclude my analysis with a discussion of Gallé's founding of the *École de Nancy*, a regional group that united artists and industrialists in an attempt to reformulate the idea of artistic community and national identity in the wake of the

Dreyfus Affair. In his late works, I argue that the artist essentially reconceptualizes the national through the lens of the natural. Drawing on organicist metaphors of cooperation in nature for his understanding of artistic style, Gallé creates works that rely on natural forms to reflect upon the place of the individual within society. Increasingly alienated by the extremism of former allies such as the nationalist writer Maurice Barrès (1862-1923), Gallé thus formulates what he terms an *art naturaliste* (naturalist art), an art whose symbolism celebrates individual subjectivity. The artist paired this symbolism, I argue, with a visual language derived from geographically specific natural forms employed as markers of national and regional identity. In his works in glass and wood, then, Gallé fundamentally redefined what it meant to be French, offering viewers a vision of national identity as inherently diverse, decentralized, and even cosmopolitan, a vision that was in direct contrast to the xenophobic theories of the contemporary nationalist movement.

Gallé's Training

Gallé was born in Nancy, in the province of Lorraine, in 1846. His identity as a Lorrainer would clearly impact Gallé's artistic production throughout his life. Gallé's father, Charles Gallé, was a porcelain painter who traveled as a representative of the Bougon & Chalot porcelain company of Chantilly.¹⁰ During one of his trips to Lorraine, Charles Gallé met and subsequently married Fanny Reinemer, the daughter of a widow who ran a shop selling ceramics and glassware in Nancy. Charles Gallé took over his mother-in-law's business in 1854 and changed his name to Gallé-Reinemer.¹¹ The business prospered and by 1855, Gallé-Reinemer was supplying fine glassware to Napoleon III and other wealthy clients. A decade later, in 1867, Gallé-Reinemer added a glass-decorating studio to the family business and began producing his own wares. By 1874, he would appear listed as a "manufacturer of glass and porcelain" in the local register of merchants.¹²

The young Émile Gallé studied at the *Lycée impérial* in Nancy beginning in 1858 and then at the *Académie de Nancy* starting in 1865.¹³ Although Gallé took basic drawing classes during his secondary school training, he never received formal instruction in design. He did, however, demonstrate a precocious interest in botany and, under the guidance of the eminent botanist Dominique-Alexandre Godron (1807-1880), began collecting botanical specimens in the countryside around Nancy.¹⁴ Gallé completed his education with a year-long stay in Weimar, Germany, where he studied German and mineralogy.¹⁵ Upon his return to France in 1866, Gallé was made artistic director of his father's workshops in Nancy, Saint-Clément, and Meisenthal. In 1877 or 1878, Gallé took over sole management of his father's enterprise.¹⁶ Although most of the glassware sold by Gallé continued to be made off-site until 1894, Gallé added a kiln and decorating studio for ceramics and a furniture-making workshop to the family home in 1885.¹⁷ By the time of the *Exposition universelle* of 1889, then, Gallé was fully established as the head of a small factory specializing in "artistic" furniture, glassware, and ceramics that, although executed by his skilled workers, bore Gallé's own signature. From his humble beginnings as the owner of a small factory, Gallé would rise to become one of France's most famous designers, with retail outlets in several foreign nations and an international reputation for excellence. His view of French identity as radically decentered and his efforts to define the decorative arts as a powerful vehicle to convey universal truths, while influential during his lifetime, would nonetheless subsequently be eclipsed by a primarily aesthetic appreciation of the artist's poetic, evocative style and his role as a proponent of Art Nouveau.

Chapter One

Carved Into the Flesh of France: Gallé and the Franco-Prussian War

The *Exposition universelle* of 1889 opened with a fusillade of press accounts praising the fair as the long-awaited demonstration of France's renewed supremacy in the twin fields of art and industry. Visitors flocked to the exhibition from almost every region of France and almost every nation on the planet. Still reeling economically and socially from the events of the Franco-Prussian War (1870-1871) and the Commune (1871), the nation united in celebration of France's rebirth. Masterpieces of engineering such as the *Galerie des machines* and the Eiffel Tower loudly proclaimed France's economic and industrial might. Exhibitions of colonial products and colonized bodies presented France as a powerful empire. Yet, at the heart of this monumental demonstration of national unity and prosperity, there appeared a scar, a jagged wound of remembrance and regret that threatened to disrupt the triumphant discourse of national rebuilding.

This wound was Émile Gallé's monumental table *Le Rhin* (The Rhine, 1889) and all that it evoked—namely, France's humiliating defeat at the hands of the Prussian army and the subsequent annexation of Alsace and eastern Lorraine by the newly founded German Empire (fig. 1.1). Gallé's table is decorated with an elaborate marquetry design depicting the invasion of Roman Gaul by Teutonic tribes in the 5th century and references the recent events of the Franco-Prussian War through the representation of this ancient battle. It thus urges viewers not to forget the loss of Alsace-Lorraine and calls for revenge against France's enemy, Germany.

Gallé, a native of Lorraine who served in the French army during the war, made the loss of the annexed territories the subject of a significant number of his works exhibited in 1889. Some, including *Le Rhin* and *Jeanne d'Arc* (Joan of Arc, 1889), constituted a kind of call to arms, while others such as *Orphée et Eurydice* (Orpheus and Eurydice, 1889) and *Espoir* (Hope, 1889) expressed mourning for what had been lost and hope for the future (figs. 1.2, 1.3, 1.4). Universally praised in reviews of Gallé's work, *Le Rhin* in particular functioned as a powerful statement of patriotism that united viewers in a shared celebration of France's glorious history. Indeed, *Le Rhin* is the only work in which Gallé explicitly depicted the centuries-old conflict between the French and German nations. This work, which would appear in every major exhibition of Gallé's oeuvre during his lifetime and beyond, thus possessed a seemingly unrivaled significance for both the artist and his public.

Le Rhin is also Gallé's most ambitious work, a declaration of his technical mastery and of the role he envisioned for the decorative arts in public discourse. One of the few works in Gallé's oeuvre to employ the human figure in a narrative scene, *Le Rhin* lays claim to the status of history painting and to its role as a monumental vehicle for the public expression of universal values. Indeed, the table marks the beginning of Gallé's lifelong struggle to conceptualize an overtly politicized role for the decorative arts. Yet in the years following the *Exposition universelle*, Gallé would abandon the figural language employed in *Le Rhin* and other 'patriotic' works in favor of a symbolism based on natural forms. This chapter explores the significance of Gallé's decision to abandon traditional ways of representing the nation in favor of defining the national through the natural.

War

War was declared between France and Prussia on July 19, 1870, and Prussian forces swiftly rendered France's two main armies nearly powerless. Besieged in Metz and soundly defeated on the battlefield of Sedan, French forces witnessed Prussia lay siege to the nation's capital. Lasting through the winter, the Siege of Paris ended with France's capitulation in January of 1871. Shortly thereafter, the King of Prussia was crowned emperor of a united Germany in a ceremony held at Versailles. The Treaty of Frankfurt, signed in May, transferred the province of Alsace and most of the province of Lorraine to the victor and called for France to pay substantial war reparations to Germany.

As previously stated, Gallé was a native of Nancy, a city that found itself near the border with Germany following the annexation of territories to its east. The city saw little fighting during the war but suffered through several years of occupation by the Prussian army, which entered Nancy on August 12, 1870. German troops remained in the city for three long years, until the war reparations specified by the terms of the Treaty of Frankfurt had been paid in full. During their stay, the Germans exacted a costly indemnity from the municipality and instituted a system of involuntary requisitions and mandatory billeting of troops, fueling strong anti-German sentiment among the city's inhabitants.

Following the war, Nancy received an influx of refugees from the annexed territories. By 1872, 8,963 of Nancy's total population of 52,978 inhabitants were refugees who had "opted" for French citizenship.¹ Within five years, this number had nearly doubled, rising to 15,279.² Many of the workers Gallé employed in his factory numbered among these *optants* who had chosen French citizenship over ties to their native towns and cities. The growing number of émigrés placed a strain on municipal resources but also resulted in an influx of valuable skills and capital. Indeed, in the 1870s Nancy experienced an unprecedented period of economic growth and prosperity. In the decades following the war, Nancy also underwent rapid industrialization, with the creation of new metallurgical industries playing a particularly important role in the economic life of the city.³ The presence of the garrison, meanwhile, stimulated the growth of local industries that supplied the soldiers with food and clothing.⁴ The rapid pace of economic growth resulted in a continuing labor shortage that encouraged the immigration of workers not only from the annexed territories but also from abroad, transforming the city of Nancy into a crossroad of cultures.⁵

All of these factors contributed to the success of Gallé's enterprise, which benefited from the influx of capital and skills, as well as the patronage of a wealthy bourgeoisie. Yet the losses of the Franco-Prussian War would also strongly mark Gallé's work. Perhaps the clearest expression of what Gallé himself termed his "sad preoccupations" was the artist's monumental table, *Le Rhin*.⁶ The table's subject matter was timely, for only a few years before the *Exposition universelle* of 1889, renewed war with Germany had, however briefly, been a possibility.

In April of 1887, German border guards arrested Guillaume Schnaebelé (1831-1900), an Alsace-born French Commissioner (*commissaire*), on suspicion of espionage. France's Minister of War, General Georges Boulanger (1837-1891), brazenly proposed sending in troops to free him.⁷ Eventually, the affair was handled diplomatically, but Boulanger's popularity grew as a result of his aggressive stance towards Germany. Members of both the extreme left and extreme right quickly adopted the general as their mascot and, for a time, support for Boulanger united those who sought *revanche*, or revenge against Germany, and those who sought to overturn the opportunist Republic.⁸ When Boulanger lost his position at the Ministry on May 30, 1887

following a change in government, he stood for local elections in several provinces and in Paris with the support of both the Royalists and the militant Republicans.⁹

In Nancy, support for Boulanger was considerable. On April 26, 1888, approximately 500 people participated in a pro-Boulanger demonstration in the city, chanting “Vive Boulanger” as they stoned the offices of the anti-Boulangist *Cercle des Étudiants* and a local newspaper, *Le Progrès de l’Est*.¹⁰ The following January, Boulanger’s supporters in Nancy created a revisionist committee headed by a medical student named Ferdinand Marconnet (b. 1866), with the aim of supporting Boulanger in the local elections scheduled for July 28th. A young writer named Maurice Barrès (1862-1923) returned home from Paris to join this pro-Boulangist *Comité Révisionniste*, which called for the enfranchisement of the masses, workers’ rights, and revenge against Germany.¹¹

Although voters elected Boulanger regional councilor (*conseiller général*) of Nancy-West, the results were declared invalid in August. Three of Boulanger’s supporters, including Barrès, the novelist Paul Adam (1862-1920), and accountant and political organizer Alfred Gabriel (b. 1848), subsequently stood for the legislative elections in September, with Barrès and Gabriel gaining seats as deputies for the department of Meurthe-et-Moselle.¹² The strong gains achieved by the revisionist party in Nancy’s elections demonstrate the growing atmosphere of xenophobia and nationalism in this frontier city. The *Exposition universelle* of 1889, which opened on May 6th and closed on October 31st, coincided with the rise of the Boulangist movement. Gallé’s famous table as well as his other ‘patriotic’ works must thus be seen in the context of the nascent nationalist movement and its militant calls for a war of revenge against Germany.

Gallé and Germany

Although many of Gallé’s works exhibited at the *Exposition universelle* of 1889 employ anti-German rhetoric in order to call for the return of the annexed provinces, the artist’s own relationship with Germany and its people was far from simple. Gallé himself spoke fluent German, was a passionate fan of the music of composer Richard Wagner (1813-1883), and as previously mentioned, spent a year studying in Weimar in his youth.¹³ The artist’s maternal grandfather, moreover, was a native of Baden, Germany, and the Reinemer family maintained ties with a number of relatives in Germany before, during, and after the war.¹⁴

Gallé served as a French lance corporal in the Franco-Prussian War, but this did not prevent his parents from welcoming an injured German soldier, Valdemar Troebst, into their home during his month-long recuperation in the fall of 1870.¹⁵ Gallé had lodged with the Troebst family during his studies in Weimar and maintained close ties with them. Letters exchanged between Gallé and his parents, however, nonetheless reveal a shared animosity toward the enemy that had invaded their native city. In a letter to a friend, a copy of which he sent to his son, Charles Gallé-Reinemer writes of “the relentless enemy of our race” and the “sacred struggle to retake the soil [of France].”¹⁶

Following the war, Gallé’s own published writings demonstrate a continuing preoccupation with the economic rivalry between Germany and France. In essays such as “*Considérations à propos de notre commerce extérieur*,” published in 1884, Gallé acknowledges the threat posed to France by German industry.¹⁷ Of particular concern to Gallé was the proliferation of art schools and decorative art museums supported by the German government. In his essay, Gallé urges French officials to institute similar measures and to improve training

methods for French art workers or risk the irreversible decline of France's prestigious luxury art industries.

As an industrialist, however, Gallé could not afford to ignore a newly prosperous Germany as a potential market for his goods. In 1885, Gallé traveled to Germany, where he discussed selling his works with local merchants.¹⁸ As tensions between the two nations waned in the 1890s, Gallé further strengthened his ties to France's erstwhile enemy, establishing a warehouse in Frankfurt and participating in a total of five exhibitions held in Germany.¹⁹ A list of Gallé's commercial contacts abroad includes the names of 140 individuals and institutions located in Germany, with the majority concentrated in Berlin.²⁰ Gallé's overtly patriotic works must be seen, then, not as the expression of the artist's own beliefs, but as complex and sometimes contradictory statements regarding France's relationship with Germany.

A Public Role for the Decorative Arts

Better known for his works in glass, Gallé exhibited his furniture for the first time at the *Exposition universelle* of 1889. The furniture workshops, created in 1884-85, specialized in the traditional craft of marquetry—works decorated with small, shaped pieces of wood veneer.²¹ In Lorraine, such decoration had reached its apogee in the 18th century, when marquetry patterns depicting fruit, flowers, and geometric motifs were used to decorate Louis XV-style furniture (fig. 1.5).²² Drawing on this Rococo heritage, Gallé's workshops produced both fine pieces of furniture, issued in limited series, and less expensive, mass-produced works.

As Claire O'Mahony has noted, Gallé's furniture has received little critical attention from art historians. O'Mahony attributes this silence to Modernism's mistrust of the essentially decorative, rather functional character of Art Nouveau, which is at odds with the functionalism championed by Niklaus Pevsner and other early scholars of the history of design. Likewise, she notes that the modernist preference for abstraction is in many respects incompatible with Gallé's emphasis on botanical naturalism.²³ O'Mahony also discerns a tendency on the part of some historians to privilege the artisanal over the industrial.²⁴

Equally relevant, I argue, is the tendency of historians interested in the interaction between art and society to overlook the key role played by Gallé's art in the construction of public discourse. Historians such as Leora Auslander, Nancy Troy, and Debora Silverman have recently made the material culture of 19th-century France the object of their analyses. In many ways, however, their arguments do little to contradict the fundamental underlying assumption that in fin-de-siècle France, the decorative arts functioned almost exclusively in the private, rather than in the public sphere. Of course, we might say that all three authors underscore the ways in which the private informed and even helped structure the public in fin-de-siècle France. I argue, however, that the study of the decorative arts in their role as private commodities in the home overlooks the public nature of Gallé's interventions in the political discourse of his day. Thus my dissertation focuses more on the issue of critical responses to public exhibitions of Gallé's works than, for example, on the identity of Gallé's clientele or the ways in which his works operated in the domestic sphere.

Indeed, Gallé's most ambitious works, including *Le Rhin*, challenge the assumption that the audience for decorative art objects was essentially private. Rather, such works served as overtly politicized statements that took visual form in the public realm. By exhibiting his works, Gallé actively participated in contemporary political debates and sought to influence public opinion. Works such *Le Rhin*, exhibited at the *Expositions universelles* or the annual Salons of

the *Société nationale des beaux-arts* (est. 1890) and the *Société des artistes français* (est. 1881), attracted as much critical attention as any comparable work of painting or sculpture, if not more. Moreover, contemporaries attributed an absolutely pivotal role to Gallé's art in defining a modern national style for France, a style that they believed would reestablish France's supremacy in the arts and restore economic prosperity to a nation still recovering from the events of the Franco-Prussian War.

The Battle of the Arts

Gallé clearly envisioned a public role for *Le Rhin*, the most elaborate work the artist exhibited at the *Exposition universelle* of 1889. In his "Note" to the jury, for example, Gallé describes *Le Rhin* as a "museum table."²⁵ The meaning of the phrase is ambiguous, perhaps intentionally so. The phrase may simply refer to the inspiration Gallé draws from 16th-century tables, presumably found in museums, or to the table's monumental size and elaborate surface decoration, which render it unsuitable for use as a dining table in an average home. In this case, the table would function more as an object of display, the wooden equivalent of an *objet de vitrine*, or object of vertu, a small decorative trinket intended for display in a glass case—or a museum. In any case, it seems clear that Gallé never intended *Le Rhin* to be a functional item of furniture. The table's role is essentially ceremonial and symbolic, that of an object created for public display rather than for use. The table's monumental size, however, denotes that Gallé intended the table to read not as a precious *objet d'art*, but rather in the same way that paintings and sculpture were understood to be "fine art" precisely because they were functionless in nature.

In 19th-century society, moreover, the public realm and the private realm often overlapped. It was not uncommon for furniture manufacturers to use their own homes to display their products. Before exhibiting *Le Rhin* at the *Exposition universelle*, for example, Gallé showed it in his own home so that the inhabitants of Nancy could view the table before it traveled to Paris for the exhibition.²⁶ A contemporary photograph shows *Le Rhin* as the centerpiece of a room furnished with other works intended for display at the *Exposition universelle*, including *Jeanne d'Arc* and *Flore d'hiver* (Flora of Winter, 1889) (fig. 1.6).²⁷

Gallé also made *Le Rhin* the centerpiece of all major exhibitions of his work from the time of the *Exposition universelle* until his death in 1904. The table featured prominently, for example, in Gallé's display at the *Exposition des arts décoratifs et industriels* held in Nancy in 1894, where it was exhibited under the name *Histoire ancienne* (Ancient History) (fig. 1.7).²⁸ At the *Exposition universelle* of 1900, *Le Rhin* appeared in the Centennial exhibition under the title *Chardon lorrain* (Thistle of Lorraine). Five years after Gallé's death, *Le Rhin* again held a place of honor in the pavilion of the *École de Nancy* at the *Exposition internationale de l'Est de la France*, which took place in Nancy in 1909 (fig. 1.8).

Gallé never found a buyer for *Le Rhin*, and it is unclear whether Gallé in fact wished to part with it. According to the artist's father, Gallé may have planned to donate the table to the art museum in Strasbourg when the provinces were once again reunited.²⁹ *Le Rhin* remained in the artist's home until 1963, when Gallé's descendants donated the table to the local *Musée des Arts décoratifs*, now the *Musée de l'École de Nancy*. Today, as a mark of its centrality to Gallé's œuvre, *Le Rhin* stands immediately opposite the main entrance to the museum, providing visitors with their first glimpse of Gallé's work (fig. 1.9).

In conceiving of such a public role for *Le Rhin* both in his lifetime and beyond, Gallé was not only asserting his claim to the status of artist but also taking part in an artistic rivalry with Germany that was often described in terms of war. Many of Gallé's contemporaries viewed the *Exposition universelle* as a demonstration of France's recovery from the traumatic events of the Franco-Prussian War and its return to supremacy in the realm of the arts. As the painter's brush and the sculptor's chisel replaced the weapons of war, artists such as Gallé were seen by contemporaries as their nation's best hope for restored honor and dignity in the face of growing economic competition with Germany.

Paul Aula, writing in *Le Voltaire* in 1892, echoed the thoughts of many of his contemporaries when he described this artistic rivalry between Germany and France in military terms:

Germany has organized economic war with the same mathematical precision that it brought to the war of 1870. It has established tremendous competition with us. But above all it has taken aim at our art industries. To defeat us on these grounds, no effort has been spared.³⁰

The measures that Aula recommends—the establishment of museums and schools devoted to the decorative arts—were oft-cited goals of arts reformers such as Gallé and other members of the *Union Centrale des Arts décoratifs*. The *Expositions universelles*, however, were the stage upon which the successes engendered by these reforms could be demonstrated to an international audience. *Le Rhin*, then, is at once the depiction of a battle and a weapon in that very battle, now a symbolic struggle being waged in the arts rather than on the battlefield.

The issue of artistic rivalry was already clearly established by the time of 8th *Exposition de l'Union Centrale des Arts décoratifs* held in Paris in 1884. In a review of the glass section, for example, Edmond Bazire praises several French artists for their efforts on behalf of the nation.³¹ He writes, "Several [artists] have surpassed themselves and, in a time when international conflict is so acute, have taken on the task of preparing the supremacy of our nation for the formidable experiment of 1889."³² Artistic excellence, Bazire suggests, serves a higher aim than virtuosity alone—it can help to restore France to its position of cultural and economic ascendancy at the *Exposition universelle* of 1889, only five years away and much anticipated. Bazire then describes an imaginary scenario in which the other European nations, and Germany in particular, watch and wait for France to fail:

French industry does not stand idle, and it must not stand idle. Germany, which watches us and threatens us, will have tried in vain. It is not through the glass of Brocard, Gallé, Rousseau, Champigneulles, [or] Reyen that it will be able to defeat us, nor even provoke us.³³

Bazire thus posits that the decorative arts in particular hold the key to reinvigorating French industry. Indeed, recognizing that France could not compete with Germany's industrial might, arts reformers and public officials would look to the luxury crafts as a way to reestablish their nation's position in the market.³⁴

To this end, arts reformers attempted to redefine the way in which contemporaries viewed the decorative arts. In his review of the 1884 exhibition, for example, Louis de Fourcaud posits the 17th-century division of the arts into the categories of "fine" and "decorative" was the first

step in the decline of French art.³⁵ In his preface to Arsène Alexandre's *Histoire de l'art décoratif du XVI^e siècle à nos jours* (1892), Roger Marx likewise blames the hierarchy of the arts for the decline of France's artistic supremacy. He asserts, "It is obviously due to having established arbitrary classifications, because of having violated national tradition and consummated the divorce between artist and artisan that taste languished [and] barely renewed itself."³⁶ Thus only cooperation between art and industry, in Marx's view, will restore France's ascendancy in matters of taste.

The Collaboration with Prouvé

By all accounts, it appears that Gallé shared the faith of Marx and other arts reformers in the uniquely influential role that the decorative arts could play in restoring France's supremacy in the marketplace and in defining a shared, national identity. In *Le Rhin*, Gallé put his beliefs to the test by creating a work that radically challenged the conventional understanding of artistic hierarchy. Indeed, Gallé's desire to make *Le Rhin* a politicized, public statement on a par with history painting was evident from the earliest days of its conception. Not only did Gallé conceive of his table as a monumental work of art, but he also took the unprecedented step of commissioning a graduate of the *École des beaux-arts*, Victor Prouvé (1858-1943), to design the marquetry frieze that decorates the top of the table (fig. 1.10).

Prouvé's friendship with Gallé was of long standing. The artist's father, Gengoult Prouvé (1828-1882) had worked for Gallé and his father, Charles Gallé-Reinemer, repairing antique molds and designing decorations for their Rococo-style earthenwares.³⁷ Victor Prouvé began assisting his father in the decoration of these earthenware table services at the age of 15.³⁸ Prouvé subsequently trained under the painter Théodore Devilly (1818-1888) and the sculptor Charles Pêtre (1828-1907) at the *École régionale des beaux-arts* in Nancy before being accepted into the studio of the painter Alexandre Cabanel (1824-1889) at the *École nationale des beaux-arts* in Paris.³⁹ Prouvé completed his studies with a voyage to Tunisia in 1888.⁴⁰ In addition to his work in painting and sculpture, Prouvé was also skilled in the arts of bookbinding, photography, and printmaking.

The visual language that Prouvé employs in his design for *Le Rhin* is that of history painting. The artist uses allegory and heroic nudity to depict a scene from ancient history, the 5th-century invasion of Roman Gaul by Teutonic tribes from east of the Rhine. Prouvé was the only artist outside of Gallé's own design studio to provide designs for works manufactured by Gallé. He was also the only one among Gallé's many collaborators to see his signature appended to works produced by Gallé, suggesting that Gallé himself saw Prouvé's role as somehow more than that of an industrial designer.⁴¹

Gallé first commissioned Prouvé to provide designs for his work in 1884, at the time of the 8th exhibition of the *Union Centrale des Arts décoratifs* in Paris. Prouvé supplied drawings for three limited-edition works: *Qui vive? France* (Who Lives? France, 1884), *Escargot des vignes* (Snail of the Grapevines, 1884), and *La Nuit, la silence, le sommeil* (Night, Silence, Sleep, 1884) (figs. 1.11, 1.12, 1.13). Gallé typically commissioned designs from Prouvé for works depicting human figures as both Gallé and those working in his design studio lacked the anatomical knowledge that was an integral part of Prouvé's training at the *École des beaux-arts*. Prouvé's figural compositions decorate many of Gallé's most politicized works, including those invoking patriotic themes or commenting on the issues of the day. Other designs, such as the decoration of *Escargot des vignes*, were more playful in character. Prouvé often employed

subjects from Greco-Roman mythology or French history in his designs for Gallé, thus drawing on his classical training in the *beaux-arts* tradition.

Qui vive? France, although produced in 1884, foreshadows the patriotic subject matter of the works Gallé would exhibit in 1889. Gallé designed the ceramic bowl as a prize in a contest sponsored by the *Société nationale d'horticulture de France*. The organizers of the competition sought to encourage French horticulturalists to exhibit native plants at international exhibitions.⁴² The work's celebration of national vitality reflects the cultural chauvinism that inspired its creation. At the center of the bowl, the bust of a female figure sporting a helmet topped with a Gallic rooster symbolizes the nation of France. A wreath of leaves from the oak tree, a plant sacred to the ancient Druids of France, decorates the edge of the bowl.

Prouvé's figure closely resembles traditional depictions of Bellona, the Roman goddess of war, as well as her modern Republican counterpart, Marianne. The figure's pose, for example, recalls that of the figure of Marianne at the center of François Rude's relief for the Arc de Triomphe, *Le Départ des volontaires de 1792* (The Departure of the Volunteers of 1792, 1831) (fig. 1.14).⁴³ In both works, the allegorical figure of the nation issues a call to arms, urging French men and women to unite in the defense of their homeland. *Qui vive? France* is the only work in which Gallé employed a conventional allegorical figure to symbolize the French nation. In his works exhibited in 1889, the artist turned instead to the depiction of narrative scenes from the history of France, emphasizing moments of conflict with foreign powers in an attempt to recast France's defeat at the hands of the Prussians as a heroic act of resistance against foreign invaders.

For the *Exposition universelle* of 1889, Gallé commissioned a significant number of designs from Prouvé, totaling sixteen in all. Prouvé collaborated with Gallé on four works in wood, including a buffet entitled *De Chêne lorrain, œuvre française* (Of Lorrainer Oak, French Work, 1889), *Le Rhin, L'Echiquier* (Chessboard, 1889), an elaborately decorated checkerboard table (1889), and *Flora marina Flora exotica* (1889), a richly sculpted jardiniere (figs. 1.15, 1.16, 1.17).⁴⁴ Prouvé also designed scenes for the vases *Orphée et Eurydice* and *Jeanne d'Arc* (1889). Gallé commissioned photographs of several of the works designed by Prouvé, including *Le Rhin* and *De Chêne lorrain, œuvre française* (figs. 1.18, 1.19). These photographs were subsequently mounted on cards printed by the Nancy firm of Berger-Levrault and given as gifts to Gallé's friends and supporters. Through the use of reproductions, then, Gallé was able to further expand the audience for his works, a fact that underscores the public role that he envisioned for them.

In addition to the designs commissioned from Prouvé for his own works, Gallé took the unprecedented step of exhibiting a free-standing statuette by Prouvé entitled *La Joie au travail* (Joy in Labor, 1889) (fig. 1.20). The plaster statuette, displayed alongside works manufactured by Gallé, shows a sculptor chiseling the figure of a woman from a block of wood or stone. The title clearly evokes the concept of "joy in labor" championed by Arts and Crafts reformers such as William Morris (1834-1896) and John Ruskin (1819-1900), thus associating both Prouvé and Gallé's works with the ideals of arts reformers in England as well as France.⁴⁵

During preparations for the *Exposition universelle*, Gallé communicated with Prouvé, then residing in Paris, by post. While completing his drawings for Gallé, Prouvé continued to labor on independent projects, such as his painting *Les Voluptueux* (The Voluptuous Ones, 1889) exhibited at the Salon of 1889 (fig. 1.21). In a letter to the Nancy bookseller René Wiener, Prouvé writes that he worked "during the day at [his] canvas and in the evening on works of industrial art (Gallé, (shush!))."⁴⁶ It is unclear why Prouvé desired that his collaboration with

Gallé be kept a secret. He may have feared associating himself with the decorative arts would harm his reputation as a *beaux-arts* painter and sculptor. Clearly the stakes for the two artists, Prouvé and Gallé, were not the same—whereas Gallé could only hope to make his own works more valuable by associating them with the “fine art” tradition of the Academy, by challenging the very hierarchy upon which the Academy’s status depended, Prouvé risked tarnishing both his name and his reputation.

As Prouvé voluntarily associated his own name with the finished works exhibited by Gallé, however, it is more likely that it was Gallé himself who sought to keep Prouvé’s collaboration confidential until the *Exposition universelle* opened. He may have done so in the hopes of forestalling competition from other exhibitors and perhaps making the ambitious character of works such as *Le Rhin* even more striking. In any case, once Prouvé completed his drawings, he sent them to Nancy to be realized by Gallé’s artisans, thus maintaining his own privileged role as a skilled draftsman rather than a manual laborer.

The Division of Labor

Neither Gallé nor Prouvé were directly involved in the production of *Le Rhin*, which was left to a team of skilled woodworkers. Gallé typically determined the shape or overall form of each work and how it would be decorated. The artist then sketched the decorative designs that would be used to decorate many of the works that bear his name, but for others, he left this task to artists working in his design studio. Gallé’s designers created sketches and watercolors that showed the desired form and decoration of the final work. Skilled artisans would in turn translate the designs into wood, glass, or ceramic. A photograph from 1897 shows Gallé surrounded by members of the woodworking studio, including young apprentices, several of whom proudly hold up pieces that they have made (fig. 1.22). Despite his place at their center, Gallé’s status as a factory owner and not an artisan is indicated by his formal bourgeois attire, which contrasts with the plain smocks worn by most of the workers.

Contemporary accounts, and Gallé himself, are by and large silent on the identity of the craftsmen who executed Gallé’s designs. The name of the third artist who worked on *Le Rhin*, however, is well known. It was the head of Gallé’s design studio, Louis Hestaux (1858-1919), who created the “Celtic border” that frames Prouvé’s marquetry composition. Hestaux, like Prouvé and Gallé, was a native of Lorraine. Born in Metz in 1858, he and his family left occupied Lorraine for Nancy at the end of the Franco-Prussian War. Like many *optants*, Hestaux remained deeply attached to his native city and often signed his works “Hestaux de Metz.”⁴⁷ Following in Prouvé’s footsteps, Hestaux studied with Théodore Devilly at the local *École de Dessin*, but he chose to remain in Nancy rather than receive formal training in Paris. Hestaux was subsequently employed as an engraver-lithographer by the printing firm of Berger-Levrault beginning in 1873.⁴⁸ His first works for Gallé date from 1874, and Gallé hired Hestaux as a full-time designer in 1876.⁴⁹

In his “Note” to the jury of the *Exposition universelle*, Gallé cites Hestaux as a valued collaborator on works such as *Le Rhin* and *Flora marina, flora exotica*.⁵⁰ Oddly, however, no mention is made of Hestaux’s designs for works in glass or ceramic, although signed drawings and watercolor studies for many of these works bear the designer’s signature.⁵¹ In contemporary accounts, Hestaux’s relationship to his employer was often described as that of a student to his master. In 1883, for example, Marx reviewed an exhibition of landscapes by Hestaux in the local journal *Nancy Artiste*. Marx, a native of Nancy, was a lifelong friend and supporter of Gallé.⁵²

Marx begins his review by praising Hestaux's "personal and refined manner" and then compares Hestaux to other artists who worked for Gallé, including the china painter Aimé Uriot and the sculptor Jacquot.⁵³ It is clear from Marx's account that he considers the men to be artists in their own right and not merely Gallé's employees. Marx nonetheless compares the young men to students studying under a "master." He writes,

They find themselves in an environment that contributes to the development of the *artistic sap* that each of them possesses. And I ask myself if one should envy Monsieur Gallé for employing such artists or if it would not be better to congratulate these young men for having such a master to lead them.⁵⁴

Marx's account thus looks back to an earlier mode of artisanal production in which artisans served a long apprenticeship under a "master," overlooking the industrial nature of production in Gallé's factory. It also underscores the ambiguous identity of those employed by Gallé, who, just as Gallé was seen as both an industrialist and an artist, were viewed at once as artists and artisans, artisans and workers, workers and collaborators.

Hestaux himself sometimes referred to Gallé as his teacher. When he completed a painting of the newly rebuilt glass hall, for example, Hestaux dedicated the work to his "dear Master," a term that could signify either employer or teacher.⁵⁵ Hestaux first exhibited his work at the Salon of the *Société Lorraine des Amis des Arts* in 1884 as a "student of Devilly."⁵⁶ At the same society's Salon in 1904, however, Hestaux describes himself in the catalog as a "student of Mr. Devilly and Mr. Gallé," perhaps in homage to his employer, who had succumbed to terminal leukemia a few weeks before the opening.⁵⁷

In the design studio, Hestaux was responsible for executing sketches and watercolors according to Gallé's instructions. Other artists then copied the finished drawings, which were transformed into pouncing patterns. Workers then transferred the designs onto the surface of objects to be decorated by blowing a fine powder through the tiny holes punched into the paper. A copy of each design was also filed with the industrial tribunal (*conseil de prud'hommes*) in Nancy to safeguard Gallé's rights to the design.⁵⁸ Although the copies filed with the tribunal bear Gallé's signature, then, they are not by his hand.

Almost without exception, works designed by Gallé but executed by others in his employ are marked with Gallé's signature (fig. 1.23). Ironically, it is the workers themselves who transcribed a faithful reproduction of Gallé's handwritten signature onto works in ceramic, glass, and wood using a tracing (fig. 1.24).⁵⁹ The apparently handwritten character of the signature, as with a painting or sculpture, suggests that Gallé is the creator of the works that bear his name. Unlike the hallmarks traditionally employed for works in ceramic or glass, moreover, the use of a "handwritten" signature posits that Gallé's works are the creation of a single artistic vision. The form of this seemingly improvisational and yet reproducible signature changed over time, concealing the essentially mass-produced nature of the works made in Gallé's factory. Gallé's name appears twice on *Le Rhin*, for example, where it is carved into the base of the table in the form of two inscriptions reading "Je tiens au cœur de France: Fait par Émile Gallé/de Nancy/en bon espoir/1889" and "Plus me poigne plus j'y tiens: EG del." (fig. 1.25).

"Del." is an abbreviation for the Latin phrase "delineavit," or "he (or she) drew it." This term, more commonly employed in printmaking, points to the status of Gallé's works as multiples. It indicates that the artist designed the overall form of the table, not that he actually created it. The phrase "fait par Émile Gallé," or "made by Émile Gallé," however, suggests that

Gallé himself executed the table—a suggestion that is clearly belied by the fact that Gallé lacked any formal training in the art of woodworking. What Gallé is doing here, in essence, is equating the act of design, of conception, with the physical creation of the work itself. By privileging an intangible idea over its material expression, Gallé lays claim to the identity of “artist” rather than that of “industrialist” or even “artisan.”

In the process, Gallé also claims a higher status for the products of his factory than that traditionally assigned to works of decorative art. This is especially true for Gallé’s *pièces uniques*, works created in a limited series of two or three or even as a single, unique masterpiece such as *Le Rhin*. It is upon these works that Gallé lavished the costliest and most difficult techniques and materials at his disposal—from multiple layers of cased glass to elaborate marquetry designs composed of dozens, sometimes hundreds, of minute fragments of exotic woods. These works are Gallé’s most public statement about his own status as an artist, the value of his works, and his political convictions. They are, in essence, his Salon paintings.

Yet it is not the *pièces uniques* that provided the financial resources needed to keep Gallé’s factories running, but the glass and earthenware table services issued in large quantities and sold at moderate prices. These works rarely, if ever, appear in published accounts of Gallé’s œuvre, nor do they garner the praise and official recognition of Gallé’s more famous *pièces uniques*. The selective blindness of the critics underscores the tension at the heart of Gallé’s efforts to elevate the status of the decorative arts through recourse to the visual language of history painting. By emulating the visual modes of a more privileged art form, Gallé essentially created non-functional works that were valued as an expression of individual artistic genius. The resulting necessity of creating elaborate and costly *pièces uniques* that only rarely found a buyer placed a considerable strain on Gallé’s business, as did the need to create an easily recognizable, signature “style” that could not be copied by imitators.

A “Masterpiece”

Le Rhin holds a place of unprecedented importance even among Gallé’s *pièces uniques*. For many contemporary critics, it evoked the idea of the “masterpiece” in its literal, historical sense—a work of technical perfection that a journeyman was obliged to submit to his peers before being granted the status of a “master.”⁶⁰ Yet in this supremely important work, Gallé makes the unprecedented decision to include the name of a second artist. The phrase “V. Prouvé del.,” which exactly reproduces Prouvé’s signature, appears near the bottom right-hand corner of the marquetry frieze as it would in a painting. Among all of the works for which Prouvé provided designs in 1889, his signature appears only on *Le Rhin*.⁶¹

In his correspondence with Prouvé, Gallé attributes great significance to the artist’s designs in the overall composition of *Le Rhin*. Referring to his works in glass, which often imitated the appearance of semi-precious stones, Gallé writes, “I’ve made a great effort to bring out these precious stones, and provide, as far as possible, a modest little flute accompaniment to your powerful bassoon.”⁶² In a letter dating from the year of the *Exposition universelle*, Prouvé in turn describes his own role in the creation of *Le Rhin* and other works as secondary to that of Gallé. He writes, “I am happy to see your works assessed at their [true] value, but I beg you, do not efface yourself to such a degree. [...] If you find that I have truly fulfilled my duty, you are the direct inspiration of it all.”⁶³ Behind the formal courtesy of the period lies an unspoken understanding, however: Prouvé brought something to Gallé’s art that Gallé himself could not—an association with the *beaux-arts* tradition.

Nonetheless, it was Gallé who commissioned Prouvé's designs, and Gallé who made any and all final decisions concerning the appearance of *Le Rhin*. It was Gallé, for example, who suggested that Prouvé emphasize two-dimensionality in his composition, so that it could more easily be translated into marquetry.⁶⁴ Gallé also advised Prouvé to consult Victory Duruy's *Histoire des Romains* (1843-44) for certain details regarding the appearance of the Teutons.⁶⁵ Moreover, many of Prouvé's sketches for *Le Rhin* bear handwritten notes added by Gallé, demonstrating the close collaboration between the two men as well as Gallé's role in determining the ultimate form of the work in question.⁶⁶ Both artists collaborated, however, in the choice of which woods to use for the marquetry frieze, a process that required both a painter's appreciation of tonal effects and an industrialist's extensive knowledge of the properties of wood.⁶⁷

Although Gallé publicly recognized Prouvé and Hestaux's contributions to *Le Rhin*, mentioning both men in his note to the jury and including Prouvé's signature on the finished work, the same is not true for Gallé's works in glass. Prouvé's name, if not his signature, appears alongside Gallé's on works such as *Jeanne d'Arc*, but Gallé does not acknowledge any collaborators in his note to the jury. In his furniture, then, Gallé places an emphasis on collaboration that is lacking in his work in glass. Gallé may have hoped that this strategy would mitigate the temerity of his decision to exhibit his work alongside that of better-established furniture makers. Indeed, the text of Gallé's "Note" in many ways reads as an apologia for the artist's brazen defiance of the clear boundaries that separated the crafts.

The Artist as Industrialist, the Industrialist as Artist

Addressing the members of a jury composed of professional furniture manufacturers, Gallé begins by praising the art of the furniture maker. "I beg you not to see the immodest ambition, the unruly self-conceit of rashly exercising a trade that is not the first [adopted]," he writes, adding, "I have always felt respect for the infinitely complicated art of the joiner-cabinetmaker."⁶⁸ Although he here positions himself as following in the footsteps of the great craftsmen of the past, Gallé's production methods in fact differed from both those of earlier, artisanal producers and those of contemporary manufacturers.

Since the Middle Ages, French furniture makers had been divided into two groups: *ébénistes*, or cabinetmakers, and *ménuisiers*, or joiners.⁶⁹ Traditionally, cabinetmakers specialized in works with large, flat surfaces such as tables or desks, which they decorated with inlaid or veneered designs. Joiners, on the other hand, worked mostly with solid wood, creating basic structures for others to decorate. Also involved in the decoration of furniture were sculptors, who carved structural elements such as arms and legs, marqueteurs, who created marquetry designs using wood veneers, and turners, who used a lathe to produce columns and other decorative elements.⁷⁰ In Nancy, Gallé essentially united all of these processes under a single roof, blurring the distinctions between these traditional crafts.

In 1889, Gallé's furniture display included finished pieces but also studies, drawings, models, and examples of moldings and other decorative elements, as if the artist were attempting to demonstrate his proficiency to the jury. In his "Note," moreover, Gallé emphasizes his reliance on the work of experts such as Charles Blanc (1813-1882), the former Minister of Fine Arts and the author of *Grammaire des arts décoratifs* (1882).⁷¹ He also refers to his "collaboration with some old country practitioners," meaning trained furniture makers from Lorraine.⁷² According to Charles de Meixmoron de Dombasle, a painter and friend of the artist, Gallé also sought the advice of Edmond Bonaffé (1825-1903) and Louis de Fourcaud when

establishing his woodworking studios.⁷³ Bonnaffé was a scholar who specialized in the art of the Renaissance and the author of *Le Meuble en France au XVIe siècle* (1887).⁷⁴ Fourcaud, who taught the history and philosophy of art at the *École nationale supérieure des beaux-arts*, specialized in the art of the 18th century.⁷⁵

In his note to the jury, then, Gallé describes his training in the art of furniture making as a kind of apprenticeship, a description that is many ways misleading, as Gallé was not actively involved in the production of the furniture he designed. Despite the respect that Gallé pays to tradition in his note, moreover, the artist goes on to emphasize the modernity of his enterprise. Indeed, Gallé's woodworking studios, which opened in 1885, united the traditional craft of furniture making with the latest technological innovations. The studios, which were located near Gallé's home, at 2, avenue de la Garenne, were adjacent to the workshops for decorating glass and earthenware. An elaborate series of structures housed different operations, and Gallé describes each of these in his note to the jury. The "usine," or factory consisted of a two-story central building, a sawmill, a central hall, cellars and sheds for storing wood, offices, and a library housing a natural history collection for Gallé's designers to consult.⁷⁶

In his letter to the jury, Gallé also discusses working conditions in his factory in great detail. According to Gallé, the woodworking studios were well lit, supplied with running water, and heated by slow-combustion stoves.⁷⁷ Gardens surrounded the buildings and provided workers and artists of the design studio with inspiration (fig. 1.26). As an employer, Gallé was socially progressive. His workers benefited from protections not typically available in other factories: both Gallé and his workers contributed to a worker's fund (*Caisse mutuelle ouvrière et paysanne*) and to an assistance fund (*Caisse de secours*), and Gallé's factory insured all workers individually with the *Association des industriels de France*.⁷⁸

O'Mahony discusses Gallé's commitment to social justice at length, comparing his ideas to those of the Arts and Crafts pioneer William Morris in England.⁷⁹ O'Mahony's argument nuances Silverman's contention that the decorative arts reform movement in France was strikingly depoliticized in comparison with that in England. According to Silverman, arts reformers in France sought to aristocratize the crafts rather than to create a democratic art for the people or to redress the dehumanizing conditions of industrial production.⁸⁰ O'Mahony, in contrast, points out that like Morris, Gallé was a proponent of joy in labor and of a more democratic art available to all social classes. In his note to the jury, for example, Gallé writes that his goal is to "unite the beautiful, or simply good taste, with the inexpensive, putting within the reach of the average purse interesting objects that bear the marks of art [and] the sentiment of artisans enamored of their craft."⁸¹ Unlike his English counterpart, however, Gallé believed that modern methods such as the mechanization of tasks and the division of labor, rather than traditional artisanal practices, could best achieve these goals.⁸² In his note to the jury, then, Gallé lays out his vision for modernizing the craft of furniture making, while evoking older models of artisanal production to legitimize his entry into a trade with a long and complex history.

Man and Machine

Gallé's decision to open a woodworking studio in Nancy faced several challenges. Foremost among these was competition from other European countries and from Germany in particular.⁸³ During the period in question, French furniture exports fell by a third, while imports of furniture manufactured abroad quadrupled.⁸⁴ In Nancy, however, the economic prosperity that followed the Franco-Prussian War favored the creation of new industries, including art

industries. The influx of artisans from the annexed territories, for example, greatly swelled the ranks of workers trained in the furniture-making trade. According to one estimate, their numbers nearly tripled between 1860 and 1880.⁸⁵ These new arrivals provided the workforce for manufacturers such as Gallé and his fellow industrialist Louis Majorelle (1859-1926), who each employed at least twenty workers by 1885.⁸⁶

Throughout France, furniture factories were gradually replacing the old workshop system and introducing modern manufacturing methods such as the division of labor, outwork, piece rates, and mechanization into the traditional field of furniture making.⁸⁷ In Gallé's factory, however, mechanization supplemented traditional forms of labor without completely replacing them. Workers used steam power to saw and rough-plane wood, a band saw to cut wood veneers for marquetry, and a spindle molder to carve molding.⁸⁸ Sculpting and finishing methods such as varnishing and sanding, however, continued to be performed by hand.⁸⁹ Mechanization allowed Gallé to produce works more quickly and in larger quantities but also allowed his workers to devote more time to the creative act of decorating.⁹⁰

Gallé depicted some of the steps involved in furniture making in the marquetry decoration of a buffet exhibited at the *Exposition universelle* of 1889 (fig. 1.27). According to Gallé, the panels depict "workshop scenes: the (wood) turner, the cabinetmaker, the band saw, the kiln man, the china painter, the kiln."⁹¹ In his description of the buffet, as well as in the marquetry design, Gallé gives equal weight to man and machine, suggesting that the two function together to create works of art. The balanced composition and graceful curves of a panel depicting a worker operating a band saw, for example, suggest that man and machine are working in harmony (fig. 1.28). The modernity of a work that took as its subject matter its own production is striking.

Ironically, this depiction of modern manufacturing methods was composed using the painstakingly artisanal process of marquetry decoration. A painting by Hestaux shows one of Gallé's marqueteurs at work, laboriously gluing pieces of veneer to a wooden base to form a marquetry design (fig. 1.29). These two aspects of the furniture trade, the artisanal and the industrial, existed side-by-side in Gallé's factory. According to Silverman, this coexistence of mechanization and artisanal manufacturing methods was characteristic of fin-de-siècle *haut luxe* production, in which workshops were composed of large groups of artisans assigned to specific tasks.⁹²

In general, Gallé employed a greater degree of mechanization for his less expensive, mass-produced works. In marquetry decoration, for example, six to twelve identically shaped pieces of veneer could be cut at one time using power saws.⁹³ For more expensive works, in contrast, Gallé's workers cut each piece individually.⁹⁴ These same works often featured inlays of metal, mother of pearl, and other costly materials. Inlay, unlike marquetry, required that a space be carved into solid wood so that materials could be inset. Workers then used fine points to attach the inlay to the wood. Such work required a great degree of precision and could only be accomplished by hand.

In 1886, Gallé began producing small, inexpensive pieces of furniture based largely on historical models. Gallé soon added sculpting to a decorative repertoire that already included surface techniques such as pyrography (pokerwork) and marquetry.⁹⁵ Over time, his conception of furniture design grew increasingly sculptural, as the plants once used to decorate traditional forms gradually came to determine the structure of many works. In the course of his career, Gallé's furniture would gradually evolve from a pastiche of historicizing and exoticist forms to a

Symbolist style that celebrated the artist's individual subjectivity. *Le Rhin* marks the beginning of this process, marrying botanical symbolism with a structure derived from 16th-century works.

In his furniture, as in his glass, then, Gallé forged a new identity for himself as a modern artist-industrialist. Drawing on the traditions and forms of the past, Gallé nonetheless positions himself firmly in the present, underscoring the modernity of his manufacturing methods in print and in his work. In the process, Gallé lays claim to a new status for the works that bear his name. The terms "art glass" and "art furniture," which Gallé employed to describe his production, signal this shift. Such works are the result of collaborative effort and up-to-date manufacturing methods devoted to a single aim: the translation of one man's vision into physical form. The status of his works as "art" rather than mere "craft" allowed Gallé to endow his works with unprecedented political and social significance, attributing to them a role in the public discourse of his time.

Le Rhin is perhaps the best example of this transformation. The jury of the *Exposition universelle* of 1889 seemed to concur with Gallé's own vision of his table as a masterpiece on a par with oil paintings or sculptures. *Le Rhin* spent only one day in the furniture section of the *Exposition*, for example, before judges had it moved to the *Galerie d'honneur*.⁹⁶ In his review of the furniture exhibition, critic Louis Énault applauded the jury's choice, writing that Prouvé's marquetry panel in particular was a "true painting."⁹⁷

Symbols and Allegories of the Nation

In the design of Prouvé's panel, the artist recasts contemporary events as ancient history, granting iconic status to the conflict between Germany and France. The dualism between past and present is expressed in the composition of the table itself. The heavily sculpted base conveys a sense of stability and timelessness belied by its vigorously carved decoration. The marquetry frieze that decorates the tabletop, meanwhile, although it illustrates a scene from ancient history, brings that scene to life through its depiction of a dynamic struggle between Gauls and Teutons. The tension between past and present, movement and stasis, tradition and innovation is thus visible in every aspect of the table.

The iconography of *Le Rhin* is complex and multilayered, drawing on French heraldry, classical sources, and an esoteric language of symbolism based on natural forms. While the use of motifs and forms borrowed from art of the past argues for the importance of tradition and history in defining Frenchness, Gallé's use of plant forms foreshadows the role that nature will play in the artist's evolving conceptualization of national and regional identity. In his note to the jury, Gallé deciphers some of the table's convoluted symbolism for his viewers. The entry reads

17. Large museum table, with a spine and leaves. Sculpted walnut and turned plumwood. Top in ebony inlaid with various woods. Composition by Émile Gallé. Celtic border by Hestaux. Sketch by V. Prouvé based on a text by Tacitus: *Germania omnis a Galliis Rheno separatur: "all of Germany is separated from the Gauls by the Rhine."* (*De moribus Germanorum*, ch. I.) Runners sculpted with alerions of Lorraine. Bronze knobs with handles. Small columns decorated with allegorical plants: ivy, thistle, forget-me-not. A stem of sculpted Lorrainer thistle entwines its leaves around the arches supporting the top of the table and its roots around the following inscriptions: *I am attached to the heart of France. The more they stab me, the more I hold on.*⁹⁸

Gallé thus describes a symbolism that blends heraldic animals, allegorical flowers, and naturalistic sculpted decoration with inscriptions in Latin and French. As with many of the artist's works, the table is not given a title. Although it is commonly known as *Le Rhin* today, contemporaries referred to the table as *Histoire ancienne* (Ancient History) or *Le Chardon lorrain* (The Lorrainer Thistle). While the designations *Le Rhin* and *Histoire ancienne* derive from the subject matter of Prouvé's marquetry design, the title *Chardon lorrain* highlights the role played by the symbolism of natural forms in the decoration of the base.

The design of *Le Rhin* is based on that of French Renaissance tables such as those illustrated in Bonnaffé's *Le Meuble en France au XVIe siècle* (1887), a work that Gallé is known to have owned (figs. 1.30, 1.31).⁹⁹ The decision to create such a massive table was no doubt motivated in part by the large surface area it offered the artists. Both Gallé and Prouvé, despite their interest in the decorative arts, worked primarily with two-dimensional imagery—producing, in Gallé's case, watercolor sketches and designs for decorating glass and ceramics, and in Prouvé's case, oil paintings and prints. The large, flat surface of *Le Rhin* provided the artists with a blank 'canvas' upon which to inscribe their message of patriotic *revanche*. The two artists were not concerned with questions of strict historical accuracy: the 16th-century tables illustrated by Bonnaffé have plain, undecorated tabletops. Elaborate marquetry designs such as that decorating *Le Rhin* were more common in the 18th century than during the Renaissance.

According to Bonnaffé, the monumental tables that he illustrates were used primarily for dining. At court and in the homes of the wealthy, Bonnaffé contends, dining was undertaken in an atmosphere of ceremonial silence, and the table served an official function as the site of ritual.¹⁰⁰ By drawing on such historical precedents, Gallé imbues his work with the weight of tradition. In his note to the jury, Gallé writes

If I have dedicated a table with leaves to Ducerceau, it was in order to place it in advance in the atmosphere of some lordly hall, furnished, according to today's fashion, with furniture of more or less authentic antiquity. This work is nonetheless, in all its details, alas all too current in its concerns, inspired as it is by the regrets and the hopes that haunt our workshops, located two steps from an artificial frontier carved right into the flesh of France.¹⁰¹

In *Le Rhin*, then, Gallé mobilizes the weight of historical precedent to lend gravity to a work that, according to the artist, thematizes contemporary concerns. Both the choice of medium and the decision to employ a historicist style are significant, according to Gallé. In his description, for example, Gallé equates the act of carving wood with the new border "carved right into the flesh of France" by the Germans. Moreover, in his later writings, the artist would identify the 16th century as a pivotal moment in French art, just prior to the advent of Italian classicism—a moment when, according to Gallé, French art remained uncorrupted by foreign influence.

In a letter published in 1903, for example, Gallé inveighs against the influence of classicism, which he argues displaced a native French style based upon the direct observation of nature.¹⁰² "Since the intrusion of the Italian fashion in France at the court of the Valois," he writes, "it was necessary to bid adieu to our beautiful French school of the 16th century and, for the furniture worker and the decorator, to say adieu to the ingenuous consultation of nature and of life."¹⁰³ Gallé opposes what he terms the "Italian virus of imitation [and] of forgeries" to healthy "French, Gallic blood."¹⁰⁴ By basing the form of *Le Rhin* on French tables of the 16th

century, then, Gallé declares his intention to resurrect an indigenous French style based on the naturalistic depiction of native flora and fauna.¹⁰⁵

In order to recreate this national style, Gallé systematically replaces the classically derived elements of Renaissance tables with forms derived from nature and symbols associated with the province of Lorraine. The artist substitutes alerions bearing crowns, for example, for the traditional chimerae or caryatids that supported many 16th-century tables (fig. 1.32). These heraldic eagles were traditionally associated with the House of Lorraine, which ruled the independent duchy of Lorraine until it became part of France in 1766.¹⁰⁶ The alerions evoke the long history of independent Lorraine and function as a symbol of the artist's loyalty to his native province. Gallé's alerions are more naturalistically represented, however, than those of heraldry, which typically lack beak and claws.

Another heraldic symbol, the cross of Lorraine, appears carved upon the chest of each alerion. A Christian symbol dating from Medieval times, the double cross was the emblem of the Dukes of Lorraine. In 1477, Duke René II employed the cross as a rallying symbol during the siege of Nancy, where he defeated Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy.¹⁰⁷ The cross thus specifically refers to the defeat of an invading army. The fierce mien of the alerions, together with the military associations of the cross of Lorraine, give *Le Rhin* a decidedly martial air. As symbols, the cross of Lorraine and the alerions thus simultaneously signal the table's theme of conflict and situate that conflict in the province of Lorraine.

The depiction of a carved thistle plant entwined around the small columns of the stretcher further enhances the table's bellicose aspect (fig. 1.33). The thistle is the traditional symbol of the province of Lorraine and also appears on the seal of the city of Nancy, whose motto is *Non inultus premor* or "No one touches me with impunity."¹⁰⁸ In his note to the jury, moreover, Gallé enigmatically describes *Le Rhin* as a table "à épine." The phrase is purposefully ambiguous: "à épine" could mean a table with a thorn or thorns, a table with a long "spine" running from one end of the base to the other, or a table made of *prunus spinosa*, called "épine noire" in French. Gallé, who delighted in word play, was no doubt aware of these nuances in composing his description of *Le Rhin*.

Together with the presence of the alerions, the cross of Lorraine, and the thistle, the reference to thorns brings to mind the theme of the defense of the homeland, *la défense de la patrie*, signaling Nancy's status as France's easternmost city and the site of a large military presence.¹⁰⁹ If the thistle's spiky leaves evoke Nancy's strategic role as a defense against invasion, the plant's roots, which are entwined with the carved phrase, "Je tiens au cœur de France," suggest an attachment to France that cannot be shaken (fig. 1.34). The phrase, which has a double meaning in French, might best be translated as "I am attached to the heart of France." The reference to holding or clinging is thus both literal and affective. Likewise, the phrase carved onto the back of the stretcher, "Plus me poignent plus j'y tiens," translates as "The more they stab me, the more I hold on," referring both to the capacity of the thistle to attach itself to its attacker and to the strength of Gallé's feelings for his homeland. By employing the first person singular in both phrases, Gallé posits both that the people of Lorraine are united in their desire to remain part of France and that *Le Rhin*, as an object, functions as an expression of their collective voice.

The patriotic theme of attachment to France continues in the floral symbolism of the flowers decorating the columns (fig. 1.35). The presence of climbing ivy, for example, underscores the idea of rootedness or *enracinement*—identity that is rooted in the soil of France itself, an idea that was popular with nationalist writers such as Barrès. Likewise, the depiction of

the *Rosa Gallica*, a type of rose believed by 19th-century botanists to grow on the slopes of St-Quentin mountain, in the annexed town of Metz,¹¹⁰ also urges viewers to mourn—and to revenge—the loss of Alsace-Lorraine.¹¹¹ Meanwhile, forget-me-nots, which appear frequently in Gallé's œuvre as patriotic symbols, invoke loyalty and remembrance, inciting the viewer not to forget the events of the Franco-Prussian War.¹¹²

In short, Gallé uses historical and allegorical symbols such as the cross of Lorraine and forget-me-nots to urge viewers to remember the losses entailed by the Franco-Prussian War, while he employs the aggressive imagery of claws, beaks, and thistles to incite them to revenge the injustices wrought by the Prussians. *Le Rhin*, in other words, functions both as a memorial to the lost provinces and as a call to arms. At the same time, however, *Le Rhin* serves to publicly express Gallé's attachment both to his native province and to France.

Richard Thomson has argued that works such as *Le Rhin* betray the ambivalence of many in Lorraine who both longed for the recovery of the lost provinces and feared renewed war with a powerful enemy.¹¹³ While I agree that Gallé's table seems uncomfortably poised between commemoration and exhortation, it is perhaps more useful to note the way in which *Le Rhin* serves as a passionate argument in favor of the status of Lorraine as a profoundly *French* province. Not only *Le Rhin*'s symbolism but also the materials from which it was made function as an expression of Lorraine's union with France. Gallé had the base and the tabletop, for example, each made from a single block of wood.¹¹⁴ Gallé explains this choice, writing "I would not have made this table, if I had had to make it in two pieces; because then it would be separable, and my idea would be betrayed."¹¹⁵ The wholeness of the massive blocks of wood used to make the table, in other words, expresses the longed-for reunification of the provinces and prevents their symbolic dismemberment. Moreover, although Gallé employs dramatically colored exotic woods such as ebony and African rosewood for the marquetry panel, the artist also took pains to employ only native species for the main structure of the table.

In his designs for the base of *Le Rhin*, then, Gallé substitutes heraldic symbols and floral motifs specific to Lorraine for those derived from Greco-Roman art and native woods for the exotic materials such as mahogany used in traditional furniture making. Although Gallé marks the difference of his table from art of the past, *Le Rhin* nonetheless operates on the same symbolic register as 16th-century works. The carved and sculpted decoration of the table, while noticeably more naturalistic than that of most Renaissance works, shares with the latter a language of symbolism in which meaning is established through convention. Gallé's predilection for heraldic motifs may have been influenced by the artist's concurrent production of 18th-century-style ceramics and glass tableware, which the artist often decorated with family crests and heraldic devices in an archaic or medievalizing style (fig. 1.36).

The abundance of symbolic content in the base of *Le Rhin* invites the viewer to decipher the messages contained in the work. The viewer is asked to interpret the table's content through a process of looking that is largely didactic rather than affective. The base of the table reads, essentially, as a monumental coat of arms carved in wood—it is designed to inspire loyalty and patriotism in a way that is unambiguous and leaves little room for individual subjectivity. It was essential to secure a clear, legible meaning for *Le Rhin*, which depicts a singularly troubling narrative of defeat that threatens its patriotic message. The use of familiar symbols helped secure the table's meaning for all audiences in a way that the depiction of naturalistic flora and fauna, for example, would not have. Indeed, when Gallé turns to a more personal language of botanical symbolism in subsequent works such *Flore de Lorraine* (Flora of Lorraine, 1893), the artist is obliged to pen a lengthy explanation of the work's iconography.

A Painting in Wood

While they share a common origin in the commemoration of the events of the Franco-Prussian War, the base of *Le Rhin* and the marquetry frieze that decorates its top function in visually dissimilar ways. Whereas the base mobilizes a largely allegorical and heraldic language of symbolism, the marquetry frieze draws upon the conventions of classicism to express its patriotic message. For the marquetry panel, Prouvé employs a vocabulary of form that would have been familiar to Salon audiences, that of history painting (fig. 1.37). Like Gallé, however, Prouvé systematically substitutes “French” history for that of ancient Greece and Rome. While he draws on classicism for the visual language of his composition, then, Prouvé provides the viewer with an abundance of details that serve to locate the scene securely in the realm of an imaginary space, “Gaul.” Further, Prouvé’s composition, which depicts the Teutonic invasion of eastern Gaul in the 5th century, clearly refers to the recent conflict between France and Germany, merely substituting the ancient inhabitants of these two nations for their modern counterparts.

In this, Prouvé was far from alone: in the two decades following the signing of the Treaty of Frankfurt (1871), numerous works in print drew on ancient history as a metaphor for the recent conflict. In 1883, for example, General Ambert (1804-1890) published a history of the Franco-Prussian war entitled *Gaulois et Germains: récits militaires*¹¹⁶ and in 1887, A. Benoist published a collection of patriotic songs entitled *Gaulois et Teutons! chants guerriers, poèmes patriotiques*.¹¹⁷ Few visual artists envisioned the events of the Franco-Prussian War through the lens of an ancient enmity with Germany, however, and Prouvé’s composition is striking for the way in which it employs a classicizing language to depict these events.

The composition is divided into two equal parts, with the Gauls on the left and the Teutons on the right. The allegorical figure of the Rhine sits at the exact center of the composition, dividing right from left and Gaul from Teuton. The marquetry panel is composed of numerous inlaid pieces of wood, and the technique of pyrography, or pokerwork, is employed to add detail and lend emphasis to the contours of individual pieces of wood, giving the composition a strikingly linear appearance.

The judicious choice of woods, however, also allowed the two artists to create pictorial effects with a surprising economy of means. Gallé often left the wood used for his furniture designs unvarnished, applying only clear waxes or linseed oil so as not to obscure the grain and natural tint of the wood.¹¹⁸ Thus the reddish-brown hue of the yew tree (*taxus baccata*), for example, provides Prouvé’s Gallic warriors with their characteristically ruddy hair color.¹¹⁹ In *Le Rhin*, Gallé and Prouvé employ not only different types of wood but also numerous parts of the tree, including many previously considered unusable, to suggest depth and texture. The burr of the ash tree (*fraxinus excelsior*), for example, reproduces the characteristic veining of marble on the scroll bearing the citation from Tacitus.¹²⁰ A cross-section of a knurl, or knotty growth, suggests the bumpy texture of the fallen warrior’s club.¹²¹

In essence, the art of marquetry allowed Gallé to transform his three-dimensional works into “frames” for detailed, two-dimensional pictorial compositions, thus blurring the boundaries between the fine and applied arts. The decision to employ elaborate marquetry decoration for *Le Rhin* and similar works was not, however, without its drawbacks. In order to eliminate or minimize expansion, which could cause the veneer employed in the marquetry panel to crack or shift, Gallé was obliged to employ plywood construction (*contreplacage*) in the making of his works.¹²² This method of construction, which was considerably more complex than traditional

techniques involving the framing of flat, solid panels, involved layering thin sheets of veneer so that the grain of each sheet ran perpendicularly to that of the adjacent layers.¹²³ These difficulties inherent in the marquetry process demonstrate Gallé's commitment to creating a work of art that would highlight both traditional woodworking skills and Prouvé's contributions as a draftsman.

Equally important, however, were the sources upon which Prouvé drew to create his scene of ancient conflict. The composition of the marquetry frieze looks to a range of classical antecedents for its inspiration. The long, rectangular format of the panel, for example, recalls that of friezes decorating Roman triumphal arches such as the Arch of Tiberius (16 CE) in Orange (fig. 1.38). The Gallic Wars, which lasted from 51 to 58 B.C.E. and culminated in the defeat of the Gauls at the Battle of Alesia (52 BCE), led to the annexation of ancient Gaul by the Roman Empire. Friezes commemorating these wars often depict the ancient Gauls battling the Roman legions. Whereas the battle scenes of antiquity typically represent figures engaged in one-to-one combat, however, Prouvé's panel starkly opposes the two groups of warriors. Classical depictions of the Gauls, moreover, tended to focus on their status as a defeated people. Well-known statues such as *The Fallen Gaul* (220 B.C.E.), a marble copy after a bronze original, portray the Gauls from the viewpoint of the Roman victor (fig. 1.39).

In his designs for *Le Rhin*, Prouvé is faced with a quandary: he must reconcile his desire to depict the Gauls as heroic with the historical fact of their defeat at the hands of the invaders. Like public monuments commemorating the fallen of the Franco-Prussian War, Prouvé's design constitutes "a redefinition of the war within collective mythology, soothing the humiliation of defeat to highlight instead the moral victory achieved through heroic struggle against a ruthless and well-armed aggressor."¹²⁴ His solution is to reverse the usual language of classicism, so that military might is no longer equated with heroism but instead with barbaric violence.

Prouvé thus presents viewers with a scene of Teutonic aggression that is in sharp contrast to the peaceful industriousness of the Gauls. For example, while the Teutonic warriors are shown advancing upon the Rhine, arms in hand, only one of the Gauls is holding a weapon—the mounted warrior. Similarly, Prouvé depicts the Teutonic blacksmith to the right of the composition as forging weapons rather than plowshares, but the Gaul to the left of the composition holds a scythe that he uses to harvest wheat (fig. 1.40). Meanwhile, the figure of the Gaul closest to the river kneels to tie his leather laces, as if caught unaware by the sudden invasion. Compositionally, the strong diagonals of the right side of the composition create a sense of movement or momentum towards the left, a dynamic that threatens to force the Gallic warriors to the ground. The position of the Gauls is depicted, in other words, as essentially defensive. The opposition that Prouvé establishes between the Gauls and the Teutons did not go unnoticed by viewers. In an 1894 review of the table, for example, Jules Rais writes, "Proudly encamped, the Gauls with long mustaches wait, here is peace energetically defended."¹²⁵

Prouvé's depiction of the Teutons as bloodthirsty barbarians echoes contemporary stereotypes of Prussian soldiers. In the years following the Franco-Prussian War, literary and pictorial works often employed the figure of the Prussian soldier to stand in for the German people as a whole.¹²⁶ As a figure of ridicule, the Prussian soldier appears in works such as Guy de Maupassant's short story "Mademoiselle Fifi" (1882) and Jules Verne's *Les Cinq Cents Millions de la bégum* (1879), works that reinforced the idea of the German people as militaristic and uncivilized.¹²⁷ Shortly after the annexation, Gallé himself designed a series of rustic tablewares lampooning the invading forces, which are depicted in the guise of various kinds of birds. The technique Gallé uses for such works is that of traditional earthenwares: a blue design traced upon an earthenware plate fired with a tin glaze.¹²⁸ A work entitled *Perspective*

européenne (European Perspective, n.d.), for example, mocks the military discipline of the Prussians (fig. 1.41).

The figure of the Rhine at the center of the composition, meanwhile, draws its inspiration from 17th-century images of river gods, themselves derived from ancient Roman allegorical statues (figs. 1.42, 1.43, 1.44).¹²⁹ Barthélemy Guibal's *Fontaine de Neptune* (Fountain of Neptune, 1750), which stands on the Place de Stanislas in Nancy, may have provided Prouvé with the river god's pose (fig. 1.45). Depictions of the Rhine in the guise of a nude male figure clothed in classical drapery and accompanied by attributes such as Neptune's trident were also common in 19th-century German art. The songbook for Nicolaus Becker's *Der freie Rhein* (The Free Rhine, ca. 1840), for example, depicts the river in the guise of a bearded old man bearing a trident and protected by a group of armed soldiers positioned to either side of him (fig. 1.46). Prouvé's figure of the Rhine lacks the attributes such as the trident or horn of plenty typically associated with depictions of river gods. Instead, the artist instead employs a stable, triangular composition and slightly exaggerated scale to signify the might of the Rhine, who embraces a female figure representing the Moselle river, protecting her from the advancing hordes.¹³⁰

Numerous preparatory sketches and studies show that Prouvé sought to render the composition of his frieze as legible as possible. The artist replaced a crowd of undifferentiated figures gathered around the boar standard, for example, with a legible scene of preparation for battle by gradually subtracting figures from his composition (figs. 1.47, 1.48). Early studies also show the Teutons as a mass of indistinct figures surging towards the left half of the composition (fig. 1.49). In the drawing used to transfer Prouvé's design onto the table, however, both the Gauls and the Teutons have been reduced to a narrow band of figures extending frieze-like across the shallow space of the foreground (fig. 1.50). By reducing the number of figures and making the space shallower, Prouvé adapts his composition to the two-dimensional surface of the table and creates a starker sense of contrast between the two opposing peoples. In simplifying his design and creating a balanced, symmetrical composition, however, Prouvé also emulates the legible order of Neo-Classical history paintings.

In a similar fashion, Prouvé employs heroic male bodies to represent the two opposing camps. The figures at the far left and far right of the composition, for example, are larger in scale than those in the main part of the composition. Each is accompanied by a winged, allegorical figure (figs. 1.51, 1.52). In early sketches, the fallen Teuton warrior holds a sword, and the winged figure at his side appears to be helping him rise (fig. 1.53). Prouvé replaces the fallen warrior's sword with a more primitive weapon, a wooden club, and in the final version of the composition, changes the position of the winged figure so that he or she appears to be physically restraining the fallen warrior. In early studies for *Le Rhin*, this winged figure also holds a cartouche labeled "Droit," or "Right," suggesting that the figure represents justice—defined in this case as the return of the Teutons to their own side of the river.

Yet Prouvé also works to destabilize the composition of *Le Rhin* in an attempt to render the struggle between Gauls and Teutons more dynamic. Prouvé makes a decision to move the figure of the fallen Teuton warrior, for example, from the right half of the composition, the half assigned to the advancing Teutons, to the far left of the composition (figs. 1.54, 1.55). Likewise, the figure of a Gaul drawing his sword, originally on the left, is moved to the far right (figs. 1.56, 1.57). By moving these figures to the "wrong" side of the composition, Prouvé disrupts the sense of balance created by the symmetrical pairing of the two groups and suggests that the natural order has been disturbed by the actions of the advancing Teutons.

Prouvé also makes changes to the group formed by the Rhine and the Moselle, who appear in early sketches to form a stable, pyramidal shape. Prouvé's first studies show the Rhine in a pensive pose, grasping the much smaller figure of the Moselle in a loose embrace (fig. 1.58). In subsequent sketches, however, Prouvé emphasizes the vigorous gesture of the river god, who motions the advancing warriors to return to their side of the river (fig. 1.59). Another sketch shows Prouvé experimenting with different poses for the figure of the Moselle (fig. 1.60). In his final design, Prouvé changes the kneeling pose of the Moselle to a sprawling position that is unbalanced by the figure's raised leg, so that the Moselle appears to be slipping out of the Rhine's tight embrace.

By creating an impression of imbalance and suspense, Prouvé recasts the ancient history he depicts in the present tense. The Moselle will always be slipping from the Rhine's grasp, the Teutons will always be advancing, and the outcome of the struggle will always be yet to be determined. In short, Prouvé's frieze constitutes an attempt not so much to commemorate the events of the Franco-Prussian War, as to keep the eternal struggle between France and Germany alive in the minds of his viewers. In order to do this, Prouvé relies not only upon formal strategies opposing Gaul and Teuton in an epic struggle but also rewrites history in his attempt to make *Le Rhin* a potent call to arms.

Gaul

In the first century BCE, Roman forces seized Gaul following the defeat of the Gallic tribes at the Battle of Alesia. The design of Prouvé's panel effectively elides the fact of this earlier invasion and the subsequent absorption of Celtic Gaul by the Roman Empire. When the Teutonic tribes attacked Gaul in the 6th century, in other words, they attacked a province of the Roman Empire, not an independent state. In the design of his panel, however, Prouvé depicts the occupants of Gaul as pre-Roman Celts.

By the time Prouvé created his designs for *Le Rhin* in 1889, the Gauls had been the subject of scholarly and popular discussion for centuries.¹³¹ Towards the end of the 18th century, however, the study of the ancient Gauls gained new importance in the context of revolutionary rhetoric. Scholars of the Enlightenment often cast the conflict between the Gauls and the invading Teutonic tribes as the historical opposition of two groups in French society, the nobility and the Third Estate.¹³² According to this theory, members of the French nobility were descended from the race of the conquerors, the Franks, while the Third Estate was comprised of the descendants of the conquered, the Gauls.¹³³

In the early 19th century, the liberal historians of the Romantic generation continued the rehabilitation of the Gauls, claiming them for the nation as a whole.¹³⁴ In his *Histoire de France* (History of France, 17 vols., 1833), for example, Henri Martin (1810-1883) continued the glorification of ancient Gaul begun by historians such as Amédée Thierry (1797-1873) and Jules Michelet (1798-1874). Martin not only argues that the French are directly descended from the Gauls, but that modern-day French men and women display the physical and moral characteristics of this ancient "race."¹³⁵ Martin also confronts the difficult question of Gaul's defeat at the hands of the Romans, which he attributes to the waning influence of their religion, Druidism, and to changes within their society that rendered them vulnerable.¹³⁶ Throughout his history, Martin, who would serve as a senator under the Third Republic, describes the society of ancient Gaul in terms that make clear the parallels with Republican France. Martin's illustrated *Histoire de la France Populaire* (Popular History of France, 1875) would later familiarize

popular audiences with the author's vision of the Gauls as the ancestors of modern French men and women.

In the years following the Revolution of 1848, the Gauls made their appearance in school primers, gradually assuming the role traditionally assigned to heroes of the classical era in accounts of France's history.¹³⁷ Following France's surrender in 1871, historians looked to ancient Gaul with renewed interest in an attempt to reconcile their patriotism with the reality of France's defeat at the hands of the Prussians. Not only the barbarian invasions but also the conquest of Gaul by Roman forces provided a metaphor for France's losses.¹³⁸

The study of the civilization of pre-Roman Gaul offered leftist and Republican historians an alternative to traditional histories that began with Clovis, the king who brought Christianity to France.¹³⁹ The turn towards a historical narrative that located France's beginnings in the ancient mists of Gaul thus allowed historians to separate France's history from both that of the Church and from that of the nobility, a strategy that suited anti-clerical Republicans. Similarly, many Republicans saw in ancient Gaul a forerunner of their own democratic society. One author writing in 1875 went so far as to refer to independent Gaul as "a great federative Republic."¹⁴⁰ Historians were divided, however, over the question of whether the Gauls constituted a separate "race," with most tending towards a view of the Gauls as a pure, Celtic race unadulterated by foreign influence.¹⁴¹ Despite differences of opinions between historians, the myth of France's origins in ancient Gaul provided a powerful unifying symbol for the new Republic, offering the citizens of a defeated nation a belief in the shared history of a heroic, glorious past.

The stakes of this debate were high, for many believed that the history of the Gauls could serve as an essential element in the patriotic and moral education of French citizens.¹⁴² Those who subscribed to a view of the Gauls as the heroic ancestors of the modern nation-state tended to depict their society as one characterized by stable political institutions and 'national' unity.¹⁴³ According to these proponents of a democratic, united Gaul, Rome's conquest, while it eradicated existing cultural institutions, could not destroy the immortal "Gallic soul."¹⁴⁴

If many historians equated France with Gaul and the French people with their Celtic ancestors, it was also not uncommon for the popular press to refer to Germans as "barbarians," evoking a long history of conflict between the two nations. During the Franco-Prussian War, for example, many journalists employed the term "barbarian" to refer to the German people as a whole, describing the conflict between France and Germany as a battle between two separate "races."¹⁴⁵ Thus the figure of the German "barbarian," an external enemy, replaced the figure of the Frankish noble, an internal enemy. Class conflict was recast into a war between two opposing races and the origins of modern French men and women in the commingling of Gaul, Roman, and Frankish ancestors was all but forgotten.¹⁴⁶

The figure of the mounted Gallic warrior in Prouvé's composition is remarkably similar to 19th-century depictions of Vercingetorix, a leader who figured prominently in accounts of ancient Gaul. Prouvé's figure closely resembles Frédéric-Auguste Bartholdi's statue of the Gallic warrior erected in the town of Clermont-Ferrand in 1872, for example (fig. 1.61). Like Bartholdi's figure, Prouvé's mounted warrior leads the charge and is captured in the act of raising his sword to defend his homeland. The similarity is surely not a coincidence, for Gallé exhibited a vase entitled *Vercingétorix*, now lost, at the *Exposition universelle* of 1889.¹⁴⁷

In art, the subject of Vercingetorix had achieved popularity in the years preceding the Franco-Prussian War, motivated in large part by the Napoleon III's fascination with Julius Caesar.¹⁴⁸ In 1867, the emperor commissioned the sculptor Aimé Millet (1819-1891) to create a colossal statue of Vercingetorix, which was erected on Mont Auxois near the town of Alise-

Sainte-Reine (fig. 1.62). The inscription on the base reads, “United Gaul, forming a single nation led by the same mind (or spirit) can defy the universe. Napoleon III to the memory of Vercingetorix.”¹⁴⁹ The chief of the Averni, Vercingetorix had united the various tribes that formed ancient Gaul in their fight against a common enemy, the Romans. He serves as a symbol of national unity in works such as Millet’s monumental sculpture. During the early years of the Third Republic, Vercingetorix thus came to function as a kind of Republican hero, replacing Clovis as the “founding father” of the French nation.¹⁵⁰

By depicting a figure that closely resembles contemporary representations of Vercingetorix, however, Prouvé conflates two very different historical moments: Rome’s invasion of Gaul in 58-51 BCE and the Germanic invasions of Roman Gaul in the 5th century CE. Separated by five hundred years of history, these two events are also radically different in that during the barbarian invasions, unlike during the Gallic wars, no single hero arose to lead resistance against the enemy. By combining these two moments into one composition, Prouvé employs a figure resembling Vercingetorix as the physical embodiment of national unity and of France’s resistance to the German invasion of 1871.

In his design for *Le Rhin*, Prouvé also displays his familiarity with recent discoveries in the field of archaeology. Prouvé, who resided in Paris, may have seen some of the artifacts from recent excavations on display at the *Musée des antiquités nationales*, which opened in the Parisian suburb of Saint-Germain-de-Laye in 1867. The *Musée lorrain* in Nancy also housed a collection of Gallo-Roman artifacts.¹⁵¹ In Prouvé’s design, a Gaul wearing a horned helmet is shown blowing into a carnyx, or trumpet in the shape of a boar’s head, an instrument that was used to rally troops and to intimidate the enemy in times of war (fig. 1.63). To the right of this figure, another Gaul carries a military standard surmounted by a carving of a wild boar, an animal that was sacred to the Gauls (fig. 1.64). Similarly, the armor worn by the figure on horseback and the sword he carries are similar to artifacts illustrated in recent accounts such as that written by Ernest Bosc, entitled *Histoire nationale des Gaulois sous Vercingétorix* (National History of the Gauls under Vercingetorix, 1882) (figs. 1.65, 1.66).¹⁵² Hestaux likewise draws upon recent archaeological finds for the border of the frieze (fig. 1.67). Fantastic creatures are interspersed with carnyces, coins, Celtic wheels, torques, and anachronistic fleurs-de-lis. In their depictions of the Gauls, then, both Prouvé and Hestaux depict the Celtic era pre-dating Roman conquest, ignoring the half-millennium of Roman occupation that preceded the invasion of the Teutonic tribes. Through the archaeological accuracy of their compositions, Hestaux and Prouvé posit a cultural and even racial purity for the Gauls.

When the Romans invaded Gaul in 58 BCE, they invaded a territory occupied by a strong, independent people. When the Teutons invaded Roman Gaul in the 5th century, however, they encountered a subject people, simultaneously civilized by and subjugated to Roman rule. By depicting the French as Gallic warriors, Prouvé evokes the pride, freedom, and strength of these ancient peoples, effectively ignoring their humiliation at the hands of the Romans. The depiction of the Germans as Teutons, meanwhile, allows Prouvé to establish a distinction between barbarity, symbolized by Teutonic aggression, and civilization, symbolized by the Gauls’ industriousness and affective ties. The absence of five hundred years of history, in other words, permits Prouvé to show the Gauls as a brave warrior race, rewriting both the history of the Roman conquest and the events of the Franco-Prussian War.

The Rhine

Prouvé's marquetry frieze also actively engages with the nascent discourse of German nationalism. Prouvé was not the first artist, for example, to picture the conflict between the French and German peoples as a battle for control of the Rhine. Earlier in the century, France's occupation of the left bank of the Rhine during the Napoleonic Wars (1803-1815), the dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire, and the establishment of the German Confederation in 1815 had encouraged the rise of German nationalism in the territories that would later become the German Empire. During this period, the concept of the "German Rhine" was popularized by the writings of the poet Ernst Moritz Arndt (1769-1860). In 1813, Arndt famously declared "The Rhine, Germany's river but not Germany's frontier!" in opposition to the French annexation of territories along the west bank of the Rhine.¹⁵³

Growing in intensity throughout the decades that followed, the discourse of German nationalism peaked during the so-called "war of the poets," during which the Rhine became a symbol for the perceived cultural unity of the German people. Conflict erupted in response to the Rhine Crisis of 1840, when the prime minister of France, Adolphe Thiers (1797-1877), suggested that the river should serve as the natural border between France and Germany. Many Germans feared that France planned to seize the left bank of the Rhine as it had in the 18th century and again during the Napoleonic Wars.

In response to these events, the poet Nikolaus Becker (1809-1845) composed his well-known *Rheinlied* (Rhine Song, 1840), in which the author vows to defend the Rhine. Also in 1840, a Swabian merchant named Max Schneckenburger (1819-1849) published the poem "Wacht am Rhein" ("Watch on the Rhine"), which was subsequently set to music by Karl Wilhelm (1815-1873) in 1854. The song calls on Germans to unite in defense of the fatherland. Its air is martial and its imagery warlike. A 19th-century translation reads

A war cry trumpets through the land,
With trumpet-call and clash of brand!
"Le Rhin, Le Rhin, the German Rhine,
Who will defend its stream divine?"
O, sleep in peace, Germania mine,
Firm stand the men that guard the Rhine!¹⁵⁴

French poets responded in turn, penning verses alternately calling for peace or for the return of the territories lost to Germany. Alphonse de Lamartine (1790-1869), author of the poem *Marseillaise de la paix* (Marseillaise of Peace, 1841), even spoke before the Chamber of Deputies, calling for the Rhine to be reestablished as the natural frontier between France and Prussia.¹⁵⁵ To Becker's words "They shall not have it, the free, German Rhine," Alfred de Musset (1810-1857) responded with a poem entitled "Nous l'avons eu, votre Rhin allemand" ("We've Had It, Your German Rhine," 1841).

The image of the Rhine as a contested border between two nations reappears in the Niederwald Monument, built in 1883 to commemorate Germany's victory in the Franco-Prussian War (fig. 1.68).¹⁵⁶ The similarities between the visual language of the monument and that employed by Prouvé in his designs for *Le Rhin* are striking, suggesting that Prouvé had the monument in mind when he composed his scene of battle between the Gauls and the Teutons. Prouvé references almost every aspect of the monument and subtly transforms these elements to create a nationalistic narrative that celebrates French, rather than German, valor.

At the base of the monument are allegories of the Rhine and Moselle Rivers (fig. 1.69). The bas-relief scene refers specifically to the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine. It shows the river god handing a horn to the figure of the Moselle, signaling that henceforth it is she who will protect Germany's borders to the West. In contrast, Prouvé's river god grasps the figure of the Moselle, protecting her from the invaders. Above the figures on the Niederwald Monument are inscribed lyrics from Schneckenburger's poem "Die Wacht am Rhein." The bottom line reads "Dear Fatherland, no danger thine; Firm stand thy sons to watch the Rhine!"¹⁵⁷ Prouvé of course opposes to this the aforementioned citation by Tacitus: "All of Germany is separated from Gaul by the Rhine."¹⁵⁸ Whereas the monument's bas-relief claims the Rhine for Germany, in other words, Prouvé's panel depicts the river as a natural border protecting France.

On the left side of the Niederwald Monument is a bas-relief depicting *The Departure of the Soldiers* (fig. 1.70). On the right side of the monument, another bas-relief entitled *The Return of the Soldiers* shows the victorious troops returning home, where they are welcomed by women and children holding wreaths with which to crown them (fig. 1.71). Prouvé's frieze likewise includes the figures of women and children. Among the Gauls, a woman with one arm around a child hands a sword to a man harvesting wheat, urging him to defend their homeland from the invaders. While the bas-reliefs decorating the Niederwald Monument commemorate a victory, celebrating the returning Prussian soldiers as heroes, Prouvé's frieze depicts the Gauls as reluctant warriors, forced into battle to protect their homeland and their families. In Prouvé's frieze, the Teutons appear not as anxious young recruits, but as fierce and aggressive warriors who rather than protecting their women and children, lead them into battle alongside them.

Above the bas-reliefs is a frieze depicting the commanders of the German army gathered around the figure of the German Emperor, who is shown mounted on horseback (fig. 1.72). Like Prouvé's marquetry panel, the frieze is rigorously symmetrical and flanked by two allegorical figures. The similarity with the winged figures framing Prouvé's composition is striking. On the left is the archangel Michael, who bears a sword in one hand as he blows the clarion that signals a call to arms (fig. 1.73). On the right is a second figure representing peace, with a cornucopia in one hand and a laurel branch in the other (fig. 1.74). In contrast, Prouvé's figures appear to be allegories of divine justice, clearly fighting on the side of the French, as one restrains a fallen Teuton warrior while the other points a Gallic warrior towards the East, urging him to defend his homeland.

Both works also employ inscriptions celebrating national unity. At the center of the Niederwald Monument, near the large imperial eagle, is an inscription that reads, "In memory of the unanimous, victorious uprising of the German people and the re-establishment of the German Empire 1870-1871."¹⁵⁹ Similarly, *Le Rhin's* carved phrase, "I am attached to the heart of France" likewise evokes the union of the French people, but also suggests that the nation must be constantly defended from those who would destroy it.¹⁶⁰

The similarities between Prouvé's composition and that of the Niederwald Monument continue at the monument's summit. At the very top of the German monument stands the allegorical figure of Germania (fig. 1.75). Holding a sword in one hand, she is poised to take her seat on a throne decorated with imperial eagles. The crown of laurel leaves encircling her sword symbolizes peace achieved through force.¹⁶¹ In her right hand, Germania grasps the crown of the German Empire, which she lifts to her head. In his composition, Prouvé substitutes the figure of the Moselle for Germania, thus at once conflating the province of Lorraine with the nation as a whole and signaling the way that *Le Rhin* employs nature as an expression of identity. No such allegory of the nation appears in the design for the base of *Le Rhin*, but the use of the paired

alerions clearly recalls the imperial eagles flanking Germania's throne. Similarly, Gallé replaces the shields encircling the monument, which represent the principalities that make up the German Empire, with the coat of arms of the house of Lorraine.

Without directly borrowing any one element from the Niederwald Monument, then, Gallé and Prouvé nonetheless clearly evoke the sculpture in their designs for *Le Rhin*, attempting to negate the rhetoric of German nationalism through a strategy of substitution. Gallé and Prouvé essentially seek to *rewrite* the history of the Prussian invasion from a French perspective. Both the Niederwald Monument and *Le Rhin* function as imaginary constructions of nationhood, but whereas the Niederwald Monument serves to commemorate the German Empire's great achievements, *Le Rhin* suggests that France's struggles are ongoing. *Le Rhin* thus depicts neither victory nor defeat, but an unending battle that is eternally waged across its surface. It urges the citizens of France not only to unite in the celebration of the nation's history but also to defend their homeland against the constant threat of invasion. *Le Rhin* is not so much a monument to the heroic defeated, then, as a call to arms.

Contested Borders/Contested Identities

With *Le Rhin*, Prouvé and Gallé together created a work that challenged the nationalist discourse of the nascent German Empire by co-opting the symbolism of its most famous monument. The artists imagined their audience to be not only French, but also German. Prouvé envisioned his composition, for example, as “the most proper slap in the face that we can chuck at them for now!”¹⁶² The subject matter of *Le Rhin*, however, also addresses an ongoing debate regarding whether Alsace-Lorraine belonged to France or Germany. This so-called German Crisis spurred philosophers and historians to explore the complex issue of national identity. Historians and intellectuals such as Ernest Renan (1823-1892), Hippolyte Taine (1828-1893), and Numa Denis Fustel de Coulanges (1830-1889) each sought to identify the components that went into the making of a nation and the characteristics that differentiated the people of France from those of Germany.¹⁶³

Generally speaking, 19th-century German intellectuals utilized two arguments to justify the annexation of the eastern provinces. They argued both that Alsace and Lorraine had once been part of Germany—a historical explanation, and that the peoples of Alsace and Lorraine were linguistically or even racially Germanic—an ethnographic rationale.¹⁶⁴ In contrast, French Republicans and leftist historians emphasized the importance of self-determination and shared memory as defining characteristics of national identity. In contrast, nationalist thinkers like Barrès and Paul Déroulède (1846-1914) embraced an essentializing vision of the French as united by a shared cultural, ethnic, and even racial identity. Theories such as Barrès's famous cult of “the soil and the dead” have much in common with the *völkisch* tradition in Germany.¹⁶⁵

In a famous lecture delivered at the Sorbonne on May 11, 1882, the liberal French philosopher Ernest Renan refuted German arguments, point by point, arguing that a nation can be formed only by the consent of its individual members. Race, language, religion, and geography were all false principles of unity, he argued. Rather, Renan proposed that “a nation is a spiritual principle, resulting from the profound complications of history, a spiritual family, not a group determined by the configuration of the soil.”¹⁶⁶ Both a shared legacy of memories and the desire to form a nation must be present, Renan argues, if people are to form a political union.

Renan's speech clearly reflected current debates over the status of Alsace-Lorraine. Indeed, Renan echoes arguments first raised by the French during peace negotiations with

Germany. The National Assembly met in Bordeaux in 1871 to discuss the terms of surrender with Germany. During the debates, the statesman Léon Gambetta (1838-1882), whose words were delivered by deputies from Alsace-Lorraine, argued against the annexation of the eastern provinces. He contended that the people of Alsace-Lorraine had a fundamental right to self-determination and that peace in Europe depended on this principle.¹⁶⁷

The theory of a people's right to self-determination, based on the principle of popular sovereignty, was a legacy of the French Revolution.¹⁶⁸ It was also, in practical terms, the only rationale by which Alsace and Lorraine could truly be said to belong to France. In the decades following the Franco-Prussian War, the people of Alsace-Lorraine repeatedly elected *protestataires* to the German Reichstag.¹⁶⁹ The election of these candidates, who were opposed to the annexation, demonstrated the desire of many in the annexed territories to be part of France. In contrast, arguments based on a shared common language were doomed to failure, for the majority of Alsatians spoke not French but a dialect derived from German.¹⁷⁰ Similarly, many French historians dismissed the idea of shared history as determinant of national character, for Alsace had become part of France only in the 17th century, and the incorporation of Lorraine was even later, in 1766.

Gallé's assertion that the Rhine should serve as a natural boundary between the peoples of Gaul and Germania, as well as his depiction of the Gauls as pre-Roman Celts untouched by racial or cultural assimilation, is closer to the theories of nationalists such as Barrès than to those voiced by Renan. Indeed, Gallé looks back to an older model for understanding national identity, one with its roots in antiquity. Although most commonly associated with Cardinal Richelieu (1585-1642), who served as chief adviser to Louis XIII, the doctrine of natural borders had a long history in French thought beginning with the first histories written in the Gallo-Roman period.¹⁷¹ Ancient works such as Julius Cæsar's history of the Gallic wars, *Commentarii de Bello Gallico* (ca. 40-50 BCE), and Tacitus's *Germania* describe the Rhine as a geographical division between the territories occupied by the Gauls and those inhabited by the Germanic tribes. In the 18th century, Louis XIV's efforts to regularize the borders of France and to expand the territory over which he ruled led to the revival of the ancient idea that mountains and rivers constituted naturally occurring borders.¹⁷² By the time of the Rhine Crisis in 1840, the phrase "natural border" had begun to appear in the French press.¹⁷³

Gallé's decision to include a quote from Tacitus in the composition of *Le Rhin* was thus significant in this regard. Earlier in the century, German intellectuals had seized upon Tacitus's *Germania* in their attempts to identify and celebrate a shared Germanic cultural identity.¹⁷⁴ Johann Gottfried Herder (1744-1803), whose theory of the *Volksgeist*, or National Character, was to have profound implications for the creation of a unified German state, drew upon Tacitus in many of his works.¹⁷⁵ In his *Outlines of a Philosophy of the History of Man* (1781), for example, Herder writes, "The character of the Germans [*sic*] still resembles in many leading features the picture drawn by Tacitus [and] the ancient Gaul [*sic*] is still discernible in his modern descendants."¹⁷⁶ Tacitus's writings also had an impact on other early proponents of German nationalism, such as the philologist Jacob Grimm (1785-1863) and the philosopher Johann Gottlieb Fichte (1762-1814), who both pointed to the existence of a shared common language as evidence of a universal, identifiable German identity.¹⁷⁷ By including a phrase from Tacitus in the composition of his table, then, Gallé subverted recent German readings of the ancient text, employing it to establish the antiquity of France's claims to the land west of the Rhine rather than the cultural unity of the German people.

The Critics: Le Rhin

Reviews of *Le Rhin* almost universally praised the table for its patriotic theme and exquisite craftsmanship but rarely addressed the subject of Prouvé's marquetry frieze directly. In his report, for example, a certain Meynard refers to *Le Rhin* as a "great museum table, in sculpted walnut, of which the top is ebony inlaid with various woods," noting only that it is "truly remarkable."¹⁷⁸ T. Lamathière calls *Le Rhin* a "patriotic table," remarking that it is based on a text by Tacitus, but mentions the work only in passing.¹⁷⁹ In contrast, the critic Jules Lemaître, who devotes an entire article to *Le Rhin*, is the one of the few authors to discuss Prouvé's marquetry frieze in any detail.¹⁸⁰

Lemaître begins by praising *Le Rhin* as "massive, imposing, [and] royal."¹⁸¹ He then describes the sculpted thistles and carved inscriptions that decorate the base before launching into a description of the tabletop.¹⁸² Lemaître writes,

Finally, on the table unfurls, in the fashion of a bas-relief, a long band of drawings, formed by inlaying in ebony and in wood of diverse species. It is the translation for the eyes of this phrase from Tacitus inscribed above the composition: "Le Rhin sépare profondément la Gaule de la Germanie." The figures, very simplified, are in a grand style. In the center, the old Rhine, a patriarch with a long, flowing beard, squeezes against him, in a protective gesture, a beautiful young woman who is Gaul; there is, on the left, a Gallic family, warriors, women, children, and on the right, a Germanic encampment... *Du facessant!* While waiting, a phrase from Tacitus could offend no one.¹⁸³

Lemaître compares the frieze to a bas-relief, evoking its origins in ancient art, but also conjures the specter of history painting through his reference to the table's "grand style." Prouvé's design, he suggests, gives visual form to Tacitus's words. Lemaître also changes the form of the inscription slightly, from "The Rhine separates all of Germany from Gaul" to "The Rhine *profoundly* separates Gaul from Germany," underscoring the imagined depth and permanence of the border separating the two peoples. Lemaître also transforms the plural "Gauls" in the original citation to the simpler "Gaul." He thus attributes an anachronistic, proto-national unity to ancient Gaul, despite the fact that it was the invading Romans who gave the name "Gaul" to the territories populated by various independent tribes of Celtic origin. Finally, Lemaître opposes the "Gallic family" to a Germanic "encampment," like Prouvé suggesting that the Gauls are innocent victims defending their territory from the aggression of the invaders.

Lemaître ends his discussion of *Le Rhin* with a curious phrase, "Du facessant," from the Latin for dispatch or execute. It is clear that Lemaître sees *Le Rhin* as a call to arms, for he urges viewers to action. In the meantime, he adds, "a phrase from Tacitus could offend no one."¹⁸⁴ In this he was not entirely correct, for even as they praised its craftsmanship, German reviewers picked up on *Le Rhin*'s belligerent overtones. One critic praised the table as "absolutely artistic," for example, but added that the "experience of [the past] 2,000 years does not permit us to find it truthful from a historical point of view."¹⁸⁵

In his review of *Le Rhin*, like Lemaître, Louis Énault also devotes considerable space to the symbolism of the "Lorrainer table."¹⁸⁶ He begins with the base, placing particular emphasis upon the thistle and its tenacious character:

This Lorrainer table is a marvel and one of the chief attractions of the Exhibition of 1889. This lovely piece of cabinetmaking is made of sculpted plum wood and walnut. A great crosspiece, or spine, serves as a base, depicting the thistle of Lorraine—*No one touches me with impunity!*—carved into a single block of wood measuring one and a half meters. A double epigraph entwines its letters in the inextricable roots of the thistle, from which nothing can any longer extract them: “*I am attached to the heart of France!*” and, on the other hand, “*The more they stab me, the more I hold on!*” which is a proud and noble speech in the mouth of the defeated.¹⁸⁷

Like several other critics, Énault points out that *Le Rhin* is made of native woods such as walnut rather than the exotic woods traditionally employed in French cabinetmaking. Énault also points to one of the ironies underlying *Le Rhin*’s symbolism—despite his tone of brave defiance, Gallé cannot rewrite history. As a French citizen and a Lorrainer, Gallé is one of the “*vaincu*,” the defeated ones. While the artist may “cling” to France, history is already written for Alsace-Lorraine.

Like Lemaître, Énault subsequently describes the marquetry tabletop in detail, comparing it to a painting. He too seeks to rewrite history, like Gallé and Prouvé, by claiming that the Gauls repelled the invading Teutons.

The subject of this mosaic, which is nothing less than a true painting, is a commentary upon a phrase from Tacitus, “*Germania omnis a Gallia Rheno separatur.*” The Rhine separates all of Germany from the Gauls. To tell the truth, it’s the invasion of the Teutons, warded off by the Gauls: two symbolic figures, a man and a woman, represent the Moselle and the Rhine. The Moselle, a good creature without hard feelings, throws herself into the arms of the paternal Rhine, who, in a grandiose and sovereign gesture, shows the men of the North the ancient frontier that must be eternally respected, while the Gallic trumpet calls men of courage to the defense of the sacred soil of the homeland.¹⁸⁸

In Énault’s account, nature herself conspires to defend the Gauls from their enemies. The figure of the Rhine confronts the invaders, demanding that they respect the ancient borders of Gaul. Meanwhile, the sound of the carnyx urges the Gauls to defend the *soil* of their homeland. For Énault, as for Gallé and Prouvé, the border separating Gaul from Teuton, and thus France from Germany, is at once natural, indisputable, and irrevocable.

In his review of *Le Rhin*, however, the critic Paul Desjardins notes that the phrase Gallé borrows from Tacitus is purely descriptive, a statement of historical fact rather than an immutable law of nature—at the time Tacitus composed *Germania*, the Rhine served as border between Roman Gaul and territories to the East. The reviewer goes on, however, to cast the invading tribes in a harsh light, portraying them as savage warriors attacking the peaceful Gauls:

[Gallé] has taken... from the *Germania* of Tacitus, a purely geographical phrase “*Germania omnis a Galliis Rheno separatur.* All of Germany is separated from the Gauls by the Rhine,” and you can guess what piercing meaning is hidden by this innocent phrase... He makes it the motto of a great table in walnut, plum wood, and inlaid ebony. The top, designed by Gallé’s faithful collaborator, the

Lorrainer sculptor Prouvé, represents the *Father Rhine* receiving a tearful Gaul in his lap, and protecting her with one of his arms. On the right, the fierce Germanic hordes, with red tresses, push as if to force open the venerable river; on the left, the Celts, more humane, are ready on the defensive. The difference between the races is shown by the contrast, striking in this period of primitive savagery, but no doubt still not obliterated... There is the deep gulf that no force will bridge.¹⁸⁹

Desjardins thus describes the conflict between the Gauls and the invading Teutons as a battle between two separate “races.” The profound differences between these two “races”—one “fierce” and the other more “humane,” he suggests, continue to divide modern France and Germany. In his discussion of *Le Rhin*, Desjardins underscores the compositional strategies that foreground this difference, from the symmetrical division of the table into left and right halves to the diagonal thrust of the advancing hordes.

Desjardins goes on to decode at length the botanical symbolism employed in the decoration of the table, paying particular attention to the twin themes of belonging and the defense of the homeland:

The runners of the table are sculpted in alerions of Lorraine, bearing the double cross on their chests. Different allegorical plants, the thistle, which defends itself, ivy, which clings, and forget-me-not, which says not to forget, garland all around. A strong stem of Lorrainer thistle entwines tightly around the arches that support the tabletop. Below can be read the motto *I am attached to the heart of France*, and on the other side, *The more they stab me, the more I hold on*.¹⁹⁰

Desjardins’s review of *Le Rhin* clearly establishes that the symbolism Gallé employs in his patriotic table was legible to contemporary audiences. In his description of the table, Desjardins mobilizes a range of terms evoking the idea of the affective ties between the province of Lorraine and the nation of France.

The attention the Desjardins and other critics devote to *Le Rhin*, moreover, demonstrates the importance that the table held for contemporary audiences, as do the many illustrations of the table in contemporary studies of Gallé’s œuvre. Although *Le Rhin* appears in several publications, however, it is always depicted from the side. Prouvé’s marquetry panel is never reproduced, suggesting that for the critics, the naturalistic decoration of Gallé’s table held more significance than the frieze designed by Prouvé. An illustration in Victor Champier’s *Les Industries d’art à l’Exposition universelle de 1889* (Art Industries at the World Fair of 1889, 1889-1891), for example, offers a symmetrical side view of the table (fig. 1.76).¹⁹¹

Although Marx does not discuss *Le Rhin* at any great length, referring to it only in passing as a “museum table with a spine and leaves in walnut and plum wood,” an image of the table appears prominently on the cover of his book-length review of the *Exposition universelle*.¹⁹² Published as *La Décoration et l’art industriel à l’Exposition universelle de 1889* (Decoration and Industrial Art at the World Fair of 1889, 1890), the book reproduces Marx’s articles originally published in the journal *L’Illustration*. Marx’s review of Gallé’s work was written in close collaboration with the artist himself, who in June of 1889 gave Marx an early version of his “Notice sur la production de verres et cristaux” as well as a list of works to be exhibited.¹⁹³

The cover design for Marx's book is by the noted poster artist Jules Chéret (1836-1932) and depicts a woman in evening attire seated before *Le Rhin* (fig. 1.77). The illustration shows only the short end of Gallé's table so that the carved alerions figure most prominently. A woodcut illustration of *Le Rhin* in the text likewise privileges the table's carved decoration over its tabletop frieze (fig. 1.78). From a low vantage point, the energetic carving of the thistle dominates the structure of the table. In the medium of black and white engraving, the status of the thistle as a live plant or as carved decoration is ambiguous. These illustrations underscore the modernity of *Le Rhin* by emphasizing the table's naturalistic decoration. While Prouvé's frieze was central to deciphering *Le Rhin's* symbolism for many critics, then, it was Gallé's pioneering use of a patriotically inflected botanical symbolism that captured their attention, as it would in subsequent works such as *Flore de Lorraine*.

Lorrainer Oak, French Work

Le Rhin was not the only one of Gallé's work to make the history of the Gauls central to its symbolism. Another large-scale work, a cupboard entitled *De Chêne lorrain, œuvre française* depicts the Druids of Celtic Gaul (fig. 1.79). Gallé commissioned Prouvé to design four sculpted panels for *De Chêne lorrain*. The central panels depict the Celtic prophetess Veleda holding a lamp and a male Druid gathering sacred mistletoe (figs. 1.80, 1.81). The side panels depict a bellowing stag and warriors engaged in combat. Prouvé created the plaster casts for the bas-reliefs (fig. 1.82) and employed a Parisian furniture maker and sculptor, Frimat, to carve the two central panels in wood.¹⁹⁴ The Nancy artist Jacques Martin (1838-1906), father of the artist Camille Martin (1861-1898), sculpted the side panels.¹⁹⁵

Although often identified as Celtic, Veleda was in fact a priestess of the Bructeri, a Germanic tribe. She successfully predicted the initial victory of the rebels during the Batavian Rebellion of AD 69-70, when the Batavian chieftain Gaius Julius Civilis defeated the Roman legions. She later arbitrated a dispute between the Tencteri, an independent tribe living beyond the borders of the Roman Empire, and the inhabitants of Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium (now Cologne). Following the defeat of the Batavians, Veleda was captured by the Romans and imprisoned in AD 77. According to Tacitus, the tribes of what is now central Germany worshiped Veleda around the first century AD.¹⁹⁶ Like Vercingetorix, Veleda is thus associated with resistance to the Roman invasion.¹⁹⁷ In *De Chêne lorrain*, the heroic figure of Veleda, like Vercingetorix, stands in for the people of France, who will rise again to defeat their enemy. The panels depicting warriors in combat and a bellowing stag likewise refer directly to the struggles of war.

As in *Le Rhin*, however, Gallé pairs this patriotic narrative with a botanical symbolism derived from the native flora and fauna of France. According to Gallé's note to the jury, the works of the Parnassian poet Charles-Marie Leconte de Lisle (1818-1894), and in particular his *Poèmes antiques*, provided the inspiration for *De Chêne lorrain's* scenes of Druid life.¹⁹⁸ *Poèmes antiques*, which incorporate elements of Greek and Hindu mythology, evokes the primeval forests of ancient Gaul as a source of eternal life.¹⁹⁹ The decoration of *De Chêne lorrain* situates the work within this sylvan setting, for Gallé employs motifs derived from the structure of the oak tree to ornament his work. The moldings, for example, display the patterns of barks, twigs, leaves, and even acorns (fig. 1.83). Other motifs include forget-me-nots and insects native to the forest. Near Gallé's signature, the artist has inscribed the phrase, "I made this piece of furniture of a lakeside oak, harvested in the land of Lorraine" (fig. 1.84).²⁰⁰

As the title of the work suggests, Gallé attributed particular importance to the materials from which *De Chêne lorrain* was constructed. In his note to the jury, Gallé writes, “The lakeside oak of which I have made a cabinet conjured up, in the workshops where this piece of furniture was developed, the Celtic forest and the legendary figure of Veleda.”²⁰¹ The oak that Gallé uses was, according to the artist, found along the banks of a lake in Lorraine. As in *Le Rhin*, then, Gallé employs native woods and, in this case, woods specifically from the province of Lorraine as an expression of his work’s rootedness in the history of France.

Gallé’s symbolic use of unconventional materials did not go unnoticed by critics. Philippe Daryl writes of *De Chêne lorrain*, “The search for materials and processes has something unexpected and attractive [in it], even when it makes one smile: for example, in his chest of ‘lakeside oak’.”²⁰² For Daryl, Gallé’s choice of materials is an essential element of the story he tells in his work. In his review, Énault posits that the deep hue produced by the wood’s long submersion in water gave *De Chêne lorrain* an air of antiquity well-suited to its depiction of ancient Gaul:

The piece of furniture is made entirely of oak that has lain for a long time in the ponds and swamps of Lorraine, where it assumed a venerable hue of old wood, which suits the figures that the sculptor has drawn on its sides. These are for the most part heroines borrowed from the barbaric poems of Leconte de l’Isle [*sic*], for which rosewood would lack all local color. The rest of the decoration of this severe piece of furniture has as its theme the glorification of the oak tree, leaves, twigs, boughs, not to mention the acorn, or the butterfly that lives at the expense of the king of our forests.²⁰³

In *De Chêne lorrain*, then, Gallé creates a work that is “patriotic” on three levels: the medium itself—what Énault terms “local color,” the decoration of the work, and the subject matter. There is evidence that Gallé considered the work a key piece in his display at the *Exposition universelle*. Gallé paid Prouvé 920 francs for the design for *De Chêne lorrain*’s sculpted panels, while the designs Prouvé provided for *Le Rhin* entailed a fee of only 160 francs.²⁰⁴ As with *Le Rhin*, Gallé would exhibit *De Chêne lorrain* again at the *Exposition des arts décoratifs et industriels* held in Nancy in 1894 and at the *Exposition universelle* of 1900.

In *De Chêne lorrain*, Gallé relies upon historical narrative as well as symbolism to celebrate the ancient history of a free, independent Gaul. In another significant work exhibited in 1889, his pavilion displayed in Class 19 of the *Exposition universelle*, Gallé would yet again evoke ancient Gaul (fig. 1.85). The pavilion, a “free adaptation of Celtic art” according to Gallé, resembles a tent and is decorated with four carved signs and the figures of eight carved roosters.²⁰⁵

“This Primitive National Art”

The pavilion brings together numerous references to ancient Gaul in an attempt to recreate what one reviewer terms “this primitive national art.”²⁰⁶ Desjardins writes

The artist wanted to give his arrangements the character of old Gaul. Only, as nothing of this primitive national art has been preserved, he had to invent everything, with the help of a kind of divination and thanks to an exceptional

understanding of the symbol. Imagine a pavilion of the which the form of the whole recalls the tent of the head of some Gallic town, of some Averni chief, lances raising the drapery all around it, and themselves surmounted by the Celtic boar in verdigrised bronze, from which hang Gallic torques in glass. The decoration is completed by great roosters... cast in bronze, legendary representations of the Gallic nationality, and by the sacred mistletoe of the Druids. The woodwork is made only with species from the old forests of our soil, the natural coloring of which the artist has respected and refused to varnish. The whole thing, imagined, designed, executed by Mr. Gallé himself, this good and loyal Gaul, [who] breathes the French genius of our ancestors.²⁰⁷

In this passage, Desjardins envisions a kind of mystical connection between the artist and his Gallic ancestors. Gallé himself, Desjardins suggests, is a “good and loyal Gaul” who is able to recreate the appearance of this ancient civilization through the creative act of invention because he is gifted with the “French genius of our ancestors.” Desjardins describes a kind of “Celtic soul,” in other words, that infuses modern-day Frenchmen with the spirit of their ancestors. In his review, Lemaître echoes Desjardins’ description of the pavilion, using some of the same language to describe its “Gallic” appearance.²⁰⁸ Like Desjardins, Lemaître also points out that the pavilion is made of wood from Lorraine.

Both authors also associate the carved rooster, a traditional symbol of the French nation, with the ancient Gauls. The figure of a rooster appears in many of Gallé’s works with patriotic themes. An earthenware plate entitled *Summ cuique... Liquidation* (To Each His Own... Liquidation, n.d.), for example, depicts a rooster who scratches furiously in the dirt, dislodging a helmet symbolizing the Prussian occupation (fig. 1.86). According to Michel Pastoureau, it was the Romans who first associated Gaul with the rooster.²⁰⁹ In Latin, the words for rooster and for an inhabitant of Gaul are the same—*gallus*. This coincidence soon led to word play on the part of Roman writers. Cæsar, for example, employed the phrase “tumultus gallicus” to refer to the Gauls’ proud spirit.²¹⁰ By the 17th century, the association of the rooster with the nation of France was complete.²¹¹ Like Vercingetorix, the rooster served as a secular symbol around which varying factions of French society could rally.²¹²

On one of the signs decorating Gallé’s pavilion, the figure of a rooster appears inside an oversized carving of the letter “G,” which can be taken to refer to both *Gallé* and *gallus* (fig. 1.87). The rooster seems poised to attack, with one claw lifted into the air, but the presence of two small chicks suggests that its stance is protective. Another carving, in form of a stylized “G,” seems to bear the truncated phrase “allus,” securing the association between Gallé’s name, ancient Gaul, and the rooster (figs. 1.88, 1.89). The resemblance of Gallé’s name to the Latin word *gallus* was not lost on visitors. In his review, Lemaître suggests that “Gallé is proud to call himself Gallé, because Gallé resembles *Gallus*.”²¹³ In his Gallic pavilion, then, as in *Le Rhin* and *De Chêne lorrain*, Gallé employs conventional symbols signifying Frenchness. At the same time, however, the use of French woods and the naturalistic depiction of native flora and fauna show the artist struggling to articulate a national style based on the depiction of natural forms.

The Critics: Wood

In the press, many critics viewed the *Exposition universelle* as a turning point for French art and thus for French society as a whole. Although almost two decades in the past, the Franco-

Prussian War was foremost in the minds of many of those who organized, contributed to, and commented on the *Exposition*. In reviews of the decorative arts exhibited at the *Exposition universelle*, critics took two paths. In the official account of the *Exposition universelle* published in 1891, for example, the reviewer for the furniture section, Meynard, extols the exhibition as “a work of peace and concord.”²¹⁴ Meynard’s utopian vision of the *Exposition universelle* as a demonstration of peaceful international cooperation was not shared, however, by those who preferred to view the exhibition in terms of a battle between nations competing for supremacy in the arts and in industry. In his review of the *Exposition*, for example, Louis Gonse²¹⁵ (1846-1921) declares, “Here is the fourth battle that France wages on the peaceful terrain of the arts and industry.”²¹⁶ If Gonse characterizes the battle as a peaceful one, his emphasis is nonetheless upon the competitive, rather than the cooperative, nature of the *Exposition*.

Critics reviewing the furniture exhibition at the *Exposition universelle* of 1889 were nearly unanimous, however, in their denunciation of historicism, which they believed threatened French supremacy in the arts. Most critics agreed that the style of furniture reflected the character, customs, and taste of the society in which it was produced.²¹⁷ The prevalence of historicism in contemporary furniture design, they alleged, threatened to sever the ties between society and art. Many mourned the fact that their era would leave no mark on the history of styles.²¹⁸

In his review of the furniture exhibited at the *Exposition universelle*, journalist Philippe Daryl²¹⁹ terms the lack of a modern style “a truly pathological case.”²²⁰ In earlier centuries, Daryl argues, furniture mirrored the customs of the era, and style evolved alongside society.²²¹ According to Daryl, the advent of Romanticism disrupted the relationship between art and society and led to the prevalence of historical pastiche accompanied by a taste for exoticism. Daryl contends that both the contemporary taste for historicism and for the arts of the Orient were symptomatic of a desire to lose oneself in a fantasy world.²²² This love of fantasy prevented French furniture from reflecting the “ideas and manners” of the modern era, Daryl argues, adding that the time has come for the French furniture industry to find “the furniture formula of our time.”²²³ Daryl’s words recall similar remarks by contemporary critics such as the poet Charles Baudelaire (1821-67), who famously called on painters to depict scenes of modern life. Daryl applies the idea of a “painting of modern life” to the decorative arts, arguing that artists should create “modern” works rather than ones showing only a reliance on tradition.

Marius Vachon voiced a similar idea in his review of the furniture section. Vachon was a decorative arts reformer and a member of several arts administrations.²²⁴ After the *Exposition universelle* closed, Vachon would go on to author a widely read series of official reports on the state of the decorative arts in France and abroad.²²⁵ The author was particularly concerned with the threat Germany posed to French industry.²²⁶ Like Daryl and Brincourt, Vachon argues that furniture is an expression of the society in which it is created. More specifically, he identifies a “parallel between political constitutions and the form of furniture,” suggesting that there is an indissociable link between style and the political realm.²²⁷ While he argues that this is as true of the contemporary era as it was of preceding epochs, Vachon then proceeds to issue a tongue-in-cheek indictment of both contemporary furniture design and the Third Republic. The incoherence of a style based on historical pastiche corresponds all too well to the ill-defined aims of the Republic, Vachon suggests. He then goes on to decry the eclecticism of contemporary furniture.²²⁸ In Vachon’s cynical view, eclecticism *is* the style of Republican France, and yet he contends that this style is corrupt, leading to “unhealthy and disastrous commerce.”²²⁹ Vachon thus inaugurates a debate that will continue over the next decade—a debate over how best to

create a style that not only expressed the essence of Frenchness but was somehow also democratic or Republican in its address to viewers.

In the works on display in 1889, several critics suggested, the French furniture industry had substituted technical mastery for creativity and innovation. In his review, for example, Marx praises the furniture exhibited in 1889 as evidence of a technical perfection unequaled by any other era in French art.²³⁰ Yet the best efforts of French furniture makers, he continues, are devoted only to “some pastiche of the old.”²³¹ Similarly, in the official report on the furniture exhibit, Meynard decries the fact that despite the perfection of their craft, French furniture makers use their skills only to make copies of the art of the past.²³²

For many critics, the root cause of this decadence was clear: the French public’s taste for historicist works prevented furniture makers from experimenting with new styles. Like other critics before him, Vachon decries the eclecticism of the exhibition, but he attributes it not to the failings of furniture manufacturers but to the public’s taste for historicism. In a scathing attack on historicism, Vachon condemns “this miserable production[,]... the consequence of the pretentious stupidity of an ignorant public that keeps it alive.”²³³ Similarly, Victor Champier, an arts reformer and the editor of the *Revue des Arts décoratifs*, champions the cause of French furniture makers in his review. The lack of progress in the furniture industry, he says, is not the fault of manufacturers, but of art lovers who buy only copies of well-known works.²³⁴ “Be of our own time,” he urges art lovers and manufacturers alike.²³⁵ According to Champier, moreover, historicist furniture not only failed to reflect the modern era in which it was made, but more importantly, it failed to respond to modern needs. Meynard thus similarly blames the French public’s taste for false luxury, bibelots, and “antique” styles for the continued popularity of historicism.²³⁶ The current economic crisis in the furniture making industry, he adds, drives manufacturers to produce inexpensive, showy works that are guaranteed to sell rather than experimenting with new styles.²³⁷ For these critics, then, the issue of public taste was a serious problem—it was possible for a style to be *too* democratic. Critics such as Meynard seem torn between their desire to champion a national style with wide appeal both at home and abroad and their belief that style should be free of the contaminating influence of the marketplace.

Critics agreed, however, that historicist styles caused more problems than they solved. Indeed, the over-reliance on historicism, according to many critics, risked threatening or even destroying France’s supremacy in the decorative arts. According to the journalist and literary critic Paul Bourde, historicism threatened France’s place in the arts because such works were too easy for foreign artisans and industrialists to copy.²³⁸ Moreover, Bourde adds, foreign buyers preferred to purchase copies of works made in their own country, not pastiches of French works. In his report, Meynard echoes Bourde’s concern that the proliferation of historicist works threatens French industry. If furniture makers continue to copy the same styles over and over, he argues, there will be no incentive for foreign buyers to purchase new works similar to those they already own.²³⁹ Both authors recognize that it is fashion, in other words, that drives demand. Meynard writes, “We must react as soon as possible against this serious mania which, becoming a dangerous tendency from the point of view of national taste, would threaten, what is even more important, the future and the prosperity of the exportation of French furniture.”²⁴⁰

Almost without exception, critics reviewing the *Exposition universelle* praised Gallé’s art as an example of a new direction in the decorative arts, one that could rescue France from the quagmire of historicism. Although to 21st-century eyes Gallé’s works exhibited at the *Exposition universelle* of 1889 may seem to display many of the same elements of pastiche and historicism

decried by so many contemporary reviewers, 19th-century audiences greeted Gallé's works as refreshingly original and, in some cases, even revolutionary.

In his review published in *Le Petit Marseillais*, for example, Paul Bosq begins by railing against the eclecticism of French furnishings, writing that they display “the strangest designs and the combinations most likely to offend taste.”²⁴¹ If furniture-makers have not yet invented the style of the 19th century, he writes, it is because fashion dictates that artists create only copies of the past.²⁴² However, Bosq then grudgingly praises Gallé's art as truly original. Referring only to “an exhibitor from Nancy,” Bosq writes, “He... imprints his mark on his works, he creates, and if his taste often clashes with mine, I gladly recognize him to be neither flashy nor banal.”²⁴³ Similarly, Lemaître declares that “while other artists apply themselves to reproducing furniture from times past, Émile Gallé alone invents.”²⁴⁴ Lemaître and Bosq's emphasis on originality demonstrates that critics by and large perceived Gallé's art not as industrial in nature but as the product of artistic genius.

Naturalist, National, and Symbolist

Critics identified several key components to the new style that they credit Gallé with creating. In his entry on Gallé in the *Dictionnaire biographique* of the Legion of Honor, Lamathière summarizes the elements of this style as enumerated in reviews of Gallé's art. According to Lamathière, critics praised “the respect for materials, the feeling of suitability between form, decoration, and the destination of the object, the fertility of invention, the originality, the poetic sentiment, the love of the native soil, the passion for nature [and] an elevated ideal.”²⁴⁵ Following the *Exposition universelle*, Lamathière adds, Gallé was promoted to the rank of Officer of the Legion of Honor in recognition of his efforts and of his work, which displayed “a character so French.”²⁴⁶ Similarly, in his review, Desjardins summarizes Gallé's style in three short phrases: “1. His art is naturalist; 2. It is national; 3. It is symbolist and poetic.”²⁴⁷

An essential element of Gallé's style, according to the critics, was thus its basis in natural forms, what Desjardins terms a “naturalist” art. Marx writes, for example, that Gallé's art is unique because each element is derived from nature.²⁴⁸ At least one reviewer of Gallé's work suggested that a “naturalist” style is also one that is inherently Republican. In his review published in *Le Temps*, Bourde declares that “style,” which he defines as the “systematic deformation of nature,” is no longer possible in a Republic.²⁴⁹ Without a king and his court to impose stylistic unity upon French society, Bourde argues, there is no single, identifiable modern style. In its place is a “great return to reality,” an art that seeks only to represent the world as it appears—a *Republican* art.²⁵⁰ Rather than studying the art of museums, Bourde argues, the artist should look to nature's infinite forms for inspiration.²⁵¹ In Gallé's art, Bourde sees proof of “the point of departure for a new era.”²⁵² According to Bourde, Gallé's art combines a love of nature with a respect for the characteristics of the medium and for the relationship between the decoration of a form and its function.²⁵³ By returning to the source, to nature itself, then, critics such as Bourde suggest that Gallé purifies his art of foreign and historical influences and is able to invent a truly modern, French style.

However, it is not enough to reproduce the appearance of natural forms, another reviewer contended. Rather, the artist must possess a profound understanding of nature and the hidden rules that govern it.²⁵⁴ Desjardins thus compares Gallé's interest in natural forms with that of John Ruskin, the British art critic who devoted long passages to the structure of leaves and other

natural phenomenon in his pioneering work, *Modern Painters* (9 vols., 1843-1860).²⁵⁵ Desjardins makes a case for a language of ornament based on natural forms, arguing that only such “useless” things are suited to decoration.²⁵⁶ Desjardins’s argument is rationalist, rooted in the theories of both Ruskin and the French architect and theoretician Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc (1814-1879), who saw in nature a model for form and decoration. Other critics, however, assigned a more polemical role to the depiction of nature.

Bourde contends, for example, that an art based on forms found in nature can reestablish French preeminence in the decorative arts by adding a personal element to artworks, an element that cannot be replicated by anyone but the artist himself. “The day when the industrial arts will be, as Gallé understands them... a constantly renewed way for the artist to reproduce personal emotions, there will be no reason for us not to regain our superiority,” he writes.²⁵⁷ It is nature, in other words, that allows Gallé to create works that are at once personal and somehow *true* in a way that blurs the line between the objective and the subjective. Lemaître, for example, posits that Gallé expresses the true nature of the plant forms he depicts. Gallé “loves and deeply understands the face of plants, and he excels in expressing the character and the physiognomy proper to each species of plant,” he asserts.²⁵⁸ The artist not only creates naturalistic “portraits” of the plants he depicts, in other words, but somehow expresses their very essence, for Bourde also writes of Gallé’s ability to represent the true character of the plants and flowers he depicts in his art.²⁵⁹ Gallé, Bourde opines, has “an imagination that oddly captures the hidden relationships between things.”²⁶⁰

In his review, Eugène Melchior De Vogüé²⁶¹ (1848-1910) likewise credits Gallé with the unique ability to divine the hidden nature of the flora and fauna he depicts. While other artists transform plants into conventionalized ornament, De Vogüé writes that in his furniture designs, Gallé “has given [plants] a personality, a language; he has uncovered the mysterious laws of their bearing.”²⁶² The “truth” that these critics point to, however, is not that of mere appearances. Rather, the critics’ understanding of Gallé’s art corresponds to Robert Goldwater’s definition of Symbolism as a movement in which “always there was a subordination of specific subject to a wider purpose so that the theme or object shown is invested with an emotional idea and stands for something other than itself.”²⁶³ Gallé’s symbolist language of natural forms, according to the critics, functioned to express truths that went beyond the realm of superficial appearances. Thus Vachon writes, “The dragonfly that spreads its elytra, the snail with timid horns, the prickly holly, the inquisitive daisy, contain always, for him, a profound symbol, graceful or philosophical, moral or instructive, to turn into ornament.”²⁶⁴

De Vogüé clearly perceives a link between Gallé and members of the nascent Symbolist movement. He openly refers to Gallé as a “symbolist,” writing of his work, “Sometimes the fantasy of the symbolist originates in Edgar Poe or Baudelaire; it demands of this material, the accomplice of dreams, that it bring back the hallucinations of which one would approve at the *Chat Noir* and that Mr. Odilon Redon would sign.”²⁶⁵ De Vogüé was not the only reviewer to find similarities between the work of Gallé and artists working in a Symbolist vein. In his review, Champier compares Gallé to Gustave Moreau, a well-known Symbolist painter who, like Gallé, employed an esoteric and highly decorative pictorial language.²⁶⁶

For his part, Desjardins links Gallé both to the work of the “symbolist poets” and to the music of Richard Wagner:

You recognize there, from the outset, a singular frame of mind. How to define it?... One dreams of the symbolist poets, these sickly precursors of an art which,

perhaps, will soon flower, [and] one dreams of Richard Wagner, this great creator and interpreter of myths.²⁶⁷

The music of Wagner played a formative role in the creation of a Symbolist aesthetic. In an essay published in 1886, “Notes on Wagnerian Painting,” Teodor de Wyzewa (1863-1917) expounds on the idea of a Realist art as the expression of immaterial realities.²⁶⁸ Drawing on ideas formulated in Wagner’s essays on art, Wyzewa argues “the necessity for realism in art—not so much a realism transcribing... vain appearances... as an artistic realism extracting these very appearances from the false, materially oriented reality in which we perceive them and turning them into a superior reality.”²⁶⁹ The goal of art, according to Wyzewa, was to translate material appearances into *signs* by which the artist could represent profound truths.

Wyzewa writes of a kind of dematerialization of representation more easily achieved in the two-dimensional art of painting than in the craft of furniture making. Nonetheless, reviews of Gallé’s furniture repeatedly invoke a Symbolist aesthetic that is closer to music or even to language than to the decorative arts in the way that it creates meaning. Indeed, references to poetry abound in discussions of Gallé’s furniture designs. Lemaître, for example, describes Gallé as a “poet-magician.”²⁷⁰ De Vogüé writes that like Shakespeare, Gallé has the ability to transform the real into poetry.²⁷¹ Desjardins declares simply, “He is a poet.”²⁷² In a second article, Desjardins compares Gallé’s work with those of the Symbolist poets, writing that the artist surpasses even the poet Paul Verlaine (1844-1896).²⁷³

For some critics, then, the appeal of Gallé’s works was almost textual, for many suggested that his creations functioned less like a work of art than like a poem. Énault, for example, proposes that Gallé’s furniture designs are both inspired by literature and somehow literary in their address to the viewer. He writes, “I will add that [Gallé’s works] always have a kind of literary aftertaste and flavor, because they are inspired by poets, whose loveliest verses they reproduced in inscriptions, the calligraphy of which is in itself an ornament and a decoration.”²⁷⁴ Gallé transforms words themselves into ornament, Énault argues, matching the poets’ “most beautiful verses” with the artist’s own elegant calligraphy.

Champier similarly effuses, “For [Gallé], a piece of furniture is a companion destined to speak to the soul. He makes a table like a historian writes a book, and he handles wood like a versifier uses words that sing.”²⁷⁵ Champier thus identifies two paired aspects of Gallé’s art: the proliferation of symbols built up into a dense web of references and the evocative power of Gallé’s compositions. While the first requires an act of translation, the second speaks directly to the viewer through the aesthetic elements of color, form, and decoration.²⁷⁶ Gallé’s furniture addresses the soul, Champier argues, and “artists, the refined, people whose eyes are less trained than their intellect, poets, in a word.”²⁷⁷ In this account of Gallé’s art, the physical objects themselves are assimilated to words on a page. The artist’s mastery lies not in technical perfection, but in the emotional appeal of his art and its power to move viewers through harmonies of form and color.

Reviews of the furniture section also invariably point to the fact that Gallé’s works express what critics call an “idea.” Noting that the jury had awarded Gallé a silver medal for his furniture designs, Meynard writes, “All these works are marked by an idea.”²⁷⁸ Similarly, in his review, Desjardins maintains that Gallé’s work should be exhibited in a separate section of the fair. “The true classification,” he writes, “is that which separates men with ideas from men without ideas, creators from counterfeiters, and original artists from copyists.”²⁷⁹ Rather than creating works that celebrate skill as an end in itself, another critic contends, Gallé constantly

invents new formulas for expressing his “ideas.”²⁸⁰ His art is a pleasure for the intellect as much as for the eyes.²⁸¹

The critics’ references to an art that is marked by an “idea” parallel contemporary theories penned by Symbolist writers and artists. In May of 1885, for example, Bourde had authored a scathing critique of the new school of “Decadents.” According to Bourde, poets such as Paul Verlaine and Jean Moréas (1856-1910) sought only to glorify the rarefied, the unnatural, and the pathological in their incomprehensible works.²⁸² In response, Moréas published his own account of the new movement in *Le Figaro*. In his article, which constitutes a kind of literary manifesto, Moréas affirms that “symbolist poetry endeavors to clothe the Idea in a form perceptible to the senses.”²⁸³ Similarly, in an essay published in *L’Evenement* a few weeks later, the poet and art critic Gustave Kahn (1859-1936) stated, “The essential aim of our art is to objectify the subjective (the externalization of the Idea) instead of subjectifying the objective (nature seen through the eyes of a temperament).”²⁸⁴ Moréas and Kahn quite clearly align the “idea” with a mode of expression in which appearances serve to suggest intangible meanings and emotions.

A few years after the *Exposition universelle*, Albert Aurier (1865-1892) would apply the theories of the Symbolist poets to painting in an influential essay on the work of Paul Gauguin (1848-1903). According to Aurier, the Symbolist work of art is:

Ideist, for its unique ideal will be the expression of the Idea.

Symbolist, for it will express this Idea by means of forms.

Synthetist, for it will present these forms, these signs, according to a method which is generally understandable.

Subjective, for the object will never be considered as an object but as the sign of an idea perceived by the subject.

... *Decorative*—for decorative painting... is nothing other than a manifestation of art at once subjective, synthetic, symbolic and ideist.²⁸⁵

For both Kahn and Aurier, then, the Symbolist work of art is above all subjective. Reviews of Gallé’s art emphasize this characteristic, attributing a personal element to the artist’s works. Daryl describes Gallé’s furniture as “truly personal,” for example, writing that his works “bear witness to a creative fervor and to a profoundly moving aesthetic bias.”²⁸⁶ The materials Gallé employs, Daryl states, “are only pretexts for the entry on stage of feeling.”²⁸⁷ Lemaître likewise praises the “personal stamp” that marks Gallé’s furniture designs,²⁸⁸ as does Énault.²⁸⁹ Similarly, Meynard declares, “Nothing banal, nothing copied, it’s Gallé (*du Gallé*),” assigning Gallé’s name to the style purportedly invented by the artist.²⁹⁰ For these critics, then, the personal element in Gallé’s art is an integral part of its appeal and its novelty.

In the reviews of Gallé’s furniture exhibited in 1889, critics also drew upon the mythology of artistic genius commonly employed in descriptions of the fine arts but rarely applied to artists working in the decorative arts. The idea of Gallé as an artist whose genius transcended distinctions between the arts would reappear frequently in subsequent accounts of the artist’s œuvre, accounts in which critics invariably describe Gallé as an artist rather than an industrialist. In Émile Monod’s review of the *Exposition universelle*, for example, the author describes Gallé’s works as “much less objects of industrial manufacture than products of the purest and most polished art.”²⁹¹

Indeed, in reviews of his furniture, critics rarely described Gallé as an industrialist. Meynard, for example, writes that Gallé “set himself to composing, designing, and having furniture made,” indicating that while Gallé was responsible for the design of his furniture, its execution was assigned to others.²⁹² Yet in the very same passage, Meynard identifies Gallé as “our great glassmaker,” a “glassmaker and ceramicist,” and a “joiner and top-quality cabinetmaker,” all terms that apply to traditional artisanal trades, despite the incontrovertible fact that Gallé never physically produced a single work that bears his name.²⁹³ Daryl goes so far as to refer to Gallé as “a good woodworker,” a humble turn of phrase at odds with Gallé’s status as the owner of a large factory.²⁹⁴ Although many critics refer to him as a master craftsman or artisan, others look back to a time before the distinction between artist and artisan existed to describe Gallé’s unique status. De Vogüé, for example, compares Gallé to the great artists of Renaissance Florence, who created masterpieces in a wide variety of media without regard for the barriers separating “high” and “low” art.²⁹⁵

The symbolism and profoundly personal character of Gallé’s art, according to the critics, were dedicated to a single goal: the glorification of France. Champier writes, “It is always the homeland that he celebrates with a kind of mysticism.”²⁹⁶ In particular, critics perceived the depiction of native flora and fauna as an expression of the artist’s patriotism. “It is always the flowers of his beloved forests of Lorraine and the trees born of the Gallic soil, that inspire his decoration,” Champier attests.²⁹⁷ Marx similarly writes of Gallé’s “limitless love for the native soil.”²⁹⁸ Several reviewers point out that the artist substitutes these French plants for those of classical ornament. Lemaître notes that Gallé’s thistle, for example, is as noble an ornament as the acanthus leaf.²⁹⁹ Vachon comments in turn, “Classical ornaments of the diverse orders must be left to the Academy; [Gallé] goes away to pick the flowers of the fields and the plants of the forests around Nancy.”³⁰⁰

The systematic substitution of *French* flora and fauna for those depicted in classical art, in other words, purifies ornament of its origins in a foreign culture and nationalizes it, claiming it for France. Meanwhile, Desjardin’s long homage to the fields of Lorraine inextricably links Gallé’s art to this “ancient territory,” suggesting that both the artist and his art are rooted like a plant in the history and landscape of Gallé’s native province.³⁰¹ Marx goes one step further, linking the landscape with the nation by describing Gallé’s art as the “exclusively local, national, [...] product of the soil and of the race.”³⁰²

According to reviewers, Gallé’s works were patriotic not only in their subject matter but also in their style. As previously discussed, Lemaître, Desjardins, and Marx each point out that Gallé takes pains to employ woods from his native province of Lorraine in his furniture.³⁰³ Vachon goes so far as to mistakenly claim that Gallé “seeks prehistoric oak in the depths of the peat bogs rather than using ebony or mahogany,” omitting to mention that Gallé often employed exotic woods in his marquetry.³⁰⁴ For such critics, it is also significant that Gallé leaves the surface of his creations bare, rather than disguising the grain of the wood with varnish or lacquer.³⁰⁵ The idea of truth to materials was a central tenet of rationalism as espoused by Viollet-le-Duc and his followers, but here ‘truth’ takes on an air of patriotism. Bare wood, unlike wood disguised by paint or stain, speaks of its origins, its essential nature as a product of the *soil*. The plain, unvarnished wood of *Le Rhin* and other works, in the eyes of the critics, thus symbolizes the rootedness of Gallé’s art in his native province and in France.

In accounts of Gallé’s patriotism, however, there is constant slippage between the terms “nation” and “province.” Desjardins, for example, states that Gallé’s inspiration is “national,” yet follows this statement with a discussion of the artist’s deep roots in his native region.³⁰⁶ The

reviewer attests that Gallé “loves not only the land, but his own land, from whence his race draws its origins [and he] signs his works *Gallus Nanceius faciebat*; he is of an old Lorrainer family.”³⁰⁷ By conflating France and Lorraine, Desjardins underscores the Frenchness of Lorraine (and Nancy), symbolically erasing the historical fact of the annexation. At the same time, however, he uses the province to stand in for the nation as a whole—like Lorraine, France is wounded and divided. Desjardins continues, citing Gallé, “We know what are, according to the lovely language of Gallé himself, ‘the regrets and the hopes that haunt these workshops, placed two steps away from an artificial frontier carved directly into the flesh of France.’ This preoccupation ceaselessly obsesses him.”³⁰⁸ The false border that divides France, in other words, is the same that divides Lorraine.

Yet critics also noted that the patriotism espoused in Gallé’s works is different in nature from that employed by the proponents of militant nationalism precisely because of the artist’s focus on his native province. Lemaître, for example, compares Gallé’s patriotism to a form of religious conviction and his works to a prayer.³⁰⁹ Desjardins refers to Gallé’s “feelings of French piety,” thus substituting the idea of the national for the religious.³¹⁰ According to Desjardins, Gallé’s “immaterial sufferings,” the artist’s mourning for the lost provinces, ennoble his art, elevating it above the common expression of nationalism.³¹¹ Referring explicitly to the nascent nationalist movement, Desjardins writes,

I can speak here with perfect candor, having never been part of any League of Patriots, either before or after Boulanger. I will admit with tranquility that national feeling interests me only when it is exquisite. That is to say sensitive, deep, and taciturn. That one only touches it and it moans, that’s fine; but let it not speak and above all not form sentences! It’s thus that we understand it, the good Gallé and me.³¹²

The poet Déroulède founded the *Ligue des Patriotes* as a nationalist group calling for revenge against Germany in 1882. During the Boulanger Affair, Déroulède supported the general’s cause, leading to the League’s suppression by the French government in 1889.³¹³ In this passage, Desjardins makes clear the distinction between the type of nationalism espoused by the League and Gallé’s own, more subtle brand of patriotism, which he terms “exquisite.”

For Desjardins, it is *nature* that allows Gallé to cloak his patriotic sentiments in a subtle symbolism. “The French soil is thus for him a true soil,” Desjardins posits, adding that “His art is inspired... by nature; his love for his native soil is only the most knotted root of his love of the earth.”³¹⁴ Similarly, it is Gallé’s use of symbolism that tempers his nationalism in the opinion of Desjardins. “Why does his great link to the country not inspire in you the least impatience, not give you the least curious impression, like the patriotic things put into verse by Mr. Déroulède?” Desjardins asks.³¹⁵ The critic replies, “It is that it is noble, no doubt; it’s also that it is enveloped, with a very fine art, in mystery and symbols.”³¹⁶

Critics such as Desjardins, then, found Gallé’s use of a symbolic language rooted in the depiction of natural forms a powerfully moving expression of the artist’s patriotism. As in reviews of *Le Rhin*, critics focused on Gallé’s use of natural forms to convey the idea of rootedness and belonging rather than his mobilization of conventional symbolism. In his designs for another monumental table, *Flore de Lorraine*, Gallé would further develop his language of symbolic form and decoration, creating a kind of map of the province and its people in wood harvested from the forests of Lorraine.

Chapter Two

The Franco-Russian Alliance: Unity and Memory

Only a few short years after the *Exposition universelle* of 1889, events surrounding the forging of the Franco-Russian Alliance led to renewed demonstrations of patriotism in popular culture and the arts. The Alliance marked the culmination of several years of negotiations between France and Russia. In November of 1888, Chancellor Bismarck of Germany blocked German banks from issuing loans to Russia, resulting in increased Russian dependence on French banks such as *Crédit Lyonnais*.¹ When Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy subsequently renewed the Triple Alliance in May of 1891, Russia reacted by signing a secret pact with France, with each country promising mutual assistance if the other were to be threatened by Germany or its allies.² The following year, General Boisdeffre, chief of staff for the French army, began negotiating a secret military treaty with Russia.

The city of Nancy played an important, if largely ceremonial, role in the negotiations. In 1892, the president of France, Sadi Carnot (1837–1894) traveled to Nancy to inaugurate the 18th *Fête fédérale de gymnastique de France* (Federal Festival of French Gymnastics).³ During the festivities, Grand-Duke Constantine, the cousin of Czar Alexander III (1845-1894), telegraphed to request a meeting with the French president.⁴ Constantine, who had been taking the waters at the nearby town of Contrexéville, arrived in Nancy by train. He was greeted by crowds of cheering students bearing Russian flags and hastily assembled bouquets of flowers and ribbons. The crowds accompanied Constantine to the Prefecture, where the Russian Grand-Duke met privately with President Carnot. Audiences in Nancy understood the meeting to signal the beginning of an alliance between the two nations.⁵ Support for such an accord was particularly strong in Lorraine, where many hoped that an alliance with Russia would help to balance the growing economic and military threat posed by Germany and restore Alsace-Lorraine to France.⁶

In 1891, a French squadron under the command of Admiral Gervais made a ceremonial visit to the Russian port of Cronstadt. Two years later, *L'Est Républicain* informed its readers, “The government has just decided that a Russian squadron will come to France next April to return the visit that Admiral Gervais made to Cronstadt in 1891.”⁷ On September 5, the government officially announced the imminent visit of a Russian naval squadron composed of five ships under the command of Admiral Fiodor Avellan (1839-1916).⁸ The sailors disembarked in the port city of Toulon on October 1st and traveled by train to Paris, Marseilles, and Lyons before returning to Russia. The visit of the Russian squadron, which was widely interpreted as the prelude to an official alliance, was celebrated throughout France in many official ceremonies. Although the squadron did not visit Lorraine, representatives of the province sent a series of ceremonial gifts to be presented to the fleet in Paris.⁹

The decorative arts played a central role in the various ceremonies and festivities organized to celebrate the arrival of the Russian squadron. Silverman has argued that the Rococo held a privileged significance in these celebrations. By evoking the era of the first Franco-Russian Alliance concluded between Louis XIV and Peter the Great of Russia in the 18th century, the use of a neo-Rococo style helped to bridge the gap between the Republican French regime and the autocratic Russian empire.¹⁰ In Nancy, however, it was not so much the 18th

century as nature that was called upon to mediate between *revanchiste* dreams and hopes for an alliance with Russia.

Gifts for Russia

On September 12th, Émile Goutière-Vernolle, director of the local arts periodical *La Lorraine artiste*, gathered together members of the Nancy's official societies with the goal of organizing Lorraine's participation in the festivities. In his address to the assembled members, Goutière-Vernolle argued that "the duty of Lorraine was... to prepare a demonstration, which would complement the official festivities through the solemn and spontaneous expression of the sentiments of our frontier populations."¹¹ By referring to the "frontier," Goutière-Vernolle explicitly linked the hoped-for alliance to the issue of *revanche*. Those present unanimously adopted Goutière-Vernolle's proposition, forming the *Comité d'Organisation de la Manifestation Franco-Russe*, or *Comité lorrain*.¹²

The committee's central goal was to offer the Russians a gift that reflected the communal efforts of the people of Lorraine. Members of the committee quickly settled on an album displaying the work of artists from Lorraine as the most appropriate expression of the province's regard for Russia. *L'Est Républicain* reported the committee's decision:

It is necessary, says Mr. Goutière-Vernolle [*sic*], that Lorraine be able to offer the Russians an object in [the creation of] which all that is illustrious in our province will have participated. An album, for example, that would contain an address signed by all the societies of Lorraine. The binding could be done by the artists whose works have been so admired at the [Salon of the] Champ-de-Mars in Paris; the cover and the box could receive jeweled designs. This work would thus prove the vitality of Lorraine's artistic glory.¹³

For the committee, then, it was essential that the album presented to the Russians achieve two goals. It had to demonstrate the unity of pro-Russian sentiment among the people of Lorraine, and it had to reflect the continued artistic vitality of the province. The work would function, in other words, not only as a token of esteem for the Russian people, but also as a visual representation of Lorraine's identity as a province and of the central importance of the arts in defining that identity.

On September 20th, the committee inaugurated a public subscription campaign to raise funds to commission works from local artists to be given as gifts to the Russian sailors and dignitaries.¹⁴ All of the province's 1,715 municipalities as well as many private donors contributed to the fund, and the committee quickly raised an astonishing total of 58,865 francs.¹⁵ The gifts proffered by Lorraine were unique among those presented to the Russians. Unlike the gifts offered by Paris or other cities, those from Lorraine were tendered on behalf of the province as a whole. Moreover, whereas many of the gifts from other regions were reproductions of famous works, those from Lorraine were commissioned especially for the festivities. Extensive, illustrated accounts of the gifts in the Parisian press also suggest that Lorraine's contributions to the festivities were judged to be exceptional by contemporaries, who praised both the fine craftsmanship of the works and their ardent display of patriotism.

Three artists collaborated in the creation of the proposed album, entitled the *Livre d'or* (Golden Book, 1893)—the painters Prouvé and Camille Martin, and the bookbinder René

Wiener (fig. 2.1). The *Comité lorrain* also commissioned Gallé to design an elaborate table, which the artist entitled *Flore de Lorraine*, to display the *Livre d'or* (fig. 2.2). It is not known exactly when the *Comité lorrain* decided to commission a table to display the *Livre d'or*, but on October 8th, the local press reported that “Émile Gallé has finally agreed to create a mosaic table to support the golden book.”¹⁶

The phrase suggests some hesitation on Gallé’s part, no doubt due to the time constraints imposed by the commission. The committee required all works to be completed by October 19th, leaving Gallé only a few weeks to design and execute the incredibly elaborate table.¹⁷ In a letter to Marx, Gallé complained of the short time allowed, writing, “They want marvels sprung up in a single night like the Palace of Aladdin. It is not like this that works should be created.”¹⁸ In the end, the table was not completed in time to be exhibited with the other gifts at the Hôtel de Ville in Nancy¹⁹, but reviews in the local press nonetheless praised the table as “marvelous.”²⁰ According to *L’Est Républicain*, twelve of Gallé’s artisans were working around the clock to complete the table.²¹

Originally intended as gifts “offered to the Russian people,” both *Flore de Lorraine* and the *Livre d'or* attracted the attention of the Baron de Mohrenheim (1824-1906), the Russian ambassador in Paris. Impressed by the participation of over a thousand towns in the creation of the *Livre d'or*, Mohrenheim proposed that the two works be presented to the Czar himself. In a letter to Marx, Gallé remarks upon Mohrenheim’s proposal but counsels his friend, who was writing an article discussing the table, to be discreet until the matter is decided.

Decidedly, it is not “to the Russian squadron” that either the *Table lorraine* or the *Livre d'or* will be offered. Indeed, this Mr. de Mohrenheim reckons that the demonstration of [the feeling of] 1,700 towns is worthy of being taken higher and he hopes, by special dispensation, to have them accepted by the Czar. Put simply then, because this is between us, and it is necessary that there be no indiscretion, ‘offered to the Russian people’.”²²

Among the many gifts intended for the visiting fleet, then, the *Livre d'or* and the table designed to display it held the highest honor as gifts intended for the Russian emperor.²³

The works offered on behalf of Lorraine were displayed in the Grand Salon of the *Hôtel de Ville* in Nancy for three days, from October 20th to October 22th. As previously stated, *Flore de Lorraine* was not among the gifts, due to a delay in its manufacture. According to contemporary accounts, huge crowds attended the exhibition.²⁴ On the evening the exhibition closed, a delegation composed of twenty individuals from Lorraine accompanied *Flore de Lorraine* and the other gifts to Paris.²⁵ The following morning, the delegation presented the gifts intended for the squadron to Admiral Avellan, who received them in the *Salon d'honneur* of the *Cercle Militaire*. Most of the gifts remained on display at the *Cercle militaire*, along with contributions from other French regions.²⁶

The presentation of the gifts to Baron de Mohrenheim and Admiral Avellan was a ceremonial occasion in which the focus was on the works’ origin in the divided province of Lorraine. One of the delegates from Lorraine, A. Mézières, a deputy from Briey, gave a speech describing the works as “exclusively Lorrainer works, conceived and executed by Lorrainer artists.”²⁷ Goutière-Vernolle subsequently took the floor to offer the 2,200 commemorative portfolios printed by Berger-Levrault to Avellan’s sailors. Like Mézières, Goutière-Vernolle underscored the unanimous nature of Lorraine’s devotion to its newfound ally, but he also

referred obliquely to hopes for a war of revenge against Germany. In the official account of the ceremony published by the *Comité lorrain*, for example, Goutière-Vernolle's speech ends with a telling phrase: "We offer you, added Mr. Goutière-Vernolle in a low voice, this sign of deep affection, wrapping it in this motto of one of our ancient cities: *Think More Than You Say*."²⁸

After presenting their gifts to Admiral Avellan, the delegation visited the Russian Embassy, where they offered the *Livre d'or* and *Flore de Lorraine* to Baron de Mohrenheim. The *Livre d'or* was given a place of honor in the Throne Room, while Gallé's table was exhibited in an adjoining room.²⁹ Both works were also shown at the *Musée des Arts décoratifs* from November 5th through the 15th.³⁰ The following January, the table and the *Livre d'or* traveled to Russia, where Baron de Mohrenheim offered them to the Czar on behalf of Lorraine. Both works made their final public appearance on display in the Anitchkov Palace in St. Petersburg.³¹ *Flore de Lorraine* remained in Russia for over a century and returned to France for the first time in 1999 as part of a traveling exhibition.³² However, a commemorative volume published by the *Comité lorrain*, richly illustrated with black and white photographs of the gifts offered to the squadron and to the Czar, was published in 1894. Gallé also commissioned two mounted photographs of the table, which the artist presented to local societies in Nancy (figs. 2.3, 2.4). The unprecedented amount of public attention garnered by the display underscores the absolutely pivotal role assigned to the decorative arts in the process of diplomatic negotiations between the two nations.

Flora of Lorraine

As with *Le Rhin*, Gallé employs the marquetry composition of *Flore de Lorraine* to protest the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine (fig. 2.5). Whereas *Le Rhin* depicts two nations at war, however, in *Flore de Lorraine* Gallé struggles to create a work that thematizes the alliance of two nations. At the same time, *Flore de Lorraine* is Gallé's strongest statement yet of Lorraine's identity as an integral part of the nation of France. While the visual language of the table's base calls for an alliance between France and Russia, then, the composition decorating the tabletop points to what Lorrainers hope to gain from that alliance: the return of the lost provinces. As with *Le Rhin*, the composition of *Flore de Lorraine* displays a pronounced division between two modes of signification—one historicizing in its references and the other based on Gallé's exploration of a symbolism based on natural forms. In *Flore de Lorraine*, however, the artist inverts the importance given to these two modes, now making botanical symbolism the focus of his table, and thus transforming the subject matter of still-life painting into a work of monumental ambitions.

The inscription of the names of French towns and villages onto the surface of the table, which is decorated with illusionistically rendered flowers, literally covers the landscape of Lorraine with the French language, claiming the province for France. Meanwhile, the depiction of native plants suggests the rootedness of Lorraine's identity in the soil of France. According to Silverman, the tabletop design "infused the anti-German nationalism of Lorraine into the message of Franco-Russian solidarity."³³ In the process, however, Gallé forges a new visual language, distinct from that employed in *Le Rhin* and other works that relied upon the human figure to tell Lorraine's tale of loss. This language, focusing on the naturalistic depiction of native plants and flowers, is a central element in Gallé's creation of a new Symbolist style, one that relies upon geographical specificity rather than conventional allegory to signify the national.

The marquetry panel decorating the tabletop depicts plants native to Lorraine and the names of towns and villages where they grow.³⁴ As with *Le Rhin*, the detailed composition of the flat marquetry panel makes *Flore de Lorraine* in some ways more like a painting or work of graphic art than a three-dimensional object. The panel displays legible shapes, clean lines, and a certain degree of pictorial illusionism. Where marquetry alone cannot adequately render form, Gallé employs pokerwork and even incrustations of glass.³⁵ Occasionally, lines are scratched into the wood, further emphasizing the graphic quality of the panel. The illusionism of the marquetry inlay is astounding, due in large part to the great variety of woods employed, including walnut, pear, thuja, mahogany, and maple. As always in his marquetry, Gallé also employs cuts from the root, which are characterized by a speckled texture, and unusual grains to generate effects of light and shade within an otherwise limited range of tones.

Gallé divides the composition of the marquetry panel into three zones. Slightly to the right of the center is a rectangle marking the intended placement of the *Livre d'or* (fig. 2.6). To the right of this rectangle is a darker area decorated with flowering plants. To the left, the space of the composition opens up, and a large expanse of lighter wood suggests the presence of a lake or river in the distance (fig. 2.7). While the cross and the dense vegetation that surrounds it appear in shadow, the lighter tones employed on the left suggest breaking dawn. At the top left, three birds fly into the distance (fig. 2.8).

The use of darker tonalities in the right half of the composition, where the names of annexed towns appear, clearly evokes the loss of Alsace-Lorraine. According to some interpretations, the spider's web to the left of the cross thus symbolizes Germany's hold over Lorraine (fig. 2.9), while the rising sun to the left of the composition suggests hope for the return of the lost provinces.³⁶ The three black birds, according to this interpretation, represent the members of the Triple Alliance—Germany, Italy, and Austria-Hungary. The similarity of the birds to those employed by Prouvé in the binding of Ludovic Halévy's *Récits de guerre, l'invasion 1870-1871* (Stories of War: The Invasion, n.d.) supports this interpretation (fig. 2.10).³⁷

Without directly mentioning the Triple Alliance or the loss of Alsace-Lorraine, Gallé thus evokes a Manichean opposition between good and evil. In Gallé's own description of the table's symbolism, the artist compares his design to a painting, writing, "But in the background of the woody painting a lighter horizon unfolds in the morning breeze, which puts the birds of night to flight."³⁸ The scene of a river bathed in morning light is in sharp contrast to Gallé's earlier depiction of the Rhine as the site of a bloody battle between the peoples of ancient France and Germany. It is impossible to see *Flore de Lorraine* and not think of the earlier table, whose wounds now appear to be on their way to healing—thanks to the prospect of an alliance with Russia.

The motto "Flora of Lorraine, Keep the Hearts that You Have Won" is inlaid along the bottom edge of the tabletop.³⁹ In his discussion of the table, Gallé tells readers that he intends the phrase as a reminder to both nations to honor their new friendship. He writes, "A legend is inscribed under the corollas and the palms. It tells us, as it will tell our Russian friends for a long time, 'Keep the hearts that you have won'."⁴⁰ To the right of the inscription, Gallé's signature, which incorporates a small Cross of Lorraine, appears with the date, 1893 (figs. 2.11, 2.12).

The tabletop displays the names of approximately forty towns and villages found in Lorraine and associates most of them with a specific plant or flower.⁴¹ Gallé employs the vernacular of Lorraine for many of the plant names, such as "mirguet" for "muguet" or lily-of-the-valley.⁴² The majority of the plants depicted are native to Lorraine. Gallé links each plant to a

particular town or village, based on where individuals plants grow in profusion but also on similarities between the names of towns and those of certain plants. The town of Lunéville, for example, is paired with *lunaire*, also known as *monnaie-du-pape* or honesty. Gallé's use of symbolism is here both metonymic, with plants standing in for the towns where they grow, and iconic, relying on similarities between the names of certain plants and those of towns in Lorraine. In his use of this somewhat contrived language of symbolism, then, Gallé appears to be struggling to define a visual language that can be easily and directly understood by viewers without recourse to interpretation.

Michèle Cussenot has argued that Gallé's symbolism displays a profound knowledge of the botany of Lorraine.⁴³ According to Cussenot, Gallé draws on both his own experience of local plants, gathered during the artist's frequent excursions in the countryside of Lorraine, and on recent studies published in botanical journals.⁴⁴ A preparatory study for the table, included in the *Livre d'or*, demonstrates that Gallé referred to specimens in his collection or to drawings the artist had previously made in his design for the marquetry panel (fig. 2.13). Handwritten annotations specify "here the orchids of Villey and of Pompey," for example, or "use the thistles of Pierre-La-Treiche."⁴⁵ The name of the table, *Flore de Lorraine*, also pays homage to the work of Dominique-Alexandre Godron, Gallé's friend and mentor, who published his study of the flora of Lorraine in 1843.⁴⁶ Gallé succeeded Godron, a botanist, as secretary of the *Société centrale d'horticulture de Nancy* in the 1870s.

The names of the towns and villages inscribed onto the surface of *Flore de Lorraine* also recall significant events in the history of Lorraine. The town of Châtenois, symbolized by a chestnut tree, was the residence of the Dukes of Lorraine for over a century.⁴⁷ The town of Bar-le-Duc was the second capital of Duke Antoine.⁴⁸ It is represented by pansies, which also figure on the city's shield. The motto of Bar-le-Duc, "Plus Penser Que Dire," appears on numerous works by Gallé in the 1880s and serves as a subtle reference to the shared hope for the return of Alsace-Lorraine. Two villages associated with Joan of Arc also appear in the composition, including Joan's birthplace, the village of Domrémy, and the town where Joan began her crusade to drive the English out of France, Vaucouleurs.

The names of several Alsatian towns—Florimont and Champ du Feu—also figure prominently in the composition, as do the names of towns claimed by both France and Germany, including Raon, Cirey, and Le Donon.⁴⁹ Gallé writes of these towns,

Even farther away can be made out, as if in a dream, a very distant florule, cataloged by science in the herbarium of Lorraine, even though the stations of the plant have been removed from the flora of France; these are: the *herbe du Bon-Pasteur* [the good pastor's herb], in Ban de la Roche, the carlines with a heart of gold and silver, the *androsace carnea*, then the anemones of Hautes-Chaumes and of Champ-du-Feu, the bitter herbs of Château-Salins, Vic and Marsal, the dittany of Florimont.⁵⁰

Much as he did in *Le Rhin*, Gallé here evokes "science" and nature to support his assertion that occupied Lorraine belongs by rights to France. References to the town of Belfort, site of 103-day siege during the Franco-Prussian War, and to Mars-la-Tour, the location of the bloody battle of Gravelotte, evoke the events of the Franco-Prussian War directly. The presence of Donon, moreover, associates Lorraine with the ancient history of the Gauls. Donon, whose name is derived from the Gallic for mountain, was the site of an ancient Celtic temple to the sun.⁵¹ The

use of a geographically specific language of symbolism paired with historical references again underscores the composite and seemingly improvisational character of Gallé's search for a way to represent national and regional identity.

While most of the plants depicted are associated either metonymically or geographically with names of the towns and villages that make up the composition, others are employed purely for their evocative symbolism. Scabious and columbine flowers, for example, are often used in Gallé's œuvre to signify sadness or mourning and here encircle the space dedicated to the *Livre d'or* (fig. 2.14).⁵² Inlaid beads of glass suggesting tears fall from the petals of the *Rosa Gallica*, which appears at the center of the cross as if symbolically crucified (fig. 2.15).⁵³ Finally, the "bitter herbs" that decorate the far right of the composition, including sorrel, recall those in the Bible consumed by Jews during Passover in celebration of their liberation from slavery in Egypt.⁵⁴ Their presence in the decoration of *Flore de Lorraine* underscores the table's message of hope and longing for the liberation of the annexed territories. Gallé referred to this area of the composition as "the refuge of mystery."⁵⁵ He writes,

However, the Golden Book covers and conceals, in a refuge of mystery, a cross of Lorraine, flowered with the blossomings of diclytras, symbol of cordial union. On the branches of the cross is entwined the vegetation of mourning. It's *The language of flowers and silent things...* scabious and columbine, the everlasting flower of Mars-la-Tour, the Gallic Rose, the rose of the Gauls, which in Lorraine opens its petals of blood only on Mount St. Quentin, in Metz.⁵⁶

The space devoted to the *Livre d'or* is in the form of a shield, which symbolically protects the towns and villages adjacent to it.⁵⁷ Gallé's description, which references mourning, blood, and the Gauls, is a clear reference to the events of the Franco-Prussian War, but the artist pairs this with an emphasis on the idea of union, suggesting that Russia's role in the alliance is to defend and restore the province of Lorraine.

While Cussenot decodes at some length the symbolism that Gallé employs in *Flore de Lorraine*, she never addresses the reasons why Gallé might have chosen to use this mode of address to convey his patriotic sentiments to the Russians. I contend that Gallé's decision to employ a symbolism based on natural forms points to the true issue at the heart of the festivities: the fact that *land* itself was at stake, not merely potentially meaningless political allegiances. If Gallé's marquetry panel celebrates the native landscape of Lorraine, the symbolism of the rest of the table declares the anticipated union of the two nations, France and Russia. The base of *Flore de Lorraine* is composed of four corner legs and two central legs connected by a cross-shaped console. Its form is reminiscent of French console tables produced in the 18th century (fig. 2.16).

The floral symbolism that characterizes the marquetry design of the tabletop continues in the decoration of the base. The legs are ornamented with metal forget-me-nots and fern fronds, while the stretcher supports a metal basket of sunflowers at its center. Along the upper edges of the table, sea waves scattered with the corollas of a flower called *souvenir*, or memory, alternate with entwined branches of Riga pine and Gallic oak and with *pervenches*, or periwinkles. The meaning of the Latin derivation of *pervenche*, pervincio, meaning "I Unite and I Attach," is inscribed onto the table. The sculpted flowers and rosettes are made of enameled copper, with colors ranging from turquoise to verdigris.⁵⁸ If the floral decoration of the tabletop was an expression of regional and national identity, here the decoration is more akin to the conventional language of flowers in its emphasis upon unity and affective ties between the two nations. The

slightly sentimental character of the decoration would be echoed both in Gallé's descriptions of the table and in written accounts of the festivities surrounding the visit of the fleet.

The "Testimonium"

Upon completion of *Flore de Lorraine*, Gallé sealed a document inside the table where it could not be seen (fig. 2.17). Consisting of a single sheet of paper, the document bears the signatures of Gallé, Hestaux, and all twenty-four artisans who worked on the table along with the following phrase:

Nancy, October 20, 1893

Émile Gallé and his workers and collaborators have enclosed this paper in the table offered by Lorraine to the Russian people, and which they have manufactured out of a sentiment of fraternity and patriotic hope; they hope that their work of wood and bronze will be less durable than the friendship and the greatness of the two peoples, Russia and France.⁵⁹

In this passage, written by Gallé, the artist again underscores the sentiments of fraternity and friendship that he hopes will unite the two peoples. He also, however, presents the table as the product of communal effort. Gallé's signature reads "Émile Gallé in Nancy / Master Cabinetmaker," and Hestaux's "L. Hestaux artist painter decorator / from Metz."⁶⁰ Each of the artisans who worked on the table, however, also signed their name and listed their profession. Many indicated their city or region of origin, so that the sheet bears the names of Nancy, "annexed Lorraine" (*Lorraine annexé*), Strasbourg, and other towns and regions affected by the annexation. At the bottom of the document, a handwritten line reads, "Certified in accordance [by the] Vice-President of the Franco-Russian Committee of Lorraine / Ch. Keller of Mulhouse / Cousin of Émile Gallé," signaling that Gallé inserted the document into *Flore de Lorraine* with the permission of the local committee.⁶¹

It seems that Gallé never intended the document to become public, however, perhaps fearing that other manufacturers would attempt to lure away Gallé's best workers. In a letter to Marx, who was writing an article on Lorraine's diplomatic gifts for Russia, Gallé urges his friend not to write about what he calls the "testimonium."⁶² Gallé's desire to keep the document a secret, however, may also have been motivated by its politically controversial content. The reference to "espérance" (hope), a word so often employed in Gallé's patriotic works, clearly evokes the idea of the eventual restoration of the lost provinces. Similarly, the enumeration of towns, villages, and regions affected by the annexation was not without significance. The *testimonium's* border of dialytra, or bleeding heart flowers adds another layer of symbolism to the document, echoing the phrase "Keep the hearts that you have won" that decorates the marquetry panel.⁶³ Despite Gallé's concerns, a facsimile of the *testimonium* appeared as an illustration in Marx's review published in the *Revue encyclopédique* in 1893, and a photograph of the document was presented to the Czar along with the table.⁶⁴

The symbolism of the table is so complex and specific that Gallé, perhaps anticipating difficulties, also published a description of the table's imagery that attributes a specific identity and, in some cases, meaning to each plant depicted. Gallé's description of *Flore de Lorraine* was

cited verbatim in several reviews of the artist's work and was also printed on the back of the mounted photographs that Gallé distributed to friends and admirers.⁶⁵ While the naturalism of Gallé's floral symbolism was innovative in its refusal of traditional stylization, Gallé's language of floral allegory would have been familiar to contemporary audiences. In Paris, bracelets offered to the Russian sailors as gifts for their wives and mothers by the *Société des Femmes de France*, for example, bore forget-me-nots, olive branches, and shields reading "Cronstadt" and "Toulon."⁶⁶ Such designs, which mingle the sentimental with the heraldic, were well suited to commemorate an occasion described in the press as characterized by "the introduction of love into politics."⁶⁷ While the symbolism of forget-me-nots and oak leaves, for example, was clearly established, the meaning of other plants employed in the composition of *Flore de Lorraine* was less secure. The table's symbolism relies far less upon a conventional, allegorical language of flowers than on a personal and complex iconography mediated by Gallé's own knowledge of his native province.

Allegory and Symbolism

In fact, *Flore de Lorraine*'s elaborate and esoteric symbolism renders the table all but illegible in many respects. The proliferation of allegory and symbol is almost textual in its richness and detail, and like a book, the table requires that viewers read and decipher its visual language.⁶⁸ The abstruse references to local dialects, relatively obscure historical events, and botanical miscellany may have served an important function, however, in obscuring the passionately anti-German significance of the table. In the face of the patriotic fervor aroused by the visit of the Russian squadron, French officials repeatedly counseled caution. Fearing to lose a potential ally by demonstrating all too clearly a desire for war with Germany, the government urged citizens to temper their displays of anti-German sentiment.

In Lorraine, government officials and members of the press alike advised residents to be discreet in their effusions. When some of the inhabitants of Nancy requested that the municipal council declare an official holiday in honor of the Russian visit, for example, the city council responded by urging "a calm and collected attitude."⁶⁹ Only four days before the gifts destined for Russia were displayed in the Hôtel de Ville, moreover, one local newspaper warned the people of Nancy to be cautious in their displays of enthusiasm. The author declares

If war should break out later on, it is necessary that one cannot place the blame for it on the Franco-Russian Alliance... That is why the least harangues to be officially pronounced are studied, castigated, deprived of any allusion capable of containing an atom of bellicosity. That is why the drawings, addresses, objects destined for Russia and for the Czar have been carefully reviewed and corrected—sometimes to excess. As for what concerns the Golden Book of Lorraine, we could furnish a few examples of that... never has the old Lorrainer motto "think more than you speak" been more the order of the day.⁷⁰

According to the author of this passage, the *Comité lorrain* and the municipal authorities exercised a certain degree of censorship when it came to the *Livre d'or* and other gifts intended for the Russians. The goal of such gifts was, of course, to arouse feelings of fraternal sentiment without employing direct references to the lost provinces.

In Paris, caution was likewise the order of the day. In a letter to Marx, Gallé reports that the *Comité franco-russe*, based in Paris, requested that the artist suppress all references to Alsace-Lorraine in his description of the table's symbolism.⁷¹ Gallé thus counseled Marx to omit any mention of the village of Florimont, now in German territory, and of scabious flowers, which Gallé associates with "mourning" in his description of *Flore de Lorraine*. Meanwhile, accounts of the festivities published in the Parisian press emphasized the peaceful goals of the alliance.⁷²

In his preface to a publication memorializing the events of the visit, for example, E. Melchior de Vögüé devotes considerable effort to refuting potential accusations of chauvinism and *revanchiste* sentiment. When the impending visit was announced, he asserts, the significance of the event was clear to all: "The intimate coming together of two nations seemed to have only a single motive, a defensive union against shared enemies."⁷³ Many feared that the festivities would lead to unwise displays of nationalist sentiment, he argues.⁷⁴ De Vogüé goes on to posit that the peaceful nature of the festivities proved the critics wrong. The festivities, "this well-regulated intoxication," were restrained, he suggests, because the union of two peoples replaced the shared animosity towards a third in the mind of the public.⁷⁵ To support his assertion, De Vogüé invokes the language of sentiment, writing of "the sudden and irresistible flood of these sentiments: the introduction of love into politics."⁷⁶

With De Vogüé's words in mind, Gallé's floral symbolism takes on a hint of sentimentalism, as does the phrase "Keep the hearts that you have won." As in De Vogüé's account of the events in Paris, Gallé's appeal to sentiment serves to soften the otherwise militant tone of his great table. Vachon, author of a volume commemorating the visit of the Russian fleet, writes of Gallé's table, "There is there, in the material, which otherwise would appear inert, a soul. Everything, the flowers, the leaves, the plants, the twigs, the rootlets, etc., is a living idea, ingenuous and picturesque, which says something tender and emotional, coming from the heart."⁷⁷ Nature is thus evoked to suggest both the honesty and the purity of the French people's sentiments.

In his preface, De Vogüé is also at pains to point to the popular nature of the festivities, which united the French people in celebration of their allies. He writes, "Barely had our guests disembarked when the people took charge of the movement; they imprint on the festivities an imposing character that is in truth a national plebiscite."⁷⁸ Gallé's *testimonium* fulfills a similar function, suggesting that *Flore de Lorraine* is the expression of the fraternal feelings of the Lorrainer people for their Russian allies. By moving the festivities surrounding the Russian's visit out of the realm of official diplomacy and into the realm of sentiment, then, De Vogüé and Gallé both worked to defuse the political tensions created by the visit.

The Golden Book

Gallé's table was designed to display the *Livre d'or*, and the album employs many of the same symbols present in the composition of *Flore de Lorraine*. Wiener bound the *Livre d'or* in embossed yellow leather; the cover design was the work of Prouvé and Martin. The front cover, designed by Prouvé, depicts the allegorical figure of a woman representing Lorraine. She holds a pansy in one hand and extends the other as if to offer something to the viewer.⁷⁹ According to contemporary accounts, her violet gown is the color of mourning, suggesting sorrow for the lost provinces.⁸⁰ A diagonal band running across the front cover from left to right shows three alerions, recalling the traditional coat of arms of Lorraine. Further emphasizing the work's origins in the province of Lorraine, a cartouche on the cover bears the inscription, "La Lorraine à

la Russie 1893” (Lorraine to Russia 1893) (fig. 2.18). Silver thistles decorate the corners of the book, and a silver alerion on a cross of Lorraine forms the catch.⁸¹

The back cover, designed by Martin, is also heavily ornamented and displays the full coat of arms of Lorraine entwined with olive branches. Below it, a banderole with the word *Pax* (peace) twines around the arms of a small cross of Lorraine just at the point where other contemporary depictions show it as broken (fig. 2.19).⁸² The spine, designed by both artists, is further decorated with the seals of Nancy, Bar-le-Duc, and Épinal, which are paired with the ever-present thistle. From the three bookmarks—red, white, and blue—hang three medals, one depicting Emmanuel Frémiet’s famous statue *Jeanne d’Arc* (Joan of Arc, 1880), another an alerion, and the third a cross of Lorraine. A bound volume illustrating the traditional heraldic arms of the towns of Lorraine accompanied the *Livre d’or*.⁸³ A truly monumental work, the *Livre d’or* weighs approximately 58 kilograms and measures an impressive 55 x 39 cm.⁸⁴

The binding of the *Livre d’or* was innovative, breaking with convention on several points. Rejecting the use of gilded designs and sharply differentiated zones delimited by wide margins employed in traditional bookbinding, Wiener creates a continuous pictorial field characterized by bright colors and naturalistic pictorial imagery.⁸⁵ Wiener, working with Prouvé and Martin, would go on to revolutionize the art of bookbinding in fin-de-siècle France. For the *Livre d’or*, Wiener uses the techniques of leather marquetry and pyrography (pokerwork) that he had developed the previous year.⁸⁶ The technique of leather marquetry, which involves the application of pieces of colored leather, allowed Wiener to employ unusually brilliant colors for the binding, while pyrography permitted the artist to add detail to the composition, rendering it more illusionistic.

According to the authors of the commemorative volume, the technique of leather marquetry was first employed in the 16th century and experienced a revival in the 19th century. Traditionally, bookbinders used special irons to trace the edges of each tiny piece of leather, setting them into the binding as if they were jewels. Wiener’s innovation was to substitute far larger pieces of leather and the technique of pyrography for the use of traditional irons, so that his work assumes a more clearly pictorial aspect. Similarly, the use of pyrography, in which a thermocautery is employed to burn a design into the leather, allowed Wiener to design far more freely than was possible with traditional irons. The additional use of a goffering iron permitted Wiener to add texture and depth to his design.

Comparison with another book produced as a gift for the Czar demonstrates the striking originality of Wiener’s design. In 1890, France sponsored the *French Exhibition in Moscow*, held in an effort to forge stronger cultural ties with Russia. When the exhibition closed, several of the exhibitors offered ceremonial gifts to the Russian Czar. These included a ceramic tableau depicting the genealogy of the imperial family and a splendidly bound book listing the names and works of those who participated in the exhibition (fig. 2.20).⁸⁷ The use of costly materials and the symmetrical composition of the book contrasts markedly with the pictorialism of Wiener’s creation.⁸⁸ By presenting Lorraine’s gift to the Russian people in a work that is clearly aligned with the latest developments in the arts, Wiener and his collaborators openly define Lorraine as a site of modernity. The novel appearance of the book, however, caused concern among the defenders of the luxury bookbinding tradition.

In a letter to Marx, for example, Gallé rails against the well-known bookbinder Henri Marius Michel (1846-1925), known for his use of floral decoration and leather inlays, who had attacked Wiener’s creation in the press.⁸⁹ Gallé points out that by publicly criticizing the *Livre d’or*, Marius-Michel denigrates a diplomatic gift intended for the people of another nation.⁹⁰ He

calls on Marius-Michel and others to save their critiques for the Salon in the interest of patriotism. Gallé's letters to Marx, and the latter's replies, also point to a related disagreement over whether the *Livre d'or* should be exhibited alongside Gallé's table. In a letter to Gallé, Marx reports that he has advised Wiener not to insist on the book's exhibition in Paris, arguing that it will only fuel the fires of negative criticism that plagued the artist during the recent bookbinding competition sponsored by the *Union centrale*.⁹¹

For his part, Gallé insisted on supporting the young artists, but worried that his support would cause problems for Marx.⁹² Gallé refused to allow *Flore de Lorraine* to be exhibited by at the *Musée des Arts décoratifs* without the *Livre d'or*, arguing that his table was only an "accompaniment" to the smaller work. Gallé's refusal to separate the book and the table suggests that the artist viewed them as a single work of art. His decision underscores Gallé's commitment to the idea of artistic community—a commitment that was often at odds both with the artist's own efforts to establish the singularity of his style and with critics' understanding of his art as the product of individual artistic genius.

The *Livre d'or* opens with a decorative title page designed by P. Chenevier. Just below the title, which reads "Livre d'Or offert par la Lorraine à la Russie," the seal of Russia, two double-headed eagles holding attributes, appears to either side of the seal of the Third Republic, composed of an entwined *R* and *F*. The interior of the book includes a signed greeting by A. Mézières, a deputy representing the only district of the former department of Moselle to remain French, printed by Maison Royer (fig. 2.21).⁹³ In his greeting, Mézières writes of the fraternal sentiment aroused by the visit of the Russian squadron and avoids all mention of Germany.⁹⁴

An allegorical drawing by Prouvé representing the alliance of France and Russia follows Mézières's preface (fig. 2.22). The print shows a young woman representing Lorraine leaning on a shield. She holds out her hand to the figure of Russia, personified by a second female figure dressed in a sailor outfit and resting on an anchor. Below Prouvé's drawing, a passage in the hand of the printer Royer reads,

The faithful Lorrainers are happy to celebrate the friendship that links two great European nations in the labor for peace and justice. United by the same sentiment of patriotic pride and elation, they salute with emotion the arrival of the Russian squadron in the Mediterranean. The 1730 communes, the 580 societies and the press of Lorraine have signed this Golden Book, and send to the noble, valiant Russia, the unanimous affirmation of their confident, loyal, and fraternal affection. Long live Russia! Long live France!⁹⁵

The emphasis on peace and fraternal sentiment that characterizes Prouvé's drawing and Mézières's address continues in the pages that follow.

A list of the members of the planning commission of Meurthe-et-Moselle, the signatures of 1,713 mayors of towns and communes in the province of Lorraine, the signatures of 520 heads of local societies, and the signatures of the editors of all the local newspapers follow Prouvé's illustration. The individual signatures total 2,300 in all (fig. 2.23). Each page of signatures appears in a frame decorated with "attributes of Lorraine" and the shields of Lorraine's principal cities.⁹⁶ This printed frame encompasses and includes each of the individual names, situating them within the context of the province as a whole.

A frontispiece by Martin with the phrase "Artistes Lorrains" against a background of thistles introduces the next section of the *Livre d'or*, which contains five engravings and seventy-

six drawings and watercolors by artists from Lorraine (fig. 2.24).⁹⁷ Many of the watercolors and drawings depict soldiers or scenes of the occupied territories, such as the cathedral of Strasbourg, echoing the themes of Gallé's table. If the initial pages of the *Livre d'or* avoid any expression of *revanchiste* sentiments, then, these works subtly reintroduce the theme of the annexed provinces.

The incredible proliferation of signatures and original works of art was intended to convey the unanimous support of the people of Lorraine for an alliance with Russia according to the *Comité lorrain*. The author of the commemorative volume published to record the events surrounding the visit of Russian squadron remarks that the signatures and works of art "will give to the event its high moral scope, because they affirm the *real unanimity* of Lorrainers in a shared patriotic sentiment."⁹⁸ The seemingly unanimous assent of the French people was a necessary element in the creation of a Franco-Russian alliance, for it lent credibility to the efforts of an all-too-partisan Republican government working on their behalf. Meanwhile, the idea of the fraternal bonds uniting the French people and the Russian people also helped to render an alliance between a republic and an autocracy more palatable in the eyes of the public.

A Demonstration of Lorraine's Vitality

Critics' accounts of the works produced in Lorraine to celebrate the visit of the Russian squadron repeatedly refer to the patriotic fervor of the artists, but this patriotism has two distinct strains. It is at once a celebration of Lorraine's continued place within the larger French nation and a reaffirmation of Lorraine's unique identity and importance as defined by its long tradition of fine craftsmanship. In the official account of the festivities published by the *Comité Lorrain*, for example, the authors repeatedly invoke the idea of a specifically Lorrainer style. The decoration of *Flore de Lorraine*, they argue, is "profoundly Lorrainer."⁹⁹ Similarly, the *Livre d'or* is "a work of Lorrainer art."¹⁰⁰

Jules Rais, writing in the regional journal *La Lorraine artiste*, clearly referred to this dual aim:

The artists of Lorraine have been invited to celebrate Russia. The genius of our province has risen up, powerful despite its still sharp wounds. All the voices are for the first time united since those days of mourning already so long ago, but so near to our hearts, in a cry of national pride and patriotic gratitude. [...] Painters, sculptors, mosaicists, makers of earthenware, cabinetmakers [and] goldsmiths... have... attested to the vitality of Lorrainer art [characterized by] inspirations so natural.¹⁰¹

Rais posits that the gifts offered to Russia are the demonstration both of Lorraine's patriotism, that is to say its attachment to France, and of the province's unique artistic vitality. Like others before him, he identifies an artistic style based on natural forms as specific to Lorraine. Most of all, however, in this passage Rais suggests the ways in which any celebration of the alliance was indissociable from the memory of France's defeat, at least in the minds of the people of Lorraine. Writing of "wounds" and "mourning," Rais makes clear that the artists of Lorraine have marshaled their artistic skills in the service of their nation but also in the hopes of righting the wrongs committed against them by Germany.

In 1893, Marx also published a review of the works presented to the Russian squadron, lauding Gallé's invention and commenting on its symbolism at great length.¹⁰² Like Rais, Marx

sees the giving of gifts as an opportunity to simultaneously demonstrate patriotic fervor and the value of Lorraine as a province rich in cultural and artistic traditions. Patriotism and regionalism commingle in the celebration of a political alliance that, it is hoped, will restore Lorraine and Alsace to their former glory. Marx writes, “The Russian squadron’s visit to France has been for Lorraine an eagerly grasped occasion to demonstrate its fervent patriotism, to justify the beautiful renown of its industries.”¹⁰³ Marx goes on to describe the gifts as “the special tribute paid to Russia by a province dear among all others.”¹⁰⁴ Like Rais, Marx suggests that Lorraine occupies a unique place among the provinces of France. While this is due in large part to its status as a region scarred and even dismembered by the events of the Franco-Prussian War, according to Marx, it is also the result of the richness of Lorraine’s artistic traditions.

The province of Lorraine, Marx contends, is not only rich in artistic traditions but ranks above all other provinces by virtue of its fervent patriotism. The boast is a strange one coming from a member of the central government, albeit one born and raised in the province of Lorraine. However, references to Lorraine’s central importance in the decorative arts reform movement and to its unique significance among the provinces will reappear again and again in later art criticism as the nascent regionalist movement grows.¹⁰⁵ In “La Lorraine à la Russie,” Marx describes in detail what he terms “Lorraine’s truly unparalleled liberalities towards the friendly nation.”¹⁰⁶ The *Livre d’or* and *Flore de Lorraine* in particular are termed “gifts in all respects of an exceptional importance.”¹⁰⁷ The unique Lorraine-inspired character of the works, however, is not seen as at odds with their patriotic sentiment. Instead, the two works are described as “inspired by the purest patriotism” and as “absolute masterpieces of which the French school and modern art can be proud.”¹⁰⁸ Marx then compares the *Livre d’or* to earlier bindings by the same artists, arguing that the *Livre d’or* required the artists to employ a severe, restrained style of decoration in keeping with the solemnity of the occasion. He notes that the techniques of leather marquetry and pyrography are well suited to depiction of heraldic devices, which he deems appropriate decoration for an official gift.¹⁰⁹

Whereas the use of heraldry and allegory is suitable for a bound book, however, Marx praises Gallé’s departure from these conventions and his search for a new form of symbolism based on plant forms. In a key passage, Marx writes,

They embody the country of Lorraine, to evoke its soul, its memories, its aspirations, to mark the pious attachment to the homeland, no stale allegory, no figures with tragic gestures, in declamatory poses. It is really a question, is it not, of singing of this corner of the ancestral soil? For this celebration the herbarium of the province must suffice.¹¹⁰

On the one hand, Marx argues that the well-known 19th-century interest in the “language of flowers” allows Gallé to encode an emotional resonance in the work that might otherwise be overly dramatic or even overly emphatic in tone. On the other hand, Marx perceives the flora depicted by Gallé as a kind of *natural* symbol—one arising from association with that which it represents, metonymically—the geography of Lorraine. Finally, there is an unspoken assumption that the use of floral imagery, self-consciously “simple” in its origins, somehow fits with the character of Lorraine and its people—like them, it is simple, straightforward, and close to the land. The use of floral imagery, then, is bound up with a nascent mythology concerning the history of Lorraine—a mythology signaled in *Flore de Lorraine* by the use of local patois to designate some of the flowers depicted.

In most 19th-century writing about Gallé's œuvre, the design and even execution of the works are attributed to Gallé himself, without regard for the fact that all works produced by Gallé's workshop were the result of collaboration. Marx, however, strays from this convention when he praises the commitment and hard work of Gallé's atelier:

To achieve it, the enthusiastic emulation of a whole workshop inflamed with patriotism, relentless work day and night, pursued unremittingly, with the consciousness of accomplishing a lofty task was necessary; and the idea was good to invite the valiant workers from Alsace and Lorraine, collaborators on the work, to append their signatures at the bottom of its birth certificate, to proclaim, on the parchment sealed inside the piece of furniture, the faith that drove them, the hope that supported them during their stubborn effort.¹¹¹

Clearly Marx is motivated in part by a desire to emphasize the importance of the work by describing the great effort that went into its creation. However, his praise of the workshop is also a response to the specific function of *Flore de Lorraine*. Designed as an expression of friendship between the citizens of Lorraine and of Russia, the table must of necessity be seen as a *collective* endeavor rather than the creation of a single individual. To underscore the collective nature of the work and the sentiments it expresses, Marx mentions the signed document that the workers included within the structure of the table, symbolically placing it at the "heart" of the work. By referring to Alsace-Lorraine and remarking upon the workers' "hope," Marx of course also makes a subtly veiled reference to the annexation.

The situation understandably called for such rhetorical measures, for the people of Lorraine desired something quite specific from their alliance with Russia: the return of the lost territories. To this end, the gifts they presented had to be seen as the expression of a collective will and a united province, one that would provide a strong ally for Russia. It is interesting to note that in both *Flore de Lorraine* and the *Livre d'or*, however, it is Lorraine, and not France, that appears as that potential ally.

In order to be suitable as a gift for a powerful leader, however, *Flore de Lorraine* also had to be a work of fine art—in short, a masterpiece of the first order. Centuries of discrimination between "mere" artisan and fine artist meant that the table would be more valuable if it could be seen to be the product of one man's intellect. Accordingly, critics by and large wrote of the table as the creation of a true artist—Gallé. Rais, for example, praises the table's "precious contours" and "exquisite carvings," but also its "skillful marquetry," which he says affirm Gallé's "delicate and troubling genius."¹¹²

If *Flore de Lorraine* constitutes a celebration of shared patriotism and regional pride, it is also an appeal to the sensibilities of the Russians—a plea for their assistance. In a letter to Gallé quoted in the *Revue des Arts décoratifs*, the goldsmith and jeweler Lucien Falize expressed the hope that Gallé's table would move the Russia Czar to empathize with the plight of Lorraine. He writes

This simple and honest design, inscribed in good French woods, has an eloquence that gold would not have, that rich ornamentation would not have, and, in the frame of mind inspired by the French festivities offered to his sailors, I am persuaded that the mystical mind of the Emperor will be sensitive to all that you have put in your work.¹¹³

In Falize's description, there is just a hint of rivalry between Paris and the provinces: whereas other gifts, such as those from the National Manufactory at Sèvres, for example, might be ornate in design, Falize suggests that the simplicity of Gallé's table conveys an honesty and eloquence lacking in these more elaborate works. The claim might ring a bit false to present-day viewers, for whom the detailed marquetry and elaborate carving of the table clearly speak of the excesses of the late 19th century. However, it seems likely that Gallé's contemporaries would have agreed with Falize's analysis. The use of wood, glass, enamel, and inexpensive metals (copper and bronze), rather than more costly materials, as well as the rendering of some flowers' names in the local *patois*, all seem chosen to suggest a degree of humility or sincerity.

This self-consciously simple style was seen by critics both as an embodiment of the spirit of the Lorraine people and as a style designed to appeal to their sensibilities. Thus the critic Victor Champier, in his article "Les cadeaux offerts à l'escadre russe," lavishly praised *Flore de Lorraine*. He writes,

Certainly, the captivating charmer that is Émile Gallé has what it takes to satisfy, since his table with a glorious future, destined for the Emperor of Russia, by its clear, expressive and powerful meaning, has moved French hearts. [...] The soul of the people blossoms in a simple table, a completely modern masterpiece of vibrant sensibility, which is worth more, one will confess, than the best pastiche of ancient perfections!¹¹⁴

It is interesting to note that Champier does not associate the simplicity or local character of the work with references to tradition. Rather, he attributes the table's expressive power to its *modernity*. According to the critics, then, Gallé's use of natural forms allowed the artist to suggest honesty, simplicity, and truth, but also to arouse an emotional response in viewers. If *Le Rhin* offered viewers an erudite definition of French identity based on history and geography, then, in *Flore de Lorraine* Gallé attempted to create a symbolic language that spoke more directly to the "soul of the people" and thus to viewers of all social classes.

Critics attributed the expressive power of Gallé's art to his use of a deeply personal symbolism. Rather than alienating viewers with its abstruse references to local history, Marx argues that *Flore de Lorraine* moves them with its "beautiful burst of impulsive and free decoration, a completely personal interpretation of flora, and harmonies, associations of nuances of an ineffable tenderness."¹¹⁵ As an expression of Gallé's own thoughts and beliefs, then, contemporaries understood *Flore de Lorraine* to speak directly to viewers and to require no translation. Gallé here achieves the aim sought by so many Symbolist painters, recreating in the viewer the experience of the artist through the use of a symbolist language that evokes emotion directly. Thus Marx writes, "What ideist has managed to wrestle from the rustic domain the material of the most elevated of symbols?"¹¹⁶

Above all, Marx suggests, Gallé is "a Lorrainer, devoted to his Lorraine, a Lorraine who neither forgets nor is consoled."¹¹⁷ This emphasis on Gallé's devotion to his native province is one that will recur in criticism of his work, increasing in frequency as the regionalist movement intensifies after the turn of the century. What concerns us here is Marx's emphasis on memory: as a true patriot, Marx suggests, Gallé will neither forget nor forgive the loss of the eastern territories to Germany. As with *Le Rhin*, then, one of the aims of *Flore de Lorraine* is to

commemorate the loss of the territories and the wounds of war but also to keep them relevant and present in the minds of contemporary Frenchmen and women.

Whereas the focus of *Le Rhin* was on the past, however, *Flore de Lorraine* speaks to the past, the present, and the future. The past is evoked through reference to Lorraine's illustrious history as a ducal capital, on one hand, and to the disastrous events of the Franco-Prussian War, on the other. The use of the thistle and the cross of Lorraine both date from an era when Lorraine was an independent duchy. In general, the table's forget-me-nots and *souvenirs* refer to memory. In Gallé's description of the table, he mentions "plants of mourning" that wind around the cross of Lorraine depicted on the binding of the *Livre d'or*.¹¹⁸ Rais, in his account of the table and its accompanying book, also points to the presence of *Rosa gallica*, a flower that Gallé had also depicted in *Le Rhin*:

It is not at once both pleasant and sad to think that in all of Lorraine, the *rosa gallica*, the rose of France mysteriously sprouting on the arms of the cross of Lorraine, opens its petals of blood only on the sides of Mount St. Quentin, in Metz, in the Reichsland?¹¹⁹

The irony is, of course, that *Rosa gallica* can be roughly translated as "Gallic Rose"—a French rose that now grows predominantly in German territories. Similarly, Gallé depicts several plants in the design of the table that are most common in the lost territories. Echoing Gallé, Rais writes, "Even farther away can be made out, as if in a dream, a very distant florule, cataloged by science in the herbarium of Lorraine, even though the stations of the plant have been removed from the flora of France."¹²⁰

The future tense is represented in the table's composition by references to the hoped-for union of nations, in the form of *pervenches* and *dicytras*. Gallé explains that the French name *pervenches* is derived from *pervincio*, the Latin name for bindweed, meaning "I united and I attach."¹²¹ *Dicytras*, which twines around the cross of Lorraine on the back cover of the *Livre d'or*, signifies "cordial union," according to Gallé.¹²² Finally, the intertwined branches of the Riga pine and the Gallic oak carved along the sides of the table likewise symbolize the coming together of the two nations.

Present and future are not so clearly differentiated, however, for at the moment when *Flore de Lorraine* and the *Livre d'or* were created, the Franco-Russian Alliance was not yet official. Together, the two works express hope for the future and sorrow for the past—and define the present solely in terms of these two temporal modes. Hope for the future is symbolized in Gallé's table by the rising sun and by the inclusion of plants and flowers native to the annexed territories, and by the sealing of the workmen's signatures inside the table. Rais invokes the necessary fragility both of the work of art and of the events it commemorates when he writes that the artist and his collaborators "have set out their sentiments that time, no doubt, will not shatter."¹²³ His words ring more hopeful, however, than confident. Later in the same article, Rais refers to the tripartite function of the works as a monument to past, present, and future: "The artists, through a precious collaboration, have set out there our sentiments, our dreams, —and our memories."¹²⁴ In Rais's analysis, then, emotions are the present of Lorraine, dreams its future, and memories its past. Similarly, Marx writes, "It is the small flower of Lorraine that will express there, far away, the bitterness of our mourning, the comfort of our hopes, the confident burst of feeling of our hearts."¹²⁵

In short, while *Le Rhin* and *Flore de Lorraine* both employ nationalist themes, the two works are quite different in their message and in their means. While *Le Rhin* focuses on the past and mourns the loss of the annexed territories, *Flore de Lorraine* celebrates the province of Lorraine and expresses hope for the future. The shift in emphasis corresponds to a transformation in the political climate of the nation. In the 1890s, the dream of a war of revenge against Germany was gradually disappearing from public discourse, in favor of other strategies designed to strengthen the French nation. In particular, the government's interest shifted to the building of an overseas empire and the formation of political treaties, such as the Franco-Russian Alliance, which would be followed by the *Entente Cordiale* with Britain in 1904.¹²⁶

The Nature of the National

In 1889, Gallé called on Prouvé to design scenes for his most politicized and ambitious composition. In *Le Rhin*, Gallé relied upon the human figure to give visual form to narratives of loss and mourning and to call for revenge against France's enemy. The use of a figural language derived from that of history painting not only elevated Gallé's work to the status of fine art in the eyes of the critics but also imbued it with a heightened significance for audiences accustomed to the moral and philosophical messages conveyed by large-scale narrative painting. In 1889, Gallé could conceive of only one way to communicate his patriotic message to the viewer in a way that was clear, unambiguous, and powerful: the human figure.

Gallé's faith in the ability of the human figure to express universal truths, however, would be tested by the events of the 1890s. The capacity of a gendered, classed, and racialized body to stand in for that of all French men and women would be called into question by the events of the Dreyfus Affair. Faced with the reality of a nationalist political discourse that subordinated the identity and even the rights of the individual to those of the nation, Gallé abandoned his attempts to constitute the nation in pictorial form through the depiction of the human body. He would use the human figure only once more, in *Les Hommes noirs*, where its distorted and monstrous form signals the moral corruption of the national body by militant nationalism and anti-Semitism.

In place of the human figure, Gallé increasingly turned to nature as a way to reimagine national identity. Nature allowed Gallé to create an art specific to its time and place, an art that critics perceived as both modern and quintessentially French. Nature, in other words, enabled Gallé to create an art that was national, rather than nationalist. Gallé's invention of a modern, decorative style for France, however, was marked by a curious paradox: critics agreed that it was the art of a *foreign* culture, Japan, that inspired the artist to forge his innovative visual language based on the depiction of natural forms.

Chapter Three

Poetry in Glass: The Evolution of a Symbolist Aesthetic

While *Le Rhin* constituted Gallé's most clearly articulated expression of patriotism in 1889, many of the artist's works in glass exhibited at the *Exposition universelle* also adopted explicitly nationalist or *revanchiste* themes. Three works in particular stand out for the way in which they alternate between figuration and abstraction in their treatment of the Alsace-Lorraine question: *C'ne name po tojo* (It's Not Forever, 1889), *Orphée et Eurydice*, *Jeanne d'Arc*, and *Espoir*. While several of the works draw upon Greco-Roman mythology and French history to reference the loss of the annexed territories, in *C'ne name po tojo* and *Espoir*, Gallé employs the characteristics of glass itself to suggest the conflict between the two nations.

As with *Le Rhin*, Gallé commissioned Prouvé to design the decoration for the vases *Orphée et Eurydice* and *Jeanne d'Arc*, both of which depict narrative scenes. Although *Orphée et Eurydice* illustrates a scene from Greek myth, the work, which is often called *Deux fois perdue* (Two Times Lost), also clearly evokes the loss of the annexed territories (fig. 3.1). The vase recounts the story of Orpheus, a musician and poet whose wife, Eurydice, was held captive in the Underworld. By playing on the lyre, Orpheus charmed Hades, lord of the Underworld, into releasing Eurydice on the condition that Orpheus lead her out of the Underworld without looking back. When Orpheus glances back at the Underworld as they make their way towards the surface, Eurydice is once again made captive.

One side of Gallé's vase depicts Orpheus once again losing Eurydice to Hades, while the other shows Cerberus, the three-headed dog that guards the entrance to the Underworld (figs. 3.2, 3.3). The three heads of Cerberus can be read as referring to the Triple Alliance formed by Germany, Italy, and Austria-Hungary and the threat it posed to the eventual recovery of the lost provinces. The body of the base bears the engraved initials "A" and "L" for Alsace-Lorraine. Also engraved onto the band around the shoulder of the vase is a Latin phrase which translates as, "What, oh, what utter madness hath ruined, she cried to him then, / Both me the all-hapless and thee, O Orpheus? Back am I called by the ruthless Fates, and with slumber my swimming eyes are palled. Virg."¹ To the left of the figure of Eurydice is another inscription, this time in French: "Turn back no more; / That would be to lose me twice / And for all time..."²

An "Ethics of Light"

As in works such as *Les Hommes noirs*, Gallé here employs what William Warmus has termed an "ethics of light."³ In *Orpheus and Eurydice*, Gallé layers glass streaked with red and black over a colorless base (fig. 3.4). By selectively cutting through the enveloping layers, Gallé liberates this clear glass, allowing light to flow through the vase. Thus while the figure of Cerberus is assigned to an opaque layer of black glass, signifying his association with the Underworld, Eurydice and Orpheus glow in the warmth of transmitted light (fig. 3.5). On the base, Gallé's signature appears next to an engraving representing a wheel-cutting tool (fig. 3.6). Above, a blob of molten glass appears on the end of a blowpipe, with radiating lines that suggest heat but also evoke the rays of the sun, continuing the theme of light and darkness that structures

the composition of the vase. In his review of the work, Énault emphasizes the thick, cloudy opacity of *Orphée et Eurydice* and its negation of light:

Sometimes, through the superimposition of layers of diversely colored glass, engraved and carved, the artist separates out in relief the ornaments whose nuances seem to play over mysterious depths. [...] The execution of the piece is beyond all praise. The flesh is engraved in intaglio in a layer of silvery crystal. Brown agate and black onyx are combined in the arrangement of the clothing. The bituminous tones of the soil, at the foot of the vase, are vaporized as they rise, and finish... in thick, reddish, blazing clouds.⁴

Gallé's cameo vase, Énault suggests, is characterized by the play of light and shadow, depth and surface, creating a smoky, evocative atmosphere.

Desjardins likewise equates the absence of light and transparency with the suffering of the Underworld. In his account of *Orphée et Eurydice*, the author compares the black glass of the vase with the rivers of pitch that run through the Underworld:

If he has mingled with the crystal, pure as rock crystal, smoky, blackish veins, darker than those of sard, he evokes with it the rivers of pitch of the Styx, of the Acheron, and the "irrevocable shadow;" [...] it's Orpheus losing Eurydice that he engraves... on his ewer, and the engraving of it is fine like a Benvenuto [Cellini] engraved in onyx, and the bard leans over, holding out his arm, letting his lyre escape, and the beloved ghost disappears already, her undone hair already becomes fog; she mingles with the infernal vapors and the 'illusory night.'⁵

According to Desjardins, Gallé represents Eurydice's second and final death as the loss of form, as the figure dissolves into the smoky hues of the glass. In *Orphée et Eurydice*, then, darkness, blindness, and the dissolution of form convey a sense of acute loss and mourning, just as in other works by Gallé clarity, light, and detailed form express hope. Critics perceived this thematic of light and dark in Gallé's œuvre as the direct expression of the artist's preoccupation with the loss of Alsace-Lorraine.

A Russian critic reviewing the *Exposition universelle*, for example, praises *Orphée et Eurydice* as an expression of Gallé's patriotic sentiments:

A vase of ancient shape shows Orpheus losing Eurydice for the second time. The scene takes place on the banks of the Styx. All of its details are derived from the black coloring and smoky hue. The artist has again made an allusion here to his patriotic preoccupations: 'Do not turn around again, that would be to lose me twice and forever.'⁶

In the context of Alsace-Lorraine, the phrase "Do not turn around again" seems to urge viewers to abandon dreams of *revanche* and to accept the loss of the annexed territories. Yet the work can also be interpreted as a melancholy reminder to viewers not to be discouraged by past events. In the context of other works exhibited in 1889, *Orphée et Eurydice* seems less an elegiac monument to loss than an exhortation to continue the battle to regain what has been taken.

“The Peace We Need”

Like *Le Rhin*, Gallé’s vase *Jeanne d’Arc* depicts a scene of battle (fig. 3.7). As in *Orphée et Eurydice* and *Ce n’ame po tojo*, the artist employs the contrast between light and dark, clear and opaque, to give visual form to the conflict between the French and an invading army. Like many of Gallé’s vases, the appearance of *Jeanne d’Arc* changes dramatically depending on lighting conditions. In reflected light, the scene decorating the center of the vase is difficult to read (fig. 3.8). Only the figure of Joan, engraved onto a layer of clear glass, stands out from the multilayered background composed of black and sepia tones. When lit from within, however, the scene springs to life, with Joan’s bright white sword standing in stark opposition to the thick black pike wielded by her opponent (fig. 3.9). As Joan turns to urge on her followers, the crowded composition calls to mind a fast-paced scene of battle, drawing the viewer into the midst of the conflict.

In his note to the jury, Gallé describes the vase, placing emphasis upon his expressive use of light and comparing the work to a stained glass window:

For the engravings of my work, I have made use of all the resources available: patinas, both lustrous and mat, soft textures that are pleasing to the eye and the touch, bas-reliefs, cameos, foregrounds embossed in the round and backgrounds with a stained-glass effect, with lithophanic⁷ reliefs that are carved with spindles of the finest dimension. You will find such an example in the work on the large vase, (No. 68) (*Joan of Arc*). Here the opaque cameo engraving of the foreground surface moves into stained-glass work in the deeper surfaces, in such a way that the work remains of interest both in its refraction and reflection of light.⁸

As in *Orphée et Eurydice*, Gallé uses cool and warm light to distinguish between Joan and her opponent.⁹ When the vase is lit from within, the light transmitted through the glass has an amber tone and highlights Joan and her soldiers. In reflected blue-gray light, however, the knight in the foreground, Joan’s opponent, is most evident.

By dividing the space of the composition into two spatial zones, Gallé further underscores the theme of conflict. At the same time, the nearness of the foreground figure and the crowded space of the composition draw the viewer in, inviting him or her to join in the battle being waged. The row of “spearhead” ornaments decorating the rim of the vase adds to an atmosphere of tension and struggle. The back of the vase is decorated with a circle inside which is inscribed the phrase, “The peace we need is for them to return home,” words that Joan was believed to have spoken in regards to the English, who invaded France under the command of King Edward III in 1346.¹⁰

By the time Gallé created his vase, the historical figure of Joan of Arc had been the site of contention among historians for several decades. In the first half of the century, historians such as Augustin Thierry reclaimed Joan as a heroine of the people, betrayed by her king and her church.¹¹ With the support of the people, these historians argued, Joan sought to liberate the French nation from both foreign domination and royalist control.¹² The fifth volume of Michelet’s *Histoire de France* laid the foundation for Joan of Arc’s elevation to the status of national heroine.¹³ In his text, Michelet describes Joan as a woman of the people, a peasant, who rallies her countrymen in the name of the French nation.¹⁴ For Michelet, Joan’s story marks the birth of the concept of the nation as distinct from that of the State. In his *History of France*,

Henri Martin continues what Michelet had begun but goes one step further, associating Joan with the idea of the “Celtic soul.”¹⁵

Following the Franco-Prussian War, many on the left embraced Joan as a Republican heroine. In 1884, a moderate Republican deputy from Montpellier, Joseph Fabre, proposed the creation of a “fête du patriotisme” (festival of patriotism) dedicated to Joan of Arc.¹⁶ Nationalists on the right, however, also celebrated Joan as a national hero. Déroulède, for example, famously referred to Joan “the patron saint of an invaded nation.”¹⁷ The Republican vision of Joan as a populist heroine thus existed in some tension with the more traditional image of her as the defender of Church and Crown.¹⁸

Gallé’s portrayal of Joan as an armed warrior striding into battle is perhaps closest in spirit to Frémiet’s equestrian statue erected on the Place des Pyramides in Paris in 1872 (fig. 3.10). The statue soon found itself at the center of a debate over Joan’s status as a national heroine claimed by anti-clerical Republicans, militant Catholics, and nationalists alike.¹⁹ By the early 1890s, the statue was the site of an annual ceremony organized by a nationalist cleric, Abbé Théodore Garnier.²⁰ A version of Frémiet’s statue erected in Nancy in 1890 similarly led to conflict between anti-clerical Republicans and militant Catholics (fig. 3.11). At the inauguration of the statue, a professor of history named Antonin Debidour delivered a speech praising Joan as “the secular saint of France” and “the always beloved patron of a nation for which her memory and her example ensure an eternal justice.”²¹ The conservative Catholic Bishop of Nancy, Msgr. Turinaz, publicly objected to the epithet *saint laïque*, sparking debate among the city’s clergy.²²

Depictions of Joan in Gallé’s œuvre by and large conform to Republican versions of the saint’s life, emphasizing her courage in the face of adversity rather than the divinely ordained nature of her mission.²³ Most representations of Joan in Gallé’s œuvre show her in the midst of battle (figs. 3.12, 3.13, 3.14). By depicting Joan rallying her troops, Gallé neatly avoids taking sides on the debate between anti-clerical Republicans and Catholics. The artist’s decision not to represent Joan’s death at the stake, for example, avoids painting her as a victim of the Church. Likewise, by circumventing the question of Joan’s “voices” in all but one work, Gallé sidesteps the issue of whether the saint’s mission was of supernatural or divine origin. Instead, Gallé represents Joan as a national heroine who unites the French people under her banner. She has become an allegory of France, a Marianne figure for the nation under invasion.

A review of Gallé’s work that appeared in *Le Journal de Saint-Pétersbourg*, published in Russia, compared the artist himself to Joan of Arc. The author suggests that, like Joan, Gallé experienced a patriotic vision, one that inspired him to create *Jeanne d’Arc*. Marie Raffalovitch writes,

Mr. Gallé is Lorrainer twice over—Lorrainer by birth and at heart. One day when he was working on the decoration of a large goblet, Joan of Arc at the head of the French knighthood appeared to him, shouting her famous battle cry ‘The peace we need is for them to return home.’ This apparition is consigned to the great transparent cameo that decorates one of the faces of the goblet, with the battle cry as epigraph.²⁴

If Joan’s vision was divine in origin, Gallé’s is above all patriotic. According to Raffalovitch, the artist is inspired not by his religious faith but by his love for native province of Lorraine and for France.

Desjardins similarly identifies Joan with Lorraine in a passage that is notable for its violent imagery:

On another of [Gallé's] works... is depicted the sainted girl of Domrémy, whom we can call Lorraine (or France) incarnate. The crystal of it is thick, resistant to the eye, highlighted with rusty black enamels in relief; above, spearheads, vigorously modeled by carving, then taken back and eaten into by acid; on the body of the vase, tracery in the architectural style of the 15th century, of the same shadowy nuance and finally, nested in the cross of a diagonal rib, a heroic group of which the foreground is engraved in cameo and the background, elusive and translucent, in stained glass... This group, it's mostly armed men, and in the middle of them a female warrior, raising her sword with a terrible and religious gesture.²⁵

For Desjardins, the very form of the vase itself expresses the violence of Joan's struggle: acid bites into the glass to shape it, while the glass resists penetration by the eye. The acts of making and of viewing *Jeanne d'Arc*, in other words, recreate the struggle that is the work's very theme.

It's Not Forever

In a glass vase entitled *C' name po tojo*, Gallé again employs the "ethics of light" used in *Jeanne d'Arc* to create an evocative work that depicts the invasion of Alsace-Lorraine as the opposition of light and dark. *C' name po tojo* is decorated with a design of two naturalistically depicted thistles engraved into the clear glass of its upper half (fig. 3.15). The bottom half of the work, which consists of two layers of glass, with the top layer of black glass cut away to create a decorative pattern, shows a series of thistles alternating with crosses of Lorraine. Inscribed on the neck of the vase is the phrase "Wisdom, like a pure vase, could extract me from the thick slurry."²⁶

The bottom of the vase bears Gallé's signature, "*Émile Gallé Nancy fect 1888*," the phrase "*Exposition Paris 1889*," and a broken cross of Lorraine accompanied by the inscription, "*C' name po tojo! ... patois lorrain Ce n'est pas pour toujours*" (fig. 3.16). The phrase "C' name po tojo" would have been familiar to provincial and Parisian audiences alike. Sixteen years earlier, in a much-publicized ceremony, a group from Alsace-Lorraine had erected an ex-voto in the shape of a broken cross of Lorraine in the town of Sion (fig. 3.17).²⁷ The phrase "Ce n'ame po tojo," which is local dialect for "It's not forever," was inscribed above the broken cross.

The vase thus alludes to the hope that the annexed provinces will one day be returned to France. As in related works such as *Espoir* and *Les Hommes noirs* (The Black Men, 1900), Gallé employs light and dark as symbolic expressions of good and evil. Gallé created the strikingly opaque, dark black glass, or *verre hyalite*, used in *C' name po tojo!* through the use of a reduction of iron peroxide added during the firing process.²⁸ At the Salon of 1903, he would christen works made using this type of glass *vases de tristesse* (vases of sadness), associating their dark hues with themes of death, decay, and despair.²⁹ The rising black net that climbs the vase like a spider's web, then, might be read as evoking the invasion of France by Prussian forces, while the clear glass it envelops suggests hope for the future. The symbolism of Gallé's vase was clear to at least one viewer, who writes,

At other times, Gallé raises his head. He addresses to the fates an anxious, questioning sign. “*C’name po tojo?*” he says in the dialect of his country; “It’s not forever?” –And he expresses his idea in a glass vase whose base is all dark and where flowers, emerging out of this night, finally climb up to bloom unexpectedly in limpid crystal.³⁰

In *C’name po tojo*, Gallé pairs the conventional symbolism of the thistle and the cross of Lorraine with the use of light and dark as the symbolic expression of the battle between two warring nations. In his most ambitious work produced in glass for the *Exposition universelle*, however, Gallé abandons all such forms of symbolism in favor of a stylized depiction of natural forms that approaches a kind of radical abstraction.

Hope

Gallé’s enormous vase *Espoir* takes the form of a medieval Islamic mosque lamp, thus pairing exoticizing ornament with overtly political content (fig. 3.18). Gallé describes *Espoir* in his note to the jury as “an enormous lamp, as if veiled with gauze of black silk, bordered by franco-arab letters in translucent blue enamel and matte gold.”³¹ The shape and decoration of the work are derived from medieval mosque lamps (fig. 3.19). Commissioned by sultans and emirs, these gilded and enameled glass lamps adorned tombs, Qur’anic schools, and hospices as well as mosques.³² The most celebrated examples date from the Ayyubid (ca. 1169-1260) and Mameluke eras (1250-1517) and were produced in Egypt and Syria.³³ Most surviving mosque lamps are decorated with blue enamel highlighted with gold gilt, with red enamel used for the outlines of shapes. Mosque lamps from this period typically avoided the depiction of human figures in favor of vegetal designs, intricate geometric compositions, and the use of decorative inscriptions.³⁴ In *Espoir*, Gallé draws inspiration from these 13th and 14th-century mosque lamps but pairs this historical form with a commentary on recent political events.

Gallé could have seen medieval mosque lamps at the Paris *Expositions universelles* of 1867 and 1878 or at the 1873 World’s Fair held in Vienna.³⁵ The collection of the *Musée de Cluny* in Paris also included several lamps by the late 19th century. By the time Gallé created *Espoir*, European imitations of Islamic glass had been well-known in Europe for almost twenty years: Philippe-Joseph Brocard (1831-1896) in Paris and J. and L. Lobmeyr in Vienna each created works inspired by Islamic glass (figs. 3.20, 3.21).³⁶ European viewers would also have been familiar with mosque lamps through imitations created in Venice from the 15th century onwards.

Examples by Brocard and other fin-de-siècle artists reproduced the form and decoration of 13th and 14th-century originals in faithful detail. Gallé’s lamp, in contrast, constitutes a reinterpretation rather than a recreation of the Islamic works on which it is based. Although it is not designed to be a functioning lamp, *Espoir* includes the characteristic rings by which a mosque lamp would have been hung. The technique of enamel on glass is also true to the original, the result of Gallé’s experimentation with the so-called hard enamels of Islamic and Venetian glass.³⁷ These enamels combine the twin characteristics of strength and fusibility sought by glassmakers.

By the time of the *Exposition universelle*, Gallé had also begun experimenting with translucent enamels, which allowed him to exploit the effects created by both reflected and refracted light so that his glass appeared to glow.³⁸ Gallé combines opaque and translucent

enamels in *Espoir* so that the appearance of the work changes according to lighting.³⁹ When lit from within, the blue glass of the vase glows subtly and evokes its namesake, a *veilleuse*, or nightlight. The term *veilleuse* has its origin in *veillir*—to watch over or to protect. The message expressed by the lamp is thus one of expectancy and hope—Gallé’s fellow countrymen will patiently await the return of the lost provinces, while protecting those that remain. The subject of light is thus clearly central to the meaning of *Espoir*. Traditional mosque lamps typically include an inscription taken from the Qur’an, which reads, “God is the light of heaven and earth. His light is like a niche in which is a lamp” (sura 24, verse 35).⁴⁰ Gallé replaces this traditional inscription with the phrase “Hope, and my light, it shines at the bottom of my sorrows.”⁴¹

Gallé looked to Islamic glass but also to Islamic metalwork, textiles, and pottery for inspiration. In *Espoir*, for example, the metallic tones of the decorative pattern surrounding the four blue cartouches are more evocative of Islamic metalwork than glass mosque lamps (figs. 3.22, 3.23). Gallé may have been inspired by illustrations of Islamic metalwork patterns in compendia of ornament such as Owen Jones’s *Grammar of Ornament* (fig. 3.24). The elaborate tracery patterns published in works such as Auguste Racinet’s lavishly illustrated *L’Ornement polychrome*, published in multiple volumes between 1869 and 1873, may also have offered Gallé a blueprint for transforming the shape of flowers into abstract designs (fig. 3.25).

Unlike traditional mosque lamps, however, *Espoir* is decorated with intaglio designs as well as enamels applied to the surface of the work. Gallé achieved the complex surface patterns of *Espoir* through the use of acid etching and wheel-cutting. The technique of acid-etching considerably reduced finishing time for richly detailed works such as *Espoir*. In this process, molten glass is first blown into a wooden mold. Once the glass form is annealed, it is passed to a decorator who traces the desired motif onto it using an indelible white pencil.⁴² A worker then applies an acid-resistant paste of Judean bitumen to exposed areas and immerses the entire work in a bath of hydrofluoric acid, which etches the motif onto the surface of the glass. This process is repeated for each layer of glass. A polisher then finishes the work, using an emery wheel to buff away any irregularities. Occasionally a work is immersed in a final acid bath, which gives the surface a matte finish. Raised areas are buffed on a cork wheel coated with putty, so that their mirror-like finish contrasts with the matte finish of the etched ground.⁴³ This final, time-consuming process, called “wheel-polishing,” is what gives *Espoir* its brilliant finish that so closely resembles that of silver (fig. 3.26).

The shape of *Espoir* is also slightly different from that of a traditional mosque lamp, which typically consists of a rounded base with a flared lip. Although Gallé’s workshops did produce versions of mosque lamps that were more faithful to the originals, including an alternative version of *Espoir*, critics rarely if ever discussed these works (figs. 3.27, 3.28). A contemporary photograph from the *Exposition universelle* of 1900, for example, shows a mosque lamp crowning a display of smaller works, many of which bear Persian-style designs (fig. 3.29).

Unlike these other works, *Espoir* is more than simply a pastiche of Islamic motifs and forms or an emulation of Islamic enameling techniques—it is also a political statement. The four blue cartouches that encircle the vase are decorated with a fanciful script meant to imitate Islamic calligraphy, which spells out the word *Espoir* four times (fig. 3.30). A watercolor sketch for *Espoir* or a similar work shows the artist experimenting with Islamic-like script juxtaposed with “patriotic” motifs such as the thistle and cross of Lorraine, suggesting the work’s origin in the context of the loss of Alsace-Lorraine (fig. 3.31). Furthermore, the words “*espoir*” (hope) and “*espérance*” (hope) appear frequently in Gallé’s writings and in his work and are usually associated with the artist’s oft-expressed hope that Alsace-Lorraine would one day be restored to

France.⁴⁴ The play between light and shadow, as we have seen, was also associated in Gallé's œuvre with patriotic works referring to the annexation.

With *Espoir*, Gallé completely transforms the function of the lamp by removing it from its religious context. A mosque lamp is most often characterized by two side arms, which allow the lamp to be hung from the ceiling or archways of a mosque. Gallé's lamp, in contrast, is meant to sit firmly on its base. It also bears repeating that the so-called lamp is actually a non-functional, decorative object intended for a private home or a public collection but not for a religious setting. The hope for Alsace-Lorraine's reunification with France, moreover, is primarily a secular one, for Gallé, like many in Lorraine, was in fact a Protestant and therefore part of a religious minority in France. By employing a sacred object from another culture, however, Gallé is able to imbue his work with mysticism and significance without entering into a debate over the place of religion in a secular Republic. Like all of Gallé's enameled works made prior to 1894, *Espoir* was created in the factory of Burgun, Schwerer & Co., located in annexed Lorraine. The work's exoticizing decoration thus also helps to veil, both literally and figuratively, its politicized message. The single, evocative word "Hope," while it bore a clear significance for Gallé's audience in Lorraine, was presumably sufficiently oblique to avoid censorship by German officials.

In his review, which was reprinted in *L'Est Républicain* and *La Lorraine artiste*, Desjardins discusses *Espoir* in the context of what he terms Gallé's "national inspiration."⁴⁵ Describing Gallé's response to the annexation, Desjardins writes, "Still other times Gallé raises his head. He... composes a nightlight in translucent blue enamel, he veils it with a net of crepe, then, in expectation of the flame that will be lit there and that will shine through it like a timid star, he writes 'Hope shines to me through my sorrows'."⁴⁶ For Desjardins, Gallé's lamp is an expression of hope, which the author suggests is symbolized by the eternal light that burns within the lamp. This subtle symbolism, Desjardins declares, is more moving than any overt declaration of patriotism.⁴⁷

The Critics: Glass

In 1889, critics concurred that Gallé's innovative style was revolutionizing French glassmaking. The glass manufacturer Jules Henrivaux, for example, devotes nearly half of his review of glass at the *Exposition universelle* to the work of a single artist—Gallé. Arguing that he is the "leader of a school... [and] an incontestable master of the decorative and artistic glassmaking of the present era," Henrivaux clearly presents Gallé as the most influential glassmaker of his time.⁴⁸ Marx similarly portrays Gallé as the inventor of a new, modern French style.⁴⁹ In his review, meanwhile, Édouard Garnier notes that the style invented by Gallé is already being imitated by glassmakers both in France and abroad.⁵⁰ He contends that the artist's example will help restore France's supremacy in the arts, writing that "On this count, France no longer has anything to fear from rival nations."⁵¹ Alfred Picard adds, "We are indebted to Mr. Gallé and a few other exhibitors for having affirmed the superiority of French art."⁵² For these critics, the new style pioneered by Gallé had four essential characteristics: it was inspired by nature, it was symbolist, it was personal, and it was modern.⁵³

Critics writing on the glass exhibited at the *Exposition universelle* were by and large more optimistic than those who reviewed the furniture section. Whereas the French furniture industry was undergoing an economic crisis, the glass industry was in the midst of a period of prosperity characterized by technological innovation and rapid industrialization. In his review,

for example, Marx contends that the *Exposition universelle* of 1878 and the exhibition of the *Union Centrale des Arts décoratifs* in 1884 had already established that French glass was flourishing.⁵⁴ Marx notes that additional progress has been made in the years since these exhibitions, however, particularly in the realm of industrial production. The invention of a mechanical system for blowing glass, which replaced the traditional method of mouth-blowing, is for Marx an improvement both in terms of cost and in terms of human suffering. Marx lauds the new system, invented by the Appert brothers, which replaces “the exhausting, murderous effort of mouth blowing.”⁵⁵

Henrivaux likewise praises the vast array of technological innovations on display at the exhibition. Although he finds the works shown in 1889 inferior to those exhibited in 1878 in terms of “art,” Henrivaux contends that French glassmakers have made extraordinary advances in their manufacturing methods.⁵⁶ Henrivaux cites as examples new techniques such as the use of pulverized granules of glass suspended within the matrix, a process that allows glassmakers to imitate gemstones, and improvements in the technique of glass engraving.⁵⁷ Above all, however, Henrivaux sees glass as a quintessentially *modern* material, one that will revolutionize the art of his century and the next.⁵⁸

According to Marx, the technological advances on display at the *Exposition universelle* are matched by stylistic innovation: “Everywhere, in the manner of conceiving and of executing, there are only improvements, attempts at emancipation, the definitive abandonment of outdated formulas.”⁵⁹ Yet there is still much to be accomplished, Marx suggests. Discussing the work of Brocard, for example, the critic praises his “incomparable” technique, but urges the artist to look closer to home for inspiration. “The time has come to venture outside of Arabia and Persia in search of paths closer to the soil of France,” he writes.⁶⁰ Henrivaux similarly dismisses the art of Brocard, writing that his imitations of Islamic glass, while technically brilliant, lack variety.⁶¹

Whereas critics reviewing the furniture section warned against the dangers of historicism, then, those reviewing the glass section identify a related concern—exoticism. Ironically, although two of Gallé’s most prominently displayed works, *Le Rhin* and *Espoir*, draw on the art of the Renaissance and the Muslim world, they are praised by the same critics who decry the proliferation of pastiche in works on display in 1889. For the critics, it is nature that secures these works’ status as both modern and quintessentially *French*.

In 1889, critics praised Gallé’s ability to reproduce the varied aspects of the natural world with a startling illusionism. Marx describes Gallé as an “alchemist,” writing that the artist gives visual form to the ever-shifting world of appearances. The unprecedented range of hues that Gallé employs, he adds, faithfully recreate colors found in nature. Marx’s evocative description deserves to be cited at length:

He knows how to fashion to his liking sard [and] onyx, to simulate the cracks of quartz, ash-colored amber, the speckling of tortoiseshell; then the desire takes him to imprison in crystal the fleeting, the elusive: the vapor of clouds, the oozing of steam, the muffled echo of reflections, shimmering smoke, moonlight... Science has provided him with a palette of subdued and rare hues: the green of still water, the creamy white of pearly flesh, faded yellow, delicate rose, downy gray, peacock blue.⁶²

For Marx, Gallé’s works do not simply *transcribe* forms found in nature. Rather, the artist’s works *transform* nature, as if crystallizing it in vitreous form. By trapping the ever-changing

world of appearances in glass, Gallé is able to freeze time, creating works that are at once inert objects and pulsating reservoirs of primordial energy.

Similarly, Henrivaux contends that Gallé's new enameling techniques allow the artist almost literally to recreate living creatures. Regarding the use of translucent enamels, Henrivaux writes, "They permit Mr. Gallé to imitate nature, to give silver and azure reflections to the elytra of a beetle [and] the eyes of a dragonfly and the diaphanous appearance of living tissue to the raised wing."⁶³ For some critics, glass itself seemed to have a kind of vitality or potentiality that wood, for example, did not share. Garnier, for example, writes that Gallé reveals the plants and animals "hidden" in his glass.⁶⁴ Gallé transforms the language of these forms into poetry, Garnier writes, bringing them to life.⁶⁵

Like Marx and Henrivaux, Desjardins underscores the illusionism of Gallé's works in glass and in particular, the way the artist's works faithfully record the appearance of semi-precious stones, plants, and flowers. Yet for Desjardins, Gallé's glass is not realist as much as symbolist, evoking a world beyond physical appearances. Desjardins writes of "the *symbolist* character of the art of Émile Gallé, its power to suggest because it shows more than it shows, and to make finished forms grasp the elusive [and] the indefinite."⁶⁶ In his glass, Desjardins suggests, the artist is able to capture what cannot be captured and represented what cannot be represented. The fleeting, the barely perceptible, and even thought itself are trapped in the crystalline matrix of Gallé's glass, which gives them tangible and visible form.

Like Marx and Henrivaux, Desjardins also draws a parallel between the process of glassmaking, with its paradoxical transformation of liquid color into solid form, and the creation of life itself. Describing the process by which glass is made, Desjardins writes, "Finally an exotic, unreal flora [and] fauna break out of the crucible just like a miraculously delicate and living creation would shoot up from the crater of a volcano."⁶⁷ According to Desjardins, Gallé almost literally brings nature to life in his art. Borrowing the artist's own words, Desjardins writes "I sow burning seeds, says Gallé; later I will pick my paradoxical flowerings from the cutting wheel."⁶⁸ Gallé's glass, in other words, no longer merely *depicts* nature—rather, it has become one with it.

It is this perceived status of Gallé's works as products of nature itself, I argue, that secures their Frenchness for contemporary audiences. Like a tree or plant, the artist's works are understood to spring forth from the soil of France itself. The new style invented by Gallé, which is at once an *art natur(al)iste* and an *art national*, reimagines conventional ways of describing Frenchness. Gallé's works are no longer rooted in history and tradition alone, but literally in the soil of France.

Art and Industry: Glass

In reviews of Gallé's glass, critics rarely mention the artist's collaborators. Instead, reviewers invariably describe Gallé as a solitary genius and his works as the expression of one man's vision. Marx writes, for example, "A single brain, a single imagination conceived... [these] works."⁶⁹ Marx's description conforms to the idea of "the *objet d'art* as the product of a singular, personal, artistic vision" promoted by the newly formed *Société nationale des Beaux-Arts*.⁷⁰ This society, founded in the wake of the *Exposition universelle*, held its first Salon in May of 1890. Unlike its rival organization, the *Société des artistes français*, the *Société nationale des Beaux-Arts* displayed decorative art objects alongside works of paintings and sculpture. The society's goal was both to elevate the status of the crafts and to address the issue of artistic

copyright, a protection that had long been denied to artists working in the decorative arts.⁷¹ By presenting Gallé's art as the work of a single, uniquely talented artist, however, critics strengthened his case for artistic copyright but failed to take into account the collaborative and industrial nature of Gallé's production methods.

Prior to 1894, Gallé imported most of his glass from the factory of Burgun, Schverer & Co., located in Meisenthal, a town in German-occupied Lorraine. The Gallés' association with Burgun, Schverer & Co. was of long standing. Charles Gallé-Reinemer, the artist's father, first began acquiring glass from Burgun, Schverer & Co., a company based in Meisenthal, around 1860.⁷² Like his son, Charles Gallé-Reinemer designed the glass that bore his name but left its production to others. In 1861, the *Journal de l'Exposition de Metz* reported that Charles Gallé was "the thought that conceives, and the factory to which he addresses himself is the arm that executes."⁷³ Burgun, Schverer & Co. employed a large workforce, numbering approximately 250 workers in 1855 and 350 by 1889.⁷⁴ The majority of the company's production consisted of modestly priced tablewares. Under the direction of Nicolas Mathieu Burgun, the factory also began to produce more elaborate wares, including both clear and colored crystal decorated with engraving, etching, and enameling, sometime around 1855.⁷⁵

In 1866, Émile Gallé traveled to Meisenthal to learn the trade of glassmaking firsthand. He spent two years acquiring the skills necessary to run a large glass factory, including a thorough knowledge of the materials and equipment used to make glass and of the techniques used for forming, blowing, and decorating it. Charles Gallé-Reinemer, with the assistance of Louis Cayon and Gengoult Prouvé, supplied the designs for his firms' works created in Meisenthal until 1867, when his son assumed control of the family business.⁷⁶ Beginning that year, the Gallés' small studio in Nancy took on some of the tasks associated with the decoration of glass, engraving in particular.⁷⁷ Enameling continued to be executed in Meisenthal, however, as the studio in Nancy lacked the kilns necessary to fire the enamels.⁷⁸ After a brief hiatus during the war, the Gallés' collaboration with Burgun, Schverer & Co. resumed in 1871.⁷⁹ Meanwhile, Charles Gallé-Reinemer added additional decorating and design studios to the family home, La Garenne, which he had built on a large plot on the edge of the city in 1873.⁸⁰

Sometime between 1873 and 1878, a glass decorator from Lemberg, Désiré Christian (b. 1846), took over management of Burgun, Schverer & Co.'s decorating studio.⁸¹ By 1877 or 1878, Christian had begun to work almost exclusively for Gallé.⁸² Typically, drawings, plaster models, and even wooden molds were sent from Nancy to Meisenthal to be executed as finished works. Joseph Rémy Burgun, head of the glass hall in Meisenthal, collaborated with Gallé to develop new methods of blowing and working hot glass.⁸³ Once the basic form was finished, Christian's decorating studio would decorate the works with engraving or enameling according to Gallé's instructions.⁸⁴ Occasionally, the studio would also decorate earthenwares using enameling techniques similar to those employed for the decoration of glass.⁸⁵

The factory appended a facsimile of Gallé's signature to all of the works it produced for the artist-industrialist. In principle, preparatory drawings were to be returned to Nancy once no longer needed, but in practice a fair number of these drawings remained in Meisenthal.⁸⁶ Communication took place largely by means of the post, with occasional visits by Charles Gallé-Reinemer or Émile Gallé to Meisenthal.⁸⁷ Following the annexation, all foreign visitors to German Lorraine were required to register with the town hall. Surviving registers thus record regular visits to Meisenthal by both men. In 1888, for example, the entries for Meisenthal show that Émile Gallé spent a total of 15 days at Burgun, Schverer & Co.⁸⁸

A contract⁸⁹ signed on January 4, 1885 between Émile Gallé, Burgun, Schverer & Co., and Désiré Christian formalized the terms of their working relationship.⁹⁰ The contract stipulated that Burgun, Schverer, & Co. would produce glass for Gallé, using his molds, in accordance with the artist's instructions. Christian would execute the decoration of these glass blanks and, in return, Gallé agreed to offer the decorating studio a steady supply of commissions. The contract also forbid Christian from using any of the compositions or technical innovations he developed on Gallé's behalf in his own work. Christian retained the right, however, to exploit technical innovations of his own invention if the two other parties declined to use them. The contract swore all three parties to strict secrecy regarding their collaboration, stipulating, "The traveling salesmen and representatives of the factory will maintain, in regards to the public, on the subject of Mr. Gallé's production, the greatest discretion."⁹¹ The terms of the contract may resulted from an unspecified conflict that arose between Gallé and Burgun, Schverer & Co. In a letter dated January 11, 1885, Nicholas Burgun writes of a "cloud that had, for a moment, cast a shadow over our friendship."⁹² It is possible that Burgun, Schverer & Co. was profiting from their association with Gallé by using the artist's name to sell their own works, but the details of the disagreement remain a mystery.

The reasons behind the secrecy clause are also unclear. Given his commitment to *revanchiste* politics in 1889, Gallé may have sought to conceal the fact that his glass was produced in Germany. He may also, however, have wished to hide the identity of his producers from competitors. Following the signing of the contract in 1885, Gallé gradually began transferring production of his glassware to Nancy, where it could be manufactured under the artist's direct control. In 1886, the addition of muffle kilns and a laboratory to Gallé's studios in Nancy allowed Gallé to experiment with different glassmaking techniques and to enamel earthenwares at a low temperature.⁹³ Most enameled decoration, however, continued to be produced primarily in Meisenthal.

In 1894, Gallé at last constructed a fully functioning glass factory in Nancy. Gallé hired two members of Meisenthal's staff, Joseph Rémy Burgun and the enamel painter Alfred Schaeffer, to work for him in Nancy.⁹⁴ Gallé subsequently dissolved his contract with Burgun, Schverer & Co. in January of 1896.⁹⁵ According to the minutes of a board meeting held at the company the following May, Gallé's decision may have been motivated in part by the rising cost of works produced in Meisenthal. The artist-industrialist now faced considerable economic pressures as the owner of his own factory.⁹⁶ Works produced in Meisenthal were not only expensive to transport but were also subject to customs fees. Contemporary sources, however, also reveal a source of conflict between Gallé and Burgun, Schverer & Co. that may have motivated the artist's decision to end his working relationship with Meisenthal. In a letter to the board, Gallé denounces Désiré Christian for "his salary demands (*prétentions*) and abusive prices," suggesting that Gallé may have seen in Christian a rival for the status of artist-glassmaker.⁹⁷

Indeed, both Burgun & Schverer & Co. and Christian attempted to profit from the vogue Gallé had initiated for "art glass." As early as 1885, a designer in Christian's decorating studio, Eugène Kremer (b. 1867), began producing original designs similar to those of Gallé. Kremer's designs were made into works bearing the hallmark of Burgun & Schverer & Co.⁹⁸ In 1894, the Meisenthal firm officially began production of art glass in the "modern" style, with Christian in charge of decorating the new wares.⁹⁹ The following year, Burgun & Schverer registered a hallmark depicting a thistle encircling a cross of Lorraine and the phrase "Verrerie D'Art de Lorraine."¹⁰⁰ Only a few years later, in 1897 or 1898, Christian left Burgun, Schverer & Co. to

open his own decorating studio, D. Christian & Sohn, which also specialized in art glass.¹⁰¹ Kremer succeeded Christian as director of the newly formed workshops of the *Verreries d'Art de Lorraine*.¹⁰² The establishment of D. Christian & Sohn and the *Verreries d'Art de Lorraine* signal an attempt to emulate Gallé's successful commercial strategies by emphasizing the 'artistic' nature of works produced in Meisenthal.

The Problem of Originality

By linking the fortunes of his factory with the idea of artistic genius and originality, Gallé successfully elevated the status of the decorative arts and imbued them with a newly politicized significance. Gallé consistently promoted himself and several key collaborators as the "creators" of his works, purposefully downplaying the contribution of his workers and the status of his works as multiples. As we have seen, critics were only too happy to be complicit in this effort. A commercial strategy based on the celebration of individual genius, however, entailed its own risks, for the success of Gallé's commercial strategies encouraged imitation and imposed the financial burden of constant innovation.

Throughout his career, Gallé struggled to promote his art as the product of his own creative vision in the face of often blatant forgeries. In 1876, for example, Charles and Émile Gallé broke off ties with the Thomas family, owners of the earthenware factory of Saint-Clément. The factory, which had been producing works for the family for several decades, had recently begun selling works made from the Gallés' molds under their own name.¹⁰³ Three years later, father and son brought suit against another supplier, the earthenware factory of Lunéville. They accused the owners, Louis-Edmond Keller and Auguste-Edmond Guérin, of plagiarizing designs that had been registered with the commercial court (*tribunal de commerce*) in Nancy.¹⁰⁴ When the civil court of Lunéville decided against the Gallés, ruling that the designs had not been filed with the appropriate authority, Gallé and his father began registering their designs with the industrial tribunal (*conseil de prud'hommes*) in Nancy. That same year, the Gallés successfully sued yet another supplier, the earthenware factory of Clairefontaine.¹⁰⁵ In all three cases, because the works in question were mass-produced, it was a simple task to copy them using the Gallés' own molds.

In short, Gallé sought to associate these mass-produced works with his own name, declaring them to be the products of his individual genius. While this strategy did not prevent forgeries, it added value to the works made by the artist by elevating their status to that of fine art. The artist's signature was a key factor in this strategy. Although it, too, could be forged, it encouraged buyers to seek out "authentic" works rather than copies. Before Gallé, individual artists and designers working in the decorative arts rarely signed their works. The artist's decision to append his signature to his works was a successful commercial strategy, but it also required that Gallé downplay the role of trained artisans in executing his designs.

The distance between Gallé's factory in Nancy and his design studio in Meisenthal complicated this situation immensely, and the fear of imitation may have been one motivation for transferring production to Nancy in 1894. Two years before, in August of 1892, an employee of Burgun, Schverer & Co. named Aloys Burgun had stolen original designs and pouncing patterns (*poncifs*) from the workshops in Meisenthal. He then sold them to Gallé's competitor, the Nancy firm of Daum frères.¹⁰⁶ Upon Burgun's return to Meisenthal, Christian alerted local authorities to the theft. Burgun was subsequently arrested, and numerous drawings and finished works belonging to Gallé were seized from his home.¹⁰⁷ Christian himself came under attack,

however, when Gallé complained to Burgun, Schverer & Co. that his designs had become too similar to Gallé's own. The artist from Nancy voiced his protest in a letter to one of the factory owners, Antoine Burgun. He writes, "I was moved to see that Christian was making decorations similar to my own, employing the same processes, instead of making a different kind, which would really be more intelligent."¹⁰⁸

When his new glass factory was completed in Nancy, Gallé took measures to ensure that his designs remained confidential until released to the public as finished works. Gallé insisted that no visitors to the factory be allowed. He also prohibited his workers from bringing anything into the factory or taking anything out. Workers, apprentices, and even foremen were also forbidden to teach courses outside of the factory and were not permitted to circulate freely between the different workshops. At the end of the working day, the doors to the factory were locked to prevent intruders.¹⁰⁹

Despite these draconian measures, Gallé was unable to prevent the theft of sensitive documents and technical knowledge. In 1899, Henry Hirsch, one of Gallé's clients, wrote to the artist to tell him of works he had seen in Paris that closely resembled those made by Gallé. Signed "Muller," the vases were made by Henri Victor Muller, who had left Gallé's employ in 1897 to open his own glassworks in Croismare.¹¹⁰ Gallé replied to Hirsch,

Above all, they really have some cheek... As for the coloring, that does not surprise me. The wretch who leads the group [Henri Muller] must have taken a mass of notes and even recipes from my books, even though [they were] under lock and key, since he collected stubs of paper, shards of glass, etc. It is unfortunate that I am not up to date on the current productions of these brigands, since if the similarity has struck you so, there is plagiarism there... Muller, who nosed about everywhere and had, as workshop assistant and even as an assistant in the glass hall for a while, the right to circulate, to assist with operations, experiments, and who even had to work there for the weighings, etc. He could easily have, I don't know, put into practice on his own behalf processes that I was trying out with a lot of trouble and worry, fearing all the while that Daum would snatch them.¹¹¹

In associating his products with his own name and thus laying claim to the status of artist, Gallé successfully created demand for his art and helped elevate the status of the decorative arts more generally. At the same time, however, his commercial success ensured that imitations and forgeries of Gallé's works would abound. By demonstrating that Gallé's signature style could be reproduced, these copies risked destroying the fragile perception of Gallé's works as the expression of individual artistic genius. Gallé never completely abandoned the strategy of promoting his glass as the product of his own personal vision. In the years following the *Exposition universelle* of 1889, however, the artist increasingly turned to the art of another culture, Japan, in order to formulate his uniquely "national" style.

Chapter Four

The Anxiety of Influence: Japonisme, Nature, and the Formation of a National Style

“Let us bless the whim of fate that caused a Japanese man to be born in Nancy.”¹

Vicomte Eugène Melchior De Vogüé

These words, used to describe Gallé in a review of the artist's work presented at the *Exposition universelle* of 1889, reveal the widespread belief on the part of contemporary critics that Gallé's style was profoundly influenced by Japanese art. The interpretation of Japonisme's influence on Gallé changed over time, however, as public perception of Japan and its art underwent a transformation in the course of the 1890s.² Critics writing on Japanese art in the 1880s and early 1890s praised the purity of Japanese culture and suggested that Japanese art offered a model of a national art (*art national*) that the French might emulate in order to develop a modern style for their own nation. By the time of the *Exposition universelle* of 1900, however, Japanese art and society had come to be regarded by many as irredeemably compromised by Japan's emulation of the West.

These debates are played out in criticism of Gallé's art, which the artist struggled, often unsuccessfully, to free from its association with Japonisme. Moreover, while the link between Gallé's art and the art of Japan is widely discussed by critics, the clear influence of Chinese art on the artist's work is rarely acknowledged. In contemporary writings on Asian art, moreover, the art of Japan is often defined in opposition to that of China, which due to events in the political realm and European misunderstandings regarding Asian artistic traditions, was increasingly viewed as a decadent culture that had ceased to evolve. This chapter asks why Japonisme was perceived as a privileged influence on French art, one that was believed by some critics to strengthen that art's essential Frenchness rather than to dilute it, while others saw Japanese art as hopelessly contaminated by contact with the West.

In the course of two turbulent decades, I will argue, debates concerning the impact of Japonisme on French art and on the work of Gallé in particular helped to define a modern, national style through the evolution of the concepts of taste (*goût*) and national genius (*génie*). While the concept of national genius would seem to embrace cultural specificity, the idea of taste offered a model for the assimilation of elements from many different traditions into a unified French style. National genius was, in effect, redefined as the ability to select and appropriate elements from the art of both the past and of foreign nations according to the guidelines of taste. While the work of French artists could be imitated by foreign manufacturers and colonial subjects, critics defined the ineffable concept of taste as unique to the French and thus irreproducible. It is thus through the contemplation and discussion of Japanese art's influence on French artists that a modern, French style was defined—not in terms of shared formal characteristics, but as the expression of a unique, rarefied quality—*taste*.

Equally important in discussions of Japonisme was the centrality of nature in the formulation of a national style. According to many contemporary critics, Japanese art taught

French artists something they had all but forgotten—how to see nature. By returning to a naturalistic depiction of nature and abandoning the stylization and conventions characteristic of the Classical tradition, these critics argued, French artists could once again create a truly *national* art. It is nature, then, that mediated the foreignness of Japanese art, for by imitating the art of Japan, the critics asserted that French artists were better able to represent the native flora and fauna of France. Japanese art, in other words, allowed French artists to define the *national* through the *natural*.

In her pioneering study of Art Nouveau, Silverman addresses the centrality of the Rococo to fin-de-siècle efforts to reconcile a search for modernity with a return to national traditions.³ Silverman devotes only a few pages, however, to the key role played by Japonisme in debates surrounding the issue of a modern, national style.⁴ Moreover, while Silverman concedes that “Gallé’s Japonism stimulated his return to the soil and roots of France as the basis for a new design legacy,” echoing 19th-c. reviews of Gallé’s art, she ultimately identifies the influence of French psychiatry as a more pertinent influence on Gallé’s creation of a unique, personal style.⁵ Silverman’s account, while absolutely essential for any understanding of the context within which Gallé created his works, ultimately fails to recognize the absolutely pivotal role that Japonisme played in the reception of Gallé’s art both at time of its creation and the role that it continues to play today. This chapter aims to amend Silverman’s account by exploring the way in which critics viewed Gallé’s relationship to Japanese art and through it, the troubling issue of style and influence in the creation of a modern, French art.

Clear Water

In an essay on Gallé published three years after the artist’s untimely death, Marx lauds his friend as a revolutionary who liberated French art from the constraints of Classicism and inaugurated a renaissance that reaffirmed the survival of French taste. The central role that he assigns Gallé in the formation of a national style, however, requires that Marx address the troubling question of Japonisme in Gallé’s work. In a forceful statement praising Gallé’s originality, Marx writes,

In 1882, the laws were stated from the observance of which [Gallé] would never depart. The decorator must be original, modern, French; original ‘in drinking from his own glass, if it be only clear water,’ modern, in fleeing the anachronism of dead styles; French, in respecting the traditions of the spirit and of the race.⁶

The key issues that Marx identifies in this passage are originality, modernity, and truth to one’s origins or “race.” While “modernity” refers to the rejection of historicism, Marx defines “originality” as the avoidance of imitation. More specifically, when joined with the imperative to be French, it implies that the artist should avoid any pastiche of foreign artistic styles—such as those of Japan and China.

Marx’s assertion ultimately raises more questions than it answers. How can a style that departs from tradition and avoids emulation nonetheless express a cohesive, shared national identity? How can an artistic community be forged from difference rather than commonality? And how did Gallé and the critics who commented on his works reconcile the influence of Asian art on the artist’s œuvre with this search for a modern, original, and above all *national* style? In this chapter, I will argue that the concepts of taste and genius, together with the role assigned to

nature, are key to understanding how French critics reconciled these seemingly opposed elements in their discussion of Gallé's art as the expression of a modern, French identity.

Marx was uniquely situated to suggest a possible solution to the dilemma posed by attempts to reconcile modernity with tradition and foreign influence with calls for a national style. As previously discussed, Marx was named to the post of secretary in the Ministry of Fine Arts in 1887 and subsequently promoted to the post of Inspector of Fine Arts in 1889 before being made Inspector General of Museums in 1899. In addition to his role in the French arts administration, Marx was also active in the *Union Centrale des Arts décoratifs*. In the course of his lengthy career, Marx published numerous articles praising Gallé's invention of a modern style. In his writings, he also displayed a keen interest in Japanese art, the study of which Marx believed could help foster a renaissance in French design.

A fellow native of Nancy, Marx was Gallé's lifelong friend and correspondent. Despite his close ties to Gallé, however, Marx's account of the artist's œuvre is inevitably marked by the critic's own interests and concerns. His account is at odds with both Gallé's practice and with numerous writings in which the artist offers a more nuanced understanding of the influence of foreign artistic styles on the development of his art. Moreover, Marx's uncompromising statement contradicts even his own earlier accounts of Gallé's art, accounts in which Marx argues that it was the artist's study of Japanese art that allowed him to develop his distinctive, personal style.

In his essay, which is devoted to Gallé as a writer, Marx contends that Gallé vowed to avoid both historicism and exoticism as early as 1882. It was in that year that Gallé published a series of essays on the French export industry in the trade journal *La Céramique et la verrerie*. Gallé's discussion of Japonisme in these essays is not as straightforward, however, as Marx would have the reader imagine. In his essays, the artist analyzes at length the crisis affecting French industry. Citing the troubling lack of demand for French products in foreign markets, Gallé offers suggestions for reestablishing France's preeminence on the global market.⁷ Despite their nationalistic tone, however, the essays constitute neither a clear denunciation of Japonisme nor its impact on French artists and industrialists.

Taste and Fashion

Gallé begins his discussion by arguing that while Japonisme has had a revitalizing influence on the decorative arts in France, it is not without a price. "The instruction in decorative art that [Japan] has given us lately, JAPAN did not give it to us free of charge," he asserts.⁸ Gallé goes on to cite the availability of inexpensive Japanese imports as one cause of the declining demand for French products at home and abroad. He concludes, "Since its sudden arrival in general stores (*bazars*) the world over, the **Japanese bibelot** has become a little banal, but it has made a place for itself in the field of sales and anchored itself there by means of an enormous inventory."⁹ The key word here is *bibelot*, a French term that designates an inexpensive, pleasing decorative object that performs no useful function—a knick-knack or trinket.

Following the signing of trade agreements with Japan in the late 1850s, exports from that nation began to flow into France in great numbers. The majority consisted of decorative items such as fans, lacquer cabinets, folding screens, and kimonos. The popularity of Japanese imports soon led to the production of inexpensive, industrially produced French imitations.¹⁰ Many of Gallé's contemporaries, including the respected art dealer Siegfried Bing (1838-1905), railed

against the prevalence of these second-rate goods produced for export, comparing them unfavorably with works created in earlier centuries.¹¹

Rather than denouncing these imported goods, however, Gallé argues that they have revitalized French art. “It is through an invasion of all kinds of ceramics, lacquers, woods, bronzes, [and] scarves that this blood transfusion which made Japonisme enter our veins took place in the decorative arts,” Gallé writes.¹² The artist thus implies that the transformation wrought by the advent of Japanese art onto the European market is a permanent one—Japonisme has literally become part of French artists’ “blood” and consequently transformed the way in which they see the world. “Our artists still *see* in the Japanese way,” asserts Gallé.¹³

Far from constituting an outright denunciation of Japonisme, then, Gallé’s words suggest that, for better or worse, Japonisme has become an integral part of artistic practice in France. The artist’s assertion that Japonisme has literally become a part of French artists is startling in an era that privileged racial purity and viewed French art as the product of the French “race.” In Gallé’s account, French art is characterized not by purity but by hybridity and blending, a notion viscerally expressed by the idea of the blood of two “races” mingling in the veins of French artists.¹⁴ As we will see, this view of French art as inherently composite and even cosmopolitan existed in some tension with calls for a return to a pure, national tradition.

Gallé’s recognition of the vital role played by Japonisme in the revival of French art and industrial design is tempered by the artist’s recognition of the economic threat that inexpensive Japanese imports pose to French industry. In a surprising passage comparing Japanese *bibelots* and French exports, for example, Gallé wryly remarks that women consumers in France prefer Japanese imports to works produced in France. “Our fashionable women... will willingly disdain, in their purchases, our productions, in favor of porcelain from Fizen,” he laments.¹⁵

However, Gallé is not as quick to dismiss these imported *bibelots* as Bing, for example, who argues that they are only “the vague reflection of an art that was once robust and healthy.”¹⁶ In his note addressed to the jury of the *Exposition universelle* of 1889, Gallé echoes the goals of design reformers such as Marx when he argues the importance of applying artistic principles to mass-produced art objects.¹⁷ According to Gallé, the artists of the Far East have achieved what French artists are only beginning to seek—the union of the beautiful and the useful (*le beau et l’utile*). The artists of the Orient, he contends, produce even “cheap rubbish” (*pacotilles*) with artistry.¹⁸

By studying the art of the Far East, Gallé suggests, artists and industrialists can reconcile the seemingly competing claims of art and industry, producing well-designed works at a reasonable price. Gallé’s praise of Japanese exports stands in contrast to the opinions voiced by many of the most ardent French *japonistes*, who invariably privileged Japan’s artisanally produced handicrafts over the products of its arts industries. Bing, for example, compares the distinction between Japanese export wares and earlier, more “authentic” works produced for a Japanese market to that dividing artistic “creations” from the “everyday products of... modern industry” manufactured in France.¹⁹ For Bing, it is Japanese artisanal traditions, not industrial methods of manufacture, that French artists should emulate. Gallé’s comments on Japanese industry, however, reveal that, unlike many of his compatriots, Gallé does not see these terms—artistic and industrial—as incompatible.

While Gallé attributes a special role to Japanese art in the creation of a modern French style, like many other commentators on the art of the Far East, he nonetheless makes a clear distinction between the art of Japan and that of other Asian nations. Japanese art, Gallé contends, is not a historical or primitive art that has ceased to evolve, but a creative, dynamic art that

continues to change and to develop. “It is indisputable, surely, that Japan, since its fine creative period of the 15th and 16th centuries... has not ceased to evolve [and] to innovate,” Gallé declares.²⁰ The idea of a continually evolving art would have appealed to French critics who believed that historicism had put an end to the natural evolution of styles and thus precluded the development of a modern style that responded to contemporary needs.²¹ Implicit in Gallé’s remarks is the assumption that by studying Japanese art, French artists may be able to reintegrate their own art into an organically evolving tradition temporarily disrupted by the abuses of historicism.

Gallé underscores the constant renewal and innovation that he believes characterizes Japanese art by comparing it with the art of China. He opines, “One hardly introduces innovations at all in all the rest of the Orient: either the pieces that one shows us are of ancient manufacture, or [they are] laboriously copied from it. [...] As for China, ... it continues its trade, that of making the old new.”²² Gallé thus ignores the importance of emulation in Asian art, choosing to overlook the longstanding Japanese tradition of copying ancient Chinese masterpieces. Instead, Gallé privileges the Eurocentric concepts of originality and subjectivity over tradition.

The secret of Japanese art’s constant evolution is one that Gallé believes can help French industry. One of the key factors in the economic decline of the French export trade, Gallé argues, is the production of inexpensive copies of French products by German manufacturers.²³ The only way to put an end to the counterfeiting of French goods and thus to reestablish France’s position as a global economic power, the artist suggests, is through the reform of France’s art industries.²⁴ To achieve this goal, Gallé recommends the establishment of a museum of decorative arts, the creation of new curricula for design schools, and the application of artistic principles to industrial production—all measures recommended by the *Union centrale des arts appliqués à l’industrie*, of which Gallé was a member.²⁵ Above all, Gallé emphasizes the importance of continual evolution in the arts—not just the creation of “novelties” (*nouveautés*), but the creation of original, modern works.

The way to create such works is not through historicism, Gallé contends, but through the forging of a unique, national style that cannot be imitated. He declares, “As for exportation, nothing is valued as much, if it isn’t cheapness, as this tang of the soil which always tends to disappear. We will not retain this French perfume by copying a past that can be imitated.”²⁶ In other words, Gallé seeks not only a solution to the problem of industrial copies but also a way to render French products more desirable both at home *and* abroad. In this passage, Gallé suggests that the answer is to commodify “*Frenchness*,” but to commodify it in terms defined by neither history nor tradition. One solution, the very one suggested by Marx, is to equate “*Frenchness*” instead with modernity and originality—and this is precisely what Gallé suggests that the study of Japanese art can accomplish.

It is not by imitating Japanese works directly, however, that artists and industrialists can hope to create demand for their products. In his note to the jury, for example, Gallé remarks that he hopes to persuade collectors, who until now have only grudgingly sought out French reproductions of works from Venice, Bohemia, the Islamic world, and the Far East, to purchase modern French works.²⁷ By copying the masterpieces of other nations, Gallé asserts, French artists only perpetuate a taste for exoticism and historicist pastiche. If French artists and manufacturers are to produce modern, French works, they must first find a way to make their products more attractive to consumers.²⁸

One way to do this, Gallé suggests, is by making works produced in France more personal—by giving them the indelible mark of their maker’s hand. Gallé argues, in other words, that French designers and industrialists must give their works a handmade, artisanal appearance. This “personal” note, he contends, will distinguish French art objects from those produced in Japan and China, where industrial production is quickly replacing artisanal manufacture. “At the moment when the modern production of the Far East is tending more and more to become European [and] industrial,” he writes in 1889, “[I] wanted to make each piece a personal work.”²⁹ Gallé effectively reverses the generally accepted opposition between the primitive, pre-industrial nation of Japan and the modern, industrialized nation of France in a rhetorical strategy that valorizes the artisanal only in so far as it is can be commodified. For Gallé, then, the concept of a *modern* style is not incompatible with borrowing from the past any more than it is with the emulation (not imitation) of Japanese design principles.

Indeed, in his essays for *La Céramique et la verrerie*, Gallé asserts that the act of creating original works should proceed from the study of both nature *and* the art of the past. “Yes, to create,” he writes, “it would be necessary to apply the methods of conventional drawing freely and boldly to certain types chosen with taste (*goût*) from nature and the arts.”³⁰ Gallé warns against direct imitation and even plagiarism of imported works, in other words, but suggests that originality does not preclude emulation.³¹ In another remarkable passage, Gallé posits, “Human creations are implementations, combinations and assemblies of diverse, preexisting elements, appropriations, organizations by means of number, measure, and harmony.”³²

Gallé thus distinguishes the act of imitation from the process of inspiration, arguing that contemporary artists have too often imitated art of the past rather than finding inspiration in it.³³ While *inspiration* allows the artist to create original works, Gallé underscores the dangers of *imitation*. By copying Japanese works, for example, Gallé warns that French artists and industrialists risk being accused of the very crime that he condemns on the part of German manufacturers: counterfeiting. Gallé writes, “The German, when one complains of his forgeries of French goods, responds crudely: ‘We make use of your models, just as you have cleverly used those of Japan’.”³⁴ In contrast, the creation of a modern, original style, albeit one based in part on Japanese models, allows French industrialists to create demand for their goods without being vulnerable to charges of imitation.

In order to distinguish imitation from inspiration, Gallé invokes the concept of taste (*goût*). In his essays for *La Céramique et la verrerie*, Gallé describes the modern artist-industrialist as a master of *bricolage*, one who chooses elements from among the arts of various cultures and forms found in nature and then reassembles them according to an innate sense of harmony. However, in an essay written only two years later, Gallé at first appears to rethink this conception of French art as inherently eclectic.

From Your Own Glass You Will Drink

In an article written for the *Revue des Arts décoratifs* in 1884, Gallé lists the four “commandments of the law” that he contends modern decorative artists are expected to obey. He describes these “commandments” as follows:

—By the sweat of your brow you will stylize in French, without being inspired by Japanese art in the least;

- In order to innovate with feeling, you will cultivate archaeology, perspective, and geometry relentlessly;
- You will never willingly sit down on a Louis XV chair;
- From your [own] glass you will drink, even if it be only clear water.³⁵

The references to Japonisme, historicism, and the search for a modern, French style clearly echo the language employed in Marx's account. However, Gallé's article is far from offering the unambiguous artistic manifesto that Marx suggests two decades later. In fact, it is unclear from the tone of the article whether Gallé agrees with these artistic precepts at all or in fact finds them to be excessively rigid and difficult to put into practice, for Marx and other critics seem to have misunderstood or overlooked the intentionally humorous tone of Gallé's article.

The list of "commandments," for example, immediately follows a passage in which Gallé scolds Victor Champier, editor of the *Revue des Arts décoratifs*, for asking him to form sentences rather than objects. Gallé then querulously asks, "Is it not enough to repeat day and night the commandments of the law?" before enumerating them.³⁶ The phrase "commandments of the law" has a religious ring to it, suggesting that Gallé is facetiously addressing Champier as a capricious divinity who determines the artist's fate. The artist subsequently compares Champier to a physician, asking "Doctor, doctor, is that not a severe hygiene?"³⁷ Gallé seems to be gently chiding Champier for his unrealistic expectations of artists, and it seems likely that the passage also reflects Gallé's general frustration with the demands placed on artists working in the decorative arts.

Several of the "commandments," for example, seem to involve the reconciliation of things commonly thought of as opposed to each other or at least incompatible— such as geometry and "feeling," or archaeology and innovation. And how could one avoid sitting in a Louis XV chair when so many 19th-c. households contained them? Upon closer scrutiny, the "commandments" seem more and more like a list of impossible, even ridiculous things, suggesting that, for Gallé, creating a modern, national style was unthinkable *without* the inspiration drawn from Japanese art.

Marx was not alone among Gallé's contemporaries, however, in taking the artist at his word. Marx delivered his essay, "Émile Gallé Écrivain," as a speech before the *Académie de Stanislas* on November 23, 1906. Marx's speech was subsequently published in the *Mémoires de l'Académie de Stanislas* for 1906-07. The *Académie de Stanislas*, an honorary society based in Nancy, had elected Gallé to its ranks in 1890—an unusual honor for a manufacturer. According to Jean-Claude Bonnefont, most members were nominated to the *Académie de Stanislas* based on their scientific accomplishments, and the Academy numbered few artists and even fewer manufacturers among its members.³⁸

The language used to characterize Gallé and his art in the *Académie de Stanislas*'s published *Mémoires* is remarkably similar to that employed by Marx nearly two decades later. Like Marx, the secretary of the *Académie de Stanislas*, Gabriel Thomas, also references Gallé's articles in *La Céramique et la verrerie*. Writing in the *Mémoires de l'Académie*, Thomas summarizes Gallé's essays,

Gallé has told us his thoughts on the current destiny of his art in a series of articles published in 1882 by the *Moniteur de la Céramique et de la Verrerie*. He examines... the causes of the ill health that the export trade has suffered, [and]...

he demonstrates the progress of the decorative arts in the substitution of a new sentiment, modern or French, for the servile copy of old or foreign styles.³⁹

While Thomas is discussing Gallé's essays in *La Céramique et la verrerie*, his references to a modern French style demonstrate his familiarity with Gallé's later article published in the *Revue des Arts décoratifs*. Thomas overlooks Gallé's cautious championing of Japonisme in both sources in order to posit that the artist counsels the rejection of "foreign styles."

In their report, the members of the official membership committee, which included Georges Bleicher, Émile Mellier, and Joseph Victor Barbier, likewise present Gallé as an active proponent of a modern, national style. Citing an unknown source, the authors of the report first declare, "The French decorator must be French, by avoiding the copy of foreign styles; he must be modern and abstain from pastiching bygone styles."⁴⁰ They then go on to cite Gallé's "commandments" published in the *Revue des Arts décoratifs* word for word.⁴¹ Noting that Gallé enumerates his laws "in a humorous tone," the committee nonetheless concludes that "it is by drawing inspiration from these principles that Mr. Émile Gallé, served by a lively and original imagination, but also guided by a sensitive and sure taste, has produced these marvelous works."⁴² A brief resume of Gallé's articles in *La Céramique et la verrerie* is also given, suggesting that the commission considered both essays to be essential to their consideration of Gallé's application for membership.⁴³

Marx may well have read excerpts from the report published by Thomas in the Academy's *Mémoires* before composing his speech to be delivered before the *Académie de Stanislas*. The emphasis he places upon the transformation of Gallé's art, however, is significant. The phrase that most seems to interest both Marx and members of the *Académie de Stanislas* is Gallé's reference to the artist drinking from his own glass.⁴⁴ The metaphor is an apt one—describing the process of creation, Gallé refers to both the source of his inspiration—his own (drinking) "glass," or imagination, and to the product of the creative act—his famous glass vases. The reference to water, a natural substance, is likewise not accidental, for central to Gallé's turn away from historicism and eclecticism would be a renewed emphasis upon nature as the artist's muse. As this chapter will demonstrate, it was the turn towards nature and direct observation that for many critics, including Marx, tempered the influence of Japanese art on Gallé's work and allowed the artist to forge what was perceived as a modern, French style. Nature, in other words, could transform the foreign into the French.

Realism and Idealism

Direct observation alone, however, would not suffice to distinguish Gallé from the artists of Japan. Both the official report on Gallé's candidacy and the Academy's yearly summary for 1891-1892 also reference a review of Gallé's work published by Vicomte Eugène Melchior De Vogüé in 1889.⁴⁵ De Vogüé was a member of the *Académie Française* as well as a French war hero, diplomat, and novelist. He regularly published art criticism in the *Revue des deux Mondes*.⁴⁶ In his review of Gallé's works exhibited at the *Exposition universelle* of 1889, De Vogüé pens the provocative phrase, "Let us bless the whim of fate that caused a Japanese man to be born in Nancy."⁴⁷ De Vogüé is quick to point out, however, that Gallé is in fact superior to a native Japanese artist by virtue of his intellect. The author then establishes an opposition between what he terms realism, defined as the transcription of nature without interpretation, and idealism, or the representation of nature as filtered through the intellect of the artist.

De Vogüé writes, “When one compares [Gallé] to his masters in technique, the Japanese, one really perceives how we must be superior to them, and the comparison permits [us] to make a sufficiently precise distinction between these vague words, realism and idealism.⁴⁸ In referring to Gallé’s “masters,” De Vogüé implies that Gallé is a student, learning from the Japanese. Particular emphasis is placed on the technical virtuosity of Japanese artists. The opposition between realism and idealism, however, permits De Vogüé to suggest a fundamental European superiority at work in this unequal relationship. He writes,

In spite of all his skill, Mr. Gallé will never extract the amount of life from the exterior world that a Japanese [artist] knows how to draw out of it; but this life, the man of the Orient can only rework it to a certain point; he is missing the tool that we owe to a more complete, richer intellectual inheritance.⁴⁹

While the ability of Japanese artists to render lifelike and vivid images is unparalleled, according to the author, this absolute realism lacks an intellectual element that would elevate it to the realm of fine art.⁵⁰ De Vogüé here echoes the arguments made by those who defined “primitive” art as characterized by the primacy of sensual experience and the absence of reason.⁵¹

De Vogüé goes on to distinguish between what he terms the *view* and the *vision*. The *view*, in De Vogüé’s argument, corresponds to the practice of realism—the naturalistic depiction of scenes from life. *Vision*, however, is intimately linked to the artist’s own sensibility and to his or her intellect. According to De Vogüé, vision is inherently subjective. He writes,

And the supreme enjoyment of art... is not the view, but the vision; because the most poignant interest for us is not in things, it is not even in the spectacle of general life, however powerful you render the image for us, it is in man, and that which man least knows of himself.⁵²

De Vogüé associates European art, then, with intellectual and aesthetic appreciation, while he argues that Japanese art produces only sensual pleasure.⁵³ In contrast with Japanese art, the author suggests that European art imbues nature with a meaning beyond that expressed by mere physical appearances. This rich symbolism, which De Vogüé gives the name of “poetry,” is the product of centuries of philosophical reflection, which find their expression in the work of art.⁵⁴

De Vogüé’s review set the stage for debates around Japonisme and its impact on the art of Gallé and other French artists. In De Vogüé’s account, Gallé’s art is superior to that of the Japanese by virtue of its expression of a shared intellectual tradition. While the Japanese can only reproduce the appearance of nature, in other words, Gallé imbues it with a deeper significance. Other critics commenting on Japonisme’s influence on French art would attribute this ability to imbue natural forms with meaning to two related concepts they believed characterized French artists: taste and genius. The twin concepts of taste and genius provided an alternative to the creation of a visually coherent, unified style in the arts. While critics and artists alike bemoaned the lack of a shared modern style, the concepts of taste and national genius promised that such a style already existed—in the form of an artistic style forged from shared difference, rather than commonality.

Writing in 1880, Jules Bourgoïn, an architect and the author of several books on Islamic ornament and design, defined the terms “genius” and “taste” for his readers.⁵⁵ Quoting an Enlightenment source, Bourgoïn writes,

Genius is this insight, or strength of intelligence by which a man keenly grasps a thing made or to be made, organizes the plan of it [mentally], then realizes it on the exterior, and produces it either by making it understood through speech, or in making it perceptible through some product of his hand. [...] Taste in literature, as in any other thing, is the consciousness of beautiful things, the love of good things, the approval of that which is right.⁵⁶

For Bourgoïn, then, genius is that which enables the artist to give his intangible ideas tangible form and to share them with others. The act of creation is also an act of communication. Bourgoïn describes genius as an individual attribute, but references to “national genius” in the writings of many fin-de-siècle critics suggest that many perceived genius as a characteristic shared by all French artists.

Taste, on the other hand, is not innate but learned according to Bourgoïn.⁵⁷ He writes, “Genius arrives in the world with us... It is not at all the same with what one calls taste. It can be acquired.”⁵⁸ Herein lies the dilemma of fin-de-siècle art: if taste could be learned, what distinguished a French artist from, say, a Japanese artist? Taste had to go hand-in-hand with the concept of national genius in order to guarantee the specificity of French art. Thus the concept of genius would gradually come to signify not merely individual skill but a shared, *national* talent that united all French artists.

In the years preceding the artist’s death in 1904, many critics praised Gallé as an artist who exemplified the principles of French taste and French genius.⁵⁹ How did critics reconcile this, however, with Gallé’s demonstrated interest in Japanese art? As we have seen, critics such as Marx retrospectively identified 1882 at the year in which Gallé abandoned Japonisme for a style based on the direct observation of nature. If the works Gallé exhibited at the *Exposition Universelle* of 1889 are any indication, however, it would be another decade before the artist truly cast off his reliance on decorative motifs borrowed directly from the art of China, Japan, and the Near East. Certain technical influences, such as Gallé’s use of the enameling process invented by Islamic glassmakers or the cased glass technique favored by Chinese artisans, would continue to characterize Gallé’s œuvre until the artist’s death in 1904. Moreover, discussions of Gallé’s work both during the artist’s lifetime and more recently place considerable emphasis on the role played by Japonisme in Gallé’s creation of a novel style based on the depiction of natural forms.⁶⁰ What had changed by the mid-1890s, then, was not Gallé’s style per se, but rather his perceived position vis-à-vis the influence of Japanese and Chinese art on his œuvre.

Japonisme and Arts Reform

In France, the study and collecting of Japanese art were closely linked to the decorative arts reform movement.⁶¹ Reformers such as Bing and Marx actively promoted the study of Japanese art for designers in the decorative arts as a way of breathing new life into moribund French design bound by academic convention and historicism. In a widely read series of essays published in *Le Constitutionnel* in 1868, for example, arts administrator Ernest Chesneau urged artists to study the art of Japan in order to revive France’s decorative art industries.⁶²

The juxtaposition of Japanese and Art Nouveau works both in print and in public made clear the association between Japonisme and avant-garde design. Works by Gallé and other Art Nouveau designers, for example, were often exhibited alongside works from Japan. Galleries

such as Bing's *L'Art Nouveau*, which opened in 1895, retailed both European and Japanese decorative arts.⁶³ Similarly, journals devoted to decorative arts reform, such as the *Revue des Arts décoratifs* and *L'Art décoratif*, regularly published articles on Japanese art alongside those on the decorative arts in France.⁶⁴ Moreover, many of the most influential Art Nouveau designers, including Arthur Lasenby Liberty (1843-1917) in England and the jeweler Henri Vever (1854-1942) in France, were also important collectors of Japanese art.⁶⁵

Bing addressed the links between the arts reform movement and Japonisme in the inaugural edition of his journal *Le Japon Artistique*.⁶⁶ Bing writes that his journal is addressed "especially to the numerous people who, for whatever reason, are interested in the future of the decorative arts."⁶⁷ In the minds of decorative arts reformers and the general public, then, the creation of a modern, national style was inextricably linked to the study of another artistic tradition, that of Japan.

Above all, decorative arts reformers found in Japan an example of a society in which they believed art and craft to be united.⁶⁸ Although artistic hierarchies existed in Japan, they were generally not recognized as such by European observers, who assumed that the Japanese did not distinguish between the fine and the decorative arts.⁶⁹ Japanese depictions of interior space also suggested to reformers that in Japan each element of architectural structure and interior design was incorporated into a harmonious whole.⁷⁰ This served as a model for the European concept of the *gesamtkunstwerk*, or total art environment, so often advocated by fin-de-siècle arts reformers.

When discussing Japonisme, however, we must be careful to avoid any simplistic understanding of the impact of Japanese art on French art and design. Historian Jean-Paul Bouillon has persuasively argued that many aesthetic transformations attributed to the influence of Japonisme, such as the rejection of linear perspective and the use of flat, local color were already being explored by French artists before Japanese art became widely available in France in the 1860s.⁷¹ Bouillon contends that Japonisme may have provided artists with solutions to already existing aesthetic debates or helped to justify the adoption of new methods during a crisis in Western art, but that it cannot be credited with single-handedly transforming French art.⁷²

Moreover, it is all but impossible to attribute the presence of certain motifs and formal strategies to any one source without proof of the artist's intentions. Many pictorial techniques such as asymmetrical framing may have evolved independently in the French and the Japanese art world. Moreover, by the end of the century, the increasing familiarity of Japanese artists with Western art meant that works once presumed to have influenced French artists may in fact have been partly inspired by their example. Many of the works believed to have inspired Art Nouveau artists, for example, were in fact produced concurrently with those designed in France.⁷³ The concept of influence alone, in other words, cannot adequately address the complex relationship between French artists and the art of Japan.

Further, we must be careful not to ascribe an essentializing unity to Japanese art, which is itself the product of the numerous borrowings, influences, and transformations that inevitably characterize any artistic tradition. The idea of a unified Japanese nation was itself a modern invention and the idea of "Japanese art" a concept imposed upon a richly divergent set of local practices. When fin-de-siècle commentators discussed Japanese art, they invariably reduced its complexity to a set of characteristics that could be seen to function in opposition to the Classical tradition of France. Japan provides French critics, in other words, with an artistic "Other" against which French art can be delineated and from which French artists may borrow.

Similarly, we must bear in mind that Japonisme itself did not constitute a shared artistic manifesto or a cohesive artistic movement.⁷⁴ The term refers not to a specific movement in art,

but rather to a loose configuration of attitudes towards the art of Japan ranging from enthusiastic collecting on the one hand to scholarly study on the other. The term can thus refer either to the activity of collectors and scholars or to the appreciation of the aesthetic principles of Japanese art. The critic and collector Philippe Burty coined the term “Japonisme” to distinguish this study of the arts of Japan from *japonaiserie*. Whereas “Japonisme” came to signify the adoption of certain stylistic elements found in Japanese art, *japonaiserie* more often referred to the depiction of Japanese objects, people, or decorative motifs in an effort to evoke the idea of an exotic foreign land.⁷⁵ *Japonaiserie*, in other words, is closer to 18th-century *chinoiserie* in the way it functions.⁷⁶ An artist such as Gallé might have a shifting relationship to Japanese art over the course of his or her career, embracing Japonisme at one point and *japonaiserie* at another. In Gallé’s case, his interest in Japanese art gradually evolved from an early fascination with collecting imported bibelots and the imitation of these objects in glass and faience to a more subtle exploration of the artistic principles of Japanese art.

The writings of *japonistes* invariably praise the same characteristics in Japanese art that arts reformers had singled out as necessary to the revival of the decorative arts in France. These included brilliant color, an emphasis on the decorative, a return to nature for inspiration, and structural rationalism. Louis Gonse is representative of the many fin-de-siècle writers who perceived vibrant, bold color, for example, to be one of the most promising legacies of Japonisme.⁷⁷ In *Le Japon artistique*, Gonse also underscores the decorative character of Japanese art, declaring, “the Japanese are the world’s leading decorators.”⁷⁸ Although the dichotomy between intellect, associated with the Western tradition, and physical sensuality, ascribed to the East, is typical of primitivist discourse, Gonse here makes an interesting point. Far from dismissing decoration as mere “sensory enjoyment,” Gonse instead praises the Japanese for their ability to incorporate artistic elements into objects of daily use—a goal of French arts reformers.⁷⁹ Gonse also attributes to the Japanese a unique ability to combine invention with rationalism. He praises “the variety, the suppleness, and the ingenuity of Japanese decor,” adding that “all is new, invented, unexpected, in perfect homogeneity with nature, function, and the medium of the object.”⁸⁰

The aspect of Japanese art that appealed most to arts reformers, however, was the valorization of the natural world as the object of representation. Critics attributed a deep love of nature and a unique ability to represent its most characteristic forms to Japanese artists.⁸¹ The English arts reformer Liberty, for example, expresses an idea that appears again and again in accounts of Japanese art when he extols “this love so keen, this understanding so sound of the beauties of nature” that he believes characterizes the “artistic temperament” of the Japanese people.⁸²

“Foreign to Our Taste and to Our Genius”

Almost as soon as French artists began to study Japanese art, however, debate arose over the influence of Japonisme on their work. Proponents of Japonisme such as Chesneau and Burty argued that the study of Japanese art offered French artists an opportunity to break with tradition and create modern works.⁸³ For other commentators, however, Japanese art was too debased by commercialism to offer French artists a model to emulate. In 1869, for example, the critic Edmond Duranty warned that French artists who studied Japanese art risked associating their art with the commercial products of “the bric-a-brac stores.”⁸⁴

It was not uncommon for fin-de-siècle commentators to decry the corrupting influence of foreign artistic traditions on French art. In his review of the 1884 exhibition, for example, Louis de Fourcaud cites Antonin Proust, director of the *Union centrale*, as declaring that his organization is “a French society founded for the purification of French taste [and] for the restoration of French methods.”⁸⁵ Similarly Marius Vachon attributed the decline of French art to the imitation of “exotic” products. In his study of industrial conditions in Europe, *La crise industrielle et artistique en France et en Europe* (1886), Vachon declares “We have, in France, for some years now... too completely neglected our national models, throwing ourselves instead into the imitation of exotic products that are foreign to our taste and to our genius.”⁸⁶ Vachon urges French manufacturers to study the art of Japan and China, not to improve French design, but in order to identify a market for French products in these nations.⁸⁷

In contrast to those who argued that French art was being contaminated by Japonisme, however, Fourcaud contends that “national taste” has been corrupted not by Japonisme but by Classicism. Fourcaud warns his readers that other nations view France as a society incapable of originality.⁸⁸ If the French have any skill, they argue, it is only in imitating, assimilating, and perfecting elements borrowed from other nations. Fourcaud concedes that the art of the last four centuries, based as it was on a Classical tradition itself derived from Ancient Greek and Roman sources, had laid France open to such accusations.⁸⁹ This divide separating those who saw in Japanese art the product of a pure, national tradition, one that could provide a model for the return of French art to its own, Gallic origins, and those who viewed foreign influence as a threat to French art would structure nearly all accounts of Japonisme and its impact on Gallé’s art.

Trade Relations with Japan

One reason for French interest in Japanese art was the dramatic circumstances surrounding the opening of trade relations between the two nations. In 1624, the Tokugawa Shoguns, who ruled Japan until the restoration of the Meiji emperors in the 1868, expelled all foreign missionaries from mainland Japan. Fifteen years later, in 1639, the Shoguns formally ended trade with all foreign nations, with the exception of the Dutch, who were permitted to establish a base on the island of Deshima. For over two hundred years, then, the only exports to reach France from Japan were those supplied by the Dutch.

Limited supplies of lacquer ware and fine porcelain quickly found favor with European monarchs, who competed with each other to form collections of Japanese art.⁹⁰ French collectors generally lacked a clear understanding of the differences between the art of various Asian nations, however, with the result that Japanese imports were often misidentified as Chinese.⁹¹ Many works were also altered and adapted to suit French taste. Lacquer screens, for example, were often disassembled and used to decorate French furniture, while craftsmen created elaborate ormolu mounts to display Chinese and Japanese porcelain.⁹² The popularity of such works soon led French craftsmen to imitate them using techniques such as *vernis Martin*, a varnish that allowed artists to imitate the appearance of lacquer.⁹³

Japan maintained its policy of *sakoku*, literally “the secluded country,” until the mid-19th century. In 1853, the United States sent a naval fleet under the command of Commodore Matthew Perry to negotiate a trade treaty with Japan. Although the Japanese refused to enter into negotiations with the Americans, Perry returned with an even larger force in 1854 and effectively forced the Shoguns to submit to a treaty with the United States. Treaties with Great Britain, France, Russia, and the Netherlands soon followed. The unequal treaties imposed upon Japan

may have been a factor in the overthrow of the Shoguns, who ceded power to the Meiji emperor in 1867. The new emperor's emphasis on Westernization and international cooperation was signaled in April of 1868 by the signing of article five of the Imperial Oath, which stated that "Knowledge shall be sought for throughout the world, so that the foundations of the empire may be strengthened."⁹⁴

The production and export of contemporary art objects was a central element of the Meiji emperor's efforts to expand and modernize industry in Japan.⁹⁵ With the fall of the Shogunate and the subsequent political, economic, and social modernization of Japan, many crafts became obsolete as traditional forms of patronage disappeared. In place of these ancient trades, the Meiji government encouraged the growth of export industries, the most famous example of which is the Kiritsu Kosho Kaisha Manufacturing & Trading Company, established in 1874.⁹⁶

Central to the new government's policies of modernization was participation in the great exhibitions held in Europe.⁹⁷ The first displays of Japanese art in Europe, however, were due to the initiative of private individuals. Sir Rutherford Alcock (1809-1897), the first British ambassador to Japan, organized an extensive exhibition of Japanese art at the International Exhibition held in London in 1862.⁹⁸ Like arts reformers in France, Alcock praised the quality of Japanese works and urged English artists and manufacturers to emulate them. Members of the Japanese Embassy to Europe visited the exhibition and later underscored the importance of international exhibitions in their official report to the Emperor.⁹⁹

Even before the Westernization campaigns of the Meiji government, however, the Shoguns recognized the opportunity such exhibitions afforded manufacturers to display their export wares. The Shogunate and the independent domains of Tosa and Satsuma sponsored three separate displays of Japanese art at the Paris *Exposition universelle* of 1867.¹⁰⁰ The entries consisted mostly of decorative art objects, including ceramics, lacquer ware, and metal work, most of which were displayed in a small wooden teahouse and in the so-called *Pavillon de Taïcoun*.¹⁰¹ Altogether, the Shogunate sent approximately 1,308 objects to Paris, most commissioned from contemporary artists on themes chosen by the government.¹⁰² After the *Exposition universelle* closed, the objects in the Japanese display were sold in Paris.¹⁰³ Gallé represented his father's firm, Gallé-Reinemer, at the *Exposition Universelle* of 1867 and undoubtedly visited the Japanese displays.¹⁰⁴ Among the works exhibited by Gallé-Reinemer, moreover, were several with Japanese themes, leading the owners of a rival ceramics company in Lunéville to accuse Charles Gallé-Reinemer of plagiarizing his designs directly from Japanese prints.¹⁰⁵

Japanese art also figured prominently at the exhibition of the *Union Centrale des Arts décoratifs* held in 1869. Works from Persia, India, Korea, Siam, the Near East, China, and Japan were displayed together in the 7th section of the exhibition, which consisted of eight rooms in the *Palais de l'Industrie*. These rooms soon came to be known as the "*Musée de l'Orient*."¹⁰⁶ Over 155 collectors loaned works for the exhibition, demonstrating the rapid spread of Japonisme among French artists and art lovers.

By the time of the 1871 International Exhibition in London, the Gallé family firm was already producing ceramics decorated with motifs derived from Japanese art (figs. 4.1, 4.2).¹⁰⁷ Gallé again represented the firm at this exhibition and while there may have encountered the work of well-known English *japonistes* such as James McNeill Whistler and Edwin W. Godwin, whose homes were decorated in a style heavily influenced by Japonisme.¹⁰⁸ While in London, Gallé also visited the South Kensington Museum, whose extensive collection of Japanese works he praised in the pages of *La Céramique et la verrerie*.¹⁰⁹

Gallé soon began collecting Japanese art, including ceramics, bamboo, lacquerware, carved stones, paintings, Chinese snuffboxes, calligraphy, and prints.¹¹⁰ Gallé owned several examples of what he termed “Japanese monsters,” stoneware spittoons in the shape of *Shishi*, or Buddhist lions, as early as 1872 (fig. 4.3).¹¹¹ He created works in enameled glass and faience based on these objects beginning in 1876 and exhibited them at the *Exposition universelle* in 1878 (fig. 4.4).¹¹² At the *Exposition Universelle*, Gallé also visited the Japanese garden, where he purchased several specimens to add to his growing collection of plants from Japan.¹¹³

The Japanese display at the *Exposition Universelle* of 1878 constituted the most comprehensive exhibition of Japanese art to date, due in large part to the government’s attempts to promote their country’s exports. The government commissioned the Kiritsu Kosho Kaisha Manufacturing & Trading Company to organize Japan’s display.¹¹⁴ Although French collectors such as Burty, Émile Guimet, and Bing each contributed works from their collections, the majority of goods on display in 1878 were export-quality wares industrially produced in imitation of traditional crafts.¹¹⁵ Visitors to the *Exposition* were able, however, to see these objects in the context of daily life in Japan. The Japanese exhibition included a wooden building in the trabeated style on the *Rue des Nations*, a Japanese-style garden, a tea house, and a farm house, each with displays of exports such as rice and silk.

In France, the interest in Japanese art soon developed into a veritable mania, spreading from the ranks of artists and collectors through the middle class.¹¹⁶ While middle-class consumers often preferred decorative objects such as fans, early collectors sought out woodblock prints and illustrated books.¹¹⁷ Most *japonistes* came from the ranks of artists and writers associated with the Realist and Naturalist schools.¹¹⁸ The majority of goods purchased by collectors were mass-produced, industrial products designed to appeal to Western taste as the Japanese perceived it.¹¹⁹ In order to improve manufacturing methods, the government also sent Japanese artisans to study European techniques. As Europeans began to mass-produce imitations of Japanese works and the Japanese began to export mass-produced versions of traditional crafts, the line separating Japanese exports from European imitations began to blur.¹²⁰ Japanese imitations of European wares further confused matters, as did the Japanese practice of importing French porcelain, which was then decorated and exported back to France.

By the early 1860s, there were several stores in Paris selling Japanese and Chinese imports. The Desoyes, husband and wife, opened *La Jonque Chinoise* in 1862 at 220, Rue de Rivoli.¹²¹ The store quickly became a meeting place for *japonistes*. After the death of her husband in 1873, Mme. Desoye continued to sell imports such as fans, prints, and textiles until 1887.¹²² Other boutiques selling Japanese and Chinese imports included *La Porte Chinoise*, a tea house located at 36, rue Vivienne, and *A L’Empire Chinoise* at 56, rue Vivienne. The fashion for *japonaiseries* spread quickly and by 1876, *Didot Bottin*, the guide to commerce in Paris, listed 36 shops selling “Chinoiserie et Japonerie.”¹²³ Albums of Japanese prints and imported fans were also widely available in Parisian department stores by 1880.¹²⁴

While such stores invariably focused on the inexpensive, decorative *bibelots* that were popular with middle-class consumers, private dealers soon began to offer collectors a wider selection of objects from all periods of Japanese art. The fall of the Shogunate and the resulting social upheaval had led to the sale of many private collections in Japan. Philippe Sichel, who traveled to Japan in 1874, was among the first to take advantage of changes in the political realm, returning with over 5,000 objects to sell in his shop.¹²⁵

Bing quickly became the most influential dealer in Japanese art and opened a gallery selling Japanese art in 1875. He exhibited objects from his ceramic collection at the *Exposition*

universelle of 1878 and traveled to the Far East for the first time in 1880. Bing was instrumental in offering the Parisian public a historical overview of Japanese art. In 1883, he loaned works to the *Exposition rétrospective de l'art japonais* organized by Louis Gonse, who invited Bing to write the chapter on ceramics for his pioneering study of Japanese art published as *L'Art Japonais* later that year.¹²⁶ In 1888, Bing held a show of historical survey of Japanese printmaking, *Exposition historique de l'art de la gravure au Japon*, at his gallery.¹²⁷ That same year, he also began publication of *Le Japon Artistique*, a luxuriously illustrated journal devoted to Japanese art, which appeared in black and white with a portfolio of color plates printed by Charles Gillot.¹²⁸

Twenty years after opening his first gallery, Bing inaugurated *L'Art Nouveau*, where he sold works by contemporary designers, including Gallé, side by side with Japanese works. Gallé would no doubt have been familiar with Bing's collection given their close professional ties. By 1885, Gallé had also befriended the Goncourt brothers and had access to their extensive private collection of Japanese and Chinese art.¹²⁹ It is around this time that Gallé also encountered a Japanese forestry student, Tokouso Takacyma (1850-1931), who was living in Nancy.

"Very Artistic and Japanese": Tokouso Takacyma

Takacyma had arrived in France in 1885 to complete a government-sponsored course of study at Nancy's *École Forestière* (Forestry School).¹³⁰ He left Nancy three years later, in 1888, but not before befriending many local artists and designers, including Gallé. Takacyma returned to visit his friends in Nancy in August of 1889.¹³¹ Before traveling to France, Takacyma had completed a seven-year study of Japanese flora, the results of which were published in Japan.¹³² Upon his return to his native country, Takacyma would be promoted to the post of Director of Forests.¹³³

Takacyma shared his knowledge of Japanese flora with Gallé, whose interest in exotic plants is well documented. Gallé and Takacyma first met, for example, at the autumn exhibition of the *Société centrale d'horticulture* in 1886.¹³⁴ A Japanese book in the library of the *Société* testifies to the two men's friendship. It bears the inscription: "Belonged to Mr. Tukouso Takacyma, of Tokyo, student at the Forestry School in Nancy, 1886-88, and offered by him to his friend Émile Gallé, of Nancy."¹³⁵ The book in question is *Nippon Shokubutsushi* (The Nomenclature of Japanese Plants, 1884), by J. Matsumura and R. Yatabe, which gave the names of common plants in Japanese, Chinese, and Latin.

In addition to his knowledge of the natural sciences, Takacyma was also an amateur artist. Mention of Takacyma first appeared in a local publication entitled *Nancy-Artiste* in 1885 when the student displayed one of his drawings in the window of Wiener's shop at 53, rue des Dominicains.¹³⁶ A week later, Wiener exhibited a Japanese-themed work by a local artist, leading at least one critic to compare this attempt at "Japonisme" unfavorably with the work of Takacyma.¹³⁷ Remarking that Takacyma must find this kind of pastiche amusing, the author asserted that European artists remain European even when they attempt to emulate Japanese art.¹³⁸ He writes, "Poor Europeans that we are and that we so very much remain when we try to imitate Japanese art (*faire du japonisme*)! Mr. Takasima—very artistic and Japanese... must smile at our French pastiches."¹³⁹ Takacyma's presence in Nancy, in other words, provoked debate in the local press over the nature and quality of cross-cultural borrowings, both those of French artists who attempted to emulate Japanese art and those of the Japanese, in the person of Takacyma, who sought to make Japan more "Western."

Nancy-Artiste and its successor, *La Lorraine Artiste*, devoted several articles to Takacyma during his three years in Nancy and published several of his landscape drawings.¹⁴⁰ A drawing by Takacyma even graced the cover of the July 11, 1886 issue of *Nancy-Artiste*.¹⁴¹ In 1886, Takacyma exhibited another work, a watercolor panel entitled *Panneau japonais*, in the “Salon de Nancy,” an annual exhibition held by the *Société des Amis des Arts*.¹⁴² It seems likely that Gallé would have viewed Takacyma’s works, as he was a close friend of Wiener, a local bookbinder and later a member of the *École de Nancy*. Gallé also participated in the yearly “Salon” where Takacyma’s panel was exhibited. In June of 1887, *Nancy-Artiste* announced that the director of the *École des Arts décoratifs* in Paris had commissioned ten decorative panels from Takacyma for the *Ecole nationale de Limoges*.¹⁴³ The following year, *La Lorraine artiste* reproduced two sets of the panels (figs. 4.5, 4.6).¹⁴⁴

The tall, vertical format of the works, the asymmetrical compositions, and the unusual cropping of the scenes depicted would no doubt have been surprising to those accustomed to European conventions of landscape painting. The use of simplified linear perspective and the presence of the artist’s signature in both Japanese characters and French cursive, however, marked the works as hybrid constructions that display elements of both the Japanese and European pictorial conventions. Similarly, while the addition of the phrase “à Nancy” (in Nancy) both situates the works securely in France and declares their verisimilitude by suggesting that the panels were painted from nature, the mingling of Japanese and French flora again underscores the works’ hybrid character.

Praise for Takacyma’s skill in depicting the natural world was near universal in the local press. Reviewing an exhibition of the student’s works in the window of Wiener’s shop in late 1886, for example, an anonymous critic remarked upon the Takacyma’s predilection for representing scenes from nature.¹⁴⁵ The critic attributed the startling verisimilitude of his compositions to Takacyma’s knowledge of forestry—and to his Japanese origin.¹⁴⁶

All of these small flowers, these branches, this greenery are of an original, exquisite taste, and at the same time of a singular truthfulness. [...] While keeping the precious fantasy and the artistic eccentricity of composition that characterizes the art of his country, he possesses a serious understanding of nature. [...] In order to be a realistic idealist, it is necessary to be Japanese [and] in order to succeed at that—Japanese... and forester.

In this passage, the anonymous reviewer of Takacyma’s work reveals an understanding of both the artist and his work as characterized by a kind of duality. Takacyma is both artist and scientist, and his work is the product of both knowledge and fantasy.

While the author associates fantasy, taste, and eccentricity with Japanese art, he seems to suggest that Takacyma’s knowledge (*connaissance*) of nature is the product of his studies in France. There is nothing surprising in the dichotomy the author establishes between Western science and Eastern “feeling,” but what is unusual in this passage is the assertion that Takacyma embodies both of these modes of seeing within his very person. This model of hybridity—not one model imposed upon another, but both existing simultaneously—would also appear in Gallé’s approach to Japonisme. It also structures the writings of critics who viewed a modern, French style as the culmination of artists’ attempts to fuse two parallel traditions in a composite, cosmopolitan, and yet *national* style.

That same year, *La Lorraine artiste* marked Takacyma’s departure with a long article

devoted to a discussion of his career as a botanist and to an exploration of his art. The article was illustrated by a portrait of Takacyma sketched by the journalist and engineer Edgard Auguin (1844-1902), who was most likely the author of the essay that accompanied it (fig. 4.7). Both the article and Auguin's portrait underscore Takacyma's composite identity as a foreigner living in France.

In Auguin's drawing, Takacyma appears in European clothing—he wears the understated suit of the bourgeois Frenchman. He is seated in a European-style chair, with a carafe, water glass, and book on the table behind him. The setting, while minimal, nonetheless clearly situates Takacyma within a French context and even alludes to his studies through the presence of the bound book. This conventional representation of a French man of letters, however, is disrupted by the intensity of Takacyma's gaze and the oddly misshapen appearance of the hand that rests awkwardly on his left thigh.

Takacyma's difference, his foreignness, resides in these two details—the proof of his irreducible physical otherness. While they mark Takacyma's difference, the attention paid to the sitter's physiognomic particularity and to his resting hand also relate directly to Auguin's description of Takacyma as both a scientist and an artist in the article that accompanies his portrait. "Botanist and painter, engineer and artist," Auguin asserts, "Tokuoso Takacyma deserves to be studied from this double point of view."¹⁴⁷ Takacyma's forthright gaze evokes the powers of observation that Auguin attributes to the scientist, while his prominently displayed (yet strangely diminutive) hand recalls Auguin's praise of Takacyma as an artist.

Indeed, both Takacyma's hands and his gaze were the focus of considerable attention among the artist's acquaintances in Nancy. A contemporary photograph, for example, shows the artist with one hand poised above a horizontal surface as he prepares to demonstrate Japanese-style brushwork for an audience of fellow artists (fig. 4.8). Takacyma is shown looking not at the paper beneath him, however, but at the photographer. His direct, open gaze asserts Takacyma's intelligence and independence, complicating the specimen-like portrayal of the artist as a curiosity to be admired by onlookers and by viewers of the photograph.

In his written description of Takacyma's physiognomy, Auguin similarly alternates between a description of Takacyma as a kind of exotic curiosity and as an individual in his own right. Auguin devotes long passages to a description of both Takacyma's brushwork technique and his physical appearance.¹⁴⁸ In a truly bizarre paragraph, for example, Auguin discusses Takacyma's eyes, writing,

Those who have known him best will guard the memory of this physique made eminently strange by... the mischievousness of his bridled eyelids, with tapered corners, under which vibrate two small, volcanic, black, glowing, piercing, pupils shining with a brilliant dot of diabolical liveliness. Evidently these eyes, which were all of the man, must have seen many things that escape us and [he] must have laughed up his sleeve at the many European infirmities that we are the last to suspect.¹⁴⁹

Auguin uses the language of ethnography to read Takacyma's character and his ethnic identity onto the details of his physiognomy, focusing on the strangeness of the student's eyes. At the same time, however, Auguin attributes an almost magical power to these eyes, which in his anxious account are capable of perceiving the weaknesses of Europeans.

In Auguin's portrait as well as his written description, Takacyma appears as both artist

and scientist, at once foreign and French. This corresponds to what Auguin perceives to be Takacyma's dual nature as simultaneously the product of an ancient civilization and an agent of its modernization. Auguin argues,

Tokouso Takacyma offers to the observation of his friends all the appeal and all the prickliness of a 'modern Japanese man,' grafted onto the fabric of an 'old Japanese man,' which is disappearing with the passing of time and the invasion of European 'barbarians.' He is 'old Japanese' by his origin, by his methods of instruction, and his earliest education, by the breadth of his knowledge and his talents; 'new Japanese' by the desire of the minister, by virtue of his post, by his state duties, by his work of which we will speak in a moment, and finally by the very complete study that he has made of our ways and our European institutions.¹⁵⁰

Takacyma's body, in the contrast established between the sitter's loosely sketched European clothing and his carefully modeled features, expresses the tension between East and West, ancient and modern, that Auguin believes defines his unique identity.

In the next issue, *La Lorraine Artiste* published a list of gifts that Takacyma had bestowed upon his friends before his departure.¹⁵¹ Among those named as recipients were Martin, Prouvé, Hestaux, and Gallé.¹⁵² Martin and Prouvé had close ties to Gallé, with whom they often collaborated on both glass and furniture designs, and Hestaux was the head of Gallé's design studio. While it is not known what Gallé received from Takacyma by way of a parting gift, Gallé is known to have owned two copies of Pierre Loti's novel *Madame Chrysanthème* (1887) hand-illustrated by Takacyma.¹⁵³

Most, if not all, of the artists in question were familiar with Japanese art before Takacyma's arrival. Both Chinese and Japanese imports could be found in Nancy, for example, at the shop of Armand Logé, located at 13, rue Gambetta.¹⁵⁴ Japanese fans and other decorative objects were often used to decorate artists' studios. A photograph of Wiener's studio in Nancy reproduced in *La Lorraine Artiste* in 1888, for example, clearly shows Japanese fans and porcelain displayed on one wall (fig. 4.9). Altogether Wiener owned a collection of over 200 hundred "Oriental" objects from the Near and Far East as well as twenty or so paintings of exotic scenes.¹⁵⁵

Prouvé, Gallé's friend and collaborator, also began collecting Japanese prints in the 1880s and in 1893 designed a mosaic bookbinding for Gonse's *L'Art Japonais* (fig. 4.10).¹⁵⁶ In 1883, he exhibited a work entitled *La Japonaise* (1883) in Nancy, and his drawing *Fantaisie japonaise* depicting women dressed in kimonos appeared on the cover of *Nancy-Artiste* in 1884.¹⁵⁷ Similarly, Hestaux showed a Japanese-themed work, which he termed a "japonerie," at the *Salon de Nancy* in 1886 and designed Japanese-style frames for reproductions of his works printed in *Nancy-Artiste*.¹⁵⁸

However, friendship with Takacyma offered the artists in Gallé's circle something they were lacking—the opportunity to discuss Japanese artistic principles with a talented artist from that nation. Thanks to their friendship with Takacyma, Gallé and his circle not only encountered contemporary Japanese art firsthand, rather than in the guise of engravings, photographs, and other copies, but were also able to watch it being made. This encounter may have been a factor in Gallé's shift from a style based on pastiche and the use of decorative motifs isolated from their formal and cultural context, to a style based on the assimilation of more general principles found

in Japanese art.¹⁵⁹ These included a return to nature as the artist's muse as well as a renewed respect for the properties of the medium and a more sculptural approach to plant forms, one that united structure and ornament.

Sources

In the 1870s and early 1880s, however, the influence of Japanese art on Gallé's œuvre remained largely limited to considerations of subject matter, graphic rendering, color, and above all, ornament.¹⁶⁰ Many of Gallé's works from this period constitute transpositions of the two-dimensional compositions of Japanese scrolls, prints, and textiles onto three-dimensional European forms. Partly this is because Japan lacked a strong glassmaking tradition. It is also the result, however, of the very specific way in which Japanese art was introduced to French audiences.

Exhibitions of Japanese art invariably privileged two-dimensional artworks, including woodblock prints, screens, and scrolls, at the expense of three-dimensional objects. *Ukiyo-e* prints dating from the 17th to the 19th century, for example, were particularly prized by collectors and imported in large numbers, but Buddhist sculpture remained all but unknown in France until the 1890s.¹⁶¹ It is unlikely that Gallé was able to study Japanese bronzes, for example, in any great detail prior to his friendship with serious collectors such as the Goncourt brothers and Burty beginning in the 1880s.¹⁶² The artist would have had to rely on illustrations of such works, illustrations that reduced three-dimensional forms to a succession of two-dimensional motifs. An early study by Gallé, for example, shows a Satsuma-ware incense burner copied from an illustration in the April 30, 1870 issue of the journal *L'Art pour tous* (fig. 4.11). Gallé gives the design, which appeared in black and white, the red and blue color scheme of Imari porcelain, freely combining elements drawn from disparate sources to create a composite work that he would later sell as a snuff box.¹⁶³ Gallé also had access to illustrated books and albums of prints published in Japan. In a letter to his collaborator Paul Nicolas, for example, Gallé provides sketches of several vases, nothing that Nicolas should "Refer to the Japanese albums of paintings" for their decoration.¹⁶⁴

It is not surprising, then, that in the early years of Gallé's career, much of his borrowing from Japanese art took place at the level of individual ornamental motifs, abstracted from their context and applied to works in glass and ceramic as a kind of flat, decorative pastiche.¹⁶⁵ Gallé paired these designs with a technique derived from the study of Islamic art, namely the use of hard enamels to decorate his glass.¹⁶⁶ Gallé's use of isolated motifs derived from Japanese prints and ceramics was characteristic of many decorative artists working at this time.

Perhaps the most famous examples of such an approach were Félix Bracquemond's designs for the *Service Rousseau* (Rousseau Service, 1866-78), a set of ceramic dinnerware commissioned by Eugène Rousseau and produced by Lebéuf and Milliet (fig. 4.12).¹⁶⁷ An etcher, Bracquemond is often credited with having "discovered" Hokusai's *Manga*, which had been used to package a delivery of Japanese books sold to the printer Delâtre, and thus having initiated the vogue for woodblock prints among his fellow artists.¹⁶⁸ The story may well be apocryphal, and in any case reproductions of Hokusai's prints had illustrated several works on Japan published well before mid-century, but the success of Bracquemond's designs for the *Service Rousseau*, and their impact on contemporary artists, is unquestioned. Bracquemond incorporated motifs of plants and animals taken in many cases directly from Hokusai's *Manga* and other Japanese sources, into his designs for the 18th-century-style service.¹⁶⁹

Martin Eidelberg and William R. Johnston have likened Gallé's early works to those of other Second Empire artists like Bracquemond, artists whose work is characterized by elaborate decoration paired with motifs borrowed directly from Japanese art.¹⁷⁰ Eidelberg and Johnston describe Gallé's approach to Japonisme as a variation on the historic revivalism that reached its apogee during this era. To support their argument, the authors cite works such as a faience candlestick in the form of a Medieval lion decorated with motifs derived from Japanese porcelain, produced by Gallé-Reinemer in 1874 (fig. 4.13).¹⁷¹ However, I contend that Gallé quickly went beyond this ultimately simplistic approach to Japanese art, producing works that constitute complex meditations on issues such as the basis of national identity and the relationship between man and nature.

In the 1880s, for example, Gallé signed many of his works using a vertical format like that employed in Japanese scrolls and woodblock prints (figs. 4.14, 4.15). Rather than attempting to establish a consistent artist's signature as a gauge of authenticity, these signatures are playful, graphic renderings of line that celebrate the artist's touch and his sensibility. Ironically, the signatures were added by workers in Gallé's factory rather than the artist himself. The evocation of artisanal manufacture thus elides the actual working conditions in Gallé's factory, with the result that the factory owner's signature effectively erases the contribution of the individual workers who made the work.

The "signatures" employed in Japanese prints identify not only the author of the work but the date and location where it was made. Gallé's use of the cross of Lorraine, which is often appended to the artist's signature along with the phrase "à Nancy" (in Nancy), may have been inspired by the use of such seals. In short, then, Gallé borrowed a practice from the art of another nation in order to underscore the patriotic and regionalist sentiment of certain works. In other words, Gallé employed compositional strategies from Japanese art in order to make his own art more *French*. As we will see, this is exactly what critics such as Marx and Bing would urge decorative artists to do—to seek the answer to the quest for a national style in the art of a foreign nation, Japan.

In 1880, Gallé registered several designs depicting canna, bamboo, and gourds with the *Prud'hommes* in Nancy. The drawings bear the annotation "*alla japonica*."¹⁷² Similarly, in a series of works produced between 1884 and 1889, Gallé signed his name as "E. Gallé à la japonica fecit Nancy." The phrase "*à la japonica*" loosely translates to "in the Japanese style." It is interesting to note Gallé's use of the word "*japonica*" instead of the more commonly employed "*japonaise*." The terms *japonica* and *japonicum*, which mean "Japanese" or "of Japan" in Latin, are most commonly employed in binomial nomenclature to indicate a species of a plant or animal originating in Japan. By signing his works in this way, then, Gallé is both likening them to flowers or plants and emphasizing their origin in Japanese art. The suggestion of biological derivation is a stronger statement than "*à la japonaise*," which implies imitation rather than origination. Gallé thus presents his works as the product of hybridization—they are Japanese plants grown in French soil.

In addition to signatures inspired by Japanese art, Gallé often included citations drawn from French literature in the composition of his works. These passages were rendered directly onto objects in glass or wood using a form of lettering that reminded many commentators of Japanese calligraphy (fig. 4.16). Members of the jury at the *Exposition universelle* of 1889 described this technique as follows:

Sometimes the whole thing finds itself underlined by a reflection, by a literary

citation, such as one sees in the works of the Far East, and this thought, often solemn and melancholy, accompanies the artistic worker's signature with a final note.¹⁷³

As this passage suggests, the juxtaposition of word and image was a common characteristic of Japanese art and prints in particular, although there are also European precedents for this practice.¹⁷⁴ The use of such inscriptions, the authors suggest, lend Gallé's works an element of sensibility, rendering them both more personal and more evocative.

Members of the Jury were not alone in associating this practice with art of the Far East. In his study *Histoire de l'art décoratif du XVIe siècle à nos jours*, published in 1892, art critic Arsène Alexandre also associates the practice with the art of the Middle and Far East:

It is a good time to note that the Orientals have always known how to take full advantage of the *letter*. [...] It is a seduction in the poster[s] of Chéret, in the glass of Émile Gallé, [...] with Japanese painters, in all of German glass, just as we observe it in Arab and Persian glass.¹⁷⁵

Alexandre posits that Gallé, like Japanese artists, employs writing in a decorative fashion, using lettering as a graphic component of his composition. This technique was one that Gallé would employ with increasing frequency in the 1890s, often marrying verses taken from the works of Victor Hugo and other French poets with abstract designs suggesting flora and fauna.

In "Notre commerce," Gallé reflects upon this Japanese practice of calligraphy and its relationship to the ideograms used to write the Japanese language. He muses,

With certain Asian peoples, and the Japanese in particular, it seems that drawing and writing are done simultaneously, whether it is a habit of nimbly *sketching* inanimate objects and living things from life, or the talent of making, from memory, signs representing a cat, a dog, a man, [or] bamboo, like a kind of everyday calligraphy."¹⁷⁶

In Japanese art, and calligraphy in particular, Gallé thus discovered a form of writing that resembled picture-making in its expressivity. While Japanese ideograms do not *depict* the objects or concepts they represent, nonetheless the graphic power of expression they convey no doubt appealed to the artist, who repeatedly explored the tension between word and image in his own art.

The Role of Nature

In a series of works created in 1878, Gallé reflects upon another aspect of Japanese art—the close attention paid to nature. *Pique-fleurs* (Flower Holder, 1878), a vase in the shape of a scallop shell, employs circular roundels similar to the *mon*, or family crests, found in Japanese textiles such as this kimono (figs. 4.17, 4.18). The composition also includes a series of incongruously placed European-style landscape scenes placed inside overlapping rectangular cartouches. This pictorial strategy is most likely inspired by the composite format referred to as "the contest of framed pictures" (*kibori gakuawase sanzū*) used by some *ukiyo-e* printmakers and soon copied by artists working in other media.¹⁷⁷ Similar cartouches and medallions can be

found in G. A. Audsley and J. L. Bowes's *Notes on Japanese Art*, first published in 1872 (fig. 4.19). Audsley and Bowes's study of Japanese ceramics also includes illustrations of Japanese *mon* that may have inspired the one that appears in *Pique-fleurs* (fig. 4.20). These motifs from Japanese art are paired with the shape of the scallop shell, a form derived from 18th-century ceramics.

The union of such disparate elements, however, results in far more than mere pastiche. Their juxtaposition constitutes a meditation on both the act of borrowing and on the artist's relationship to nature. Gallé uses his famous *clair-de-lune*, or moonlight, glass for the vase, whose bluish tint and rippling form evoke the currents of flowing water (fig. 4.21). The vase is made of *verre craquelé*, or crackled glass, an effect most likely produced by the immersion of the hot glass in cold water.¹⁷⁸ The irregular pattern of the crackling suggests the patterns created by light glancing off moving water.

The vase has both flat and relief decoration. Gallé used the application of hot glass to create the "tears" or droplets that appear to run down the side of the vase. Enamel, monochrome painting, and gilding were employed to create the landscape and foliage scenes. *Pique-fleurs* is mounted on a gilded bronze base. The simple palette of black and gold allows the bluish hue of the glass to function as a background for the landscapes depicted in the cartouches. In the cartouche on the bottom left, for example, the *clair-de-lune* glass supplies both the blue of the water and the blue of the sky.

The scenes contained within the cartouches create a kind of history of the representation of nature. Although the decorative patterning of the cartouches underscores their flatness, the way that they overlap simultaneously suggests a process of layering. By this logic, the "first" image is a decorative pinwheel motif, exactly the kind of geometric, ornamental design that many fin-de-siècle commentators believed to be characteristic of humankind's earliest attempts at artmaking. Above this appear two scenes, one reminiscent of the stylized plants depicted in many Japanese prints and the other bearing a strong resemblance to 17th and 18th-century landscape painting in the European tradition. Their juxtaposition suggests two differing approaches to the depiction of nature—one illusionistic, focusing on man's relationship to the natural world and his dominion over it, and one that distills the natural world, free of human presence, into a graceful (and decorative) arrangement of graphically rendered lines and forms.

Overlapping both of these cartouches is a landscape scene depicting a tall tree beside a flowing river. The scene, which brings to mind the paintings of the Barbizon school, depicts untamed nature, yet relies upon well-defined European conventions for representing (and thus containing and circumscribing) that landscape. Placed above all of these is a simple, round frame containing a graphically rendered dragonfly hovering above the reeds of a lake or river. The pared-down simplicity of this depiction, which lacks modeling and perspective, corresponds to techniques used in Japanese art, techniques which are here presented as an alternative to, or perhaps even the culmination of the European landscape tradition.

The landscape scenes depicted in the decoration of *Pique-fleurs*, then, can be read as tracing the history of European landscape painting. Moving from the earliest abstract patterns to the depiction of humankind in nature, the trajectory finally culminates in a return to nature alone as the subject of the artist's brush. The presence of the two "Japanese" scenes comments on the centrality of Japonisme to the artist's "rediscovery" of nature. The landscape scenes also create a narrative of the artistic process itself, moving from geometric abstraction to increasing illusionism as the artist refines his depiction of the natural world. Yet the final rondel, the scene

with the dragonfly perched on the reeds, seems to urge the artist to return to a simpler, more decorative mode—to return, in essence, to nature itself.

It is undeniable that in *Pique-fleurs* Gallé equates Japanese art with nature. Japanese art, in the form of characteristic depictions of the reeds and dragonflies that commonly appear in both ink painting and woodblock prints, is associated with the natural world it depicts. Both Japanese art and nature, moreover, appear as elements to be used and transformed by the European artist. For while Japanese art, in the form of the dragonfly rondel, appears at the ‘apex’ of stylistic evolution, it is Japanese art translated *through the eyes and the hands of the European artist*—the nameless artist who executed Gallé’s designs for *Pique-fleurs*.

The form of *Pique-fleurs* thus constitutes its own commentary on the artist’s relationship to nature. Gallé essentially recreates a natural form, a scallop shell, down to the ridged opening between its two halves. This “natural” form, however, is presented on a gilded bronze base, highlighting its status as art rather than nature. The artist’s ability to literally re-present the forms of nature is celebrated—and Gallé goes one step further, in essence recreating not only the form of the shell, but the watery environment in which it is found.

The vase was designed, like all vases, to hold a flower arrangement and thus to function in tandem with cultivated nature itself. When filled with flowers and water, the vase accrues another layer of meaning, as the waving form of the glass creates a distorted view of the flower stems, likening them to the black and gold flowing tendrils painted on the glass. The scenes decorating the exterior of the vase literally overlay the form of the plants it contains. In *Pique-fleurs*, then, any idea of an essential nature pre-existing the artist’s and the viewer’s perception of it is continually deferred, making the vase in effect a sustained and even witty meditation on the transformation of nature through art.

In a work entitled *Vase à la carpe* (Vase with a Carp, 1878), Gallé continues his exploration of glass’s unique ability to suggest flowing water (fig. 4.22). Gallé again employs *claire-de-lune* glass of a very pale bluish hue to suggest the near colorlessness of water. Swirled lines of applied enamel decoration evoke the currents that surround the swimming carp. The twisting shape of the carp, moreover, is perfectly suited to the shape of Gallé’s vase—a short cylinder atop a rounded base—and emphasizes the three-dimensionality of the vase despite the flatness of the enameled decoration. The sharp thrust of the carp’s body as it navigates its watery environment, meanwhile, suggests the struggle of opposing forces. Gallé also employs a technique called *côtes vénitiennes*, a Venetian ribbed mold, to produce a rippled effect in the glass, further emphasizing the sense of movement. The rippled surface of the glass, clearly visible in a second version from the *Musée du verre et du cristal* in Meisenthal, contributes to the illusion of forceful movement and swirling eddies (fig. 4.23).

Like *Pique-fleurs*, Gallé’s *Vase à la carpe* immerses the viewer in the watery world depicted by the artist. The circular petals that appear throughout the composition can also be read as air bubbles, indicating that the scene takes place underwater (fig. 4.24). The perspective is deliberately ambiguous—depending on whether one reads the duckweed or bubbles as floating on the surface of the water or submerged within it, the viewer is either looking down at the carp from above or sharing its watery environs. In either case, we see the carp as if looking at it through the distorting lens of water, water which suddenly demonstrates a surprising physicality and force. The sense of water’s heaviness is translated into the materiality of the glass itself, which is cold and resistant to the touch, like water eternally frozen into solid form.

Gallé borrows the motif of the carp directly from a print by Hokusai (ca. 1850), with some significant changes (figs. 4.25).¹⁷⁹ Gallé replaces Hokusai’s figure of the Buddhist goddess

of compassion or mercy, Kanzeon (Guan Qin), with a decorative motif composed of a scrolled red vine juxtaposed with a red and blue flower. The scroll recalls the curving shape of the goddess but replaces cultural specificity with botanical abstraction. Gallé also makes minor changes to the carp's body, transforming the decorative scale pattern of Hokusai's composition through the addition of shading so that the carp's body takes on a solidity not present in the Japanese work.

While Gallé's vase, like Hokusai's print, was produced in numerous versions, the addition of loose, painterly brushwork proclaims the French work's status as "art." The closed contour lines of the carp and other enameled forms of decoration thus contrast with the flowing bravura of the paint, which again suggests the fluidity of water. A third version of *Vase à la carpe*, now in a Japanese collection, takes this opposition to an extreme that unfortunately reduces the carp to a flat, decorative pattern, destroying the illusion of movement (fig. 4.26).

In *Vase à la carpe*, Gallé creates a work that draws the viewer into its watery world. Although nature is stylized in the form of delicate tendrils and scattered petals, it is not tamed. In the vase's immediacy, its physicality, and its constantly changing appearance, Gallé brings the transitory beauties of the natural world to life. Japanese art, as in *Pique-fleurs*, appears here as an element of nature itself, but it is not one that is completely available to either the artist or the viewer. Rather, like Hokusai's carp, the idea of Japanese art appears intangible, something that can only be grasped momentarily and incompletely. In *Vase à la carpe*, Gallé is already moving away from the superficial application of two-dimensional ornamental motifs to the surface of his works and towards a three-dimensionality that transforms the traditional relationship between form and decoration. At the same time, the artist theorizes a relationship to Japanese art that is one not of imitation or appropriation, but of *translation*, for Gallé transforms the elements he borrows, one by one, lending them a deeper significance than that attained by decorative pastiche alone.

In another work from 1878, *Une poule survint* (A Hen Appeared, 1878), Gallé takes his transformation of Japanese motifs one step further, imbuing a simple scene of roosters fighting over a hen with political significance (fig. 4.27). The fan shape of *Une poule survint* is derived from Japanese ceramics.¹⁸⁰ In the late 19th century, many European porcelain manufacturers, including Worcester and Minton, adopted this shape for their Japanese-inspired wares.¹⁸¹ The fan, which is designed to lie flat, serves a purely decorative purpose that is unusual, although not unprecedented, in Gallé's oeuvre.¹⁸² Also surprising is the fact that the design for *Une poule survint* was produced both in glass and in faience, testifying to the work's popularity (fig. 4.28).

In the ceramic version, Gallé uses black enamel and gilt to recreate the appearance of lacquered fan sticks. Raised ridges indicate the folds of the fan. The bold, bright hues of the composition are the result of enameling. The background is composed of overlapping decorative fields surmounted by a central, irregularly shaped cartouche displaying a scene of two roosters fighting over a hen. Due to the use of a white slip applied to the earthenware base, this area of the work is slightly raised. The white background highlights the importance of this central cartouche. Gallé's palette of brown, blue, red, and gold is most likely derived from Japanese ceramics. The decorative patterns surrounding the central scene combine Japanese elements such as *seigaha*, or wave-crest motifs, with fleurs-de-lis and stars. The effect is suggestive of tapestry fabric and may be based on Japanese fabrics decorated with family crests.¹⁸³ The glass version is nearly identical to the ceramic one, with the addition only of Gallé's calligraphic signature, but the use of enamel on clear glass lends the fan a markedly lighter appearance.

As with *Pique-fleurs*, the use of juxtaposed European and Japanese ornament appears incongruous until the source of Gallé's inspiration is revealed. Audsley and Bowes's *Notes on Japanese Art*, translated into French as *La Céramique japonaise* in 1881, contains most of the motifs employed in the fan. A color illustration of a ceramic plate from Kaga, for example, includes the scene of fighting cocks, although Gallé has added a hen to the original composition (fig. 4.29). The fleur-de-lis and star patterns, meanwhile, can be found in an earlier section of the book devoted to the analysis of ornament (fig. 4.30).

Although modified slightly in their form from those in the illustration, the juxtaposition of the fleurs-de-lis and stars with motifs from Japanese ceramics cannot be coincidental. Another illustration from the book's introductory essay, "*Couverture d'un livre japonais*," exactly matches the broken pattern of overlapping fish-scale motifs found along the top of the fan (fig. 4.31). The meander pattern found in a plate entitled "*Dessins géométriques*" and another entitled, "*Plateau de porcelaine d'Imari décoré d'arabesques (coll. Bowes)*" may be the source of a similar design in blue and gold used in the pattern of Gallé's glass fan (figs. 4.32, 4.33). The shapes ornamenting the sticks of the fan, meanwhile, can be found in another illustration, this time a color plate of ornaments from Japanese lacquer work (fig. 4.34).

The freedom with which Gallé combines these disparate sources, with seemingly little or no regard for their origin in various media or even in disparate artistic traditions, is in many respects characteristic of early Japonisme. Gallé would have been familiar with ornament books such as Racinet's *L'Ornement polychrome*, which reduced the artistic traditions of numerous civilizations, both ancient and modern, to a series of easily copied ornamental motifs.¹⁸⁴ Richly illustrated compendia addressed specifically to industrial designers, such as Émile Reiber's *Premier volume des Albums-Reiber* (1877) or Adalbert de Beaumont and Eugène Collinot's multivolume *Recueil de dessins pour l'art et l'industrie* (1880-83), also proliferated during this period.¹⁸⁵

Such works tended, with few exceptions, to present Japanese and Chinese works as models to be emulated by European artists rather than works of art in their own right. Often these compendia made little or no distinction between different media or disparate historical periods. "Japanese ornament" was presented as a static, unchanging array of decorative motifs from which European artists could pick and choose motifs to decorate their own artworks. The two-dimensional format of the compendia, as well as their overriding interest in surface decoration at the expense of form, both enabled and helped to perpetuate the practice of "wrapping" European works in exotic patterns.

Before we dismiss Gallé's juxtaposition of Japanese and European motifs as mere pastiche, however, it is important to note that Gallé's use of an eclectic style of decoration relates directly to the subject of *Une poule survint*, for the addition of the hen radically alters the meaning of the fan. No longer a mere decorative *bibelot*, the fan is transformed into a patriotic statement of anti-German sentiment. A handwritten inscription provides a clue to the fan's hidden meaning. It reads "Une poule survint" (A hen arrived) to the left of the central cartouche and to the right, "et voilà la Guerre allumée" (And war broke out).

The citation is taken from Jean La Fontaine's fable of the two roosters. The first few lines of the fable read,

Two cocks in peace were living, when
A war was kindled by a hen.
O love, thou bane of Troy! 'twas thine

The blood of men and gods to shed
Enough to turn the Xanthus red
As old Port wine!¹⁸⁶

In La Fontaine's fable, the victorious rooster suffers a cruel fate, as his preening self-congratulation attracts the attention of a vulture, which soon devours him. The vanquished rooster, on the other hand, survives to enjoy the spoils of war that he thought denied him. This tale of a reversal of fortune warns against arrogance and overconfidence, suggesting that fate will always intervene when least expected.

In the composition of Gallé's fan, the dueling roosters represent France and Germany, an appropriate choice given the historic association between France and the symbol of the Gallic cock. The hen, meanwhile, represents Alsace-Lorraine, the contested territories of eastern France. Gallé makes the reference to the Franco-Prussian War clear by capitalizing the word "Guerre" so that it refers not just to any war, but to *the* war that so haunted the people of Lorraine and indeed all of France.¹⁸⁷ In the glass version of *Une poule survint*, moreover, Gallé adds a line demarcating the ground under the feet of the rooster on the left so that the two roosters appear to be facing each other across a river that divides them. While Gallé elevates this farmyard fracas to the status of art, he simultaneously reduces the conflict between France and Germany to a barnyard brawl. The wry humor of the fan is intended to serve as a kind of souvenir, a token of remembrance of the loss of the eastern territories. The allusion to war with Germany would no doubt have been clearly understood by a public familiar with the iconography of popular prints and anti-German propaganda. Whether it was legible to the German authorities though whose hands the work passed on its way from Meisenthal to Nancy is uncertain.

The pairing of Japonisme and politics is unusual in Gallé's oeuvre—no other work combines patriotic subject matter with motifs borrowed from Japanese art. The distinctly private nature of the work, which is small in scale, is in keeping with other *japoniste* works by Gallé. The association of Japonisme with luxury, private spaces, and the decorative was common in the late 19th century, prompted above all by the prevalence of inexpensive imports such as fans, lacquer boxes, decorative china, and shawls. Gallé's fan takes its place among these objects as a sly but ultimately private expression of anti-German sentiment. Gallé's innovation here is to make war *decorative*, to defuse its threat and to rewrite yet again the French loss as a kind of victory. Although the work is private and decorative in function, its presence in the domestic interior would have served as a constant reminder of what had been lost—not only territories, but *homes*.

"The Rest is All Imagination"

Despite the overwhelming success of his works presented at the *Exposition universelle* of 1878, Gallé began to move away from the deliberate imitation of Japanese art in the decade that followed. A note written by Gallé to his lawyer at the time of his counterfeiting trial against Keller and Guérin of Lunéville in 1880, for example, suggests that the artist knew his use of motifs from Japanese art left him open to the same charges he leveled against his rivals.¹⁸⁸ Describing his "Night in Japan" pattern, Gallé writes, referring to himself in the third person,

Gallé's method: He draws plants only in silhouette, that is, only their outlines, as

Oriental painters did. That method produces, literally, silhouettes rendered in extremely natural-appearing colors, black and pale blue. These silhouettes and black and pale blue colors are gifts from nature. The rest is all imagination, and comes from Gallé, not from Japan.

Gallé is thus careful to point out that while he emulates “Oriental” methods, his works constitute a “gift from nature.” This nature is transformed, not by reference to Japanese art, but by Gallé’s own “imagination.” It was essential in this context that Gallé present his works as the product of his own, individual genius. A work that itself resulted from imitation, it is implied, could not be protected as the product of Gallé’s unique artistic vision. Japonisme, in other words, threatened to upset the delicate balance that Gallé had achieved between the realities of industrial production and the claim of high art status for his works.

In later works, Gallé goes one step further. Rejecting the overt use of motifs derived from Japanese art, Gallé instead seeks to understand and assimilate the artistic principles that underlie it. This path is one counseled by Bing and other arts reformers.¹⁸⁹ In Gallé’s famous *Coupe aux libellules* (Dragonfly Bowl, 1904), for example, the artist uses a dragonfly motif similar to those depicted by Japanese printmakers such as Hokusai (figs. 4.35, 4.36).¹⁹⁰ Gallé’s dragonfly, however, is not a flat, decorative motif applied to the surface of the bowl it decorates. Rather, it is sculptural, almost three-dimensional. Its wings are carved onto the glass of the bowl, while its body protrudes outwards as if the dragonfly is literally emerging from the glass matrix. The shadowy form of a second dragonfly marks the stages of this transformation.

In *Coupe aux libellules*, Gallé has substituted glass itself for the ornamental effects of gilt and enamel. The base of the bowl is decorated with a ring of gems inset into a swirling ring of blue and black—all made of glass. Similarly, the swirling colors of the pedestal evoke semi-precious stones such as agate but achieve this effect through the use of glass alone. The humble materials of the work bespeak its origin in nature yet also underscore Gallé’s technical mastery of the properties of glass.

Like many of Gallé’s late works, *Coupe aux libellules* takes as its theme the act of making. The subdued palette of the bowl suggests a hazy atmosphere of fog or mist, through which a golden light shines. The form of the dragonfly rising forth from the inchoate form of the once-molten glass thematizes the artist’s act of creation. At the same time, the way in which the dragonfly eternally threatens to dissolve back into the undifferentiated vagueness of the glass form at once suggests the evanescent quality of a dragonfly’s brief life span, its oneness with the nature from which it emerged, and the fragility of Gallé’s own creation. The artist’s evocative depiction of form emerging from chaos presents the viewer not with a simple pastiche of Japanese forms, then, but with a subtle meditation on the act of making. The presence of Japonisme in such a work is as undeniable and yet ultimately as ungraspable as Gallé’s dragonfly.

Ornament and Structure

In Gallé’s furniture designs, the artist demonstrates a similar interest in the play between ornament and structure. Early works, like his *Bambou* (Bamboo, 1894) étagère, demonstrate a relatively superficial application of Japanese decorative motifs to a form that remains fundamentally European in origin. Later works, however, display a harmony of form and decoration would characterize many of the works of the *École de Nancy*. These works are

realizations in wood of Gallé's theories regarding the use of natural forms to provide both structure *and* ornament, theories which Gallé expounded in detail in his essay "Le mobilier contemporain orné d'après la nature," published in *La Revue des Arts décoratifs* in 1900.

Imitation of Japanese forms and techniques was not uncommon in French furniture. In the 17th century, lacquered screens, cabinets, and panels were frequently imported from Japan, only to be disassembled and their parts applied to European mirror frames, tables, cabinets, and other pieces of furniture. Some fragments were mounted on Baroque stands (fig. 4.37).¹⁹¹ In the 19th century, however, furniture in the Japanese style rarely included fragments of imported works. Rather, artists used European techniques to imitate the appearance of Japanese *objets d'art*, such as lacquerware, and applied these decorative motifs to designs based on the structure of European furniture.

In general, makers of Asian-inspired furniture tended towards the creation of monumental works characterized by heavy gilding and applied exotic details, works which stand in sharp contrast to Gallé's naturalism and celebration of the properties of unadorned wood. One of the best-known makers of this type of furniture was the widow Madame Duvinage, who ran her husband's furniture-making firm, Duvinage & Harinkouck, from 1874 to 1882.¹⁹² She produced many examples of furniture that marry European form and Japanese-inspired decoration, such as this cabinet made of rosewood (fig. 4.38). The elaborate applied marquetry in ivory, copper, brass, pewter, and bronze emulates Japanese lacquer. Such a large, heavy piece would have had little place in a Japanese home of the period. Indeed, furniture of any kind was rare in rooms whose function changed frequently, and what furniture did exist was designed to be lightweight and portable.¹⁹³ Madame Duvinage's cabinet looks not to Japanese furniture for inspiration, then, but to Japanese and Chinese architecture, and in particular, to the architecture of pagodas and Buddhist temples.

Gabriel Viardot (1830-1906) was another well-known maker of *japoniste* furniture. His *Cabinet* of 1888 is characteristic of his work and blends Japanese, Chinese, and Vietnamese elements (fig. 4.39).¹⁹⁴ It shares with the Duvinage cabinet raised edges that are reminiscent of pagoda architecture. Viardot supplied the *Escalier de Cristal*, a Parisian shop specializing in *objets d'art*, with several exclusive designs.¹⁹⁵ Works such as his *Cabinet* were intended to display exotic *bibelots* and precious *objets d'art*. Rather than serving as functional pieces, then, such works were themselves curiosities destined to form part of a collector's private *cabinet*.

The *Escalier de Cristal* began producing its own line of *japoniste* furniture in the 1890s. Many pieces were made according to designs created by Édouard Lièvre, designs most likely purchased at the posthumous sale of the artist's work held at the Hôtel Drouot in February 1890.¹⁹⁶ A work from the collection of the *Musée d'Orsay* in Paris, a console table with cabinet, illustrates Lièvre's characteristic reliance on ebonized wood and gilt as signifiers of the exotic (fig. 4.40). Luxury and the exotic are equated in this table, which employs imported woods, including rosewood from Brazil and ebony from the East Indies, precious materials such as gold, and an oil painting mounted at its center. Clients were permitted to choose among several paintings on offer, and this particular example bears a European painting of a "Guerrier japonais à cheval" (Japanese warrior on horseback), further enhancing the exotic appeal of the work.

While such works bear little in common with the more fluid lines of Gallé's Art Nouveau works, works by another artist from Nancy, Louis Majorelle (1859-1926), were also sold by the *Escalier de Cristal*. The artist's father, Auguste Majorelle (1825-1879), began creating Chinese-inspired pieces as early as 1861, when he exhibited furniture "in imitation of lacquer and in the purest Chinese style" at the *Exposition universelle* in Metz.¹⁹⁷ On March 14, 1878, Auguste

Majorelle took out a patent for the decoration of lacquered furniture with incrustated earthenware decoration.¹⁹⁸ Louis Majorelle subsequently provided the *Escalier de Cristal* with designs for an “old China-style piece of furniture,” a whatnot with gold-lacquered panels, Chinese paintings in the style of Watteau, and a Louis XV base.¹⁹⁹ The *Escalier de Cristal* customized each piece with decorated panes of glass or cloisonné panels on the doors of individual compartments.²⁰⁰ A table made by Majorelle in 1886 is somewhat simpler in style, but shares with the works of Duvinage, Viardot, and Lièvre the use of curled edges, Chinese lion’s paw feet, and gold detailing (fig. 4.41).

The saturation of signifiers in such works recalls Gallé’s early imitations of Japanese porcelain such as *Une poule survint*. However, by the 1890s, Gallé had abandoned direct imitation of exotic motifs in favor of a more subtle borrowing of artistic principles from the art of Japan and China. In his furniture designs, the artist eschewed pastiche and luxurious materials in favor of a celebration of the medium itself—wood. While Gallé employed bronze and mother-of-pearl for some decorative details, the artist by and large relied upon variations in the color and texture of wood to provide both the structure and the decoration of his furniture.

Like Majorelle, Gallé also made furniture for the *Escalier de Cristal*, where he also sold some of his firm’s glass. Comparison of an early work by Gallé in the collection of the *Musée de l’École de Nancy* with a work by Majorelle already demonstrates a clear divergence in the styles of the two makers (figs. 4.42, 4.43). While Gallé employs ebonized wood decorated with plum blossoms and *vernis Martin*, the overall lines of the piece are simple. The restrained decoration places the emphasis on the shape of the work itself, rather than on applied ornament or luxurious materials. The form of the legs, moreover, is similar to that used in later works derived from the shape of the hogweed flower. Majorelle’s work, in contrast, marries 18th-century form with elaborate decoration, including *vernis Martin* and gilding, creating an awkward juxtaposition between the solid, heavy form of the work and its graceful, delicate decoration.

Gallé soon abandoned ebonizing and varnish in favor of highlighting the grain and natural color variations of various woods employed in his marquetry work. Nonetheless, the artist recognized that his use of this new method, marquetry, was also partly inspired by Asian lacquer ware. In his note to the jury of the *Exposition universelle* of 1889, Gallé compares the two techniques, which he describes as offering a “sumptuous” decoration.²⁰¹

Gallé exhibited *Bambou* in 1894 at the *Exposition d’art décoratif lorrain*, an exhibition held in Nancy (fig. 4.44).²⁰² The étagère exhibits several characteristics of Japanese art, including asymmetry, the use of stylized apple blossoms as decoration, carvings derived from the stem of the bamboo plant, and an upper shelf that resembles the roof of a pagoda. While the work shares some characteristics with more blatantly exoticizing works such as those of Lièvre and Viardot, the overall effect is markedly more restrained. Moreover, the motif of the apple blossom, repeated in bronze and in wood marquetry, serves to unify the work. While the asymmetry of the form and certain decorative details recall Japanese examples, then, the overall composition of the work does not demonstrate the same patchwork eclecticism of other *japoniste* designs. The size of the étagère is also significant—it is diminutive in comparison to other examples of *japoniste* furniture such as Viardot’s *Cabinet*. In place of richness and monumentality, the work is characterized by a delicate, light design reminiscent of the French Rococo.

Despite the contrast between Gallé’s design and the works of furniture makers like Viardot, however, *Bambou* retains an element of exoticist pastiche. The basic form of the étagère is derived from European art. The *japoniste* aspects are for the most part applied only to the

surface of the piece, so that they function as merely decorative aspects. The marquetry patterns of apple blossom, for example, are quite literally added to the exterior of the *étagère* in thin layers of veneer glued onto a base of wood. Only the curving lines of bamboo that form the shelf supports are in fact integral to the structure of the work itself. Moreover, the use of bamboo as a decorative motif recalls the design of inexpensive, mass-produced furniture in the Japanese mode produced in great quantities following the *Exposition universelle* of 1867 (fig. 4.45). Based partly on 18th-century *chinoiserie* designs, such works applied superficial Japanese motifs to forms derived from the European tradition. Gallé's *étagère* in effect combines the exquisite craftsmanship that characterizes works such as those of Duvinage and Viardot with the increasingly debased and commercialized form of industrially produced *japonaiseries*. The commercial success of his design is suggested by the fact that the artist produced numerous versions of *Bambou* between 1894 and 1900.

The Umbelliferae

As the decade progressed, Gallé's furniture designs would increasingly rely upon natural flora and fauna to inspire the structure of individual works. The artist would abandon derivative *japoniste* decoration in favor of a more subtle, yet still Japanese-inspired, abstraction of natural forms that would integrate structure and decor almost seamlessly. At the *Exposition universelle* of 1900, for example, Gallé exhibited an *étagère* entitled *Les Ombellifères* (The Umbelliferae, 1900) (fig. 4.46). The *étagère* is made of walnut with various woods used for the marquetry, inlaid with mother-of-pearl, and decorated with embossed and patinated bronze details. The design is incredibly light, relying almost entirely upon carved openwork trim, slender supports, and thin marquetry panels that compose the half-shelves. While the piece is unified by the repeated motif of the hogweed flower along the top crest, bottom edge, and central support, and a marquetry panel depicting the same flower at the back, the overall feel of the work is varied and purposefully asymmetrical. The top panel, which conceals an interior compartment, is decorated with marquetry depictions of Oriental chrysanthemums, symbols of love and longevity in Japan, and the frieze running along the top of the back panel is composed of abstract star-like geometric motifs derived from the form of the thistle, as seen in a drawing by Gallé (fig. 4.47).

In 1902, Gallé registered an album of designs on the theme of Umbelliferae with the Industrial Tribunal (*Prud'hommes*) of Nancy.²⁰³ The designs include an ink drawing with a handwritten annotation by Gallé, "[it] is inspired by a Japanese sword guard" (fig. 4.48).²⁰⁴ This is one possible source of inspiration for Gallé's chosen motif of the hogweed flower. A similar design rendered in bronze surrounds the keyhole of *Les Ombellifères*. The hogweed flower would come to function as the unofficial symbol of the *École de Nancy*, appearing in furniture and architectural designs by numerous artists.²⁰⁵ Gallé's drawing demonstrates that by 1900, the artist was no longer copying Japanese motifs directly. Instead, the artist bases his interpretation of a native plant on the design principles observed in Japanese art, adapting methods of composition from the Japanese tradition to the creation of a work based on the study of plants native to France.

In Gallé's design for *Les Ombellifères*, ornamental motifs are combined with inlaid marquetry text rendered directly onto the surface of the work. In addition to Gallé's inlaid signature, the piece bears a marquetry inscription at the top right that reads, "The moment / is so beautiful of / Light / deep / within us in our heart / Verhæren."²⁰⁶ This passage, which is slightly modified from its original form, is taken from the book-length poem *Heures claires* (Sunlit

Hours, 1896) by the Belgian Symbolist poet Émile Verhaëren (1855-1916). The original passage reads as follows: “The moment is so fair with light / In this garden all about; / The moment is so rare with new-born light / Deep within us and without!”²⁰⁷

As the title of the work suggests, in *Heures claires*, Verhaëren explores the emotional impact of light, comparing it to a flower (the adjective *trémière* is usually reserved for the name of flowers such as rose mallow, or *rose trémière*). The poet celebrates the transitory, intangible nature of light, suggesting that it has the ability to penetrate to the depths of one’s soul. Gallé’s *étagère* similarly celebrates the powerful appeal of light, as each element of the work seems to strain upwards towards the sun. *Les Ombellifères*, as its title suggests, is transformed into an organic whole pulsating with life, not a piece of furniture but a living flower seeking the rays of the sun. The rich, golden glow of the wood contributes to this feeling of life and energy.

A second version of *Les Ombellifères* (ca. 1900) located in Japan places even more emphasis on the life-giving properties of light (fig. 4.49). Gallé replaces the marquetry panel of hogweed flowers with a simpler panel depicting spider chrysanthemums, which resemble exploding stars.²⁰⁸ The marquetry panel at the top left, meanwhile, depicts a flower bending towards the rays of the sun, which radiate from the top left corner. The curving stems of the openwork carving along the crest also suggest surging growth and vitality.

In *Les Ombellifères*, structure and ornament are united in the expression of an intangible idea. In critics’ reviews of Gallé’s furniture, however, any interpretation of the work’s meaning is often elided in favor of arguments concerning the relationship between the structure of the work and its ornamentation. The critics’ discomfort reflects concern over the way that decoration comes to determine form in Gallé’s work. What remains unstated in such reviews, however, is the association of Japonisme with the decorative and structural logic with the artistic traditions of France. By uniting structure and ornament, in other words, Gallé’s work effectively disrupts the conventional dichotomy between “primitive” ornament and “civilized” structure.

The version of the *Les Ombellifères* exhibited at the *Exposition universelle* of 1900 was shown again the following year at the opening of the permanent exhibit of industrial art held at the *Musée Galliéra* in Paris.²⁰⁹ The playwright Jean Schopfer (1868-1931), writing under the pseudonym Claude Anet, offered a scathing account of the work,

Mr. Gallé... has sought his ornamental themes in the plants and the flowers of our fields. A laudable attempt, certainly, of which one would like to be able to state the success, but which, in fact, has miscarried, thus demonstrating that the preached return to nature is insufficient to restore life to industrial art. Mr. Gallé, at the start, had an immense success [but] the essential, indispensable qualities of composition, of architecture necessary to the creation of a piece of furniture, were missing from the works of Mr. Gallé, and, if [his works] did not duplicate old models, neither did they succeed in forming a new style.²¹⁰

Schopfer was a Swiss native, educated at the Sorbonne and the *École du Louvre*. He is best known for a series of articles on city planning published in *The Architectural Record* in 1902-1903 and for his work as a playwright. He was also a patron of fin-de-siècle artists such as Édouard Vuillard, who designed a porcelain wedding service and several painted murals for Schopfer. Far from a reactionary, then, Schopfer was a supporter of the modern movement. He voices a common complaint, however, regarding the structure of Gallé’s furniture, which, compared to traditional French *ébénisterie*, seemed to many to lack solid form.²¹¹

In his review of *Les Ombellifères*, for example, Schopfer decries the botanical specificity of the motifs as well as the work's lack of structural logic.

You will see therefore at the *Musée Galliéra*... a small sideboard with shelves [*Les Ombellifères*] by Mr. Gallé of a truly appalling poverty of design that demonstrates in the choice of woods the shrill harmonies dear to the master of Nancy. The panels are covered with marquetry; leaves, sprays of flowers 'imitating nature' spread out there. A botanist would certainly name the species represented. But the furniture is bad.²¹²

Schopfer posits a discordance between the work's decoration—its marquetry panels, for example—and its structure. In his view, a design based directly on forms found in nature cannot provide the rational structural organization necessary to a piece of furniture—what critics termed the work's "architecture". Schopfer refuses to recognize that Gallé's study of natural form extends beyond ornamentation to include the structure of the work itself, which is based upon the organization of plant forms.

Whereas Schopfer maintains a sharp distinction between ornament and structure, Gallé integrates the two seamlessly—in his work, decoration *becomes* form. As such, the two are indivisible and the work's decoration—the umbellifer-stem supports, for example—can no longer be separated from its structure. The decoration has *become* the architecture, in other words, a transition that profoundly disturbed critics such as Schopfer who clung to a system in which decoration was applied to structure.

In his essay "Le mobilier contemporain orné d'après la nature" (1900), Gallé provides an explanation of his theories regarding the decoration of furniture. The artist begins his essay with the bold assertion that among designers of his generation, "Many even... forgot not only to be modern, but even to be French."²¹⁵ Similarly, Gallé dismisses the "modern style" invented by Belgian and English artists as "the tentacular, teratological style"—a style, in other words, that deforms nature in the name of expressivity.²¹⁴

In place of forms borrowed from the art of the past and fantastically stylized excess, Gallé recommends the use of a style based on the study of natural forms, which he believes can provide both the structure and ornament of a work.²¹⁵ The end result is, he contends, "a living ensemble, where form will no longer be sacrificed to decoration any more than decoration will be sacrificed to form [and] each of them will be subordinated to the other in the name of harmony."²¹⁶ For examples of this kind of structural unity, Gallé urges artists and furnituremakers to consult the art of medieval France—and of the Far East.²¹⁷

Gallé's approach to furniture making was one shared by other members of the *École de Nancy*. In his review of the *Exposition Universelle* of 1900, for example, the critic Émile Nicolas praised *Les Ombellifères* as an example of structural harmony, writing,

The framework of the piece of furniture is inspired by the ridged and fluted stem of the hogweed. As you see, the shelves rest on natural layers formed by the ties of the petioles. Very gracefully carved umbels form a cornice that pleasantly decorates the upper part of this set of shelves. The same motif is repeated at the base and links each of the feet. Another small cornice in stamped and pierced metal brings its decorative tribute to the ensemble. Finally, delicate marquetrys

decorate the panels and the shelves with landscapes and also the blue *Astrantia* of the Alps.²¹⁸

Born in Lorraine, Nicolas was an art critic and the president of the *Société lorraine des amis des arts*, a group based in Nancy.²¹⁹ He would later serve as a faithful member of the artists' association founded by Gallé in 1901, the *École de Nancy*. A fervent supporter of the decorative arts in Lorraine, Nicolas devoted many articles to Gallé's glass and furniture designs.

In this passage, Nicolas praises the very qualities that Schopfer disdains—the origin of the structure in natural forms, the delicacy and lightness of the work, and the depiction of easily identifiable plants. Nicolas carefully details the organic logic of the overall composition, indicating that elements of the structure such as the shelves are placed so as to correspond with the natural divisions of the plant that the artist uses as his inspiration. At the level of decoration, Nicolas again emphasizes the unity of the ensemble. The repeated motif of the umbel, or hogweed flower, and the carved motifs that link individual sections, Nicolas contends, work together to unify a design characterized nonetheless by the variety of its structure and ornament.

In contrast, reviews of the furniture of other artists working in a *japoniste* mode, such as Lièvre and Viardot, repeatedly emphasize the disjunction between form and decoration that characterizes such works. In the auction catalogue that accompanied the sale of Lièvre's designs at the Hôtel Drouot, for example, the critic Paul Mantz writes,

In the composition of the piece of furniture, he borrows his starting point from accepted models. He looks to Oriental art, to the Renaissance, to the Louis XVI style; but he does not repeat them at all. If he remains faithful to the basic lines that are characteristic of each ideal, he manages... to vary the system of ornamentation [and] to execute works of art that bear the stamp of novelty.²²⁰

Mantz suggests, in essence, that Lièvre creates truly original works by applying a range of decorative motifs to structural forms that remain largely historicist in nature. For some critics, then, the application of exoticizing ornament to European forms was enough to earn an artist praise for his originality. Reviewing the work of Viardot in 1887, for example, Paul Lefort concedes, “We know very well that after all, it's only... an appropriation... of an exotic style skilfully modified to suit our needs [and] our tastes, and not a true [original] creation; but what does it matter if it is charming!”²²¹

The Critics: Japonisme

The element that is missing in the work of Viardot and Lièvre is nature. For many critics, Gallé's return to nature as the source of his art was an essential element in the artist's creation of a modern, national style. Critics attributed this “return” to nature almost unanimously to Gallé's study of Japanese art. Chief among these critics was Fourcaud, one of the Gallé's staunchest supporters. The author of the first biography of Gallé, published in 1903, Fourcaud was a member of the *Union centrale des Arts décoratifs* and a regular contributor to the *Revue des Arts décoratifs*. Although Fourcaud published several studies of 18th-century French art, he was also firmly committed to supporting the modern movement.²²²

In his biography of Gallé, Fourcaud unequivocally credits Japanese art with an instrumental role in the formation of Gallé's personal style. He writes, “The master of Nancy

decided, following the example of the Japanese, to ask the plants themselves for the elements of the plastic theme of the ceramic or glass piece that [also] had to borrow from them its ornamental theme.”²²³ Fourcaud thus describes the very process at work in pieces such as *Les Ombellifères*, in which the form of the plant itself determines both the work’s structural organization and its decoration, as a strategy inspired by Gallé’s study of Japanese art.

In 1910, Fourcaud again discusses the influence of Japanese art on Gallé, emphasizing the role of Japonisme in the artist’s turn towards nature as his muse. Fourcaud writes, “That which made an impression on him, above all, was the Japanese way of treating flowers and insects. Nothing more, in the end, touched him other than the direct emanation of true nature spread out before his eyes.”²²⁴ Despite the fact that he cites Japanese art as a formative element of Gallé’s naturalism, in this passage Fourcaud posits that the development of the artist’s mature style necessitated the *abandonment* of the very influence that had helped to shape his style. Japonisme may have shown Gallé the way, in other words, but in the end only “true nature” inspired the artist. This attempt to dissociate Gallé from the very influence that is posited as central to his development is characteristic of many accounts of the artist’s œuvre, particularly those composed after 1900.

Writing in 1905, Jules Henrivaux, director of the glassmaking company Saint-Gobain, praises Gallé’s enameled vases displayed at the *Exposition Universelle* of 1878. Henrivaux compares the vases to the work of François-Eugène Rousseau (1827-1891), a merchant who traded in porcelain and crystal. Like Gallé, Rousseau commissioned works based on his own designs, many of which drew inspiration from shapes and motifs found in Japanese art (fig. 4.50). Rousseau’s designs were engraved by Eugène Michel and Alphone Reyen, using glass supplied by the Appert brothers (*Appert frères*).²²⁵ Rousseau was also one of the first French glassmakers to use the technique of cased glass employed in 18th-century Chinese works. By comparing Gallé’s art with that of Rousseau, then, Henrivaux positions the artist firmly within the camp of the *japonistes*.

Henrivaux quickly informs the reader, however, that the interest in Japanese art was only a passing stage in Gallé’s evolution as an artist. He writes,

All of these works [inspired by Japanese art] are remarkable, perfect in execution, marked by original signs; but the artist had hardly finished them when doubt and discontent assailed him. In the end nothing would ever touch him again that did not emanate directly from true nature, it is above all by the celebration of life in these marvels that his soul succeeded in expressing itself.²²⁶

Henrivaux thus contends that by relying on Japanese art for models, Gallé achieved only technical virtuosity. In order to achieve true success, his style had to be purified, and his art had to return to the source—“true nature,” translated by the artist’s temperament alone.²²⁷ The artist Meixmoron de Dombasle, in his response to Gallé’s acceptance speech given before the *Académie de Stanislas* in 1899, likewise posited that the art of Japan and China held only a passing interest for Gallé, who quickly went on to form his own, personal style.²²⁸

If Henrivaux and Dombasle suggest that Gallé had to *abandon* Japonisme in order to find his own personal style, however, other critics emphasized Japonisme as a necessary stage in the development of Gallé’s aesthetic. According to Marx, for example, it was Gallé’s study of the art of Asia that helped not only to bring the artist’s focus back to nature but also to develop his personal style.

[The study of Asian art]... resulted in only intensifying in him the search for a refined artlessness and the ambition of renewing his ties with nature. He found himself again inclined to the reasoned and mature study of the creations of China and above all Japan; in tackling this, he worried less about following the dictates of fashion, as has been suggested, than about discovering among the Athenians of the Far East both the liberating principles of an independent aesthetic, and examples worthy of fulfilling the private yearnings of his temperament. How could he not have been won over by a national [Japanese] art, burst forth from the soil, from the country, and from the race?²²⁹

Marx's analysis of the influence of Asian art on Gallé is radically opposed to that of Henrivaux. While the latter sees the abandonment of Japonisme as a necessary stage in Gallé's search to develop a mature style, Marx perceives the study of both Chinese and Japanese art as essential to this development. The study of the art of these ancient cultures, Marx argues, allowed Gallé to develop an independent aesthetic, one that expresses his own individual temperament. Gallé's art became *more* personal, in other words, through emulation. In this passage, Marx also refers to a "national art," a concept that would become increasingly important in discussions of Japonisme and its influence on French art.

In an article published in the symbolist review *La Plume* in 1895, Charles Ténib takes care to differentiate between Gallé's art and that of Japan, but like Marx, also credits Japonisme with enabling Gallé to develop his personal style.²³⁰ Ténib was the pseudonym of a physician and art-lover from Toulouse, Charles Binet. Ténib edited a special issue of the avant-garde journal *La Plume* devoted to the decorative arts of Lorraine, in which his article appears. He argues,

Émile Gallé only became truly himself in 1884. At this time, he had a kind of revelation in studying Japanese art. One has since reproached him... for seeking his inspiration in the Far East. An abyss separates Gallé's manner from that of the Mongols [sic]. He himself denies with some indignation having imitated them, but recognizes that they have led him to move closer to nature, as much as the aesthetic laws of decoration permitted him.²³¹

In this passage, Ténib posits an absolutely central role for Japanese art in the creation of Gallé's personal aesthetic. According to the author, Gallé only became "himself" through the study of Japanese art. Ténib then qualifies this statement, however, taking great care to distinguish between Gallé's art and the art of Japan. Despite the influence of one upon the other, he argues, they are fundamentally different. It is not a question of imitation but of inspiration. To make his point, Ténib clearly distinguishes between Gallé's art and that of the "Mongols." His use of the term is not only inaccurate—the Mongol Empire never encompassed Japan—but it also positions Japanese art clearly in the past, for the Mongol Empire flourished in the 13th century.

Ténib goes on to cite a passage from a letter supposedly written to him by Gallé, who in it defends his own use of Japanese elements in his art:

[Gallé] writes me on this subject: 'It is true that the same living model, from my woods, has been interpreted in Japan and in Europe by artists who have made of it

supple and unrestrained naturalist decors, each agreeing with his temperament, his race, his trade, and his intellectuality. The history of decor, moreover, proves that this naturalist art did not wait for the albums of Hokusai to see the light of day to appear among us as early as the most distant epochs. Would one not say that the rustic figurines, this so naïve decor often used in Nippon, is of Japanese origin? all the same!²³²

In this excerpt, Gallé seems to deny any direct influence of Japanese art on his own personal style. Artists in Japan and in Europe may have used similar models for their art, the artist suggests, and displayed a comparable interest in naturalism, but the two historical traditions are distinct. Even depictions of the same subject matter, he says, are affected by the temperament and race of the artist. The naturalistic tradition exists in both nations, Gallé posits, but in France it pre-dates the influence of Japan.

Gallé's efforts to deny the impact of Japanese art on his œuvre may be attributed to three factors. First, the article in question appeared in a special issue devoted to the arts in Lorraine, Gallé's native province. Passionately involved in the renaissance of the decorative arts in Lorraine and the nascent regionalist movement, Gallé may have wanted to downplay his early experiments with Japonisme so as to better locate the origins of his art in provincial traditions. Furthermore, in contemporary accounts, the art of Japan was often associated with technical virtuosity and an emphasis on the decorative, both of which were problematic concepts for artists seeking to elevate the status of the decorative arts.²³³

Events in the political realm, however, may also have influenced both the artist and his reviewers' perceptions of Japanese art. In August of 1894, only a year before the publication of Ténib's article in *La Plume*, Japan had declared war with China over the question of Korean independence. Earlier that year, Japan had invaded Korea, then a tributary state of the Chinese empire. When China refused to recognize the government established in Seoul by the Japanese, the Imperial Japanese Army invaded China, eventually pushing north to Manchuria. The Treaty of Shimonoseki officially put an end to the war on April 17, 1895.

Following the signing of the treaty, however, Russia, France, and Germany formed the Triple Intervention, an alliance designed to prevent further Japanese incursions into Manchuria. The members of the Triple Intervention pressured Japan to give up the Liaodong peninsula in exchange for additional war indemnities. Faced with the threat of war from the European forces, the Japanese ceded control of Liaodong province and Port Arthur, only to see it occupied by Russia. Meanwhile, France, Great Britain, and Germany moved to seize other port cities and wrangle new trade concessions with China, taking advantage of the country's weakened position. By the time Ténib published his article on Gallé, therefore, Japan was no longer an ally of France. Instead, the rapidly westernizing nation had come to be seen as a potential military threat to France's colonialist ambitions in Asia.

Taine and the Idea of a National Art

The different views of Asian art expressed by Henrivaux, Ténib, and Marx can also be attributed to the concept of "national" art. Marx, for example, posits that Japanese art in particular is a product of its time and place, an organic outgrowth of the "soil" of its native land. It is this that allows it to be assimilated by French artists seeking to create their own '*art national*.'²³⁴ Critics writing of a French national style were indebted to a mid-nineteenth-century

art historian, Hippolyte Taine (1828-1893), for their theory of a culturally specific artistic style. Taine, himself echoing the work of earlier historians, formulated an elaborate theory in which factors such as social milieu, historical epoch, and even physical geography combined to foster an artist's unique style. In his famous *Lectures on Art*, Taine has this to say of style: "We have therefore to lay down this rule: that, in order to comprehend a work of art, an artist or a group of artists, we must clearly comprehend the general social and intellectual condition of the times to which they belong."²³⁵ Thus Gonse writes of Japanese art, "Taine, who loves to point out the influence of physical, social, and moral environments on... Art, would have found his calling in Japan."²³⁶

Many critics, including Gonse and Marx, perceived Japanese art as the visual expression of Japanese identity. According to these critics, Japanese art was inherently "national." Liberty, for example, devoted an article published in 1891 in *Le Japon Artistique* to the study of the effect of Japan's "national genius" on its artistic production.²³⁷ Liberty was an English *japoniste* and the designer and owner of the department store Liberty & Co. In his essay, Liberty credits two phenomena with the preservation of Japan's unique character as a nation: feudalism and the fact of Japan's isolation from other nations.²³⁸ According to Liberty, feudalism encouraged the development of the arts, while isolation maintained the cultural "purity" of Japan's artistic traditions.

Some critics saw in Japan's "pure" art a model for French artists seeking to define a quintessentially "French" style. In an essay on Japanese pottery written in 1884, for example, Burty suggests that the love of nature and a truly native artistic style based on natural forms have been lost by the French.²³⁹ Japan, he contends, can offer France a model for recapturing this lost legacy. He writes,

Almost always the ornamentation that we find in the art of the Far East is a symbolic ornamentation. It is completely otherwise for Europe, with this unfortunate current system of always copying, always transcribing, of never pursuing original thought, of hardly ever asking ourselves if our flora, our fauna would not furnish us with the essential elements of an absolutely personal, absolutely French decoration. [...] We are, in the field of invention, surpassed by simpler nations, which preserve in themselves the sacred flame of the love of nature and this possessiveness of national beauty.²⁴⁰

Unlike Vogüé, then, Burty does not believe that the representation of nature in Japanese art is without deeper meaning. For Burty, the art of the Far East is essentially "symbolic," a representation of nature that expresses the character of the Japanese people by depicting the natural beauty of their nation.

The Abandonment of Classicism

One way to create a modern, national style, some suggested, was through the abandonment of classical models. Japanese art offered artists an alternative to the Greco-Roman tradition, one that was understood to be diametrically opposed to Classicism.²⁴¹ In an article on modern glassmaking written in 1895, for example, Marx attributes the revival of the decorative arts to the study of Asian art:

On all sides, in the ways of conceiving and of executing these are only improvements, attempts at emancipation, [a] definitive renunciation of outdated formulas. The secret of this emancipation belongs to the Far East; Japan and China have been the evocative and invigorating sources from which the glassmakers of this fin-de-siècle have demanded the rejuvenation of their varied inspiration.²⁴²

According to Marx, the example of Japanese and Chinese art encouraged French artists to break with tradition and to abandon the historicism so characteristic of the 19th century.²⁴³ Marx's language is celebratory, linking freedom and youth: "liberation" (*affranchissement*), "emancipation" (*émancipation*), and "rejuvenation" (*rajeunissement*).

In a later passage, however, Marx blurs the stylistic dichotomy between Japanese art and Classicism, noting that archaeologists have drawn parallels between the art of Japan and the art of Antiquity.

It's good to celebrate nowadays the discovery of Japanese art, its consideration by aesthetes, its exit from the domain of curiosity, where ignorance and prejudice shut it away under the pretext of oddness; it's good, in waiting for the Louvre to open to it, to recall what comparisons it provoked on the part of archeologists, how the most worthy of belief have compared it to these classic arts of antiquity... to which it would be unbecoming to ration admiration and respect.²⁴⁴

Marx here invokes "antiquity" as a whole, but many of his contemporaries made a clear distinction between the art of ancient Greece, which they viewed as the pure expression of "national" character, and the decadence of Roman and later Renaissance art. In such accounts, critics invariably associate Japanese art with the primitive yet refined culture of the ancient Greeks.

Gonse also compared the artistic traditions of Japan and Greece in an essay written in 1898.²⁴⁵ He writes,

In my opinion, the Japanese constitute the most artistic people who have ever existed—with the Greeks; I say this without any form of hesitation. [...] With these two peoples, in effect, there was the same taste for the work of art, at all rungs of the social ladder, from the refined and cultivated man to the most humble peasant. This is perhaps due to the fact that art in Japan, as in Greece, was not intended to embellish life; art among these two peoples was always joined with life; there is nothing either false or artificial.²⁴⁶

In this excerpt, Gonse links Japonisme to one of the central goals of arts reformers, "*l'art pour tous*" (art for all) or "*l'art social*" (social art). This credo held that artistic design principles should be applied to items of everyday use so that all social classes might benefit from them. Arts reformers intent on raising the status of the so-called 'minor arts,' he implies, should look to Japanese art for an example of an artistic tradition in which no distinction was made between the fine and the decorative arts.

Other critics made the same distinction between Classicism, which they associated not with Greece but with Greco-Roman art as codified by the artists of the Italian Renaissance, and a

style that they compared with a pure, national tradition as exemplified by the art of Japan. Fourcaud, for example, declares that

No intervention has been more effective in detaching us from traditional classical modes. [...] The creations of the Far East, fanciful and practical, displaying such a keen love of nature... have brought a great many minds back to the [common] sense of our origins.²⁴⁷

Fourcaud located these “origins” in medieval France, arguing that the Middle Ages were characterized by the artistic unity that he, like many other members of the reform movement, believed held the key to the revival of French art—and French society.²⁴⁸

The author of *L'Art gothique* (1890), Gonse helped to popularize the concept of Gothic art as “national.”²⁴⁹ Already in *L'Art Japonais* (1883), Gonse had drawn parallels between the art of medieval France and that of Japan, which he viewed as a feudal culture uncontaminated by later historical developments.²⁵⁰ In an article published in the *Revue des Arts décoratifs*, Gonse writes,

I was comparing [the Japanese] just now to the Greeks; one could also very well compare them, with no less aptness, to our artists of the Middle Ages. With them, the rational side predominates; that corroborates what I was saying: that is to say that objects are always made for a use [and] that they always relate to the needs of [everyday] life.²⁵¹

For many fin-de-siècle commentators, then, Gothic art comprised a quintessentially national style, one uncontaminated by the influence of the Renaissance and the Italian school. In the view of these writers, Japanese society resembled that of medieval France: heavily influenced by religion, hierarchical in social structure, and characterized by artisanal, rather than industrial, methods of production.²⁵²

Burty, for example, described the similarities between French and Japanese culture in terms of a feudal culture untainted by Classicism:

The manners of the great lords, at once brutal and sensual, rude and refined, correspond singularly with those of our French feudality, before the invasion of the Italian customs that brought us so many elements of corruption and for several centuries vitiated our national genius.²⁵³

Burty reprised this theme of a loss of national purity or genius in an 1884 speech on Japanese ceramics. The published text of his speech reads,

Never have the inhabitants of the Far East been subjected to this burden that our arts suffer, especially since the 16th century. During the 13th century, which saw one of the most beautiful flowerings of French genius, everything had its reason for being. Never did our artists have the idea of drawing on civilizations other than our own for the representation of that which they themselves wanted to say. They said it in their own language. One looked to reflection, to the country, to

nature for everything, and nature is a mother whose mouth is never silent for those who inquire of her with sincerity.²⁵⁴

In these passages, Japanese art is thus aligned with the purity of medieval art but contrasted with the Italian-derived Classicism of the Renaissance. The former, it is suggested, was not a pure, national style but rather a corrupting influence that helped to destroy France's native medieval traditions. In order to return to those traditions, the artist must look to nature for inspiration. While direct imitation of Japanese art would be akin to speaking in a foreign language, Burty suggests that the example of Japanese art can nonetheless teach French artists how to return to nature for inspiration so as to forge a truly national art.

In an article written in 1897, journalist Raymond Bouyer reflected upon the decorative arts reforms of the 1880s and 1890s. He attributes a transformation in the decorative arts to two influences: Japanese art, as interpreted by the Goncourts, and Medieval art, as interpreted by Ruskin and Morris.

From the chaos of forms materialize two compelling influences: since the Goncourts, these explorers of Art, imported the finds of the Japanese, who make a science of the composition of bouquets and who give to their women the names of flowers, since the thinker John Ruskin, followed by the poet-painter William Morris, dreamed of spreading 'the religion of Beauty' to all the creative provinces—the Far East blends curiously with the medieval dreams of Albion [England] to advise our researchers. The plant prevails.²⁵⁵

Both traditions, in other words, are characterized by a return to nature. Bouyer thus establishes a genealogy for Art Nouveau that is one part Japonisme and one part medievalism. In his view, the two are equally important in the creation of a modern style based on natural forms.

While Medieval France constituted an example of a pure artistic culture for many commentators, others were more drawn to the Rococo as an expression of national style. Discussions of the Rococo as national patrimony often produced comparisons with another quintessentially "national" art, that of Japan. In an article entitled "Sur le rôle et l'influence des arts de l'Extrême Orient et du Japon," for example, Marx explores the historical association between the Far East and the French Rococo. He begins by positing a shared "sympathie esthétique," or aesthetic affinity, between the two nations, France and Japan. This affinity, he affirms, is not the result of fashion nor is it ephemeral. He writes,

This sympathy, this influence, should one impute them to, subject them to the caprice of fashion and therefore judge them ephemeral, or rather do they not originate from a long proven affinity of temperaments: 'The apotheosis' of today would thus only be the resumption of a tradition, a return to a preference, now vivid as never before, but not new.²⁵⁶

What he means by affinity, it appears, is the continuing enthusiasm for Japanese and Chinese art on the part of French collectors. Marx goes on to describe a five centuries-long tradition of importing Chinese porcelains and Japanese lacquers, as well as the 18th-century passion for *chinoiseries* in European architecture and textile manufacture.

Surprisingly, however, Marx then credits the arts of Japan and China with a major role in the evolution of the Rococo style. “These works... are going to hasten a reaction against the rigid, pompous despotism of Le Brun,” he writes, “by furnishing the elements of independence, dissymmetry and movement combined marvelously by [our] national originality during the Regency and under Louis XV.”²⁵⁷ Marx thus opposes the classicism of Le Brun to the arts of the Far East and of the French Rococo. Underscoring the affinities between the two artistic traditions, one French and one foreign, Marx notes that collectors such as the brothers Goncourt combined their love of the Rococo with a passion for Japanese and Chinese *objets d’art*. Marx writes,

Come the Revolution, [the interest in Japanese art] will go away—how many years! —lacquer, porcelain, like the French creations of the period that so knew how to love them. David, his school, his generation, cared nothing about them, and, to see them take root again, there was no choice but to wait for the revolt of a few free spirits in favor of Watteau, Chardin, La Tour, and Fragonard, because the same righters of wrongs—whether named de Goncourt, Villot, or Burty—would begin, around 1850, the rehabilitation of our shouted down school, and the restoration of honor to the genius of the Far East.²⁵⁸

In the timeline established by Marx, the author describes a recurring cycle of artistic transformation—an evolution from the Rococo style, influenced by Asian art, to Neo-classicism, and then back to the Rococo. Marx thus establishes a dichotomy between a style that he perceives as constraining—Classicism, and one that he perceives as liberating. For the 18th century, this emancipated style is the Rococo, and for the 19th century, Marx contends, it is Art Nouveau. Both are indissociable, according to Marx, from an interest in art of the Far East.

In his introduction to the catalogue published to accompany the sale of the Goncourts’ private collection, Marx further explored the affinities between the art of the Far East and of 18th-century France. He asserts that

Because the art of the Far East was, like that of the 18th century, ‘an art of truth and of fantasy,’ the Goncourts were instinctively drawn to it; writer-artists never tiring of new impressions, they liked the ‘pellet of opium so uplifting, so hallucinatory, so curiously enigmatic for the brain of a contemplator.’²⁵⁹

Marx here emphasizes the shared element of fantasy in the arts of Japan and of the Rococo, but also a common element of “truth” in the two styles. He suggests that in these two traditions, terms normally opposed, such as truth and fantasy, can be reconciled. We might compare this to the distinction that Vogüé draws between idealism and naturalism. According to Marx, Japanese art can teach French artists how to unite these two impulses, naturalism and symbolism, in works that are at once illusionistic depictions of the natural world and personal expressions of an artist’s unique, individual sensibility.

The Goncourts and Japonisme

The Goncourt brothers, Jules and Edmond, were well-known collectors of 18th-century French art and Asian art. Much of their collection was described in the illustrated book *Maison*

d'un artiste (House of an Artist, 1881), published by Edmond de Goncourt in 1881.²⁶⁰ Like Marx, Edmond de Goncourt perceived aesthetic affinities between the art of the Rococo and the art of Japan.²⁶¹ Following Edmond's death in 1896, *La Lorraine Artiste* devoted a special issue to the Goncourt brothers.²⁶² Gallé contributed an essay, entitled "Goncourt et les métiers d'art," which celebrated Edmond de Goncourt's influence on decorative arts reform as a collector and a writer. Gallé begins by emphasizing the enormous impact of Goncourt on the decorative arts, in spite of his reluctance to buy modern works or otherwise openly support the decorative arts in France.²⁶³ Gallé writes, "It would seem clear that he did not give... a helping hand to the *sursum* [lifting up] of our art industries. Goncourt was no less a benefactor in spite of himself, a proud instructor, [and] an active fomenter of art."²⁶⁴

Gallé thus posits that Edmond de Goncourt's influence on the decorative arts was that of a teacher who led by example. Referring to the author's *Maison d'un artiste*, Gallé compares Goncourt's writing to the creation of a work of visual art—what Gallé terms *écriture artiste* (artistic writing). The author's words are a recreation, or a substitute, for the objects he describes. In Gallé's words,

In order to transcribe it for us, this inventory, he imagined his own pencil; in order to stamp, as it were, the illustrations in relief, he invented a metal-carver's tool, a plastic verb; he employed a metal engraved by his own hand, a muscular phrase, processes of rapid printing, a phototype in color, I would say, and moving; in order to picture for us the works of the artistic trades in their changing materials and styles, he used the rainbow-colored pastels of fluttering, dust-covered wings.²⁶⁵

Gallé's description of Goncourt's writing itself recalls elements of the Rococo style—full of color and movement, changing and fluid, artisanal and refined. It also provides parallels with Gallé's own œuvre, and when the artist later compares Goncourt to a *tourneur en bois* (woodturner), the similarity between the two men is even more marked. It is clear that Gallé believes Goncourt had a formative impact on the artist's own style, and indeed the two men were friends as early as 1882, when Edmond de Goncourt mentions a visit by Gallé in his journal.

If Goncourt's writing style was influential in literary circles, Gallé argues that the author's richly detailed descriptions of his collection were even more so in artistic circles. In particular, Gallé suggests that Goncourt's collection of Chinese and Japanese art provoked interest in these artistic traditions on the part of artists and designers working in the decorative arts—more so than the original works themselves. Gallé writes,

Beginners in the trades will be the audience for your fairy tales, your tales of a Thousand and One Nights, where you weave scarves for Sheherazade, for Zobeide, where we see the emperor Chin-Tsung order, with a sense rare in a leader, that the porcelain of the palace shall be forever blue, but blue 'like the sky that one glimpses after the rain... in the gap between clouds.'²⁶⁶ It is we who will gather 'the great flower of a glassy blue, the carved and embossed hibiscus,' and we will make our works drunk with the fragrance of 'nankeen pink.'²⁶⁷

Although Gallé here refers to Middle Eastern as well as Chinese sources, it is unclear whether Goncourt in fact owned any Islamic art. Rather, Gallé here attempts to create a generalized sense

of mystery and exoticism, linking the feminized Orient of Sheherazade and Zobeide with the despotic Orient of the Chinese emperors. Goncourt's descriptions of his collection, which Gallé quotes at length, will be the inspiration of future generations of artisans, the artist contends. Gallé pays particular attention to the colors described by Goncourt, including the blue of 10th-century Chinese porcelain and "nankeen pink," a rare color found in 18th-century Chinese fabric and porcelain. When Gallé writes of the fragrance of "nankeen pink," he invokes the popular 19th-century concept of synesthesia, a neurological disorder in which normally separate senses overlap. By invoking the concept of synesthesia, Gallé echoes Goncourt's own description of Chinese art as hallucinatory.

Later in the same article, Gallé mentions in passing that Goncourt collected Chinese glass, some of it apparently looted from the Summer Palace during the Second Opium War. Of Chinese glass, Gallé writes,

Fine glassware (*crystal*) touched a chord with Goncourt. He enjoyed Chinese glass. But he had to leave to the future the penetration of its obscure history. The glass of the Summer Palace appeared titillating to him, in spite of the slightly silly clichés of their representations.²⁶⁸

Quickly abandoning the topic of Chinese glass, Gallé then cites Goncourt's description of Chinese porcelain at length, savoring descriptions such as "the white the closest to the heart of a magnolia flower with these translucences of jade."²⁶⁹

Throughout such passages, there is slippage between Gallé's characterization of Goncourt's literary style and the collector's own descriptions of Chinese and Japanese *objets d'art*. Gallé often employs Goncourt's own words to describe the author's style. Discussing Goncourt's appreciation of Japanese bronzes, for example, Gallé writes, "Such images seem to leap off the page; others captured an almost scientific observation: 'this movement of compression of the wings of a bee in a flower'."²⁷⁰ The "images" are Goncourt's written depictions of Japanese bronzes, and the quote is taken from Goncourt's own writing and used here by Gallé to describe the author's literary style. It becomes increasingly unclear in the course of the article whether the *objet d'art* in question is a work of (visual) art or Goncourt's prose itself. The work of the European "artist," Goncourt, displaces and, to a certain extent, replaces the imported *objet d'art*. Gallé's essay thus provides one model of a possible relationship between the exotic art object and its European counterpart, in which the original art object is essentially recreated, in words or images, so that the copy in fact surpasses the 'original.'

Gallé ends his tribute to Edmond de Goncourt by invoking the author's role in introducing the work of the Japanese printmaker Hokusai to French audiences. He writes,

Edmond de Goncourt introduced us to the enormous, incredibly prolific body of work of an opener of horizons, the very good master Hokusai, to whom the art of an ungrateful Japan owes its being torn away from conventional Chinese design about sixty years ago. However, the man whose vast influence went beyond the studios of Japan and who modernized, naturalized the decorative art of nations, to whomever asked him for lessons, proclaimed modestly, masterfully, this principle: 'One does not teach art! Anyone can become an artist by copying nature!'²⁷¹

In this excerpt, Gallé suggests that Japanese art was not *inherently* national, but that, like French art, it needed to be purified of external influences—those of China in particular. This is achieved, according to the artist, through a return to nature: Hokusai is credited with both modernizing and nationalizing the decorative arts through the choice of nature as his model.

In contemporary discussions of Japanese art, then, the concept of national purity was of central importance. The study of Japanese art, many suggested, would help French artists to develop a modern, national style based on natural forms. The national and the natural were equated, so that the specificity of the natural world would express the cultural specificity of France, yet do so through universally recognized symbols. If supporters of the modern movement were quick to embrace Japanese art, however, they viewed Chinese art and its influence on Gallé in an entirely different light.

China

In China, the origins of the ancient art of glassmaking date back at least to the 6th century BCE. It was in the 18th century, however, that Chinese glassmaking experienced its great revival under the patronage of the Manchu dynasty.²⁷² The presence of European artisans in China had a determinant influence on the production of glass during this period. Kilian Stumpf (1655-1720), a Jesuit from Würzburg, Germany, oversaw the construction of the imperial glassworks between 1694 and 1697.²⁷³ During this period, enormous quantities of glassware were produced in China. Typical examples consisted of transparent glass in bold hues such as red and blue or opaque glass in yellow, turquoise, blue, or celadon, which were sometimes decorated with enamels. The Chinese also developed a type of cameo glass during this era similar to that produced in ancient Rome and later revived in the 19th century in England.

In 1885, Gallé traveled to Berlin, where he visited the *Kunstgewerbemuseum*, or Decorative Arts Museum. The *Kunstgewerbemuseum* had begun collecting ancient and contemporary Chinese glass in the 1870s.²⁷⁴ The museum assistant responsible for the glass collection, Peter Jessen, committed his memories of Gallé's visit to paper in 1916, at the time of his appointment to the post of director of the Berlin *Kunstabibliothek* (Art Library). According to Jessen, Gallé examined each object individually over a period of several weeks. In an issue of *Kunstgewerbeblatt*, a decorative arts journal, Jessen recalls,

How, as a young assistant, I once opened up the sensational collection of [Chinese] glass at the Museum of Applied Arts for the Master of Nancy, and how he studied it piece by piece for two weeks, which is something that no German glassmaker had ever asked to do; Berlin is where he learned the rudiments of the technique with which he took the world by storm.²⁷⁵

While visiting the museum, Gallé was able to study over four hundred snuff boxes and other objects dating from the 17th through the 19th centuries.²⁷⁶ Gallé's visit to Berlin was essential to his study of Chinese glass, as relatively few pieces were reproduced in print until Arthur Papst published some of the museum's collection in the first issue of *Kunstgewerbeblatt*, which appeared in 1885 (fig. 4.51).²⁷⁷ Gallé would also have seen Chinese glass bottles at the *Exposition universelle* of 1889, where Bing exhibited several from his collection.²⁷⁸

Gallé studied the works in Berlin closely and adapted several of the techniques used by Chinese artisans to his own works. In his note to the jury of the *Exposition universelle* of 1889,

for example, Gallé compares his invention of a new technique for engraving especially large works in glass to the 17th-century techniques favored by the Chinese. Gallé adds that he hopes one day to write a history of the techniques used by Chinese glassmakers, underscoring his fascination with this art.²⁷⁹ A colored sketch from 1890 shows that by this date, Gallé had begun to collect glass snuffboxes and also to study those purchased by Marx (fig. 4.52). Gallé later created a series of vases such as his *Petit vase soliflore opaque jaune* (Small, Opaque Yellow Bud Vase, 1890) that imitate the smooth shapes and opaque hues of Chinese glass from the Tsing dynasty (figs. 4.53, 4.54).

While the brilliant colors of Chinese glass and the use of techniques such as casing and cameo glass reappear in Gallé's work, the artist by and large ignored the shape of Chinese glass vessels. Because they imitated the form of engraved works made of semi-precious stone, these vessels were often thick-walled and angular.²⁸⁰ In contrast, many of Gallé's more sculptural forms are derived from Japanese and Chinese bronzes, which display a greater sinuosity and sense of movement. Gallé's *Vase Gu ou Datura* (Datura or Gu Vase, 1889-98), for example, is based on bronze ceremonial vases from the Shang era (1600-1046 BCE) (figs. 4.55, 4.56).²⁸¹

Gallé may have seen Chinese bronzes at the *Palais de l'Industrie* in Paris, where in 1873 the industrialist Henri Cernuschi (1821-1896) displayed over 1,000 objects, primarily bronzes, purchased on his travels in China and Japan.²⁸² Following the exhibition, Cernuschi created a private gallery in his home to display the works.²⁸³ In 1878, another collector, Émile Guimet (1836-1918), publicly exhibited his own collection of Japanese bronzes, largely religious in character, which he had gathered on his travels in Japan with the artist Félix Régamey (1844-1907).²⁸⁴

Relatively few fin-de-siècle artists were directly influenced by the art of China. In contrast, many native Japanese artists considered Chinese and Chinese-derived Japanese art to be of the highest artistic value. 19th-century European collectors' view of China and its art, however, was colored by the events of the Opium Wars (1840-42) and China's continued opposition to trade with the West, which led many to consider Chinese art as the product of a decadent civilization.²⁸⁵ Chinese porcelain, for example, which was favored by the French royalty and aristocracy as early as the 16th century, was by the end of the 19th century widely available but poorly valued.²⁸⁶ Moreover, there was little scholarly attention paid to Chinese art in France. With the exception of a few scattered articles in journals and reviews, the first comprehensive study of Chinese art, a monograph written by Maurice Paléologue (1859-1944), appeared only in the late 1880s.²⁸⁷

Contemporary critics rarely mentioned the influence of Chinese art on Gallé's glassmaking. Those who do invariably emphasize only the technical processes that inspired Gallé. The Symbolist poet Comte Robert de Montesquiou-Fezensac (1855-1921), for example, describes the artist's visit to Berlin as follows,

It is in a Berlin museum, we know, that our Dardi²⁸⁸ from Nancy saw these Chinese glasswares with which he fell in love, and which served as models for him, with their superimposed, vitreous layers and different colors, of which his lathe, his auger, and his riveting-die would seek, as in worked onyxes and natural cameos, the veins that would lend themselves to his purpose and of which his imagination took [full] advantage.²⁸⁹

Montesquiou and Gallé's friendship began in 1889 and continued through 1897, when an infamous quarrel put a quite public end to their friendship.²⁹⁰ The two men collaborated on several designs for furniture, including Gallé's *Commode aux Hortensias* (Dresser with Hyacinths, 1892) and his *Pendule de Pensées* (Clock with Pansies, 1893). Gallé also borrowed phrases from Montesquiou's poems to decorate his works. Despite their disagreements, Montesquiou composed elegant lines in honor of Gallé's works in his collected volumes of poetry, *Chef des odeurs suaves* (The Master of Sweet Odors, 1893) and *Les Paons* (The Peacocks, 1908).²⁹¹

The passage above is from Montesquiou's book *Têtes d'expression* (Expressive Heads, 1912) and was written in response to a retrospective of Gallé's work held at the *Musée Galliéra* in 1910. In it, Montesquiou describes Chinese glass as a primary material upon which Gallé works his artistry. Chinese art is aligned with nature and thus positioned as necessary but inferior to the art of Gallé, which is informed by the artist's own imagination as well as his technical virtuosity.

Like Montesquiou, Fourcaud emphasizes Gallé's use of techniques inspired by Chinese art and Chinese enameling in particular:

The sight of streaked Chinese pieces suggested to him, almost immediately, [the idea of] placing his enamel on hardened [areas] of extreme fusibility, so as to make use of smooth, faded, cloudy, marbled, flecked backgrounds spattered with tones curiously dragged and splashed in [the process of] being liquefied.²⁹²

Fourcaud here describes Gallé's early experiments with enamels in the 1880s, when the artist often imitated agates and other stones in his works. Even as they emphasize the importance of Chinese techniques on Gallé's art, however, critics such as Fourcaud and Montesquiou maintain a clear distinction between the art of China and the art of France. Chinese art is a source material, an example of merely technical virtuosity, which can be imitated without fear of undue influence. In many ways, the art of China, unlike that of Japan, is thus aligned with the 19th-century practice of historicism—it provides a repertoire of forms that can be reinterpreted by modern artists. In its original form, however, the art of China is seen as mired in history, as an artistic tradition that has ceased to evolve and thus cannot be modern.

In the Symbolist journal *La Plume*, Montesquiou dedicated a short article entitled "Cette petite clef-ci" to Gallé.²⁹³ In his article, Montesquiou describes Gallé as "the resurrector of Chinese glass" and again refers to Gallé's visit to Berlin. Montesquiou describes Gallé as, "The marvelous glassmaker (*crystallier*), the prince of this trinity, the resurrector of Chinese glass... the patient student of the Berlin Museum in which the most beautiful specimens of this curious art shine."²⁹⁴ Montesquiou's prose is evocative, mingling religious references to the trinity and resurrection with an element of mystery and magic.

In Montesquiou's passage, Gallé is not a "verrier," or glassmaker, but a "crystallier." The choice of terminology lends an archaic feel to the description—the modern spelling would be "cristal," not "crystal." The term "cristal" also refers to fine glassware, made with lead and traditionally reserved for the most elaborate and costly creations. At the same time, however, the reference to crystal rather than to glass evokes the natural world, for crystal is also a naturally occurring substance, in the form of rock crystal. Glass, on the other hand, is a man-made substance, albeit one created from the simplest of natural materials, sand. Montesquiou's prose thus resolutely ignores the industrial character of Gallé's art production, obscuring the processes

of manufacture with references to a kind of transubstantiation: like wine into blood, the transformation of sand into glass.

In Montesquiou's discussion of Chinese glass, the products of this foreign culture are aligned with nature—they are the primary materials that will be transformed by Gallé. The objects that Gallé studies at the Berlin Decorative Arts Museum are, according to Montesquiou, “specimens” of a “curious art.” Montesquiou evokes the *kunstkammer*, or cabinet of curiosities, a princely collection of unusual and rare items both natural and manmade. Like the princely owner of the *kunstkammer*, Gallé will classify and order the specimens before him. Montesquiou also suggests that these objects belong to an already obsolete tradition, one that must be “resurrected” by Gallé. For writers such as Fourcaud and Montesquiou, then, Chinese art is the product of a decadent culture, one that has nothing to offer France other than its technical expertise.

Critics paid particular attention to Gallé's interest in the cameo glass made by Chinese artisans. In this process, multiple layers of different colors of glass are superimposed. Once the piece has cooled, the artist cuts away layers using an acid bath or an engraving wheel to reveal the colors below. Unlike enameling, in which decoration is applied to the surface of the piece, the decoration of cameo glass is a sculptural process. A contemporary author attributes Gallé's “discovery” of this technique to both Chinese and Classical sources:

Following his research into the history and the techniques of Chinese glass, Gallé unveils his way of treating glass vases like multi-layered cameos. He goes back to the classical art of the vases of Naples and of the British Museum, and he rejuvenates it.²⁹⁵

The most famous example of cameo glass in Europe was the Portland Vase, a recreation of the ancient Barberini Vase in the collection of the British Museum, made by Josiah Wedgwood (1730-1795) in 1790 (fig. 4.57). Whereas antique glass more commonly employed an opaque, white glass as the topmost layer, in order to better imitate cameos carved from shell, Chinese glassmakers employed both colored glass and white glass for the top layer. In his choice of colors, then, Gallé's cameo glass is closer to that made by Chinese artisans. Yet the author writes that Gallé “rejuvenates” this ancient technique, thus implying that the art of China, like that of ancient Rome, is an art of the past—one that is available for use by the modern artisan because it is no longer the product of a living, evolving tradition.

The Greeks of the Far East

In discussions of Asian art, many critics compared the influence of Chinese art on artistic practice in Japan with the profound impact of the Greco-Roman tradition on French art. According to the authors of a review of the Japanese exhibit at the *Exposition Universelle* of 1878, the Japanese did not draw from nature but rather copied Chinese models. The authors, Clovis Lamarre and F. de Fontpertuis, write, “The models come from the Chinese, who gave the Japanese the first lessons in painting and who for five centuries now have imposed on them their stiff processes and their conventional manner.”²⁹⁶ While the authors describe Japanese ceramics as “a truly national industry,” one that has helped European artists to revive their own art, they nonetheless note that Japanese potters learned their art from Chinese and Korean artists.²⁹⁷

In an early and influential speech on Japanese ceramics, Burty also entered the debate, citing the misidentification of many early Japanese artifacts as Chinese in origin. He writes,

“Japan suffered the ancient prestige of the Celestial Empire [China], as we suffered that of Greece, which is natural, and that of Italy.”²⁹⁸ Throughout his speech, Burty continually invokes, only to downplay, the influence of classical Chinese art forms on the art of Japan. Describing the influence as primarily “industrial, technical,”²⁹⁹ and decorative, he writes,

I think that it is from China, from its books and kakemonos [wall-pictures], that the principal classical motifs of the Japanese were born; but the latter have such an adaptable spirit, that they transform and assimilate everything that comes to them from abroad, exactly as France has had the gift of doing.³⁰⁰

This, then, is another way that France can learn from the Japanese, who transform all that enters their culture, even the centuries-old influence of China. According to Burty, both France and Japan share this characteristic of being able to alter and thus assimilate elements of foreign styles, rendering them *native*, so as to speak.³⁰¹ This ability to evolve and change is contrasted with China’s perceived decadence.

Gonse, like Burty, attempts to minimize the importance of Chinese artistic traditions in the formation of the Japanese aesthetic. He writes,

This Chinese influence, which one has always judged very considerable, is thus less so than one would believe, at least for the earliest origins; but it became at a certain moment, a compelling factor. In the 15th century, it dominated almost all of Japanese art. Prior to this influence, however, a national art completely specific to Japan was formed, to which one has given the distinctive name of Tosa, the royal school, protected by the monarchs, where an individual and truly Japanese art developed.³⁰²

Gonse thus suggests, like Burty, that despite the powerful influence of Chinese tradition on Japanese art, a national style did develop.³⁰³ For writers such as these, China’s influence on Japan seems to make the latter an even more useful model for French art, because the example of a truly Japanese style can help the French to create their own national style purified of all foreign (Classical) elements.

Gonse and Burty acknowledge the importance of Chinese tradition for Japanese artists, but many other critics discounted or ignored the influence of China completely. According to Bing, for example, Japanese art “developed without any foreign influence at all.”³⁰⁴ Why did the question of Chinese influence spark such debate? Contemporary events in the political realm may have negatively impacted perceptions of Chinese art and culture. Two events in particular, the Second Opium War and the Sino-French War, brought China into direct conflict with France in the 19th century.

War with China

In the 1850s, Britain demanded that China renegotiate the Treaty of Nanjing (1842), which had put an end to the first Opium War (1840-41). In response, on October 8, 1856, Chinese troops boarded *The Arrow*, a Chinese-owned ship registered in Hong Kong and in Britain that was suspected of piracy and smuggling. Using the seizure of a ship registered in Britain as grounds for invasion, the British attacked and captured Guangzhou in 1857. France

joined the British in their war with China following the execution of a French missionary, Father Auguste Chapdelaine, by Chinese officials in the Guangxi province.

The Treaties of Tianjin, which opened eleven additional ports to trade with the West and called for China to pay war indemnities to France and Britain, officially ended the second Opium War in June of 1858. However, conservative forces within the Chinese government convinced the Xianfeng Emperor to resist the West's encroachment into his country. After several skirmishes, Anglo-French forces entered Beijing on October 6, where they looted and then burned the Old Summer Palace. On October 18, 1860 the emperor's brother, Yixin, signed the Convention of Peking, agreeing to the terms of the 1858 treaties. Peace lasted for a decade, but soon China again came into conflict with France over the question of imperial expansion in Asia.

In 1880, France began to extend its empire in Vietnam, moving northward from the three southern provinces under French control in an attempt to control the Red River, which linked Hanoi and China's Yunnan province. When the French sent a small expeditionary force to Tonkin, China's Qing court perceived the presence of troops on its border as a threat and began to prepare for war. On April 25, 1882, French forces under the command of Captain Henri Rivière captured Hanoi, the capital of Tonkin. Governor-general Li Hongzhang proposed an agreement, the Treaty of Hué, which would make northern Vietnam (Tonkin) into a French protectorate. Although the Emperor of Annam and France signed the treaty, the Chinese government rejected its terms. Without an official declaration of war, armed conflict between France and China erupted in the fall of 1883.

Following the defeat of Chinese reinforcements in 1883, a new settlement more favorable to France was proposed. China acknowledged the terms of the Hué Treaty in the Treaties of Tianjin, signed May 11 and June 9, 1884, but subsequently sent forces to attack French troops deployed to enforce the terms of the treaty. After a series of defeats, the Chinese mandarin Li Hongzhang eventually signed a new pact ending the war on June 9, 1885, agreeing to the terms of the Treaty of Hué and relinquishing claims to the Empire of Annam. The territories of Tonkin and Annam became French protectorates and were incorporated into the French colony of Indochina.

Although the Sino-French conflict is rarely remarked upon in art criticism of the time, it is clear from the comments that do exist that events in the political sphere had a profound impact on the understanding and appreciation of Chinese art. In his 1884 speech on Japanese ceramics, for example, Philippe Burty describes the Chinese as "a great people of which we must always speak with respect, even today," only to be greeted by laughter on the part of the audience.³⁰⁵

The Problem of Emulation

If China had ceased to evolve culturally, critics agreed that it nonetheless maintained the purity of its artistic culture through isolation. Evolution and change entailed their own risks. Many commentators saw Japan's increasing westernization, for example, as a threat to the national character of its art.³⁰⁶ When Japan opened its doors to European diplomats and merchants, for example, Bing writes,

Nothing yet predicted that, victors, they would be in turn pulled by the impetuosity of the new current, and that the fiercest among them would become the most eager to don the monotonous uniform of our western

civilization—little jealous, moreover, to see us gather, in exchange, the out-of-date remains of their artistic culture.³⁰⁷

Bing here voices a common fin-de-siècle belief: that France had to save the great art of Japan by taking it from its native land. Japan's mistake, Bing implies, is not in attempting to evolve as a culture, but in attempting to emulate the West. While Japan surpasses Asian nations such as China in the refinement of its art, by imitating the West, it threatened to upset the fragile balance established between the French desire for emulation and the fear of becoming that which it emulated.

In 1895, the avant-garde journal *La Plume* dedicated a special issue to the arts of Lorraine. The issue included a travelogue by Barrès, musings on three Gallé vases written by the artist himself, and several articles more generally devoted to the decorative arts of Lorraine. In the same issue, however, one also finds an article by Régamey, a painter and *japoniste*. After studying with Paul Émile Lecoq de Boisbaudran (1838-1912), Régamey taught at the *École d'Architecture* and the *École des Arts Décoratifs*, and then served as inspector of drawing in Paris schools in 1881.³⁰⁸

In 1876, Régamey traveled to Japan with Guimet, founder of the *Musée Guimet*, a museum of non-western religious art located first in Lyons and later in Paris. Régamey documented his voyage to Japan in text and images, some of which were displayed at the *Exposition universelle* and in the *Musée Guimet*, where they appeared alongside works purchased on the journey.³⁰⁹ In 1899, the Ministry of Public Instruction and Fine Arts appointed the painter to study the effect of French drawing methods on Japanese schools.³¹⁰ Among Régamey's publications on Japanese art and culture are *Le Japon pratique* (1891), which interspersed critiques of Japanese art with commentary on Japanese culture, and an illustrated periodical, *Le Japon en images* (1903), which ceased publication after the first issue.³¹¹ In *Le Japon pratique*, Régamey proposes that the study of the techniques used in Japanese crafts can revive the decorative arts industry in France.³¹² Although Régamey devoted two decades to his study of Japanese art and culture, the principles of Japanese design had little or no effect on his own work, which remained heavily influenced by traditional Western artistic conventions.³¹³

In 1893, Régamey edited a special issue of *La Plume* devoted to Japan, and he contributed many articles on Japanese art and culture to *La Plume* and other publications. In "La Raison du plus fort," however, he appears less interested in describing Japanese culture than in drawing comparisons between the nations of Japan and France. Régamey was motivated in this endeavor by the events of the Sino-Japanese War and by France's role in the Triple Intervention. In the decade following the signing of treaties with the West, France had supplied the Japanese Shoguns with military and commercial advisers. Following France's defeat in the Franco-Prussian War, however, the new Meiji emperor turned to Germany as a new model for its economic and military policies.³¹⁴ The events of the Sino-Japanese War in 1894-95 thus established Japan as a rival nation with colonial ambitions, as well as an economic adversary. French newspapers soon began to ascribe militant German characteristics to the Japanese, warning of the threat posed by the "Yellow Prussians" who had invaded Korea.³¹⁵ At the same time, the success of Japanese exports led many to warn of a new Japan "which is bracing to invade France."³¹⁶

Written during the tense months preceding the outbreak of war, Régamey's article compares the French position after the Franco-Prussian War with Japan's position in Asia. Régamey refers to the "Crisis of 1875," when German officials considered a preemptive attack

on France to stop it from re-arming and potentially waging a war of revenge against its neighbor. He compares this to the Triple Intervention's efforts to prevent Japan from putting the military expertise and weapons acquired from Europe to use in the Pacific. Régamey's tone is mocking:

We furnished the Japanese with lessons and with weapons. They really took advantage of some and are as good at using the others as mother and father. Yeah, what is this? Don't go so fast! If old Europe has given a pretty drum to little *Krizuka Sama*,³¹⁷ it's not so that he will bang on it; if it really wanted to give the little Japanese woman (*Mousmé*) a pretty doll, it's on the condition that it stays carefully shut up in the wardrobe.³¹⁸

Régamey here attacks the assumptions that structure the relationship between the two nations: Japan must occupy the position of a dependent child vis-à-vis the parent country of France. If Japan attempts to exchange dependency for equality, by employing the knowledge gained from the parent country to challenge that nation on its own terms—imperialism—it must be punished.

Although Régamey ridicules the paternalism displayed towards Japan's efforts to emulate the West in the political realm, in an earlier article, he highlighted the industrial threat posed by Japan's emulation of Western industrial models. In a fascinating passage comparing the export of cheap Japanese *bibelots* to France with the sale of French exports in colonial Africa, Régamey raises the specter of imperial rivalry between the two nations. Describing Japanese exports, which he compares to "articles de Paris" (inexpensive products made in Paris), Régamey writes, "They arrive in heaps that recall the cheap rubbish that we set aside for the people of the dark continent, and in both cases, the same disdain for the recipient presides over the sending."³¹⁹

Although Régamey questions the assumptions that underly French attitudes towards Japan's modernization, he too views the art of Japan as threatened by emulation of the West. Mourning the loss of a pure Japanese art, Régamey exclaims, "How can one not suffer in the face of the spectacle offered by a people who seem to have lost consciousness of their worth in art, who, trampling on the genius of their race, efface and humiliate themselves before the roar of our products."³²⁰ Japanese art, and Japanese society, could only be contaminated and degraded by modernization, he avows.³²¹

The same criteria do not, of course, apply to knowledge and expertise appropriated by the French from the Japanese. In part, this is because the French were perceived to be borrowing inspiration from Japan in order to *rejuvenate* their own culture. In other words, French culture maintains a positional superiority in regards to Japanese culture, because the very necessity of a return to origins presupposes an advanced state of civilization. This is the dialectic of primitivism: the "primitive" culture is a kind of mirror, or a time machine. It offers the presumably older, more advanced culture an opportunity to glimpse its own past and to borrow elements from that past, if necessary. This logic is both appropriative and insular. It denies the possibility of any real difference between two cultures, instead choosing to perceive the foreign culture only through the lens of similarity and availability.

In other words, there was a double standard at work in attitudes towards Japanese modernization. As long as Japan remained "pure" and untainted by Western influences, it could be posited as an equal to France, or as a reminder of what was pure and untainted in the history of French art—the art of the Middle Ages and, for some, the Rococo. Once Japan had absorbed stylistic and technical influence from the West, however, its culture was seen as debased. The same was not true of French art, which could, it seemed, draw inspiration from the arts of foreign

cultures without losing its fundamental character. While the Japanese could not attain civilization through mere imitation or mimicry, in other words, the French could rejuvenate their own, presumably more sophisticated culture through selective borrowing guided by taste and national genius.

A Cosmopolitan Taste

Thus, writing only two years earlier in the very issue edited by Régamey, Théodore Duret (1838-1927) contends that France can assimilate and transform the products of other nations into its artistic tradition without losing its essential (national) character:

He who has followed the changes thus carried out, discovers all the time, around him, in the objects of art or of industry, the sign of the influence that Japan has exercised and exercises still. But as happens when the borrowings occur among a people gifted with its own creativity, they ended up being absorbed, to the point of becoming an integral part of the art and the industries that made them.³²²

Duret was a collector and critic best known for his impassioned defense of Édouard Manet and other Impressionist artists. Following the events of the Paris Commune, he left France in 1873 to travel the Far East with Cernuschi. He returned with a large collection of Japanese prints and illustrated books, over 900 crates in total, and eventually published an account of his travels as *Voyage en Asie* (Voyage in Asia, 1874).³²³ In this passage, he addresses the issue of imitation, arguing that French artists may borrow freely from the art of other nations, because the source of their inspiration is transformed during the act of creation.

Critics sometimes referred to this action of transformation (or translation) as a kind of purification, as if Japanese art provided the primary materials that French artists refined to create works of art. François Thiébauld-Sisson, for example, devoted a substantial portion of his review of decorative arts at the Salon of 1897 to the question of whether or not French artists had yet developed a modern style. Conceding that such a style was still in the process of evolution, Thiébauld-Sisson asks what form it will take. It will no doubt be inspired, he suggests, by “ingenious Japanese combinations” and by that art’s characteristic asymmetry.³²⁴ He argues that this influence will be tempered, however, by French taste and by the French race’s love of logic and clarity.³²⁵

Similarly, Bing posits that by studying Japanese art, French artists can strengthen their own national tradition. Even more, he suggests that the borrowing of elements from foreign cultures is an *integral part* of that tradition. Writing of the reproductions published in *Le Japon Artistique*, Bing states,

We will find there examples worthy in every respect of being followed, certainly not in order to rattle the foundations of our ancient aesthetic edifice, but to add one more strength to all those that for centuries we have appropriated in order to shore up our national genius. How could it have maintained its vitality if it did not from time to time immerse itself again in new sources?³²⁶

Similarly, the concept of taste allowed critics to reconcile two seemingly opposed ideas—the influence of Japonisme on Gallé’s œuvre and the artist’s originality—in reviews of his work. In 1882, for example, Énault remarks that

The young glassmaker from Lorraine has, moreover, tried his hand at all the styles and has tried all the forms, as well as all the colors. With a taste with which the most severe critics would never be able to find fault, he adapts the most seductive creations of Oriental art to our needs and our whims.³²⁷

While critics such as Énault and Marx were able to reconcile their calls for a national art with the clearly discernible impact of Japonisme on the style that Gallé forged in the last few decades of his career, there were those who dissented from this view. Basing his arguments on Taine’s ideas regarding culture and milieu, for example, Edgard Auguin (1844-1902) launched a vituperative attack on what he perceived as Gallé’s twin attempts to borrow from the Japanese and from the Germans.

A “Sincere and True Expression”

Declaring that he is “a profound admirer of Japanese art,” Auguin argues that Japanese art cannot be divorced from the society in which it was created.³²⁸ Both Japanese art and “Wagnerian” art, he contends, are “there where one commonly practices them, the sincere and true expression... not only of the environment in which they are born, but of the genius proper to the two nations, one European, the other Asian, which gave birth to them.”³²⁹ Auguin attributes the love of bold, contrasting color and the exaggerated forms of Japanese art to the diversity of religions practiced in Japan, creating an image of a society balanced between violence and refinement.³³⁰

The gulf that separates Japanese art from French art, he then suggests, is even deeper than differences between the societies of the two nations—it is physical, the expression of two radically different “races.” Auguin even attributes a heightened awareness of both tactile and visual sensation to the Japanese. He writes, “There it is a question... of an anatomical aptitude that distinguishes the Asian race from the European race [and] the system of art which is ravishing to the Japanese, escapes... the critical faculties of our intelligence and the perception of our senses.”³³¹ For Auguin, then, there is something in Japanese art that thwarts any attempts to imitate it, an irreducible foreignness that is essentially incompatible with French art and even *incomprehensible* to French artists.

Auguin concedes that French artists and industrialists might improve their wares by emulating Japanese *methods* or even employing Japanese *materials*.³³² He nonetheless warns against the imitation of Japanese forms, which Auguin contends risks “deviation from the good French sense under the impetus of blind admirers whose fanatical fancy would happily console themselves for the loss of our national qualities.”³³³ For Auguin, then, the proclivity for Japanese forms and Japanese methods risks eradicating, not restoring, the vestiges of French genius.

Auguin’s understanding of Japanese art as inherently different from the art of Europe by virtue of its origins in Japanese society is one shared by the critic Gustave Geffroy (1855-1926). In a review of an exhibition of prints by Hiroshige held in 1893, Geffroy writes,

Without a doubt, it is a question of a Japanese art, because it was born and it developed in Japan, because it is the product of a [specific] race and the reflection of a [specific] country. The strange thing would be if it were otherwise. The strange thing is not that, it's our modern artists who gladly make Japanese (*japoniser*) in their art things that they have seen with the eyes of 19th-century Europeans. There is there an artificial cerebral alchemy, a production marked from the start by sterility. One would as soon expect oranges and tangerines to bud from an apple tree.³³⁴

Like Marx, Geffroy views Japanese art as the produce of the Japanese "race." He opines, however, that the artistic union of the two races, French and Japanese, is doomed to "sterility." French artists who attempt to make their work more Japanese, Geffroy contends, succeed only in denaturing their own art through a kind of cerebral alchemy. In Geffroy's argument, each artistic tradition serves as the distilled essence of the society in which it was created. The blending of traditions serves only to weaken rather than to strengthen their vitality.

In lieu of imitating Japanese art, Geffroy urges the artist and his public to appreciate the art of Japan on its own terms. "Even better," he writes, "if the art speaks a language not yet understood by us, if it acquaints us with a [foreign] way of understanding life and of feeling."³³⁵ Auguin and Geffroy both ascribe an essentializing purity to Japanese art that is contradicted by the complexity of Japan's relationship with the West. Ignoring hundreds of years of artistic exchange as well as the Meiji government's concerted efforts to rebuild Japan in the image of the West, these two authors ascribe an unchanging and irredeemably foreign nature to Japanese art and to Japanese society.

It may be that both authors reveal their own longing for a similarly pure French tradition, one that can be restored and, in the process, can in turn restore French society. Yet their accounts of Japanese art as fundamentally foreign and inimitable also suggest an awakening to the possibility of profound cultural difference. In their analyses, Japanese art is no longer positioned as a kind of primary material to be forged into art by the hand of the European maker, but rather as a parallel, albeit radically different, artistic tradition with its own conventions, hierarchies, and repertory of forms.

In contrast, authors such as Bing and Duret theorize a kind of universal language of art linking East and West. Thus in an essay published in the auction catalogue of the Goncourt collection, Bing praises the Goncourts' efforts to identify commonalities between the art of Japan and that of 18th-century France.³³⁶ The Goncourts' contribution to the art of their time, Bing asserts, was the belief that art should be classified not according to geographical divisions, but according to "sentiment."³³⁷ It is the collector who identifies the shared characteristics that link Japanese art and French art and who forms a unified collection from these disparate sources, and it is his "sentiment," or we might say *taste*, that allows this union. These two positions, one a universalizing aesthetic content to see French artists enrich their own art by borrowing from that of Japan, and the other a strictly delimited view of art as the product of two divergent races, coexist in accounts of Gallé's art and in larger debates concerning the impact of Japonisme on French art.

Gallé and Japan Today

Debate over the centrality of Japonisme to Gallé's œuvre was not limited to the 19th century. More recently, Gallé's overwhelming popularity with Japanese collectors has caused many in France to reflect upon the perceived aesthetic affinities between Gallé's art and that of Japan. According to the late curator of the *Musée de l'École de Nancy*, Françoise-Thérèse Charpentier, an article appearing in *Le Figaro* in 1990 addressed the issue of Japanese collectors buying works by Gallé.

The author of the article attributed Gallé's renown to the demand for his work on the part of Japanese buyers.³³⁸ The anonymous author accounts for the popularity of Gallé's work with Japanese collectors by asserting that Gallé's style is derived *entirely* from that of Japan. According to the author, the emperor of Japan sent Takacyma to France to collaborate with Gallé, an assertion that Charpentier notes is contradicted by all available documentary evidence. Finally, the anonymous author asserts that due to its origin in Japanese art, the sale of Gallé's most prized works to Japanese collectors, who subsequently take the works out of France, is to be expected and even welcomed, as the demand for Gallé's works among Japanese collectors drives up their market price and thus benefits the French art market as a whole.

Charpentier responds to these assertions in a furious tone, condemning "the gratuitousness, the falsity and the *danger* of these kind of assertions."³³⁹ It was the Americans and a Norwegian, Stephen Tschudi Madsen, who "rediscovered" an artist abandoned by his own country, she argues—not the Japanese. Furthermore, Charpentier asserts forcefully, Takacyma was a student of forestry, not art. Although he demonstrated his characteristic manner of brushwork for Martin, Majorelle, Prouvé, and Hestaux, she adds, Takacyma never collaborated with Gallé on a single work.

Charpentier's passionate defense of Gallé's art and her subsequent attempts to deny any association between his art and that of Japan seems tinged with nationalistic fervor but its tone is highly colored by recent events. The controversy over Gallé's Japonisme was reawakened, it seems, by the theft of four works by Gallé in April of 1985. The works, which had been stolen from the *Musée de l'École de Nancy*, were eventually located in Japan, but the Japanese government delayed their return for several years, causing an uproar in the press.³⁴⁰

The question of patrimony—of whether Gallé's works rightly "belong" to France or to Japan by virtue of their rootedness in one cultural tradition or another—raises questions similar to those posed by fin-de-siècle commentators. What makes a work (or an artist) "French"? What does it mean for an artist to represent his or her nation? And who owns a work of art, by rights—its creator, the nation in which it was created, the nation whose art influenced it, or all of humanity? The continuing pertinence of these questions for present-day audiences is demonstrated by the astounding 30,000 visitors recorded in the first month of the recent exhibition "Émile Gallé: nature et symbolisme, influences du Japon," held at the small, regional *Musée départemental Georges de la Tour* in early 2009.³⁴¹

Transformations in Japan

While French artists and critics debated the relative merits of Japonisme and sought to define a characteristically French style to represent the new, Republican nation, Japanese artists and government officials likewise sought to define the art that could best give visual form to their rapidly changing society. The adoption of Western models in both the arts and in social mores was not without its critics in Japan, nor was the emulation of the West a new phenomenon in late 19th-century Japan.

The first contact with the West came in 1543, when a Portuguese ship drifted ashore on the island of Tanegashima. Japanese artists soon began to create paintings influenced by European pictorial models (fig. 4.58).³⁴² In 1720, a ban on the importing of books was lifted, allowing European works on science, philosophy, and natural history to arrive in Japan by way of Dutch traders.³⁴³ The study of the copperplate engravings used to illustrate such works prompted some Japanese painters in Nagasaki to introduce a new naturalistic illusionism into the art they produced, and this style soon came to be associated with the port city.³⁴⁴ Printmakers such as Shiba Kokan (1747-1818) also began to imitate the Western use of linear perspective and techniques such as copperplate etching.³⁴⁵ Thus the work of *Ukiyo-e* artists such as Hokusai and Hiroshige, so venerated in France as examples of a “pure” Japanese art, in fact subtly blended Western techniques with Japanese subject matter.³⁴⁶

The signing of trade treaties with the U.S. and Europe vastly increased the rate of cultural and artistic exchange between Japan and the West. The first wave of Westernization in the 1870s, however, soon led to a reaction against what was perceived as the rejection of all things Japanese in favor of their Western counterparts.³⁴⁷ The next few decades were characterized by continuing tension between calls to respect tradition one one hand and a desire to modernize Japan along European lines on the other. The arts were a battleground in the war waged between proponents of tradition and supporters of Westernization.

With “modernity” came the concept of a divide between past and present and the subsequent introduction of a new historical consciousness in Japan. The Meiji government soon took steps to preserve Japanese art according to the European principles of historic preservation. In 1871-72, for example, a group of Japanese government officials traveled to France as part of the Iwakura Mission and were soon convinced of the essential role played by museums in nation building.³⁴⁸ From 1872 to 1913, the government thus conducted official surveys of temple holdings throughout Japan in order to create a register of artworks.³⁴⁹

In 1897, the government also passed preservation legislation in the form of the Law for the Preservation of Old Shrines and Temples, which was designed to provide funds for the restoration and upkeep of religious sites. The law designated certain works as “National Treasures” (*kokuho*), demonstrating the degree to which the government had assimilated the European concepts of both nationhood and of art as an expression of national character.³⁵⁰ Although legislation to protect these national treasures was passed only in the 1930s, by the end of the century many in Japan were beginning to protest against the widespread “looting” of Japan’s artistic heritage by Westerners.³⁵¹

Conflict between proponents of tradition and modernization also marked art education in Japan. The Meiji government inaugurated a Western-style design school, *Kobu bijutsu gakko* (Technical Art School) in 1876 and generally promoted “modern” production methods in the decorative arts.³⁵² This approach to arts education soon came into conflict with calls to restore and preserve Japan’s traditional arts industries. An American scholar of Japanese art employed at Tokyo University, Ernest Fenollosa (1853-1908), was among the first to argue that modern Japanese art should be based on traditional pictorial modes.³⁵³

In 1889, Fenollosa and his student, Okakura Tenshin (also known as Okakura Kakuzo, 1862-1913) founded *Tokyo bijutsu gakko* (Tokyo School of Fine Arts), which offered courses in traditional crafts, sculpture, and Japanese-style painting. Fenollosa introduced concepts associated with the nascent field of Art History to the study of Japanese art.³⁵⁴ His efforts coincided with a continuing nationalist, conservative wave of reaction to the Meiji’s governments efforts at modernization, a reaction that led to the closing of the *Kobu bijutsu gakko*

and the dismissal of artists working in the “Western” style.³⁵⁵ In response to generalized protests against the Westernization of the arts, the Meiji government embraced a vision of traditional Japanese art as the visual embodiment of Japan’s magnificent past and of the character of its people.³⁵⁶

Translation and Taste

The idea of a national, French style as a composite of diverse elements borrowed from the art of other nations relies on the concept of taste as its rationale. French artists’ sensibility, their taste, would transform these elements into a uniquely national style that could not be duplicated by the artists of other nations. Thus in the writings of Bing, Gallé, and other proponents of Japonisme, the idea of *translation* replaces that of tradition as the guiding principle behind a unified artistic style. The twin concepts of taste and genius, in other words, allowed French artists, and Gallé in particular, to be at once original, modern, and true to their origins, while nonetheless indebted to the art of the Far East for inspiration.

The idea of a cosmopolitan, eclectic style based on a *personalized*, individual vision of nature, however, continued to exist in some tension with calls for a unified, clearly delineated national style. Salon reviews from the late 1890s repeatedly invoke the lack of unity that critics believed to be characteristic of the decorative arts. An anonymous critic writing in the London journal *The Studio*, for example, commented on the decorative arts exhibited Salon of 1897, arguing that French artists’ lack of interest in collective action would prevent them from creating a national style. “A single, isolated individuality can never create a style which shall satisfy the demands of a race or of an age,” the author contends.³⁵⁷ He adds, “If only the art-workers... would bind themselves into a sort of guild, they might then create a national style.”³⁵⁸

Similarly, in an article published in the *Revue des Arts décoratifs* in 1895, Charles Genuys opines that the creation of a unified, cohesive style is not only impossible, but unnecessary. He argues that the introduction of a new political concept, individual liberty, has led to the privileging of the individual over the larger collective, with the result that, in the arts, originality is prized above all else. He asks, “In fact, the sentiment of personality [and] the conditions of originality... imposed on artists, can they lead to the birth of a single, true style having, like the previous ones, its masters, its disciples, and furnishing, through the pursuit of a common ideal, its applications to all branches of art?”³⁵⁹ Genuys’s response to the rhetorical question he poses is unequivocal: “These completely modern conditions are among the most unfavorable to... the formation of... a style,” he asserts.³⁶⁰ Yet artists should not be discouraged, he adds, for in fact the lack of stylistic unity is itself a reflection of the troubled nature of fin-de-siècle society. The truly modern style, Genuys contends, is to have no style at all.³⁶¹

Genuys’s concept of a styleless style offers one solution to artists and critics seeking to reconcile the search for modernity and originality with a respect for tradition—the idea of a style characterized not by uniformity, but by plurality. Gallé explores the issues raised by Genuys—the relationship of the individual to society, the idea of French style as marked by difference rather than similarity, and the question of artistic community—in his late works. In his deeply politicized artworks produced in response to the events of the Dreyfus Affair and in the creation of the *École de Nancy*, Gallé sought to find a place for individual artistic liberty and regional specificity within the context of an increasingly nationalistic and xenophobic political environment. In short, Gallé’s pro-Dreyfusard works produced for the *Exposition universelle* of 1900, like the artist’s *japoniste* experiments with the idea of a composite cultural identity for

French art, constitute a fundamental rethinking of the values of cultural nationalism conveyed in earlier works such as *Le Rhin*.

Chapter Five

Gallé and Dreyfus: A Republican Vision

X. – You astonish me by telling me that G..., the exquisite poet-glassmaker, is... Dreyfusard or Dreyfusist!

Z. – Better than that! he is Dreyfusartist!¹

L'Est Républicain, December 18, 1898

At the *Exposition universelle* of 1900, Gallé presented visitors to the exhibition with a carefully designed installation intended to give visual form to the artist's Dreyfusard political commitments. The *Four verrier* (Glassmaker's Kiln, 1900) served a didactic function both by introducing visitors to the steps involved in the production of fine glassware and by celebrating the Republican ideals of justice and equality in its visual language (fig. 5.1). The product of two years of unstinting labor and enormous costs, the *Four verrier* comprised Gallé's most technically ambitious and most conspicuously politicized collection of works to date. The centerpiece of the installation, a vase called *Les Hommes noirs* (The Black Men, 1900), demonstrates Gallé's renewed commitment to the human form as the visual embodiment of national identity (fig. 5.2). In *Les Hommes noirs*, however, Gallé transforms the Gallic warriors of *Le Rhin* into monstrous beings in order to evoke the injustices of the Dreyfus Affair that, Gallé believed, were threatening to erode the fundamental tenets upon which the French Republican state was founded.

The Affair, which by the end of the century would dramatically polarize French society into two opposing camps, began with the announcement on October 31, 1894 that a French army officer had been arrested on suspicion of espionage. The widely read anti-Semitic newspaper *La Libre parole* was quick to add that the officer in question, Captain Alfred Dreyfus (1859-1935), was a Jew from the lost province of Alsace.² The accusation of treason revolved around the discovery of the so-called *bordereau*, a handwritten letter recovered from the German embassy by a member of the French intelligence service that appeared to have accompanied the transfer of confidential military information.³ Based on only a superficial comparison of the accused's handwriting with that of the *bordereau*, the officers of the General Staff called for Dreyfus's arrest.

Dreyfus was tried at court-martial and sentenced to deportation for life on December 22, 1894. In a public degradation ceremony held in the courtyard of the *École Militaire* on January 5, 1895, Dreyfus was formally stripped of his rank. The following month, he boarded a ship bound for a penal colony in French Guyana, where he would remain imprisoned for four years. His family's continued insistence on Dreyfus's innocence, as well as the discovery of a new document linked to another officer, Major Ferdinand Walsin Esterhazy (1847-1923), would

gradually undermine the near-universal conviction of Dreyfus's guilt. Passionate debate, waged both in the press and in the streets, reached its apogee in 1898, sparked in large measure by Esterhazy's acquittal and the subsequent publication of Émile Zola's Dreyfusard manifesto, "J'accuse." This open letter to the president of France, Félix Faure (1841-1899), appeared in the newspaper *L'Aurore* on January 13, 1898.⁴ In it, Zola maintained that the army had not only wrongly convicted Dreyfus but also that the courts had acquitted Esterhazy with full knowledge of his guilt.

The resulting public outcry, as well as the subsequent discovery of documents forged by a member of the French intelligence service, Major Hubert-Joseph Henry (1846-1898), prompted France's highest court of appeals, the *Cour de Cassation*, to order a retrial. This second Dreyfus trial, which was held in Rennes beginning on August 7, 1899, resulted in a verdict of guilty with extenuating circumstances. The ruling greatly disappointed Dreyfus's supporters even while it enraged anti-Dreyfusards, who believed that regardless of outcome, a retrial threatened the authority and honor of the French army.

The events of 1898 and 1899 divided French society and even French families into opposing camps. The Affair effectively polarized every aspect of society, including artistic production. While Dreyfus would eventually be granted a presidential pardon in 1899 and be reintegrated into the army in 1906, the legacy of the Affair extended far beyond one man's lifetime. According to historian Eugen Weber, the Affair served to crystallize divisions in French politics, precipitated the separation of Church and State, and marked the definitive entry of French intellectuals into the public sphere.⁵

One of the central issues around which the Right and Left sparred was that of anti-Semitism. Scholars have suggested many reasons for the rise of anti-Semitism in fin-de-siècle France. Foremost among these are the development of capitalism, deeply held Christian beliefs regarding those of the Jewish faith, and the frictions created by the immigration of Jews from other areas of Europe during a period of economic recession.⁶ Economic and military rivalry with Germany placed an additional strain on French society, and Jews, especially those of Alsatian origin, were often conflated with the German enemy.⁷

The rise of the popular press, meanwhile, gave a contemporary voice to ancient prejudices and helped to make the Dreyfus Affair into a sensational scandal through extensive coverage and special editions that prompted virulent debate among members of the public.⁸ Advances in printing technology permitted the inexpensive reproduction of political caricatures, some by well-known artists, in both anti-Dreyfusard papers such as *La Libre parole* and Dreyfusard papers such as *Le Sifflet*.⁹ An illustration by the Nabi artist Félix Vallotton (1865-1925), for example, derides the role of the popular press in fomenting dissent even while standing itself as an example of the proliferation of political caricatures in fin-de-siècle France (fig. 5.3). Vallotton's derisive image of readers drowning in a sea of newspapers underscores the supremely *textual* nature of the Dreyfus Affair, which was not only in large part the product of the popular press but also revolved around the question of documents, their authenticity, and their authorship.¹⁰

Dreyfus in Nancy

Gallé was convinced of Dreyfus's innocence by November of 1896, far earlier than most of his subsequent allies.¹¹ A Protestant residing in a predominantly Catholic nation, Gallé was no stranger to religious prejudice and persecution. Many of his coreligionists likewise adopted the

Dreyfusard cause, but not without repercussions within the narrow confines of provincial society. Located only 25 kilometers from the border established by the Treaty of Frankfurt, Nancy was a military outpost with more than 8,000 troops stationed permanently in the city's barracks.¹² In 1898, the creation of the 20th Army Corps, assigned to Nancy, further fueled the atmosphere of militaristic nationalism that already characterized the frontier city.¹³ As a Catholic town on the border with the Protestant enemy, Germany, Nancy had also been historically perceived to be a line of defense against the encroachment of Protestantism.¹⁴ It is not surprising, then, that the majority of Nanceans were anti-Dreyfusards who sought to defend the honor of both the Army and the Church above all other considerations.

In Nancy, as in the rest of France, nationalist sentiment often overlapped with anti-Semitism. The *Ligue Antisémite*, founded by the anti-Semitic journalist Édouard Drumont in 1889, numbered 2,800 members in Nancy by 1898.¹⁵ Anti-Semitic demonstrations in the town also increased in frequency during the 1880s and early 1890s and culminated in four days of rioting beginning on January 17, 1898. A group of nationalist students organized the riots, during which demonstrators denounced both Zola and the Jews.¹⁶ Although there were widespread demonstrations held throughout France following the publication of "J'Accuse," Nancy experienced more violence than any other French city.¹⁷ Some of the students involved in the riots later founded an anti-Semitic committee, headed by a local lawyer named Ludovic Gervaise (1857-1939), which held its first meeting on February 13, 1898. Gervaise would go on to win a seat as a deputy in the legislative elections held later that year.

In Nancy, anti-Semitism had a clearly religious dimension. The local *Union Catholique*, for example, initiated a series of lectures in March of 1898 in which speakers railed against Jews and Freemasons.¹⁸ Soon thereafter, a lawyer named Renard joined with Dombrey-Schmitt, one of the leaders of the *Union Catholique* and the editor of the Catholic newspaper *La Croix de l'Est*, to form an electoral committee calling for "resistance against the judeo-masonic coalition."¹⁹ Another Catholic paper, *La Croix de Nancy*, supported Gervaise's candidacy for the legislative elections as well as the lawyer's platform of anti-Semitism.²⁰ In the years to come, anti-Semitic nationalism would gradually align itself with the forces of clericalism, securing an alliance between these two increasingly anti-Republican groups.²¹

A Republican Style

During the Affair, Gallé found himself repeatedly at odds with the inhabitants of his native city, who praised Gallé's art but deplored his politics. The conflict between Gallé and those opposed to revision, or the reconsideration of the 1894 verdict, reached a crescendo in 1898. In that year, Gallé conducted a lengthy letter-writing campaign in support of revision, while the local daily newspaper, *L'Est Républicain*, did its best to cast Gallé as an "agitator" who lacked patriotism. It was also in 1898 that Gallé began his artistic campaign to sway public opinion, creating works employing the themes of light, truth, and justice to assert Dreyfus's innocence. Despite their intimate scale and inherent fragility, Gallé focused his efforts on the politicization of small-scale works such as *Les Hommes noirs*, once again attempting to imbue the decorative arts with a polemical force previously reserved for the arts of painting and sculpture.

Gallé's artistic efforts culminated in his display at the 1900 *Exposition universelle*, which was all but dedicated to Dreyfus. Despite Gallé's efforts to create a public decorative art, however, reviews of the *Exposition universelle* of 1900 largely ignored the political content of

his works in favor of praising their artistic merit. Critics thus sought to empty the works of their political content at the very moment when Gallé was attempting to heighten the persuasive impact of his art. Obituaries published after Gallé's death in 1904, if they mentioned Gallé's support of Dreyfus at all, likewise maintained a clear distinction between the artist's political convictions and his talent.

Two recent studies, François Le Tacon's *Émile Gallé: Maître de l'Art nouveau* (2004) and Bertrand Tillier's *Émile Gallé: Le verrier dreyfusard* (2004), as well as a recent exhibition held at the *Musée de l'École de Nancy* in 2006, have traced Gallé's involvement in the Affair in great detail. Le Tacon, for example, argues that Gallé was a humanist whose faith in the progress of humanity and the ideals of liberty and tolerance shaped his art.²² Tillier, meanwhile, confines his study of Gallé to a more narrative account of the artist's engagement in the Affair, detailing Gallé's ties to other Dreyfusards, his publication of letters and petitions in support of Dreyfus, and the creation of his Dreyfus-themed works. Despite providing extensive and detailed documentation of Gallé's involvement in the Affair, both authors neglect to analyze the works in question beyond the level of subject matter and iconography or to link Gallé's artistic achievements directly to the artist's Republican ideals. In this chapter, then, I will consider two of Gallé's Dreyfusard works in depth, *Amphore du Roi Salomon* (Amphora of King Solomon, 1800) and *Les Hommes noirs*, in order to demonstrate the ways in which Gallé's specifically Republican conception of French identity is translated into visual form.

Gallé created two categories of objects with links to the Affair: works presented as gifts to Dreyfusards such as the lawyer Joseph Reinach (1856-1921), which rarely referred directly to the Affair, and allegorical works employing clear references to the ideals of truth and justice. Whereas we might classify the former as essentially "private" works, I would argue that Gallé intended his more allegorical works to be resolutely "public" in their message. The artist thus politicized what many considered to be apolitical—the decorative arts. Both in their content and in their form, Gallé's Dreyfusard works draw upon the Christian iconography of light and its later use by Revolutionary-era artists to forge a uniquely Republican style, an expression of Gallé's firm belief in the legacy of the French Revolution and its promise to grant all citizens equal rights regardless of ethnic origin or religious affiliation.

With the rise of militant nationalism, which aligned itself with the Catholic Church and the Army, the patriotic fervor that had united the nation following the Franco-Prussian War gave way to division. Nationalist leaders redefined patriotism in terms that privileged the traditions and institutions of France over the rights of the individual citizen. Gallé's devotion to the Dreyfusard cause can thus also be viewed as a reaction to the politics of nationalism. The sacrifice of an individual, Dreyfus, to the greater good of the nation was an act fundamentally at odds with Gallé's belief in the Republican principles of equality and justice for all citizens. His appeal to these universal ideals in works such as *Le Figuier* (The Fig Tree, 1898) thus constitutes an attempt to reclaim the language of patriotism from the nationalists who had usurped it.

The Dreyfus Affair and the Arts

Relatively little scholarly attention has been paid to the problem of the representation of the Dreyfus Affair in art. The groundbreaking exhibition *The Dreyfus Affair: Art, Truth, and Justice*, held at the Jewish Museum in New York City in 1987, was the first to examine the impact of the Affair on contemporary artistic production. The catalog featured several essays that attempted to link the Affair to the work of specific artists. In "Degas and the Dreyfus Affair: A

Portrait of the Artist as an Anti-Semite,” for example, art historian Linda Nochlin endeavors to map Degas’s infamous anti-Semitism onto his art. She is forced to conclude, however, that Degas’s painting bears little trace of his political convictions. According to Nochlin, glimpses of Degas’s anti-Semitism are limited to the depiction of Jewish sitters, such as Degas’s friend Ludovic Halévy, who sometimes appear to display characteristic attributes of “Jewishness” such as an exaggeratedly hooked nose.²³

Phillip Dennis Cate’s article in the same catalogue, “The Paris Cry: Graphic Artists and the Dreyfus Affair,” examines the evolution of anti-Semitic caricatures in the French illustrated press. According to Cate, depictions of French Jews as greedy, corpulent financiers by illustrators such as Henri Rivière (1864-1951) predominated in the 1880s and were gradually assimilated into the tradition of “*types parisiens*.”²⁴ Artists sympathetic to the Socialist movement employed such caricatures in order to denounce the rise of industrial capitalism and what they viewed as the ensuing exploitation of French workers. During the Dreyfus Affair, however, left-wing Dreyfusards such as Vallotton quickly abandoned the use of such Jewish stereotypes in their political caricatures.²⁵ The anti-Dreyfusard press, meanwhile, continued to deploy the figure of the wealthy Jew, as well as images that associated Jews with Judas and the persecution of Christ, in order to denounce Dreyfus and his supporters.²⁶ Artists on both sides, Cate argues, also embraced the allegorical image of Truth to argue their point.²⁷

Ultimately, both Nochlin’s and Cate’s essays dwell primarily upon the question of anti-Semitism and its expression in Dreyfus-era visual culture, paying little attention to Dreyfusard representations. Nochlin and Cate emphasize the role of caricature in this politicized discourse but because of their overreliance on popular imagery, essentially minimize the importance and the difference of other kinds of artistic production. Both authors also largely limit their analysis to questions of subject matter, focusing on negative depictions of Jews without analyzing the ways in which anti-Semitic or Dreyfusard discourse could inflect larger issues of style.

In a recent article on the painter Maurice Denis (1870-1943), Katherine Kuenzli attempts to rectify these omissions in a thoughtful study of the ways in which the artist’s nationalist beliefs directly impacted his painterly style.²⁸ Kuenzli argues that the association forged between Classicism, French tradition, and nationalism in the early 20th century had its origins in the ideological struggles of the Dreyfus Affair.²⁹ According to Kuenzli, the post-Impressionists were split into two opposing camps by the Affair.³⁰ The first group, which included Denis, Paul Ranson (1864-1909), and Paul Sérusier (1864-1927), sought to subordinate individual sensation to a search for a unified method that would link modernism with the traditions of Western art and with Christian art in particular. The second group, which included Édouard Vuillard (1868-1940), Pierre Bonnard (1867-1947), and Ker Xavier Roussel (1867-1944), instead privileged the “primacy of individual sensation.”³¹

Centering her argument on Denis, Kuenzli contends that an emphasis on subjective, individual sensation was characteristic of the Dreyfusards, who felt that the defense of the rights of the individual was key to the legitimacy of the Republic. Anti-Dreyfusards, in contrast, privileged French tradition and French institutions such as the Army and the Church above the rights of the individual. In his painting *Hommage à Cézanne* (Homage to Cézanne, 1900), Kuenzli asserts that Denis attempts to synthesize these divergent aesthetic doctrines according to the theories of the nationalist poet and right-wing politician Adrien Mithouard (1864-1919), who viewed culture as a dialectical struggle between the opposing tendencies of the “Latin” and “Germanic” races.³² In *Hommage à Cézanne*, Kuenzli posits that Denis seeks to reconcile the Dreyfusards’ interest in subjective, personal vision with the anti-Dreyfusards’ passionate defense

of tradition and hierarchy, resulting in a work that is purposefully inconsistent in its pictorial strategies.³³

Kuenzli's essay constitutes an incisive study of the ways in which political doctrine can impact aesthetic choices at the level of both content *and* style. This is key to understanding Gallé's Dreyfus-era works, which often reference the events of the Affair only indirectly. Like other Dreyfusard artists such as Édouard Debat-Ponsan (1847-1913), Gallé repeatedly invokes universal values such as truth and justice in his Dreyfus-themed works (fig. 5.4).³⁴ Gallé's art, however, relies on a combination of text and symbol rather than on conventional allegory to produce its politicized meaning. Similar to his Dreyfusard Nabi contemporaries, Gallé employs a subjective, symbolic approach to visual form that mirrors his belief in the primacy of the individual.

Gallé's use of esoteric and highly idiosyncratic symbolism, together with his subjective depiction of nature, thus creates an art that is at once politicized and personal in nature, an art that proclaims the importance of the individual at every level. Gallé's decision to champion the universal values of justice and equality is inextricably bound to both the artist's Republican politics and to his Christian faith, two seemingly opposed systems of belief that Gallé seeks to reconcile through the use of a symbolism based on natural forms. Gallé's works thus stand in opposition to the right-wing conception of national unity as based on hierarchy, order, and the subordination of the individual to authority and tradition. In contrast to the attempts of those on the far right to create a stable iconography of heroes and martyrs, then, Gallé presents the viewer with the product of his own subjective, suggestive vision—in other words, with symbolist works designed to evoke an emotional response in the viewer. Gallé thus aligns his art, as we will see, with the “idea” and the “symbol” in lieu of offering viewers a clearly legible message of patriotic unity. Yet Gallé's efforts to preserve the liberty of both the artist and the viewer result in works that must be supplemented by the use of language—by inscriptions, dedications, and publications—in order to function as politicized statements of the artist's deeply held convictions.

An Epistolary Effort

Gallé first formulated the artistic strategies he would employ in *Les Hommes noirs* and other Dreyfusard works not in his glass but in his writing.³⁵ Gallé, like many other left-wing intellectuals, was moved to decisive action by Zola's publication of “J'Accuse.” Zola's open letter to the president, published on January 13, 1898, made a strong impression on Gallé, who began corresponding with the well-known author. In March of 1898, Gallé would even contribute to a subscription for a medal to be offered to Zola in honor of the publication of “J'Accuse.”³⁶

The publication of Zola's letter marked a turning point in the trajectory of the Affair. With the acquittal of Esterhazy and the arrest of Lieutenant-Colonel Picquart, the former head of the General Staff who had begun to suspect Dreyfus's innocence, the Dreyfusards were forced to recognize that attempts to prove Dreyfus's innocence through legal means had failed.³⁷ Zola and other Dreyfusards, including Gallé, turned instead to the court of public opinion, taking their case directly to the people in a series of articles and petitions arguing Dreyfus's cause and detailing the events in the case.

The publicity surrounding the publication of “J'Accuse” was absolutely unprecedented. Georges Clemenceau (1841-1929) and Ernest Vaughan, the directors of *L'Aurore*, not only gave

“J’Accuse” its eye-catching title but also plastered the streets of Paris with placards to announce its publication and ordered an unprecedented print run numbering nearly 300,000 copies.³⁸ In his letter to the president, Zola employs some of the same symbolism that artists such as Gallé would adopt, including numerous references to light as a symbol of truth or enlightenment.³⁹ Like other artists and intellectuals who would subsequently take up the Dreyfusard cause, Zola claims his actions are motivated by the moral principles upon which the Republic is founded.⁴⁰ The defense of these principles, he argues, is the moral duty of each individual.

With the publication of “J’Accuse,” the boundaries between the Dreyfusards and the anti-Dreyfusards were clearly drawn. Henceforth, Dreyfusards would contend that they sought only to defend the ideals of truth and justice, while anti-Dreyfusards would focus on the defense of traditional values and institutions, including the Church and Army.⁴¹ While those on each side of the debate purported to act in the interest of the nation, Dreyfusards and anti-Dreyfusards defined the concept of “nation” differently—one in terms of Republican ideals and the other in terms of tradition.

The day after the publication of “J’Accuse,” *L’Aurore* published a petition in favor of revision signed by several hundred French luminaries. This “petition for revision” decried “the violation of juridical norms in the 1894 trial and the iniquities surrounding the Esterhazy affair.”⁴² The anti-Dreyfusard press quickly labeled the signatories of the petition “intellectuals,” a term coined by Guy de Maupassant (1850-1893) in 1879 and now employed to ridicule the vanity of those members of the intelligentsia who publicly voiced their Dreyfusard sentiments.⁴³ In the pages of *Le Journal*, for example, the anti-Semitic writer and politician Barrès subtly mocked the pretensions of those who had signed the petition by entitling his own article “La protestation des intellectuels.”⁴⁴ Similarly, the petition published in *L’Aurore* quickly came to be known as the “Manifesto of the Intellectuals.” *L’Aurore* subsequently published a second petition calling for the “preservation of legal guarantees... for [all] citizens,” which was accompanied by the names of numerous French authors, artists, and scholars who now openly aligned themselves with the Dreyfusard cause.⁴⁵

Gallé’s name appeared among the signatories of the second petition, a fact that local newspapers in Nancy were quick to point out to their readers.⁴⁶ The Dreyfusard *Le Progrès de l’Est*, the newspaper of Nancy’s progressive, left-wing Republicans, offered merely a two-sentence byline. It reads simply, “The *Aurore* is publishing two new lists of protests in favor of Dreyfus [and] one finds among these names those of Mr. Émile Gallé and Mr. Pariset, professor in the department of letters at [the University of] Nancy.”⁴⁷ The editors of *Le Progrès de l’Est* offered no additional commentary. In contrast, the local anti-Dreyfusard paper, *L’Est Républicain*, included mention of Gallé and his fellow signatory in an article on the anti-Semitic riots spawned by the publication of “J’accuse,” charging the two Dreyfusards with helping to foment dissent in Nancy.⁴⁸

L’Est Républicain had been founded by moderate Republicans in 1889 in order to counteract the growing influence of Boulangism during the legislative elections.⁴⁹ Gallé was among the newspaper’s first shareholders.⁵⁰ However, under the editorship of Léon Goulette, a conservative Republican and member of the Masonic lodge of Saint-Jean de Jérusalem, the newspaper quickly aligned itself with the nationalist, anti-Dreyfusard right.⁵¹ It would take an increasingly conservative and at times even reactionary stance toward local politics until 1911, when Goulette was replaced by René Mercier, the former editor of the radical newspaper *La Dépêche de Toulouse*.⁵²

The article on the riots begins with a condemnation of Zola, whom the author blames for provoking the violent protests in Nancy, and continues with a discussion of the second petition that appeared in *L'Aurore*. The authors note that Protestants were numerous among those who signed the protest, signaling the central role that religious differences would play in the Affair: many Protestants supported Dreyfus, while the majority of Catholic conservatives were anti-Dreyfusard.⁵³ *L'Est Républicain* also reprinted the petition, which called for the defense of the rights and liberties of all citizens, accompanied by vitriolic commentary.⁵⁴

The author of the article derides the idealism of the signatories, invoking “all these ‘intellectuals’ whose greatest concern is safeguarding ‘individual independence’.”⁵⁵ To this, he opposes “the superior interest of France and its army,” a phrase which the author borrows from an article in *Le Temps* calling for an end to political debate in the name of national unity.⁵⁶ The opposition here established between the needs of the collective, in this case the nation, and the rights of the individual would structure almost all debate during the Affair. The Dreyfusards, including Gallé, embraced a vision of Republicanism premised upon the Revolutionary promise of liberty and equal rights for all. Their emphasis on justice for the individual and their distrust of institutions such as the Church and Army placed them at odds with the anti-Dreyfusards, who argued that the needs of the nation and its institutions far outweighed the rights of individual citizens.⁵⁷

In a letter published in *Le Progrès de l'Est* on January 24, Gallé challenges the paper’s characterization of the petition as a protest “in support of Dreyfus.”⁵⁸ He did not intend to argue either Dreyfus’s innocence or his guilt, Gallé writes, but rather to call for “the maintenance and observation of guarantees stipulated by French law.”⁵⁹ The artist decries the fact that support for these ideals, which he views as the moral principles upon which the Republic is based, has come to be seen as “subversive.”⁶⁰ Thus situating himself firmly within the framework of moderate Republicanism, Gallé invokes a theme that will characterize nearly all of his Dreyfusard works—light as a symbol of truth and justice. “One will soon no longer be able to seek light, to speak of justice and of truth,” he writes, “without being taken for a bad patriot.”⁶¹ In this passage, light, which symbolized hope for the return of the lost provinces in works such as *Espoir* (1889), is now associated another kind of national unity—one based not on nationalistic consensus but on the fundamental principles proclaimed by the Revolutionary Republicans of 1793.⁶²

Gallé’s public engagement in the debates surrounding the Affair led to a public break with an old friend, Barrès, a rupture that also took place in the pages of *L'Est Républicain*. Although both men spent their youth in Nancy, Gallé first encountered Barrès in Bayreuth, Germany, in August of 1892.⁶³ The two shared a common love of Wagner and of their native province, Lorraine, as well as a fervent desire for its reunification.⁶⁴ Soon after their meeting, Barrès dedicated an essay from his work *Du Sang, de la Volupté, de la Mort* (Of Blood, of Pleasure, and of Death, 1892) to “Émile Gallé, of Nancy.”⁶⁵ Two books from Gallé’s personal collection bearing handwritten dedications by Barrès, *L'Ennemi des Lois* (The Enemy of the Laws, 1893) and *Les Déracinés* (The Uprooted, 1897), as well as the many visits exchanged between the two men, further attest to their close friendship in the years prior to the Affair.⁶⁶ However, whereas in the 1890s Barrès embraced an increasingly anti-Semitic and xenophobic version of nationalism, epitomized by his concept of “national energy” rooted in the land, Gallé’s less aggressive brand of patriotism grew ever more humanistic and universal. By 1898, their friendship had ended abruptly, most likely due to their diametrically opposed positions vis-à-vis the Dreyfus Affair, for unlike Gallé, Barrès was an avowed anti-Dreyfusard.

Barrès responded to news of Gallé's support for the second petition in a letter excoriating the artist and other Dreyfusard "intellectuals." In the letter, which appeared in *Le Journal* on February 1, 1898, Barrès does not refer directly to Gallé but rather invokes the artist in an anecdote about glassmaking. He writes,

These intellectuals are a worthless by-product of the effort made by society to create an elite. In every process, there is thus a percentage that is lost. A glassmaker has often explained to me how many pots he loses for each one with which he succeeds.⁶⁷ Even while rejecting intellectuals, we must pity them rather than curse them.⁶⁸

If it seems surprising that Barrès, a well-known novelist, did not consider himself an "intellectual," it is essential to understand that the term was associated with those who supported the Dreyfusard cause.⁶⁹ Barrès, who had been elected a deputy for Nancy in 1889, ran for public office again in the fall of 1898. Best known as a novelist, Barrès may have intended his public denunciation of Gallé to serve to distance himself from an increasingly unpopular acquaintance, but it also functioned to mark his own difference from the Dreyfusard "intellectuals" he ridicules.

In 1889, Barrès had run for office as a member of the *Comité révisionniste*, an anti-ministerial and anti-parliamentary group that called for the creation of pensions and for protection from foreign competition for French workers.⁷⁰ In his 1898 campaign, however, Barrès stood as a candidate for the even more conservative *Comité Socialiste Nationaliste* and ran with the support of Édouard Drumont and his anti-Semitic newspaper, *La Libre Parole*.⁷¹ Posters advertising Barrès's candidacy read, "France for the French, Maurice Barrès, former deputy of the third district."⁷² In his campaign rhetoric, Barrès laid the blame for France's economic insecurity squarely at the feet of the Jews, arguing that France had to be protected from both foreign competition and from dangerous internal enemies.⁷³ Barrès was ultimately defeated by an even more conservative candidate, Gervaize, who also based his campaign on a denunciation of the Jews and who benefited from the support of not only the local *Ligue Antisémite* but also the conservative Catholic newspaper *La Croix de Nancy*.⁷⁴

Gallé's response to Barrès's attack appeared on the front page of *L'Aurore* on February 15, 1898.⁷⁵ In his letter, Gallé notes that Barrès has tactfully omitted the artist's name from his list of "poor idiots" but argues that he belongs there by rights.⁷⁶ In order to defend his own Dreyfusard position, Gallé cites a passage from Barrès's novel *Les Déracinés*. The story concerns a certain M. Roemerspacher, a juror who proclaims that it is his right and duty to protest when called upon to respect the government's authority without question. Citing Barrès, Gallé writes,

‘However, the old man, who was becoming agitated on his bench in the Deliberation Room, exploded. *Man possesses a conscience! Man can and must judge the government!...* He wanted them to bring the chairman to him and to declare to him: *This journalist is not worth much. But we will acquit him against the prosecutor, in order to protest that before all else there is our conscience.*’ And you add, Barrès, ‘There is a man!’ Cordially yours, Émile Gallé.⁷⁷

In his response to Barrès, then, Gallé attempts essentially to redefine the terms of patriotism not as blind allegiance to the nation and its institutions, but as a social contract that imposes duties even as it bestows rights upon the individual. Gallé argues that it is his moral duty as a citizen to uphold the values upon which the Republic is based, individual liberty being foremost among them.

The Salon of 1898

Although Gallé often found himself at odds with the anti-Dreyfusard *L'Est Républicain*, this did not prevent the newspaper from publishing an article by the critic Jules Rais praising Gallé's works exhibited at the Salon of 1898.⁷⁸ In his review, Rais subtly suggests the Dreyfusard content of Gallé's works through repeated references to light and justice. He begins by citing the French historian Michelet, describing Gallé's exhibit as a hearth (*foyer*) or altar, "the altar that is illuminated by 'a reflection of the universal soul of the world, which is nothing more than Justness and Justice, impartial and immutable Love'."⁷⁹ It is possible that Rais's words provided the inspiration for Gallé's *Four verrier* exhibited at the *Exposition universelle* of 1900, which took the form of a glassmaker's kiln. In this passage, however, Rais not only invokes Gallé's Dreyfusard politics through his reference to "Justness and Justice," but also suggests that the artist's works reflect universal rather than merely personal concerns. Rais's championing of universal, humanistic values would have been understood in contrast to the anti-Dreyfusards' defense of the nation above all other considerations.

Rais discusses several of Gallé's works that draw upon the symbolism of light and dark to convey the artist's message, and the author clearly links this symbolism to the events of the Dreyfus Affair when he writes of hope. "But night is only slumbering light, and sadness is not so anxious that it cannot still hope," Rais opines.⁸⁰ In the course of the Affair, Rais would be one of the few critics to discuss the Dreyfusard symbolism of Gallé's works. Following the publication of his review in *L'Est Républicain*, however, Rais turned to other, more sympathetic journals in which to voice his praise of Gallé's art.⁸¹

While the works Gallé created for the *Exposition universelle* of 1900 were intended to be public in nature, Gallé's Dreyfusard works exhibited in 1898 were more intimate in scale. Gallé issued a diminutive tea table entitled *Sicut hortus*, for example, as a limited edition in 1898 (fig. 5.5). The table bears an inscription, "Sicut Hortus semen suum germinat/sic Deus germinabit, Justitiam," which translates as "Just as the garden brings forth its seed, so God will bring forth Justice." *Sicut Hortus* is thus one of the rare works in which Gallé employs a phrase taken directly from the Bible rather than from the work of contemporary French poets. The passage, borrowed from Isaiah 61:11, refers to the salvation of the people of Zion and thus alludes to both the suffering of the Jews and to the theme of divine justice.⁸²

The choice of a passage in Latin is curious, as the standard Bible for French Protestants was published in French.⁸³ If Gallé hoped to persuade those who believed Dreyfus guilty, however, he would have intended his work to appeal to the anti-Dreyfusards, who were overwhelmingly Catholic. The use of the Latin phrase also deflects attention away from Gallé's own Protestantism, helping to defuse tensions surrounding the artist's identity as a member of a religious minority. For the *Exposition universelle* of 1900, Gallé adapted another version of the citation for a vase, which reads "The Lord will sow Justice and Honor among all nations."⁸⁴

Gallé exhibited a second Dreyfusard work with Christian symbolism in 1898, a vase entitled *Le Figuier* (fig. 5.6). The form of *Le Figuier* is that of a chalice, and its shape led some

to call it the *Grail*, thus evoking the cup from which Christ is purported to have drunk at the Last Supper. The shape of the vase is similar to that of the *Saint-Graal* (Holy Grail, 1893), a work that Gallé created in 1893 for Fourcaud (fig. 5.7).⁸⁵ The Holy Grail has a long and rich history of representation in Western art and literature, and the 19th century was no exception. Gallé may have been inspired, for example, by a performance of Richard Wagner's opera *Parsifal* (1882), which he attended in Bayreuth in 1892. In *Parsifal*, the hero heals Amfortas, the ailing king of an order of knights whose duty is to guard the grail. The symbolism of *Le Figuier*, like *Parsifal*, is predominantly Christian in origin. The shape of the chalice, through its resemblance to contemporary depictions of the Holy Grail, invokes the suffering of Christ.⁸⁶

Trailing drops of glass appear to run down the sides of the chalice and suggest tears, such as the tears of Christ, as well as the unusual biology of fig leaves, which produce tear-like transpiration (fig. 5.8).⁸⁷ The references to tears and blood, which recall Christ's suffering, establishes a parallel between the martyrdom of Christ and that of Dreyfus, who are also linked by their ethnic identity as Jews.⁸⁸ In his review, Rais describes *Le Figuier* as "this chalice marked by the sign of Christ... that cries brotherly tears," evoking both its origins in Christian symbolism and its appeal to Republican ideals such as fraternity.⁸⁹ The glass tears also relate to the vase's inscription, which is taken from a poem in Victor Hugo's *Contemplations* (1856). The passage reads, "Because all men are the sons of the same father, they are the same tear. They come from the same eye."⁹⁰

According to Gallé, few critics remarked upon this citation from Hugo, which the artist saw as a statement condemning the rampant atmosphere of anti-Semitism then characterizing public discourse. In a letter to Marx, Gallé refers to a review by Lucas Justin (pseudonym), which appeared in the *Revue encyclopédique* that summer. He writes, "Thank Lucas Justin for me, then; tell him that I am sorry, in lieu of my prose, that he did not write anti-human, anti-Christian because anti-Semite, etc. the two verses of Hugo. [...] How few have reproduced them, not even our friends."⁹¹ Gallé's wording is a bit convoluted, but presumably the artist wished that the author of the review had underscored the way in which Gallé equates anti-Semitism with an affront to Christianity and even humanity itself, a message that Gallé believes is communicated better by Hugo's verses than by his own words.

Through his choice of citation and allusion to tears, then, Gallé creates an argument in favor of tolerance and humanity, an argument against the injustices of anti-Semitism. The choice of figs as a motif, moreover, may refer to the Biblical parable of the barren fig tree, in which the tree symbolizes the chastisement of the Jews for not having recognized Christ as the son of God.⁹² As Tillier has noted, however, in *Le Figuier* Gallé inverts this symbolism, transforming the withered tree into a vibrant, green plant bearing ripe fruit.⁹³

Generally speaking, during this period Gallé largely relies on the depiction of natural forms in *Le Figuier* and other works, eschewing conventional allegory in favor of a more universal symbolism. In *Le Figuier*, however, the artist also includes a traditional Christian symbol, the monogram of Constantine, which is composed of the Greek letters *chi* and *rho*, the first two letters of the word "Christ" in Greek (fig. 5.9). The Roman emperor Constantine I adopted the symbol for the shields of his army, along with the motto "In hoc signo vinces," or "In this sign you shall conquer," in the 4th century. While the glass tears lend *Le Figuier* a mournful air, then, the chi-rho's association with victory suggests a more hopeful tone.

In a letter to Victor Champier, published as "Mes envois au Salon," Gallé explicitly links the symbol of the chi-rho to the martyrdom of Christ. He explains, "I have sculpted with piety and sadness the august sign of one who has been even more forgotten, and who suffered and died

for having promised that ‘happy are those who hunger and thirst for justice, because they will be satisfied’.”⁹⁴ He conceives of the chalice itself, Gallé writes, as a kind of unifying symbol inviting its viewers to a “communion.” “See here, my dear friend,” he writes, “for what communion this drinking glass, as gigantic and deep as possible, has been made.”⁹⁵ Like the verses by Hugo, the size and depth of the chalice invite all of mankind, regardless of race or religious conviction, to unite in spiritual communion. Rais seconded this interpretation of the chalice, writing “Nature cries... and in these tears, [there is] the Truth of a divine Word that seals a sacred sign, radiates.”⁹⁶

A Dreyfusartist

Rais’s implicit endorsement of Gallé’s politics in the pages of *L’Est Républicain*, however, was the exception. Indeed, in the course of 1898, the *L’Est Républicain* became increasingly hostile towards Nancy’s native son. In his response to these attacks, Gallé formulated in writing the artistic doctrine he would employ in 1900, arguing that it is his duty as a Republican to uphold the ideals of truth and equality and associating his art with the defense of the “idea.”

On December 6, 1898, *L’Est Républicain* reported that Gallé’s name was among those who had signed a new petition calling for Picquart’s trial to be dismissed. The paper again reprints the petition, which had first appeared in *Le Temps* on December 6, this time without commentary.⁹⁷ Rather than comment directly on the petition, the editor of *L’Est Républicain* printed a letter by “a former civil servant” on December 8.⁹⁸ This “former civil servant,” like the author of *L’Est Républicain*’s article on the anti-Semitic riots, castigates “intellectuals” for fomenting dissent and discord. The author strongly implies that those who signed the petition are in the pay of “hot-blooded members of a religious sect,” although it is unclear whether he refers to Protestants or, as is more likely, to Jews.⁹⁹ The author’s primary concern, one voiced by many anti-Dreyfusards, is that the continued calls to reexamine Dreyfus’s guilt will only endanger the army by calling into question its honor and will thus risk the security of the nation itself. The author ends his lengthy tirade by arguing that the final verdict on Dreyfus’s guilt should be left in the hands of the *Cour de Cassation* rather than in the hands of the people.

Four days later, on December 10, *L’Est Républicain* published yet another letter attacking intellectuals and Dreyfusards alike. “A former university graduate,” who despite his sobriquet seems concerned to dissociate himself from the educated classes, argues that the younger generation, and intellectuals in particular, have forgotten the lessons of the *année terrible* (1871).¹⁰⁰ Intellectuals, he contends, model themselves on Germany rather than embrace the traditions of their own country. By associating intellectuals with German erudition, the author thus attempts to equate this class of citizens with the enemy, implying that they are traitors to their country.

These attacks upon intellectuals prompted Gallé to pen a detailed and impassioned response, which appeared in the pages of *Le Progrès de l’Est* on December 11.¹⁰¹ In his letter, Gallé takes issue with the assertion of the “former civil servant” that the Dreyfusards have no proof to support their conviction of Dreyfus’s innocence. The revisionist press, Gallé argues, has published all of the documents related to the Affair, and he goes on to enumerate each of them. The agitation blamed on the intellectuals, the artist says, will only cease when the truth is known. In the meantime, both sides should leave the *Cour de Cassation* to do its work in peace. In his letter, Gallé also makes clear that he considers his involvement in the Affair a civic duty. “Rather

than bowing our heads,” he asserts, “we maintain that the right and the duty of each good citizen is to protest loudly when justice and the law are violated.”¹⁰² Gallé’s protest was voiced in writing, but also in his art, for by this time the artist had already begun preparations for his elaborate Dreyfusard installation to be exhibited in 1900.

Gallé’s decision to sign himself “a so-called intellectual” was politically calculated to reclaim an appellation that had quickly become a term of abuse in the anti-Dreyfusard press.¹⁰³ A humorous letter published in *L’Est Républicain* on December 14, for example, purported to describe a new species of insect called “The Intellectual.”¹⁰⁴ This unsigned missive, purportedly found in the newspaper’s mailbox, associates intellectuals with carnivorous creatures who feast on the French army and French judges. Such creatures are most often Jewish or Protestant (*huguenot*) rather than Catholic, the author contends, and they originate in the university. The letter concludes with a not so subtle call to violence: “In order to rid yourself of this insect, fumigations are powerless,” the author remarks, adding that “it is necessary to shout louder than it [does], and to take, according to need, even harsher measures.”¹⁰⁵ In *Les Hommes noirs*, Gallé would effectively reverse the terms of this debate by figuring not Dreyfusards but the anti-Dreyfusard persecutors of an innocent man as monstrous beings whose obdurate, hideous physicality is opposed to the immaterial purity of light and the ideals it represents.

Gallé’s epistolary battle with *L’Est Républicain* on behalf of Dreyfus and his own honor continued throughout the month with barely a pause. On December 15, *L’Est Républicain* reported Gallé’s cancellation of his subscription and grudgingly printed a letter in which the artist responds angrily to the paper’s accusation that those who signed the petition in support of Picquart merely lent strength to the ongoing unrest in Nancy.¹⁰⁶ The artist argues that it is anti-Dreyfusards, such as a certain M. Cordonnier, editor of *La Libre Parole*, who are truly to blame for the uproar, not the Dreyfusards.¹⁰⁷ The nationalists, Gallé continues, are treated leniently by the local police, while the ban on political gatherings forces Dreyfus’s supporters to confine their protests to writing.¹⁰⁸ He also refutes the paper’s claim that the protesters are paid by foreign nations. It is anti-Semitism and not Dreyfusism, he contends, which is imported from Prussia by the anti-Semitic journalist Drumont and others like him.¹⁰⁹ The editors of *L’Est Républicain* in turn refute Gallé’s arguments point by point, placing the blame for the Affair on “men for whom money matters, with which Israel swarms.”¹¹⁰ Thus responsibility for the Affair itself is attributed to its victim, a Jewish officer, now seen as doubly guilty of treason—by virtue of his actions and by virtue of his identity as a Jew.

In each of these exchanges, Gallé’s contributions are given pride of place in the newspaper. His letters invariably appear on the front page, accompanied by copious commentary. It is clear that, at least in Nancy, the artist was quickly coming to be seen as a prominent and active Dreyfusard. His notoriety in this respect was soon to take on national scope. Gallé’s letter to *L’Est Républicain* was reprinted in the national daily, *Le Siècle*, on December 19. Under the editorship of Yves Guyot (1843-1928), *Le Siècle* was a predominantly Dreyfusard paper, as is demonstrated by its unilateral praise of Gallé as “the incomparable artist, the master glassmaker, the restorer of furniture [making].”¹¹¹

In contrast, a humorous quip in the *L’Est Républicain* edition of December 18 attacks Gallé not only as a man of political conviction but also as an artist. A brief exchange, purportedly overheard in the street, appears prominently on the front page of the newspaper:

X. – You astonish me in telling me that G..., the exquisite poet-glassmaker, is... Dreyfusard or Dreyfusist!

Z. – Better than that! he is Dreyfusartist!¹¹²

The term “Dreyfusartist” suggests that Gallé’s political convictions and his art are indissociable, yet contemporary accounts rarely addressed Gallé’s Dreyfusard works specifically. Instead, *L’Est Républicain* preferred to attack Gallé on political grounds, perhaps hoping to maintain the artist’s prestige in the realm of the arts as a reflection of Nancy’s cultural ascendancy. The omission, however, may also signal the potential illegibility of the Dreyfusard message conveyed by Gallé’s relatively small-scale and predominantly decorative works. Although the artist worked hard to imbue his works with political import, their status as decorative art objects made it easy for contemporaries to overlook the works’ intended message. Gallé’s activism in the public sphere, however, was not so easily ignored.

In late December, for example, a letter to the editor published in *L’Est Républicain* announced a “punch” to be held for a Dreyfusard deputy by the *Ligue des droits de l’homme et du citoyen*. The letter, which purported to be written by “an anti-Dreyfusard Protestant,” specifies that the meeting will be held “under the honorary chairmanship of Mr. Émile Gallé.”¹¹³ The republican lawyer Ludovic Trarieux (1840-1904) had founded the *Ligue des droits de l’homme* in June of 1898, at height of the Dreyfus Affair, and the *Ligue* numbered many Dreyfusards among its earliest members.¹¹⁴ Its primary concern, however, lay not with the Affair per se but rather with the defense of the ideals of the French Revolution.¹¹⁵

In his account of the meeting, the anonymous author of the letter underscores the Dreyfusard nature of the *Ligue*, which he says includes “40 members of which 38 are militant Protestants and 2 Israelites.”¹¹⁶ Identifying himself as an anti-Dreyfusard Protestant, the author of the letter attempts to distance his fellow Protestants from the Dreyfusards, writing, “I will tell you that in Nancy, the great majority of Protestants deplore the attitude adopted by many prominent co-religionists, members of this committee.”¹¹⁷ His attitude is understandable in the context of anti-Dreyfusard attacks that often conflated Protestants and Jews as enemies of the French nation.

Gallé responded to the publication of the anonymous letter swiftly and succinctly, writing to *L’Est Républicain*, “I am the chairman of no committee.”¹¹⁸ Among the committees of which he was a member, however, Gallé asserts that none discriminate on the basis of religious affiliation. For his efforts, Gallé earned only further vitriol from the editors of *L’Est Républicain*, who argued that Protestants were just as guilty of “clericalism” as their Catholic counterparts.¹¹⁹ The editors thus attack both Gallé’s Protestantism and, by extension, his Republicanism, for anti-clericalism was a central tenet of the Republican administration. The article ends with an assertion of the editors’ own claim to Republican virtue: “We others, Republicans, democrats from the beginning, we wanted the Republic, under the aegis of the old ones of 92, to remake the ‘great nation’.”¹²⁰ Thus at stake in these exchanges was not only the issue of who could claim to speak for the nation but also the question of who could best represent the legacy of French Republicanism. In *Les Hommes noirs* and other works, Gallé would draw on pictorial conventions developed during the revolutionary period to assert that the political ideals championed by the artist and his fellow Dreyfusards constituted the only true form of Republicanism.

On December 30, *L’Est Républicain* reported on the inaugural meeting of the local section of the *Ligue des droits de l’homme*, as recounted by *Le Progrès de l’Est*. The resolution passed at that meeting, according to *L’Est Républicain*, proclaimed the group’s support for the Dreyfusard cause and called for free and full disclosure of all documents and facts related to the

Affair. As was common in the Dreyfusard press, the resolution employed the idea of light as a symbol of truth. The resolution reads,

The citizens gathered at the Europe Hotel... declare themselves partisans of the review of the Dreyfus trial and call for light as the only means of putting an end to the patriotic anguish of the country; they consider urgent the defense of the freedom of assembly and of discussion against the anti-Semitic terror and to enlighten our citizens abused by a deceitful press; they give the Nancy committee of the League of the *Rights of Man* the power to organize in the near future a conference-demonstration on the known facts of the trial.¹²¹

While the resolution calls for light to be shed upon the Affair in the form of truthful reporting and freedom of reunion and discussion, the editors of *L'Est Républicain* respond that the *Cour de Cassation* has already taken control of the Affair with the goal of "spreading light."¹²² Light, like Truth, was thus a symbol that could be claimed by both sides.

The report published in *L'Est Républicain* is followed by an extensive firsthand account of the meeting submitted by "an anti-Dreyfusard Protestant." The report emphasizes the clandestine nature of the meeting and its purported illegality. The Prime Minister, Eugène Brisson, had denied the overtly Dreyfusard *Ligue* formal authorization to meet in an attempt to stem further controversy. The author of the report posits that the *Ligue* is thus illegal in nature. He goes on to argue that the members of the *Ligue des droits de l'homme* are revolutionaries who seek to overthrow the government. Comparing members of the group to the revolutionary-era Jacobin Club, he suggests that the *Ligue*, too, may fall into violent excess if allowed free rein.¹²³ In the struggle to lay claim to the Revolutionary legacy, then, the author identifies himself with moderate Republicanism, while he aligns the Dreyfusards with the ideological and punitive excesses of the Terror.

Upon the formation of the local section of the *Ligue*, Gallé assumed the role of treasurer, a position that he would hold until 1903. While there is little direct evidence concerning Gallé's activities in the organization, an inlaid inscription decorating a table the artist made as a gift for his wife offers insight into the centrality of his participation in the *Ligue* to the artist's identity. The inscription reads: "To my brave wife, Henriette Gallé, in memory of patriotic struggles for the principles of humanity, justice, and liberty. May 1899. Émile Gallé, treasurer of the French League for the Defense of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen."¹²⁴

This inscription is remarkable in several respects. Firstly, Gallé's use of the word "patriotic" to qualify the *Ligue*'s efforts is evidence of his desire to reclaim the concept of patriotism from the nationalists, in order to associate it specifically with moderate Republicans. Secondly, the desk is also the only work in which Gallé identifies himself explicitly as the treasurer of the *Ligue*. It can thus be assumed the work is intended both to commemorate the artist's involvement in the *Ligue* and his wife's contribution to the struggle for "humanity, justice, and liberty." Gallé's participation in the *Ligue* not only placed him firmly within the Dreyfusard camp but also further distanced the artist from the predominantly anti-Dreyfusard citizens of Nancy, who would increasingly tend to favor nationalism over radical and even moderate Republicanism in local elections and in the press.

On January 2, 1899, *L'Est Républicain* offered a further snub to the *Ligue*, which had sent its statutes and a list of its members to the paper for publication. Rather than publish this information, *L'Est Républicain* proclaimed, "we will devote our daily article to a league that

unites rather than a league that divides.”¹²⁵ The article that follows narrates the creation of another group, the *Ligue de la patrie française*, which the author praises for its patriotism. This anti-Semitic, nationalist *Ligue* had been founded by Barrès and other writers, including François Coppée (1842-1908), Jules Lemaitre (1853-1914), and Ferdinand Brunetière (1849-1906), in late 1898.¹²⁶

The *Ligue de la patrie française* took as its mission the defense of the nation through the support of institutions such as the Army and was intentionally conceived as a response to the activities of the Dreyfusard “intellectuals.”¹²⁷ By 1900, the local section of the *Ligue* had 1,800 members.¹²⁸ In general, the *Ligue de la Patrie française* found support primarily in urban milieus, where it rallied young students, artisans, and merchants in a virulently anti-Semitic campaign against the forces of capitalism.¹²⁹ The creation of the *Ligue de la Patrie française* thus signaled the further evolution of anti-Semitic nationalism towards a policy of anti-socialist, clerical conservatism.¹³⁰ The organization spread its message, for example, through the “fraternités,” parish associations dominated by leaders of the *Union catholique* and other clerical groups.¹³¹

Two years later, in a postscript to a letter to Zola, Gallé would describe the founders of the *Ligue de la Patrie française*, who presented a conference in Nancy some eighteen months after the group’s founding, in terms that make crystal clear his contempt for their dogma:

Yesterday the bottom of the barrel of Jew-eaters and nationalists seeking to make their fortune made an attempt on our city [that was] little flattering to it, [an] ultimate affront that occurred because of a few twisted minds, duped or of bad faith, speculators in the credulousness of the public and in a chauvinism that is perhaps geographically excusable.¹³²

In this passage, Gallé decries the nationalists as anti-Semites who are profiting from the credulity of the public. Their chauvinism, he adds, may be excusable in the light of Nancy’s status as the “capital of mutilated Lorraine.”¹³³ Indeed, Thomson has argued that the concept of *revanche*, so widely embraced in the decades immediately following the Franco-Prussian War, played a determinant role in the creation of the right-wing *Ligues*.¹³⁴ The events of the Dreyfus Affair, he argues, brought the military conflict with Germany back into the minds of the French public and helped to fuel the militant nationalism of Barrès and Déroulède. These nationalist leaders conceived of the nation as united by racial, ethnic, and cultural ties, rather than by the bonds of secular Republicanism. The Third Republic, in contrast, struggled to define the nature of France itself as Republican, to render the two indissoluble in the minds of French citizens—and this was also Gallé’s goal.

Gallé’s name soon appeared once again in the national press when the artist lent his support to the “Call for Union” published in *Le Temps* on January 23, 1899.¹³⁵ This petition called on the French people to accept the eventual decision of the *Cour de Cassation* and thus to put an end to a debate that was tearing the country apart.¹³⁶ It urged unity not in the name of tradition, however, but in the name of the law. By submitting to the decision of the court, in other words, French citizens would reaffirm the basic principles underlying the French Republic. Patriotism was to be signaled not by blind allegiance to institutions such as the Church and the Army but by loyalty to the Republican ideals of justice and equality.

On June 3, the combined chambers of the *Cour de Cassation* revoked the verdict of the 1894 trial and, in a victory for the Dreyfusards, ordered a new court-martial to be held in Rennes.

Gallé expressed his hope for Dreyfus's eventual rehabilitation and the restoration of his military status in a letter to Louis Havet (1849-1925), a philologist and professor at the *Collège de France* and a fellow member of the *Ligue des Droits de l'homme*.¹³⁷ Havet had recently published a letter calling for Dreyfus's reintegration into the army, and Gallé wrote to his friend to praise him for his contribution to the struggle to prove Dreyfus's innocence. A postscript to his letter demonstrates that Gallé considered even his private correspondence in the light of a greater struggle. He writes, "If you wish to publish my letter, I consent wholeheartedly."¹³⁸

When the court in Rennes handed down a second guilty verdict on September 9, however, Gallé responded with anger and disappointment. In a long and anguished letter to Havet, he rails against the Army, which he claims has inflicted a "second Sedan" on the nation.¹³⁹ Gallé's description of those who conspired against Dreyfus as "ferocious beasts," who "scratch away at the foundation of their rotten barracks with their senile fingernails," meanwhile, foreshadows the dark symbolism of *Les Hommes noirs*.¹⁴⁰

In a postscript composed the following morning, Gallé argues that it is the role of art to defend universal ideals. "There is no art, there is no beauty, there is no interest in life without the salvation of sacred ideas," he opines.¹⁴¹ In this passage, the artist clearly envisions a public and politicized role for his art. He thus equates beauty not with mere pleasure, but with the defense of "sacred ideas." For Gallé, in short, beauty is nothing less than an expression of eternal truths. While Gallé was not the first artist to equate beauty with truth, his words demonstrate an interest in assigning a profound role to a genre of production commonly understood to be better suited to the display of pleasurable forms than the representation of profound meaning.¹⁴²

Gallé expounded on the Republican ideals that he sought to defend in his private letters to fellow Dreyfusards. In a letter to his friend Arthur Boucheron, for example, the artist denounces the Affair as a crime committed against "liberty, honor, [and] the sacred rights of a Frenchman."¹⁴³ Later in the same letter, however, Gallé reveals another side to his dismay at the events of the Affair—his belief that the iniquities of the Affair not only threatened the Republican ideals of justice and equality but were at odds with the divine plan. He writes,

The work of God [is] defeated, delayed for several generations; the power of evil, the tools of evil, perfected, increased tenfold. The truths that cost our fathers so much, find no echo; the best and the most noble [men] of our era reduced to silence, or their words falling on deaf ears.¹⁴⁴

Gallé's art was deeply informed by his religious faith and by his identity as a member of a religious minority. Tillier has argued that Gallé's Protestantism was one of the key factors in the artist's decision to support Dreyfus.¹⁴⁵ As a Protestant, Gallé was familiar with the history of persecution and religious intolerance that characterized pre-Revolutionary France. His reference to the truths that cost his ancestors so dearly thus may refer to the persecution of Huguenots in previous centuries. Gallé brings up this history in his letters to Marx, who was a Jew and fellow Dreyfusard. Gallé describes the 16th-century ruler Antoine, Duke of Lorraine, for example, as "this persecutor and great assassin of thousands of his subjects [who is] guilty, in short, of the state of mediocrity of Catholic Lorraine that lasted for centuries."¹⁴⁶

In the events of the Dreyfus Affair, Gallé perceived a new form of persecution, one directed at members of a fellow religious minority—the Jews. Gallé's sympathy for Dreyfus, and French Jews in general, was no doubt informed not only by his friendship with Jewish intellectuals such as Marx but also by his identity as a Lorrainer. Dreyfus's family originated in

the annexed Alsatian city of Mulhouse. Like Gallé, Dreyfus's father, who owned a small cotton mill, was an industrialist.¹⁴⁷ Following the Franco-Prussian War, like so many others from the annexed provinces, the Dreyfus family opted for French citizenship.¹⁴⁸

The provinces of Alsace and Lorraine, moreover, had traditionally been home to the majority of Jews living in France. At the time of the French Revolution, approximately 30,000 citizens of Jewish descent lived in the eastern provinces.¹⁴⁹ Gallé would thus have seen firsthand the kinds of tensions provoked by the coexistence of Catholics, Protestants, and Jews in his native province.¹⁵⁰ In 1898, for example, retired chandler Alphonse Victor Bouttier formed a section of the *Ligue antisémite* in Nancy. It would have 2,800 members by the end of the year.¹⁵¹

Faced with blatant examples of intolerance and persecution in his own city, Gallé believed that he could employ not only his words but also his art to persuade the French people of the importance of tolerance and justice. For Gallé, it was beauty in particular that held a persuasive power over viewers. Thus a table created for the *Exposition universelle* of 1900, *Sagittaire d'eau* (Water Arrowhead, 1900), bears an inscription that articulates Gallé's belief in the tremendous power of beauty: "Because grace is a weapon in the fight for the idea."¹⁵²

In his letter to Boucheron, Gallé also presents art, along with nature, poetry, and the Bible, as consolations in time of trouble. "Calm and immutable nature, the eternal richness of art, of poetry, the consoling treasures of the divine Word reappearing in such times are: the attic, the refuge, the homeland of the soul," he writes.¹⁵³ The artist therefore suggests that art, poetry, and religion are the real "fatherland" of souls, not the "fatherland" of tradition and intolerance proclaimed by the nationalist *Ligue de la Patrie française* and its followers. In this passage, then, Gallé again attempts to reclaim the language of patriotism, defining the "fatherland" as residing not in Barrès's "soil and the dead" (*la terre et les morts*), but in the universal values explored in art, literature, and religion.

In a letter to Champier published in the *Revue des Arts décoratifs* in 1898, Gallé provides further explanation of the role that he believes art should play in society. The artist begins by describing his works exhibited at the Salon of 1898 as "Question marks, exclamation points, calls, and my very humble testimony that, in art as in life, truth is the best and light the most beautiful."¹⁵⁴ Gallé thus argues that his works are like passionate *words* in the service of truth—a clear reference to the Dreyfus Affair. The artist hopes to "stir... souls," to move viewers not only through the form of his art, but also through recourse to language.¹⁵⁵ He thus defends his controversial use of citations, writing "I will maintain... whether one mocks it or not, my way of applying... texts to my vases and of edifying my buyers through writing."¹⁵⁶ In fact, by referring to his citations as "*écritures*," a term that also refers to the Holy Scriptures, Gallé imbues the act of writing with an almost sacred significance. As we have seen, then, in works such as *Le Figuier*, Gallé simultaneously employs the written word, religious symbolism, and references to nature to convey his message.

In his letter to Boucheron, Gallé also underscores what he sees as the persuasive character of his art, which he believes will "edify" its viewers and awaken them from their slumber. This will be accomplished, the artist suggests, through recourse to language but also through the transformative power of beauty. Quoting from the work of a contemporary poet, Gallé asks, "Art? Beauty? Flowers? To accomplish what? 'To make men gentler,' responds the wood anemone, or rather Sully-Prudhomme."¹⁵⁷ Using flowers as a metaphor for the "truth" of Dreyfus's innocence, Gallé offers them, and by extension his own works, as sacrifices in the struggle for truth. "But today, we must throw flowers under the feet of barbarians!" he proclaims.¹⁵⁸ For flowers have "the magical virtue of beauty, this element so well-suited to the

creation of warmth and kindness.”¹⁵⁹ Beauty, in other words, has the power to make viewers more receptive to Gallé’s message and thus to render the political symbolism of his works more powerfully persuasive.

In letters to his friend Reinach, Gallé goes one step further, opposing the physical and the psychological, the material and the immaterial, in his discussion of the Dreyfus Affair as “this struggle of ideas against instincts.”¹⁶⁰ In November 1898, Reinach had published an article entitled “The Silence of the Poets,” in which the author called on intellectuals to join the “war” for liberty and justice.¹⁶¹ Employing the example of the geometer Archimedes, who died defending Syracuse from the Romans, Reinach implores “poets,” his term for “intellectuals,” to defend the honor of France. He urges them to join “this long war that has continued, for more than a year now, for liberty and justice.”¹⁶² Both Gallé and his wife began corresponding with Reinach soon after the publication of this call to arms and would continue to exchange letters with the lawyer throughout the course of the Affair.¹⁶³ Reinach later briefly but warmly evoked Gallé’s contributions to the Dreyfusard cause in his monumental history of the Affair published beginning in 1901.¹⁶⁴

For Gallé, then, art had the power not only to persuade but also to unify.¹⁶⁵ In his Dreyfusard works, Gallé reveals his vision of the artist’s civic and moral duty to create a politicized art in defense of universal values. At the Salon of 1898 and again at the *Exposition universelle* of 1900, Gallé would put his convictions into practice. By creating a body of Dreyfusard works that draw on the themes of light, truth, and justice as well as Christian theology and symbolism, Gallé would protest Dreyfus’s innocence and call for tolerance and reconciliation.

The “Four Vengeur”

The *Four Verrier*, exhibited at the *Exposition universelle* of 1900, constituted Gallé’s most public statement his commitment to the Dreyfusard cause (fig. 5.10).¹⁶⁶ The *Four* consisted of a glassmaker’s kiln, surrounded by tools used for glass blowing and examples of the artist’s work. The display thus fulfilled the dual role of familiarizing visitors with the craft of glassblowing and offering a passionate argument in favor of justice and truth through, as we will see, the use of a politically inflected symbolism of light. The polemical significance of Gallé’s installation did not go unnoticed by his allies. According to the composer Albéric Magnard (1865-1914), for example, Gallé’s fellow Dreyfusards termed the display a *four vengeur*, an avenging kiln or furnace.¹⁶⁷ Yet how could an installation on the art of glassmaking legibly signify Dreyfusard politics to contemporary audiences? In the design of *Four verrier*, Gallé struggled to overcome the inherent limitations of scale and medium in order to convey a clear moral message.

The *Four verrier* comprised a kind of installation, in which the relationships between different works were as important to the artist’s message as the presence of individual pieces. In a letter to the architect Frantz Jourdain (1847-1935), for example, Gallé contends that “My glass contribution is composed of a small number of pieces... each of which has its assigned place in the symphonic groups decided in advance like the figures of a painting.”¹⁶⁸ Gallé thus compares his display to both a symphony and a painting, indicating that each element contributed to the overall effect of the installation and added to its meaning.

Thus evoking the idea of the Wagnerian *gesamtkunstwerk*, or total work of art, Gallé signals that both the *Four verrier* and the artist’s other displays were intended to function as

persuasive and unified compositions. To this end, Gallé designed the fabric, trim, and other soft furnishings used for his displays and had them executed in Paris.¹⁶⁹ Gallé chose a grayish fabric to use near the *Four*, for example, so that it would have the “air of an old attic (*grenier*),”¹⁷⁰ recalling his comment to Boucheron that in troubled times, art could serve as “the attic (*grenier*), the refuge, [and] the homeland of the soul.”¹⁷¹ The display was also illuminated by electric light for four hours a day during the run of the *Exposition*, making Gallé’s appeal to the symbolism of light and dark even more dramatic.¹⁷²

The *Four verrier* represents the culmination of two years of effort on behalf of the Dreyfusard cause. By time of the *Exposition universelle*, the Affair was already fading from public memory following Dreyfus’s acceptance of a pardon offered by President Émile Loubet (1838-1929) in 1899. Nonetheless, Dreyfus’s supporters continued to work to prove his innocence, and their efforts would eventually lead to the overturning of the Rennes verdict in 1906. Gallé’s decision to devote a significant portion of his display at the *Exposition* to Dreyfusard works was a commercially risky move for the artist.¹⁷³ While little mention was made of the works’ political content in contemporary reviews, Gallé’s Dreyfusard stance was well known and may even have prevented the artist from serving on the jury of the *Exposition*. In a letter to Marx, for example, Gallé writes that he has been “relieved of all jury duties as a known Dreyfusard.”¹⁷⁴ Overall, the *Exposition* was a financial disaster for Gallé, who never fully recovered from the enormous costs of preparing entries for three separate sections.¹⁷⁵ The decision to include works with overtly Dreyfusard themes while faced with the threat of financial ruin thus dramatically underscores Gallé’s commitment to the cause of justice.

Gallé commissioned several photographs of the *Four verrier* during its construction in Nancy. In these staged photographs, which Gallé used for promotional purposes and as gifts for friends and acquaintances, a young apprentice is shown turning the handle of a blowpipe to heat molten glass inside the furnace. To his left are other tools of the glassblower’s trade, including a wooden mold and a crucible. Two round glass spheres evoke bubbles of molten glass. A series of works with Dreyfusard themes line the top of the display, while other works lie on the floor or rest on the shelves surrounding the opening of the furnace. A Greco-Roman amphora from the artist’s private collection, the model for *Amphore du Roi Salomon*, which would replace it at the *Exposition*, is displayed at the center of the photograph. Among the works, citations from contemporary poets, combined with botanical symbolism and references to light and truth, convey the political message of Gallé’s display.

A signed version of the photograph, dedicated to Alfred Dreyfus, exists in the collection of the *Musée de Bretagne* in Rennes (fig. 5.11).¹⁷⁶ Underneath the photograph, Gallé has written out by hand the verses carved into the mantel above the kiln. He begins with an anonymous passage invoking wisdom, which reads, “Descend, divine Wisdom! Bless our kilns. Give a beautiful hue to the vases.”¹⁷⁷ Below these verses, which are carved in high relief, are another series of verses carved in lower relief. They are adapted from the work of Hesiod, an ancient Greek poet. In Gallé’s dedication, the verses read, “But, if men are cruel, forgers and corrupt officials, bring me the evil demons of fire! break the vases, topple the kiln! So that all [men] learn to practice Justice. After Hesiod.”¹⁷⁸ The reference to “forgers and corrupt officials” clearly brings to mind the events of the Dreyfus Affair, in which forged documents and government conspiracies played an integral role in sustaining both judicial and public belief in Dreyfus’s guilt. The phrase “divine Wisdom,” meanwhile, establishes that the “Justice” Gallé seeks is one that is divinely ordained. The events of the Affair, in other words, constituted an affront to both

Gallé's humanist ideals and to his religious faith. Finally, it is beauty, in the form of a "beautiful hue," that serves as the expression of the divine will and brings Justice to the accused.

The presence of several broken vases, which lie scattered around the furnace, underscores the theme of righteous anger while also demonstrating the complexities of the glassmaking process. Gallé's intricate, multilayered vases often required successive firings, which resulted in an increased risk of breakage. The presence of these flawed works underscores the artist's achievement by dramatizing the process of creation. Gallé's display of broken and commercially valueless works, however, also constitutes a direct response to Barrès's criticism of Dreyfusard intellectuals in the pages of *L'Est Républicain*.

Barrès describes "intellectuals" as "the worthless by-product of the effort made by society to create an elite," comparing them to the glass pots shattered or deformed by repeated firings in the glassmaker's kiln.¹⁷⁹ In his ripost to Barrès, Gallé scathingly remarks, "In having me note the multitude, alas! of bubbly and spiteful glasses, of smoky lamps and cloudy spectacles, you have done too much honor to the artisan and perhaps too much dishonor to the citizen."¹⁸⁰ By including these imperfect works in his display, then, Gallé attempts to state the value of those very works and, by extension, individuals that Barrès dismissed as twin examples of wasted effort. Whereas Barrès and other anti-Dreyfusards would repeatedly contend that protecting the nation entailed necessary losses, up to and including the destruction of a life and career, Gallé here contends that even broken vessels, be they glass or human in form, have worth.

The quote from Hesiod and the presence of shattered works thus lends a polemical significance to an otherwise apolitical demonstration of the difficulties of the glassmaker's art. Gallé confirms the Dreyfusard message of the *Four verrier* with the final words of his dedication, "Cordial hommage au Capitaine Alfred Dreyfus." Whereas Dreyfus would only be reintegrated into the army in 1906, Gallé here pays respect to the soldier as well as the man by employing his military title. The phrase "cordial hommage," moreover, suggests that not only the photograph, but the *Four verrier* itself is a homage to Dreyfus.

Gallé made the Dreyfusard message of *Four verrier* central to the promotional materials he produced for the *Exposition universelle*. A trade card produced for the *Exposition*, for example, shows a stylized version of the *Four* accompanied by the verses from Hesiod (fig. 5.12). At the center of the image, the kiln emits a starburst pattern of rays suggesting both the heat necessary for glassmaking and the light of reason, which illuminates the vases placed prominently in the foreground. Likewise, a swirling cloud of smoke or mist emanates from the kiln and curls around the forms of the vases. The phrase "Descend, divine Wisdom," which appears printed atop one of the tendrils of smoke, suggests that the vapor signifies not obfuscation, but divine enlightenment. The trade card, in essence, distills Gallé's hopes for *Four verrier*: like a beacon of light in the darkness, Gallé suggests, his "Avenging Kiln" will bring wisdom, and with it justice, to the people of France.

A photograph of the *Four verrier* also appeared in the guidebook that Gallé prepared to accompany his displays at the *Exposition* (fig. 5.13). The booklet, which contained both a map and a printed invitation page with space left for the recipient's name, served both to orient visitors and as a form of marketing (figs. 5.14, 5.15). The *Four verrier* appears among the descriptions of Gallé's installations and the pages illustrating them (figs. 5.16, 5.17). As with *Flore de Lorraine* (1893), then, Gallé uses language—in the form of both citations and a printed description—to supplement the appearance of his works and underscore their message. The

language used to describe *Four verrier* in the guidebook, however, is no less subtly allusive than that carved atop the kiln.

The Jugs of Marjolaine

Gallé writes laconically, “The seven jugs of Marjolaine. –Decorative works inspired by a tale by Marcel Schwob (*Le Livre de Monelle*) and presented under the mantel of a glass kiln.”¹⁸¹ While there is no overt mention of the Dreyfus Affair, observant readers would have noted that the author, Marcel Schwob (1867-1905), was Jewish and known to be a Dreyfus supporter. Those familiar with the story would also have known that it is a tale about the dialectics of truth and untruth, seeing and blindness—a theme that, in the context of fin-de-siècle France, immediately brought to mind the events of the Dreyfus Affair.

Schwob’s short story, “La Rêveuse” (The Dreamer), which was published in the collection *Le Livre de Monelle* in 1894, tells the story of the seven jugs of Marjolaine. These colorless jugs, inherited from her father, appear insignificant to all but Marjolaine, who knows the truth and glimpses their mysteries. “Those who were unaware of these things saw only seven old, faded jugs... on the bulging mantelpiece of the hearth. But Marjolaine knew the truth, because of her father’s tales,” Schwob writes.¹⁸² The reference to “truth” clearly had meaning in the context of the Dreyfus Affair, but in other respects Gallé’s choice of “La Rêveuse” as the inspiration for his *Four* is problematic.

In Schwob’s story, Marjolaine never succeeds in awakening the mysteries contained in the jugs and whiles away the years in waiting. Finally, in her anguish and disappointment, Marjolaine smashes the vessels, which are revealed to be empty. The story is one of poignant disappointment and disillusionment, even anger. Through his choice of literary citation, Gallé thus suggests not only the blindness of those who refuse to “see” Dreyfus’s innocence but also the subtle nature of the *Four*’s message. Only those who “see” truly, Gallé suggests, will correctly interpret the symbolism of his politically-inflected installation. The potential illegibility of Gallé’s works, a fact here seemingly recognized by the artist himself, complicate their intended function as a didactic and persuasive expression of the artist’s Dreyfusard political convictions. This is nowhere more true than in the largest work on display, a work that in its rich yet eclectic symbolism frustrates even the most erudite attempts to decipher its signification.

The Amphora of King Solomon

Gallé’s large glass amphora, *Amphore du Roi Salomon*, comprised the artist’s most technically masterful and visually stunning work on display at the *Exposition universelle* (fig. 5.18). The amphora stood near the mouth of the *Four*, where it confronted visitors with a degree of massive solidity belied by its shimmering green and gold surface (fig. 5.19). The basic shape of *Amphore du Roi Salomon* is that of a Greco-Roman amphora, a type of elongated ceramic vessel used for the storage of oils, grains, and other foodstuffs. Gallé is known to have owned an authentic Greco-Roman amphora, which appears in the photograph of the *Four verrier* taken in Nancy. Gallé completed *Amphore du Roi Salomon*, which does not appear in the photo, just in time for the *Exposition*. The creation of such a large work of blown glass was technically challenging, and in the end, Gallé decided to display a less than perfect version. *Amphore*, which is marred by a crack in the glass, thus continues the theme of imperfect and broken works. The amphora, which has a pointed base, rests on a wrought iron stand decorated with shells and

starfish. Applied glass decorations in the form of shells also adhere to the surface of the work. A strand of wrought iron at the neck of the amphora imitates the appearance of seaweed.

The shape of the amphora, like the *Four verrier* itself, is directly inspired by Schwob's short story. Thus the amphora bears engraved verses adapted from Schwob's tale: "This jug once inhabited the ocean. It contained a genie who was a prince. [A] wise girl knew how to break the enchantment with the permission of King Salomon, who gave the gift of speech to the mandrakes" (fig. 5.20).¹⁸³ A large, flat piece of red glass resembling a wax seal bears the so-called Seal of Solomon (fig. 5.21). In the Jewish, Christian, and Islamic traditions, such a seal was associated with a signet ring owned by King Solomon.¹⁸⁴ According to legend, this ring gave King Solomon the power to control demons and to speak with animals. In the *Arabian Nights' Entertainment* (first English edition, 1706), for example, King Solomon imprisons an evil demon, or djinn, in a copper bottle using a lead seal stamped by his ring.

In *Amphore du Roi Salomon*, Gallé employs a traditional representation of the seal, an interlacing Star of David pattern. The references to Judaism are not limited to the Seal of Solomon, for a second glass seal bears Gallé's signature in the form of Hebrew letters (fig. 5.22). The artist thus symbolically compares himself to King Solomon, suggesting that he, too, can imprison the demons of injustice—by depicting them in glass.¹⁸⁵ At the same time, however, the signature seal establishes a parallel between Gallé's identity as a Protestant, and those of the Jewish faith who were likewise being persecuted as members of a religious minority.

Through the use of Christian symbols in an overtly Dreyfusard work, then, Gallé condemned the religious discord that marked France during the years of the Affair. Catholic anti-Semitism in particular reached its apogee between 1898 and 1900, a period in which many prominent priests published anti-Jewish songs and pamphlets.¹⁸⁶ For example, the Augustinian Fathers of the Assumption, a militant Catholic group, employed virulently anti-Semitic rhetoric in their published works. Both *Le Pèlerin*, a Catholic newspaper that reached an audience of 40,000 readers, and *La Croix*, which had an even larger distribution numbering close to 170,000, united conservative Catholic militantism with vitriolic anti-Semitism.¹⁸⁷

While the discourse of Catholic anti-Semitism labeled Dreyfus and his fellow Jews as the enemy of Christ, Dreyfus's supporters would occasionally portray the accused as Christ himself, suffering at the hands of his persecutors. In a drawing inscribed to Reinach and later published by *Le Siècle* in 1901, for example, the caricaturist H.-G. Ibels depicts a crucified Dreyfus tormented by General Mercier, the former Minister of War who had initiated proceedings against Dreyfus (fig. 5.23).

In works such as *Le Figuier* and *Amphore du Roi Salomon*, Gallé relies on conventional symbolism paired with botanical abstraction to convey his Dreyfusard message. With his most dramatic Dreyfusard work, however, Gallé turns back to the power of the human form in order to create a compelling evocation of evil and misery (fig. 5.24). The vase is the result of collaboration between Gallé, who determined the vase's form, and Prouvé, who designed the figures to be engraved onto the glass.¹⁸⁸ By thematizing the properties of glass itself—its permeability to light and the lava-like liquidity of its molten state—Gallé creates a dialectic between light and shadow, form and formlessness, as symbols of truth and falsehood.

"This Murky and Muddy Water": The Black Men

The metaphysical opposition of light and dark in particular borrows strength and legibility from contemporary depictions of Truth in the popular press, depictions which

themselves drew on a Revolutionary-era symbolism of light as the representation of truth, knowledge, and enlightenment. Gallé also, however, looks to an even older, Christian symbolism that the artists of the Enlightenment adapted to suit their own purposes. In *Les Hommes noirs*, Gallé fuses these two traditions, one secular and one religious in origin, into a symbolic unity, creating a call for justice that reconciles the artist's ardent Republicanism with his Protestant faith. Central to this effort is an emphasis placed upon the importance of the *word* in all its manifestations, as a source of both truth and of falsehood.

No mere bibelot, the thick-walled vase stands 40 centimeters high and is imposing in its apparent solidity and mass. *Les Hommes noirs* exists in at least two versions, one of which is in the collection of the *Musée de l'École de Nancy*.¹⁸⁹ Gallé displayed *Les Hommes noirs* just to the left of the opening of the *Four*, next to a taller work entitled *Amphore du Four verrier* (figs. 5.25, 5.26). Unlike this latter vase, however, *Les Hommes noirs* bears an inscription carved into the glass, which in translation reads: "Black men, from where have you sprung? We come from under the earth/Béranger."¹⁹⁰ The phrase is taken from a song by the anti-clerical Republican poet Pierre de Béranger (1780-1857) entitled "The Reverend Fathers," which was first published in 1819.¹⁹¹ The phrase "black men" thus refers to the Jesuits, who are the target of Béranger's satirical verses.

The vase consists of three layers of glass, all of which are engraved and decorated with glass marquetry and applications. The multiple steps involved in the creation of the vase, including several refirings, required a tremendous amount of skill, and the richly encrusted surface of the work bears witness to this tortuous process. The first, innermost layer of *Les Hommes noirs* consists of glass of a pale greenish hue. Whereas this layer is translucent, subsequent layers are increasingly opaque. The second layer, which was added to the first and then heated to fuse the two together, is a brown hue the color of dirt or mud. The final layer is startlingly dark, almost black, and completely opaque. It largely obscures the other two layers, which appear only intermittently between the swirling tendrils of black glass that overlap them.

The work's thickly encrusted appearance suggests that it was buried underground, thus reinforcing the idea of a subterranean underworld from which evil emanates. The idea of dirt or mud that obscured the truth was a common symbol in both Dreyfusard and anti-Dreyfusard discourse. In 1898, for example, an article in *Le Temps* referred to the Affair as "this murky and muddy water."¹⁹² In *Les Hommes noirs*, the figures engraved onto the glass—three human figures, a bat-like creature with wings, and a host of writhing serpents—appear to coalesce out of this darkness.

A branch of lilies provides the only element of intense, saturated color employed in the vase (figs. 5.27, 5.28). The design is engraved over a vein of yellow glass, which was added to the body of the vase in a process called marquetry.¹⁹³ This process involves the application of small pieces of glass to a molten glass form. The work is then rolled along an iron or marble table called a marver, so that the added fragments are incorporated into the molten glass, creating a smooth surface. The repeated firings necessitated by this process, however, entailed a high risk of breakage, and Gallé's vase thus stands as a monument to the artist's incredible perseverance in creating technically ambitious works to convey both his skill and the grandeur of his ambitions for the decorative arts.

If marquetry involves the addition of glass, engraving involves its subtraction. In order to reveal the stratifications beneath the final, opaque layer of black glass, the glassmaker essentially had to polish away the topmost layer. Many glassmakers accomplished this step through the use of hydrofluoric acid, etching the glass instead of engraving it, but Gallé disliked this method and

preferred his workers to use the more labor-intensive process of wheel engraving for the artist's *pièces uniques*. An ancient process first used by the Romans, wheel engraving involves the use of a rotating wheel fitted with an abrasive disk that grinds down the glass.

The process of gradually building up form, and then subtracting from it, renders *Les Hommes noirs* similar in many respects to a work of sculpture, as does its three-dimensionality. The shape of the vase, which resembles an urn with a narrow mouth, is likewise unsuited to functionality. With works such as *Les Hommes noirs*, as with *Le Rhin*, Gallé thus not only demonstrates his technical mastery (or that of his workers) but also claims a status for the decorative arts that is equivalent to the fine arts of painting and sculpture. Gallé's works in glass and wood thus attempt to rival not only the aesthetic but also the cultural importance of painting and sculpture, arguing for a social and political, rather than merely decorative, role for the so-called 'minor' arts.

The choice to use three layers of glass, with the initial layers alternately revealed and occluded by subsequent ones, is central to Gallé's Dreyfusard message. The vase equates light, represented by the layer of translucent glass, with seeing and thus with knowing. This light of knowledge is threatened by the opacity of the intervening layers, which threaten to render the vase completely opaque, an effect only heightened by viewing the work in reflected light (fig. 5.29). The murkiness of the glass makes the carved decoration of the vase nearly impossible to decipher without close scrutiny, emphasizing the tactile dimension of work even as it conveys the difficulty of ascertaining truth in the context of the Affair.

The obscurity of the vase in fact provokes a kind of disorienting blindness, plunging the viewer into a tentative, scrambling attempt to "see" the scene depicted on the vase. Gallé thus negates the most basic characteristic of glass—its transparency or translucidity—in order to lend *Les Hommes noirs* a dramatic, tenebrous symbolism. The way the figures wrap continuously around the vase rather than form a single narrative scene further contributes to the vase's illegibility. The viewer can glimpse only one or possibly two figures at a time, so that an air of secrecy and mystery is constantly evoked, and the viewer's curiosity is constantly thwarted by the limitations of his or her sight.

The symbolism of the lily is similarly polyvalent. Recent interpretations have pointed to the lily as a symbol of purity that suggests Dreyfus's innocence.¹⁹⁴ However, a contemporary source specifically identifies the *white* lily, not the yellow lily, as a symbol of innocence.¹⁹⁵ The symbolism of the yellow lily was often more sinister, as in Nathaniel Hawthorne's short story, "The Old Manse" (1846), in which he describes the "black mud out of which the yellow lily sucks its obscene life and noisome odor."¹⁹⁶ It is possible that Gallé intended the flower to be a golden lily, associated with the *fleur de lis* of the French crown, and thus France itself. From this perspective, one might interpret the flower not as triumphant, as some have suggested, but instead as threatened by the "mud" of calumny and falsehood.¹⁹⁷ The lily also exhibits a religious dimension, for not only is the white lily a symbol of the purity of the Virgin Mary, but St. Mathew's description of the lilies of the fields implies a faith in the benevolence and protection of the Divine. If the lily indeed serves as a symbol of divine protection, it thus introduces a religious symbol into a work that is otherwise resolutely secular and Republican in its iconography.

The figures engraved on the vase, like the symbolism of light and dark itself, derive at least in part from Enlightenment iconography (fig. 5.30). The figure with bat-like wings, for example, brings to mind a similar creature in Francisco José de Goya y Lucientes's etching *The Sleep of Reason Produces Monsters* (1797–1798), from the series *Los Caprichos* (fig. 5.31).¹⁹⁸

Goya's series of controversial etchings lampooned the social mores of his time and opposed the rationalist ideals of the Enlightenment to the superstition, corruption, and religious mania that he believed characterized his era. *The Sleep of Reason* is of course not without its ambiguities—namely, does the sleep of Reason release the monsters of irrationality, or as some have argued, the creative forces necessary to create art? Gallé's bat-winged creature, however, is clearly a reference to the monstrous injustices being perpetrated by those involved in the Dreyfus Affair. The grotesque form of the half-man, half-animal figure mirrors what Gallé suggests is the distortion of truth by those who persist in arguing Dreyfus's guilt in spite of evidence to the contrary.

This creature is accompanied by two skeletal figures, one with a pointing finger and another with outstretched claws, which may represent the judges who condemned Dreyfus or, more generally, those who unjustly accused him (figs. 5.32, 5.33). Both gesture towards a central figure, perhaps Dreyfus himself, who recoils from the advance of the encroaching smoke or flames, which begin to form serpent heads like those of the multi-headed hydra that appears to the far left of the figures (fig. 5.34). The hydra in turn recalls a contemporary series of illustrations published by subscription in 1899. Entitled the *Musée des Horreurs* (Museum of Horrors), these anti-Dreyfusard caricatures represented prominent Dreyfusards as well as the accused himself in the guise of half-men, half-beasts.¹⁹⁹ An image of Dreyfus, for example, depicts him as a kind of hydra with multiple heads (fig. 5.35). Such images attempted to make Dreyfus's treason legible on his body, essentially to make his body a visual symbol of treachery.

Indeed, throughout the Affair, the body of the accused functioned as a kind of discursive battleground. During the degradation ceremony that followed his arrest, for example, Dreyfus was publicly stripped of his military decorations and indications of rank.²⁰⁰ In an act of symbolic castration, both Dreyfus's sword and its sheath were broken in two.²⁰¹ Dreyfus was rendered symbolically "nude" by this process, which left only the accused's body to symbolize his identity in society. This body in turn was subject to an elaborate process of disciplining, as Dreyfus was searched, photographed, and even measured before being incarcerated at the *Santé* prison.²⁰²

Contemporary observers, however, found a body stripped of its military accoutrements *more*, rather than less, legible as that of a traitor. In particular, those who attended the degradation ceremony wrote of being able to "read" Dreyfus's guilt in the details of his features and his posture. "His foreign physiognomy, his impassive stiffness, [and] the very atmosphere he exuded revolted even the most self-controlled of spectators," Barrès opined.²⁰³ Léon Daudet echoed, "This wretch is not French. We have all understood as much from his act, his demeanor, [and] his physiognomy."²⁰⁴ Such references to Dreyfus's "physiognomy" were no doubt flimsily veiled attempts to invoke the accused's ethnic identity as a Jew. The image of Dreyfus as a multi-headed hydra, then, marks the feared escape of the outsider's body from the disciplining gaze of the judicial system and the uncontainable eruption of its difference in the midst of the French political landscape.

In *Les Hommes noirs*, however, the presence of the hydra signifies not the foreignness of Dreyfus's ethnically encoded body, but the prevalence of falsehood and treachery that threaten to pervert the course of justice. Similarly, the grotesque figures of the bat-like creature, the pointing man, and the man with claws signal not Dreyfus's otherness but rather the disruption of the natural order. This idea of the bestialization of mankind by the events of the Affair is a theme expressed in Gallé's letter to Boucheron. The artist describes the Dreyfus Affair as "the monstrous affair... that alters everything, poisons everything, [and] stops the life of a nation."²⁰⁵ Gallé goes on to evoke the "ferocious growls" with which calls for justice have been met.²⁰⁶

Men in Black

The figures of the bat-like creature and the serpent, however, also resemble contemporary anticlerical caricatures in which priests appear as monstrous beings. A poster from 1898, entitled *Voilà l'ennemi* (Here is the enemy! 1898), for example, depicts a gigantic winged priest crouching above the basilica of Sacré-Cœur (fig. 5.36). The lines engraved upon *Les Hommes noirs*, as mentioned above, derive from a song by the anti-clerical satirist Béranger. The lyrics of “The Reverend Fathers” warn against the pernicious influence of the Jesuits who, according to Béranger, seek to corrupt the youth of France. Although first composed during the July Monarchy, Béranger’s songs remained popular in the late 19th century, as evidenced by the publication of a complete volume of the writer’s works in 1866.²⁰⁷

An engraving in an illustrated edition of Béranger’s songs in fact bears a striking similarity to *Les Hommes noirs* (fig. 5.37).²⁰⁸ In the illustration accompanying “The Reverend Fathers,” the artists J. Ferat and H. Duyheil depict a nightmarish scene. A writhing serpent of epic proportions coils around the bodies of fallen men and women, while a lone female figure holds her baby out of the monster’s grasp even as she is fatally seized by its coils. In the background, a wooden stake invokes an *auto de fe*. A tablet to the right of the composition bears the names and dates of episodes of religious persecution associated with the Jesuits. These include “St. Barthelémy,” or the St. Bartholomew’s Day Massacre of 1572, in which many Protestants died at the hands of Catholics. Meanwhile, thick, black smoke rises from the pyre, clouding the scene in obscurity.

In the engraving, the forces of obscurantism are associated with monstrous deformity and with darkness, while knowledge is associated with light. Near the top of the composition, for example, an open book bearing the names of Enlightenment philosophers such as Voltaire and D’Alembert, author of the *Encyclopédie*, shines forth, casting its light upon the scene below.²⁰⁹ The formal similarities between Gallé’s vase and the illustrations for “The Reverend Fathers” suggest that the artist shared some of Béranger’s views regarding the overweening influence of the Catholic teaching orders and the history of religious persecution in France.

Despite the choice of inscription on his vase and its references to imagery denouncing religious intolerance, however, Gallé seems to have wished to avoid any overt suggestion of anticlericalism in the work. In a letter written to Prouvé, for example, Gallé specifies that *Les Hommes noirs* should not cause offense to any one group, and the artist asks Prouvé effectively to ignore the anticlericalism of the verses he had chosen for the vase.²¹⁰ In his letter, Gallé also states that the work should attack “fanaticism, hatred, lies, prejudice, cowardice, selfishness, [and] hypocrisy.”²¹¹ The artist suggests to Prouvé the depiction of crawling, nocturnal animals and beasts of prey in order to evoke these concepts.²¹² The nightmarish creatures of *Les Hommes noirs*, then, are intended to refer to general concepts, rather than to specific groups or individuals. This appeal to a broader meaning was in line with Gallé’s embrace of universal, humanistic ideals over the specificity of nationalist and anti-Semitic discourses. Despite Gallé’s efforts to avoid offending any one group, however, the quasi-illegibility and expressive distortion of the figures in *Les Hommes noirs* offers a far broader reading.

The silhouetted figures, for example, call to mind not only priests but also the black-robed judges of the trial at Rennes, who according to Dreyfus’s supporters perpetuated the injustice of Dreyfus’s first trial by finding the accused guilty a second time. The figures may also refer more generally to the atmosphere of the Affair, in which rumors of conspiracy abounded on

both sides of the debate. Anti-Dreyfusards and anti-Semites, for example, constantly evoked the specter of a Jewish “syndicate” led by Dreyfus’s brother, Mathieu, or his wife’s father.²¹³ For their part, Dreyfus’s supporters were confronted with example after example of conspiracy, from the “secret file” presented at Dreyfus’s first trial to Major Henry’s forged letters.²¹⁴ Gallé’s choice to depict only shadowy figures defined in silhouette suggests the mysterious nature of such conspiracies, whose anonymous agents may be judges, priests, politicians, or members of the Army.

Contemporaries rarely discussed the symbolism of *Les Hommes noirs*. In his biography of Gallé published in 1903, however, Fourcaud identifies the three quasi-human figures in *Les Hommes noirs* as allegories. He describes the work as Gallé’s impassioned response to contemporary events:

In the grip of violent emotions born from public events, in 1900 [Gallé] showed... a melancholy vase [depicting] a hallucinatory vision of Hypocrisy, Illusion (*Mensonge*), and Lies (*Faux*). The way to new evocations of poetic humanity is thus practically reopened by polemical works, destined undoubtedly to remain rare.²¹⁵

Fourcaud’s description of *Les Hommes noirs* is illuminating, for it demonstrates that at least some of Gallé’s contemporaries perceived the work as clearly Dreyfusard in origin. Although the author, like so many of his fellow countrymen, speaks of the Affair only in veiled terms, the phrase “public events” is an unmistakable reference to the Dreyfus Affair.

More interesting, perhaps, is Fourcaud’s final sentence, in which the author opines that such “evocations of poetic humanity” are destined to remain rare. Fourcaud thus touches on the way in which Gallé’s symbolist, or “poetic,” mode of expression seems at times incompatible with the polemical significance of his works. What helps to secure the meaning of Gallé’s symbolist composition is, for Fourcaud, the function of the three figures as allegories. While the half-human, half-animal figures, then, serve an allegorical function, they are opposed to the figure with flowing hair, whose central position and apparent nudity mark him as the “hero” of the composition. His passivity in the face of persecution signals, however, that he is more acted upon than active.

While Fourcaud finds the monstrous figures of *Les Hommes noirs* fairly legible as allegorical depictions, as mentioned, Gallé’s intention seems to have been to leave the symbolism of the work fairly open to interpretation. In a letter to Gallé, for example, Prouvé indicates only that the three figures are “black men” rising from the mud. He writes,

You will have the black men at the end of the week. I’m going to start them over completely but [have them] still emerging from a black mud, isn’t that so? It’s understood... This search [to depict] shady beings, miserable phantoms, contrasts very much with my frieze, which is a sort of creation of happiness.²¹⁶

Prouvé here equates the deformed, bestial figures with the mud from which they arise. Their identity as “shady beings” and “phantoms” suggests that they are intended to evoke a loose range of concepts related to falsehood and ignorance without being securely and legibly linked to any particular meaning. This intentional ambiguity, in other words, underscores the twin themes of seeing and blindness, and thus knowledge and ignorance, dramatized by *Les Hommes noirs*.

Calumny: Ink, Lies, and Truth

The rising liquid darkness of *Les Hommes noirs* also conjures the questionable role of ink, and by extension the popular press, in the events of the Affair.²¹⁷ The black tide of ink, which threatens to obscure the light of “truth,” invites the viewer to denounce the deleterious influence of the anti-Dreyfusard press on public opinion. Despite his own recourse to contemporary newspapers as a forum in which to voice his Dreyfusard convictions, Gallé would also denounce the popular press in works such as a glass ink bottle entitled *Les Baies de sureau* (Elderberries, n.d.) made around the time of the Affair (fig. 5.38). The work, which depicts a demonic, witch-like figure in the act of writing, is engraved with the word “Calumny” to the left of the figure’s head.²¹⁸ Elderberries can be used to make ink, and thus the act of writing is here equated with the telling of untruths in this diminutive yet powerfully symbolic work. Gallé argues that the outpouring of words devoted to the Affair, in other words, serves to obscure rather than reveal the truth.

It is undeniable that the Dreyfus Affair resulted in a virtual explosion of commentary in the popular press. In the 1880s, the creation of photomechanical printing processes, which made it easier and cheaper to reproduce artists’ drawings, and the relaxation of censorship following the passage of the Freedom of the Press law in 1881 had resulted in a sharp rise in the number of illustrated journals.²¹⁹ Gallé would no doubt have been familiar with the prevalence of both Dreyfusard and anti-Dreyfusard caricatures in the popular press. In 1898, John Grand-Carteret published *L’Affaire Dreyfus et l’Image* (The Dreyfus Affair and the Image, 1898), a volume illustrating caricatures from both the French press and from foreign newspapers.²²⁰ During my research in Nancy, I found a copy of Carteret’s book in the collection of the *Bibliothèque municipale* in Nancy. The book bears an inscription dedicating the copy to Gallé, demonstrating both Gallé’s prominent role as an active Dreyfusard and his knowledge of contemporary caricatures (fig. 5.39).

In his letter to Prouvé, Gallé references these illustrated journals, asking if the satirical nature of *Les Hommes noirs* is not better suited to the medium of print. He writes,

I asked myself if this satirical meaning, almost pamphleteering, tallied with this clear, fragile, translucent medium that is glass. Is it not rather the domain of etchings made from the first impulse with all the coarseness of acid, in the manner of Goya for example.²²¹

Gallé here points to a problem that plagued the artist in his efforts to imbue the decorative arts with cultural significance. The purposefully coarse and visually disjunctive style employed by Goya in his scathing denunciations of contemporary social mores in *Los Caprichos*, for example, is hardly suited to a medium more commonly associated with the virtuoso display of technical skill and refined taste. Moreover, Gallé’s choice of a style that replaces clear figuration with polysemic, symbolic suggestion seems ill suited to the polemical depiction of political content.

Assuming that the decorative arts were fundamentally incapable of expressing complex political ideas, however, misses the point of Gallé’s achievement. With *Les Hommes noirs*, Gallé essentially aims to rewrite the rules of political engagement in art. By embracing a symbolist mode of representation that leaves ample room for individual subjectivity in both the creation and the interpretation of the work, Gallé proclaims his Dreyfusard ideals and his Republican

politics. Moreover, in Gallé's eyes, the "beauty" of a work like *Les Hommes noirs* is not incompatible with its political message. In his letter to Boucheron and in works such as *Sagittaire d'eau*, Gallé repeatedly asserts that beauty itself can be a "weapon" in the struggle to defend the ideals of truth and justice.

Nonetheless, Gallé's Dreyfus-themed images functioned quite differently from those in print. While Dreyfusard works in the popular press relied upon the use of the human figure to convey their message, in *Les Hommes noirs*, Gallé abandons both allegory and caricature in favor of an expressive and polysemous symbolism. One reason for his choice may have to do with the identity of the accused. As Nochlin has argued, "the signifiers that indicated 'Jewishness' in the late nineteenth century were too firmly locked into a system of negative connotations: picturesqueness is the closest [one] could get to a relatively benign representation of Jews who *look Jewish*."²²² In the popular press, anti-Dreyfusard prints routinely employed anti-Semitic images to argue Dreyfus's guilt and to suggest the danger that he and other Jews posed to the army and to the nation (figs. 5.40, 5.41).²²³ In contrast, Dreyfusard prints depicted scenes from Dreyfus's trial, allegories of Truth, or images caricaturing the alliance of Church and State (figs. 5.42, 5.43, 5.44).²²⁴

Les Hommes noirs resembles all three categories of Dreyfusard imagery without quite being equal to any of them. While the pointing finger of one figure suggests accusation and perhaps judgment, *Les Hommes noirs* is far from a naturalistic depiction of a trial scene. Likewise, Gallé's use of light as a symbol of Truth and Justice operates largely on the level of the symbolic rather than the allegorical. Finally, while the black silhouetted figures of *Les Hommes noirs*, and in particular the bat-like creature with outspread wings at the center of the composition, bring to mind contemporary depictions of priests, Gallé's figures escape easy categorization. Instead of offering the viewer the certainties that are characteristic of political caricature, then, Gallé creates a work that relies on the viewer's individual, subjective response for its impact.

Enlightenment

In one respect, however, the work does employ a relatively specific and clear form of symbolism that associates Gallé's work with an explicitly Republican agenda. In a letter to Gallé, Prouvé specifies that, as requested, he has left the uppermost part of *Les Hommes noirs* "white" to symbolize light and justice. He writes,

I have not increased the number of figures... I have shown them emerging from the evil haze. I have kept the white heads at the top, heads of light and of stunned justice... As for the handles, it would be necessary I think to develop their character so as to make of them menacing hydras.²²⁵

In this passage, as in his design for *Les Hommes noirs*, Prouvé contrasts darkness, "the evil haze," with "light" and "justice." Gallé and Prouvé's choice to employ a moralizing opposition between light and dark had specific overtones in the context of 19th-century society.

As Rolf Reichardt and Deborah Louise Cohen have cogently demonstrated, the concept of *lumières* developed in the 18th century to symbolize Enlightenment and reason.²²⁶ Reichardt and Cohen trace how the Enlightenment borrowed the symbol of light from a much older Christian symbolism in which illumination is associated with the divine. During the

Enlightenment, they argue, light becomes a symbol not of divine revelation, but of human reason and knowledge.²²⁷ In images such as Laurent Guyot's engraving *The Sansculotte Thermometer* (1789), for example, the allegorical figure of Truth holds aloft a mirror with the words "Fiat lux," a phrase borrowed from the book of Genesis (fig. 5.45). To the left of this figure are the allegorical figures of Nature and Francia (France), who display a copy of the "*Droits de l'Homme et du citoyen*." In this secularized reinterpretation of Old Testament myth, the three figures illuminate the scene below, driving out the "Despots," who are represented by nocturnal birds in flight. The opposition between swirling darkness and the cascading light is one that Gallé employs not only in *Les Hommes noirs* but also in other works promoting his Republican ideals.

In 1900, for example, Gallé would tire of doing battle with *L'Est Républicain*. When the Dreyfusard newspaper *Le Progrès de l'Est* ceased publication, Gallé joined with other Dreyfus supporters in creating a new daily, *L'Étoile de l'Est*, which proclaimed itself "Republican, democratic, anti-Caesarian and anti-clerical."²²⁸ Gallé not only helped compose the newspaper's statutes but also designed its masthead, which prominently displays a large star formed of what appear to be telegraph lines (fig. 5.46). The effect of the lines, which radiate outwards from the star, is to create an impression of light beaming forth, illuminating the city through the haze of smoke and dark clouds. Depicted in the masthead are several recognizable monuments, including the Cathedral, the Church of St-Epvre, and the 16th-century *Porte de la Citadelle*. To the far left of the composition, the presence of smokestacks suggests a slightly more up-to-date vision of the rapidly industrializing city.

The prominence of the two Catholic churches lends the masthead a pronounced air of anticlericalism. The star, which illuminates the city below, appears to dispel the shadows of obscurantism cast by the Church, a reading confirmed by the fact that the rays emanating from the star intersect with only two buildings, the Church of St-Epvre and the Cathedral. Similarly, the name of the newspaper, *L'Étoile de l'Est*, or Star of the East, plays upon the symbolism of light to suggest that the paper will bring truthful reporting to eastern France. The name must be interpreted in the context of other local newspapers, such as the ultramontane Catholic newspaper, *La Croix de l'Est* and the local anti-Dreyfusard newspaper, *L'Est Républicain*.²²⁹ Through the use of light as a symbol, *L'Étoile de l'Est* claims both the Christian iconography of divine illumination and the Republican iconography of Enlightenment for its own. There is no doubt that Gallé was active in the design of the newspaper's masthead; the artist's initials can be found inscribed upon the main body of the Cathedral.

Although Gallé was careful to warn Prouvé not to alienate viewers through an explicit use of anticlericalist themes in *Les Hommes noirs*, then, the work's association with Béranger, the symbolism of anti-clerical propaganda, and Republicanism itself would likely have led many viewers to read the work as anticlerical in nature. Republicanism, in particular, called to mind the anti-clerical campaigns of the Third Republic, for secularization had been at the heart of the Third Republic's political agenda since the 1880s.²³⁰ The Republic began by focusing on the influence of the religious orders in education. As early as 1879, Prime Minister Jules Ferry (1832-1893) banned certain religious orders, such as the Jesuits, from teaching in French schools. Laws making primary school free and compulsory for both sexes followed in 1881 and 1882. The government went even further in 1886, ruling that members of religious orders could not teach in state schools and that all teachers had to attend a state training school (*école normale*). In the 1890s, a brief entente was achieved when Pope Leo XIII (1810-1903) called upon French Catholics to abandon their nostalgia for the monarchy and to embrace the Republic.

This period of *ralliement* was short-lived, however, as the events of the Dreyfus Affair once again polarized the nation. Following the rise to power of the radical left after 1900, events culminated in the Law of Separation of Church and State (1905). Secularization was thus central to the ideology of bourgeois Republicanism, which opposed a belief in rationalism, progress, and the rights of the individual to the Catholic Church's emphasis on tradition and humility.²³¹

Gallé's active Republican activism is also demonstrated by the role the artist played in the organization of his local section of the *Fédération Républicaine*, of which Gallé served as the honorary president.²³² On February 24, 1902, *L'Étoile de l'Est* published a speech given by Gallé at a banquet in honor of the anniversary of the Revolution of 1848 and the birth of Victor Hugo. Gallé begins his speech by praising Hugo as "the poet-righter of wrongs."²³³ He then refers obliquely to the events of the Affair, stating "At this moment the small group of those... who have come through the heartrending but beneficial ordeal more attached than ever to the principles of human solidarity [and] to the religion of social justice are once again reunited."²³⁴

Having established the Dreyfusard character of the group, Gallé turns to the symbolism of light to express the Republican ideals embraced by the *Fédération*. "It seems to us that they have truly been inspired, our young friends, in choosing the hour of noon to celebrate publicly a date that shines throughout the world, 1848," he writes. Gallé then calls on his fellow members to celebrate "—after a period of a strange eclipse—the reconstitution in the East of France of the party of clarity and of frankness."²³⁵ In his speech, Gallé thus explicitly associates the symbolism of light and dark with the search to defend the Republican ideals of "clarity" and "frankness."

Contemporaries interpreted not only the theme of light, but also Gallé's use of a symbolist mode of decoration as inherently Republican. Shortly after the publication of Gallé's speech, for example, his fellow Nancean Rais would maintain that Gallé's art displayed an essentially *Republican* style, one that served to unite all those who saw it. In an article published in *L'Art décoratif pour tous*, Rais argues that the style of artists like Puvis de Chavannes and Gallé should be considered "the Republican style."²³⁶ An art that is symbolic, an art for all social classes, and an art derived from forms found in nature, Rais writes, is "essentially democratic [and] unifying."²³⁷

Memories

In 1901, Gallé offered a vase decorated with swirling tendrils of algae and two seahorses, entitled *Les Hippocampes* (The Seahorses, 1901), to his friend Reinach, whom Gallé would term "a humanist and righter of wrongs" in their correspondence (fig. 5.47).²³⁸ The vase may have served to commemorate the publication of the first volume of Reinach's monumental *Histoire de l'Affaire Dreyfus*, which appeared in that year. Tillier and others have noted that the word *hippocampe*, or seahorse, also refers to the hippocampus, the area of the brain associated with memory.²³⁹ The vase thus specifically evokes Reinach's role as the memorialist of the Affair, the first to translate the day-to-day events of the Affair into a historical narrative. Gallé engraved the bottom of his vase with the motto of the philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778), *Vitam impendere Vero* (Devote one's life to truth), which Rousseau himself had borrowed from Juvenal's *Satires* (1st-2nd c.).²⁴⁰ Ironically, although Gallé commemorated Reinach's own role as the memorialist of Affair, the artist appears only briefly in Reinach's epic history, and later historians largely ignored the artist's role in the Affair altogether.

Following Gallé's premature death in 1904, obituaries and homages to the artist's life and work were published throughout France. In Nancy, *L'Est Républicain* abandoned its antipathy to

Gallé the Dreyfusard long enough to celebrate Gallé the artist. Gallé's obituary, published on September 24, begins by describing him as a "great artist of Nancy whose reputation was worldwide" and the "dead master who invented new and priceless artistic formulas, who was one of the uncontested inventors of modern decorative art."²⁴¹ However, the author seems unable to resist the temptation of evoking Gallé's struggles on behalf of Dreyfus. He writes,

Before the tomb of this man, whose age seemed still to promise many long years of fruitful labor, we want to speak only of the artist. But we do not share most of the political ideas of Mr. Gallé... Just as the passions of the moment to which they gave birth, these ideas have a fleeting and short-lived character. What will remain of Gallé, will be the memory of a bold innovator, of an artist of great integrity.²⁴²

Even while emphasizing Gallé's political activism as central to his identity as an "artist of great integrity," then, the author of the obituary effectively depoliticizes Gallé's art. He downplays the importance of Gallé's involvement in the Affair, arguing that such political passions were merely a passing phase in the artist's career. Gallé will be remembered for his art—his apolitical art, the author suggests, rather than his political convictions.

An article on the funeral, published a few days later, placed further emphasis on the distinction between Gallé as an artist and as an activist. The anonymous author writes, "*L'Est Républicain* has done complete justice to the merit of the artist. It is sorry to have to express reservations of a political nature before this barely closed tomb."²⁴³ The author goes on to denounce vigorously an obituary published in *Le Temps*, which read,

No one knew better than he, at the moment of moral crisis that France lived through, seven years ago, how to do his duty with simplicity. One of the first, in fact, he opposed, with intractable steadiness, the principles of resistance to the oppression [exercised by] those who affirmed the authority of that which had been judged, even though it may have been poorly judged.²⁴⁴

The author of the article in *L'Est Républicain* takes issue with this characterization of Gallé as a man merely performing his civic duty. He argues, referring to the anticlericalism that would culminate in the separation of Church and State in 1905, that once Gallé's "party" seized power, it instituted its own form of oppression—against the Church and all those "who did not think like him."²⁴⁵ He then continues, "But one has never heard it said that Mr. Gallé, despite the natural generosity of his sentiments, had raised his voice in favor of tolerance, or to exhort his party to work towards the reconciliation of the Republicans."²⁴⁶ The author of the article thus ignores Gallé's numerous calls for unity and reconciliation in works such as *Le Figuier*. By refusing to admit the extent to which Gallé's political convictions informed not only his actions but also his art, moreover, the author of the article essentially claims Gallé's art for Lorraine and for Nancy while ignoring the thorny issue of its often contentious message.²⁴⁷

Calls to remember the artist and not the man persuaded of Dreyfus's innocence characterized the majority of sources that directly or indirectly referred to the late artist's political convictions following his death. In an obituary that appeared in the *Bulletin des Sociétés artistiques de l'Est*, for example, the author writes,

In life, he made for himself a notion of ideal justice among men; that is why those who, while he was alive, did not share his political ideas, must, now that he has died, lay down their arms and remember only the eminently superior artist.²⁴⁸

These calls to put aside political differences and honor Gallé's legacy as an artist are not without merit, but they have the unfortunate consequence of belittling a cause that was central to Gallé's artistic production for almost a decade.

The *Bulletin de l'Université Populaire de Nancy* published perhaps the most overt discussion of Gallé's politics. The *Bulletin* praises Gallé as "a great citizen" and mentions his "struggles for Right," as well as his central role in the creation of the *Université Populaire*.²⁴⁹ The Affair, described only as "a momentary obscuring of the national conscience," is never mentioned by name.²⁵⁰ In an obituary published on September 24, *L'Étoile de l'Est* also refers to Gallé as a "courageous citizen."²⁵¹ The newspaper emphasizes his role in the Affair, proclaiming "Our fellow citizen knew how, at a grave moment, to show proof of great courage, while all energy seemed extinguished in France; he was one of the first to call for justice."²⁵² The word "citizen," of course, is employed by both Gallé's supporters and his detractors, including *L'Est Républicain*, indicating that in these conflicting accounts of Gallé's life and art, it is again Republicanism itself that is at stake. Neither the *Bulletin* nor *L'Étoile*, however, clearly link Gallé's activism on behalf of Dreyfus to his art, preferring to maintain a distinction between the man of politics and the artist.

Three obituaries subsequently published by Gallé's friends and associates, however, work to rectify this omission. In an article published in *L'Étoile de l'Est* on September 27, the poet Émile Hinzelin writes, "Gallé did his duty as a citizen as he did his duty as an artist—passionately. He left the solitude of his studio and threw himself into the fray in the street."²⁵³ Despite his acknowledgment of Gallé's passionate involvement in the Affair, however, Hinzelin, too, distinguishes between the artist's activism and his art. Surprisingly, he goes on to blame the Affair for Gallé's premature demise, writing "Those who, like us, have not yet abandoned him in this struggle, know what it cost him. Exactly, it cost him his life."²⁵⁴

In his homage to Gallé, the scientist and administrator Georges Le Monnier (1843-1931) is less circumspect. He writes, "This is not the place to say what the man and the citizen were; we all know that in him character was the equal of intellect, that his courage matched his talent and that he loved beauty and truth, art and justice with an equal passion."²⁵⁵ A. Cleisz, writing in the Protestant journal *Revue Chrétienne*, similarly speaks of Gallé's courage as an artist, a citizen, and a Christian. Cleisz, who delivered the eulogy at Gallé's funeral, writes,

He had every kind of courage... the courage of the artist who struggles against convention... the courage of the citizen who is capable of resisting the blindness of the majority, the courage of a Christian who, in a time when faith is not well born, does not hesitate for an instant to proclaim it loud and clear as the source of all morality and of all happiness.²⁵⁶

Cleisz equates Gallé's avant-garde artistic style with his opposition to accepted truths and the opinion of the majority. However, he also signals the central role played by Gallé's religious faith in his art and in his life. Cleisz thus contends that the duties of the "citizen" and those of the faithful are one and the same—the defense of universal ideals in the face of blindness, ignorance, and oppression. Cleisz's analysis of Gallé's life and art is perhaps closest to the artist's own, and

it is to be regretted that the audience for his obituary was limited to members of the Protestant minority.

In sum, then, it was only too easy for Gallé's critics, as well as his memorialists, to depoliticize an art that is essentially private in nature. The decorative arts, with their small-scale pleasures, are rarely seen as having an active role to play in larger society. Yet Gallé sought nonetheless to achieve a nearly impossible task, to infuse his graceful, delicate works, and the "clear, fragile, translucent medium that is glass," with the power to persuade and thus to alter the course of events in fin-de-siècle society.²⁵⁷ By writing histories in which we, too, disregard the quite real political tenor of such works, we do Gallé a disservice and perpetuate the iniquitous belief that certain kinds of art are less able than others to speak to the great issues of our time.

In works such as *Les Hommes noirs*, Gallé sought to infuse his art with a political force. Employing a complex symbolism derived from Christian theology and Enlightenment iconography, Gallé worked to imbue his art with the Republican ideals of the French Revolution—liberty, justice, and the rights of the individual. Gallé envisions his art as playing an active role in social debate and thus continuing the work that the artist began in his letters and publications. Beauty, Gallé contends, is a powerful force for creating unity—a belief that would motivate the artist in his efforts to reimagine the concept of community in the wake of the Dreyfus Affair.

Chapter Six

One for All, or All for One? Gallé and the École de Nancy

In the aftermath of the Dreyfus Affair, Gallé sought to reexamine the place of the individual in society. All too aware of the dangers of a nationalist rhetoric that sacrificed the rights of the individual to the good of the nation, Gallé attempted to reformulate, in his art and his writings, the idea of the nation itself. The biological metaphor of unity in diversity offered Gallé a way to reconcile the competing needs of the nation and the region. Drawing on his understanding of evolutionary biology and the contemporary theory of solidarism, Gallé founded the *École de Nancy* (School of Nancy), a group of associated artists and industrialists from Lorraine, with the aim of creating an artistic community that would foster regional cooperation while preserving individual artists' independence. Meanwhile, in the political realm, Gallé embraced the idea of decentralization, which replaced the idea of a nation centered on its capital with that of a nation composed of disparate regional centers united by the bonds of fraternity.

The Exposition des Arts Décoratifs et Industriels Lorrains (1894)

Efforts to define a characteristic regional style and to promote collaboration among the artists of Lorraine began almost a decade before the official creation of the *École de Nancy*. In 1894, the departmental architect of Meurthe-et-Moselle, Charles André (1841-1928), founded the *Société des Arts décoratifs lorrains* (Society of Lorrainer Decorative Arts, later renamed the *Société d'Art décoratif lorrain*). This society numbered among its members both artists and industrialists, including Gallé, who shared a common desire to promote the decorative arts of Lorraine at home and abroad.¹ In its official statutes, the *Société* declared its aims to be “the development of the decorative arts, the organization of exhibitions [and] of competitions, the development of specialized training, and the creation of a museum of decorative arts.”² Placing equal emphasis upon both improving the design of art objects produced in Lorraine and acquainting a wider public with such works, the *Société* sought to realize the goals of related groups such as the *Union Centrale des Arts décoratifs* (Central Union of Decorative Arts), based in Paris.

True to its stated objectives, the first act of the new *Société* was the organization of the *Exposition des Arts Décoratifs et Industriels Lorrains* (Exhibition of the Decorative and Industrial Arts of Lorraine), which opened in the *Galleries Poirel* in Nancy on June 22, 1894. The city of Nancy lent considerable financial support to the exhibition, according it a subsidy in the amount of 4,000 francs.³ The exhibition included over seven hundred works by at least 76 artists working in a range of media, their work united only by the shared origin of the artists in the province of Lorraine.⁴

Work by artists from Nancy exhibited at the Salon of 1893 in Paris had already prompted certain critics to announce the creation of “a Lorrainer school” of decorative art.⁵ In 1894, the organizers of the *Exposition des Arts décoratifs* sought to define more clearly this “Lorrainer school” and its characteristic style. In the official publications of the *Société des Arts décoratifs lorrains*, as well as in critical response to the exhibition, several themes appeared that would later be central to the preoccupations of the *École de Nancy*: group identity, cultural

decentralization, and the essential role of nature as a source of inspiration and a metaphor for artistic and cultural diversity.

Although there was a tradition of local art exhibitions already firmly in place in Nancy, the 1894 exhibition was the first devoted exclusively to the decorative rather than the fine arts of Lorraine.⁶ Like arts reformers such as Marx, the members of the *Société* believed that the decorative arts, rather than the fine arts, held the key to reestablishing Lorraine's preeminence in the arts and preserving its economic prosperity. This belief reflected the importance of centuries-old industries such as glassmaking, fine ceramics, and wood marquetry that had made Lorraine famous in the 18th century. It also reflects, however, contemporary debates taking place in Paris, where the *Union Centrale des Arts décoratifs* and arts administrators of the Third Republic also promoted the modern decorative arts as key to France's economic and cultural revitalization. While the artistic discourse of the metropolis centered on identifying and encouraging a specifically French style that would convey at once the nation's uniqueness, its modernity, and its status as a Republic, however, arts reformers in Lorraine sought to define a regional style that would rival that of the capital.

In December of 1893, Goutière-Vernolle, director of *La Lorraine Artiste* and chairman of the exhibition organizing committee, announced that the *Exposition des Arts décoratifs et industriels lorrains* would take place the following summer.⁷ In his article, Goutière-Vernolle defends the exhibition's focus on the decorative arts, stating that he has often argued that "the decorative arts merit the concern of all persons, official or private, who were concerned with the glory and prosperity of our province."⁸ The decorative arts, according to Goutière-Vernolle, can insure the "glory and prosperity" of Lorraine in a way that the fine arts alone cannot.

All that remains to be done, Goutière-Vernolle continues, is to bring together the disparate elements of the provincial art world into a cohesive whole. "We have, in our three departments, the greatest and most varied elements for success," he asserts, adding, "We must group them together, highlight them, shed light on them, [and] constitute a group that will command the attention of all; the exhibition will realize this desire."⁹ For Goutière-Vernolle, then, the exhibition fulfills a fundamental need for community, bringing together independent artists in a shared effort to promote their work. The author envisions not just any grouping of artists, however, but one united by the ties of provincial identity. He declares that henceforth the journal "*Lorraine Artiste* will devote itself almost entirely to the cause of Lorrainer decorative arts," underscoring the centrality of this kind of artistic production to both regional identity and economic prosperity.¹⁰

A cover design for *La Lorraine Artiste*, created by Victor Prouvé in 1897, translates Goutière-Vernolle's dedication to the cause of provincial arts into visual terms (fig. 6.1). Silverman has insightfully interpreted this image as an expression of the contemporary fascination with the psychological theories of the French physician and neurologist Hippolyte Bernheim (1840-1919), arguing that the artist depicts "nature's roots and nerves."¹¹ I contend that the image must also be read, however, in the context of local arts reformers' efforts to define a regional style "rooted" in the province of Lorraine. Like the thistles of *Le Rhin*, the thorns of Prouvé's vine wrap around and ensnare the words "La Lorraine," suggesting that provincial identity is profoundly linked to the region's natural landscape. Similarly, the thick stem and unbending strength of the vine, which appears impervious to efforts to uproot it, suggests nature's hold on the artists whose work is discussed in the pages of the journal. A rising sun in the background, paired with the swelling form of the vine, conveys a sense of the vitality of Lorrainer "genius." The graphic character of the text, meanwhile, likens it to the growing forms

around it, further enhancing the sense of a scene in which each individual part is connected in an organic whole. It is notable, finally, that the full title of the journal is given as *La Lorraine artiste, littéraire, industrielle* (Artistic, Literary, Industrial Lorraine), clearly linking the arts with nature and industry, both of which are defined as essential elements of Lorrainer identity.

Goutière-Vernolle's idea of an artistic community united by the bonds of a common provincial identity is one that would reappear frequently in published reviews of the *Exposition des Arts décoratifs*. In the catalog that accompanied the exhibition, for example, the *Société des Arts décoratifs lorrains* enumerated its goals for the *Exposition*. The authors of the catalog make clear from the start that the exhibition will focus exclusively on the work of artists from the province of Lorraine. The catalog states, "The goal of the Exhibition is to make known the efforts made by *Lorrainer* artists and industrialists to achieve beauty in that which is useful [my emphasis]."¹²

It is important to note that in discussing the artists of "Lorraine," the authors of the catalog refer not to an officially designated region, but rather to a historical concept. In 1790, the Constituent Assembly had replaced the traditional provinces of France with a series of administrative *départements* (departments). In the aftermath of the Franco-Prussian War, however, the idea of two lost provinces, Alsace and Lorraine, was presumably more evocative than a roll call of annexed departments. The use of the term *lorrain* by the authors of the catalog thus evokes a regional identity based on tradition and culture rather than on contemporary bureaucratic divisions. The adjective *lorrain* also affirms the province's difference not only from other regions of France, but also from the capital itself.

The authors of the catalog go on to develop further the idea of a regional identity, pointing to the uniqueness of Lorraine's artists:

The Exhibition is intended to encourage above all the designers who, concerning themselves with varying and improving forms, have found these new combinations that attest to the persistence of Lorrainer artistic genius and have a part in determining the style proper to our province and to our era.¹³

Other authors would take up the idea of an artistic genius specific to Lorraine in their responses to the exhibition. What is interesting to note, however, is that the authors of the catalog do not equate the survival of this "genius" with emulation of the art of the past. "Genius" resides not in the repetition of a repertory of inherited forms, they suggest, but in the specifics of how new art is created for the modern era.

According to the authors of the catalog, in other words, the search for a characteristic Lorrainer style is not one that relies on tradition to define provincial identity. Rather, the authors suggest that the continued survival and excellence of the arts in Lorraine depend upon their *modernity*. They assert, "The Exhibition will demonstrate that it is through the perpetual pursuit of the new [and] the constant concern with what is better that the superiority of a region survives, and that its wealth grows."¹⁴ The attempt to equate Lorrainer identity with modernity rather than tradition, however, was not without its critics, as we will see.

"To Each His Own": Artist and Industrialist

In defining a uniquely Lorrainer style, the authors of the catalog turn to several concepts already familiar to Parisian arts reformers. They urge cooperation, for example, between artists

and industrialists, a goal also promoted by the *Union Centrale des Arts décoratifs*. The dual nature of the exhibition, at once “artistic” and “industrial,” is thus emphasized throughout the catalog. The very name of the exhibition makes clear this dualism: *Exposition d’Art décoratif et industriel lorrain*. Similarly, the catalog identifies Gallé, who served as a member of the organizing committee, as a “manufacturer of art objects,” rather than as an artist.¹⁵ The authors of the catalog, while urging collaboration between artist and industrialist, are nevertheless careful to point out that each has a different role to play in the creation of art. They state, “[The exhibition] will recall also that the collaboration between the artist and the industrialist must be glorious for each of them; and that, in order to be productive, it must respect the principle of justice expressed by the motto *cuique suum*—to each his own.”¹⁶

In the emphasis placed on the cooperation between artist and industrialist, however, the organizers of the 1894 exhibition were articulating concerns that had already begun to fade from the agenda of the Paris-based *Union Centrale des Arts décoratifs*. According to Silverman, “By 1889 the aims of the 1860s were reversed: rather than to ‘vulgarize the sense of beauty’ and democratize art, the Central Union sought to purify the sentiment of beauty and aristocratize the crafts.”¹⁷ As Silverman points out, the renaming of the *Union Centrale des beaux-arts appliqués à l’industrie* as the *Union Centrale des Arts décoratifs*, a change that omitted the word “industry” entirely, signaled this shift.¹⁸

Although adopting a similar name, in the articulation of its goals for the exhibition of 1894, then, the *Société des Arts décoratifs lorrains* sought to realize aims no longer relevant in the context of the Parisian art world. The authors of the catalog, for example, evoke the idea of the “beau dans l’utile,” or the beautiful in the functional, another reference to the union of artistic form and industrial production. The phrase “le beau dans l’utile” appears quite often in the language of Parisian arts reformers and was even the title of a book published by the *Union Centrale des beaux-arts appliqués à l’industrie* as early as 1866.¹⁹

The organizers’ continued emphasis on both artisanal manufacture *and* industrial production thus served to establish Lorraine’s difference from Paris. In the process, both art and industry were defined as absolutely central to the artistic culture of Lorraine— indeed, as two of its defining characteristics. As discussed in Chapter One, the creation of new terms to describe the industrial production of art objects, such as “verrière d’art” (art glass) and “mobilier d’art” (art furniture), terms promoted by manufacturers such as Gallé and Majorelle, further underscored this duality.

The theme of collaboration between art and industry is also apparent at the level of individual catalog entries. In the entries for Gallé’s works, for example, the artist’s “collaborators” are identified by name in each subsection (*Cristallerie-Verrerie, Céramique, Mobilier*) and sometimes in entries for specific works as well. Gallé’s own status here appears ambiguous and shifting. First identified as a “manufacturer of art objects,” Gallé also appears in the guise of a designer. Readers are told that several works were executed “according to his original drawings,” for example, and at one point Gallé’s name appears in a list of artists responsible for a series of “Studies for [interior] decoration.”²⁰

Unlike critical accounts of Gallé’s work, in which authors often refer to the artist as a “maître-verrier,” or master glassmaker, the catalog clearly establishes that Gallé is responsible for the design but not the execution of the works produced in his factory. Yet Gallé is also described as a “fabricant,” or manufacturer, responsible for employing the hundreds of workers who create his designs. This dual role as designer and industrialist was characteristic of many of the artists who would later form the *École de Nancy*. By identifying Gallé and his fellow

manufacturers as *both* artists and industrialists, then, the authors of the catalog posit the indissociable nature of these two terms for the decorative arts of Lorraine.

The authors of the catalog also pay particular attention to the division of labor in Gallé's factory, mentioning by name not only the artist himself but many of his collaborators in the design studio and in the workshops. The catalog lists the names of Gallé's collaborators for works produced in glass, for example, as "Hestaux, Schmidt, Soriot, Lang, Holdenbach, [and] Stenger."²¹ As discussed in Chapter One, Hestaux was a painter who had studied at Nancy's *École Municipale de Dessin*, where he trained under the painter Devilly. As the head of his design studio, Hestaux provided Gallé with many studies for works in glass and wood, studies that other artists and artisans translated into material form. Another collaborator, Ismaël Soriot, was a glass engraver who had worked for Baccarat before entering Gallé's employ.²² Similarly, Martin Stenger was a glassmaker employed in Meisenthal, and Émile Lang served as Gallé's marketing director in Nancy.

Among the "collaborators" identified in the catalog, then, are those involved in the design as well as the actual production and even sale of Gallé's glass. Some of the artist's collaborators, such as Hestaux, even exhibited their own works at the 1894 exhibition, alongside the products of manufacturers like Gallé, further blurring the lines between the categories of art and industry. In addition to Gallé's "collaborators," the catalog also identifies foremen (*chefs du travaux*), artist-engravers (*graveurs artistes*), and those who executed the works (*exécutants*) in Gallé's factory.²³ The works exhibited are thus explicitly posited as the result of collaboration between a *community* of artists, rather than the creative work of a single artistic genius. This view of Gallé's artistic production as the product of many hands conflicts with contemporary reviews of the artist's works in the Parisian and regional press, in which critics repeatedly praise Gallé as an artist whose unique genius animates his creations. The links established in the catalog between art and industry, and thus between artist and artisan-worker, however, would play a pivotal role in Gallé's attempts to redefine artistic production with the founding of the *École de Nancy* in 1900.

The selection of works exhibited in 1894 further underscored the collaborative nature of Gallé's working methods through its emphasis on process. In addition to finished works, the exhibition included "studies" in the form of preparatory drawings and glass forms.²⁴ Entries for individual works sometimes identified collaborators by name and often referred to another step in the production process. Thus the entry for Gallé's cabinet *De Chêne lorrain* (1889), for example, states that the models (*maquettes*) for the four bas-reliefs were made by Prouvé. In many ways, this emphasis on process and group effort served a didactic purpose, like Gallé's later *Four Verrier* (1900), allowing visitors to understand the complex process of making behind the artist's works and providing a model of collaboration between art and industry. The didactic nature of the exhibition thus corresponded to one of the organizers' main goals, for the committee hoped that the works on display would inspire young artists. "The Exhibition will lead some young artists, perhaps, to adopt the happy vocations that will rejuvenate our ancient industries," the catalog states.²⁵ One of these "industries" was, without a doubt, glassmaking, for Lorraine had been a center of the glassmaking industry in France since the 15th century and was home to many celebrated glassmaking firms such as Baccarat.²⁶

Works by Gallé also appeared in a special display entitled *Exposition Lorraine et Alsacienne du Salon du Champ de Mars* (Lorrainer and Alsatian Exhibition of the Salon of the Champ de Mars), which included an ensemble of works first exhibited together at the Salon of the *Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts* in Paris in 1894.²⁷ This exhibition comprised an important

first step in establishing a cohesive identity for the artists of eastern France. By pairing works from both Alsace and Lorraine, organizers of the Salon highlighted the status of the latter as a divided, frontier province. Presented in the new section of “Objets d’art” (Art Objects) inaugurated in 1891, this exhibition within an exhibition also explicitly associated the province of Lorraine with the decorative arts, as would the organizers of the 1894 exhibition in Nancy.

Many of the works exhibited in the main section of the 1894 *Exposition des Arts décoratifs*, moreover, had also previously appeared at the *Exposition universelle* of 1889. Gallé’s famous table *Le Rhin*, for example, was renamed *Histoire ancienne* (Ancient History) for the 1894 exhibition, where it was centrally displayed. As much as its organizers attempted to define the 1894 exhibition in terms of its novelty and regionalism, then, the atmosphere of a retrospective of works already exhibited in Paris was unavoidable. Similarly, the importance attributed to the issue of collaboration between artists and industrialists risked reinforcing the perception of Lorraine as a minor provincial capital at some remove from the concerns of the metropolis and thus required organizers to also foreground the *modernity* of artistic production in the province.

“We Are All United”: The Creation of a Regional Style

In a pamphlet printed the same year as the catalog of the *Exposition des Arts décoratifs*, the architect in charge of the organizing committee, Charles André, laid out his own vision of the exhibition’s significance. The existence of this pamphlet as well as that of an official catalog points to the organizing committee’s desire to assign a meaning to the exhibition, a meaning that exceeded its function as an artistic event. The pamphlet reproduces the text of André’s lengthy inaugural address in printed form. The architect’s speech is wide-ranging in scope, beginning with a brief survey of the history of the decorative arts, then evoking the by now familiar issue of France’s threatened supremacy in the arts, and finally positing that the art of Lorraine offered a solution to this problem of national proportions.

André commences his remarks with a claim often voiced by his contemporaries: namely, that the decorative arts are the product of a universal and instinctual desire to decorate everyday objects.²⁸ He then distinguishes between the arts of the East and those of Europe. The people of the Orient, he contends, were the first to achieve perfection in the arts. Their works have survived and even reached Europe. The arts of Europe, however, suffer from a cycle of rise and decline, in the course of which civilizations may fall into decadence. This decline has repercussions for society as a whole, André argues, because the arts bring wealth and power to a nation by encouraging trade.²⁹

Due to the genius of its artists and the taste of its people, André continues, France soon acquired a reputation for unrivaled excellence in the arts. By the time of the 1851 Great Exhibition, however, it became increasingly clear that this supremacy was under threat. André, like so many arts reformers of his day, presents the decorative arts revival as a solution to this dilemma. He describes in great detail, for example, the reorganization of Nancy’s municipal school of design and the local *École des Beaux-Arts*, which he argues now place more emphasis on the decorative arts and less on specialization. Where André differs from Parisian arts reformers, however, is in his clearly espoused belief that it is in the province of Lorraine in particular that France’s artistic and thus economic salvation can be found.

Having situated the exhibition within the larger context of the decorative arts reform movement, André summarizes the goals of the exhibition. First, he writes, “It’s an art exhibition

created so as to shed light on the varied talent [and] the power of the production of most of our Lorrainer artists.”³⁰ Included among the “Lorrainer artists” are those working in Lorraine and those born in Lorraine but working elsewhere—by which André presumably means Paris. It is clear that André envisages a national, if not an international, public for the exhibition, for there would be little need to make the artists of Lorraine better known to their own countrymen. The exhibition that André describes is thus a collaborative effort introducing the artists of Lorraine, identified as a cohesive group united by bonds of loyalty to their native province, to the French public.

If André imagines the exhibition to have national relevance, however, he wishes it to be no less relevant on the international scene. He continues his enumeration of the organizing committee’s goals for the exhibition, for example, writing, “It’s a work of propaganda [and] it’s a move in the battle against France waged by our adversaries and our enemies.”³¹ The use of the word “propaganda” to describe the exhibition is intriguing. It is doubtful that André intends the word in its more pejorative sense; rather, he envisions the exhibition is a form of advertising for Lorraine and thus for France, one that will present the nation and its art as desirable commodities on the international market. For André, then, the mission of the exhibition is two-fold: to increase awareness of Lorrainer art in the rest of France and to promote French industry abroad. Add to this a third goal: “It is a demonstration in aid of the decorative arts, whose character and importance have for too long been unappreciated,” the architect asserts.³² Thus it is through the decorative arts in particular, André contends, that the exhibition will realize its goals for Lorraine *and* for France.

In the passages that follow, André claims a special place for the province of Lorraine within the larger nation. “The noble region of Lorraine,” he writes, “has given to France such brave soldiers [and] so many artists.”³³ Artist and soldier are here partially likened: both serve to defend the nation against its enemies while preserving the honor of their native province. More specifically, the artists of Lorraine have accomplished this task, he suggests, by reviving the traditional arts industries of Lorraine and at the same time creating new, original works in a completely modern style.

In his speech, André cites Gallé as a key figure in the artistic revival taking place in Lorraine. “The incomparable virtuoso who was the first to make glass sing... is Émile Gallé,” he writes.³⁴ Indeed, glass seems to be central to the claims André makes for the exhibition, as he devotes several pages to the revitalization of the glassmaking industry in recent years. André reserves his greatest praise, however, for Prouvé and his creative abilities in a range of media, from painting and sculpture to bookbinding. Prouvé, who had maintained a studio in Paris since his studies at the *École nationale des Beaux-Arts*, is thus an artist that André claims for Lorraine despite his undeniable presence on the Parisian art scene.

Yet André sees the artists of Lorraine as united by more than ties of blood. In his concluding remarks, the architect asserts that the exhibition constitutes “a work in defense of... national prosperity.”³⁵ He thus posits that artistic and industrial rivalry constitutes a kind of war, and Lorraine’s place in the straggle is defined by its geographic location on the frontier between two enemy nations. It is this shared identity as defenders of the political and artistic border, he suggests, that unites the artists of Lorraine. André then concludes his speech with the words, “In this patriotic province, we are all united in a single, identical thought: the grandeur and the prosperity of France.”³⁶ Lorraine’s specificity, then, is defined in terms of the province’s usefulness to France, which the province supplies with both men trained in the art of war and men trained in the war of the arts.

Tradition and Modernity: Martin's Poster

The organizing committee commissioned the poster for the 1894 exhibition from the Nancy artist Camille Martin, who had collaborated with Prouvé on the designs for the *Livre d'or* the previous year (fig. 6.2).³⁷ Martin had studied at the local *École Municipale de Dessin* before leaving to attend the *École des Arts décoratifs* in Paris.³⁸ He worked in several genres, including painting, woodburning, leatherwork, and enameling. The poster for the *Exposition des Arts décoratifs*, which was printed in Nancy by the firm of Berger-Levrault, clearly reveals the impact of Japonisme in its use of brilliant hues paired with a stylized naturalism. Rais praised the poster in his review of the 1894 exhibition, writing: "In order to symbolize the decorative arts in his poster, [Martin] has grouped together large irises, a pot, and a superbly elegant peacock, whose blue-green and gold plumage dissolves gently into the glow of chrysoprases."³⁹ According to Rais, then, Martin's composition constitutes an allegorical representation of the decorative arts.

The poster offers a slightly different view of the exhibition, however, than that conveyed by the catalog. Unlike the exhibition catalog, the poster does not give the exhibition its full name, *Exposition des Arts décoratifs et industriels Lorrains*, but rather shortens the title to *Exposition d'Art décoratif*. Both the industrial character of the exhibition and its specifically Lorrainer identity are thus suppressed. Instead, the seemingly hand-lettered character of the text, which evokes the art of illuminated manuscripts, underscores the artisanal character of the exhibition. Rais highlights the calligraphic appearance of the text in his review, writing, "On a yellow background... the caption is fixed in characters of a mannered design: for Mr. Martin is still a very original calligrapher."⁴⁰ Even though the poster is a reproduction of Martin's design, then, Rais reads the text as hand-written calligraphy.

By now, arts reformers such as Ruskin and Morris had clearly established the artisanal traditions of the Middle Ages as an alternative to the dehumanizing conditions of industrial production. By associating the *Exposition des Arts décoratifs* with the rhetoric of the Arts and Crafts movement, Martin's poster posits that the artisanal is a key element in the search for a modern, Lorrainer style. Martin pairs his medievalizing style, however, with the thoroughly modern technique of color lithography. Just as the organizers of the exhibition, then, argued the importance of "le beau dans l'utile," Martin celebrates the union of art and industry in his native province.

Like contemporary poster artists Jules Chéret (1836-1932) and Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec (1864-1901), Martin employs the medium of color lithography to create a brilliantly colored poster that could be reproduced in large numbers. The labor-intensive serial printing of at least five colors allowed Martin to create a subtle yet colorful scene that relies on the opposition of teal with yellow and orange to create its vibrant effect. Although the poster itself is a mass-produced object, the purposefully archaic style of the text and the precious coloration suggests that the poster is a unique and valuable work of art in its own right and that other, similarly finely wrought works will be on display at the exhibition. Martin's poster embodies, in other words, the tension at the heart of the organizer's efforts to define a Lorrainer style that is at once artisanal in origin and modern in its production methods and its forms. In his poster, Martin presents this opposition as that of two contrasting approaches to the depiction of nature—one conventional and the other naturalistic.

The composition of Martin's poster is bisected by the figure of the peacock, a traditional Christian symbol of immortality, which may here represent the fame that the exhibition's

organizers hope the exhibitors will attain. To the left of the peacock is a large vase resting on a flat surface. The vase, the background, and the table are each decorated with stylized, ornamental patterns that recall those used in medieval book illumination and in Greek art. These repeating patterns are largely abstract and represent a conventionalized depiction of nature. They function, in a word, as symbols of tradition itself.

To the right of the peacock, however, naturalistically rendered images of flora and fauna abound. The bare tree limb, flowering irises, sprouting crystals, and peacock are not without stylization, but the use of modeling and rudimentary perspective render them far more illusionistic than the decorative motifs to the left. Martin thus presents the viewer with a choice between two opposing means of artistic creation: one that relies on tradition and conventionalized forms of representation and one that employs a naturalistic technique to depict scenes from nature. If one relies on artistic convention, the other requires a close observation of the particularities of natural forms. The monochromatic, flat patterning of yellow maple leaves covering the background offers a third option: nature here is stylized and assimilated into a repeating pattern but remains recognizable.

In his poster, then, Martin champions a modern style based on the direct observation of nature, for his composition clearly privileges the descriptive depiction of natural scenes over the stylized forms of past art. Not only do the naturalistically rendered figure of the peacock and the climbing vine partially obscure the vase and its ornamental backdrop, but the peacock and the irises extend beyond the imaginary frame of the poster and into the viewer's space. Their vitality and organicism is in direct contrast to the static, hieratic immobility of the vase and the conventionalized decoration that surrounds it, suggesting that the ongoing evolution of artistic forms is premised upon observation rather than convention.

Though his choice of motifs, Martin also explicitly aligns his poster, and thus the exhibition, with the modern movement. Not only was the medievalizing aspect of Martin's composition reminiscent of the work of Arts and Crafts designers in England, but the peacock was a popular motif with artists of the Aesthetic Movement, particularly those interested in Japonisme. The figures of peacocks derived from Japanese prints decorate the walls of James McNeill Whistler's famous *Peacock Room* (1876-77), for example, a decorative ensemble that would have an impact on many Art Nouveau artists (fig. 6.3). The hues of teal and gold employed by Whistler are similar to those employed in Martin's poster, suggesting that the artist may have been familiar with Whistler's work.

Like Gallé, Martin had befriended the Japanese forestry student Takacyma during his stay in Nancy in the 1880s.⁴¹ Martin had probably also encountered prints by Japanese artists at the shop of the bookseller Wiener, where works by Takacyma and prints by other Japanese artists were frequently displayed.⁴² In 1893, Martin collaborated with Wiener and Prouvé in the creation of two illustrated bindings for Louis Gonse's *L'Art Japonais* (figs. 6.4, 6.5). Decorated with pokerwork (*pyrogravure*) using a mosaic method, the leather bindings reveal the artists' abiding passion for Japanese art.

The technique of using flat areas of color outlined in black is common to both Martin's poster for the exhibition and his bindings.⁴³ The irises from Martin's version of the binding also reappear in the poster, albeit in an even more simplified and linear form. In a letter to Martin, Prouvé writes of the iris as a "quintessentially Japanese flower."⁴⁴ For Martin, then, the presence of the irises and the peacock, as well as the use of a linear, colorful style reminiscent of Japanese prints, points to the centrality of Japonisme for the revival of the decorative arts in Lorraine. Martin's poster for the exhibition, like the catalog, thus privileges modernity over tradition in the

definition of a characteristic Lorrainer style by aligning the *Exposition* with recent artistic developments in London and Paris.

Martin's Japonisme, however, partly obscures another role that the natural world plays in the composition of the poster. The presence of crystals, alluding to Lorraine's mineralogical riches, and of local plants like the maple tree and the vine, evoke the geographical specificity of the province. The concept of rootedness, represented through the depiction of plant forms and landscapes specific to a particular place, would be central to the *École de Nancy's* conception of regional identity. Botanical metaphors in particular also proliferated in critical accounts of the 1894 exhibition.

"Impervious to Acclimatization": Biological Metaphors for Artistic Style

Nature is central, for example, to André's description of the new style being created in Lorraine. He writes, "It's a completely new art that has been born here: it's in full flowering."⁴⁵ The architect here compares the art of Lorraine to a plant that grows and flowers. Yet it is an art that also takes nature as its subject: "A multitude of objects have been created; they are ravishing in the felicitous and very original way that the interpretation of our flowers decorates and poeticizes these charming productions," André writes.⁴⁶ The phrase "original... interpretation," meanwhile, suggests that the representation of natural forms is at once modern, in its difference from existing artistic conventions, and translated by the temperament of the artist, evoking Émile Zola's statement that "a work of art is a corner of creation seen through a temperament."⁴⁷

Reviews of the exhibition often employed the metaphor of acclimatization to describe the art produced in Lorraine. An anonymous review of the exhibition that appeared in *L'Art Moderne* was most likely penned by the editor of the journal, Octave Maus. A Belgian lawyer, Maus was the founder of *La Libre Esthétique* in Brussels and invited the artists of Lorraine to exhibit their works there in 1895.⁴⁸ In 1894, the same year as the decorative arts exhibition in Nancy, Gallé sent a selection of his works to be included in the exhibition of another group founded by Maus, *Pour l'Art*.⁴⁹

In his review, Maus compares the artists of Lorraine to fragile roses flowering in a welcoming climate. He writes, "Certain cities appear— like certain soils exceptionally favorable to the flowering of roses— to possess a special influence on the unfurling of artists, on this extraordinary and fragile flora [that is] impervious to acclimatization."⁵⁰ The city of Nancy, in Maus's view, constitutes a kind of greenhouse that nurtures the talent of its artists. What is significant here, however, is the phrase "impervious to acclimatization." The artists of Lorraine, in other words, are adapted to their environment and cannot be transplanted.

Maus goes on to compare works by Gallé to forms found in nature. Describing Gallé's furniture, Maus writes, "What pieces of furniture, strange, complicated flowers, unfurl in perfect greenhouses, lift... their panels delicately inlaid with rare woods, in which the subtle flowering of contemporary poetry is wed to the refinement of the flora of Lorraine."⁵¹ Maus's reference to "the flora of Lorraine" is key, for the depiction of local plants would become a central element of the style developed by the *École de Nancy*. Critics understood botanical specificity, in other words, to be both a kind of metaphor for regional style *and* a description of the motifs employed by the artists of the *École de Nancy*. In works such as Gallé's *Parfums d'autrefois*, exhibited at the *Exposition des Arts décoratifs*, the decoration is thus insistently local in origin, for it draws upon the depiction of native flora (fig. 6.6). The twisting forms that support the mirror, for example, are carved stems of the eglantine, or sweetbriar, plant. The marquetry decoration of the

base similarly depicts varieties of another local plant, the hogweed flower, accompanied in several places by inlaid text identifying the plant's name and its place of origin.

This mode of representation, in other words, relies upon a certain degree of specificity for its meaning—the plants in Gallé's works are both clearly identifiable and, in some cases, even labeled. Maus ends his article with the query, "Is it not always in their environment, in the decor of their life, that one must see and judge artists?"⁵² The author thus underscores the idea of a cultural specificity that recalls the geographical adaptations of plant forms. In his query, the artists of Lorraine are likened to botanical specimens studied in their natural environment so as to better understand their particularity.

Decentralizing the Arts

The focus on a characteristic Lorrainer style reflects not only concerns over the economic and artistic vitality of the province, but an interest in the idea of decentralization. The history of the decentralization movement in France begins with the French Revolution. During the Ancien Régime, the regions of France were characterized by cultural diversity both in terms of customs such as spoken languages and family structures and in terms of legal systems and provincial government.⁵³ At first, the Revolution resulted in an even greater degree of decentralization. The Constitution of 1791, for example, instituted an electoral process for all local and departmental officials. With the rise of the Jacobins, however, the emphasis shifted toward centralization, with local officials appointed by the Revolutionary government and the suppression of regional cultures in the name of anti-traditionalism.⁵⁴ Beginning with the Romantic movement in the 1820s, however, a growing interest in local cultures and their preservation led to the coexistence of centralized government on one hand and cultural decentralization on the other.⁵⁵

As Maurice Agulhon has noted, "regional loyalties could—and often did—lead to conscious, organized regionalist movements devoted to studying, encouraging, and maintaining regional customs and cultures."⁵⁶ Yet such movements rarely if ever challenged the political status quo. The rise of nationalism in the late 19th century meant, however, that opposition to centralization was increasingly viewed as unpatriotic. Thus regionalist movements tended to be "confined to the cultural arena."⁵⁷

In Nancy, the issue of decentralization was publicly raised in 1835 in an article by local writer Baron Prosper Guerrier de Dumast (1796-1883) entitled "Le Pour et le contre sur la résurrection des provinces" (Arguments For and Against the Resurrection of the Provinces).⁵⁸ It was Guerrier de Dumast, for example, who coined the term "lotharingisme" (Lotharingism) to describe the regionalist movement in Lorraine.⁵⁹ In 1850, he was also instrumental, along with other members of the *Société d'Archéologie Lorraine* (f. 1848), in the creation of the *Musée lorrain* (Lorrainer Museum), a museum dedicated to the preservation of folk ways and regional crafts.⁶⁰ In many respects, the creation of the *Musée lorrain* marked the first step in the creation of a modern, provincial identity for Lorraine—an identity originally defined, however, through history and tradition.

In his writings, Guerrier de Dumast championed the idea of a specifically provincial identity, describing the division of France into administrative departments as "barbaric." Departments are, he writes, "an insignificant geographical division, foolish and barbaric..., a system that tramples on nature and good sense..., an inert, physical mass..., [and] a geographical impromptu."⁶¹ The author, although he declared himself to be faithful to the French nation, nonetheless bemoaned the inexorable loss of talent to the capital.⁶² In this passage, he contrasts

nature, change, and movement, associated with the province, with what he sees as the inert, physical mass described by bureaucratic divisions, implying that the imposition of abstract geographical divisions upon the landscape of France is both arbitrary and unnecessary. He thus opposes a Romantic notion of local identity based in tradition to the Enlightenment's championing of abstract, universal ideals.

In 1865, the idea of decentralization received added impetus from a group of notables in Nancy who proposed to reform the central government.⁶³ According to Vivien Ann Schmidt, the so-called Nancy program "recommended the reinforcement of the powers of the commune; the replacement of the arrondissement with the canton; the 'liberation' of the department [...], and the limitation of the prefect's role to 'politics'."⁶⁴ These calls for political decentralization, however, gradually blended into a more general movement towards a celebration of regional culture as the century progressed. In 1900, the politics of regionalism would receive further impetus when Jean-Charles Brun (1870-1946) founded the *Fédération régionaliste française* in Montpellier. Drawing upon the theories of geographer Paul Vidal de la Blache (1845-1918), Brun envisaged the nation as composed of regional centers such as Bordeaux, Toulouse, and Nantes.⁶⁵

In its early years, the Third Republic by and large continued the centralizing efforts of its predecessors with few exceptions. By passing educational reform laws and imposing universal military service upon the citizens of France, for example, the Third Republic worked to create a homogeneous nation composed of like-minded citizens.⁶⁶ The centralization of administrative power had a direct impact on provincial cultures. The teaching of standard French in schools, for example, helped to eradicate the local languages and dialects spoken by the majority of French men and women.

Towards the end of the century, the theories of anarchist geographer Elisée Reclus (1830-1905), another native of Nancy, served to reinforce the idea of a unique provincial identity. Robyn Roslak has convincingly demonstrated the impact of Reclus's ideas on artistic practice in fin-de-siècle France. Although her account focuses on the work of the Neo-Impressionists, Roslak argues that Reclus's theories had widespread appeal, and I contend that they also echo the claims made by arts reformers in Lorraine for an autonomous, regional style.

The suggestion by Maus and others that the style of the Lorraine school was the natural reflection of the artists' provincial origins, for example, brings to mind Reclus's faith in environmental determinism.⁶⁷ Similarly, the concept of decentralization clearly has affinities with Reclus's theories regarding the relationship of particular regions to the globe as a whole.⁶⁸ In his influential study, *La Nouvelle géographie universelle*, Reclus writes, "The ensemble [of the country's geography] continually presents a sort of harmony in its very contrasts; great is the diversity, but it all keeps its character of geographic unity."⁶⁹ Reclus's model of "harmony... in infinite variety" is close to the ideal of unity in diversity that I will argue orders many of the efforts of arts reformers and artists to define a regional style that was at once uniquely Lorrainer in character and patriotic in spirit.⁷⁰

Although there is no evidence that Gallé knew Reclus, the artist's circle of friends and relatives included those who were sympathetic to the geographer's anarchist ideas. Charles Keller, for example, was Gallé's cousin by marriage and a fellow Dreyfusard. He had close ties to Reclus, whom he first encountered in Paris in the late 1860s.⁷¹ Together with Mikhaïl Aleksandrovitch Bakounine and Reclus, both anarchist theorists, Keller would found the *Alliance internationale de la démocratie socialiste*, a group affiliated with the Marxist First International.⁷² After taking part in the events of the Commune, Keller joined Reclus in exile in

Switzerland.⁷³ Keller later established his family first in Belfort and then, in 1892, in Nancy. During the events of the Dreyfus Affair, Keller would take an active role in politics, serving as president of the local section of the *Ligue des droits de l'homme* and, like his cousin, lending his support to numerous petitions in support of Dreyfus.⁷⁴ Gallé was thus no doubt familiar with Reclus's theories and perhaps even shared some of the geographer's utopian beliefs in the perfectibility of human beings, but the artist never openly embraced the anarchist politics of Reclus.⁷⁵

In 1895 and 1896, the Third Republic would begin to shift its policies away from centralization and towards a new social republicanism. According to Silverman, it was Prime Minister Léon Bourgeois (1851-1925) who formulated the doctrine of "organic solidarity" in an attempt to counteract the growing influence of socialism by adopting some of its key theories.⁷⁶ This theory of "solidarism," as it was termed, attempted to reconcile the liberal individualism of the preceding decades with an appeal to communitarian values.⁷⁷ Drawing on the work of philosopher Alfred Fouillé, social theorist Emile Durkheim (1858-1917), and contemporary biologists and zoologists, Bourgeois elaborated a model of social cooperation and interdependence. "Bourgeois pressed their formulations into the service of a rejuvenated republicanism," Silverman contends,

developing an organic model of unity in diversity [and] a compelling compromise between individualism and community, analogous to the relations of cells and of species: each element was irreplaceable, but all individual elements worked interdependently for the sake of the whole.⁷⁸

As both an artist with a lifelong interest in the biological sciences and an ardent Republican, Gallé would no doubt have been familiar with the theories formulated by Fouillée, Durkheim, and others and applied to politics by Bourgeois and his successors. The idea of "unity in diversity" allowed Gallé, in essence, to reconcile his belief in the rights of the individual with his desire to reestablish artistic community in the wake of the Dreyfus Affair. In political terms, Gallé's belief in organicism found expression in his commitment to the politics of decentralization.

Indeed, the issue of decentralization preoccupied Lorrainer artists, journalists, and politicians of the fin-de-siècle. In a relatively short span of time, the interest in Lotharingism led to the creation of a chair in the history of eastern France at the *Université de Nancy*, the founding of the regionalist journal *Le Pays Lorrain* in 1904 by Charles Sadoul, and the publication of a three-volume history of the former capital of Lorraine, the *Histoire de Nancy*, beginning in 1902.⁷⁹ Proponents of decentralization in Lorraine sought to establish both cultural and political independence from the capital. In cultural terms, their goal was to establish the province of Lorraine, with Nancy as its symbolic and economic heart, as a rival to the Parisian art world.

Goutière-Vernolle, editor of *La Lorraine artiste*, was a member of the organizing committee for the 1894 exhibition, along with the painter Meixmoron de Dombasle, Gallé, Majorelle, Martin, Antonin Daum, and Wiener.⁸⁰ He was also a proud advocate of decentralization, which he promoted in the pages of *La Lorraine Artiste*. Goutière-Vernolle, who described the exhibition as "one of the most glorious expressions of our Lorrainer art," clearly envisioned the *Exposition des Arts décoratifs* as a manifestation of regional talent and thus an act of cultural decentralization.⁸¹

In the spring of 1894, several months before the exhibition opened, Goutière-Vernolle joined Keller and other local reformers in the creation of a new group to promote the regionalist movement.⁸² According to Goutière-Vernolle, decentralization would benefit Lorraine from both a “moral” and a “material” point of view. In his article, Goutière-Vernolle contrasts “moral interests,” which comprise the educational and artistic needs of the region, with “material interests,” including those of the government administration and of industrial, agricultural, and commercial production. Many of Lorraine’s industries are already sufficiently developed, he argues, and without changes to the constitution, the decentralization of government is impossible. The arts and education, however, are two areas most in need of transformation, Goutière-Vernolle asserts, citing the need for a regional university. “It’s education and the arts that will benefit first from the reforms that one will be able to realize,” he writes, without explaining the exact nature of these “reforms.”⁸³

According to Goutière-Vernolle, decentralization would not only increase the economic prosperity of Lorraine but also allow the province to develop its own unique character. In an article written only a few months before the opening of the exhibition, he declares, “Decentralizing, it’s the only peaceful means of making productive the energy proper to the diverse local, provincial, or regional groups that make up our national, French unity.”⁸⁴ In essence, then, the author envisions decentralization as the formation of a *federation*: a group of independent entities united by a common goal. This idea of “unity in diversity,” to borrow a phrase from Reclus, would also be one of the goals espoused by the *École de Nancy*.

Goutière-Vernolle goes on explicitly to link decentralization to the arts, calling for autonomy for art schools so that they may better answer the needs of their students. He argues in favor of “the conquest of autonomy from the Schools of Fine Arts,” because “only this conquest can permit the establishment by *those themselves concerned* of programs corresponding to the abilities of the people and the special needs of each region.”⁸⁵ Goutière-Vernolle’s goal, then, is not to sever ties with the rest of the French nation, but rather to strengthen the nation through diversity. The people of Lorraine, he asserts, want to render France “more productive through the demonstration of their own energies.”⁸⁶ Thus Goutière-Vernolle and other proponents of decentralization reconcile their allegiance to their native province with their patriotism. The primacy of the individual, they contend, is not incompatible with the needs of the State. Indeed, this was the question posed by decentralization from the time of the Revolution onwards: “To what extent are the requirements of national unity and the dictates of principles of equality before the law compatible with local liberty?”⁸⁷

“A Lotharingiâ factum est istud” : Tradition and History, Part II

In his review of the *Exposition des Arts décoratifs et industriels lorrains*, Émile Badel (1861-1936) voiced a similar interest in the cultural decentralization of France.⁸⁸ A librarian at the *Bibliothèque municipale de Nancy*, Badel had been made a professor of literature and history at the *École professionnelle de l’Est* in 1893. He was the author of a series of articles in *Nancy-Artiste* on the history of the arts in Lorraine, which he termed “the classical land of the arts.”⁸⁹ Badel’s praise of the exhibition, which he calls “a true success,” is unequivocal.⁹⁰

Like Goutière-Vernolle, Badel envisions the 1894 exhibition as a statement of independence from the Parisian art world. “I could summarize this exhibition in two words,” he writes, quoting an unknown source, “*A Lotharingiâ factum est istud, et est mirabile in oculis nostris!* (This is Lorraine’s doing and it is marvelous in our eyes!) It’s the work of the only

Lorrainer country, a work admired by all!”⁹¹ Badel thus suggests that the exhibition is purely the product of Lorrainer artists, uncontaminated by outside influence from Paris or abroad. The exhibition is an effort, he writes, to “show to the astonished Parisians, what poor little provincials without renown can do.”⁹² Badel conceives of this demonstration, however, as being enacted on a world stage: he hopes that the artists of Lorraine will reaffirm their success at the *Expositions universelles* just as Gallé and other artists have done at the Paris Salons.⁹³ He also expresses his desire that the artists of Lorraine will be honored with a pavilion of their own at the *Exposition universelle* of 1900, a hope that was not to be realized.⁹⁴

In the words of authors such as Badel and the organizers of the *Exposition des Arts décoratifs*, fear of the loss of Lorraine’s cultural prestige parallels a concern that France is losing its artistic supremacy. The key to reestablishing the latter, these authors contend, is the preservation of the former—the art of Lorraine can secure France’s future as an artistic power. What changes in the discourse of such writers, however, is the identity of France itself, which is no longer identified primarily with the capital. Badel and Goutière-Vernolle seek to redefine the nation, to substitute the notion of a richly composite culture carved out of difference for one organized around a unifying center: Paris.⁹⁵

Cultural decentralization meant creating or defining an artistic style that was at once characteristic of Lorraine and distinctive from that promoted in Paris. As we have already seen, official accounts of the *Exposition des Arts décoratifs* and its goals privileged innovation and modernity over tradition in the definition of this style. Critical accounts in the local press, however, were more equivocal in their understanding of what might comprise a characteristic provincial style. For many, the heritage of earlier centuries, and the 18th century in particular, provided a model for artistic practice. The catalog of works exhibited by the Nancy-based firm of the goldsmith Henri Bossert, for example, lauded Lorraine as a province with a rich history in the decorative arts.

“One has said and with reason that our land was truly the classic land of what is called the decorative arts,” the catalog reads, “and in this way the 18th century left us admirable masterpieces.”⁹⁶ The town of Nancy in particular, Bossert argues, has many well-preserved examples of art from this period. Bossert specialized in jewelry inspired by the history of his native province, including works bearing the likenesses of Duke René II (1451-1508), Charles the Bold (1433-1477), and Joan of Arc (1412-1431).⁹⁷ At the exhibition of 1894, Bossert presented visitors with two new series derived from the engravings of Jacques Callot (ca. 1592-1635) and the metalwork of Jean Lamour (1698-1771), whose decorative wrought-iron creations graced many of the buildings in Nancy.

Bossert writes of these works, “I have dedicated my efforts to attempting the renewal of jewelry and goldsmithing in our Lorraine, imagining decorative motifs borrowed from our national memories or from the most remarkable works of our great artists of the past.”⁹⁸ Bossert refers to “national memories” and “our great memories,” but the history to which he refers is that of Lorraine, not France. René II was a hero of Lorraine’s golden age who defeated the Duke of Burgundy, Charles the Bold, in an effort to defend his title. Joan of Arc, as discussed in Chapter Three, was born in Lorraine and represented for many a symbol of resistance to the German invaders who had annexed the lost provinces. Callot and Lamour were both 18th-century artists from Nancy.⁹⁹ Bossert’s vision of a distinctive Lorrainer art, then, relies upon both local history and local art. The artist envisions his work as the continuation of a long and glorious tradition.¹⁰⁰

Although Bossert’s historicism was unusual in the context of the 1894 exhibition, many commentators on the exhibition likewise referred to the long history of the arts in Lorraine. Like

Bossert, for example, Badel calls for the erection of a statue of Jean Lamour, the “immortal Lorrainer lockmaker,” in his review of the exhibition.¹⁰¹ Badel also views the exhibition as an affirmation of the continuing vitality of a Lorrainer school of art, a school that he, like Bossert, associates with artists of the past such as the Callot and Lamour. In fact, Badel gave a public lecture entitled “De Callot à Jean Lamour” (From Callot to Jean Lamour) on March 18, 1894, just three months before the exhibition opened.¹⁰² In his review of the *Exposition des Arts décoratifs*, intended as a guide for visitors, Badel affirms that the exhibition will be “the most complete triumph of Lorrainer art and the most solemn affirmation of our vitality,” declaring that “our artists of today are the equal of ancestors.”¹⁰³ Badel leaves to other authors, however, the task of defining this “Lorrainer art.”

In a series of articles on the decorative arts in Lorraine, Rais offers one possible definition. The author evokes “the secular traditions of the art of Lorraine... whose character will always remain natural, logical, and precise.”¹⁰⁴ In essence, Rais presents his readers not with the elements of a clearly defined provincial artistic style, but rather with the characteristic attributes of the Lorrainer *artist*. These traits have the advantage of being flexible in nature, permitting the historian to claim any number of distinct artistic styles as characteristically Lorrainer.

Rais goes on, however, to posit that the artists of Lorraine display a particular predilection for the arts of sculpture, engraving, and decoration. He attributes this preference to the history of the region, writing, “Due to a lack of enthusiasm, due also to wars, [and] because he was more intelligent than sensitive, [the Lorrainer artist] attached himself above all in bygone days to the progress of sculpture and of engraving, mathematical arts, and to what was later called industrial art.”¹⁰⁵ The current exhibition, he says, offers the artists of Lorraine a chance to demonstrate “the certainty of a renaissance of provincial genius” that surpasses even “the Lorrainer school of the 18th century.”¹⁰⁶ In this passage, then, Rais clearly establishes the centrality of the decorative arts to fin-de-siècle commentators’ understanding of what might constitute a regionally specific style. In his discussion of particular artists, moreover, Rais strengthens this association.

The author singles out three artists in particular whose work he believes perpetuates the traditions of Lorraine: Gallé, Prouvé, and Martin.¹⁰⁷ He notes that Prouvé’s father was a designer, and Martin’s mother a noted embroiderer. Rais here imagines a genealogy not only of style, then, but also of inheritance: Martin and Prouvé are themselves the offspring of artists who devoted themselves to what Rais terms “Lorrainer art, the art of decoration.”¹⁰⁸ For the author, then, the art of Lorraine is characterized not only by a long and glorious history, but also by a shared focus on the decorative arts, interpreted with logic and precision.

In another article in the same series, however, Rais posits another element of a provincial style: the use of materials native to Lorraine. Rais writes of Gallé, for example, “He has made the materials that are the flesh, the spirit of the native land, sing its pride, its wealth and its sadness.”¹⁰⁹ Gallé’s artistry, in other words, renders the very flesh and blood of the province articulate. His skill allows the landscape of Lorraine to speak. Rais offers as an example a work by Gallé first exhibited at the *Exposition universelle* of 1889, *De Chêne lorrain*, a work that announces in its very title its place of origin (fig. 6.7). Supposedly made “from a piece of... oak discovered in Lorraine,” the cabinet, with its images of the pre-Roman Druid priestess Veleda, proclaims its rootedness in history and tradition.¹¹⁰

In sum, Bossert, Badel, and Rais each rely upon history and tradition to define a provincial style. In his review of the exhibition, however, the engineer Auguin would question the validity of both of these concepts.¹¹¹ Published as a series of essays in the journal *Revue*

industrielle de l'Est, Auguin's analysis is highly critical both of the new *Société* and its aims for the exhibition. Deeply involved in the politics of regionalism, Auguin had also published a review of an earlier exhibition of art from Lorraine held in 1875.

“*The Genius of France is Everywhere*”: *A Critique of Decentralization*

In his review of the *Exposition*, Auguin is deeply critical of the new *Société des Arts décoratifs lorrains*. His animosity may be due in part to the role played by Goutière-Vernolle, who had replaced Auguin as editor of the local journal *Nancy-Artiste* in 1885, in the organization of the 1894 exhibition. However, Auguin seems to agree with Goutière-Vernolle's contention that the centralization of culture as well as government administration can only hurt the provinces. The author rails against what he sees as an official culture that emanates from the capital, imposing uniformity and mediocrity upon the provinces. He writes,

Of all the things disastrous for the local spirit, the most powerful has been, unquestionably, the centralizing action of official education, of an official aesthetic created, discussed and imposed in Paris; of rewards, distinctions and official purchases emanating from Paris; Paris had to absorb and has annihilated all provincial tendencies.¹¹²

For Auguin, this official culture is a destructive force, obliterating the particularity of Lorrainer identity by absorbing it into the culture of the capital. In this passage, the author never once refers to the nation or to French art as a whole; in essence, he refuses to accept the art of Paris as representative of the nation.

In a subsequent passage, Auguin not only denies that Paris is the center of French “genius,” but even the idea that such a genius or spirit is limited to the borders of France itself. In response to the question of whether Gallé and Daum have “decentralized genius,” Auguin replies with acerbity,

This banal compliment would have moreover the shortcoming of supposing that the genius of France has a center that is Paris, and in Paris such and such official aesthetic. No. The genius of France is everywhere. Mistery Daum and Gallé are simply branches of this healthy and wild tree, the genius of France, which grows wherever the wind of liberty blows its fruitful seeds.¹¹³

The botanical metaphor of genius as a wild tree that grows wherever its seeds fall is significant in the context of regionalism. As we have seen, such metaphors were central to the theorization of an artistic style specific to Lorraine. The natural world offered Auguin and others a way to discuss diversity and particularity within the context of a larger, unifying system—in this case, the nation.

Auguin shared the *Société des Arts décoratifs lorrains* and Goutière-Vernolle's belief in the necessity of a regional movement in the arts. To a certain extent, he even partook of their faith in the centrality of the decorative arts to this effort at decentralization. Yet when it came to another conviction commonly voiced by members of the *Société*, Auguin was less convinced. In his review of the exhibition, the author explores the question of a regional style, coming back again and again to the issue as if unsure of his own conclusions.

He begins by inveighing against the *Société* itself. What exactly is meant, he asks, by the phrase “a regional society of Lorrainer decorative arts”?¹¹⁴ Is it a society to promote the decorative arts in the province of Lorraine? Or to promote works in a specifically Lorrainer style? The former mission he dismisses as merely the continuation of efforts already underway, adding only that he hopes a chair of decorative arts will be established at the local *École des Beaux-Arts*. If the goal of the Society is to promote “the forms of this art that are *exclusively Lorrainer* in their style,” however, Auguin declares himself uncertain what exactly is meant by the idea of a “Lorrainer art.”¹¹⁵

As long as Lorraine was independent from France, he asserts, it had its own artists, whose works displayed a characteristic provincial style because the artists themselves were from Lorraine. Style was thus the unconscious expression of their identity. The incorporation of Lorraine into the kingdom of France in 1766 did not immediately destroy this “Lorrainer genius,” Auguin suggests.¹¹⁶ Rather, it faded gradually away, and he asserts, “the conservation of the former genius of Lorraine... has no further reason for being today in our French region.”¹¹⁷

According to Auguin, seeking to reinvigorate the arts through the search for an authentic “Lorrainer art” is misguided. This art belongs to the past, he contends. Its place, Auguin argues, is in the museum. “Lorrainer art is dead because the Lorrainer spirit is dead and truly dead along with the region of Lorraine,” he concludes with a sense of finality.¹¹⁸ Auguin thus seems to suggest that the very idea of a characteristic provincial style is impossible, arguing that the incorporation of Lorraine into France irrevocably transformed the province and robbed it of its cultural specificity just as it deprived it of political autonomy. If the *Société*'s aim is not to recreate this lost style, he asks, is it instead encouraging the creation of a new, similarly unified provincial style? Auguin is skeptical. “Has it discovered in the whole of the Nancy exhibition a new art?” he asks.¹¹⁹

Citing the exhibition catalog, Auguin then states firmly, “There is no longer any ‘style specific to our province’.”¹²⁰ If a few artists have retained characteristics of this style, he adds, it is due to their own initiative, not to the encouragement of any society. For Auguin, however, the *Société* is not simply mistaken in its search to define a characteristic provincial style. Rather, it is actively participating in the destruction of any such style by bringing “Parisian tendencies” to Nancy. “If the new Society is intended to encourage modern, Parisian tendencies, and if these tendencies are *anti-Lorrainer*,” he warns, “we must say so and cross the word *Lorrainer* from the program.”¹²¹ Auguin thus associates the art of Lorraine with the past, while he associates the “modern style” with the corrupting influence of Paris.

Auguin was not alone in seeing the “modern” as Parisian in origin. At a speech given to the *Association des artistes lorrains* in 1895 and reprinted in *La Lorraine artiste*, the painter Émile Friant (1863-1932) similarly denounced the “modern” style of his rival, Prouvé, as too Parisian.¹²² This, then is the challenge that the founders of the *École de Nancy* would face: how to define a new style that was at once modern *and* regional. Both, they believed, were essential to the effort to establish a recognizable local style that could be successfully marketed at home and abroad as the product of a particular (and thus inimitable) region.

In his discussion of “Lorrainer art,” however, Auguin contradicts himself on more than one count. Having proclaimed the death of a provincial style, for example, the author goes on to suggest that the *Société* is in fact promoting not only Parisian but even anti-French tendencies. In order to distinguish between these various styles, however, the author establishes a list of the characteristics of a Lorrainer style. The inventory is surprisingly specific. Describing the historic architecture of Lorraine, for example, Auguin posits that it is “always restrained and rational.”¹²³

As for interior decoration, it was “of a remarkable elegance but of an almost astonishing simplicity,” up until the time of the French “conquest” (an odd choice of word) but retains its “pure and delicate feeling for design, punctiliousness in regards to clean lines, and a love of deeply carved wood.”¹²⁴ Focusing on the traditional craft of woodworking, Auguin adds that it is characterized by an “economy of materials and firmness of line.”¹²⁵

In contrast to these elements of sobriety and elegance, Auguin rails against the influence of exoticism, a taste he believes has been imported from the capital. Regarding the furniture trade, Auguin writes, “The region of Lorraine, continuing to follow obsequiously behind Paris, threw itself... into the fashion for German mysticism [and] into the incoherence of Japanese fantasies.”¹²⁶ Auguin here surprisingly conflates European styles with those of the Far East, suggesting that both are equally foreign to the traditions of Lorraine. In a sense, it is the modernity of such references, the ties between avant-garde artistic production and the Symbolist movement, for example that concerns Auguin.¹²⁷ By railing against such influences, Auguin effectively asserts that the only *true* Lorrainer art is one based on imitation of the past, even while he asserts that it is no longer possible to recreate the style of earlier centuries due to the radical transformations of Lorrainer culture and society. Auguin thus essentially asserts the *impossibility* of a modern artistic style for Lorraine and posits the inevitability of the region’s continued dependency upon Paris as the center of French culture.

The preoccupation with foreign influences colors Auguin’s account of Gallé and his work, which the author scorns as overly Germanic in character. Auguin’s concern is for young artists who may be tempted to imitate Gallé’s art. “Where are you taking us? Where are you taking French art? Where are you leading the generations of workers who admire you and who, perhaps, would like to one day imitate you?” he asks the artist.¹²⁸ Auguin is particularly critical of *Le Saint-Graal*, a work that he condemns for its overreliance on symbolism (fig. 6.8).¹²⁹ *Le Graal* comprises a glass vase in the form of a chalice paired with a marquetry cabinet. Produced for the art critic Fourcaud, the work employs the Christian symbolism of the Holy Grail and thus, like *Le Figuier*, evokes both Gallé’s religious convictions and his passion for the music of Wagner.¹³⁰ According to Nicolas, the chalice was crowned with a row of bronze stars, wheat stalks, and orchids symbolizing sin.¹³¹ In a later article, Auguin specifies that the artist employed highly oxidized copper to create the intense red hue of the glass chalice, which evokes the blood of Christ.¹³²

In his review, Auguin associates Gallé’s use of symbolism with the influence of German philosophy and music. “The field of mystical symbolism from which this artist delights in borrowing his subject matter,” he writes, “it’s really the marvelous German cycle always more or less saddened by the clouds of a twilight metaphysics.”¹³³ Auguin then contrasts the profusion of detail and obscure symbolism of German music and philosophy with the precision and clarity of French art. Continuing his critique of *Le Saint-Graal*, Auguin writes,

The pessimistic tendencies of this Schopenhaueresque or Wagnerian art—it’s the same thing, –responds to the current attraction of German genius, to its aspirations towards a heavy and obscure idealism. All pushes them towards the accumulation of details in works where the artist loses the feel of the whole. Its ideal responds to a demonstration of a resigned contemplation of the interior life. To express this demonstration, [the artist] has recourse to the most belabored and unexpected symbolism. Everything, in this system, seems to us inconsistent with the precision, the clarity, [and] the sobriety of the French character.¹³⁴

German art relies on an esoteric and mournful symbolism, Auguin suggests, that results in the accumulation of detail at the expense of harmony. German artists, he contends, seek to evoke interior mental states. It seems clear from this passage that Auguin is fundamentally ill at ease with the most recent developments on the Parisian art scene. The art he describes as German in origin is in fact that of the nascent Symbolist movement, which Auguin implicitly condemns as overtly foreign in its inspiration.

In contrast, the author describes a style characterized by “precision, clarity, [and] sobriety.” In short, then, Auguin opposes German idealism to French naturalism. For Auguin and other proponents of a regional style, however, “naturalism” involved not only the illusionistic depiction of external appearances, but more specifically, the depiction of forms found in nature. Discussing Gallé’s cabinet *Parfums d’Autrefois*, also on display at the exhibition of 1894, Auguin offers a suggestion for artists who seek to give their art a *local* character.¹³⁵ He begins with form, which he asserts should be “simple, almost linear.”¹³⁶

Auguin privileges ornament, however, as the true expression of stylistic identity, arguing that ornament should be “a harmonious consequence of form” and should be derived from “the flora, the fauna, and the characteristic traits of the region.”¹³⁷ Auguin praises marquetry and pyrography as methods suited to the representation of “compositions with or without figures, landscapes, monuments, diverse scenes of modern, Lorrainer life.”¹³⁸ Only naturalism, Auguin implies, can communicate the specificity of a provincial identity—a specificity conveyed through the representation of the characteristic people and places of Lorraine. The geographical particularity of native flora and fauna further localize the work of art, securing its identity as the product of Lorraine.

Auguin privileges ornament and subject matter, then, as key indicators of a stylistic identity. In his account, form is relegated to second place, important only in so much as it provides the artist with a simple canvas upon which to inscribe identity in the form of ornament.¹³⁹ He envisions decoration, in short, as a form of *painting*—representational, illusionistic, and clearly legible. This is precisely what Gallé sets out to accomplish in works such as *Flore de Lorraine* (1893), which offer the artist a broad, flat surface upon which to create this “paintings” in wood. In spite of his Germanic tendencies, then, Auguin concludes that Gallé’s work offers “a beautiful future for a very simple, very informal, very elegant Lorrainer art.”¹⁴⁰

In the course of his lengthy review of the exhibition, Auguin seems to come full circle: at first skeptical of the existence of a characteristic “Lorrainer art,” he ends by embracing a regional style that will establish Lorraine’s status as an artistic center. If the *Société* abandons products of a “doubtful Japonisme” in favor of “a certain Lotharingism,” he argues, it will introduce the art of Lorraine to Paris rather than importing the “cosmopolitan and hybrid taste” of the capital to the provinces.¹⁴¹ If Auguin’s belated embrace of “Lorrainer art” parallels that of the *Société* and other reviewers, his denunciation of symbolism as foreign is not an attitude shared by other local critics. Rais, for example, writes of Gallé making wood “sing” and describes the “poetry” of his art, thus championing symbolism as the artist’s highest achievement. Thus in the context of the 1894 exhibition, symbolism becomes a contested mode of creation, which both allows for and threatens the expression of a provincial identity.

Where Auguin and other critics agree, however, is in their praise of *Le Rhin*, Gallé’s famous table first exhibited in 1889 and the centerpiece of his display at the 1894 exhibition (fig. 6.9). The massive table was the first thing that visitors to Gallé’s display would have seen.

Although covered with a selection of the artist's works in glass and ceramic, the table and its famous marquetry panel depicting the attack of the 5th-century Teutons would have been familiar to many visitors. The heavy table dominates the space of the display, overwhelming nearby works such as *Bambou*. Although it seems at odds with the exhibition's purported interest in new forms and a modern style, Gallé's table was the one work universally praised in reviews of the exhibition, and the artist would exhibit the table again in 1904. *Le Rhin*'s pairing of historicist form and naturalistic decoration no doubt appealed to critics looking to reconcile these two elements found in the art of Lorraine. As the product of Gallé's attempts to imbue his decorative art with political significance by appealing to the high art form of painting, the work would also have symbolized the *Société*'s aim of elevating the status of the decorative arts and through them, that of Lorraine itself.

A "School" or a School?

Auguin was not the only reviewer, however, to be concerned about the fate of younger artists. Many agreed that the training of the next generation of artists was essential if decentralization was to succeed. Both the official catalog of the exhibition and André's inaugural speech, for example, stressed the importance of providing suitable training to young artists laboring in the workshops and factories of Lorraine. Rais also spoke of the need for a local school devoted to the decorative arts. According to Rais, Goutière-Vernolle had first made an effort to create such a school, with courses given by local artists, in 1891. A certain M. Wolgemuth, director of the *École professionnelle de l'Est*, had promised Goutière-Vernolle students, studios, and instructors, but the project had to be abandoned after the director's premature death.¹⁴² Now that the local *École des Beaux-Arts* was being reorganized, Rais argues, it should attempt to incorporate lectures by local artists.¹⁴³ Rais thus calls on the *Société d'art décoratif* not to limit itself to organizing exhibitions, competitions, and the creation of a new museum, but also to ensure that the reorganization of the *École des Beaux-Arts* meets "the requirements of modern art."¹⁴⁴ He does not doubt that the Society will succeed for, as Rais points out, it was André who was behind the creation of a chair in the decorative arts now held by Jacques Gruber.¹⁴⁵

In a review of the exhibition subsequently published in a Parisian journal, in contrast, Rais shifts his emphasis from the reform of arts education to the establishment of a local museum devoted to the decorative arts. He notes that the Ministry of Fine Arts had sanctioned the efforts of "this decentralizing attempt" by sending Marx to Nancy.¹⁴⁶ Marx, who had recently inaugurated the first provincial museum of decorative arts in Troyes, gave a lecture in Nancy praising the decorative arts exhibition as the first of its kind. In his lecture, the administrator called for similar exhibitions to be held in the future and for the creation of a decorative arts section in the *Musée historique de la ville*.

Although the *Société d'art décoratif* would not hold another decorative arts exhibition in Nancy, the *Exposition des Arts décoratifs* helped the *Société* to achieve at least one of its stated goals. A profit of 6,000 francs allowed the Society to purchase seventeen works, including five works by Gallé, for the future museum of decorative arts.¹⁴⁷ According to arts reformer Vachon, following the exhibition of 1894, the *Société* nonetheless abandoned its practical efforts on behalf of the decorative arts in favor of theoretical discussions and the organization of lectures. Vachon describes a group riven by conflict: "But the numerous disagreements were not long in arising regarding personal questions, of industrial and commercial competition, of artists' hurt

feelings and self-respect: *Genus irritabile*.”¹⁴⁸ At the time of Vachon’s visit to Nancy, the dissolution of the group appeared imminent, although in fact the *Société* continued to operate for almost a decade.

Despite the inactivity of the *Société*, decorative artists did not lack for exhibition venues in Nancy. Many exhibited works at the annual salons of the local *Société des Amis des arts* and in the galleries of *Magasins Réunis*, a department store owned by the Nancy amateur Eugène Corbin.¹⁴⁹ Although artists from Lorraine exhibited their work at the *Exposition universelle* of 1900, the works were not grouped together. Instead, artists found their works assigned to various sections of the exhibition based on medium. With the exception of works by artists from Alsace and Lorraine exhibited together at the Salon of 1894, the works of those who showed regularly at the Salon, including Gallé and Prouvé, were most often displayed separately. Efforts to promote a specifically provincial style were thus often frustrated by existing institutional structures that privileged individual makers over group identity.

The Maison d’art lorraine

In Nancy, a decade would pass before another public exhibition devoted to the decorative arts was held, and artists and arts reformers instead turned to private enterprise to supply alternative venues in which for artists to display their works. The bookbinder Wiener, for example, often showed work by local artists in the front window of his shop. In March of 1901, the tapestry-maker Charles Fridrich (1876-1962) opened a store in Nancy that specialized in art from Lorraine, the *Maison d’art lorraine* (House of Lorrainer Art). The *Maison*’s first exhibition dates to November 15, 1900, several months before the creation of the *École de Nancy*, and may have served as inspiration for Gallé’s association of artists and designers.¹⁵⁰

Modeled on similar shops in Paris, such as Bing’s *L’Art nouveau* and Julius Meier-Graefe’s *La Maison moderne*, the *Maison d’art lorraine* served several functions. In addition to offering local artists a place to exhibit their work, Fridrich promoted the *Maison* as a way to bring artists together by offering them a “place for informal chats and practical demonstrations” and by organizing monthly competitions for young artists.¹⁵¹ Locals described the *Maison* as “a museum for seeing, comparing, critiquing the works that are exhibited there.”¹⁵² In *La Lorraine Artiste*, Fridrich stated that “The *Maison d’art lorrain*, created with the goal of promoting the expansion of modern art, organizes in its rooms permanent exhibitions intended to make known the results obtained by artists in their pursuit of a free and independent art.”¹⁵³ The *Maison* exhibited works by Prouvé, Hestaux, Gruber, and Paul Nicolas, among other artists.¹⁵⁴ In both Fridrich’s stated aims and in the press, its mission was envisioned as less commercial than utopian in nature. Perhaps unsuccessful for this very reason, the *Maison de l’art lorrain* closed in 1903, the year of the *École de Nancy*’s first major exhibition. A photograph of the storefront from that year shows Prouvé’s poster for the exhibition prominently placed in the front window (fig. 6.10).

The Creation of the École de Nancy

The goals of the *Société d’Art décoratif* were realized with the founding of the *École de Nancy* in 1901. The full name of the association was the *École de Nancy, Alliance provinciale des industries d’art*. Given this name, four things are immediately apparent. First, the association was resolutely local in character—not only the school of Nancy, but a *provincial* alliance.

Likewise, the idea of cooperation and community—an *alliance*—is paramount. Thirdly, it is clear that the town of Nancy has come to stand in, synecdochically, for the province as a whole. Fourthly, and perhaps most importantly, *industry* is posited as absolutely central to the identity of the association.

In the months leading up to the official founding of the *École de Nancy*, Gallé spoke often of the need to create artistic community and emphasized the significant role that cooperation between art and industry should play in such an endeavor. At a social event organized by the *Association des artistes lorrains* on December 28, 1900, Gallé employed the phrase “*École de Nancy*” for the first time to describe the principles uniting those working toward decorative arts reform in Lorraine. Jules Larcher (1849-1920), the president of the *Association* and director of the municipal *École des Beaux-Arts*, introduced Gallé, calling him “the pioneer” of arts reform in Nancy.¹⁵⁵ Larcher, himself a painter, argued in his introductory speech that thanks to the work of Gallé, unity of the arts had been achieved at last in Nancy. “The necessary revolution has today been accomplished: absurd barriers have disappeared and here we are gathered together,” he proclaimed.¹⁵⁶

After Larcher spoke, Gallé proceeded to give a rousing speech detailing his utopian vision of the unifying force of beauty—a powerful statement in the wake of the Dreyfus Affair, which only a few years earlier had polarized the city into opposing political camps. Gallé began by congratulating his colleagues and fellow manufacturers, Majorelle and Daum, who had recently been invited to join the Legion of Honor.¹⁵⁷ Majorelle, who produced works in wood and glass, and Daum, a glassmaker, were among Gallé’s foremost economic rivals. His praise of their achievements thus marks a new commitment to encouraging a spirit of cooperation rather than competition among the city’s arts manufacturers. Gallé attributes the success of Majorelle and Daum to “the clever, tenacious application of several working principles... that eminently characterize the regional renaissance of our artistic industries.”¹⁵⁸ In his praise of his fellow manufacturers, Gallé goes on to enumerate three principles that he believes characterize a regional style in the decorative arts.

He cites first “the principle of the adaptation of art to the trades,” or in other words, the application of art to industry, echoing the aims of the *Société des Arts décoratifs*.¹⁵⁹ Gallé then points to Majorelle’s embrace of what he terms “our French, Lorrainer formula, of a contemporary furniture the ornamentation of which is entirely derived from the studious observation of the decoration of woody plants in nature.”¹⁶⁰ As in 1894, then, Gallé associates the regional style of decoration with the observation of nature. He also invokes “the logical application of living prestiges... to the sane and wise construction of furniture and utilitarian objects.”¹⁶¹ Gallé terms this style, which combines rationalism with descriptive decoration, “naturalist decor.”¹⁶²

Nothing in Gallé’s description of Majorelle and Daum’s œuvre is surprising or uncharacteristic, and indeed many of his words recall claims made for a “Lorrainer art” during the exhibition of 1894. Where the artist’s speech differs, however, is in his vision of the transformative power of natural beauty, an idea first voiced in his Dreyfus-era writings. Indeed, in the founding of the *École de Nancy*, Gallé attempts to not only rethink but also essentially to remake community in the wake of the divisive events of the last decade. Abandoning for the moment his usual references to international competition and the war of the arts, Gallé claims a unifying role for art and, more specifically, for the art of Lorraine. He writes,

The workshops of Lorraine are not, thank God, the only to create a little happiness, [and] the vibrations emanating from them have, in spreading, encountered other waves of beneficial activity: Paris, Brussels, Copenhagen, –and, why not say it, the artistic circles of Germany, of the United States, and even artistic Japan, admired and loved your Lorrainer works in 1900, and we have often returned friendship for friendship.¹⁶³

Germany and the United States—two of France’s greatest rivals in both industry and the arts, suddenly appear united by the bonds of “friendship.” Similarly, Gallé now envisions the relationship between France and Japan as one of *exchange* rather than mere borrowing.

If Gallé’s vision of the unifying power of art is surprisingly cosmopolitan, it is also peaceful: “Nancy has annexed many provinces through cordiality in the last twenty years,” he writes, adding, “All of these scattered rings widen [and] are united; today they form a pacifying framework over irritable waves.”¹⁶⁴ The word “annexed” briefly evokes the specter of the lost provinces, only to replace the idea of military conflict with the peaceful harmony of artistic cooperation. Art is a universal source of comfort and refuge, Gallé argues. “If art tends to become, from the economic point of view, the finery of industrial merchandise [and] a weapon in fundamental competition,” he writes, “in some better respects, it constructs... a vast place of comfort, a universal house for the peoples [of the world].”¹⁶⁵

Gallé thus offers an alternative to the political divisions of his time. “Here is all of our *politics*,” he declares, inciting his fellow artists to

seek that which is beautiful, make it beloved through our works [and] constitute, through infectious emotion, an amicable solidarity between workers of the ideal and fellow citizens, between contemporaries and artists; be the artists of Union in Beauty.¹⁶⁶

Yet Gallé envisions the resulting harmony not in terms of hegemony but in terms of diversity. He hopes that other regions will follow Nancy’s example, creating regional centers of artistic creation united by shared goals but distinct from each other in terms of style. The distance of such a vision from the bellicose imagery of *revanche*, which envisioned France and Germany as two cultures at war, is striking. Whereas works like *Le Rhin* participated in a patriotic rhetoric that conflated artistic creation and warfare, then, Gallé now calls on artists to create works that promote harmony and cooperation. With his speech to the *Association*, Gallé thus signals a profound shift in his preoccupations both as an artist and as an industrialist.

On January 11, 1901, Gallé published a letter in *L’Étoile de l’Est* that reiterated his call for unity. The letter was reprinted in *La Lorraine Artiste* a few weeks later.¹⁶⁷ In his letter, the artist focuses on the issue of training for workers in Lorraine’s arts industries. The exhibition of 1894 had already highlighted the importance of this issue for Nancy’s artists and industrialists, but Gallé’s letter reiterates earlier concerns with a striking sense of urgency.

The artist composed his letter in response to a recent article by the journalist Gaston Save (1844-1901), in which the author describes the difficulties local workshops were having in finding trained workers. Gallé was familiar with this problem and was a vocal proponent of improved arts education for workers from the earliest days of his career.¹⁶⁸ In his letter to the editor, however, the artist seems to despair of achieving any real improvement in time to benefit

from what he terms the “almost universal reputation” of local artists.¹⁶⁹ Gallé also compares the situation in Nancy unfavorably with that in Austria-Hungary and the United States.

The lack of practical training for workers in the arts industries, according to Gallé, has had a tangible impact on the economic success of these same industries. Manufacturers in other countries, where the workforce is better trained and more abundant, are producing imitations of Nancy’s characteristic style and profiting from its popularity. “A new style has been realized here,” Gallé writes, “but there’s a lack of hands... to reproduce the originals.”¹⁷⁰ He continues, “That is a great shame, because there exists elsewhere workers sufficiently informed and whose shrewd managers have them reproduce [our works] at our expense.”¹⁷¹

Gallé here points to one of the key tensions that characterizes his art and that of his fellow manufacturers. On one hand, efforts to elevate the status of the decorative arts relied in part upon establishing Gallé’s products, like a painting or sculpture, as the expression of his own, individual genius. On the other hand, the works produced by Gallé and other manufacturers were both artisanal and industrial in nature. Although they required extensive hand-finishing, for example, Gallé’s works in wood, ceramic, and glass also existed as multiples and were produced employing a quite modern division of labor and the latest labor-saving technology.

In order to argue the works’ inherent uniqueness, and thus both their economic and cultural value, Gallé needed to obscure the industrial origins of his works. He accomplished this by associating the works with his own name and, perhaps more importantly, with the expression of an ineffable and thus irreproducible “idea.” At the same time, however, the financial burdens imposed by the artist’s constant experimentation with new methods and by his dedication to creating large-scale works intended for public display required the production of great quantities of less expensive works.

Gallé was caught, in other words, between the need to establish his own authorial identity as a maker and the need to find trained workers to reproduce his uniquely personal style. The very elements that made Gallé’s works read as the products of the artist’s personal vision, however—the curving, flowing, seemingly spontaneous arabesques of floral forms that decorated his works—were inherently difficult, if not nearly impossible, to reproduce through traditional means. Gallé’s call for improved training of workers in Nancy’s arts industries, then, must be understood in the context of the artist’s own efforts to establish a signature style that could be effectively marketed but not easily reproduced. A style that was difficult for his competitors to recreate, however, was no less challenging for his workers to reproduce.

Gallé’s solution, in part, was not to transform his own style but to call on his fellow manufacturers in Nancy to work together to improve training for their workers and to find solutions to the problems posed by international competition. In his letter to the editor, Gallé reveals himself to be knowledgeable about developments in other nations. Indeed, Gallé routinely exhibited works at international exhibitions and by 1900 had opened retail shops in England and Germany. Despite his appeal to universal harmony in his speech to the *Association des artistes lorrains*, in his letter, Gallé discusses foreign nations only in terms of industrial competition. He does not believe that international collaboration, which was a key element of the Art Nouveau movement in Europe, is the answer to Nancy’s woes. Rather, Gallé proposes that the artists of Lorraine band together to defend their economic interests. “We must... unite our interests in a common effort,” he asserts.¹⁷²

Gallé thus identifies two related issues for the arts in Lorraine: the problem of imitation and the need for improved training in the decorative arts. Both problems can be solved, he believes, through the communal efforts of Nancy’s artists and industrialists. The answer, he

suggests, is to define a shared regional style that, by virtue of its origins in Lorraine, cannot be imitated. In a sense, Gallé replaces the idea of individual genius he promoted in his early works and the concept of French taste discussed in relation to the artist's Japoniste works with the notion of regional specificity, which is conceived of, in other words, as somehow intrinsically inimitable. The creation of a regional style, then, is the final stage in Gallé's quest to discover a way to protect his art from imitation. The idea of a style with its roots in the depiction of nature, one that is thus closely tied to regional identity, moreover, allows Gallé to reconcile the need to promote himself as an individual creator with his desire to produce works that are the result of collaboration and cooperation. A style that relies upon a shared focus on depicting the landscape of Lorraine rather than on clearly defined formal parameters, moreover, preserves the autonomy of individual makers even as it unites their efforts in a common quest to establish the province as a regional artistic center. In the creation of the *École de Nancy*, in other words, Gallé seeks to reconcile the very tensions between the artisanal and the industrial, the autonomous work of art and its reproduction, and the individual and the collective that characterize the artist's earlier explorations of the relationship between identity and style.

In his letter, Gallé describes this new regional style in terms of a harvest grown from the soil of Lorraine. He writes, "It is necessary to create a cultural field that permits the seed of Decor to spread out durable roots in the soil, fit for producing harvests in the future."¹⁷³ He then compares the art of Lorraine, and decoration in particular, to the specialties produced in other provinces. "The Decor, in fact, has here become a local product," he writes, "as famous and as worthy of concern as the wine of Champagne or the sugared almonds [of] Verdun and Reims [and] the porcelain of Limoges."¹⁷⁴ Gallé mentions two products in particular, champagne and Limoges porcelain, which are commonly referred to by their area of origin. He seems to imagine a future, then, in which "Nancy" or "Lorraine" is synonymous with "decoration."

In order to create this eponymous style, he argues that artists and industrialists must work together to improve training in the arts. At first, Gallé seems to believe that the *Société des Arts décorative de Nancy*, which organized the *Exposition des Arts décoratifs lorrains* in 1894, might offer a model of cooperation. Although the *Société* had been inactive since 1894, Gallé attributes this to the hectic atmosphere surrounding preparations for the *Exposition universelle* of 1900. Now that the *Exposition* is over, he urges the *Société* to work towards achieving its original goals—namely the improvement of arts education and the creation of a museum of decorative arts. "Today, the moment seems to have come to make the most of the victory of 1900," Gallé argues, "[and] to bring about an excellent work of concentration to increase our productive forces in the service of our imaginative forces."¹⁷⁵

It is not immediately clear why the artist suddenly felt, in 1901, that matters had reached a crisis point. The *Exposition universelle* of 1900 may have offered French artists a glimpse of the stiff competition they faced from other nations. Additionally, the commercial success of Art Nouveau, which was being copied by manufacturers throughout Europe, undeniably frustrated those who believed they had invented the style. Gallé's own economic circumstances may have played a role as well. Although the artist was awarded two *grands prix* at the *Exposition Universelle* of 1900, one for his furniture and another for his glass, the exhibition was not a success for Gallé in terms of sales. Preparations for the *Exposition* also took a heavy toll on Gallé's finances, with little to show for his enormous efforts. In order to recover from these financial setbacks, Gallé needed to reinvent his art and secure its future success.

The invention of a specific style associated with Lorraine offered local artists like Gallé the possibility of creating a unique product that in theory could not be imitated. In order to create

this style, however, artists needed to distinguish their art not only from that of other nations, but also from that being produced in Paris. Thus decentralization was also essential if Lorraine was to compete with other artistic centers. As a specifically provincial association, the *École de Nancy* was thus intended to further the aims of those seeking to establish an alternative to the Parisian art market.

Goals of the École de Nancy

The *École de Nancy* was officially founded on February 13, 1901 following a meeting of the official *comité d'initiative*, or organizing committee.¹⁷⁶ The members of this committee included Gallé, Daum, Majorelle, and the architect and furnituremaker Eugène Vallin, but it was Gallé himself who composed the Statutes, which read less as a manifesto than as a list of problems facing local arts industries.¹⁷⁷ During a meeting of the society on February 14, members approved the statutes and elected Gallé as president for a term of four years. Other officers included Majorelle, Vallin, and Daum as vice-presidents, with Vallin also serving as secretary and Daum as treasurer.¹⁷⁸

Gallé would further elaborate his idea of art's transformative power in a second speech delivered on February 16, 1901, only days after the official creation of the *École de Nancy*. Gallé again gave his speech before a meeting of the *Association des artistes lorrains*, of which he served as honorary chairman. Larcher, who once more introduced the artist, claimed that this honor demonstrated the *Association's* desire to "strengthen further, if possible, the ties that fraternally bind, in our Lorraine, all the arts of form and color, and those who practice them."¹⁷⁹

In his speech, Gallé echoes Larcher's reference to the ideal of cooperation between art and industry. He pays tribute, for example, to the landscape painters of Lorraine, whose "naturalist art" he suggests restores humankind to its natural environment.¹⁸⁰ According to Gallé, landscape painters, "the portraitists of our old mother Lorraine," share with the "artist-decorator" the combined roles of "a teacher... a patriot [and] a humanist."¹⁸¹ It is their task to unite humanity in "the pacifying love of nature."¹⁸² Gallé sees the landscape painter and the decorative artist, then, as united by the same goal—to bring together humanity in the appreciation of natural beauty.¹⁸³

A letter of introduction accompanied the Statutes of the *École de Nancy*, which were mailed to interested parties shortly after the group's founding. The letter invites recipients to join the *École de Nancy*, which is described as "a work of decentralization and general usefulness."¹⁸⁴ The origins of the *École de Nancy*, the letter states, lie in the *Société des Arts décoratifs* and its exhibition of 1894. It is clear that the author of the letter, presumably Gallé, wished both to establish a genealogy for the nascent *École de Nancy* and to lay claim to its status as the logical culmination of previous attempts to create a regional arts association.

In the letter, the author makes a series of claims that closely resemble those voiced by the organizers of the 1894 exhibition. The art of the *École de Nancy*, Gallé asserts, relies primarily upon the observation of natural forms: "Through the study and the adaptation of natural elements to the arts of furniture [making], our Lorrainer industrial artists have realized a mode of ornamentation that will characterize our era."¹⁸⁵ The artists of the *École de Nancy* will employ nature, in other words, not in the guise of motifs derived from the art of the past, but in a way more consistent with an era of scientific advancement and progress. The use of forms derived from nature will be the result of direct observation.

The author also refers to the idea of a national art characterized by logic and truth, a concept discussed by Badel and others in their reviews of the 1894 exhibition. "It's this return to

nature, to truth, to a national art that has given to our logical principles of construction and decoration... the name of School of Nancy,” Gallé contends.¹⁸⁶ Whereas accounts of the *Exposition des Arts décoratifs* termed this logical style based on the observation of nature a “Lorrainer art,” a provincial style, now it is the “*École de Nancy*,” a term that refers to both a group of artists *and* their characteristic, shared style. It is interesting to note that the city of Nancy has in this passage once again come to stand in for Lorraine as a whole.

The use of the word “*École*,” or school, is likewise not accidental. On one hand, the term describes a style, or “shared characteristic of works of art, literature, or science.”¹⁸⁷ Thus an artist who inspires other artists to emulate him is said to “faire école,” or establish a school. However, an *école* can also be, quite simply, an “establishment where one teaches letters, science, [and] the arts.”¹⁸⁸ It is likely that the double entendre was intentional, for in his letter to potential members, Gallé repeatedly underscores the need for better professional training. In addition to the creation of special exhibitions, publications, competitions, a museum, and a library—all goals of the *Union Central des Arts décoratifs* and the *Société des Arts décoratifs*—Gallé claims that the *École de Nancy* will also offer courses taught by local artists and industrialists. These courses will be both practical and theoretical in nature and open to students and professionals alike. Gallé makes clear that he is motivated not so much by the needs of the workers as by the requirements of those who employ them. Of the proposed courses, he writes, “We hope thus to quickly create a manufacturing population of consummate intelligence and skill.”¹⁸⁹

The author goes on to declare that this program of arts education is in no way intended to replace that of the *École des Beaux-Arts*. “It’s not a new School of Fine Arts that we intend to establish,” he writes.¹⁹⁰ Gallé deplures, however, the emphasis of “official training” on the arts of painting, sculpture, and architecture.¹⁹¹ To support his argument, the artist cites the findings of three men sent to study art schools in other European countries with the goal of reorganizing Nancy’s *École régionale des Beaux-Arts*—Larcher, municipal architect Albert Jasson (1849-1923), and architect and former president of the *Société industrielle de l’Est* Henry Gutton (1874-1963). According to Gallé, all three concurred that other European nations had far surpassed France in the quality of their decorative arts training by virtue of their emphasis on practical instruction. Gallé notes that the study only confirms what André and others had declared to be an urgent problem nearly two decades before. Gallé himself had spoken of “the general penury of industrial draftsmen” before a *Commission d’enquête* investigating the question in 1881.¹⁹²

In order to reform arts education in the provinces, Gallé argues, the *École de Nancy* must operate independent of any State control. Making a case for decentralization, the artist asserts, “The solutions offered by the Provincial Alliance... are based on liberation from the control of the State and absolute independence of methods and works of private initiative.”¹⁹³ Just as he was careful not to alienate the local *École des Beaux-Arts*, however, Gallé attempts to soften his criticism of the arts administration. He writes, “There is no question of creating antagonism between industry and official training such as it exists. The *École de Nancy* will be the first to applaud the attempts of the Schools of Fine Arts to render service to French trades in peril.”¹⁹⁴ In his foreword to the Statutes, however, Gallé also reiterates that he hopes the *École de Nancy* will help keep talent in Nancy and not in the capital.¹⁹⁵

Gallé may have planned initially to offer decorative art courses through the *École des Beaux-Arts*. The president of the school, Larcher, numbered among the founding members of the *École de Nancy*. In 1901, the reorganization of the *École nationale des Beaux-Arts* in Paris led to the decentralization of arts education, and Nancy’s *École des Beaux-Arts* was elevated to the

status of a national school. Gallé and other members of the *École de Nancy* may have hoped that this reorganization would result in greater emphasis on practical training in the decorative arts but if so, they were disappointed.

The *École de Nancy* also planned to offer professional courses through the *École professionnelle de l'Est*. This school, originally called the *École Loritz*, had been created in 1840 to train engineers, contractors, and foreman.¹⁹⁶ In 1899, the director, Robert Herborn, had instituted courses in the decorative arts. Taught by Henri Bergé (1870-1937), an artist from Nancy, the courses emphasized the direct observation of nature and focused on the depiction of plant forms.¹⁹⁷ The comprehensive series of practical and theoretical courses envisioned by Gallé, however, never materialized. It may be that balance the artist sought to establish between conventional training in the fine arts and practical training in the decorative arts was impossible to achieve given the existing institutional divisions in Nancy. No one school, in other words, could answer Gallé's demand to unite art and industry in the training of workers.

In his letter, just as he is careful not to offend existing institutions such as the *École des Beaux-Arts*, Gallé also takes pains to reconcile the interests of Lorraine with those of the nation. He describes Nancy as a frontier town, a bulwark against the invasion of foreign imports. "The workshops of Nancy are the outposts of French art and industry [and] if one is imitating the Belgian style everywhere, modern creation in Nancy has remained French," he asserts.¹⁹⁸ Gallé here invokes a worrisome aspect of Art Nouveau for the artists of Nancy. As Auguin suggested in his review of the 1894 exhibition, the new style was an inherently cosmopolitan one that drew on artistic currents in several European nations. Gallé is at pains in this passage to distinguish the "modern style" as created in Nancy from that produced in Belgium or other European nations. He attempts to claim Art Nouveau, in other words, for France—and for Lorraine in particular.

If Gallé strikes a careful balance between the needs of France and those of Lorraine, he also attempts to balance the needs of the group as a whole against the independence of the individual artist. Just as his gradual disillusionment with nationalism had led Gallé to champion the rights of the individual during the Dreyfus Affair, in the creation of the *École de Nancy*, Gallé attempts to reconcile the seemingly opposed needs of the group and the individual. At first, it seems that Gallé privileges the collective rather than the independent artist. One of the goals of the *École de Nancy*, his letter states, is to "render profitable for all the effort and the success of some."¹⁹⁹ Similarly, Gallé claims that the letter is written in "a sentiment of fraternity and common interest."²⁰⁰ In his foreword to the Statutes, Gallé adds, "The founders of the Association... have felt the urgent necessity to substitute for the isolated energies of the first hour a system of harmony and of common efforts."²⁰¹ The letter, foreword, and statutes, moreover, are signed not by Gallé alone, but by all four members of the *Comité d'initiative*: Gallé, Majorelle, Vallin, and Daum, further reinforcing the idea of a collectivity.

One for All, or All for One?

Around the time he composed the Statutes of the *École de Nancy*, Gallé also sketched a possible logo for the group (figs. 6.11, 6.12). The logo consists of a stylized orchid, a motif that Gallé employed often in his own work.²⁰² At the *Exposition universelle* of 1900, for example, Gallé exhibited a desk entitled *Orchidées lorraines* (Lorrainer Orchids, 1900), or *La Forêt lorrain* (Lorrainer Forest), which depicts several species of orchids in their native habitat (fig. 6.13). The desk bears an inscription from Baudelaire's *Fleurs du mal*, which reads, "All there would speak/To the soul in secret/Its gentle native tongue."²⁰³ The work thus signals the

importance of the idea of *place* in Gallé's work with its emphasis on native species, landscape, and language. In addition to *Orchidées lorraines*, Gallé exhibited at least three other works featuring orchids at the *Exposition*, including *Les Lumineuses* (The Luminous Ones, 1900), a vase depicting an exotic species of orchid native to South America, *Odontoglossum* (fig. 6.14).

The orchid held special significance for Gallé, who devoted the last years of his life to the scientific study of its forms. In 1900, Gallé presented a paper on anomalies in orchids at the *Congrès international de botanique* held at the *Exposition universelle* in Paris.²⁰⁴ In the years preceding his death, Gallé further elaborated on his ideas concerning the polymorphism of orchids in an unpublished study entitled *Orchidée lorraines* (Lorrainer Orchids). In his paper delivered in 1900, Gallé examines the mutability of form and color within a single species, *Aceras hircina*, which grows in Lorraine. Gallé situates the orchid within the context of its environment, described as “the grassy slopes of Jurassic limestone dominating the districts of Griscourt and Gezoncourt.”²⁰⁵ In his paper, Gallé is interested primarily in the ways in which the form of the orchid has adapted to its environment and in the mechanisms by which new forms arise.

We might interpret the artist's study of *Aceras hircina*, which shares characteristics with other members of its genus, as a perfect metaphor for the regional particularity that exists within a unifying national system. Regional identity, like the form of *Aceras hircina*, is fluid and evolving rather than fixed. Gallé's illustrations of *Aceras hircina*, which accompanied his article, demonstrate this dual nature of the orchid. In Plates One and Two, Gallé depicts the flowers of *Aceras hircina* according to the conventions of botanical illustration (figs. 6.15, 6.16).

Such conventions were clearly established by the 18th century.²⁰⁶ According to Beth Fowkes Tobin, botanical illustrations typically isolate the plant from its environment by depicting the specimen against a white background and omitting any depiction of the flower's roots.²⁰⁷ Instead, the plant is dissected into its component parts, including stem, leaves, and flowers, and sometimes shown at several stages in its growth. In Plate I, Gallé thus depicts the buds of various specimens of *Aceras hircina* against a blank background and employs a variety of perspectives in order to offer a detailed view of the flower from all angles. Each variant displays the elongated labella characteristic of the species. By pairing each specimen with another variant depicted from the same point of view, Gallé simultaneously underscores the uniqueness of each bud and its relationship to those around it, conveying a sense of simultaneous unity and variety.

The carefully depicted forms of the more naturalistically rendered buds, however, contrast with the graphic representation of the orchids near the bottom of the page. Here Gallé's scientific precision seems to veer over into artistic whimsy, as the forms of *Aceras hircina* take on an elegant, stylized quality that evokes the shape of trailing ribbons. All of the flowers evoke an uneasy sense of animation, as they begin to resemble playful depictions of human figures. In Plate Two, this uncanny resemblance is heightened, as Gallé's image of orchids with elaborately elongated labellae begins to suggest human figures with their arms outstretched. Cross-sections of *Aceras hircina* likewise bring to mind tiny, impish faces. As the publication of his study of *Aceras hircina* demonstrates, Gallé was fascinated by scientific theories regarding the adaptation of plant forms to their geographical environment. Perhaps it is not too far a stretch, then, to imagine that the specimens Gallé depicts in the illustrations for his study, entitled “Formes nouvelles et polymorphisme de l'*Aceras hircina*,” function in a way as a metaphor for Gallé's understanding of human society.

In Plates Four and Five, Gallé depicts the plant *Aceras hircina*, complete with numerous buds (figs. 6.17, 6.18). The relationship between these individual buds and the overall shape of the plant, I contend, can be read as a visual expression of Gallé's belief that social harmony could result from "unity in diversity." Each bud, as depicted in Plates One and Two, bears its own unique form, but together the flowers function as a living whole. In each plate, Gallé follows the conventions of botanical illustration in his depiction of *Aceras hircina* and isolates his specimens from their environment.

Nonetheless, in his design for the cover of *Actes du 1er Congrès International de Botanique*, the journal in which his paper appears, Gallé offers the viewer an organicist vision of interdependence (fig. 6.19). On the front cover, the branches of the *Celtis*, or hackberry tree, and the *Crataegus*, or hawthorne shrub, entwine around a cartouche in which is depicted an unidentified building. The leaves appear to taper in an exaggerated manner that is even more evident on the back cover, where their elongated shape begins to resemble seaweed, mushrooms are transformed into sea anemones, and Gallé's *Aceras hircina*, at the top right, suddenly resembles a floating jellyfish with its long tentacles trailing behind it (fig. 6.20). Philippe Thiébaud and others have persuasively argued that Gallé's famous *Main aux algues* symbolically represents the process of evolution, from the origin of life in the oceans to the birth of mankind (fig. 6.21).²⁰⁸ Gallé's cover for the *Actes*, I suggest, depicts a similar interest in the mutation of forms as they evolve and change. It is, in aesthetic terms, a perfect metaphor for the way in which artistic styles form and are transformed over time.

For Gallé, then, the orchid stands as a symbol of the infinite variety of nature and the universal processes that give rise to that variety. In his logo for the *École de Nancy*, Gallé chooses an orchid to represent the group. The orchid he depicts is presumably one of the many that are native to Lorraine, although here it appears in a simplified and slightly stylized form. At once representing nature, fertility, ornament, and rootedness in the soil of Lorraine, the orchid also connotes a plant composed of disparate parts that work together to reproduce and propagate the species. Meanwhile, the resemblance to and yet clear difference from the traditional French fleur-de-lis evokes Lorraine's unique place within the nation.

Beneath his two sketches of the orchid motif, Gallé has penciled in a series of phrases: "tous pour chacun/chacun pour tous" (all for one/one for all), "tortous po chacun/chacun po tortous" (all for one/one for all) and "un chacun pour tous/tous pour chacun" (one for all/all for one). Recalling the famous phrase from Alexandre Dumas's *Les Trois Mousquetaires* (The Three Musketeers, 1844), the motto signals the dual nature of the *École de Nancy* as Gallé envisions it. As a group, the *École de Nancy* will protect the interests of its individual members, who in turn will work together to further the interests of the group. The *École de Nancy* is an association, in other words, that respects personal liberty while urging collaboration and group action. Its identity is composite, rather than uniform. It is notable that Gallé also employs the local dialect for one of the phrases, "tortous po chacun, chacun po tortous," signaling the *École de Nancy*'s rootedness in the traditional culture of the province.²⁰⁹

Around the time of the founding of the *École de Nancy*, Gallé also adopted the orchid as a kind of personal emblem. An envelope discovered in the collection of the *Musée lorrain*, for example, is printed with four stylized orchids and a flowing, ribbonlike version of Gallé's signature (fig. 6.22). The artist here abandons the naturalism of his illustrations of *Aceras hircina*, instead rendering the orchids as symmetrical, almost geometric decorative motifs. One orchid, printed underneath the stamp, appears to be doubled over on itself so that it has four, rather than two, labellae. Rather than underlining the polymorphic character of the orchid, then,

Gallé here explores its underlying structure. By reducing the flower to its characteristic components, Gallé is able to combine disparate elements at will and thus create new forms.

The interrelationship of these specimens or motifs, however, is signaled by wavy lines that emanate from the orchid on the back flap of the envelope. The lines intersect a handwritten note that reads, “Excentricité Transcendentale” (Transcendental Eccentricity). The word “eccentricity” may refer to either something that deviates from an established pattern or to a mathematical constant describing the shape of a cone. Similarly, the term “transcendental” describes both something that transcends human experience and a mathematical function that cannot be expressed as an algebraic formula. Together, the two terms evoke the interplay between established form and its deviation, while the term “transcendental” imbues this relationship with a quasi-metaphysical significance. Gallé thus imbues the evolution of natural forms with an almost mystical aspect. In his œuvre, then, the orchid is at once a metaphor for the place of the individual within society and an example of the kind of evolutionary processes that engender not only biological but also artistic transformations.

Roses of France

In 1901, Gallé created another work that expressed the idea of place that is so central to his œuvre. In that year, the *Société d’Horticulture de Nancy*, of which Gallé was a member, commissioned the artist to design a bowl honoring its former president, the horticulturalist Jules Léon Simon.²¹⁰ The resulting work, *Roses de France* (Roses of France, 1901), exists in at least five versions.²¹¹ The version given to Simon is in the collection of the *Musée de l’École de Nancy* and bears the inscription, “The Horticultural Society of Nancy 1877-1901 To Its Honorary President Léon Simon” (fig. 6.23).²¹² In 1877, Gallé and Simon were among the 85 founding members of the *Société centrale d’Horticulture*, and Gallé served as secretary of the organization until elected as its vice-president in 1891.²¹³ Simon, meanwhile, held the post of president of the society from 1877 to 1900, when he retired due to reasons of ill health. The *Société d’Horticulture* presented *Roses de France* to Simon on September 14, 1901, at the inauguration of the autumn horticultural exhibition held in the *Pépinière*, a park in Nancy.²¹⁴

Roses de France is a complex composition, a tour-de-force accomplishment requiring multiple firings and the use of difficult techniques such as marquetry, engraving, acid etching, and hot glass applications for its realization.²¹⁵ The rippling lines of the bowl and the placement of the roses suggest movement, as if a wind is bending the stems of the roses. The bowl of the goblet also brings to mind the shape of a sailing ship evoking the liquid ripples of molten glass.²¹⁶ Gallé included *Roses de France* among his works on display at the first exhibition of the *École de Nancy* in 1903. The previous year, French president Émile Loubet had presented a version of *Roses de France* to the Russian Czar during his visit to St. Petersburg.²¹⁷ *Roses de France* thus takes its place among Gallé’s most public works, both in its scale and in its audience.

The form of *Roses de France* resembles a 16th-century tazza, a shallow cup or bowl mounted on a footed stem.²¹⁸ The shape suits the ceremonial role of *Roses de France*, which served as a commemorative, rather than functional, work of art. The shape of *Roses de France* is also similar to that of an earlier work, *L’Escargot des vignes* (1884) but is otherwise rare in Gallé’s œuvre (fig. 6.24).²¹⁹ The choice to employ a form reminiscent of the 16th century at a point in Gallé’s career when the artist preferred to use shapes derived from natural forms is significant. By employing the shape of a tazza, a form associated with the princely courts of

medieval and Renaissance Europe, Gallé evokes Nancy's glorious history as the capital of the duchy of Lorraine.

As Georges Barbier-Ludwig has suggested, the choice of a rose as the decorative motif for the goblet was no doubt motivated in part by Simon's longstanding association with this flower. In 1899, Simon coauthored an authoritative guide, *Nomenclature de tous les noms des roses*, which included over 10,000 entries.²²⁰ Simon was also the president of the *Société des Rosiéristes français*, a society devoted to the hybridization of roses. The rose motif thus speaks to Simon's lifelong passion for these plants but as Barbier-Ludwig points out, it also reveals a well-known aspect of Simon's biography. Simon was born in Metz, a French city near the border with Germany, which was annexed following the Franco-Prussian War. Like many of his neighbors, the horticulturalist fled Metz for Nancy, opting to preserve his French citizenship at the expense of his family's business.

In contemporary accounts, *Roses de France* was also known as *Rosa Gallica*. This species of rose, native to Europe and Turkey, is sometimes called the French Rose or Gallic Rose. *Rosa Gallica* bears another meaning, however, in the context of late 19th-century botany. As discussed in Chapter One, in Godron's *Flore de la Lorraine*, the author states that in Lorraine, *rosa gallica* grows only on the flanks of Mont St-Quentin, near the town of Metz.²²¹ Describing an earlier work, the table *Flore de Lorraine*, Gallé identified *rosa gallica* as "the rose of the Gauls, which only opens its petals of blood, in Lorraine, on St. Quentin mountain, near Metz."²²² For Gallé, then, *rosa gallica* bears a meaning quite specific to Lorraine itself. It symbolizes the town of Metz and through this symbolism, evokes the annexation of the eastern provinces.²²³ Because it is a wild rose, however, *rosa gallica* also suggests the resiliency and strength of those who left the annexed territories to make a new life in Nancy.

In *Roses de France*, Gallé represents three stages of the life of a rose. On the base of the goblet, young buds in high relief figure prominently (fig. 6.25). The bowl of the goblet bears a bud about to blossom carved in high relief, an example of Gallé's famous technique of glass marquetry (fig. 6.26). The back of the goblet, in contrast, exhibits a rose in full bloom, engraved in low-relief cameo, with the characteristic five petals of the *Rosa gallica* (fig. 6.27). These three moments in the life of a rose suggest the stages of Simon's life.²²⁴ The subtle network of stems and leaves, meanwhile, evoke the veins and arteries of the body.²²⁵ Gallé, who had known Simon for over two decades, here celebrates the full flowering of a life's work.

While I concur with Barbier-Ludwig's analysis of the symbolism of *Roses de France*, I believe it can be taken one step further. By depicting an identifiable species of flower, Gallé asserts once again that individual identity is rooted in the landscape of one's native region. By likening Simon's life to that of a rose, in other words, Gallé suggests that the botanist is likewise defined by the environment in which he grows. It can hardly be accidental that Gallé's depiction of the stages of life of *Rosa gallica* is reminiscent of his orchid studies. As in his illustrations for "Formes nouvelles et polymorphisme de l'*Aceras hircina*," Gallé essentially dissects the form he depicts, fragmenting it into its constituent parts and then linking them together through the swirling colors of the bowl itself. The play between part and whole, and thus individual and society, region and nation, is thus visible in the very form of the plant itself, as it appears both separated into discrete sections and twining around the bowl in a continuous, flowing motion.

As with so many of Gallé's more ambitious works, several versions of *Roses de France* exist because Gallé could never be sure how many would survive the multiple firings necessary to create such complex compositions. An engraving which appeared in the *Revue de l'Art ancien et moderne*, for example, shows a slightly different version of *Roses de France*, which was

subsequently broken (fig. 6.28).²²⁶ The engraving shows the tiny glass cabochons, in the form of insects, that once decorated the central portion of the vase. The presence of these insects further underscored the suggestion of the natural world as a dynamic system composed of many interrelated parts.

The Influence of Evolutionary Theory

On April 28, 1901, Gallé further elaborated his ideas regarding the mutation of forms during the second of the *École de Nancy*'s monthly lectures held at the *Salle Blondot* in Nancy. The title of his lecture was "On the Necessity of Basic Physiological Knowledge for the Designer Wishing to Create Ornamentation in Harmony with the Modern Diffusion of the Natural Sciences."²²⁷ Clearly conceived as an effort to promulgate and define a characteristic style for the *École de Nancy*, such lectures were free and open to the public. Gallé's lecture, transcribed by fellow member of the *École de Nancy* Émile Nicolas, focused on the importance of scientific knowledge for designers.

Speaking in a room lavishly decorated with flowers and branches, Gallé argued that the "decorators" of Lorraine were the first to apply the direct observation of nature to their works.²²⁸ Just as they respected the characteristics of the materials they worked, Gallé contends, these artists were also careful to reproduce the unique characteristics of the forms they depicted. "They worked in decor by endeavoring to make each of their compositions retain the typical signs of natural species," Gallé states.²²⁹ In his lecture, Gallé places particular emphasis upon the way in which organisms are adapted to their environment, arguing that "each species possesses its own beauty, which is the result of organic differentiations in harmony with the environment in which it develops."²³⁰

Gallé then opposes the study of plant forms and their representation to "the teratological decor" of past art, employing a biological term denoting the malformation or mutation of an organism.²³¹ The artist urges his listeners to study not only the appearance of forms found in nature, but also their structure. During his lecture, Gallé showed slides of orchids, butterflies, protozoa, and other life forms, demonstrating both his interest in the structure of natural forms and his awareness of the latest evolutionary theories.²³² Gallé also illustrated his lecture with drawings of *Aceras hircina*, which were presented as examples of natural forms that could be applied to decoration (fig. 6.29). Undersea forms of radiolaria and protozoa, meanwhile, offered further examples of geometric forms found in nature.

Gallé would most likely have been familiar with the work of the German biologist Ernst Haeckel (1834-1919). Although best known for his richly illustrated study *Kunstformen in Natur* (Art Forms in Nature, 1899-1904)²³³, Haeckel also published numerous works on the evolution of natural forms.²³⁴ An illustration of a radiolarian, a kind of zooplankton, from Haeckel's first scientific study, *Die Radiolarien* (Radiolaria, 1862), is strikingly similar to one employed by Gallé to illustrate his lecture (figs. 6.30, 6.31).²³⁵ A passionate proponent of Charles Darwin's theories, Haeckel was also strongly influenced by the idea of Monism, the belief that man, God, and nature are united in a single, seamless continuum.²³⁶ A plate from his work *The Evolution of Man* (1879), for example, depicts this continuum in the form of a branching tree with humankind at its apex (fig. 6.32). Haeckel's vision of a richly complex, yet unified natural world may have influenced Gallé's own understanding of regional identity and style in the context of nationalism. Although Gallé does not refer to Haeckel in his lecture, the artist spoke fluent German and was well aware of the latest scientific developments in Germany and England.

Public lectures were one facet of the *École de Nancy*'s program, and exhibitions were another. The *École de Nancy*, for example, sought to represent France at the international Decorative Arts Exhibition—the first exhibition of its kind—held in Turin in 1902. Following a meeting of the *École de Nancy* held at the home of Vallin on February 24, 1902, Gallé approached the Minister of Commerce and Industry, Henri Millerand, to request that the State subsidize the *École de Nancy*'s contribution to the exhibition.²³⁷ This request was refused, however, and the city of Nancy was able to offer only 1,500 francs to the artists, who declined to exhibit as a group. Individual artists entered their works in the exhibition, but the *École de Nancy* was absent. The State's refusal to support the efforts of the *École de Nancy* suggests that Gallé's attempt to associate the new style with the province of Lorraine may have been too successful, for how could a specifically regional style purport to represent all of France?

The *Exposition de l'École de Nancy*, 1903

The first official group exhibition of the *École de Nancy* took place the following year, in March of 1903. Georges Berger, the president of the Paris-based *Union Centrale des Arts décoratifs*, invited the artists of the *École de Nancy* to show their works in the capital. A letter from Gallé in the archives of the *Union Centrale des Arts décoratifs* reveals that it was the artist who first suggested the idea of an exhibition devoted to “the Lorrainer school of industrialists and artists.”²³⁸ Other documents show, however, that Gallé did not play an active role in the organization of the exhibition, preferring to leave the details to Majorelle and Daum.²³⁹ In his correspondence, for example, Majorelle indicates that decisions concerning publicity for the exhibition and the organization of the displays were decided by the organizing committee as a whole and not by Gallé.²⁴⁰

On December 16, 1902, *L'Est Républicain* announced plans for “an exhibition of Lorrainer decorative art” to be held in Paris the following March.²⁴¹ According to the newspaper, the exhibition would emphasize art rather than industry. A committee designated by the *Union Centrale des Arts décoratifs*, the newspaper states, would work together with the *École de Nancy* to ensure that only objects “having the character of art” were admitted.²⁴² The officers of the *École de Nancy*, Gallé, Majorelle, and Daum formed the local organizational committee.²⁴³

From the first, then, the circumstances of the exhibition seemed to be at odds with the principles of the *École de Nancy*. It is significant, for example, that the *Union Centrale* chose to title the exhibition the *Exposition de l'École de Nancy*, neatly disregarding the subtitle of *Alliance provinciale des industries d'art*. The exhibition nonetheless offered the artists of the *École de Nancy* the opportunity to present both their works and their ideas to a Parisian public. The official catalog of the exhibition seems intended to do just that: it offers an introduction to the principles and the style of the *École de Nancy*, defining them in clear terms for visitors unfamiliar with the latest developments in eastern France. Despite its presentation of the *École de Nancy* as an artistic, rather than industrial, alliance, the exhibition thus lent legitimacy and focus to the group and helped define its cohesive, shared style.

The exhibition was held at the *Pavillon de Marsan* (Marsan Pavilion), the future home of the *Musée des Arts décoratifs* (Museum of Decorative Arts). Twenty-three artists participated in the exhibition, including Gallé, Daum, and Prouvé, and two versions of the catalog appeared in quick succession. The first, published in Paris in 1903, accompanied the exhibition. The journal *La Lorraine Artiste*, based in Nancy, published the second version first as an article in 1903 and then as a book in 1904. This second version was richly illustrated and offered a glimpse of the

exhibition to those who were unable to travel to Paris. Gallé composed both versions of the preface, which thus complements the Statutes as an official, public declaration of the principles uniting the *École de Nancy*.

In the version of the catalog published in Paris, Gallé emphasizes the provincial origins of the *École de Nancy*, comparing it to a family with himself at its head. “One has just welcomed to Paris the works of the master stylists of the *École de Nancy*, joined together by the initiator of this renaissance in a family agreement uniting all the art trades of Lorraine,” he writes.²⁴⁴ The idea of family refers at once to the union of individual artists, the unity of the arts, and to the common origin of the artists in the province of Lorraine. In the wake of the Dreyfus Affair, Gallé’s emphasis on familial harmony is particularly striking and signals an attempt to heal the social divisions caused by the tensions of the previous decade.

In his preface to the Paris catalog, however, Gallé also takes pains to distance the *École de Nancy* from recent stylistic trends in the capital. “The *École de Nancy*, in essence, and this is what really distinguishes it from recent attempts to impose on us an incoherent and bizarre *modern style*,” he argues, “the *École de Nancy* aims to possess and put into practice certain principles that are its own.”²⁴⁵ French critics often employed the phrase “modern style” to refer to the Art Nouveau movement, thus emphasizing its perceived origins in British art.²⁴⁶ Gallé’s use of the English phrase thus establishes the resolutely *French* character of the *École de Nancy*, while also defining its artistic principles in opposition to those of the capital. The art of Lorraine, in other words, is posited as more truly French than that of the cosmopolitan capital.

In fact, in a subsequent passage Gallé openly attacks the work of Paris-based groups such as *L’Art dans tout*, which included among its members furniture maker Tony Selmersheim (1871-1971), architect Charles Plumet (1861-1928), and sculptor Alexandre Charpentier (1856-1909).²⁴⁷ He writes,

Let us not be afraid, then, to encounter... such *lounge cars*, where, under the pretext of modernism and comfort, furniture whose pieces form an integral part of the building, find themselves soldered one to the other like *Siamese twins*, or rather appear, like in the *world upside down*, with their feet on the ceiling.²⁴⁸

Gallé here inveighs against Parisian Art Nouveau’s experimental forms and interest in the interplay between architecture, sculpture, and the decorative arts. Gallé rejects the sculptural, asymmetrical forms of works such as Hector Guimard’s *Bench for a Smoking Parlor* (1897) as somehow unnatural (fig. 6.33). Moreover, through his reference to “*Siamese twins*,” Gallé suggests that whereas the work of the *École de Nancy* constitutes a naturally occurring form of polymorphism, the style of Art Nouveau artists working in Paris is more akin to what Gallé terms “teratological,” or monstrous, mutations. Rather than basing their art on fantasy, Gallé argues that the artists of the *École de Nancy* look to nature for examples of logic and rational structure—characteristics that he believes are more truly French than those embraced by Guimard and other designers.

In his description of works that are “soldered one to the other,” however, Gallé also displays an uneasiness with the idea of works that blur the distinctions between furniture and architecture. It may be that the artist’s own focus on producing autonomous works of art, akin to paintings in their tour-de-force displays of technical mastery and complex messages, is incompatible with approaches to form that test the boundaries between an object and its environment. Although Gallé frequently designed coordinated ensembles for specific rooms, for

example, he never fully embraced the ideal of the *gesamtkunstwerk*, or total work of art. In contrast to Belgian artists like Victor Horta (1861-1947) and Henri van de Velde (1863-1957), who designed complete interiors for their buildings, Gallé remained committed to the production of individual art objects. Indeed, in his preface the artist attacks Parisian Art Nouveau as “macaroni ornamentation” and “*the whiplash style*,” phrases which associate the movement with the curvilinear forms of both Italian and Belgian art.²⁴⁹ In his preface to the catalog, then, Gallé strenuously asserts the individuality of the style created in Lorraine, carefully distancing it from both the Art Nouveau style of the capital and that of other European nations.

A contemporary caricature published in 1900, however, reveals the vulnerability of the *École de Nancy* to the same criticisms Gallé levels at the work of other Art Nouveau artists (fig. 6.34). The image shows Gallé standing in the doorway of a butcher’s shop. In the window hang two lobed forms that resemble the artist’s depictions of orchids. Two vines vigorously climb the facade of the store, bearing monstrous faces like fruit drooping from their branches. Below the shop sign, an inscription reads, “Raie-Gallé-vous, on ne Majorelle pas les prix!” (Treat yourself, we don’t charge high prices!)—a pun on the names of Gallé and Majorelle, both of whom did in fact charge comparatively high prices for their works.

To the right of Gallé, a list of “specialties” includes “New Lard” (*Lard Nouveau*), “Lorrainer Sausage” (*Saucisson...dit ‘de Lorraine’*), “Dome of French Fries” (*Daum de terre frites*), and “Gruber Cheese” (*Fromage de Gruber*). “*Lard Nouveau*” is, of course, a direct reference to the Art Nouveau movement. Daum and Gruber were two local artists who would number among the founding members of the *École de Nancy* in 1901. In this piquant caricature, then, the artist points to two challenges facing local artists: how to make an art seemingly based on personal fantasy signify as a shared artistic style and how to define that style as a unique product of the province of Lorraine. “Avoid imitations” (*évitiez les contrefaçons*), the board reads, perhaps a pointed reference to Gallé’s efforts to stem the tide of reproductions of his works sold by competitors in France and abroad. Before the artists of Nancy can achieve their goals, the caricature implies, they must first establish the validity of a style seemingly tainted by its association with the “teratological” forms of Art Nouveau.

“*The Contemporary Naturalist Style*”

The Paris version of the catalog, like the one published in Nancy, includes a short passage thanking the *Union Centrale des Arts décoratifs* for the invitation to exhibit at the *Pavillon de Marsan*. In the version published in Paris, however, Gallé also mentions that he hopes the exhibition will inaugurate a series of similar exhibitions of provincial art. “To offer to the *École de Nancy*, to its works, the hospitality of the *Pavillon de Marsan* and the Museum of Decorative Arts,” he writes, “is to inaugurate, we like to believe, a fruitful series of provincial exhibitions of decoration in Paris.”²⁵⁰ Gallé thus situates the efforts of the *École de Nancy* within the context of a nationwide regionalist movement that seeks to reverse the flow of stylistic diffusion from the capital to the provinces.

In his preface to the Paris version of the catalog, however, Gallé struggles to define a style for the *École de Nancy*. The artist points to shared principles, such as dedication to the idea of the unity of art, and to what he terms “a sure and strong aesthetic.”²⁵¹ As in the Statutes of the *École de Nancy*, Gallé associates this rationalism with French tradition, writing, “This here is, moreover, no less than a national heritage in our country, [which is] enamored of clarity and logic above all else.”²⁵² The artists of the *École de Nancy* base their style on the observation of

nature, Gallé continues. They reject historicism in favor of “the scientific observation of living models.”²⁵³ According to Gallé, nature should serve as a source not only of decorative motifs but also of method and structure.

Although the artist works to define the *École de Nancy* and its characteristic style in concrete terms, he also leaves room for individual expression. The *École de Nancy*, he writes, “claims to possess and put into practice certain principles that are its own... even while it leaves its members an absolute independence in their specific application.”²⁵⁴ Similarly, the depiction of local flora renders a “national” style more specific, anchoring it to the province. This interplay between the general and the particular, the individual and the group, first explored by Gallé during the Dreyfus Affair, was thus key to the artist’s conceptualization of the *École de Nancy*.

Gallé ends his description of the *École de Nancy*’s characteristic style by again positing that it constitutes “our French style, directly inspired by natural evidence.”²⁵⁵ The artist thus not only seeks to distinguish the art of the *École de Nancy* from that produced in Paris, but also to declare that the art produced in Nancy *is* French art. The art of Paris, he implies, is no longer the true art of France. Rather, Gallé imagines a nation composed of regional artistic centers each with their own characteristic style. Gallé terms the new style he ascribes to the *École de Nancy* as “the contemporary naturalist style.”²⁵⁶ The word “naturalist” here refers to both style *and* subject matter. “The naturalist style” is one in which empirically observed nature is depicted naturalistically, that is to say, in recognizable form.

In contrast, in the Nancy version of the catalog, Gallé foregrounds the broader aims of the *École de Nancy* rather than focusing on defining a specific style. The preface opens with a reiteration of the group’s identity and its aims as previously articulated in the Statutes. This may seem surprising, given that the *École de Nancy* had already been in existence for two years by the time of the 1903 exhibition, but the catalog marks the first time the group presented itself and its art to a wider public.

The Nancy version of the catalog also reprints the main body of Gallé’s preface, but appends a more elaborate expression of gratitude to the *Union Centrale des Arts décoratifs*, which the artist credits with inspiring the *École de Nancy*’s earliest manifestations. In this passage, Gallé attempts to create a history for the fledgling *École de Nancy*. According to the artist, the former president of the *Union Centrale des Arts décoratifs*, Antonin Proust (1832-1905), recognized the renaissance taking place in Nancy as early as 1884.²⁵⁷ At the *Exposition universelle* of 1900, Gallé writes that the pavilion of the *Union Centrale des Arts décoratifs* became a kind of “refuge” for artists from Lorraine.²⁵⁸ This passage thus serves to not only elaborate upon the ties between *Union Centrale des Arts décoratifs* and the *École de Nancy*, but to create a sort of genealogy or history for the group. Its creation comes to be seen as inevitable, the result of all that went before it. Gallé thus implicitly posits the *École de Nancy* as the realization of the arts reform sought by *Union Centrale des Arts décoratifs* and its members.

Gallé elaborates upon his theory of a national style based on the observation and the depiction of nature in a letter published in *La Lorraine Artiste*. The letter was written in response to a survey published by Maurice Le Blond (1877-1944) in which the author asks whether the *Prix de Rome* should be offered to artists working in the decorative arts.²⁵⁹ In his response to Leblond, Gallé argues that only the study of nature is necessary to the artist. His argument once again evokes the idea of cultural relativism. “I would find it unfortunate to take away for several years from their natural atmosphere, that of straightforward France and its intellectuality, the best sons of our trades,” he writes, “to make of them, for all of their lives, the uprooted of the Villa Médicis.”²⁶⁰ Gallé’s phrase “the uprooted” brings to mind the writings of his former friend

Maurice Barrès, who in his novel *Les Déracinés* tells the story of young Lorrainers who leave their native province to seek their fortune in Paris.

In this passage, it is Classicism itself, and in particular the Beaux-Arts style promulgated by the Paris *École des Beaux-Arts*, that serves to divide the artist from his own culture and from nature. Gallé envisions the influence of Classicism as a destructive one, leading only to “the Italian virus of imitation.”²⁶¹ He sees the artistic culture of Paris, in other words, as corrupted and tainted by its association with foreign influence. In contrast, Gallé urges artists to seek originality in the depiction of forms found in nature—and, more particularly, in forms found in the nature of their native province.²⁶² Gallé again relies upon an organicist metaphor to describe the rootedness of artists in the culture of their region. Together with his remarks on Parisian Art Nouveau, Gallé’s criticism of the Beaux-Arts style suggests that he views both Art Nouveau and Classicism not only as not only foreign to the French tradition but as somehow *unnatural*.

A Naturalist Art

In contrast to Gallé denunciation of both Parisian and foreign styles as “unnatural,” the promotional materials produced to advertise the exhibition place particular emphasis on the relationship of the artists of the *École de Nancy* to the natural environment. In his poster for the exhibition, for example, Prouvé echoes several of the themes explored by Gallé in the official catalog (fig. 6.35).²⁶³ His poster depicts a man in casual garb with an album of sketches under one arm bending down to pick a flower. Nowhere in the image, however, do we see an example of the kind of work created by the members of the *École de Nancy*—instead, Prouvé suggests that the artists of the group are united not by a shared style, but by their collective origin in the region of Lorraine and by their common belief in nature as the source of artistic inspiration.

Compared with Martin’s 1894 poster, then, Prouvé’s poster affects a clear shift in emphasis away from art and towards the artist and his relation to nature. Although the artist in Prouvé’s poster carries his sketchbook, the viewer is not granted visual access to his sketches. Instead, Prouvé’s poster itself stands in as an example of the group’s style. What Prouvé emphasizes here, however, is not style per se, but method: his poster suggests that a shared commitment to the depiction of nature unites the artists of the *École de Nancy*. In the poster, the artist is far from his studio. Like Baudelaire’s *flâneur*, he strolls through his native environment—now the forests of provincial Lorraine rather than the metropolis—in search of visual motifs. The swirling atmosphere of Prouvé’s portrait of Gallé, which depicts the artist engaged in the act of creation, his thoughts and ideas materializing around him, has here been replaced by the enveloping ambiance of the forest—the artist’s new source of inspiration (fig. 6.36).²⁶⁴

The improvisational appearance of the poster, which resembles a charcoal sketch, strongly suggests that it was composed from life. The viewer is invited to imagine Prouvé, seated in the grass, sketching his friend and colleague, who gathers plants to take back to his studio. The forest scene, at first contained by the lines of the cartouche, opens out towards the viewer near the bottom of the composition. The poster thus offers to transport the viewer from the urban milieu of the exhibition into the vibrant, tumultuous space of the forest.

In this way, Prouvé is able to establish a clear contrast between the space of the exhibition, held on one of Paris’s most elegant thoroughfares, and the space of the countryside in which the art of the *École de Nancy* purportedly originates. Moreover, the title Prouvé chooses for the exhibition, “Exposition Lorraine/groupe de décor/*École de Nancy*,” places particular

emphasis upon the geographical origin of the works to be displayed. The curving cross-hatching that marks every element of the scene, moreover, creates a unified space in which the artist appears to exist in total harmony with the natural scene around him. He is assimilated into this world, a participant as well as an observer of its beauties. The artist's place, Prouvé tells us, is in nature. Prouvé's poster thus reiterates the ideas expressed by Gallé in his preface to the catalog: the art of the *École de Nancy* is based on the direct observation of nature, and it is the artist's connection to the natural world that binds him to his native province. The artist is rooted in this natural world, and his art reflects that sense of place.

Prouvé's composition seems an odd choice, however, to advertise an exhibition held in Paris. Printed in Nancy by Berger-Levrault, the poster seems to speak more to the members of the *École de Nancy*, confirming their shared belief in nature as a source of inspiration, than it does to Parisian audiences unfamiliar with the work of these artists. Indeed, the poster faced sharp criticism from at least one Parisian commentator. Henry Havard, writing in *La Revue de l'Art ancien et moderne*, equates the deliberate naïveté of the poster with the rustic simplicity of rural life, a reading that clearly disrupts the *École de Nancy*'s claims for a sophisticated and modern provincial style. Havard's critique of the poster, which is complex in its arguments, deserves to be quoted at length:

A poster, drawn by an acclaimed painter, Mr. Victor Prouvé... appeared to us to express and synthesize, in an ingenious fashion, the ideal and the processes of inspiration of the new aesthetic. This poster—everyone could see—represented in a rustic, almost wild setting, a slightly unkempt artist, as befits a fur trader (*coureur du bois*), dressed in homespun, bearer of an enormous piece of cardboard, bent towards the ground, and picking in the midst of the thick grass a small, lovely flower. This small flower, you have guessed it, is a symbol—that of the inexhaustible inspiration furnished by indefatigable nature. It is this small flower that in so many exhibitions we have seen interpreted, magnified, metamorphosed, and finally transformed onto an electric lamp, an occasional table, a vase, a chair, a display case. For the innovators of the '*École de Nancy*,' our furniture arts are children of the forest!²⁶⁵

The tone of Havard's account is scathing—he clearly considers the *École de Nancy*'s dedication to nature both naive and misguided. He compares the “slightly rustic austerity, this costly indigence, [and] these voluntarily naive forms” to the sophisticated, worldly art of the court of Louis XIV and finds the *École de Nancy* wanting.²⁶⁶ In particular, Havard cites the *École de Nancy*'s alleged disdain for the comfort and convenience of modern life. He ends his article with an outright condemnation of the *École de Nancy* and its art. He writes,

We want to speak of these thousand and one conveniences, of these worldly needs, of these intimate requirements of comfort and of sociability, that certain of our innovators, 'adepts of the Forest,' have a tendency to misunderstand, and which too often they forget to take into account.²⁶⁷

Havard's words recall those of Gallé, who condemned the style of the capital precisely for its appeal to “the pretext of modernism and comfort,” suggesting that the author is a proponent of the very style that Gallé disdains.²⁶⁸

The author of several historical surveys of French furniture, Havard served as an inspector of the Beaux-Arts administration and was also a member of the *Union Centrale des Arts décoratifs*. In his book *L'Art dans la maison* (Art in the Home, 1884), Havard celebrates the decorative ensembles of the Rococo period, which he sees as a model for craft unity.²⁶⁹ It seems clear that Havard would have been uncomfortable with both what he considers the willful naivety of the *École de Nancy* and its emphasis upon individual works of art rather than unified interiors like those exhibited by Bing in his pavilion at the *Exposition universelle* of 1900. It is surprising, however, that the author does not draw a comparison between the work of the *École de Nancy* and that city's Rococo heritage. The special place of this tradition in the work of the *École de Nancy* was a common theme in reviews of the exhibition that appeared in both the regional and the Parisian press.

In an article published in *La Chronique des Arts et de la Curiosité*, for example, Marx was among the first to evoke this legacy in reviews of the 1903 exhibition. He writes, "The lasting vestiges of the elegance of yesteryear suggests without difficulty that the cult of beauty could not so easily be abolished, and one should hardly be surprised to see reflowering in Nancy these arts of the home and of the street that previously found themselves honored here with so much splendor."²⁷⁰ Similarly, René d'Avril evokes the legacy of the 18th century in his article on "The Lorrainer school of floral decoration."²⁷¹ D'Avril argues that the artists of Lorraine created their style by studying monuments and objects from the time of Duke Stanislas, but asserts that rather than copying the art of the past, the new school consults nature directly.²⁷²

Silverman has discussed in some detail the role the Rococo played as a model for craft reform in fin-de-siècle France.²⁷³ What is interesting in accounts of the 1903 *Pavillon de Marsan* exhibition, however, is the extent to which Gallé and other members of the *École de Nancy* actively suppressed any mention of the relationship between their movement and France's Rococo legacy. While reviewers were to quick to note the origin of Lorraine's new decorative style in the 18th century, then, neither Gallé nor Prouvé evoke this era in their words or their art.

In their reviews of the exhibition, critics also seemed divided over the question of whether the members of the *École de Nancy* constituted a true school of art. Critics from Nancy, including Nicolas, Rais, and D'Avril, actively argued in favor of the idea of a cohesive style shared by the members of the *École de Nancy*, often positing that this style existed in opposition to that found in Paris. In his review of the exhibition, Nicolas, a botanist, art critic, and founding member of the *École de Nancy*, like D'Avril posits the study of nature as the unifying principle of the group. Reflecting upon Prouvé's poster for the exhibition, Nicolas writes, "The secret of Lorrainer art resides in the artist's gesture of humility before the fragile flower growing at the edge of the wood."²⁷⁴ Nicolas conceives of the exhibition as a revelatory experience for Parisian viewers, whom he believes are too quick to dismiss art from the provinces as derivative. He writes, "It was good that the decorative art of Lorraine recalled once more to Paris all its suggestions...we know how one is reserved in that regard in the artistic milieux of the great city, where one claims to dictate its fashions and its tastes to the provinces."²⁷⁵

Nicolas credits the works with a transformative power akin to that of nature itself. Before the works on display, he writes,

Many will pass without understanding anything... without grasping the links that unite them to the world. Others, less numerous, will seek to understand... sometimes very little is necessary to give to the prepared mind the divine shock that will make it vibrate in unison with the universe.²⁷⁶

Nicolas's words recall Gallé's utopian vision of an art that unites humankind in a shared appreciation of beauty. Despite this common belief in the power of art to unify, even in the face of political schisms, critics were not so sanguine concerning the unity of the *École de Nancy* itself. According to many commentators, Gallé's role as the guiding force behind the creation of the *École de Nancy* was essential to its continued unity. Despite early attempts to instigate arts reform in Nancy, for example, Marx argues that it was Gallé's example alone that finally brought artists together. "In order to awaken consciousness of the usefulness of art and its social purpose, [and] to bring inventors back to a common source of inspiration... the contagiousness of an example [and] lessons repeated daily by a director were necessary," Marx asserts.²⁷⁷ He then adds, "It is this role that Mr. Émile Gallé played."²⁷⁸

In a second article on the *Pavillon de Marsan* exhibition, Nicolas was also less than optimistic about the *École de Nancy*'s future. He cites a passage from Rais's review, in which the author poses the question of whether a "cooperative society" can simplify the artist's task and create harmony in the studio.²⁷⁹ In reply, Nicolas paints a picture of the artist as an isolated misanthrope locked in his studio who disdains manual labor. Describing this imaginary artist, Nicolas writes, "We can conclude that it is impossible for him to enter into a cooperative association where altruism, disinterestedness, and the respect of manual labor are the only bases on which such an association can be developed."²⁸⁰ The critic continues in this vein for several more sentences, criticizing the local arts industries for monopolizing young artists rather than encouraging their efforts.

Nicholas thus identifies concerns over the relationship between art and industry that were already starting to threaten the unity of the *École de Nancy*. Envisioned as an alliance uniting those who worked in the city's arts industries, the group sought to bring together artists, artisans, and industrialists. The focus of the group's efforts, however, was on improving worker training so as better to reproduce the designs of well-known artist-industrialists such as Gallé, Daum, and Majorelle, not on encouraging the professional development of independent artists. The attempts by Gallé and others to associate the group with a characteristic regional style, moreover, defined such a style as inherently industrial in its mode of production. Gallé's vision of cooperation between art and industry, in other words, inevitably benefited industrialists more than it did independent artists or the workers such industrialists employed. While the efforts of the *École de Nancy*, in other words, were devoted to elevating the status of industrially produced art objects, this was accomplished by demoting *both* traditional artisanry *and* high art. Given the divisiveness of such issues, how could the *École de Nancy* claim to represent the artists of Lorraine as a whole?

If critics from Nancy questioned the cohesiveness of the *École de Nancy*, Parisian critics were more apt to cast doubt on the very idea of a shared regional style. In a review published in *L'Art Décoratif*, for example, Maxime Leroy argues that while there is indeed a characteristic Lorrainer landscape, the artists of the province have for the most part become artists only through surpassing its limits.²⁸¹ Thus Leroy remarks that two of the *École de Nancy*'s most prominent artists, Gallé and Prouvé, draw inspiration from sources that clearly exceed those of Lorraine alone. He compares Prouvé's work to that of the artists Delacroix and Rubens, for example, and notes that both Gallé and Prouvé spend considerable time in Paris.²⁸²

Moreover, Leroy contends that the *École de Nancy*'s efforts on behalf of decentralization are in vain, for now more than ever international exchanges have robbed Lorraine of its specificity. "Today... art... becomes the occasion of exchanges between Lorraine and the other

centers, [and the province's] particularism is waning," Leroy contends.²⁸³ He adds, "The artists, who believed [themselves to be] decentralizing, have centralized because centralization is only the expression of the fact that life has become more general."²⁸⁴ Leroy thus points to the irony of the *École de Nancy*'s claim to promote a regional style that it hopes to exhibit and to sell not only throughout France but abroad as well. The critic suggests that the trade in material goods necessarily entails artistic exchanges as well. If the group persists in calling itself a school, Leroy concludes, the term "*École de Nancy*" should be employed only as a kind of trademark. As a rallying cry, he claims, it would lead only to imitation and exactly the kind of institutionalized style that its founders sought to avoid.²⁸⁵

Leroy here raises a fundamental issue relative to the *École de Nancy*. To what extent was the creation of a self-conscious "school" and its associated style ever more than a commercial strategy, designed to create a market for goods from Lorraine and to foster cooperation rather than competition among local arts manufacturers? A second Parisian review excoriated the *Pavillon de Marsan* exhibition for this very thing—its excessively commercial character. "Under the pretext of making the Parisian public admire the modern style products of some artworks from Nancy," the anonymous author asserts venomously, "one permitted respectable merchants of this town to transport... into the middle of the Louvre... the most precious pieces from their stores."²⁸⁶ In his article, Nicolas responds passionately to such attacks, protesting that Lorraine has demonstrated "a creative vitality of the highest value."²⁸⁷ Once again he compares the province to Paris, to the latter's detriment. He states,

The *Union Centrale des Arts décoratifs*, in inviting the artists of Lorraine to Paris, thought it good to show to the capital, which has too often the tendency to become enamored of foreign products, that one can choose around oneself, on fertile soil, in a national milieu, the harmonious inspirations of the beautiful and the true.²⁸⁸

In other words, Nicolas suggests that Lorraine can show Paris the way to a true, national art untainted by foreign and, it is suggested, commercial elements. This can be accomplished, he asserts, through the depiction of natural, and thus *national*, forms. Nicolas's comments recall debates around the influence of Japonisme in Gallé's œuvre, and the author similarly opposes crassly commercialized "foreign products" to "the beautiful and the true," works born of the native, "fertile soil."

The *Exposition d'art décoratif*, Nancy, 1904

The success of the 1903 *Pavillon de Marsan* exhibition may have prompted Gallé and the *École de Nancy* to plan a similar exhibition to be held in Lorraine. According to contemporary sources, the idea for an exhibition in Nancy was first voiced by Édouard Bour. President of the museum committee for the local *École des Beaux-Arts*, vice-president of the *Société des Amis des Arts* and the editor of its *Bulletin*, Bour took over as editor of *La Lorraine Artiste* in 1904.²⁸⁹ Bour was a vocal champion of the decorative arts, and some credit him with the creation of the *Musée des Arts décoratifs* in Nancy.²⁹⁰

In December of 1903, Bour discussed his idea for an exhibition with several local artists—Schwartz, Daum, Vallin, and Majorelle, before proposing the idea to Gallé.²⁹¹ A committee was soon formed, composed of members from the *Société des Amis des arts* and the board of the *École de Nancy*. Among the members of the committee from the *Société* were Bour

himself, Aubin, chief engineer of *Ponts et chaussées*, Larcher, the director of the *École des Beaux-Arts*, and Paul Souriau, a professor at the *Université de Nancy*. Members from the *École de Nancy* included Gallé, Charles André, Daum, Goutière-Vernolle, Kauffer (a jeweler), Majorelle, Prouvé, and Vallin.²⁹² Among the members of the organizing committee, therefore, were many who had been closely involved in the organization of the decorative arts exhibition in 1894. Gallé served as chairman of the committee until his death in 1904, when Aubin assumed that role. The city of Nancy, which had denied the *École de Nancy* the financial support necessary to exhibit at the 1902 exhibition in Turin, nonetheless provided a subsidy of 2,000 francs for the 1904 exhibition.²⁹³

The *Exposition d'Art décoratif* of 1904 was held in the *Salle Poirel*, in a series of galleries decorated by Vallin (fig. 6.37). Prouvé's ceiling painting commissioned for Nancy's *Préfecture*, *La Réunion de la France et la Lorraine* (The Reunion of France and Lorraine, 1904), which depicts the province as a young girl reunited with her mother, was displayed in the first gallery (fig. 6.38). Vallin divided the remaining two galleries into smaller compartments where individual exhibitors could display their works. The exhibition opened only a few weeks after Gallé's untimely death, and the organizing committee honored the artist's memory by placing Prouvé's portrait of the artist at the exact center of the exhibition, where it was draped with black gauze and bouquets of wildflowers (fig. 6.39). The publishers Farnier and Chauvette of Nancy printed a luxurious, illustrated catalog of the exhibition. The catalog took for its cover the exhibition poster designed by Eugène Vallin's son, the artist Auguste Vallin (1881-1967) (figs. 6.40, 6.41).²⁹⁴

The *Exposition d'Art décoratif* opened on October 29, 1904 with speeches by Aubin, president of the *Société des Amis des arts*, and Henry Marcel (1854-1926), Director of Fine Arts, followed by a banquet at the *Restaurant Walter*.²⁹⁵ By all accounts, the exhibition was quite successful in terms of visitors. The donation of 5,000 postcards printed by the *maison Helmlinger* and sold to benefit the organizing committee helped to popularize the exhibition.²⁹⁶ In addition to the display of works in the galleries, the *Exposition* also included in its program three lectures. Marx delivered the first lecture, a homage to Gallé, in the *Salle Poirel*.²⁹⁷ Souriau presented the second lecture, entitled "Fonctions de l'Art décoratif et les principes de l'École de Nancy" (Functions of Decorative Art and the Principles of the *École de Nancy*) on December 3. Prouvé, who would take over the presidency of the *École de Nancy* following Gallé's death, delivered the third lecture, entitled "L'Art décoratif, l'enseignement, l'industriel et le public" (The Decorative Arts, Training, the Industrialist, and the Public) five days later.²⁹⁸ In his speech, Prouvé set out his vision for the future of the *École de Nancy*, which, under his direction, would seek ever closer ties to local arts industries.

The publishers Humblot and Simon, better known for their postcards, printed Vallin's colorful poster.²⁹⁹ The image constitutes a radical departure from that created by Prouvé for the 1903 exhibition. Again a figure bends to pick a flower, but now it is the figure of an anonymous woman and not a professional artist. The Japanese-inspired irises, which recall those in Martin's 1894 poster, bear none of the regional associations of the recognizable plants in Prouvé's earlier poster. Gone, too, are the dark and beckoning woods, which brought to mind the monumental door to Gallé's factory that the artist commissioned from Vallin in 1897 (fig. 6.42).

The door bore the inscription, "Ma Racine est au fond des bois" (My Roots are in the Heart of the Woods), thus declaring that nature was source of Gallé's artistic inspiration and his identity. In contrast, nature plays a more decorative role in Vallin's poster. It is posited not as the artist's source of inspiration, but as a pleasurable accompaniment to modern life. Vallin's female

figure bends gracefully to pick an iris that she will add to the bouquet in her arms. Femininity, nature, and the decorative are here conflated in a way quite common in, for example, the work of René Lalique (1860-1945) or Alphonse Mucha (1860-1939), but foreign to the ideals of the *École de Nancy*.

Silverman has examined the depiction of the *femme nouvelle* in the work of fin-de-siècle artists, arguing that the arts reform movement gradually came to promote the idea of women as the natural allies of decorative artists.³⁰⁰ Women's innate ability to create a pleasingly decorative domestic environment, it was suggested, paralleled the efforts of artists to create harmonious interiors. In Vallin's poster, the figure of the *nouvelle femme* thus replaces that of the artist, her bent form now evoking not the effort necessary for close observation but the harmony between her graceful form and nature itself. Although the figure functions partially as an allegory of artistic creation, then, Vallin's emphasis is upon the female figure as a part of nature and thus, like nature, the object of the artist's gaze. If Prouvé's poster made the *process* of artistic creation its theme, then, Vallin's poster instead presents the viewer with a *fait accompli*—a depiction not of the act of making, but of its product. Vallin's poster thus signals an increasing lack of focus that would characterize the *École de Nancy* after Gallé's death.

Reviews of the 1904 exhibition in the local press, however, by and large reiterated the original aims of the *École de Nancy* and pronounced the exhibition a success. Many emphasized the cooperative effort that went into the creation of the exhibition, seeing it as the realization of Gallé's call for artistic unity. A certain Commander Lalance, for example, discussed the exhibition in terms of “the common effort to affirm a center [and] a school.”³⁰¹ As with previous exhibitions, critics noted the importance of nature, and the nature of Lorraine in particular, as a source of inspiration. One critic reviewing Gallé's display writes, “The vases, the bowls, the cristals, the lighting devices sing each in turn the grace of the flowers of our fields... our gardens [and] the splendor of our forests.”³⁰²

Several authors compared the works in the exhibition favorably with other Art Nouveau creations, suggesting that the *École de Nancy*'s efforts to distinguish its art from that of Parisian artists had been successful—at least in Lorraine. Lalance, for example, summarizes his review of the exhibition thus: “In sum, one has drawn from a serious study of this exhibition [the conclusion] that modern art has singularly calmed itself in the last dozen years. The lines are far from being so tormented.”³⁰³ Bour, in turn, explicitly condemns the “nervous sensibility” that characterized much of Art Nouveau, contrasting it with what he describes as the simpler, more rational style of the *École de Nancy*.³⁰⁴

Roger C. D'Einvieux, in his review, falls back on the idea of a geographically determined sensibility to explain the difference between the work of the *École de Nancy* and that of other Art Nouveau artists. “The Lorrainers have contemplated without fever... the fecundity of their soil... [which] furnishes it today with the means for a powerful and sober originality [that is] disdainful of extremes,” he opines.³⁰⁵ These statements by D'Einvieux, Bour, and Lalance thus dramatically, and perhaps surprisingly, contrast the work of the *École de Nancy* with what the three critics term the “extremes,” “nervous sensibility,” and “fever” of the international Art Nouveau movement.

It is the artists' ties to the province of Lorraine and to its landscape, local critics concurred, that allowed them to create an art that was at once rational and modern. Thus D'Einvieux underscores the purity of a Lorrainer style that he believes is uncontaminated by outside influences. “Here are artists that work at home, in the calm of a province that has remained more or less itself,” he writes, “They receive from cosmopolitan influences only what

they wish to admit; foreign currents attract them only in so much as they permit.”³⁰⁶ Most critics agreed, then, that the art of the *École de Nancy* was quintessentially Lorrainer in its origins and in its style.

Where critics disagreed, however, was over the question of whether the *École de Nancy* had truly invented a *unique* style of its own. Henry Marcel (1854-1926), Director of Beaux-Arts, delivered a speech at the inauguration of the exhibition in which he explores the question of style.³⁰⁷ In his speech, Marcel claims that “an ensemble of shared characteristics, a kind of kinship” united the works exhibited in 1894.³⁰⁸ According to the director, the creation of the *École de Nancy* in 1901 lent form to these tendencies, incorporating them into a “systematic doctrine,” although Marcel abstains from referring to these tendencies as a shared “style.”³⁰⁹

Some critics suggested that while it had not yet succeeded in creating a new style, the *École de Nancy* had nonetheless produced works characterized by their modernity. Bour commented, “They have not yet created a style, the revolution being too recent, but certainly, in awaiting [their] final triumph, they have given our era a modern art.”³¹⁰ Bour’s comments suggest that at least in the minds of fellow Lorrainers, the artists of the *École de Nancy* had accomplished their aim of redefining Lorrainer art as unified not by its appeal to tradition, but by its shared modernity. In sum, by distancing their art from that of Paris and other European nations, the artists of the *École de Nancy*, Gallé foremost among them, were able to claim the “modern style” for Lorraine.

In their reviews of the exhibition, however, many critics hastened to add that this modern, regional style was not in conflict with that of the capital or the nation as a whole. Although Marcel praises the decentralizing goals of the exhibition, for example, he affirms that its regional focus does not detract from the strength of nation—rather, it enhances it. He offers a metaphor that is close to Gallé’s own idea of unity in diversity. Marcel writes,

In asserting provincial patriotism in the realm of the beautiful, far from weakening our French nation, which would only be threatened by the fragmentation of an indifferent and selfish individualism, it will increase the strength of influence and publicity, because the vitality of a nation resides in the vigor and cohesion of the groups that compose it, as the resistance of fabric [resides] in the density of the fibers from which it is made.³¹¹

The image of France as a living organism, composed of discrete parts, each with its own function, is striking. In Marcel’s speech, region and nation, far from existing in tension, instead lend strength to each other. The individual and the group, the province and the nation, are thus united by bonds that fortify the whole by strengthening its parts. This, then, is what Gallé sought to express in his art, and what he could not yet imagine in *Les Hommes noirs*—the union of opposites, the harmonious coexistence of the individual and the nation.

If Gallé’s idea of an artistic community was briefly realized in 1904, however, the success of his initiatives was short-lived. In his review of the exhibition, Bour recounts the short history of the *École de Nancy*. Suggesting that it has been “faithful to its program,” Bour enumerates the original goals of the *École de Nancy* one by one.³¹² The *École de Nancy*, he says, has created courses, sponsored lectures, supported the creation of a museum of decorative arts, and improved training for workers.³¹³ It has also organized two successful exhibitions, one in 1903 and one in 1904.

Bour's optimism, however, was somewhat misplaced. In fact, the *École de Nancy's* attempts to improve training for workers by creating courses and lectures had met with little success, due largely to financial constraints. Moreover, the group's efforts to establish a decorative arts museum went largely unrealized. Although the city added a small display devoted to the decorative arts to the *Musée de l'Hôtel de Ville* around the turn of the century, it would be as late as 1935 before an official decorative arts museum was founded.³¹⁴

Following the exhibition of 1904, the organizing committee of the *École de Nancy* addressed the delay in recognizing its aims in an article published in *La Lorraine Artiste*. The authors concede that little has been achieved, writing,

It was logical that after the brilliant demonstration of art that has just unfurled in Nancy, the initiating society entered resolutely into the realization of its primitive program, elaborated with such care by the late master Émile Gallé, but of which only a few points have been able to be tackled.³¹⁵

In its subsequent remarks, however, the committee signals a new direction for the *École de Nancy*. No longer as concerned with the needs of industrialists seeking well-trained craftsmen, the members of the committee argue that the chief role of the *École de Nancy* is now the creation of a “popular art” available to all.

The idea of industrially produced art was always an element of design reform, but here it takes on a utopian element. The goal of what came to be called *art social* (social art) was to foster an appreciation of design and thus of France's cultural heritage among members of the working classes. Several artists' groups founded around the turn of the century embraced this idea, including *L'Art à l'école*, *L'Art et la vie*, *Art et travail*, *Art et science*, and perhaps the best-known group, the *Société de l'Art pour tous*.³¹⁶ Marx would belatedly codify the aims of the movement in two publications, “De l'art social et de la nécessité d'en assurer le progrès par une exposition” (On Social Art and the Necessity of Ensuring its Progress through an Exhibition), an article published in 1909, and *L'Art social* (Social Art), a collection of essays that appeared in 1913.³¹⁷

The committee thus summarizes its new aims as follows: “The *École de Nancy* is an association that has as its goal to create in our province an intense life of art... above all, popular art, that is to say [art that is] accessible through moderate prices and its rational application to all useful objects.”³¹⁸ The first step is forging a true *art social*, then, is to encourage cooperation between artists and industrialists in order to create artistically designed products at low prices. The second step is to educate the viewer. In the words of the committee, “It is our duty to awaken in all the sense of beauty.”³¹⁹ In order to achieve its aims, the committee acknowledges that it must reach out to young artists. Without the financial means to create courses or a school for practical training, however, the *École de Nancy* must limit itself to sponsoring competitions and hosting exhibitions.

The halting, uncertain tone of the article reveals what many in Nancy already knew to be the case—the *École de Nancy*, deprived of its founder and guiding force, was quickly losing momentum. In the end, it would achieve few of its goals. Under the presidency of Prouvé, the association would continue to hold competitions and sponsor lectures. The *École de Nancy*, however, would exhibit as a group only twice more—in Strasbourg in 1908, and at the *Exposition de l'Est de la France* (The Exhibition of Eastern France) in 1909. Even as it achieved ever greater recognition on the international stage, then, the *École de Nancy* gradually

disintegrated. The fragile union of artist and industrialist that Gallé had worked so hard to forge could not outlast its creator, and the *Exposition d'Art décoratif* of 1904 ultimately marked the last time that the *École de Nancy* would appear as a unified, cohesive group with a clearly defined artistic identity.

Conclusion

A Fragile Legacy

Gallé's art stands eternally poised at the intersection of two worlds, caught between art and industry, nation and region, tradition and modernity, French and foreign, the individual and the collective. It is through the creation of a uniquely personal style based on the depiction of natural forms, what critics termed an “*art naturiste*,” that Gallé attempted to reconcile the competing claims of these terms.¹ It is the idea of nature, in other words, that enabled the artist to define a style understood by his contemporaries to be at once personal, modern, and *national* in its representation of the natural landscape of France.

The issue of a national style first came to the fore in debates concerning France's economic and cultural revitalization in the wake of its defeat in the Franco-Prussian War. Many believed that it was only through defining a quintessentially “French” style, one that could be marketed at home and abroad, that France could regain its supremacy in the arts. Creating a style with widespread appeal that was nonetheless difficult for competitors to imitate, however, required constant innovation. In the work of Gallé, contemporaries believed that they had found the style they sought: an art that was based on personal expression and was rooted in the artist's identity as a Frenchman.

Plagued by imitators both in France and abroad, Gallé continually sought to emphasize the originality of his works, producing large *pièces uniques* that emulated the visual conventions of painting and sculpture in order to claim a higher status for his art. Throughout his career, Gallé thus attempted to secure the uniqueness of his own works by associating them with his identity as an artist rather than a manufacturer. From the beginning, Gallé's art consisted of mass-produced objects marked by signs of originality, from the use of bravura brushwork to the apparently handwritten signatures that decorate most works. Objects manufactured by Gallé thus proclaim that they are the expression of individual artistic genius.

Yet Gallé also underscored the importance of collaboration in his writings and in the presentation of his artworks, which blur the line between industrial production and traditional artisanal methods of manufacture. The new categories of “art glass” and “art furniture” employed by Gallé to characterize his production of luxury objects, for example, signal the way in which the artist sought to redefine the relationship between art and industry. Drawing on the theories of arts reformers such as William Morris, Gallé strove to make his factory a space for creative experimentation. Unlike Morris, however, the artist believed that modern production methods liberated rather than enslaved the art worker. He thus combined the latest industrial technology with the use of traditional methods of hand-finishing to create works that tempered the uniformity of mass-produced goods with the uniqueness of hand-decorated *objets d'art*.

Gallé's works thus suggest their origins in industrial production even as they evoke the touch of an individual maker's hand. Although the artist often credited his collaborators in published descriptions of his works, moreover, he nonetheless clearly distinguished between the planning stages of the design process, in which he reserved for himself the role of “author,” and the execution of his works by trained artisans. The idea of these artworks as the expression of an individual, creative genius, promoted by reviewers of Gallé's works and by the artist himself, relied upon this separation and the subsequent association of Gallé's artworks with an intangible “idea.”

Gallé's bid to elevate the status of the decorative arts, however, was not motivated by economic considerations alone. In laying claim to a higher status for the works produced by his factory, the artist also hoped to imbue his works with a more acute political and social significance. In creations such as *Le Rhin*, then, Gallé employs the figural language of history painting in order to create objects that function as a polemical statement of the artist's political convictions. Central to this effort was Gallé's belief that the decorative itself could be a powerful tool in the fight for justice. Thus in his Dreyfus-era works, Gallé effectively attempted to rewrite the conventional understanding of the way in which the decorative appealed to the senses rather than to the intellect.

In his art, Gallé also transformed the relationship between decoration and structure. Drawing upon the influence of Japanese art, the artist created works that increasingly relied on ornament to determine form. By abandoning his earlier reliance on a figural and conventionalized language of form, in *Les Hommes noirs* and other Dreyfus-era works, Gallé explored the evocative power of symbolism in objects that celebrate the primacy of individual, subjective vision. The use of a Symbolist aesthetic thus permitted Gallé to distance himself from the increasingly xenophobic and reactionary rhetoric of the nationalist movement and to champion in its place a "Republican" style premised upon a celebration of the rights and duties of the individual. Gallé's move from conventional symbolism and figuration towards a descriptive yet stylized naturalism suggests the artist's utopian belief in the transformative power of art. Thus Gallé declares in an essay published in 1900 that natural forms "surpass... in intensive, suggestive power the authority of the human figure" and that what he terms a "national, popular art" can be "a struggle for Justice in ourselves [and] for Justice around us."²

In the founding of the *École de Nancy* in 1901, Gallé attempted to put his political convictions into practice and thus to heal the divisions created by the events of the Dreyfus Affair. By creating a community of artists united by their shared ties to the province of Lorraine, Gallé embraced a model of organic solidarism that replaced hierarchy with the idea of structural differentiation. Rather than subordinating individual artistic freedom to the needs of the group, then, Gallé envisioned his association as a loosely united "school" of artists sharing not a common style, but an approach to artmaking premised upon the direct observation of the natural world.

In his lifetime, Gallé was hailed by his contemporaries as a truly "French" artist, one whom they hoped would lead a renaissance of the arts and thus reestablish French supremacy on the world stage. Critics hailed the artist's works as uniquely modern and even revolutionary in their appeal to naturalism and to a symbolist aesthetic that celebrated the "idea." Even as Gallé's style was praised by critics as the expression of the artist's "soul" and of his unique identity as a Lorrainer and Frenchman, however, his works remained vulnerable to accusations of foreign influence. In their responses to the Gallé's more Japoniste works, for example, critics returned again and again to the question of Japanese art's impact on the artist's style. Detractors also assailed the symbolism of Gallé's works as "Germanic" in origin and sought to associate the work of the *École de Nancy* with artistic currents in England and Belgium, suggesting that the "modern style" was irrevocably foreign to the French tradition.

Gallé's efforts to define the art of Lorraine as the modern style of Republican France were thus compromised by his own interest in Japanese art and by Art Nouveau's association with international trends. At the same time, the artist's attempt to redefine the decorative arts as a vehicle for political content was often vulnerable to misreading. While critics were effusive in their praise of works such as *Le Rhin*, for example, those with more contentious themes, such as

Les Hommes noirs, went largely unremarked upon in the press. Gallé's attempt to recast his artworks as the product of the artist's personal, subjective vision in fact made it all too easy for critics then as now to interpret his works in purely aesthetic terms.

Gallé's efforts to balance individual artistic vision and the social ideal of collaboration similarly met with only partial success. By rejecting the formulaic doctrines that would have lent a shared focus to the *École de Nancy*, Gallé created a group centered solely upon the figure of its founder. Following the artist's premature death in 1904, the *École de Nancy* would quickly diminish in size and influence, disappearing altogether by the eve of World War I. In its place, a new generation of artists would explore the question of a national style not through naturalism, but through a return to Classical ideals.³ In one way, however, Gallé was surprisingly successful in his efforts to elevate the status and the cultural significance of the decorative arts. Critics even today rarely question the assumption that Gallé's works give visual form to the artist's inner preoccupations. By redefining the decorative arts as an expression of the artist's subjective vision, then, Gallé radically transformed the way in which we understand art objects and the culture that produced them.

Images



Figure 0.1. Émile Gallé, *La Main aux algues et aux coquillages* (The Hand with Algae and Shells), 1904. Hot-worked glass, metallic oxide inclusions, marbling, applications, H. 33.4 cm, W. 13.4 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris.



Figure 1.1. Émile Gallé and Victor Prouvé, *Le Rhin* (The Rhine), 1889. Wood and bronze. W. 0.760 m x L. 2.20 m x H. 1.090 m. Musée de l'École de Nancy, Nancy.



Figure 1.2. Gallé, *Jeanne d'Arc* (Joan of Arc), 1889. Glass and metal. Musée de l'École de Nancy.



Figure 1.3. Gallé, *Orphée et Eurydice* (Orpheus and Eurydice), 1888-89. Also called *Deux Fois Perdue* (Two Times Lost). Figures engraved after design by Prouvé. Glass, H. 26 cm x D. 17 cm. Musée des Arts décoratifs, Paris.



Figure 1.4. Gallé, *Espoir* (Hope), 1889. Glass. H. 37.5 cm, D. base 33.5 cm, D. opening 17 cm. Musée de l'École de Nancy.



Figure 1.5. 18th-century French writing desk displaying elaborate marquetry decoration. Wood. Musée lorrain, Nancy.



Figure 1.6. Contemporary photograph of Gallé's home at 2, avenue de La Garenne, in Nancy, ca. 1889. Musée de l'École de Nancy.

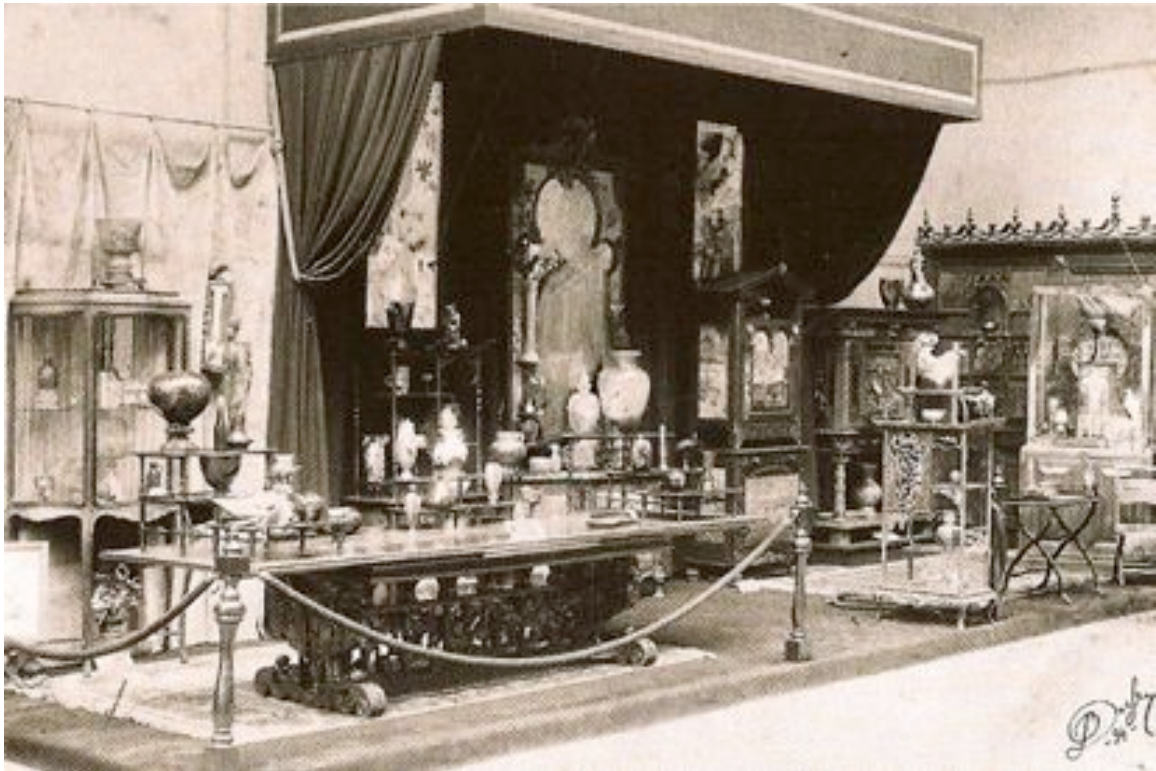


Figure 1.7. Contemporary photograph of Gallé's display at the *Exposition des arts décoratifs et industriels* held at the Salle Poirel in Nancy in September, 1894.



Figure 1.8. Contemporary photograph of the interior of the pavilion of the *École de Nancy* at the *Exposition internationale de l'Est de la France*, held in Nancy in 1909.



Figure 1.9. Recent photograph of the foyer of the *Musée de l'École de Nancy*, showing *Le Rhin* directly opposite the entrance (to the left in the photograph).

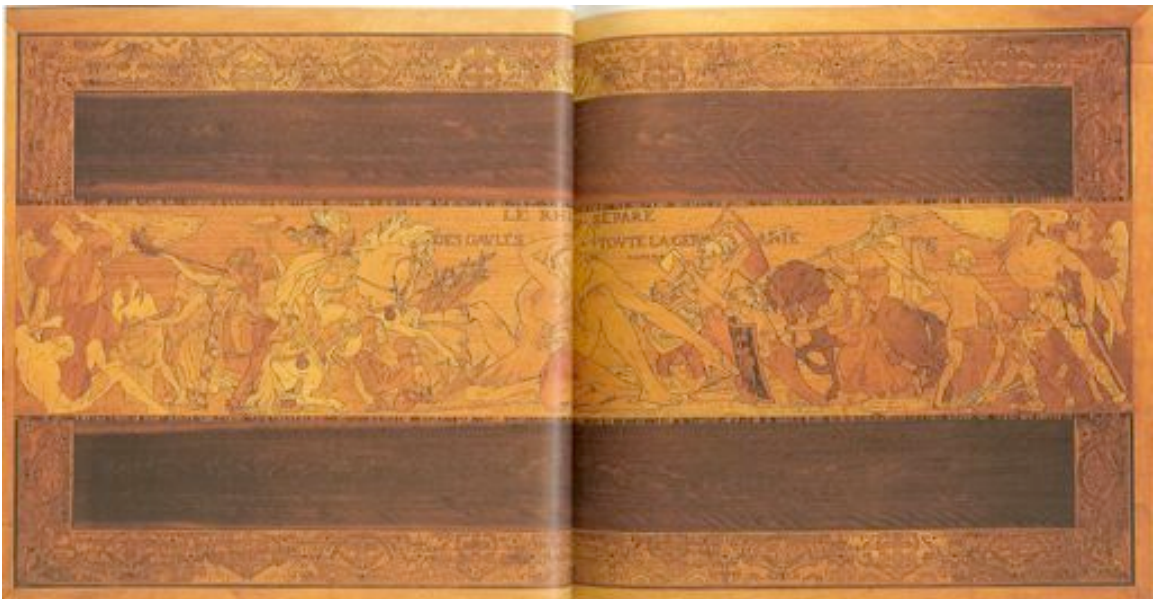


Figure 1.10. Gallé and Prouvé, *Le Rhin*, 1889 (top). Marquetry panel composed of various woods, both native and imported. Musée de l'École de Nancy.



Figure 1.11. Gallé, *Qui vive? France* (Who Lives? France), 1884. After a design by Prouvé. Glazed earthenware, gold foil, terracotta bust. H. 0.120 m x D. 0.435 m. Musée national des Techniques du Conservatoire national des Arts et Métiers, Paris.



Figure 1.12. Gallé, *Escargot des vignes* (Snail of the Grapevines), 1884. Engraved after a design by Prouvé. Glass. H. 28.4 cm x D. 19 cm. Musée de l'École de Nancy.



Figure 1.13. Gallé, *La Nuit* (Night), ca. 1884. After a design by Prouvé. Pedestal by René Rozet (1859-1939). Glass, bronze. H. 12.8 cm, D. 13.1 cm. Musée de l'École de Nancy.



Figure 1.14. François Rude, *Le Départ des volontaires de 1792* (The Departure of the Volunteers of 1792), 1831. Relief. Arc de Triomphe, Paris.



Figure 1.15. Contemporary photograph of Gallé's *De Chêne lorrain, œuvre française* (Of Lorrainer Oak, French Work, 1889), exhibited at the *Exposition universelle* of 1889. Sculpted panels designed by Prouvé. Lost.



Figure 1.16. Gallé, sketch of a checkboard table exhibited at the *Exposition universelle* of 1889. Marquetry scenes designed by Prouvé. Private collection.



Figure 1.17. Gallé, *Flora Marina, Flora Exotica* (1889). Marquetry panels designed by Prouvé. Sculpted and molded pear, marquetry of various woods. H. 110 cm x L. 81 cm x W. 30 cm. Musée de l'École de Nancy.



Figure 1.18. Contemporary photograph of *Le Rhin*, 1889. Printed by Berger-Levrault, Nancy. Original in collection of the Bibliothèque municipale de Nancy, Nancy.



Figure 1.20. Contemporary photograph of Prouvé's statuette *La Joie au travail* (Joy in Labor), 1889. Exhibited at the *Exposition universelle* of 1889. Lost.



Figure 1.21. Prouvé, *Les Voluptueux*, 1889. Oil on canvas. H. 206 cm x L. 398.5 cm. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Nancy.



Figure 1.22. Contemporary photograph of Gallé and the employees of his woodworking studios, 1897.



Figure 1.23. Signatures on works manufactured by Gallé, ca. 1889.



Figure 1.24. Ink template for Gallé's signature, reading: *Em Gallé del et fecit* and *Modèle et décor déposés*. Rakow Research Library, Corning Museum of Glass, Corning, NY.



Figure 1.25. Detail of carving on base of *Le Rhin*. Reads *Fait par Emile Gallé de Nancy en bon espoir 1889*.



Figure 1.26. Contemporary photograph of Gallé's factory, *Etablissements Emile Gallé*, located at 27, avenue de la Garenne, showing the furniture workshops created in 1885.



Figure 1.27. Gallé, *Les Métiers* (The Trades), 1889. Buffet. Pear and other fruitwoods. Musée de l'École de Nancy.



Figure 1.28. Detail of *Les Métiers*, showing a worker using a bandsaw to cut wood.



Figure 1.29. Louis Hestaux, *Le Marqueteur* (The Marqueteur), 1901. Oil on canvas. H. 0.36 m x L. 0.53 m. Musée de l'École de Nancy.

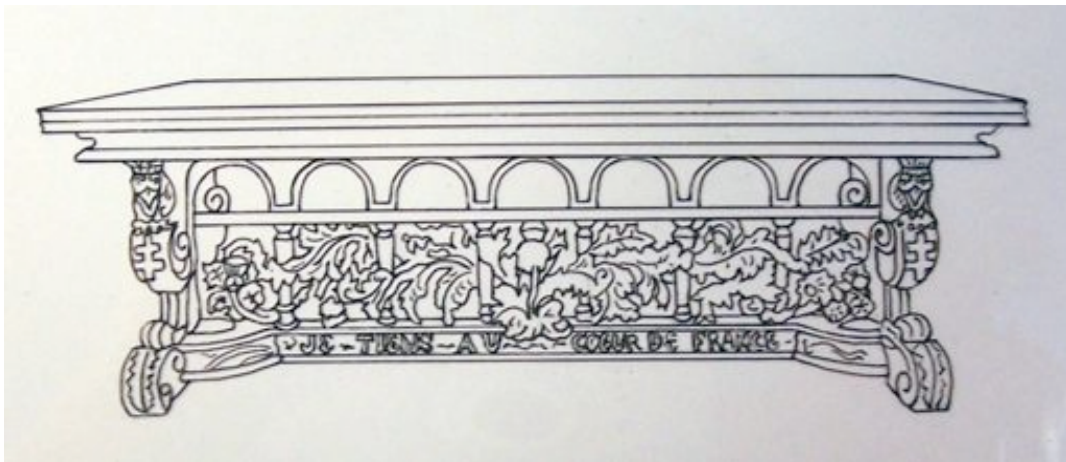


Figure 1.30. Artist's rendering of *Le Rhin* based on a photograph of the work.

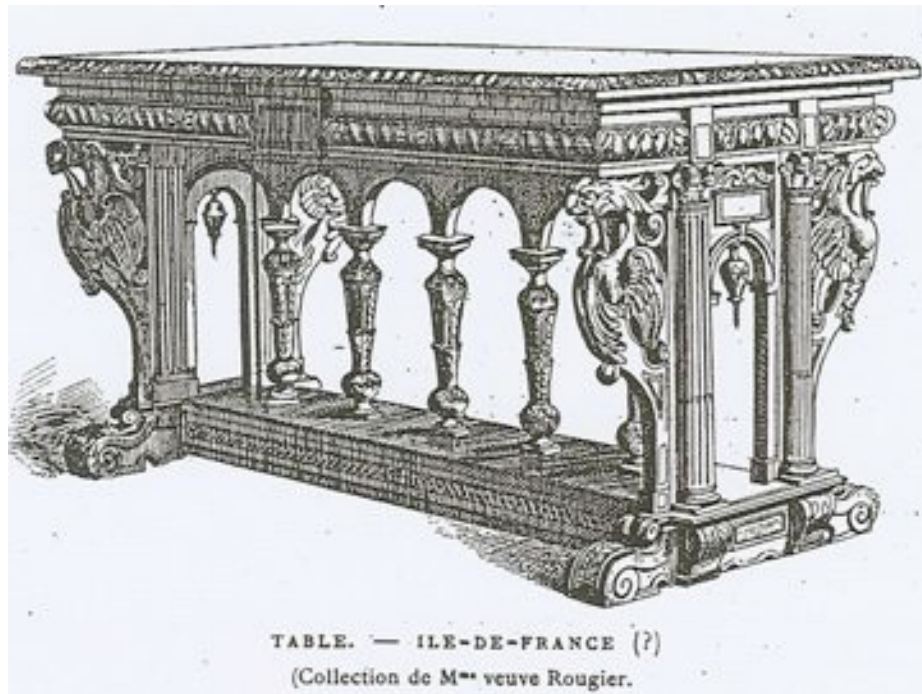


Figure 1.31. “Table.—Ile-de-France (?) (Collection de M^{me} veuve Rougier).” Illustration from Edmond Bonnaffé, *Le Meuble en France au XVIe siècle* (Paris: J. Rouam, 1887).



Figure 1.32. Detail of the base of *Le Rhin*, showing paired alerions.



Figure 1.33. *Le Rhin*, detail of the stretcher carving.



Figure 1.34. *Le Rhin*, detail of stretcher carving with the inscription *Je Tiens au Coeur de France*.



Fig. 1.35. Detail of *Le Rhin* showing carved flowers.



Figure 1.36. Gallé, Wine glass, “Tears” Service, ca. 1880. Glass with enamel decoration.

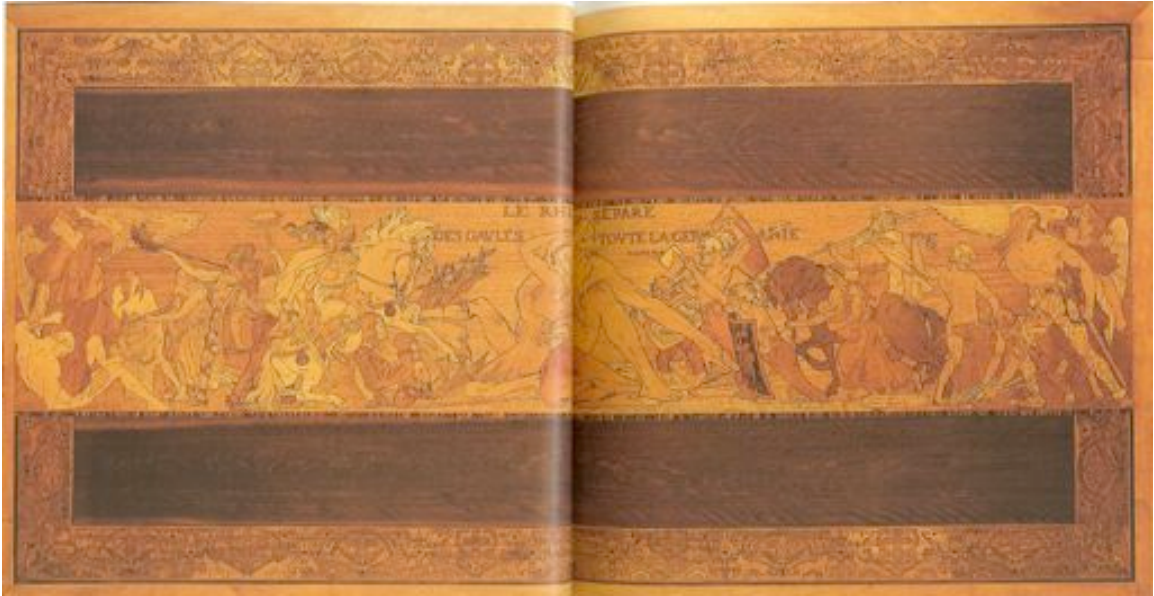


Figure 1.37. Detail of *Le Rhin*. Marquetry panel by Prouvé.



Figure 1.38. Arch of Tiberius, Orange, Tiberian period (AD 16).



Figure 1.39. *The Fallen Gaul*, Roman copy after Hellenistic original created ca. 220 BCE. Marble. H. 92.7 cm. Museo Capitolino, Rome.



Figure 1.40. Detail of scenes from the marquetry frieze of *Le Rhin*.



Figure 1.41. Gallé, *Perspective européenne* (European Perspective), dessert plate, ca. 1870s. Faïence. D. 21.5 cm. Produced by the earthenware manufacturer Saint-Clément. Musée de l'École de Nancy.



Figure 1.42. *Le Rhin*, detail of marquetry frieze.



Figure 1.43. After Giovanni Domenico Tiepolo, *River Gods*, mid-18th century. Etching. H. 31.2 x W. 22.1 cm. Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, San Francisco.



Figure 1.44. River God “Tiber,” from the Temple of Isis, Rome, mid-2nd century BCE. Marble. H. 163 x L. 317 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris.



Figure 1.45. B. Guibal and J. Lamour, Figure of Neptune, Fountain, Place Stanislas, Nancy, 1752-55.



Figure 1.46. Nicolaus Becker, Songsheet, *Der freie Rhein* (The Free Rhine), 1840.



Figure 1.47. Prouvé, Sketch for *Le Rhin*, ca. 1889. Black ink on tracing paper. Musée de l'École de Nancy.



Figure 1.48. Prouvé, Sketch for *Le Rhin*, showing the Gauls, ca. 1889. Black ink on paper. Musée de l'École de Nancy.



Figure 1.49. Prouvé, Sketch for *Le Rhin*, showing the Teutons, ca. 1889. Black ink on paper. Musée de l'École de Nancy.



Figure 1.50. Prouvé, Sketch for *Le Rhin*, ca. 1889. Black ink and pencil on paper backed with cardboard. Musée de l'École de Nancy.



Figure 1.51. *Le Rhin*, detail of marquetry frieze.



Figure 1.52. *Le Rhin*, detail of marquetry frieze.



Figure 1.53. Prouvé, Sketch for *Le Rhin*, ca. 1889. Black ink on tracing paper. Musée de l'École de Nancy.



Figure 1.54. Prouvé, Sketch for *Le Rhin*, ca. 1889. Black ink on paper. Musée de l'École de Nancy.



Figure 1.55. *Le Rhin*, detail of marquetry frieze.



Figure 1.56. Prouvé, Sketch for *Le Rhin*, ca. 1889. Black ink on paper. Musée de l'École de Nancy.



Figure 1.57. *Le Rhin*, detail of marquetry frieze.



Figure 1.58. Prouvé, Sketch for *Le Rhin*, showing the figures of the Rhine and the Moselle, ca. 1889. Black ink on paper. Musée de l'École de Nancy.



Figure 1.59. Prouvé, Sketch for *Le Rhin*, showing the figures of the Rhine and the Moselle, ca. 1889. Black ink on paper. Musée de l'École de Nancy.



Figure 1.60. Prouvé, Sketch for *Le Rhin*, showing the figures of the Rhine and the Moselle, ca. 1889. Black ink on paper. Musée de l'École de Nancy.



Figure 1.61. Frédéric-Auguste Bartholdi, *Vercingétorix*, 1902. Plaster shown at the Salon of 1870.



Figure 1.62. Aimé Millet, *Tête de Vercingétorix* (Head of Vercingetorix), 1867. Contemporary postcard.



Trompette gauloise².

Figure 1.63. An engraving of a Gallic carnyx from a 19th-century source.

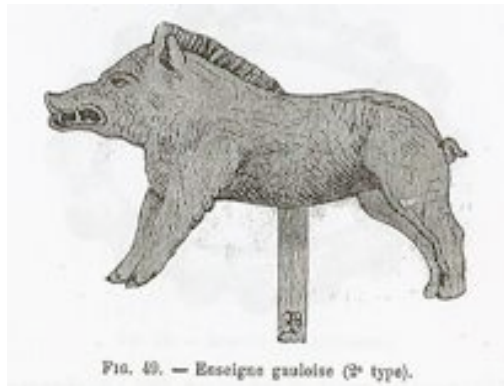


Figure 1.64. The Gallic boar standard, engraving from a 19th-century source.

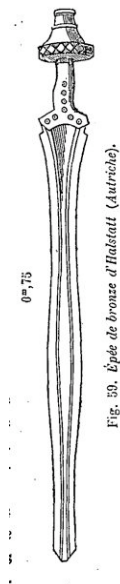


Figure 1.65. A Gallic sword, engraving from a 19th-century source.



Figure 1.66. Gallic armor, engraving from a 19th-century source.



Figure 1.67. *Le Rhin*, detail of frieze showing border designed by Louis Hestaux.



Figure 1.68. Karl Weissbach and Johannes Schilling, Niederwald Monument, Niederwald, Germany, 1883. Contemporary postcard.



Figure 1.69. Detail of frieze from the Niederwald Monument, showing the Rhine and Moselle Rivers, 1883. Contemporary photograph.



Figure 1.70. Detail of frieze from the Niederwald Monument, showing *The Departure of the Soldiers*, 1883. Contemporary photograph.



Figure 1.71. Detail of frieze from the Niederwald Monument, showing *The Return of the Soldiers*, 1883. Contemporary photograph.



Figure 1.72. Detail of frieze from the Niederwald Monument, showing the German army and Emperor Wilhelm I, 1883. Contemporary photograph.



Figure 1.73. Detail of a sculpture from the Niederwald Monument, showing the figure of St. Michael, 1883. Contemporary photograph.



Figure 1.74. Detail of a sculpture from the Niederwald Monument, showing the figure of Peace, 1883. Contemporary photograph.



Figure 1.75. Detail of a sculpture from the Niederwald Monument, showing the figure of Germania, 1883. Contemporary postcard.

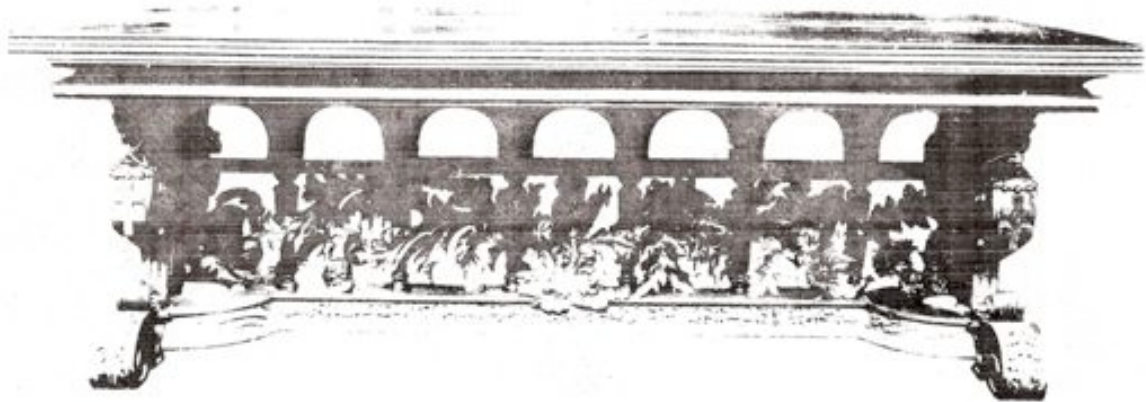


Figure 1.76. *Le Rhin*, illustration from Victor Champier, *Les Industries d'art à l'Exposition universelle de 1889* (Paris: Union centrale des arts décoratifs, 1889-1891).

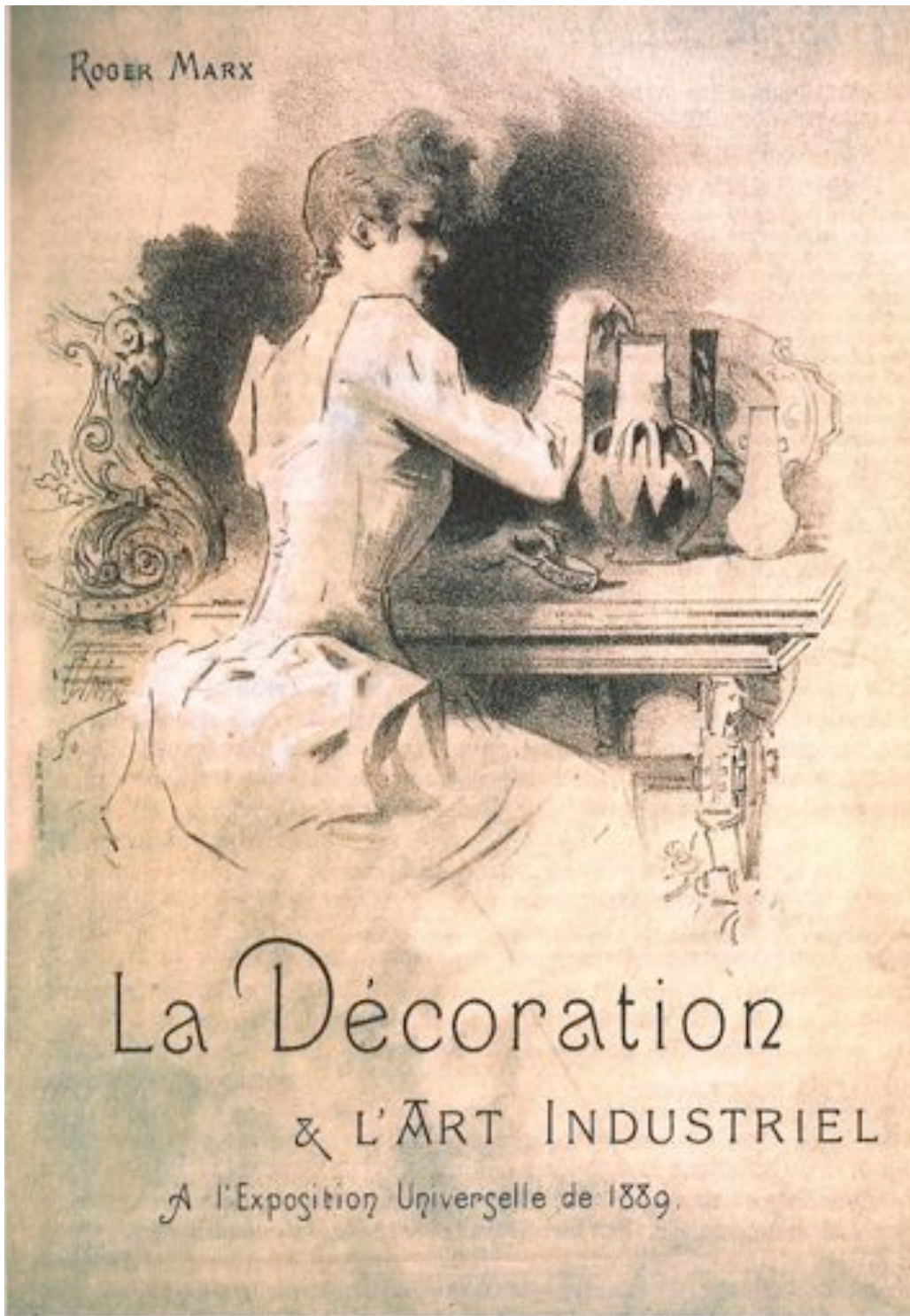


Figure 1.77. Jules Chéret, cover for Roger Marx, *La Décoration et l'art industriel à l'Exposition Universelle de 1889* (Paris: Ancienne Maison Quantin, Librairies-Imprimeries Réunies, 1890).

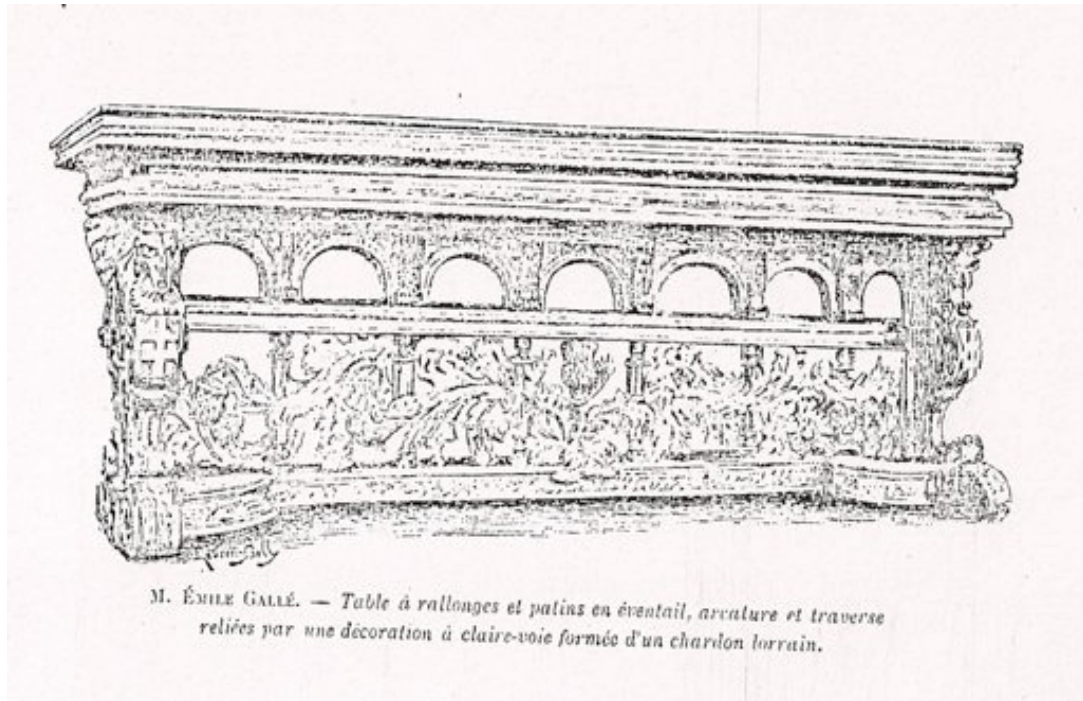


Figure 1.78. *Le Rhin*, illustration from Marx, *La Décoration et l'art industriel à l'Exposition Universelle de 1889*.



Figure 1.79. Gallé, *De Chêne lorrain*, œuvre française, 1889. Panels after a design by Prouvé. Contemporary photograph.

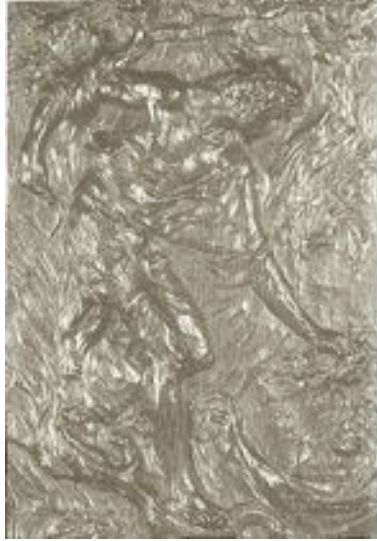


Figure 1.80. Carved relief from *De chêne lorrain*, 1889.



Figure 1.81. Carved relief of Veleda from *De chêne lorrain*, 1889.



Figure 1.82. Plaster relief by Prouvé for *De chêne lorrain*, 1889.



Figure 1.83. Gallé, *De chêne lorrain*, 1889. Contemporary photograph.



Figure 1.84. Detail of Gallé and Prouvé, *De chêne lorrain*, 1889.

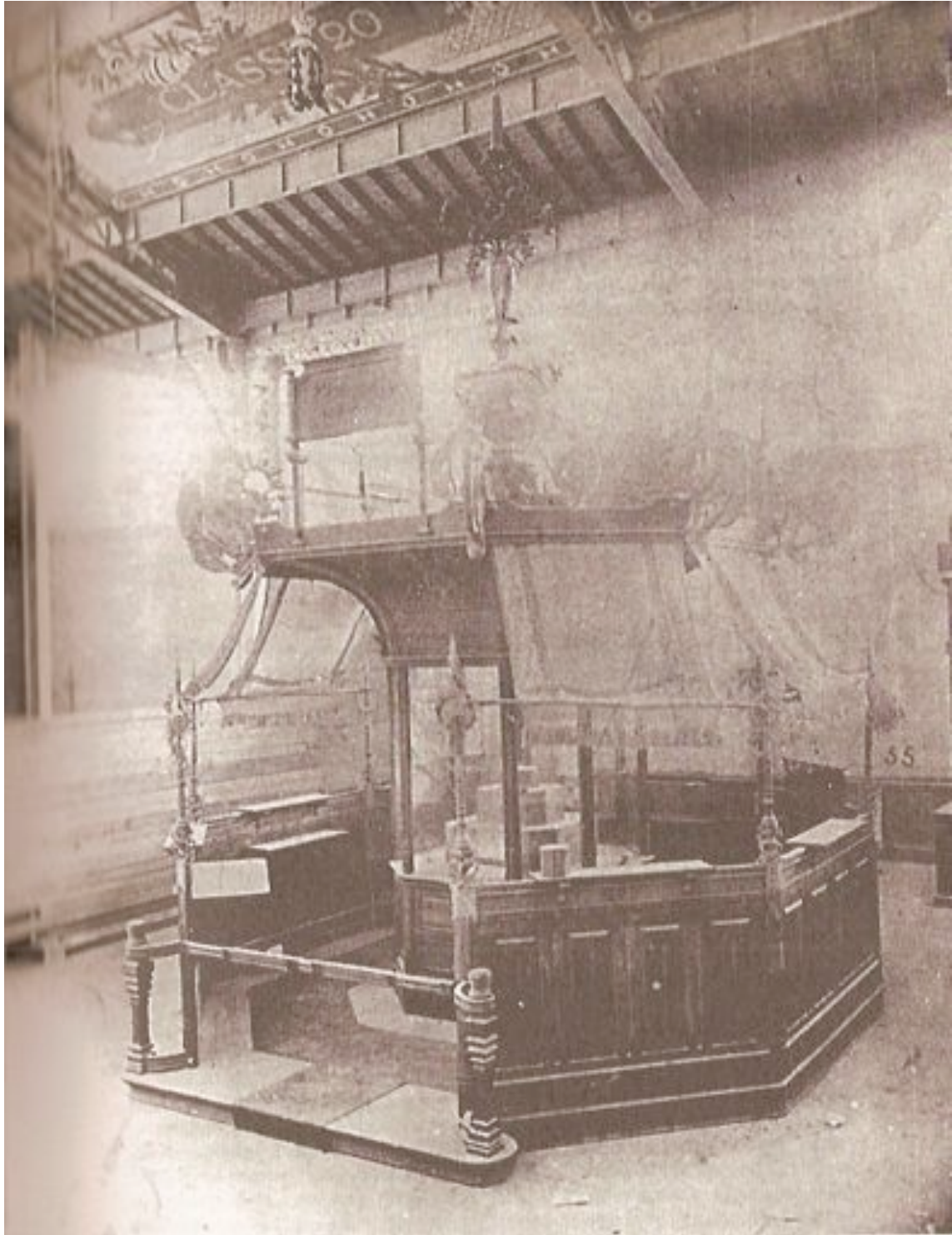


Figure 1.85. Gallé, *Pavillon celtique* (Celtic Pavilion), display at the *Exposition universelle* of 1889. Contemporary photograph.



Figure 1.86. *Suum cuique: Liquidation*, pouncing pattern from Gallé's factory, ca. 1870s.



Figure 1.87. Gallé, sign from the artist's display at the *Exposition universelle* of 1889. Wood. Musée de l'École de Nancy.



Figure 1.88. Gallé, sign with the monogram “E” from the artist’s display at the *Exposition universelle* of 1889. Wood. Musée de l’École de Nancy.



Figure 1.89. Gallé, Sign with the monogram “G” from the artist’s display at the *Exposition universelle* of 1889. Wood. Musée de l’École de Nancy.



Figure 2.1. Gallé, *Flore de Lorraine* (Flora of Lorraine), 1893 and Prouvé, Camille Martin, and René Wiener, *Livre d'or* (Golden Book), 1893. Hermitage, St. Petersburg.



Figure 2.2. Gallé, *Flore de Lorraine*, 1893. Hermitage, St. Petersburg.



Figure 2.3. Gallé, *Flore de Lorraine*, 1893. Contemporary photograph.



Figure 2.4. Gallé, *Flore de Lorraine*, 1893. Contemporary photograph.



Figure 2.5. Gallé, *Flore de Lorraine*, 1893. Detail of marquetry panel.



Figure 2.6. Detail of Gallé, *Flore de Lorraine*, 1893, showing the placement of the *Livre d'or*.



Figure 2.7. Detail of Gallé, *Flore de Lorraine*, 1893. Contemporary photograph.



Figure 2.8. Detail of Gallé, *Flore de Lorraine*, 1893. Contemporary photograph.



Figure 2.9. Detail of Gallé, *Flore de Lorraine*, 1893. Contemporary photograph.



Figure 2.10. Victor Prouvé and René Wiener, binding for Ludovic Halévy, *Récits de guerre: l'invasion 1870-1871* (n.d.). Mosaiced leather, pyrography, paint. H. 36 cm x W. 29 cm. Musée Lorrain.



Figure 2.11. Detail of Gallé, *Flore de Lorraine*, 1893. Contemporary photograph.



Figure 2.12. Detail of Gallé, *Flore de Lorraine*, 1893.



Figure 2.13. Gallé, preparatory sketch for *Flore de Lorraine*, 1893.



Figure 2.14. Detail of Gallé, *Flore de Lorraine*, 1893. Contemporary photograph.



Figure 2.15. Detail of Gallé, *Flore de Lorraine*, 1893.



Figure 2.16. Console table, Paris, ca. 1730. Oak and marble. H. 0.99 m, L. 2.06 m, W. 1.01 m. Musée du Louvre, Paris.

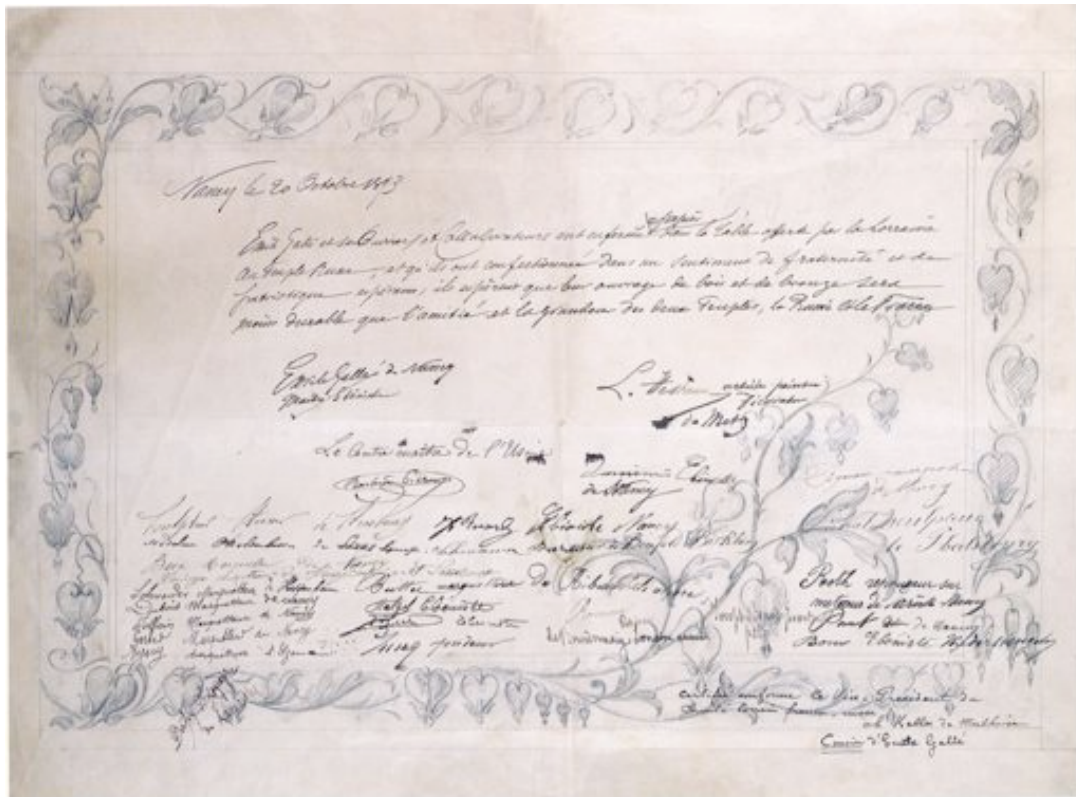


Figure 2.17. Testimonium sealed inside *Flore de Lorraine*. Hermitage, St. Petersburg.



Figure 2.18. Prouvé, Martin, and Wiener, *Livre d'or*, 1893.



Figure 2.19. Detail of the cover of the *Livre d'or*, 1893.



Figure 2.20. Paul Christofle, Book cover. Gold, silver, and enamel. From *Revue des Arts décoratifs*, 1892.



Figure 2.21. Frontispiece to the *Livre d'or*, showing the address by Mr. Mézières.



Figure 2.22. Prouvé, illustration in the *Livre d'or*, 1893.



Figure 2.23. Signature pages from the *Livre d'or*, 1893.

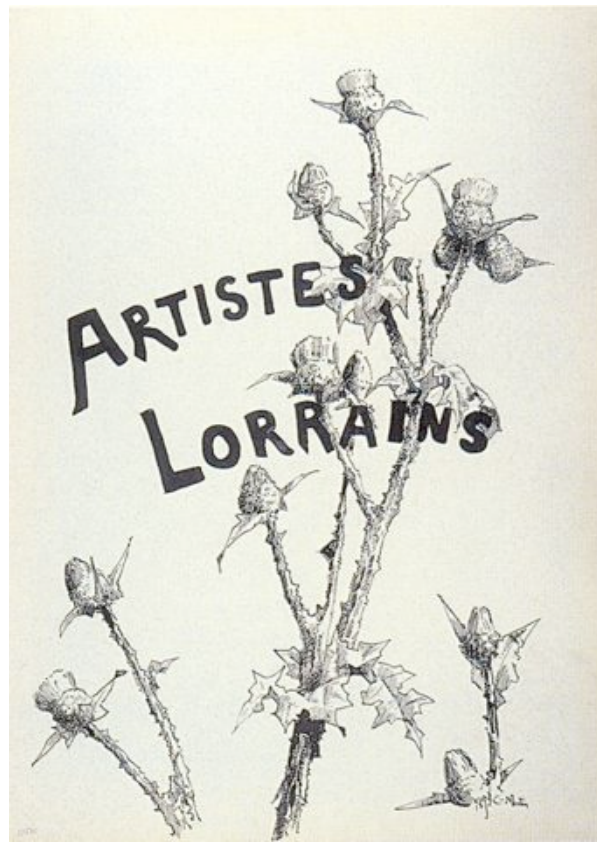


Figure 2.24. Martin, Frontispiece to artists' section of the *Livre d'or*, 1893.



Figure 3.1. Gallé and Prouvé, *Orphée et Eurydice* (Orpheus and Eurydice), 1889. Glass. Musée des Arts décoratifs.



Figure 3.2. Detail of Gallé and Prouvé, *Orphée et Eurydice*, 1889.

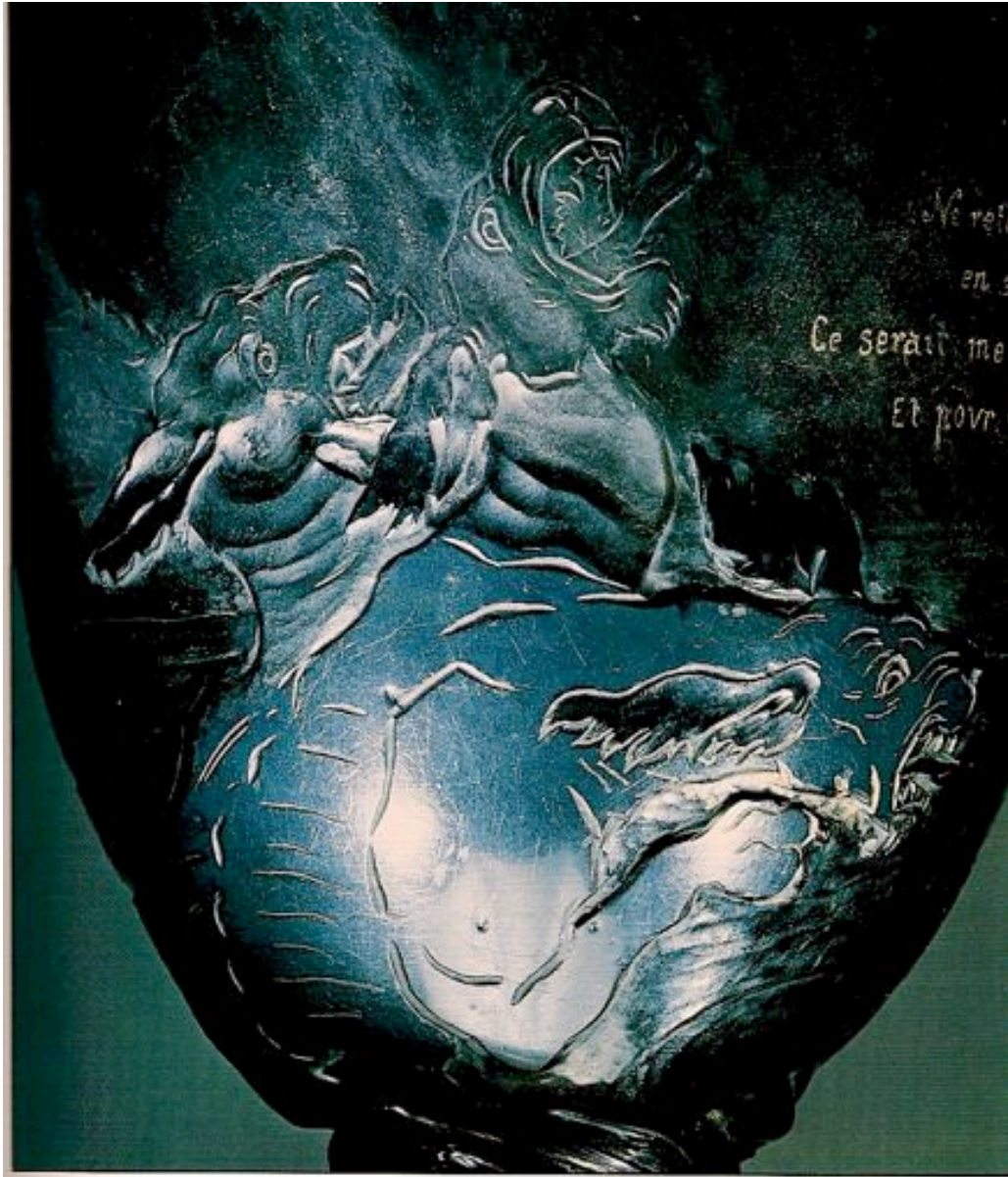


Figure 3.3. Detail of Gallé and Prouvé, *Orphée et Eurydice*, 1889.

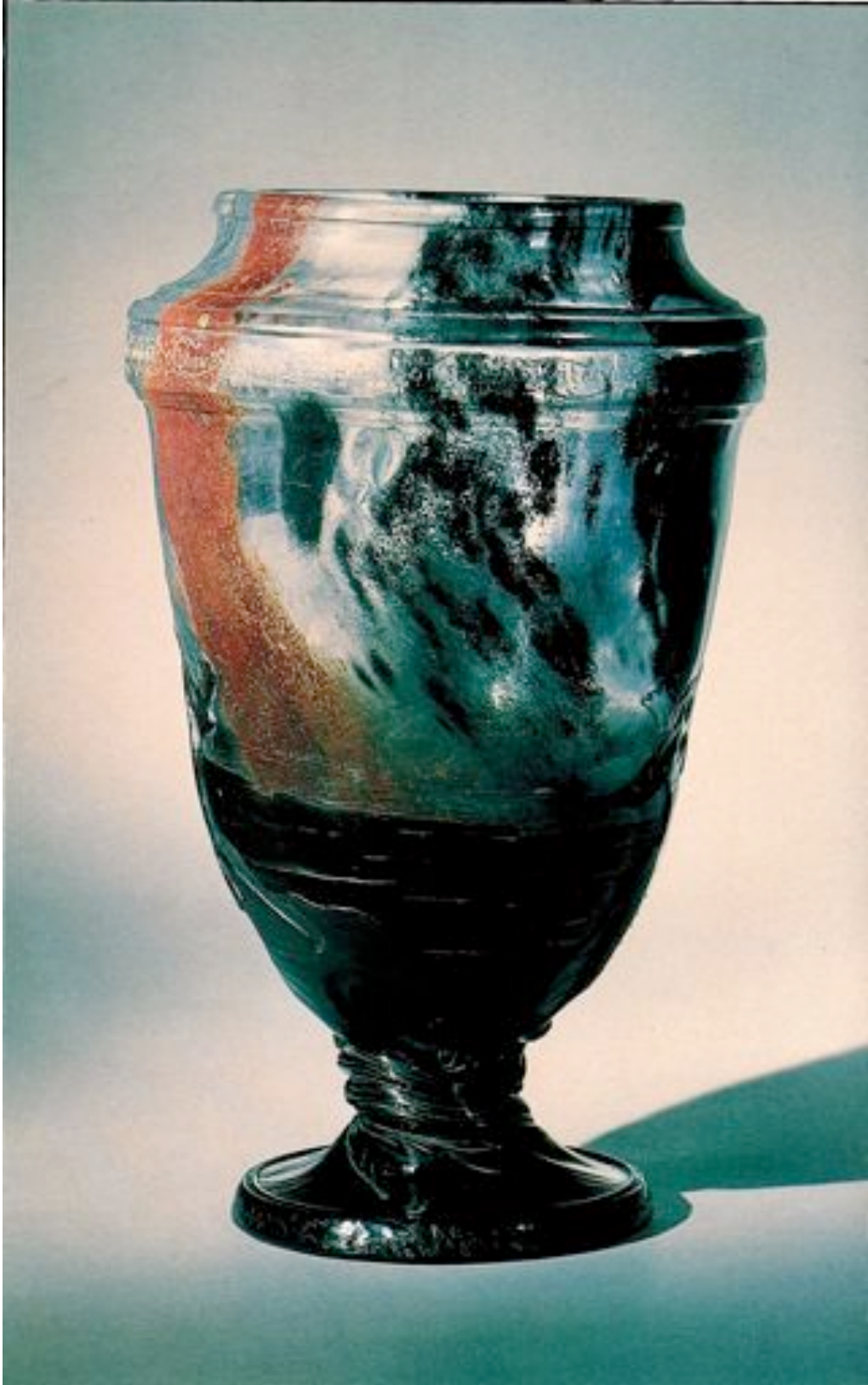


Figure 3.4. Gallé and Prouvé, Detail of *Orphée et Eurydice*, 1889.



Figure 3.5. Gallé and Prouvé, Detail of *Orphée et Eurydice*, 1889.



Figure 3.6. Detail of signatures on base of Gallé and Prouvé, *Orphée et Eurydice*, 1889.



Figure 3.7. Gallé and Prouvé, *Jeanne d'Arc*, 1889. Glass with metal base. Musée de l'École de Nancy.



Figure 3.8. Gallé and Prouvé, Detail of *Jeanne d'Arc*, 1889.

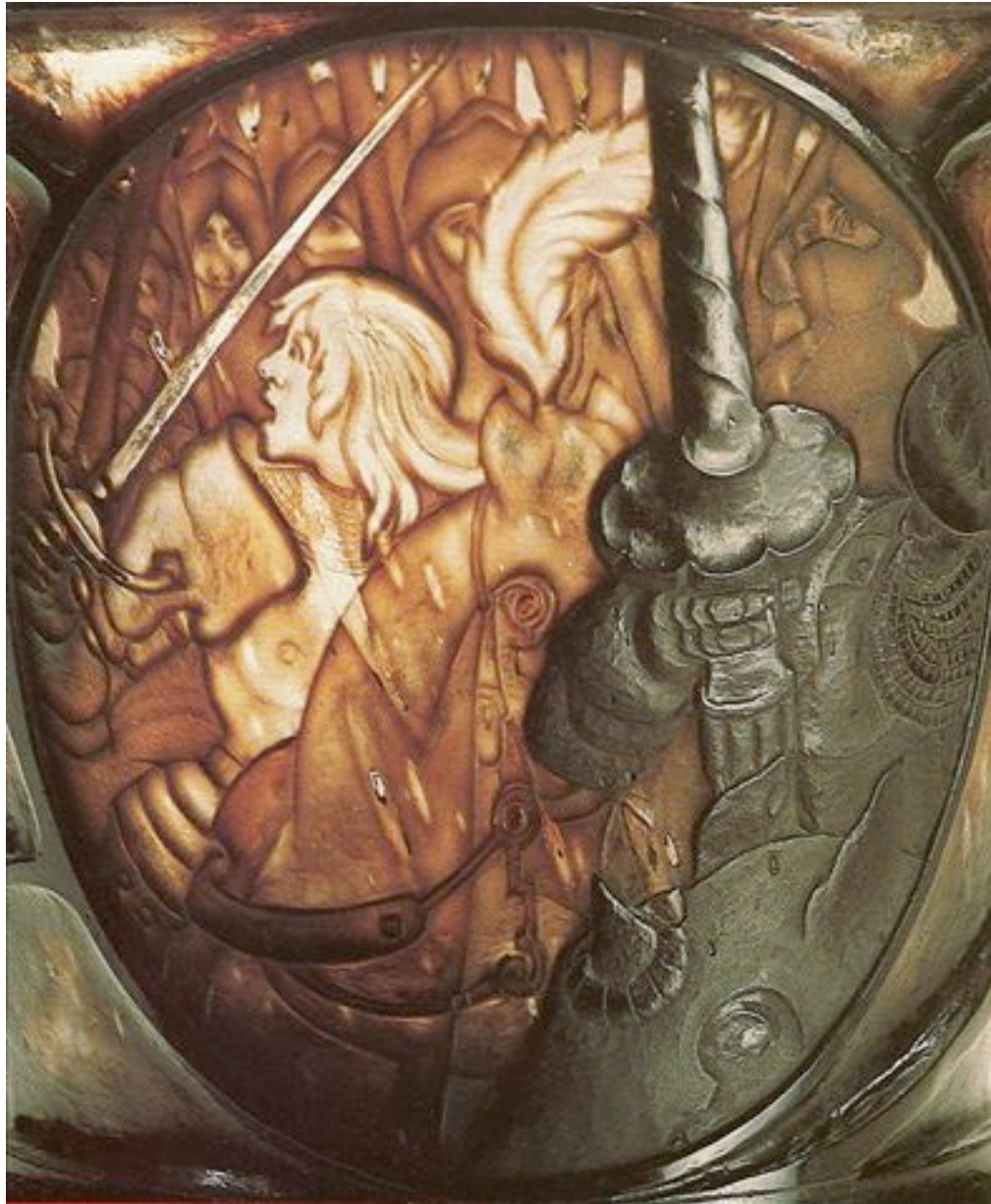


Figure 3.9. Gallé and Prouvé, Detail of *Jeanne d'Arc*, 1889.



Figure 3.10. Emmanuel Frémiet, *Jeanne d'Arc* (Joan of Arc), Place des Pyramides, Paris, 1874. Bronze.



Figure 3.11. Replica of Frémiet's statue erected in Nancy in 1890. Bronze.



Figure 3.12. Gallé, *Jeanne d'Arc* (Joan of Arc), ca. 1880s. Musée de l'École de Nancy.



Figure 3.13. Gallé, *Jeanne d'Arc* (Joan of Arc), n.d. Glass.



Figure 3.14. Gallé, *Jeanne d'Arc* (Joan of Arc), n.d.



Figure 3.15. Gallé, *Ce n'ame po tojo* (It's Not Forever), 1888-1889. Two layered-glass, with transparent glass on the interior and black *hyalite* glass on the exterior. H. 27 cm. Musée des Arts décoratifs.



Figure 3.16. Base of Gallé, *Ce n'ame po tojo*, 1888-89.



Figure 3.17. The ex-voto erected in Sion showing a broken cross of Lorraine and the motto “Ce n’ame po tojo”.



Figure 3.18. Gallé, *Espoir*, 1889. Glass and enamel. Musée de l'École de Nancy.



Figure 3.19. Mosque lamp. Egypt, ca. 1329-35.



Figure 3.20. Philippe-Joseph Brocard, Mosque Lamp, ca. 1878. Enameled glass. Kikuchi collection, Japan.



Figure 3.21. J. & L. Lobmeyr, Hanging Lamp in Islamic Style, ca. 1880-85. Glass, enamel, gilding, brass. Corning Museum of Glass.



Figure 3.22. Detail of Gallé, *Espoir*, 1889.



Figure 3.23. Basin signed Dâwûd ibn Salâma al-Mawslî, Iraq or Northern Syria, ca. 1252-1253. Copper, gold, and silver inlay.

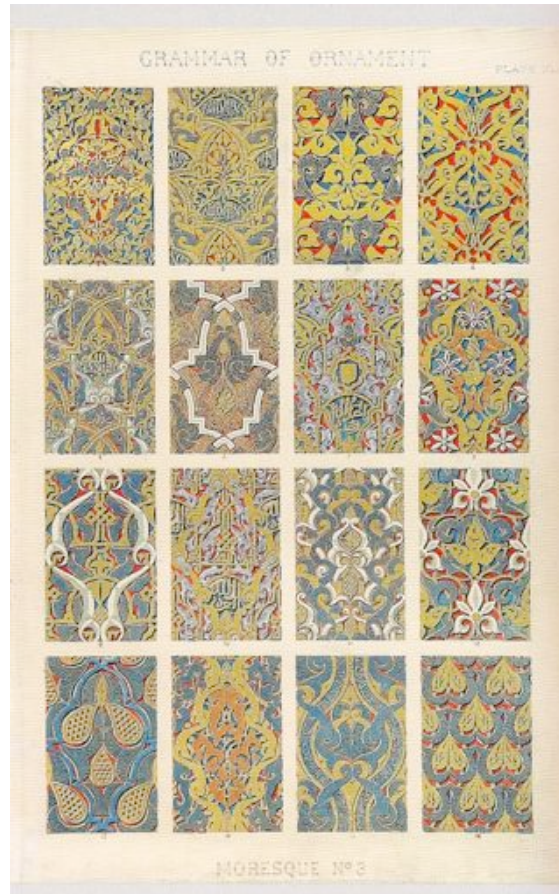


Figure 3.24. Owen Jones, *Moresque no. 3*, from *The Grammar of Ornament* (London, 1856), pl. XLI.



Figure 3.25. Albert Racinet, *Décorations niellées: Art persan*, from *L'Ornement polychrome* (Paris, 1869-1870).



Figure 3.26. Detail of Gallé, *Espoir*, 1889.



Figure 3.27. Gallé, Mosque Lamp, n.d. Engraved and enameled glass.



Figure 3.28. Gallé, Mosque Lamp, ca. 1884-89. Engraved and enameled colored glass, with applications.



Figure 3.29. Gallé's display at the *Exposition universelle* of 1900. Contemporary photograph.



Figure 3.30. Tracing of Gallé, *Espoir*, 1889.



Figure 3.31. Gallé Design Studio, Study of calligraphy and thistles. Watercolor and pencil on paper. Musée de l'École de Nancy.



Figure 4.1. Gallé, *Little Dragon*, flower-holder, ca. 1870s. Faience.

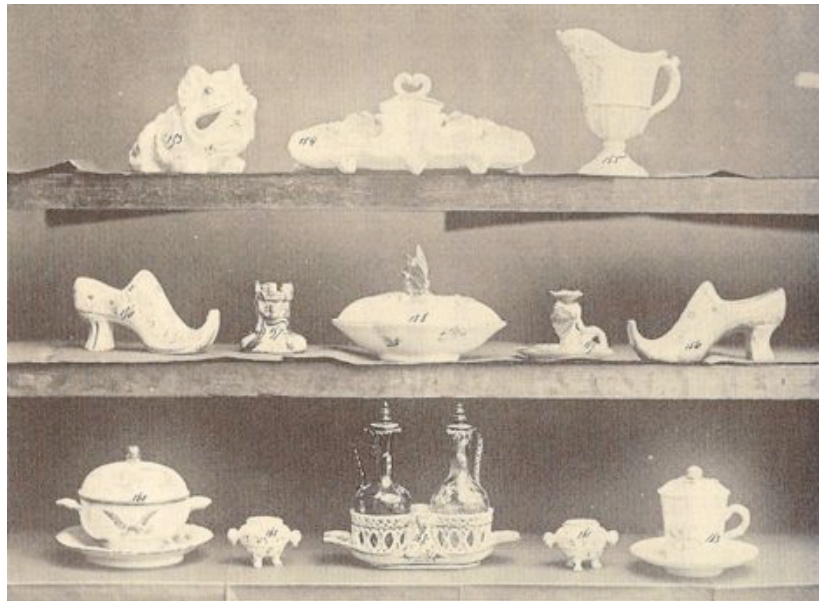


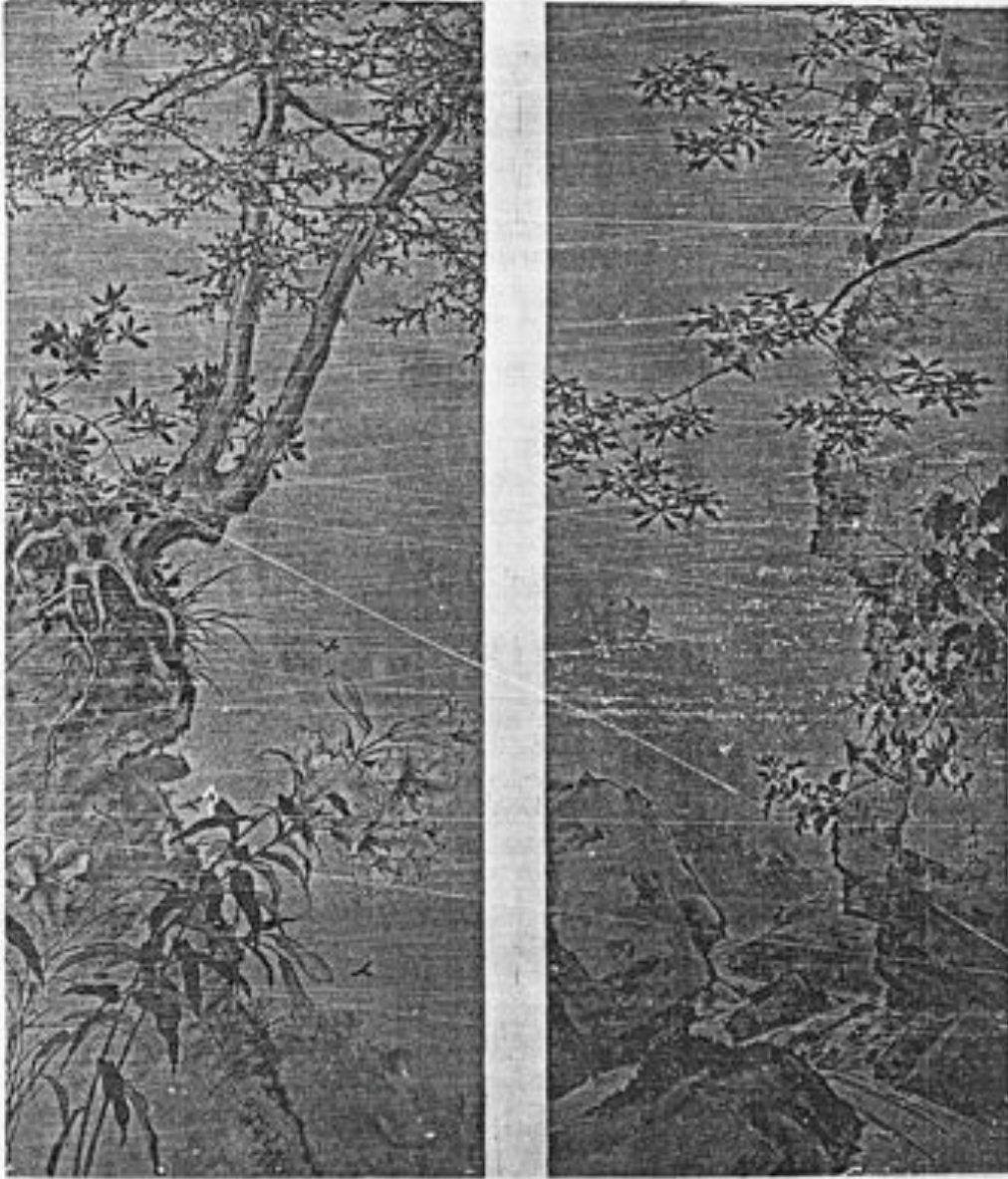
Figure 4.2. Gallé-Reinemer display at a trade fair, ca. 1870s. Contemporary photograph.



Figure 4.3. Brazier in the Form of a Fabulous Lion's Head, Bizen Ware, 19th century. H. 13.0 cm, W. 11.5 cm. Private collection.



Figure 4.4. Gallé, *Head of a Japanese Monster Jar*, designed 1876. H. 13.1 cm, W. 12.5 cm. Private collection.



Phototypie J. HOTES, Nancy.

LORRAINE-ARTISTE.

Panneaux Japonais

(PEINTS PAR M. TAKACYMA)

Figure 4.5. “*Panneaux Japonais, Planche 96: Panneaux Japonais (Peints par M. Takacyma).*” Illustration of screens painted by Takacyma reproduced in *La Lorraine Artiste*.



Phototypie J. ROTA, Nancy.



LORRAINE-ARTISTE

Panneaux Japonais

(PEINTS PAR M. TAKACYMA)

Figure 4.6. “*Planche 70: Panneaux Japonais (Peints par M. Takacyma).*” Illustration of screens painted by Takacyma reproduced in *La Lorraine Artiste*.

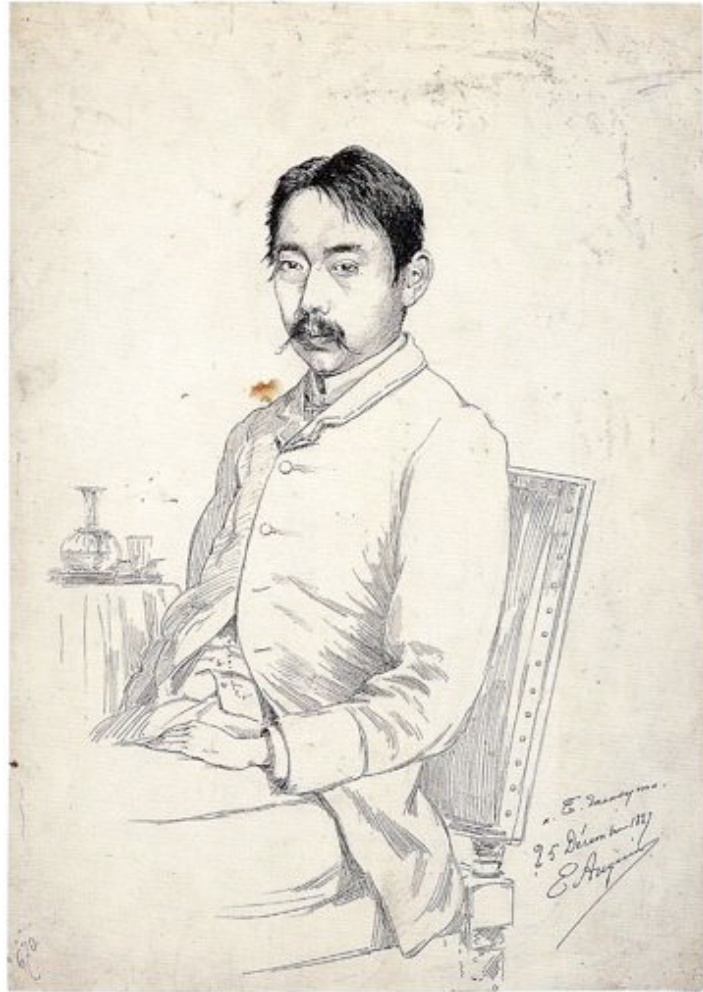


Figure 4.7. Edgard Auguin, *T. Takacyma*, pen and ink drawing. Published in *La Lorraine Artiste*, March 25, 1888.

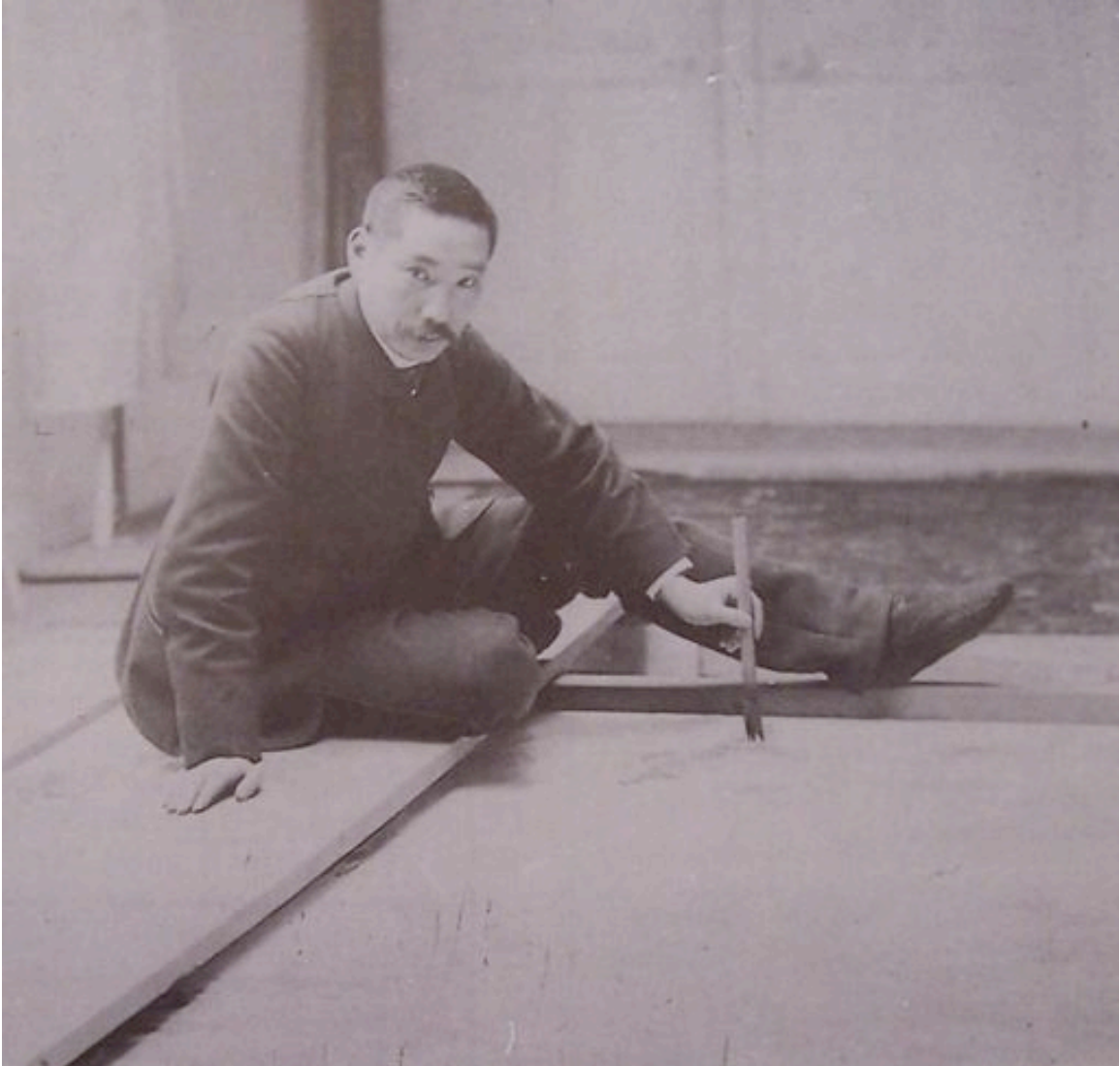


Figure 4.8. Photograph of Tokouso Takacyma, ca. 1885-1888. Contemporary photograph.



Figure 4.9. Studio of René Wiener in Nancy. Contemporary photograph.



Figure 4.10. Prouvé in collaboration with Wiener, Binding for Louis Gonse's *L'Art Japonais*, Vol. I, 1893. Mosaiced, engraved, and gilded leather. H. 36.3 cm, W. 28.3 cm. Musée de l'École de Nancy.



Figure 4.11. Gallé, Satsuma-ware incense burner copied from an illustration in the April 30, 1870 issue of the journal *L'Art pour tous*, ca. 1870s.



Figure 4.12. Saucer “à la carpe” from the *Service Rousseau* (Rousseau Service), produced by Lebœuf et Millet, manufactured by Creil and Montereau, based on etchings by Félix Bracquemond after Hokusai’s *Manga*, 1866-75. Coll. Lachaniette.



Figure 4.13. Gallé-Reinemer, Pair of lion candlesticks, 1874. Faïence. H. 0.420 m, W. 0.195 m. Münchner Stadtmuseum, Munich.



Figure 4.14. Signature from various works by Gallé.



Figure 4.15. Signature from various works by Gallé.



Figure 4.16. Hon'ami Koetsu and Tawaraya Sotatsu, *Poem from the Kokin Wakashu on Colored Paper Decorated with Willows*, 16th-17th c. Calligraphy in black brushwork over underpainting in gold pigment on paper. H. 18.5, W. 16.3 cm. Suntory Museum, Japan.



Figure 4.17. Gallé, *Pique-fleurs* (Flower Holder), 1878-1880. Glass and enamel. Matsue Kitahori Museum, Matsue, Japan.



Figure 4.18. Kimono for a woman, Japan, 19th century. Green satin-weave silk. Floral and foliage roundels embroidered in satin-stitch and laid work in various metallic colors. Gold family crests of paulownia leaves across the shoulders.



Figure 4.19 G. A. Audsley and J. L. Bowes, *Médallions* (Medallions), from *La Céramique japonaise* (Paris: Librairie de Firmin-Didot et Cie, 1881).

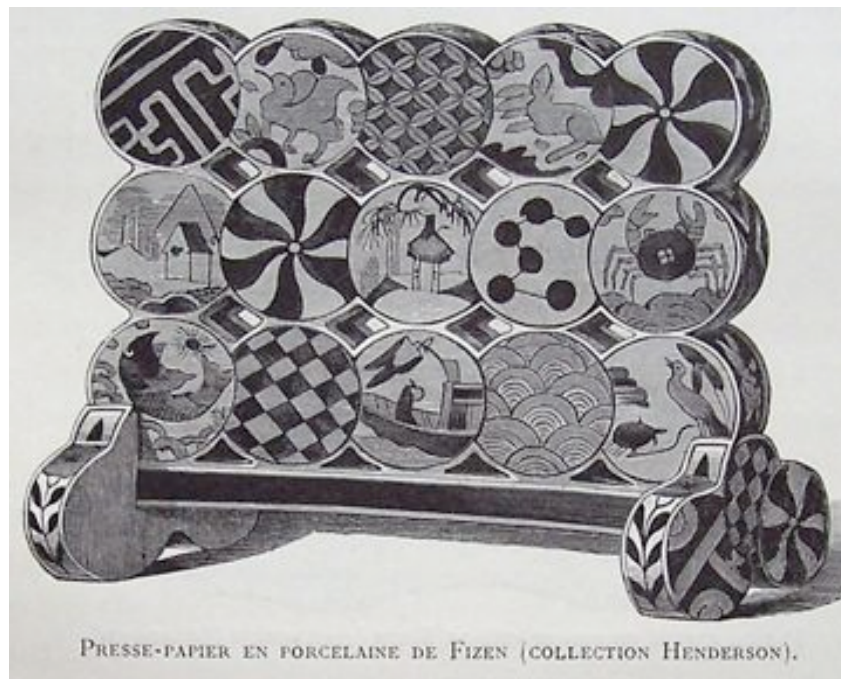


Figure 4.20. Audsley and Bowes, *Presse-papier en porcelaine de Fizen* (Paper Press in Fizen Porcelain), from *La Céramique japonaise*.



Figure 4.21. Gallé, Detail of *Pique-fleurs*, 1878-1880. Glass and enamel. Matsue Kitahori Museum.



Figure 4.22. Gallé, *Vase à la carpe* (Vase with a Carp), 1878. *Clair de lune* glass with polychrome enamel and gold decoration. Musée des Arts décoratifs.



Figure 4.23. Gallé, *Vase à la carpe* (Vase with a Carp), 1878. Glass with enamel and gold decoration. Musée du verre et du cristal, Meisenthal, France.



Figure. 4.24. Gallé, Detail of *Vase à la carpe*, 1878.



Figure 4.25. Hokusai, *Gyoran Kanzeon* ('Fish-Basket' Avalokitesvara), from *Manga*, vol. 13, ca. 1850.



Figure 4.26. Gallé, *Vase with Carp Design*, 1878. Glass and enamel. H. 27.5 cm, D. (body) 20.0 cm. Izu Glass and Craft Museum, Japan.



Figure 4.27. Gallé, *Une poule survint* (A Hen Appeared), fan, 1878. Glass and enamel. Musée de l'École de Nancy.



Figure 4.28. Gallé, *Une poule survint* (A Hen Appeared), 1878. Faïence. Musée de l'École de Nancy.



Figure 4.29. Audsley and Bowes, *Kaga* (Kaga), from *La Céramique japonaise*.

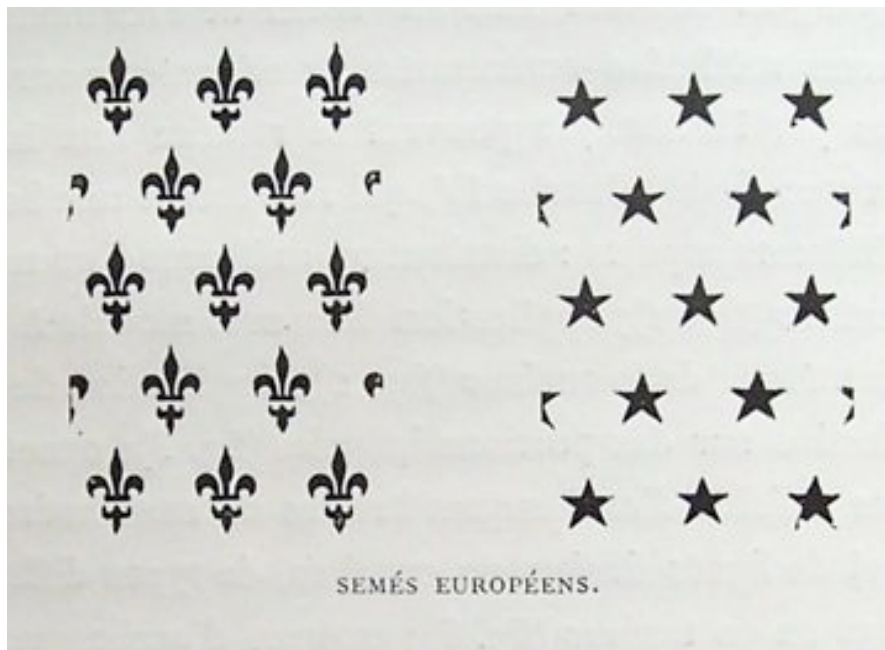


Figure 4.30. Audsley and Bowes, *Semés européens* (European Dot Pattern), from *La Céramique japonaise*.

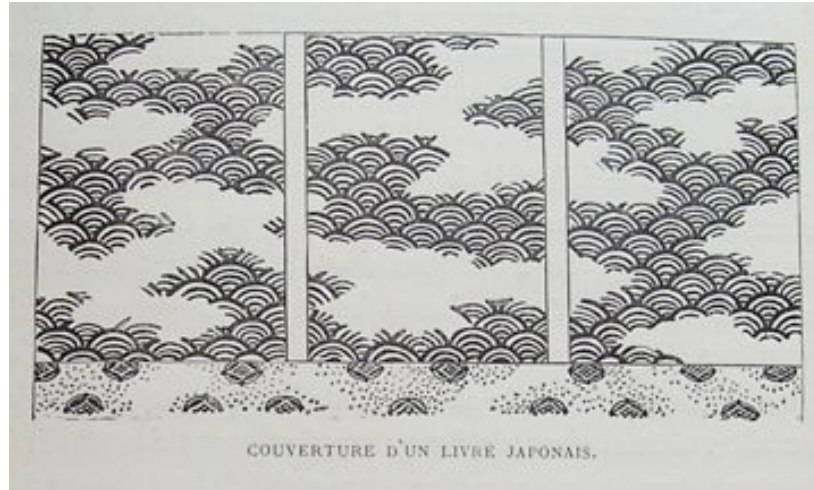


Figure 4.31. Audsley and Bowes, *Couverture d'un livre japonais* (Cover of a Japanese Book), from *La Céramique japonaise*.



Figure 4.32. Audsley and Bowes, *Dessins géométriques* (Geometric Designs), from *La Céramique japonaise*.

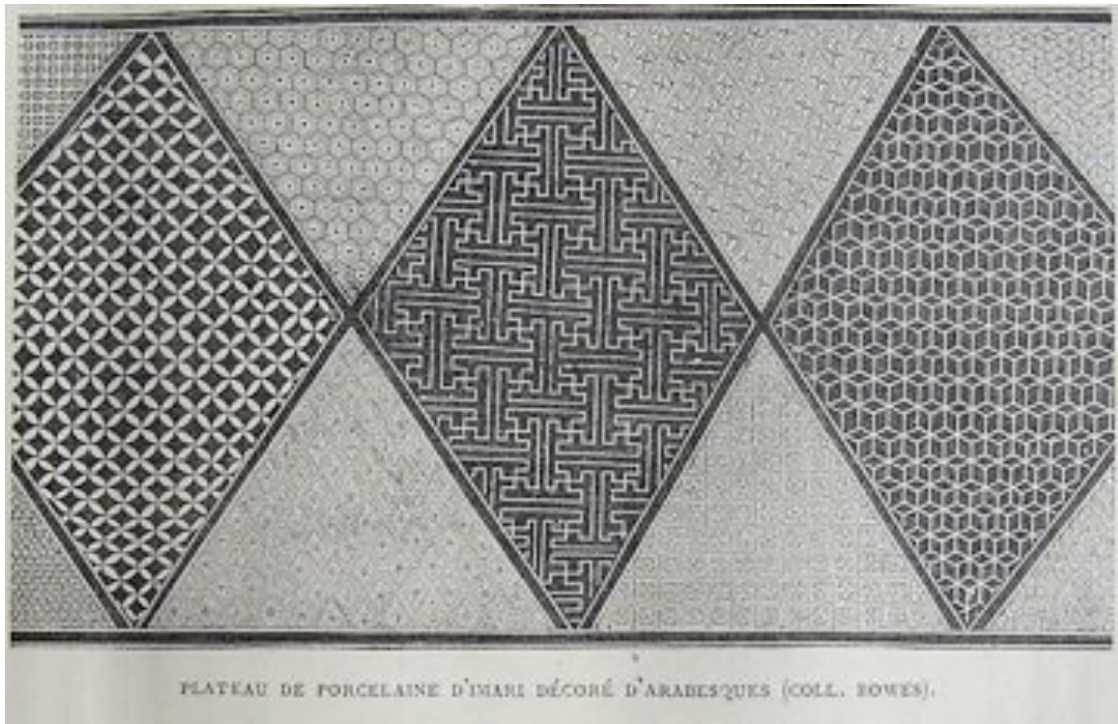


Figure 4.33. Audsley and Bowes, *Plateau de porcelaine d'Imari décoré d'arabesques* (Imari Porcelain Plate Decorated with Arabesques), from *La Céramique japonaise*.

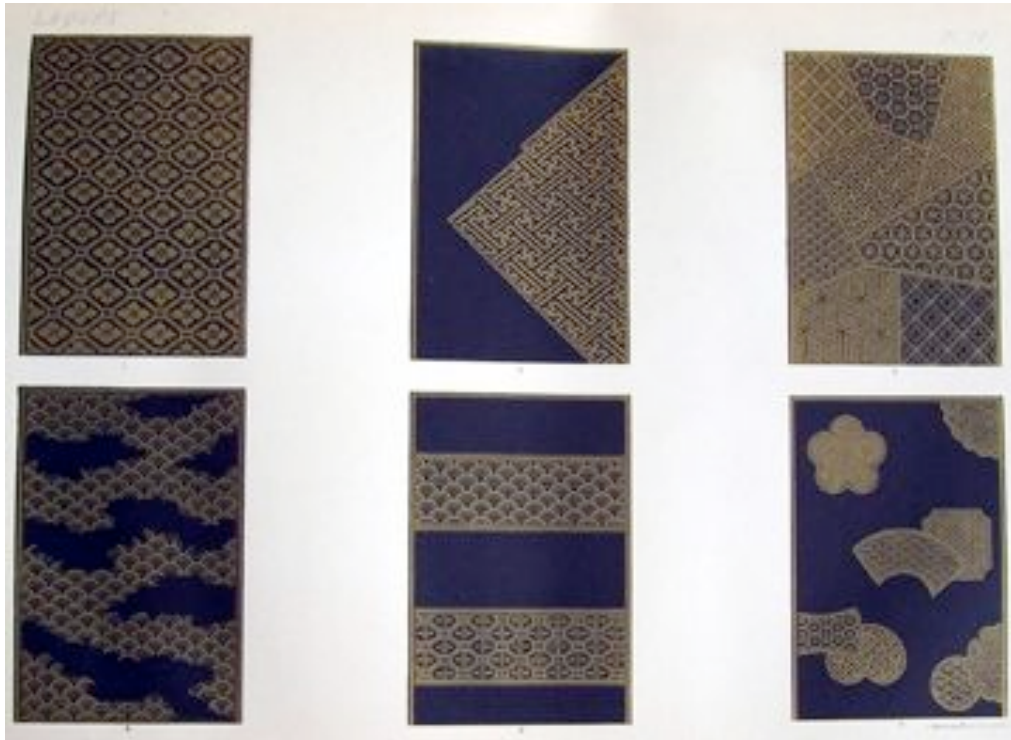


Figure 4.34. Audsley and Bowes, *Laqués* (Lacquered Patterns), from *La Céramique japonaise*.



Figure 4.35. Gallé, *Coupe Libellules* (Dragonfly Bowl), 1904. Layered glass with inclusions.



Figure 4.36. Hokusai, *Frog*, from *Manga*, Vol. 1, 1814. Woodblock printed book, black and pale colors. H. 24 x W. 18 cm. Hagi Uragami Museum, Japan.



Figure 4.37. Japanese lacquer panels mounted on a Baroque stand, 18th century.



Figure 4.38. Madame Duvinage, Cabinet, ca. 1878. Rosewood, marquetry of ivory, copper, brass, pewter, and bronze. Musée d'Orsay.



Figure 4.39. Gabriel Viardot, Cabinet, 1888. Carved walnut with gilt bronze mounts. Victoria & Albert Museum, London.



Figure 4.40. Edouard Lièvre (1829-1866), Console table with a cabinet, 1877. Rosewood from Rio, ebony from the East Indies, gilt bronze, engraved iron, glass. Musée d'Orsay.



Figure 4.41. Louis Majorelle, *Japanese table with a curved top*, ca. 1886.



Figure 4.42. Gallé, Table for the store *L'Escalier de cristal*, n.d. Musée de l'École de Nancy.



Figure 4.43. Majorelle, Cabinet, ca. 1885. Wood and *vernis Martin*. Musée de l'École de Nancy.



Figure 4.44. Gallé, *Bambou* (Bamboo), ca. 1894. Musée de l'École de Nancy.

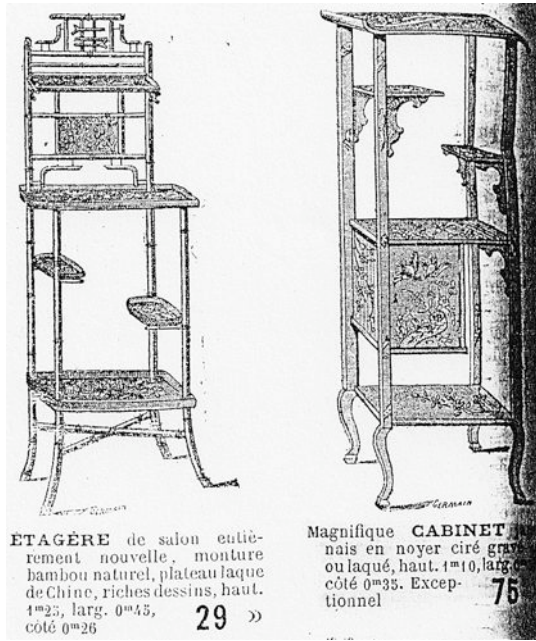


Figure 4.45. Advertisement for store *Au Tapis Rouge*, Faubourg-Saint-Martin, Paris.



Figure 4.46. Gallé, *Les Ombellifères* (The Umbelliferae), ca. 1900. Musée Saint-Denis, Reims.

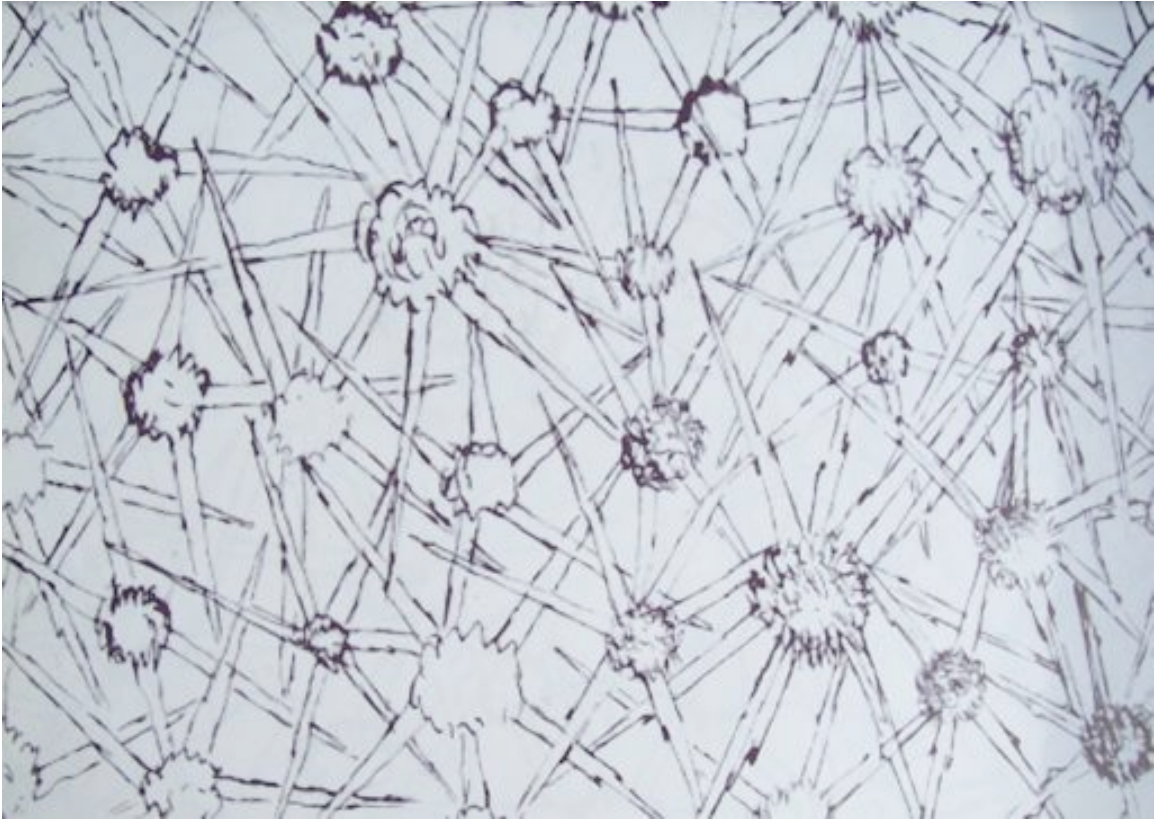


Figure 4.47. Gallé, *Étude semis sur un motif de chardon* (Study of a Thistle Motif), n.d. Indian ink on paper.

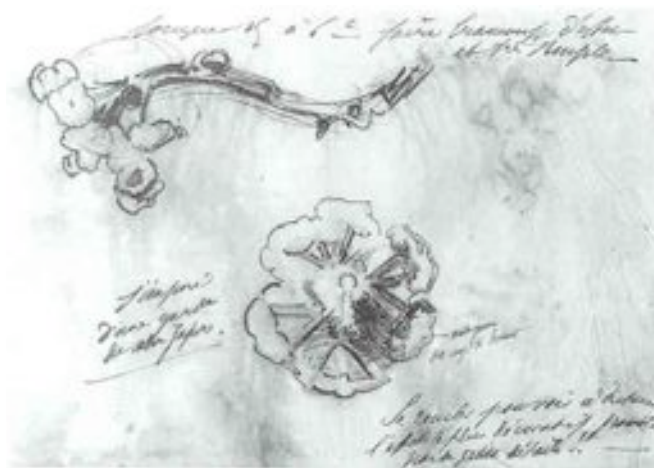


Figure 4.48. Gallé, *Projet d'entrée de serrure* (Project for a Lock), n.d. Private collection.



Figure 4.49. Gallé, *Les Ombellules* (The Umbellules), 1898. Matsue Kitahori Museum.



Figure 4.50. Eugène Rousseau, *Pair of Bottles with Stopper, with Sun, Moon, Bird, and Flower Design*, 1880-85. Glass and enamel. H 26.0 cm, D (body) 9.4 cm. Suntory Museum of Art.

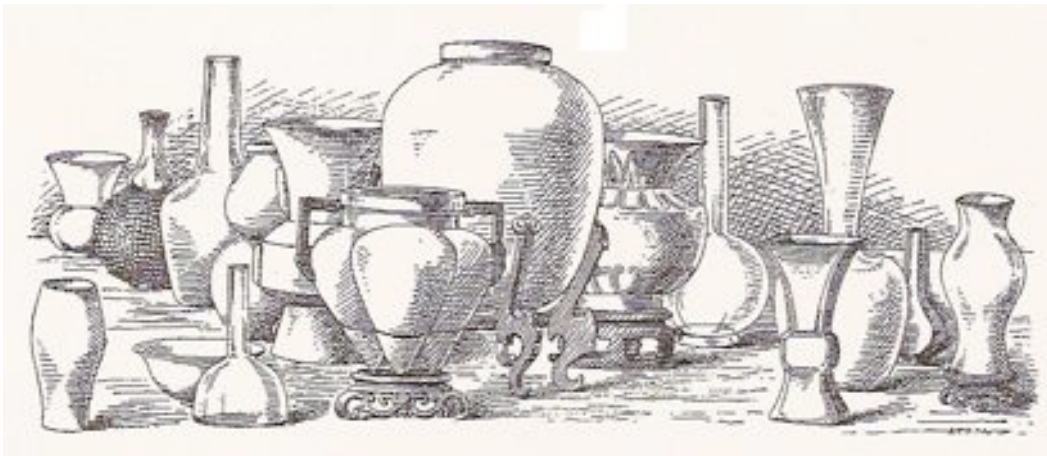


Figure 4.51. Chinese glass vases, formerly in the Kunstgewerbemuseum, Berlin.

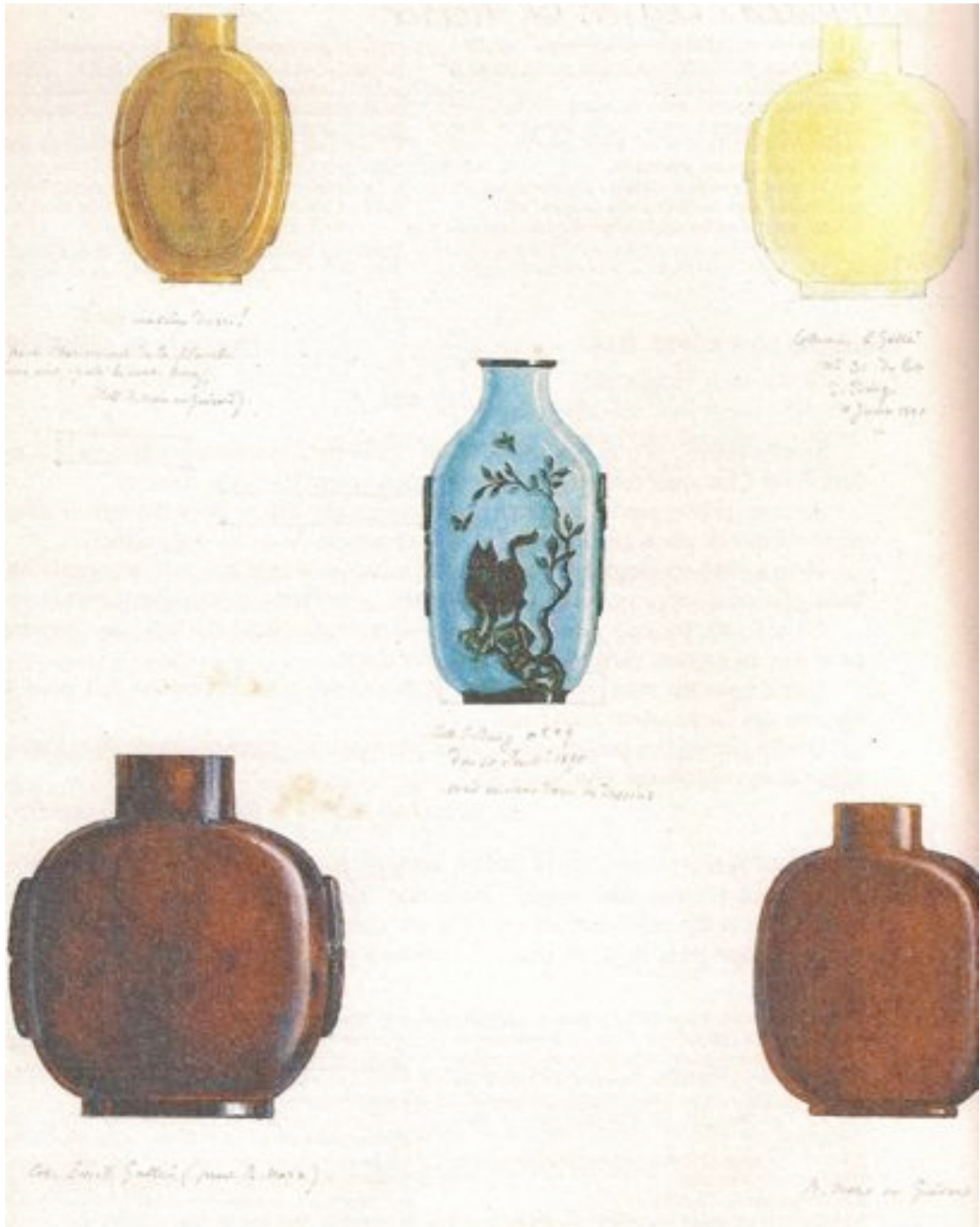


Figure 4.52. Gallé, Drawings of Chinese snuff-bottles, 1890. Watercolor and ink on paper.



Figure 4.53. Gallé, *Petit vase soliflore opaque jaune* (Small, Opaque Yellow Bud Vase), ca. 1895. Glass.



Figure 4.54. Chinese, Large vase, Qing dynasty, 18th-19th c. Opaque pale blue glass.



Figure 4.55. Gallé, *Vase Gu ou Datura* (Datura or Gu Vase), 1889-98. Matsue Kitahori Museum.



Figure 4.56. Bronze vessels, Japan, 18th century.



Figure 4.57. Josiah Wedgwood, *Portland Vase*, 1790. Cameo glass.



Figure 4.58. Portable altar with painting of the Virgin and Child, Japan, late 16th-early 17th century. Altar: wood covered in black lacquer with gold *hiramakie* and mother-of-pearl inlay; painting: oil on panel. Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, M.A.

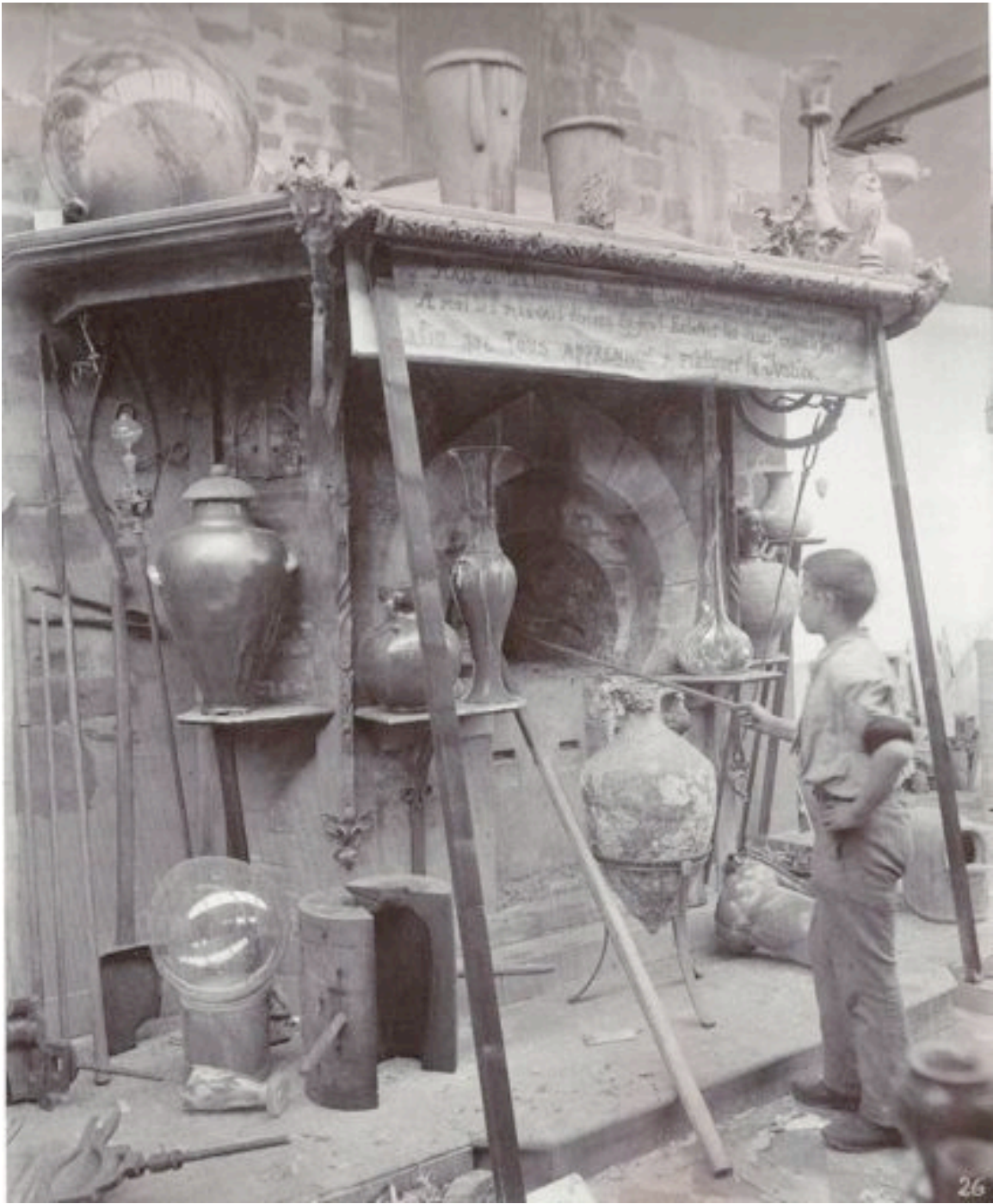


Figure 5.1. Gallé, *Four verrier* (Glassmaker's Kiln), 1900. Contemporary photograph.

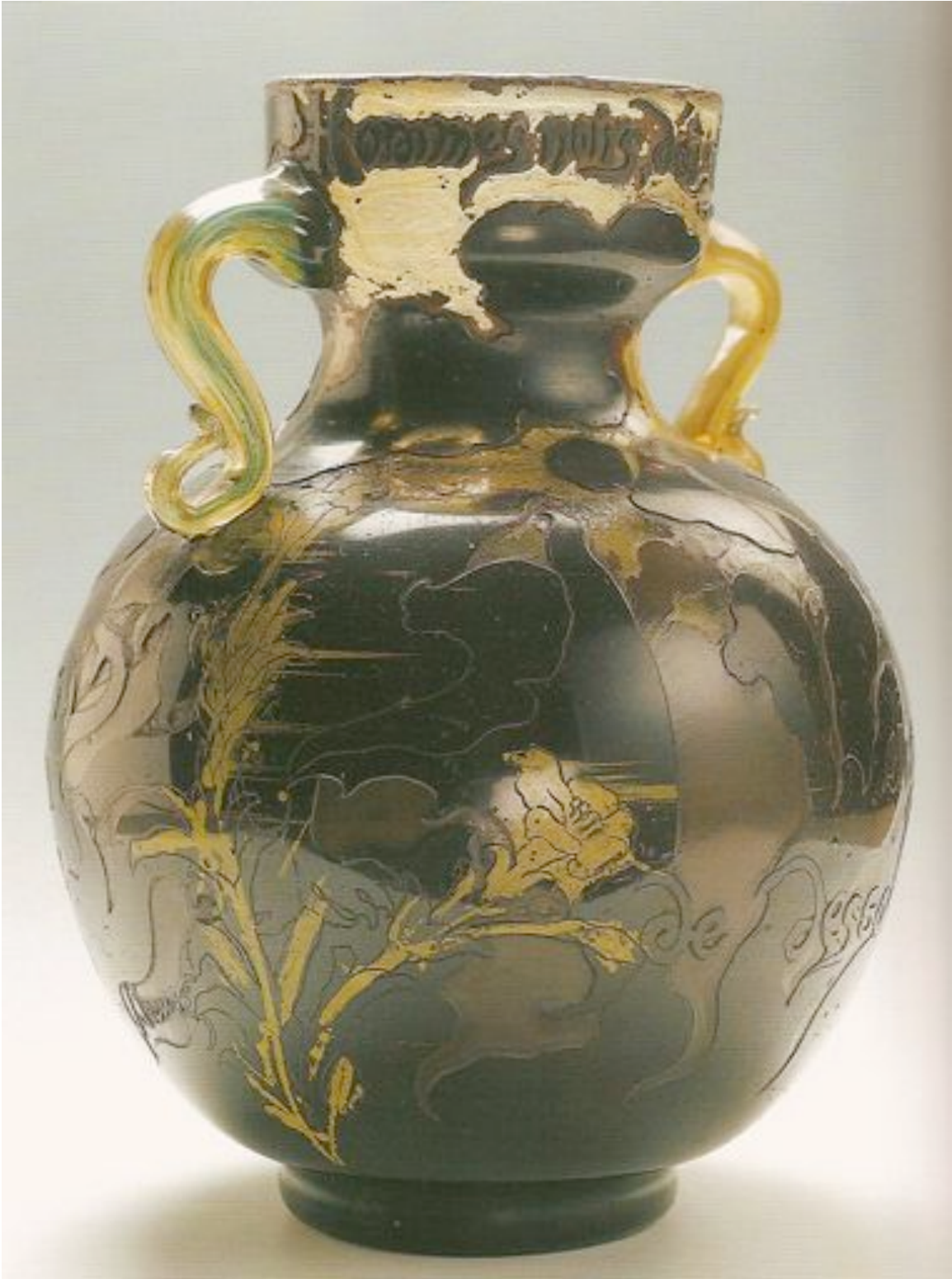


Figure 5.2. Gallé and Prouvé, *Les Hommes noirs*, 1900. Triple layered glass, engraved decoration, glass marquetry, and applications. Signed *E. Gallé* and *V. Prouvé*. H. 40 cm, D. 30.5 cm. Musée de l'École de Nancy.



Figure 5.3. Félix Vallotton, *L'Age du Papier* (The Age of Paper), published in *Le Cri de Paris*, January 23, 1898. Photomechanical print.



Figure 5.4. Édouard Debat-Ponsan, *La Vérité sortant du puits* (Truth Emerging from a Well), 1898. Oil on canvas. Musée d'Amboise, Amboise, France.



Figure 5.5. Gallé, *Sicut Hortus*, tea table, 1898. Wood marquetry and bronze hardware.



Figure 5.6. Gallé, *Le Figuier* (The Fig Tree), 1898.



Figure 5.7. Gallé, *Le Saint-Graal* (The Holy Grail), 1893. Contemporary photograph.



Figure 5.8. Detail of Gallé, *Le Figurier*, 1898.



Figure 5.9. Detail of Gallé, *Le Figurier*, 1898.

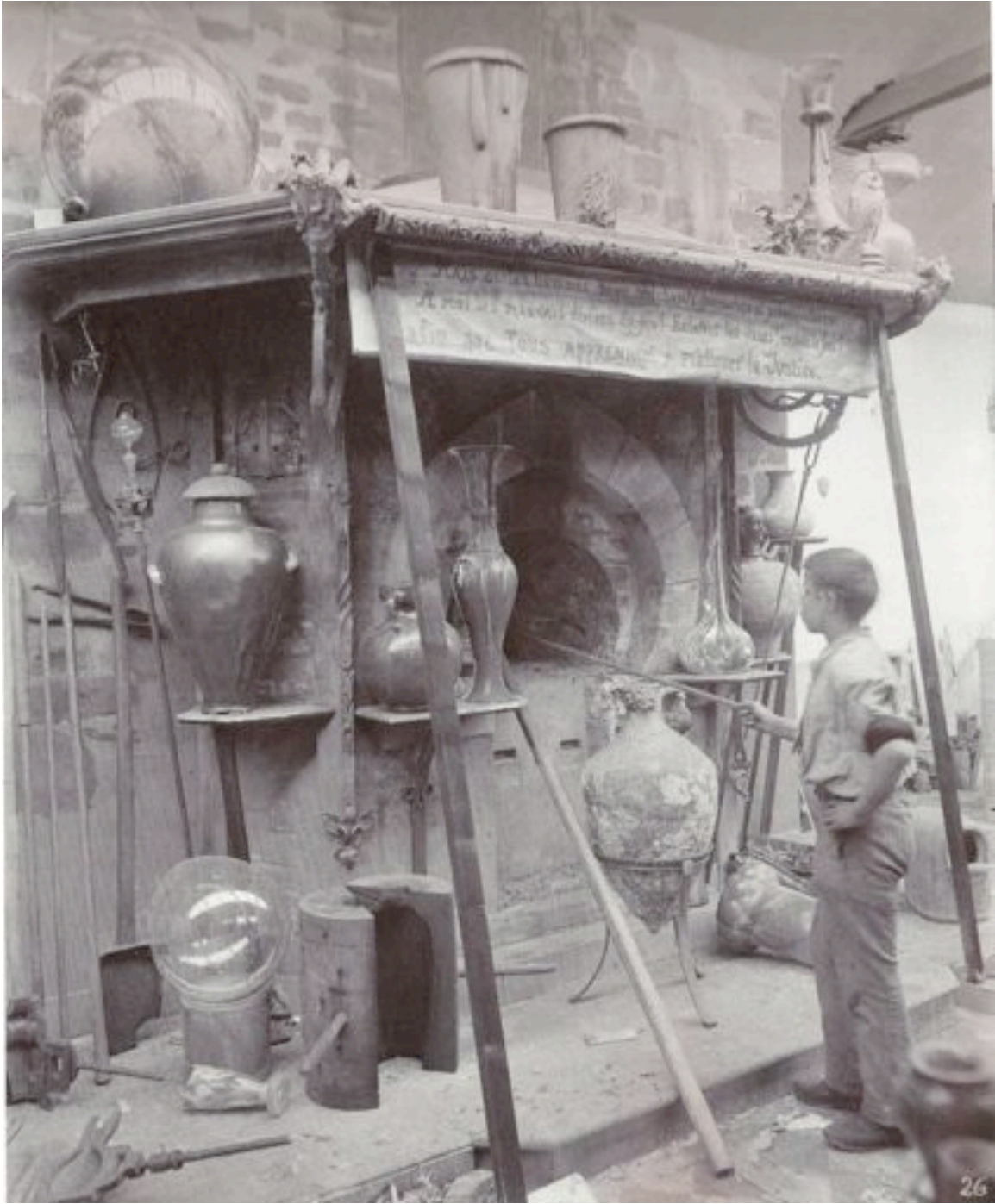


Figure 5.10. Gallé, *Four verrier*, 1900. Contemporary photograph.



Figure 5.11. Gallé, Photograph of the *Four verrier*, 1900, dedicated to Alfred Dreyfus. Musée de Bretagne, Rennes, France.



Figure 5.12. Gallé, Trade card produced for the *Exposition universelle* of 1900. Printed by J. Royer, Nancy. Color lithograph. H. 3 in x W. 5 in (approximate).



Figure 5.13. Gallé, *Les emplacements de Gallé à l'Exposition universelle de 1900*, (Nancy: Imprimerie Artistique J. Royer, 1900). Booklet with color lithograph illustrations.

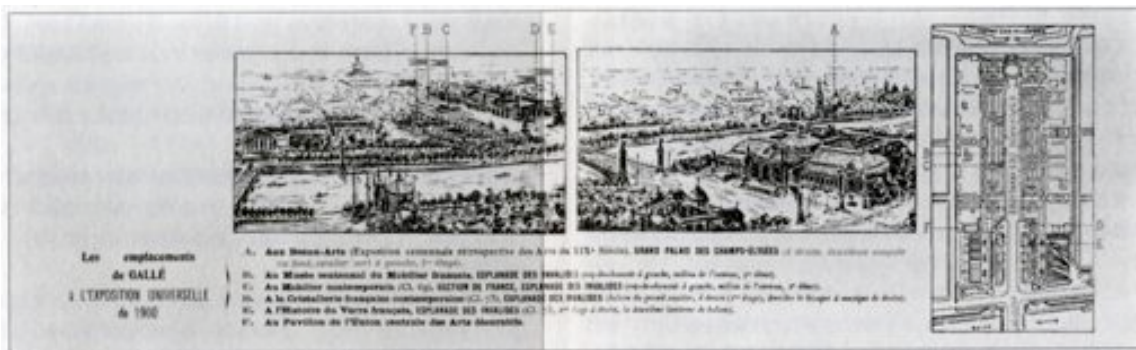


Figure 5.14. Gallé, map from *Les emplacements de Gallé*.

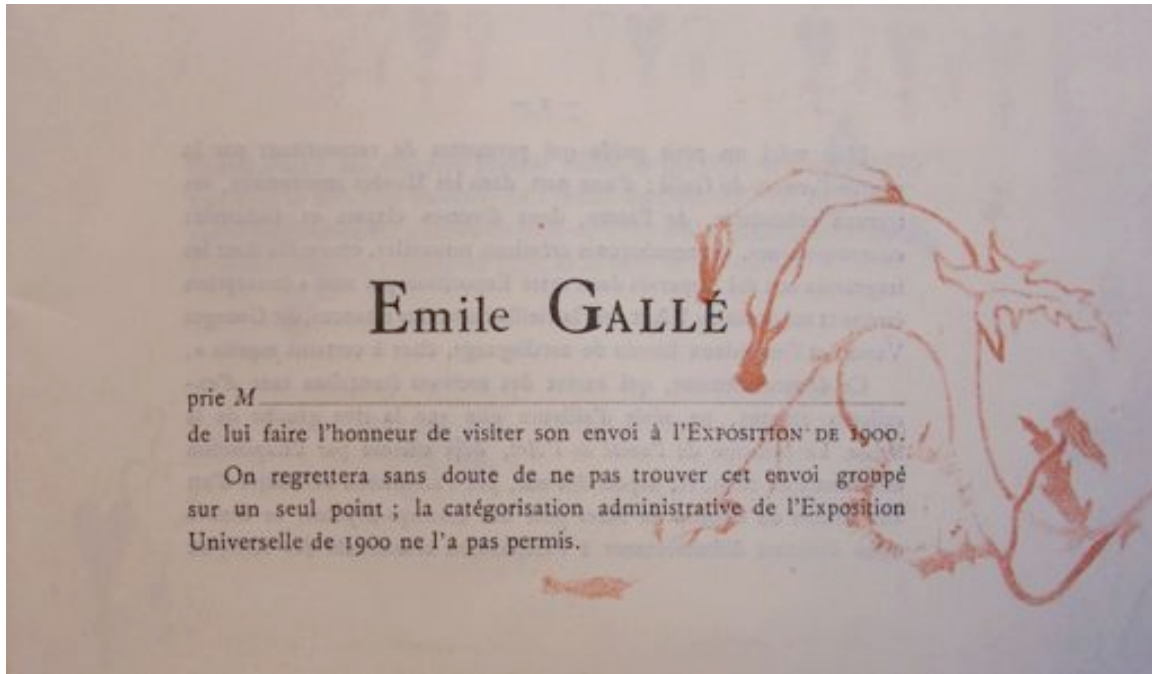


Figure 5.15. Gallé, Page from *Les emplacements de Gallé*.

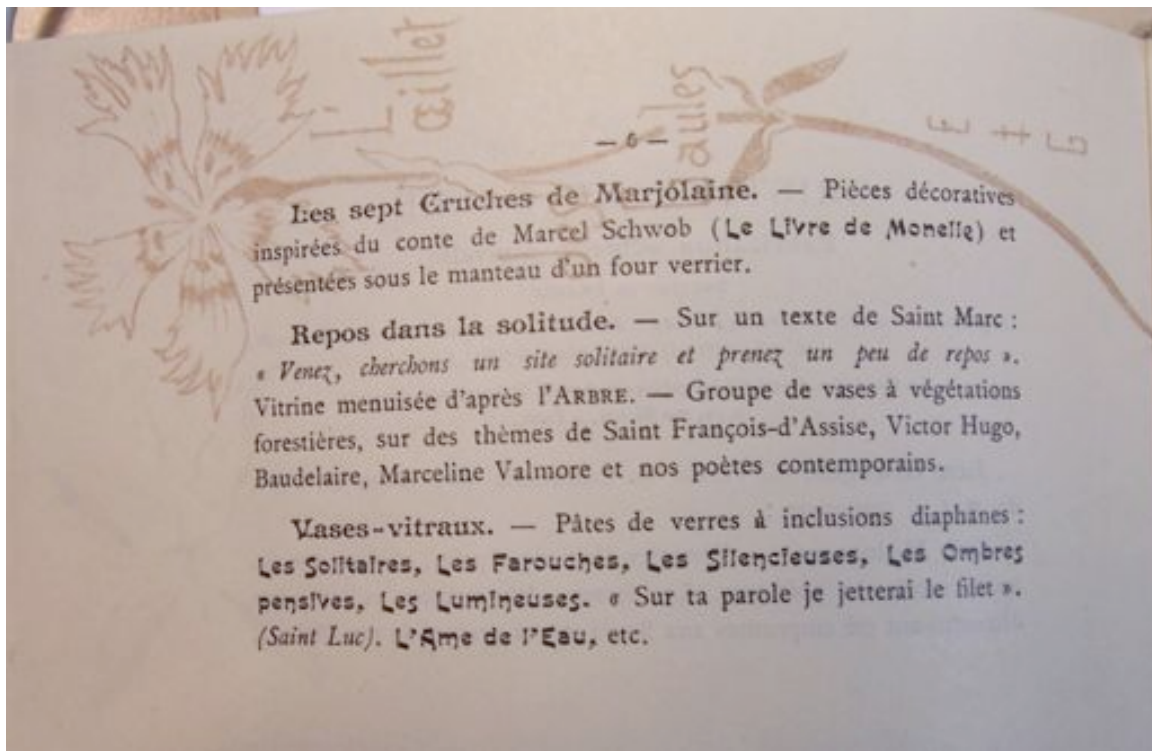


Figure 5.16. Gallé, Page from *Les emplacements de Gallé*.



Figure 5.17. Gallé, *Les sept cruches de Marjolaine*, from *Les emplacements de Gallé*.



Figure 5.18. Gallé, *Amphore du Roi Salomon* (Amphora of King Salomon), 1900. Blown glass, metallic inclusions, wheel engraving, applications, wrought iron mount. H. 116.5 cm, D (at widest point) 43 cm. Musée de l'École de Nancy.

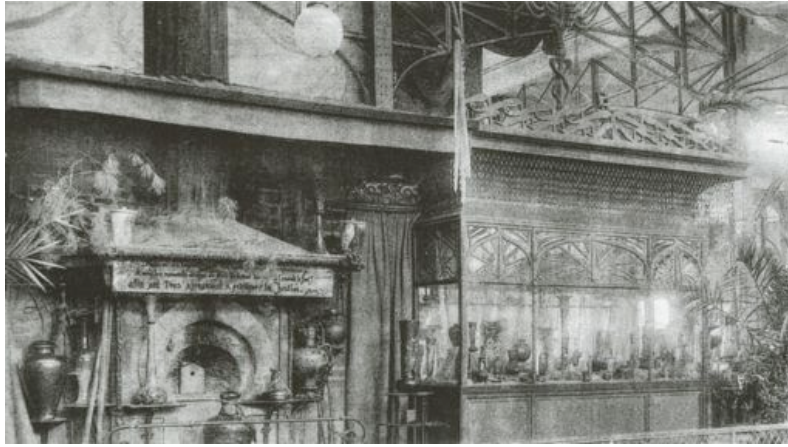


Figure 5.19. Gallé, *Four verrier*, 1900. Contemporary illustration.



Figure 5.20. Gallé, Detail of *Amphore du Roi Salomon*, 1900.



Figure 5.21. Gallé, Detail of *Amphore du Roi Salomon*, 1900.



Figure 5.22. Gallé, Detail of *Amphore du Roi Salomon*, 1900.



Figure 5.23. Henri-Gabriel Ibels, *Le coup de l'éponge* (The Stroke of the Sponge), ca. 1899. Indian ink drawing. Inscribed to Joseph Reinach.



Figure 5.24. Gallé and Prouvé, *Les Hommes noirs*, 1900.

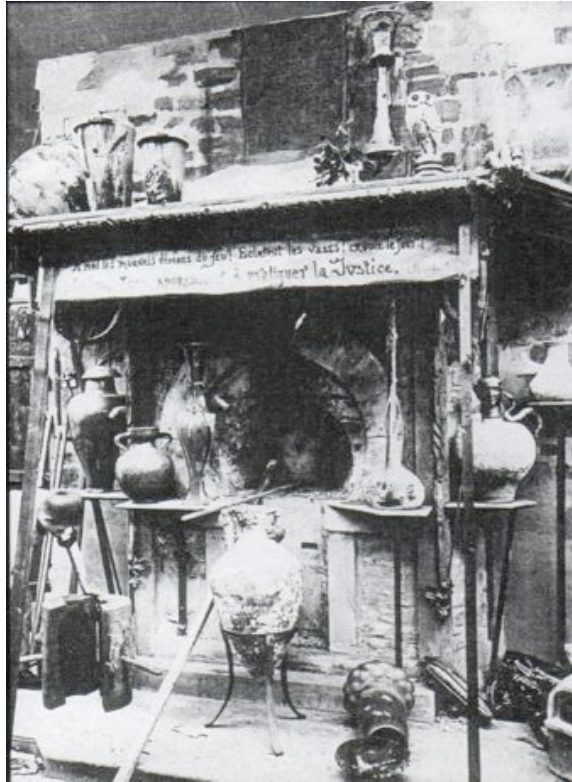


Figure 5.25. Gallé, *Four verrier*, 1900. Contemporary photograph.



Figure 5.26. Gallé, *Amphore du Four verrier* (Amphora of the Glassmaker's Kiln), 1900. Colored glass, inclusions, applications. H. 81.7 cm, D. (body) 19 cm, D. (opening) 20.5 cm. Musée de l'École de Nancy.



Figure 5.27. Gallé and Prouvé, detail of *Les Hommes noirs*, 1900.



Figure 5.28. Artist's rendering of detail from *Les Hommes noirs*.



Figure 5.29. Gallé and Prouvé, *Les Hommes noirs*, 1900.



Figure 5.30. Artist's rendering of the figures from *Les Hommes noirs*.

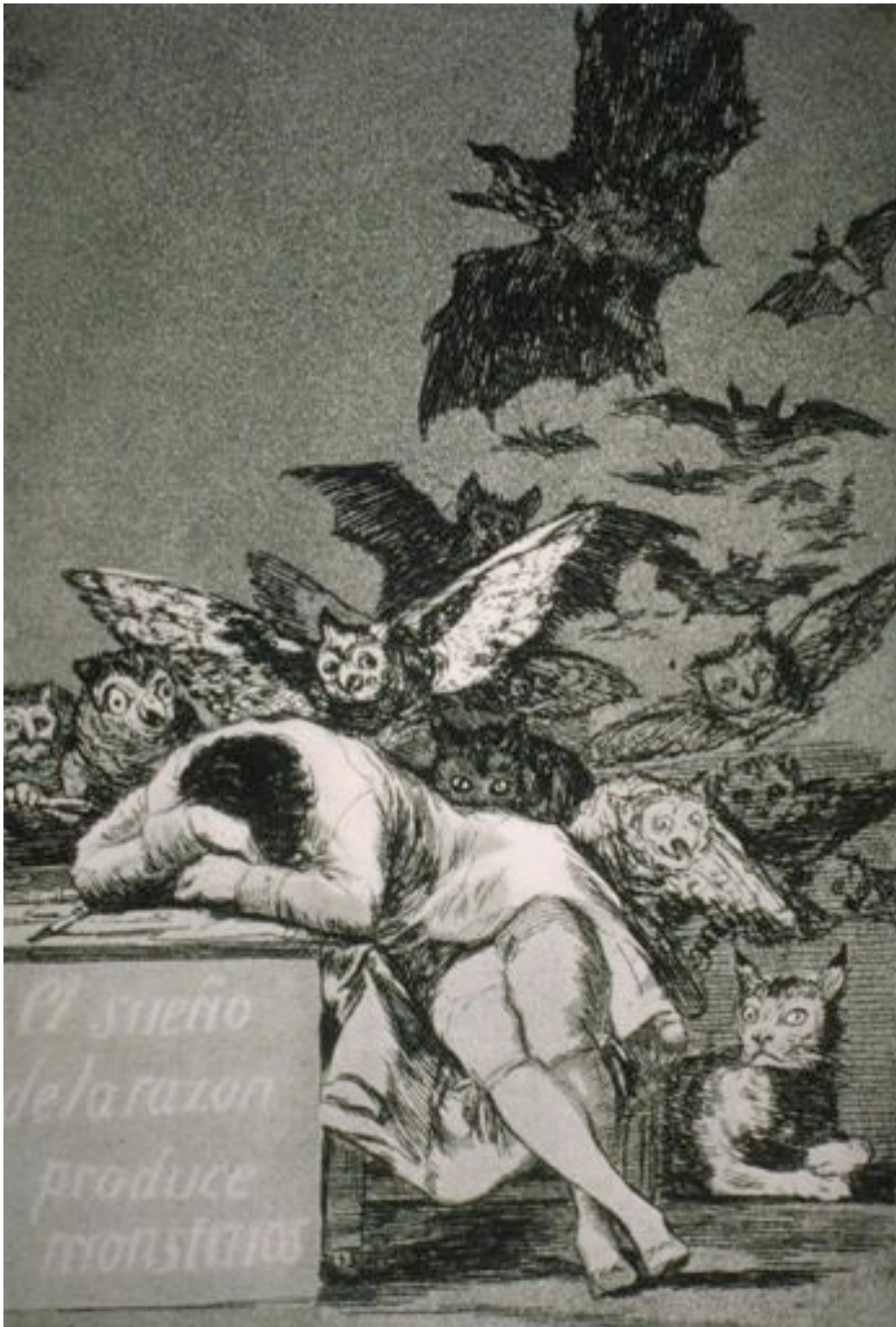


Figure 5.31. Francisco José de Goya y Lucientes, *Los Caprichos*, no. 43: “*The Sleep of Reason Produces Monsters*,” (1797–1798). Etching.



Figure 5.32. Artist's rendering of detail from *Les Hommes noirs*.



Figure 5.33. Artist's rendering of detail from *Les Hommes noirs*.

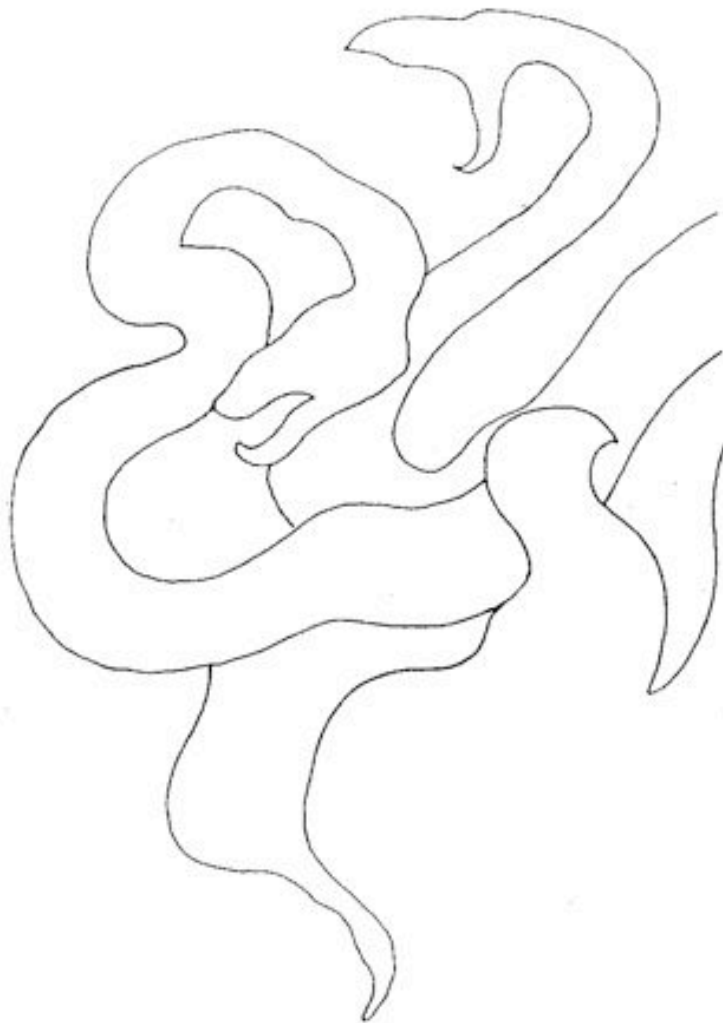


Figure 5.34. Artist's rendering of detail from *Les Hommes noirs*.



Figure 5.35. V. Lenepveu, *Le traître* (The Traitor), no. 6, *Musée des horreurs* (Freak Show), 1900. Lithograph, hand-colored. The Jewish Museum, New York.



Figure 5.36. Anonymous, *Voilà l'ennemi!* (Here is the enemy), illustration in *La Lanterne*, ca. 1898. Photomechanical print.



Figure 5.37. J. Ferat and H. Duyheil, illustration for “Les Révèrènds pères,” in P.-J. Béranger, *Chansons de P.-J. Béranger anciennes et posthumes* (Paris: Perrotin, 1866).

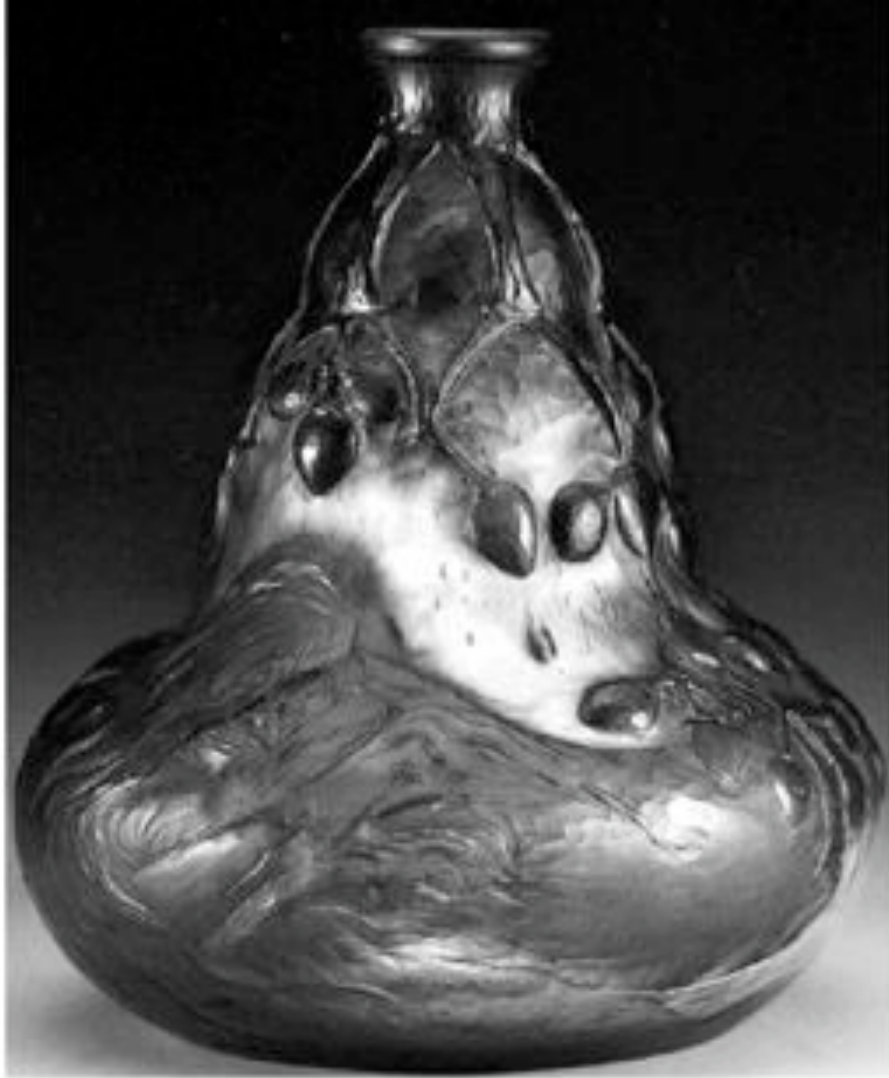


Figure 5.38. Gallé and Prouvé, *Les Baies de sureau* (Elderberries), 1900. Glass ink bottle. Kitazawa Museum of Art, Japan.

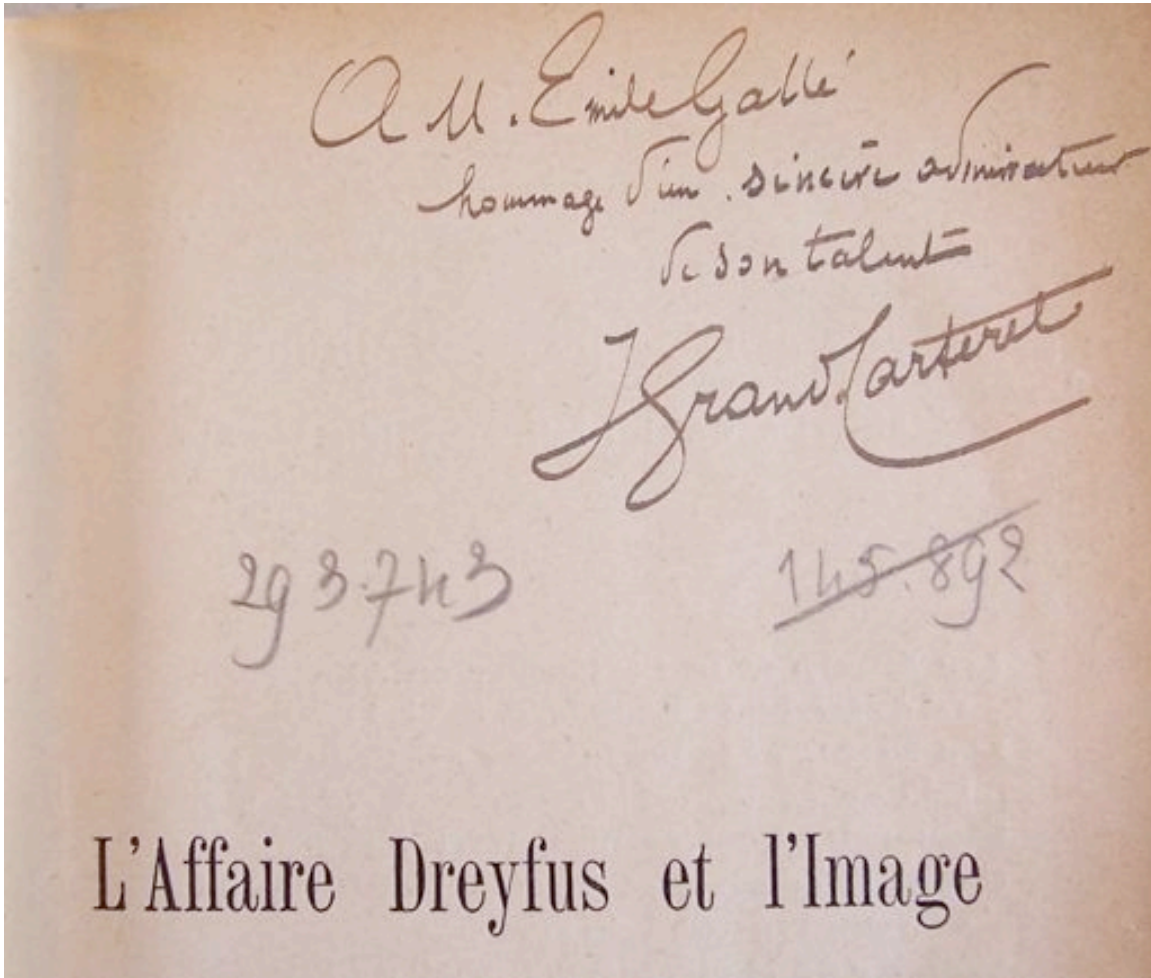


Figure 5.39. John Grand-Carteret, *L'Affaire Dreyfus et l'image* (Paris: E. Flammarion, [1898]). Inscribed "A M. Emile Gallé hommage d'un sincère admirateur de son talent J. Grand-Carteret." Bibliothèque municipale, Nancy.

LA LIBRE PAROLE

ILLUSTRÉE

La France aux Français

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Savonnage infructueux

— Juifs, chez nous, en France, le sang, seul, lave une tache comme celle-là!!!

Figure 5.40. J. Chanteclair, *Savonnage infructueux* (Fruitless Soaping), published in *La Libre Parole illustrée* 71, November 17, 1894. Photomechanical print.



Figure 5.41. Donville, *En Famille* (At Home), published in *La Libre Parole illustrée* 174, November 7, 1895. Photomechanical print. The caption reads, "I spent money for you to go to Polytechnic: but don't be as dumb as that poor Treyfus [sic], don't get caught!"



Figure 5.42. Charles Paul Renouard, *Dreyfus parle* (Dreyfus Speaks), published in *L’Affaire Dreyfus*, 1899. Lithograph.

Voir en tête de la deuxième page les conditions auxquelles on peut recevoir gratuitement le GRELOT

LA VÉRITÉ



Figure 5.43. Pépin, *La Vérité* (The Truth), published in *Le Grelot*, December 19, 1897. Photomechanical print.



Figure 5.44. F. G. Keronan, *Les Nouveaux Frères Siamois* (The New Siamese Twins), published in *Le Père Peinard* 106, October 30, 1898. Photomechanical print.



Figure 5.45. Laurent Guyot, *The Sanculotte Thermometer*, 1789. Etching and engraving. Bibliothèque nationale, Paris, France.

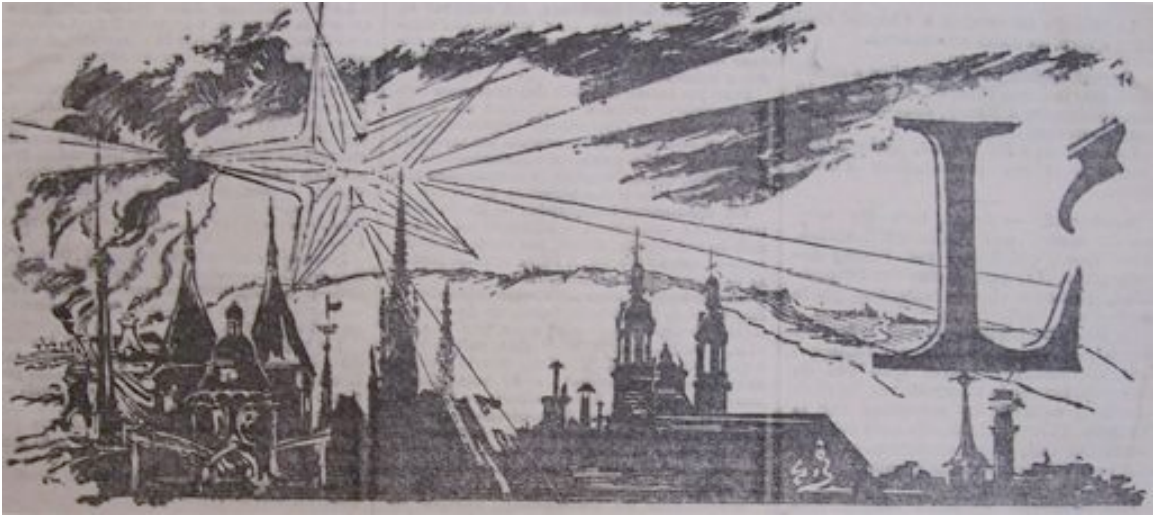


Figure 5.46. Gallé, masthead of the newspaper *L'Étoile de l'Est*, January 2, 1901.



Figure 5.47. Gallé, *Hippocampes* (Seahorses), 1901. Glass, H. 19 cm. Musée des Arts décoratifs, Paris.

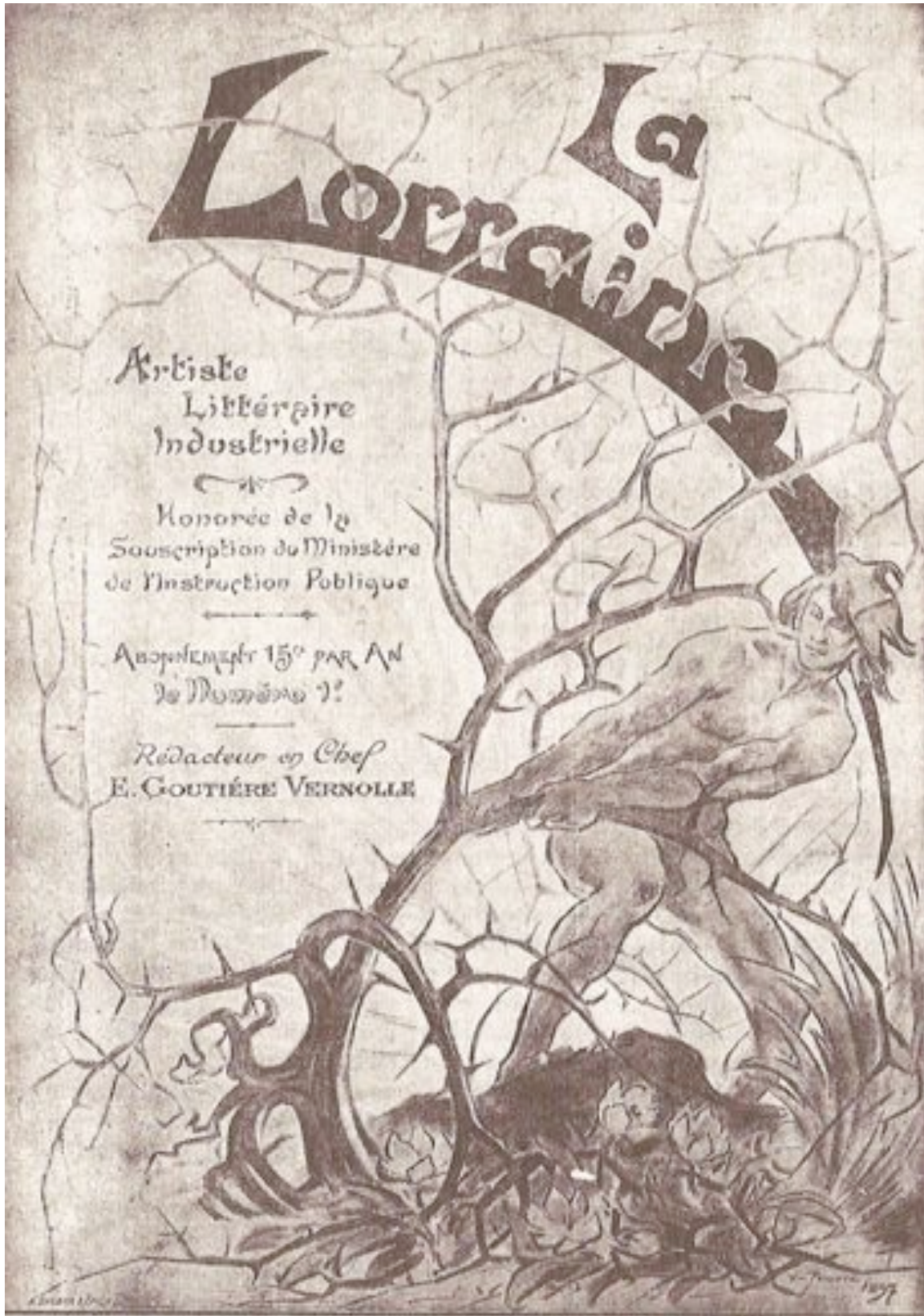


Figure 6.1. Prouvé, Cover for *La Lorraine Artiste*, 1897. Lithograph.

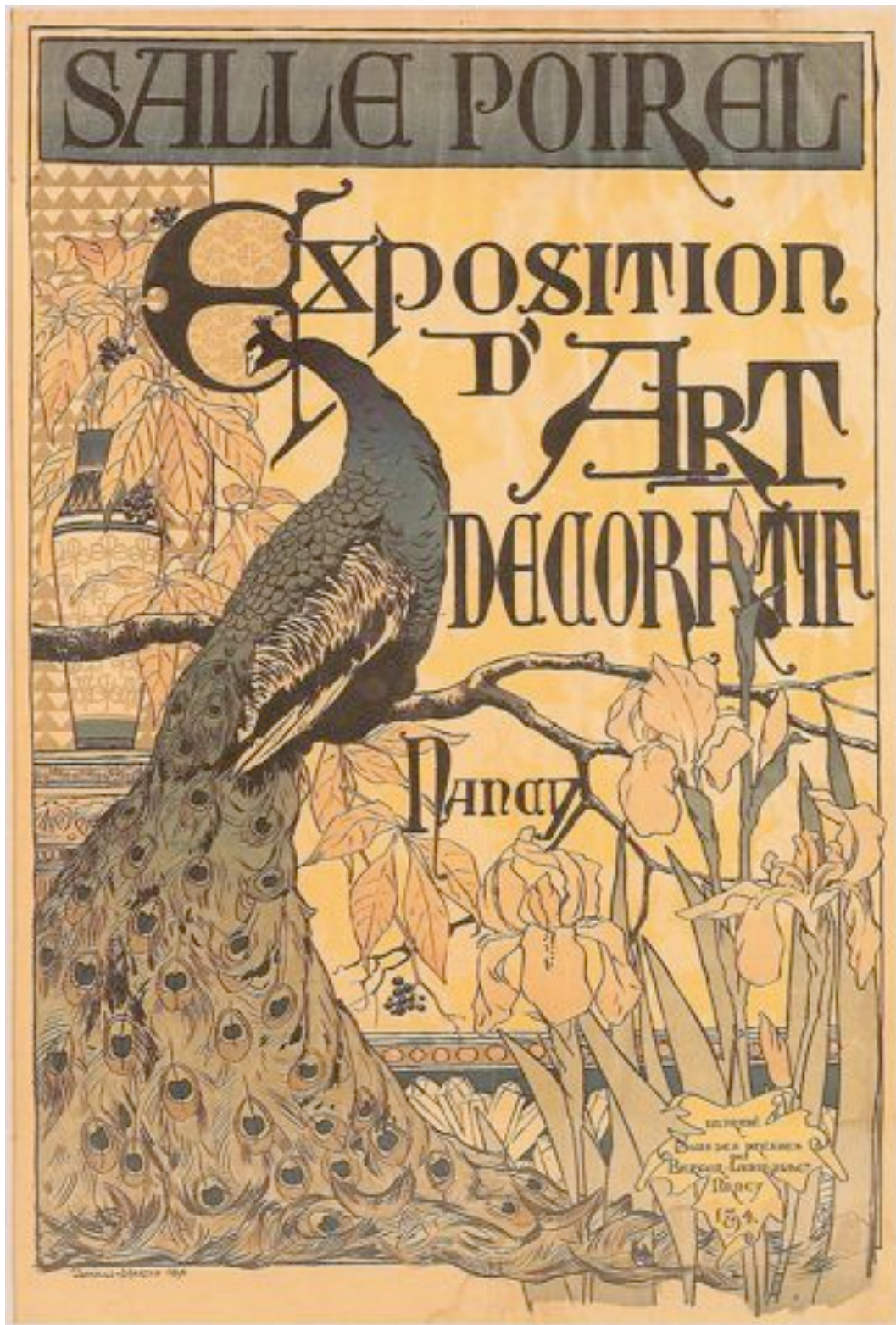


Figure 6.2. Camille Martin, Poster for the *Exposition des Arts décoratifs et industriels lorrains*, 1894. Color lithograph.



Figure 6.3. James McNeill Whistler, *Peacock Room*, 1876-77.



Figure 6.4. Prouvé, Binding for Louis Gonse's *L'Art Japonais*, 1893. Musée de l'École de Nancy.



Figure 6.5. Martin, Binding for Gonse's *L'Art Japonais*, 1893. Musée de l'École de Nancy.



Figure 6.6. Gallé, *Les Parfums d'autrefois* (The Perfumes of the Past), 1894. Musée de l'École de Nancy.



Figure 6.7. Gallé, *De Chêne lorraine, œuvre française*, 1889.

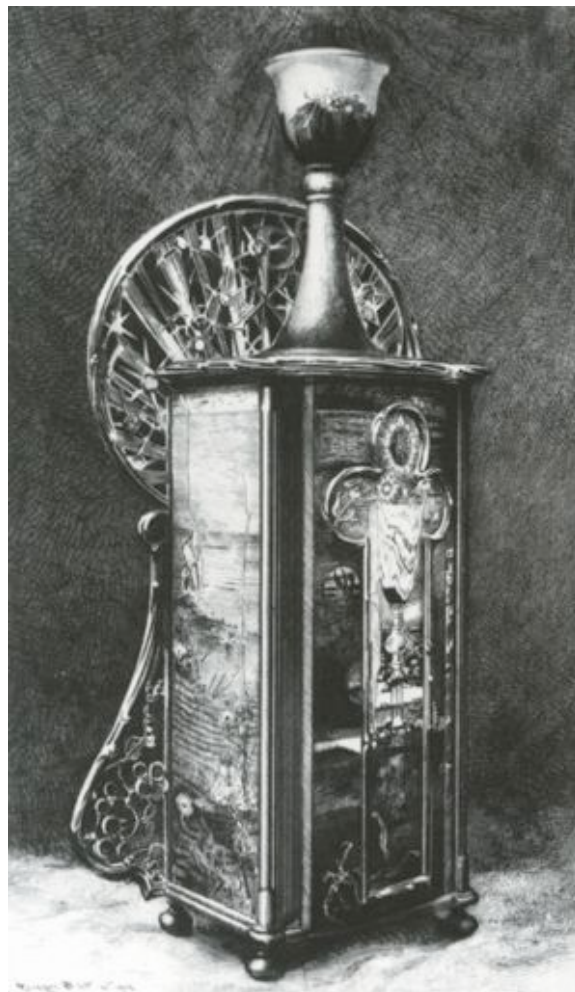


Figure 6.8. Gallé, *Le Saint-Graal*, 1894. Contemporary illustration.



Figure 6.9. Gallé, *Le Rhin*, 1889.



Figure 6.10. *Maison d'art lorraine*, Nancy, ca. 1903. Contemporary photograph.



Figure 6.11. Gallé, Project for a logo for the *École de Nancy*, ca. 1901. Private collection.

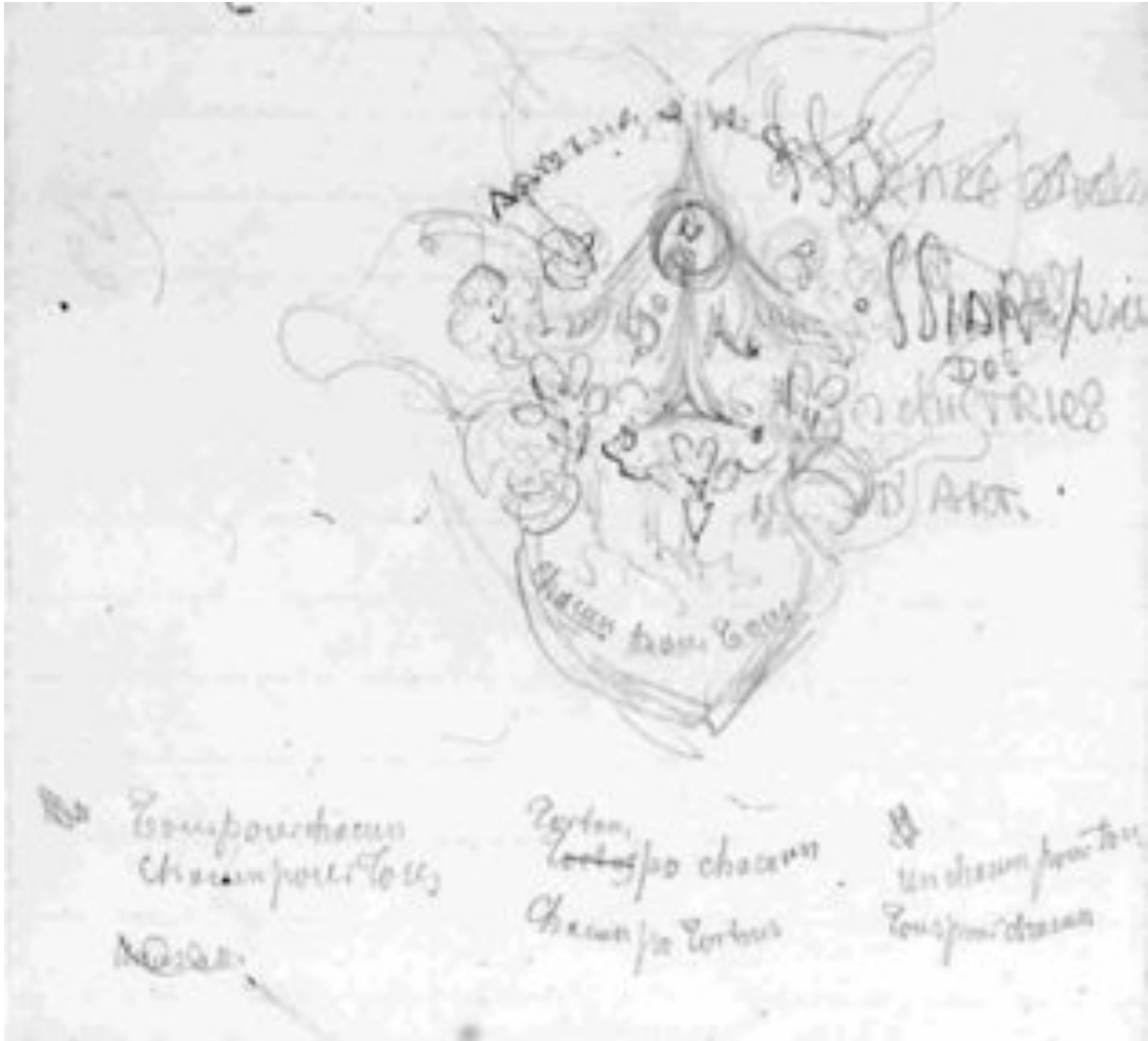


Figure 6.12. Gallé, Detail of a project for a logo for the *École de Nancy*, ca. 1901. Private collection.



Figure 6.13. Gallé, *Orchidées lorraines* (Lorrainer Orchids), desk, 1900.



Figure 6.14. Gallé, *Les Lumineuses* (The Luminous Ones), 1900. Glass. Contemporary photograph from *Exposition de l'Alliance provinciale des industries d'art, École de Nancy, mars 1903: Catalogue officiel illustré* (1904).



Figure 6.15. Gallé, Plate I from "Formes nouvelles et polymorphisme de l'*Aceras hircina* Lindl., ou *Loroglossum hircinum* Reich.," 1900.



Figure 6.16. Gallé, Plate II from “Formes nouvelles et polymorphisme de l’*Aceras hircina* Lindl., ou *Loroglossum hircinum* Reich.,” 1900.



Figure 6.17. Gallé, Plate IV from “Formes nouvelles et polymorphisme de l’*Aceras hircina* Lindl., ou *Loroglossum hircinum* Reich.,” 1900.



Figure 6.18. Gallé, Plate V from “Formes nouvelles et polymorphisme de l’*Aceras hircina* Lindl., ou *Loroglossum hircinum* Reich.,” 1900.



Figure 6.19. Gallé, Front cover of *Actes du 1er Congrès International de Botanique tenu à Paris à l'occasion de l'Exposition Universelle de 1900* (Lons-le-Saunier: Imprimerie et Lithographie Lucien Declume, 1900).

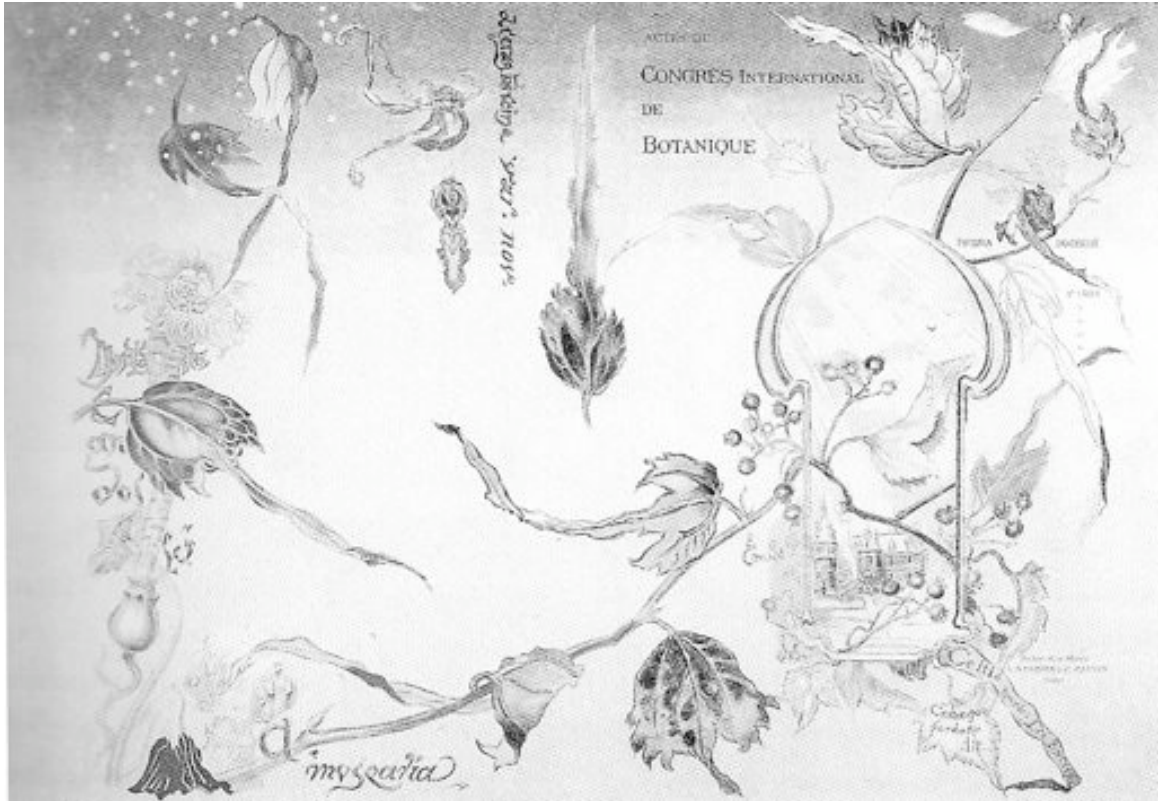


Figure 6.20. Gallé, Cover of *Actes du 1er Congrès International de Botanique tenu à Paris à l'occasion de l'Exposition Universelle de 1900*.



Figure 6.21. Gallé, *La Main aux algues*, 1904.



Figure 6.22. Envelope of a letter from Gallé addressed to Monsieur Auguin. Musée Lorrain.



Figure 6.23. Gallé, *Roses de France* (Roses of France), 1901. Glass. Musée de l'École de Nancy.



Figure 6.24. Gallé, *Escargot de vignes*, 1889.



Figures 6.25. Gallé, Detail of *Roses de France*, 1901.



Figure 6.26. Gallé, Detail of *Roses de France*, 1901.



Figure 6.27. Gauguin, Detail of *Roses de France*, 1901.



Figure 6.28. Engraving of *Roses de France* from *Revue de l'Art ancien et moderne*, 1902.

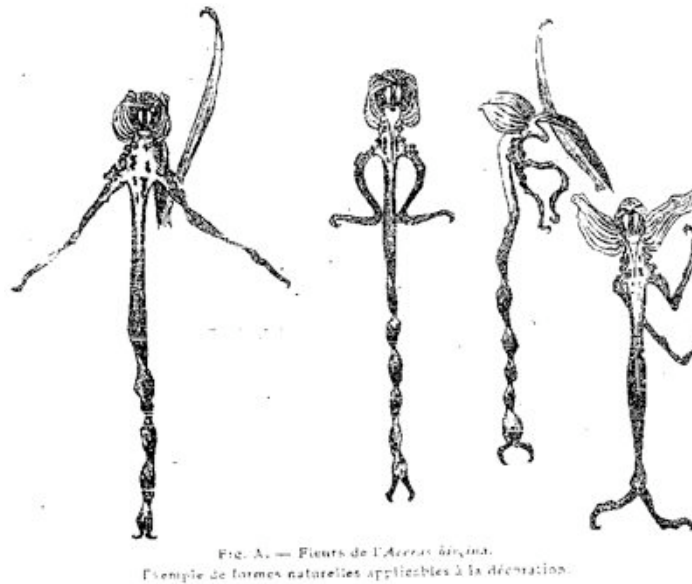


FIG. A. — Fleurs de l'*Aceras hircina*.
Exemple de formes naturelles applicables à la décoration.

Figure 6.29. Gallé, *Fleurs de l'Aceras hircina*, published in Émile Nicolas, "École de Nancy: Alliance provinciale des Industries d'Art," *La Lorraine artiste*, 1901.

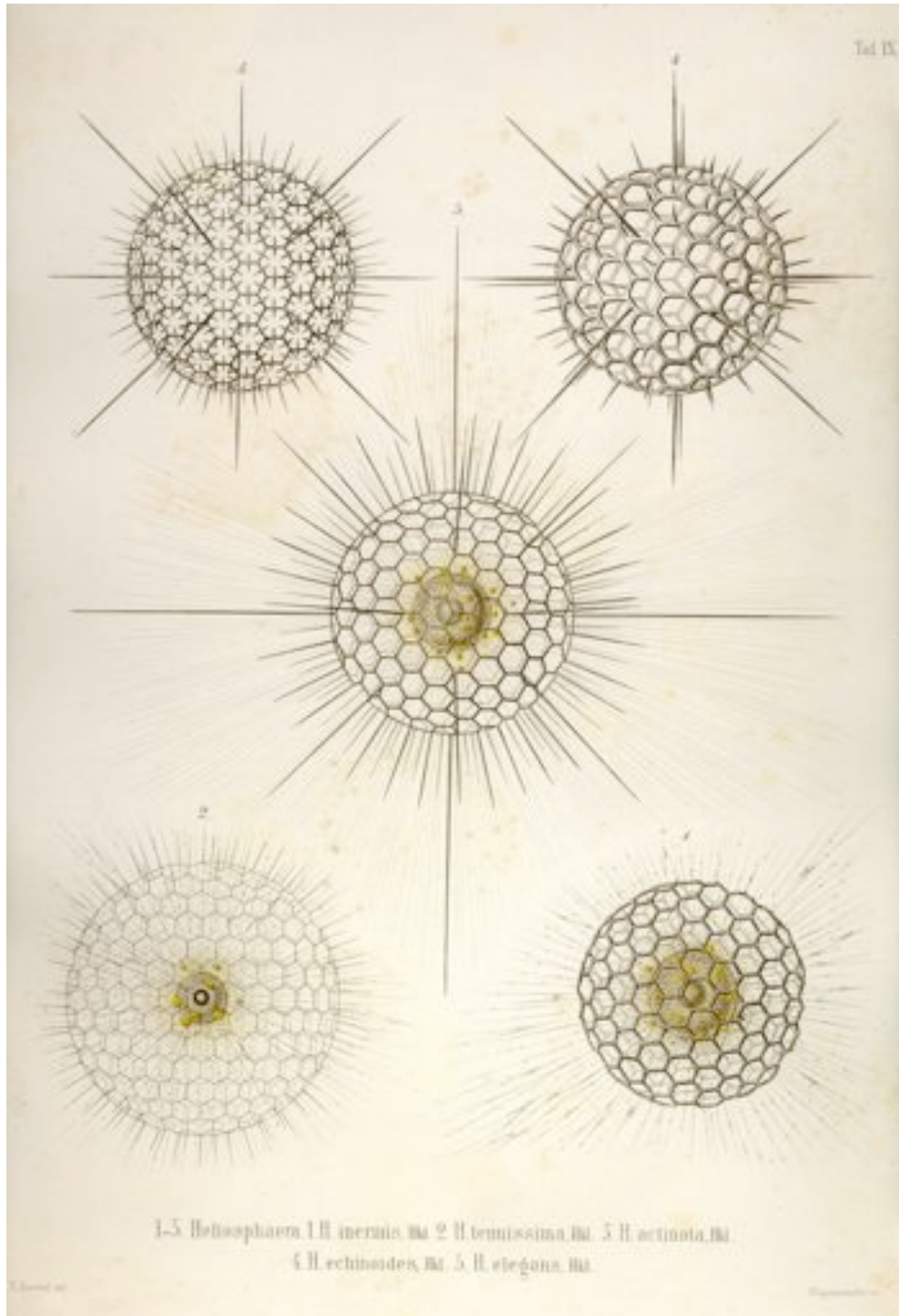


Figure 6.30. Ernst Haeckel, Plate IX from *Die Radiolarien* (1862).



Figure 6.31. Images of radiolarian *Orosca gegenbauri*, *Circostephanus coronarius*, and *Cromyodrymus abietinus*, shown during Gallé's speech "De la nécessité des notions physiologiques pour le compositeur désireux de créer une ornementation en harmonie avec la diffusion moderne des sciences naturelles" and published in Nicolas, "École de Nancy."

PEDIGREE OF MAN.

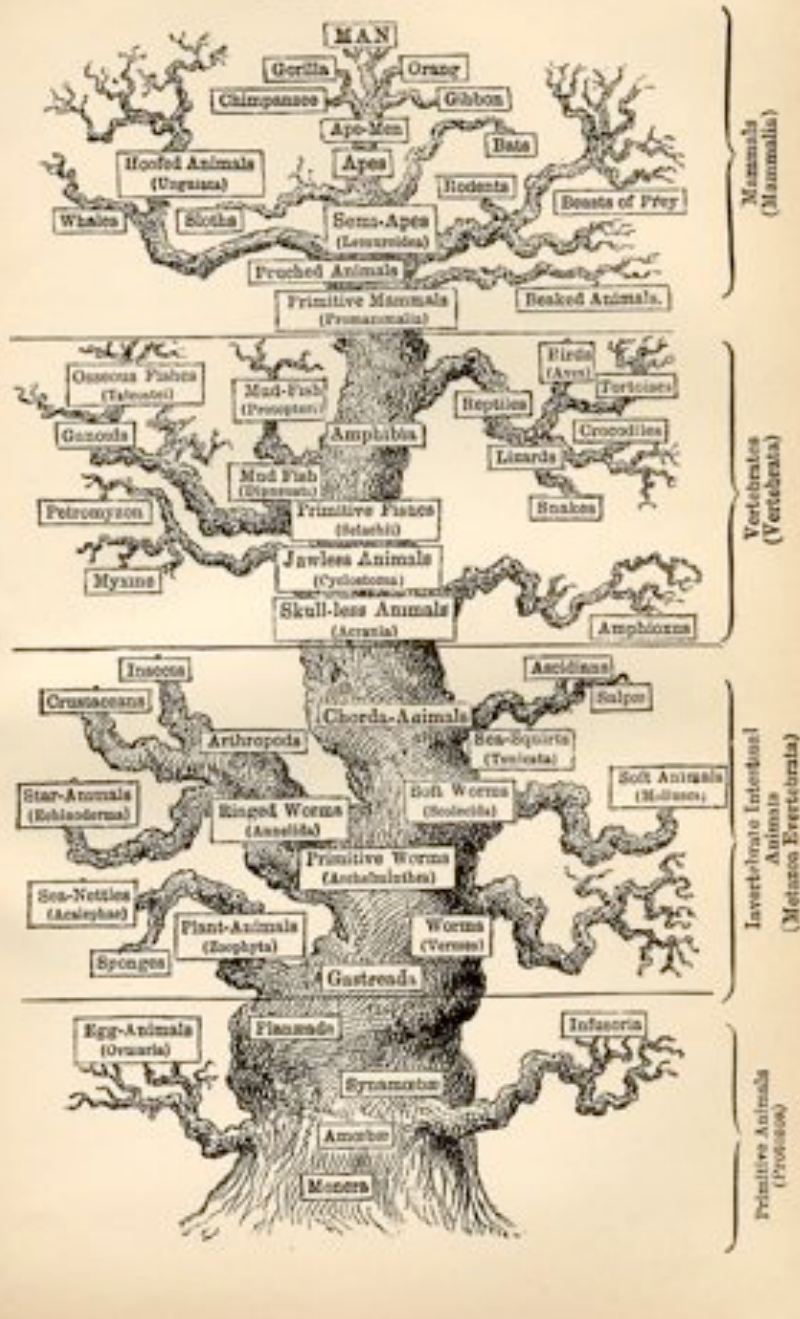


Figure 6.32. Haeckel, Plate XV from *The Evolution of Man* (1879).



Figure 6.33. Hector Guimard, *Bench for a Smoking Parlor*, 1897. Jarrah, chased metal, modern upholstery. H. 260 cm, W. 262 cm, D. 66 cm. Musée d'Orsay.



Figure 6.34. Caricature published in the satirical journal *L'Écho de Maréville*, 1900.



Figure 6.35. Prouvé, poster for the *Exposition de l'École de Nancy*, held at the Pavillon de Marsan in Paris, 1903. Color lithograph.



Figure 6.36. Prouvé, *Portrait of Émile Gallé*, 1892. Oil on canvas. Musée de l'École de Nancy.



Figure 6.37. Main gallery, *Exposition d'Art décoratif*, Salle Poirel, Nancy, 1904. Contemporary postcard.



Figure 6.38. Prouvé, *La Réunion de la France et la Lorraine* (The Reunion of France and Lorraine), painting for the *Salle des Fêtes* of the Préfecture of Nancy, 1904.



Figure 6.39. *Exposition d'Art décoratif*, Nancy. Contemporary postcard showing Prouvé's portrait of Gallé draped in black gauze.



Figure 6.40. Auguste Vallin, cover for the catalog of the *Exposition d'Art décoratif*, 1904. Color lithograph.



Figure 6.41. Vallin, Poster for the *Exposition d'Art décoratif*, 1904. Color lithograph.



Figure 6.42. Eugène Vallin, *Ma Racine est au fond des bois* (My Roots are in the Heart of the Woods), 1897. Wood.

Endnotes

Introduction

¹Roger Marx was the son of a merchant from Nancy. He was appointed to the post of secretary in the Minister of Fine Arts under Jules-Antoine Castagnary (1830-1888) in 1887 and became Inspector General of Museums in 1889. Throughout his career, Marx championed the cause of the decorative arts, promoting the union of the beautiful and the useful as an essential element in restoring France's prosperity. Catherine Meneux, "L'emprise d'Émile Gallé sur l'œuvre de Roger Marx au début des années 1890," in "En hommage à Émile Gallé," ed. François Le Tacon, special issue, *Annales de l'Est* 55 (2005): 238. See also *Roger Marx: un critique aux côtés de Gallé, Monet, Rodin, Gauguin* (Nancy: Ville de Nancy, Éditions Artlys, 2006).

²"Application des arts à l'industrie: Rapport par M. le Cte de Laborde," *Exposition universelle de 1851: Travaux de la commission française sur l'industrie des nations*, Vol. 8 (Paris: Impr. impériale, 1856). De Laborde was a curator at the Louvre from 1847-1854, Director General of the *Archives de l'Empire* from 1857 to 1869, and first deputy and later senator of the department of Seine-et-Oise.

³Nancy J. Troy, *Modernism and the Decorative Arts in France: Art Nouveau to Le Corbusier* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991), 21.

⁴Debora L. Silverman, *Art Nouveau in Fin-de-siècle France: Politics, Psychology, and Style* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 172.

⁵See Marius Vachon, *Nos industries d'art en péril: Un musée municipal d'études d'art industriel* (Paris: L. Baschet, 1882). Other studies by Vachon include *Rapports à M. le Ministre de l'instruction publique et des beaux-arts sur les musées et les écoles d'art industriel, et sur la situation des industries artistiques en Belgique et Hollande* (Paris: Quantin, 1888); *Rapport à M. le Ministre de l'instruction publique et des beaux-arts sur les musées et les écoles d'art industriel, et sur la situation des industries artistiques en Danemark, Suède et Norvège* (Paris: Quantin, 1888); *La crise industrielle et artistique en France et en Europe* (Paris: Librairie illustrée, 1886); *Pour la défense de nos industries d'art: l'instruction artistique des ouvriers en France, en Angleterre, en Allemagne et en Autriche* (Paris: A. Lahure, 1899); and *Les industries d'art, les écoles et les musées d'art industriel en France* (Nancy: impr. de Berger-Levrault, 1897).

⁶S[iegfried] Bing, *La culture artistique en Amérique* (Paris, 1896) and Troy, *Modernism*, 13. For more on Siegfried Bing, see Gabriel P. Weisberg, *Art Nouveau Bing* (New York: H.N. Adams, 1986) and Gabriel P. Weisberg, Edwin Becker, and Évelyne Possémé, eds., *The Origins of L'Art Nouveau: The Bing Empire*, exh. cat. (Amsterdam: Van Gogh Museum, 2004).

⁷Troy, *Modernism and Decorative Arts*, 21.

⁸Silverman, *Art Nouveau*, 134.

⁹Leora Auslander, *Taste and Power: Furnishing Modern France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 381.

¹⁰François Le Tacon, *Émile Gallé: Maître de l'Art nouveau* (Paris: La Nuée Bleue, 2004), 25.

¹¹*Ibid.*, 26.

¹²“Fabricant de cristaux et de porcelaines.” *Annuaire administratif, statistique, historique, judiciaire et commercial de la Meurthe-et-Moselle*. Quoted in Le Tacon, *Émile Gallé*, 26.

¹³*Ibid.*, 31.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, 33.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, 37.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, 36.

¹⁷Françoise-Thérèse Charpentier, *Émile Gallé* (Nancy: Université de Nancy II, 1978), 22; Christian Debize, *Émile Gallé & l'école de Nancy* (Metz: Éditions Serpenoise, 1998), 16.

Chapter One

¹Jean-Claude Bonnefont, “Nancy dans les années 1870-1880,” in *L'École de Nancy, 1889-1909: Art nouveau et industries d'art*, ed. François Loyer (Paris: Éditions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1999), 60. According to the new regulations imposed by Germany, citizens of the annexed territories who wished to preserve their French citizenship were allowed to emigrate. Those who opted for French citizenship, abandoning their homes, were called *optants*.

²*Ibid.*, 60.

³*Ibid.*, 62.

⁴Jean Vartier, *Histoire de Nancy* (Paris: Mazarine, 1980), 220. The garrison housed 2,892 troops in 1876 and 11,520 by 1891.

⁵François Baudin, “Nancy au cœur du nouveau monde industriel,” in Loyer, ed., *L'École de Nancy*, 208. With the transfer of the schools of medicine and pharmacy from the University of Strasbourg to Nancy in 1872, the city also became a center of intellectual activity. The various schools became a university, however, only in 1896. Similarly, learned societies such as the *Académie de Stanislas* prospered after the annexation, their ranks swelled by the advent of new members from the annexed territories. Bonnefont, “Nancy 1870-1880,” 65.

⁶“L'armorial de Lorraine et d'Alsace fournit à son tour des éléments nombreux de décor. Ils ne répondent que trop à de tristes préoccupations. On en trouve la trace dans le décor d'un vase à bec crochu, gravé de devises et d'ornements qui, en trahissant une blessure sans cesse avivée, affirment un espoir inébranlable.” Émile Gallé, “Notice sur la production céramique d'E. Gallé” (1889), in Émile Gallé, *Écrits pour l'art: Floriculture—Art décoratif—Notices d'exposition (1884-1889)*, 1908 (Marseille: Éditions Jeanne Laffitte, 1998), 331.

⁷André Nouschi and Antoine Olivesi, *La France de 1848 à 1914* (Paris: Nathan, 1997), 311.

- ⁸James McMillan, "Consolidating the Republic," in *Modern France 1880-2002*, ed. James McMillan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 19.
- ⁹*Ibid.*, 19.
- ¹⁰William Serman, "The Nationalists of Meurthe-et-Moselle, 1888-1912," in *Nationhood and Nationalism in France: from Boulangism to the Great War, 1889-1918*, ed. Robert Tombs (London: Harper Collins Academic, 1991), 121.
- ¹¹Vartier, *Histoire de Nancy*, 240.
- ¹²*Ibid.*, 243; Serman, "The Nationalists of Meurthe-et-Moselle," 125.
- ¹³Helen Bieri Thomson, "Émile Gallés Beziehungen zu Deutschland: Les relations entre Émile Gallé et l'Allemagne," in *Émile Gallé Jugendstilmeister aus Nancy*, exh. cat. (Karlsruhe: Badisches Landesmuseum, 2005), 17.
- ¹⁴Hélène Sicard-Lenattier, "Correspondance de guerre," *Arts nouveaux* 19 (December 2003): 10.
- ¹⁵*Ibid.*, 14.
- ¹⁶"L'ennemi acharné de notre race" and "lutte sacrée de la reprise du sol." Charles Gallé to Mr. Hügelin, September 18, 1870. Quoted in Sicard-Lenattier, "Correspondance de guerre," 15.
- ¹⁷Thomson, "Émile Gallés Beziehungen zu Deutschland," 18; Émile Gallé, *Considérations à propos de notre commerce extérieur* (Nancy: Imprimerie Berger-Levrault, 1884), 13.
- ¹⁸Thomson, "Émile Gallés Beziehungen zu Deutschland," 18-19.
- ¹⁹*Ibid.*, 21. In 1897, Gallé exhibited works in Munich, Dresden, Strasbourg, Krefeld, and Breslau. The following year, Gallé participated in exhibitions held in Frankfurt, Munich, Göttingen, Karlsruhe, Darmstadt, and Krefeld.
- ²⁰*Ibid.*, 22.
- ²¹In marquetry, the entire surface to be decorated is veneered. In contrast, the technique of inlay involves the insertion of small pieces of wood or other materials into depressions carved in a solid ground. Marquetry was first used in ancient Egypt and experienced a revival in 14th-century Italy in the form of intarsia work. Its earliest use in France dates from the 16th century, but marquetry enjoyed its greatest popularity during the 18th century. "Marquetry," in *The Grove Encyclopedia of Decorative Arts*, ed. Gordon Campbell (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2006), 84-85.
- ²²Chantal Humbert, *Les Arts décoratifs en Lorraine de la fin du XVIIe siècle à l'ère industrielle* (Paris: Les Éditions de l'amateur, 1993), 180. Many of Gallé's furniture designs drew inspiration from the rich Rococo legacy of Nancy, which had experienced a cultural renaissance under the patronage of Stanislas Leszczyński (1677-1766), the deposed king of Poland who was made Duke of Lorraine by Louis XV in 1736. For a discussion of the influence of the Rococo on Gallé's

production, see Valérie Thomas et al, *Couleurs et formes: l'héritage du XVIIIe siècle dans l'École de Nancy* (Nancy: Musée de l'École de Nancy, Somogy, 2005).

²³Claire I. R. O'Mahony, "'Ma racine est au fond des bois': Gallé and Wood," *Art on the line*, no. 1 (2007): 2, http://www.bristol.ac.uk/artontheline/journal_20071/articles/pdf/20071_04.pdf (accessed May 7, 2009).

²⁴*Ibid.*, 2.

²⁵"Table de musée." Émile Gallé, "Notice sur la production de menuiserie et ébénisterie sculptées et marquetées d'E. Gallé," in Gallé, *Écrits pour l'art*, 371.

²⁶Françoise-Thérèse Charpentier and Philippe Thiébaud, eds., *Gallé*, exh. cat. (Paris: Éditions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1985), 257.

²⁷Françoise-Thérèse Charpentier, "Le centenaire d'une 'Première'," *Arts nouveaux* 5 (Spring 2001): n.p.

²⁸*Exposition d'art décoratif et industriel lorrain*, exh. cat. (Nancy: Berger-Levrault, 1894), 46.

²⁹"'Nous l'offrirons au Musée de Strasbourg quand la Lorraine nous sera rendue', nous dit mélancoliquement M. Gallé père en nous montrant, avec une légitime fierté, le dernier chef-d'œuvre de son fils." [Octave Maus?], "En passant par la Lorraine," *L'Art moderne* (September 16, 1894): 292.

³⁰"L'Allemagne a organisé la guerre économique avec cette précision mathématique qu'elle avait apportée dans la guerre de 1870. [...] Elle a établi contre nous une concurrence formidable. Mais elle a surtout visé nos industries d'art. Pour nous vaincre sur ce terrain, rien n'a été épargné." Paul Aula, "L'Art industriel," *Le Voltaire* (March 6, 1892): n.p.

³¹Edmond Bazire, a former Communard, was a Republican journalist who wrote for Henri Rochefort's radical newspaper *L'Intransigeant* and the author of the first biography of Manet. Ruth Butler, *Rodin: The Shape of Genius* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 172.

³²"Car, certainement, il serait aisé de démontrer, et, du reste, cela ressortira de l'énumération de nos lauréats, que plusieurs se sont surpassés eux-mêmes et, dans un temps où la lutte internationale est si aiguë, ont pris à tâche de préparer la suprématie de notre pays pour la redoutable expérience de 1889." Edmond Bazire, "La verrerie et la cristallerie: Rapport par M. Edmond Bazire," *Revue des Arts décoratifs* 5 (1885): 190.

³³"L'industrie française ne chôme pas, et il ne faut pas qu'elle chôme. L'Allemagne, qui nous surveille et nous menace, aura beau faire. Ce n'est pas dans les verreries de Brocard, de Gallé, de Rousseau, de Champigneulle, de Reyen, qu'elle pourra nous vaincre, ni même nous provoquer." *Ibid.*, 197.

³⁴Troy, *Modernism and Decorative Arts*, 22.

³⁵Louis de Fourcaud, "Rapport général par M. L. de Fourcaud," *Revue des arts décoratifs* 5 (1884-1885): 239. Louis de Fourcaud (1851-1914) was a professor at the *École nationale supérieure des beaux-arts*, in Paris, where he taught the history and philosophy of art. He was the author of

several studies of 18th-century art but also a supporter of decorative arts reform and the author of the first biography of Gallé, published in 1903. Silverman, *Art Nouveau*, 140.

³⁶“C’est, de toute évidence, pour avoir établi des classifications arbitraires, pour avoir violé la tradition nationale et consommé le divorce entre l’artiste et l’artisan que le goût languit, ne se rénove point.” Roger Marx, Foreword, in Arsène Alexandre, *Histoire de l’art décoratif, du XVI^e siècle à nos jours* (Paris: H. Laurens, 1892), vi.

³⁷Jérôme Perrin, “Victor Prouvé dessinateur,” in *Émile Gallé et Victor Prouvé, une alliance pour le mobilier*, exh. cat. (Nancy: Association des Amis du Musée de l’École de Nancy, 2002), 17. See also *Victor Prouvé: 1858-1943* (Paris: Gallimard, 2008).

³⁸Jérôme Perrin, “La collaboration entre Émile Gallé et Victor Prouvé,” in “En hommage à Émile Gallé,” ed. François Le Tacon, special issue, *Annales de l’Est* 55 (2005): 199.

³⁹Perrin, “Victor Prouvé dessinateur,” 16.

⁴⁰Ibid., 16. See also *Victor Prouvé: Voyages en Tunisie, 1888-1890: dessins, aquarelles, huiles*, exh. cat. (Metz: Éditions Serpenoise, 1999) and Roselyne Bouvier and Chantal Humbert, *Orient romanesque, orient pittoresque dans l’œuvre de jeunesse de Victor Prouvé*, exh. cat. (Nancy: Musée des arts décoratifs, 1977).

⁴¹Perrin, “La collaboration,” 199.

⁴²Charpentier and Thiébaud, *Gallé*, 121.

⁴³Ibid., 121.

⁴⁴An itemized bill for works produced in 1889 is in the collection of the Musée d’Orsay, Paris.

⁴⁵Perrin, “Victor Prouvé,” 60. The statuette was stolen in the course of the exhibition.

⁴⁶“Dans le jour à [sa] toile et le soir à des travaux d’art industriel (Gallé (chut!).” Victor Prouvé to René Wiener, February 1, 1889, Dossier Artiste/Victor Prouvé/I/Biographie Correspondance, Musée Lorrain, Nancy. Quoted in Perrin, “Victor Prouvé,” 18.

⁴⁷François Roth, “Nancy pendant la guerre franco-allemande de 1870-1871,” *Arts nouveaux* 19 (December 2003): 8.

⁴⁸*Louis Hestaux: collaborateur de Gallé*, n.p. Nancy’s *École de dessin*, or *École municipale de dessin*, became the *École régionale des Beaux-Arts* in 1881.

⁴⁹Ibid., n.p.

⁵⁰Gallé, “Notice sur la production de menuiserie,” 354-371.

⁵¹Émile Gallé, “Notice sur la production de verres et cristaux de luxe d’E. Gallé” (1889), in Gallé, *Écrits pour l’art*, 332-353; Gallé, “Notice sur la production céramique d’E. Gallé,” 318-331. Each of the three notices was also published separately as a brochure by the Imprimerie coopérative de l’Est,

based in Nancy, in 1889. In addition to his work for Gallé, Hestaux also practiced the arts of watercolor and wood sculpture. Like Gallé, he was a member of the *Société nationale des beaux-arts* and exhibited at the yearly *Salon du Champ de Mars* beginning in 1895. At the *Exposition universelle* of 1900, the jury awarded Hestaux a bronze medal for his own work in addition to the gold and silver medals he received for his collaboration with Gallé. Following Gallé's death in 1904, Hestaux joined the membership committee of the *École de Nancy*, a provincial arts association founded by Gallé, and assumed the position of artistic director of the *Établissements Gallé*, a post which he held until his death. In 1907, Hestaux assisted Gallé's widow, Henriette Gallé, in compiling the artist's writings on art and a selection of his writings on horticulture into a single volume, published as *Écrits pour l'art* in 1908. *Louis Hestaux*, n.p.

⁵²The two met in 1882, most likely during the organization of the biennial *Salon de Nancy* sponsored by the *Société lorraine des amis des arts* (f. 1833). Both Gallé and Marx were members of the committee responsible for composing the catalogue of the exhibition. Meneux, "L'emprise d'Émile Gallé," 238.

⁵³"Manière personnelle et distinguée." Aimé Uriot was born in 1852 in Rosières-aux-Salines and studied at the *École de dessin* in Nancy before joining Gallé's studio as a china painter. François Le Tacon identifies the sculptor Jacquot as Charles Jacquot but provides no evidence to support his assertion. Le Tacon, *Émile Gallé*, 180.

⁵⁴"Ils se retrouvent tous dans un milieu qui contribue à développer la *sève artistique* que chacun d'eux possède. Et je me demande si l'on doit envier M. Gallé d'employer de tels artistes ou s'il ne vaut pas mieux féliciter ces jeunes gens d'avoir pour les diriger un tel maître." R[oger] M[arx], "Chronique artistique: A propos du paysage d'Hestaux," *Nancy-Artiste* (March 29, 1883): 77.

⁵⁵"Cher Maître." *Louis Hestaux*, n.p. The word "maître" can mean either teacher or master.

⁵⁶"Elève de Devilly." *Ibid.*, n.p.

⁵⁷"Elève de MM. Devilly et Gallé." *Ibid.*, n.p.

⁵⁸*Ibid.*, n.p.

⁵⁹I would like to express my thanks to the staff of the Rakow Research Library at the Corning Museum of Glass, who kindly allowed me to photograph many of the Gallé drawings in their collection.

⁶⁰In his review of the *Exposition universelle*, Jules Lemaître discusses two works by Gallé, his checkerboard table and *Le Rhin*, as masterpieces. "M. Émile Gallé expose deux pièces maîtresses qui sont deux chefs-d'œuvre. —Prenez ici le mot "chef—d'œuvre" dans le sens que lui donnaient les anciennes corporations d'ouvriers, —et dans l'autre sens aussi," he writes. T. [Jules Lemaître], "Billets du Matin," *Le Temps* (September 27, 1889).

⁶¹Prouvé's name, but not his signature, appears on *Orphée et Eurydice* and other works.

⁶²"Moi, j'ai fait un grand effort pour sortir ces pierres précieuses, et faire à votre basson puissant un accompagnement de petite flûte modeste comme il convient." Émile Gallé to Victor Prouvé, n.d., private collection. Quoted in Stephan Tschudi-Madsen, *Sources of Art Nouveau*, trans. Ragnar Chistoffersen (Oslo: H. Aschehoug, 1956), 263.

⁶³“Je suis heureux de voir vos œuvres appréciées à leur valeur, mais je vous en prie, ne vous effacez pas tant que cela. [...] Si vous trouvez que j’ai bien rempli mon devoir, vous êtes l’inspirateur direct de tout cela.” Victor Prouvé to Émile Gallé, April 15, 1889, Musée d’Orsay, Paris. Quoted in Perrin, “Victor Prouvé,” 18.

⁶⁴Charpentier and Thiébaud, *Gallé*, 256.

⁶⁵*Ibid.*, 256.

⁶⁶Valérie Thomas and Jérôme Perrin, “Dessins et études de Victor Prouvé: une donation récente au musée de l’École de Nancy,” *Pays Lorrain* 83, no. 4 (2002): 298.

⁶⁷Charpentier and Thiébaud, *Gallé*, 256.

⁶⁸“Je vous prie de ne pas voir l’ambition peu modeste, la fatuité turbulent d’exercer étourdiment un métier qui n’est pas le premier venu. J’ai toujours éprouvé du respect pour l’art infiniment compliqué du menuisier-ébéniste.” Gallé, “Notice sur la production de menuiserie,” 354.

⁶⁹Auslander, *Taste and Power*, 79.

⁷⁰*Ibid.*, 79.

⁷¹Gallé cites Roubo, Viollet-le-Duc, Charles Blanc, Bonnaffé, Magne, Havard, Fourcaud, Champeaux, and Champier, all authors of works on the decorative arts or on furniture in particular, as influences on his furniture design. Gallé, “Notice sur la production de menuiserie,” 356.

⁷²“Collaboration avec quelques vieux praticiens du pays.” *Ibid.*, 356.

⁷³Le Tacon, *Émile Gallé*, 197.

⁷⁴Edmond Bonnaffé, *Le meuble en France au XVIe siècle* (Paris: J. Rouam, 1887).

⁷⁵Gallé also consulted works such as Adolphe E. Dupont and Bouquet de la Grye’s *Les bois indigènes et étrangers* (1875), which offers an overview of the worldwide trade in wood as well as the tools and machines involved in the manufacture of furniture. See Adolphe E. Dupont and Bouquet de la Grye, *Les bois indigènes et étrangers* (Paris: J. Rothschild, Éditeur, 1875); Le Tacon, *Émile Gallé*, 197-198.

⁷⁶Gallé, “Notice sur la production de menuiserie,” 360.

⁷⁷*Ibid.*, 360.

⁷⁸Le Tacon, *Émile Gallé*, 205.

⁷⁹O’Mahony, ““Ma Racine,”” 5.

⁸⁰Silverman, *Art Nouveau*, 12.

- ⁸¹“Allier le beau, ou simplement le bon goût, à un bon marché relatif, mettant à la portée des moyennes bourses des objets intéressants qui portent les marques de l’art, le sentiment d’artisans amoureux de leur métier.” Gallé, “Notice sur la production de menuiserie,” 365.
- ⁸²O’Mahony, ““Ma Racine,”” 5.
- ⁸³Silverman, *Art Nouveau*, 52.
- ⁸⁴Roselyne Bouvier, “Les débuts de l’ébénisterie d’art à Nancy,” in *Émile Gallé et Victor Prouvé, une alliance pour le mobilier*, exh. cat. (Nancy: Association des Amis du Musée de l’École de Nancy, 2002), 10.
- ⁸⁵Ibid., 10.
- ⁸⁶Ibid., 10. Gallé would employ 40 by 1890.
- ⁸⁷Auslander, *Taste and Power*, 307.
- ⁸⁸Bouvier, “Les débuts de l’ébénisterie,” 10. Majorelle, like Gallé, made furniture, glass, and ceramics but also operated a metalworking studio that produced designs in wrought iron and other materials.
- ⁸⁹Ibid., 10.
- ⁹⁰O’Mahony, ““Ma Racine,”” 6.
- ⁹¹“Scènes d’atelier: le tourneur, l’ébéniste, la scie à ruban, le faïencier enfourneur, le peintre céramiste, le four.” Gallé, “Notice sur la production de menuiserie,” 369.
- ⁹²Silverman, *Art Nouveau*, 59-60.
- ⁹³Béatrice Lauwick and Anna Ostrup, “Émile Gallé et les techniques d’ébénisterie,” in *Émile Gallé et Victor Prouvé, une alliance pour le mobilier*, exh. cat. (Nancy: Association des Amis du Musée de l’École de Nancy, 2002), 30.
- ⁹⁴Le Tacon, *Émile Gallé*, 198.
- ⁹⁵Pyrography, also called woodburning or pokerwork, entails the use of a brand or hot poker to burn decorative designs and details onto the surface of wood. Ibid., 225-26.
- ⁹⁶Charpentier and Thiébaud, *Gallé*, 257.
- ⁹⁷“Sa grande table lorraine après avoir figuré un seul jour dans la section des meubles, en a été enlevée pour prendre place dans la plus belle salle de l’exposition des Beaux-Arts, au milieu des chefs-d’œuvre dont elle augmente le nombre d’une glorieuse unité. [...] Cette mosaïque... n’est autre chose qu’un véritable tableau. [...] Les organisateurs de l’Exposition ont obtenu l’assentiment de tous les gens de goût, quand ils ont pensé qu’une œuvre comme celle-ci, non moins élevée par son inspiration que remarquable par le fini d’une exécution parfaite, était digne de prendre place parmi les plus rayonnantes productions des Beaux-Arts.” Louis Énault, “Les rois de l’Exposition: Émile Gallé,” *La Revue générale* (June 1, 1889): 298.

⁹⁸“17. Grande table de musée, à épine et rallonges. Noyer sculpté et prunier tourné. Dessus en ébène incrusté de bois variés. Composition d’Émile Gallé. Bordure celtique, par Hestaux. Carton de V. Prouvé sur un texte de Tacite: *Germania omnis a Galliis Rheno separatur*: “la Germanie toute entière est séparée des Gaules par le Rhin.” (*De moribus Germanorum*, ch. I.) Patins sculptés en alériens de Lorraine. Rotules de bronze avec poignées. Colonnets ornés de plantes allégoriques: lierre, chardon, *ne m’oubliez pas*. Un pied de chardon lorrain sculpté enlace ses feuilles aux arceaux soutenant le plateau de la table, et ses racines aux inscriptions suivantes: *Je tiens au cœur de France. Plus me poignent, plus j’y tiens.*” Gallé, “Notice sur la production de menuiserie,” 371.

⁹⁹Charpentier and Thiébaud, *Gallé*, 256.

¹⁰⁰Bonnaffé, *Le meuble en France au XVIe siècle*, 177. The same table, now in the Louvre, is also illustrated in Alfred De Champeaux, *Le Meuble*, Vols. I (Paris: Quantin, 1885), 225.

¹⁰¹“Si j’ai mis telle table à rallonges sous l’invocation de Ducerceau, c’était pour la placer par avance dans l’atmosphère de quelque hall seigneurial, garni, suivant la mode d’aujourd’hui, de meubles d’une ancienneté plus ou moins authentique. Cette œuvre n’en est pas moins, dans tous ses détails, trop actuelle, hélas! de préoccupations, inspirée qu’elle est par les regrets et les espérances qui hantent nos ateliers, placés à deux pas d’une frontière factice, taillée en plaine chair française.” Gallé, “Notice sur la production de menuiserie,” 359. Jacques Androuet du Cerceau (ca. 1515-1585) was a French architect, engraver, and writer who helped to popularize the art of the Italian Renaissance in his pattern books and writings on furniture and architecture.

¹⁰²In 1903, the French journalist Maurice Le Blond (1877-1944) surveyed contemporary artists, seeking their opinion on whether the *Prix de Rome* should be awarded to artists working in the decorative arts. The journal *La Lorraine Artiste*, based in Nancy, published Gallé’s response to the survey.

¹⁰³“Depuis l’intrusion de la mode italienne en France à la cour des Valois... il fallut dire adieu à notre belle école française du seizième siècle, et, chez l’ouvrier du mobilier et du décor, adieu à l’ingénue consultation de la nature et de la vie.” Émile Gallé, “A propos du Prix de Rome,” *La Lorraine Artiste* (1903): 131.

¹⁰⁴“Virus italien de l’imitation, de la contrefaçon” and “le sang français, gaulois.” *Ibid.*, 131. Bonnaffé also comments on the influence of Italy during the Renaissance but argues that French artists were able to blend the old and the new to create a novel style that was a “mélange savoureux du vieux gaulois et de la jeune antiquité.” Edmond Bonnaffé, *Causeries sur l’Art et la Curiosité* (Paris: A. Quantin, Imprimeur-Éditeur, 1878), 24-25. See also Bonnaffé, *Le Meuble en France*, 24.

¹⁰⁵It is possible that Gallé’s opinions on the art of the 16th century were not yet fully formed at the time of the *Exposition universelle*, however, for the artist deliberately associates *Le Rhin* with the art of Du Cerceau, a designer known for his Italianizing tendencies.

¹⁰⁶In the Middle Ages, it was believed that the Dukes of Lorraine descended from Godefroy de Bouillon. According to tradition, Godefroy killed three birds with a single arrow during the capture of Jerusalem in 1099. Philippe Husson, “Autour du Rhin,” *Arts nouveaux* 14 (February 13, 1998): 5.

The coat of arms of Lorraine—or, on a bend gules, three alerions bendwise argent—first appeared in 1183 on the seal of Simon II, Duke of Lorraine.

¹⁰⁷Lucie Marie, “Patriotisme et décor symbolique dans l’œuvre d’Émile Gallé,” in “Hommage à Émile Gallé,” edited by François Le Tacon, special issue, *Annales de l’Est* 55 (2005): 218.

¹⁰⁸In French, “Qui s’y frotte, s’y pique.” Like the cross of Lorraine, the thistle is also associated with Duke René II, who defended Lorraine during the siege of Nancy. Marie, “Patriotisme et décor symbolique,” 219.

¹⁰⁹In this *Le Rhin* was not alone, for Gallé exhibited numerous works with similarly patriotic themes in 1889, employing a visual language that the artist had developed over the preceding decade. Both the cross of Lorraine and the thistle, for example, appear frequently in Gallé’s œuvre. Around the time that Gallé took over management of the family business in 1878, for example, he incorporated both the cross of Lorraine and the thistle into his signature. Rather than using a standard hallmark or stamp, Gallé employed several variations of the phrase *E. Gallé Nancy*, including *E. Gallé à Nancy*, *E. Gallé déposé*, *Émile Gallé Déposé*, and *E. Gallé à Nancy Déposé*, for his signature, thus underscoring the artist’s ties to his hometown. Note: Although Gallé assumed artistic management of the family business in 1867, it was only in 1877 that the name of the firm was changed from Gallé-Reinemer to simply Gallé, signaling that Gallé had replaced his father, Charles Gallé-Reinemer, as head of the enterprise. Charpentier and Thiébaud, *Gallé*, 183. Workers added Gallé’s signature using a number of different techniques including enameling, wheel cutting, acid etching, and the use of ink or gilt. Yvon Fleck, “Émile Gallé, verrier à Meisenthal,” in “Hommage à Émile Gallé,” edited by François Le Tacon, special issue, *Annales de l’Est* 55 (2005): 145.

¹¹⁰“*R. gallica* L. Sp. 704. (*Rosier de France*.) ... Très rare. Vic et Haraucourt-sur-Seille dans les bois (*Léré*); forêt entre Lindre et Guermange. Metz, à la côte St-Quentin (*Holandre*). Sur le revers oriental des Vosges, à Soultzbach, Ribeauvillé, Scherwiller, etc. (*Kirschléger*); Mirecourt (*Gaulard*).” Dominique Alexandre Godron, *Flore de Lorraine*, Vol I (Nancy: Grimblot, Ve Raybois et Comp., Imprimeurs-Libraires-Éditeurs, 1857), 247-48.

¹¹¹Charpentier and Thiébaud, *Gallé*, 255.

¹¹²In the decoration of a bowl entitled *Ne m’oubliez pas* (Forget-Me-Not, n.d.), for example, the flowers are entwined around the base of a post marking the new border with Germany. One inscription reads “Ne m’oubliez pas” in French and the other reads “Vergiss mein nicht” in German. In the background, the silhouette of the cathedral of Strasbourg evokes the lost territories.

¹¹³Richard Thomson, *The Troubled Republic: Visual Culture and Social Debate in France, 1889-1900* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 183-84. Thomson’s discussion of *Le Rhin* is limited in its scope and relies mainly upon iconography to support his assertion that the table was “overt in its nationalistic reference.” He writes, “Classical authority almost two thousand years old is taken to uphold the natural order ruptured by the Treaty of Frankfurt. The iconography is pellucid in its meaning. The Rhine firmly points the Germans to their own soil, and the French are entitled to take arms to defend what is rightly theirs. The implication is that ‘to defend’ can be ‘to restore’. As a work of art *Le Rhin* does not convey an overtly *revanchard* message. But as a complex and immaculately crafted object it required close attention, and that reveals its

iconography and encourages reflection. Like the Orpheus and Eurydice vase, the table stimulated its cultivated public to remember, regret and ponder the future.”

¹¹⁴Paul Desjardins, “Chronique de l’Exposition, Les Industries d’art, Deuxième promenade, L’Exposition d’Émile Gallé, de Nancy: Suite (1),” *Journal des débats* (September 1, 1889): 2. Paul Desjardins (1859-1940) was a journalist and teacher who taught at the Louis-le-Grand and Condorcet *lycées* before taking a post as professor at the *École normale supérieure* in Sèvres. In 1893, he founded the *Union pour l’Action Morale*. During the Dreyfus Affair, Desjardins headed the *Union pour la Vérité* and, in 1906, he instituted a series of annual meetings of intellectuals, the *Décades de Pontigny*, which were held at his property, the former Abbey of Pontigny. For more on Desjardins, see François Chaubet, *Paul Desjardins et les Décades de Pontigny* (Villeneuve d’Ascq: Presses Universitaires du Septentrion, 2000).

¹¹⁵“Je n’aurais pas fait cette table, plutôt que de la faire en deux morceaux; car alors elle serait séparable, et mon idée serait trahie...” *Ibid.*, 2.

¹¹⁶Général Ambert, *Gaulois et Germains: récits militaires* (Paris: Bloud et Barral, 1883-1885).

¹¹⁷A. Benoist, *Gaulois et Teutons! chants guerriers, poèmes patriotiques* (Paris: A. Olivier, 1887); Charles-O. Carbonell, “Après 1870—régénérescence de la France et renaissance de la Gaule,” in *Nos Ancêtres les Gaulois*, 391.

¹¹⁸Beatrice Lauwick, “Des meubles de Gallé au musée de l’Ecole de Nancy,” *Techné* 13-14 (2001): 191.

¹¹⁹Lauwick and Ostrup, “Émile Gallé,” 31.

¹²⁰*Ibid.*, 31.

¹²¹*Ibid.*, 31.

¹²²Lauwick, “Des meubles de Gallé,” 187.

¹²³Normally composed of three layers, the plywood used in Gallé’s works measures 1-4 mm in thickness. Hide glue and tiny pegs bound the layers to each other and to the frame, which is often made of wood from the tulip tree (*Tulipifera*), a soft wood that resists expansion. *Ibid.*, 187.

¹²⁴Neil McWilliam, “Race, Remembrance and *Revanche*: Commemorating the Franco-Prussian War in the Third Republic,” *Art History* 19, no. 4 (December 1996): 474. McWilliam’s argument focuses on monumental sculpture, and the author does not address *Le Rhin*.

¹²⁵Jules Rais, “L’Art décoratif et industriel en Lorraine,” *La Lorraine Artiste* (July 29, 1894): 259.

¹²⁶Wolfgang Leiner, “De la vision française de l’Allemagne,” in *Marianne et Germania 1789-1889: Un Siècle de passions franco-allemandes*, exh. cat. (Paris: Musée du Petit Palais, 1997), 47.

¹²⁷*Ibid.*, 47.

¹²⁸Philippe Husson, “Les assiettes patriotiques de Gallé,” *Arts nouveaux* 19 (December 2003): 37.

¹²⁹Husson, “Autour du Rhin,” 4.

¹³⁰This figure has been variously interpreted as representing the Moselle, Lorraine, or even France itself. The use of an allegorical figure to represent the Rhine, however, suggests that the female figure adjacent to him also represents a river. The Moselle is a tributary of the Rhine and runs through the province of Lorraine.

¹³¹The study of ancient Gaul had begun as early as the 16th century but was limited in scope and based mostly on the study of ancient Roman texts. Paul Gerbod, “L’enseignement supérieur français à la découverte des Gaulois (1890-1940),” in *Nos Ancêtres les Gaulois*, 367. Most histories of France, such as Abbé Velly’s *Histoire de France, depuis l’établissement de la monarchie jusqu’à Louis XIV* (1755), began with the French kings and omitted any mention of the Gauls. Christian Croisille, “Michelet et les Gaulois ou les séductions de la patrie celtique,” in *Nos Ancêtres les Gaulois*, 211.

¹³²Eugen Weber, “Gauls versus Franks: Conflict and Nationalism,” in Tombs, 8-9.

¹³³Gerbod, “L’enseignement supérieur,” 367. Most notably, Henri de Boulainvilliers (1658-1722) was the first to describe French nobles as Franks and members of the Third Estate as Gauls, suggesting that the two social classes were in fact racially distinct. Revolutionaries such as Emmanuel Joseph Sieyès (1748-1836) subsequently adopted Boulainvilliers’s basic premise, calling for the ‘Frankish’ aristocracy to return to Germany. Historians such as Comte de Montlosier (1755-1838) would be influential in perpetuating this vision of French history as an eternal struggle between two opposing races, the conquerors and the enslaved. Weber, “Gauls versus Franks,” 9.

¹³⁴Gerbod, “L’enseignement supérieur,” 367. In 1828, Amédée Thierry (1797-1873) published his immensely influential *Histoire des Gaulois*, which would have an impact on all subsequent histories of the Gauls. Thierry credited the Gauls with preserving the civilization established by the Roman Empire in the face of Germanic destruction. The historian Jules Michelet (1798-1874) followed in Thierry’s footsteps, devoting the first volume of his monumental *Histoire de France* to “Celts, Iberians, and Romans.” Michelet traces the evolution of Gaul from its Celtic origins through the establishment of Christianity. The *Histoire de France* was innovative both in the depth of its discussion of ancient Gaul and in the key role that its author attributes to the Gauls as the ‘ancestors’ of modern Frenchmen. Martin Thom, “Tribes within Nations: the Ancient Germans and the History of Modern France,” in *Nation and Narration*, edited by Homi K. Bhabha (London: Routledge, 1990), 28; Croisille, “Michelet et les Gaulois,” 212.

¹³⁵Rémi Mallet, “Henri Martin et les Gaulois: histoire et mythe,” in *Nos Ancêtres les Gaulois*, 232.

¹³⁶*Ibid.*, 234.

¹³⁷Alice Gerard, “La vision de la défaite gauloise dans l’enseignement secondaire (particulièrement entre 1870 et 1914),” in *Nos Ancêtres les Gaulois*, 358. The public’s renewed fascination with Gallic culture continued unabated during the Second Empire. Under Napoleon III, numerous excavations of Gallo-Roman sites were carried out in northern France. The first excavations began following the discovery of bronze-age weapons mistakenly believed to date from the time of the Gallic Wars near the town of Alise-Sainte-Reine (Alesia) in 1860. Archaeologists working at the site would eventually uncover numerous artifacts dating from the slightly later Gallo-Roman era. In 1861, excavations also began at Gergovie, a town assumed to be the site of a

historic battle between the Averni and other Gallic tribes under the leadership of the Celtic chieftain Vercingetorix and the Roman legions under the command of the Julius Caesar, in 52 BC. *Vercingétorix et Alésia*, exh. cat. (Saint-Germain-en-Laye: Musée des antiquités nationales, 1994), 238.

¹³⁸Historians such as Marie Henri d'Arbois de Jubainville (1827-1910), appointed to the chair of Celtic literature at the *Collège de France* in 1882, and Numa Denis Fustel de Coulanges (1830-1889), author of *Histoire des Institutions politiques de l'ancienne France* (History of the Political Institutions of Ancient France, 1887), recast these historic battles in terms of Gallic heroism and valor. Gerbod, "L'enseignement supérieur," 367, 369. Meanwhile, journals such as the *Revue celtique* (Celtic Review) or the *Revue archéologique* (Archaeological Review), publications such as the *Dictionnaire archéologique de la Gaule* (Archeological Dictionary of Gaul, 1875-78), and the establishment of learned societies in Paris and the provinces helped familiarize the general public with the history of the Gauls. See Commission institutée au Ministère de l'Instruction publique et des Beaux-Arts, *Dictionnaire archéologique de la Gaule, époque celtique* (Paris: imp. nationale, 1875-1878). In 1889, Alexandre Bertrand (1820-1902), founder of the *Musée des antiquités nationales*, published a new edition of his influential study *Archéologie celtique et gauloise* (Celtic and Gallic Archeology), which had first appeared in 1876. See Alexandre Bertrand, *Archéologie celtique et gauloise: mémoires et documents relatifs aux premiers temps de notre histoire nationale* (Paris: Didier, 1876). That same year, the ancient Gauls figured in several exhibits at the *Exposition universelle*, including displays in the History of Labor and the History of Habitation sections and in the Palace of the Ministry of War. See Salomon Reinach, *L'Histoire du travail en Gaule à l'Exposition universelle de 1889* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, Éditeur, 1890) and Maurice Brincourt, *L'Exposition universelle de 1889* (Paris: Librairie de Firmin-Didot et Cie, 1890), 176 and 236. Reinach (1858-1932), an archaeologist, was employed at the *Musée des antiquités nationales*, where he became assistant keeper in 1893. Brincourt was an architect.

¹³⁹Pierre Vaisse, "Les Gaulois dans la peinture officielle (1870-1914), in *Nos Ancêtres les Gaulois*, 321.

¹⁴⁰"Une grande République fédérative." Eugène Bonnemère, *La Gaule* (1875). Quoted in Carbonell, "Après 1870," 393. Carbonell's citation appears to be incorrect. The phrase first appears in Eugène Sue, *Les mystères du peuple*, Vol. I (Brussels: A. Lacroix, Verboeckhoven & Cie. Éditeurs, 1865), 247.

¹⁴¹Gerbod, "L'enseignement supérieur," 372. According to Gerbod, opinion was similarly at odds over the issue of Gallic civilization. Scholars debated not only the value and originality of Gallic culture, but in some cases, whether Gallic society could be said to be a civilization at all. Central to these debates was the Gallic religion, Druidism, which d'Arbois de Jubainville and others offered as proof of a cohesive, unique Gallic culture destroyed by the Roman conquerors.

¹⁴²*Ibid.*, 373.

¹⁴³*Ibid.*, 373.

¹⁴⁴*Ibid.*, 373.

¹⁴⁵Michael Jeismann, "Guerre d'États et instinct populaire: l'Allemagne dans la perception française (1870-1871)," in *Marianne et Germania 1789-1889*, 91. Jeismann terms this process the "ethnicization" of the enemy.

- ¹⁴⁶Ancient Gaul became a frequent subject in painting and sculpture following the Franco-Prussian War. In 1886, Henri Motte exhibited his painting *Vercingétorix se rendant à César* (Vercingetorix Surrendering to Cæsar, 1886) at the Salon. The painting depicts the defeated hero facing his victorious opponent. Astride his spirited mount and holding his sword in one hand, Vercingetorix appears as the true hero of the composition, outshining his barely visible foe seated atop a makeshift throne in the distance. In the decade following the Franco-Prussian War, images of Gallic warriors also appeared in many paintings commissioned to decorate town halls in and around Paris. Vaisse, “Les Gaulois,” 324. Prouvé, with ready access to the Salon and to the environs of Paris, would no doubt have been familiar with these precedents. Nor were depictions of the ancient Gauls lacking in Nancy. Edmond Desca’s marble sculpture *On veille* (We Watch, 1885), for example, was erected in the *Parc de la Pépinière* only a few years before the *Exposition universelle*.
- ¹⁴⁷Marie, “Patriotisme et décor symbolique,” 219; Gallé, “Notice sur la production de verres,” 336.
- ¹⁴⁸Napoleon III would publish his *Histoire de Jules César* in 1866.
- ¹⁴⁹“La Gaule unie ne formant qu’une seule nation animée d’un même esprit peut défier l’univers. Napoléon III à la mémoire de Vercingétorix.”
- ¹⁵⁰Weber, “Gauls versus Franks,” 14.
- ¹⁵¹Thomas and Perrin, “Dessins et études,” 299. As a member of the *Société d’archéologie lorraine*, Gallé would also have been familiar with the latest Gallo-Roman finds in his native province. Gallé was presented as a candidate on February 8, 1884 and elected as a member of the society on March 14, 1884. “Travaux de la Société: Séance du 8 février 1884,” *Journal de la Société d’Archéologie Lorraine et du Musée Historique Lorrain* 33, no. 3 (March 1884): 42; “Travaux de la Société: Séance du 14 mars 1884,” *Journal de la Société d’Archéologie Lorraine et du Musée Historique Lorrain* 33, no. 4 (April 1884): 66.
- ¹⁵²Ernest Bosc, *Histoire nationale des Gaulois sous Vercingétorix* (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1882).
- ¹⁵³See Ernst Moritz Arndt, *Der Rhein, Deutschlands Strom, aber nicht Deutschlands Gränze* (Leipzig: W. Rein, 1813).
- ¹⁵⁴Friedrich Adolph Krummacker, *Parabeln* (Essen: Bädeker, 1850), n.p. Krummacker gives the original German version as well.
- ¹⁵⁵*Marianne et Germania 1789-1889*, 225.
- ¹⁵⁶The architect Karl Weissbach (1841-1905) designed the monument, which was executed by the sculptor Johannes Schilling (1828-1910). The statue, which was inaugurated in the presence of Emperor Wilhelm, quickly became a pilgrimage site and was widely illustrated in the German press. *Ibid.*, 277.
- ¹⁵⁷“Lieb’ Vaterland, magst ruhig sein: Fest steht und treu die Wacht. Die Wacht am Rhein!”

- ¹⁵⁸“La Germanie toute entière est séparée des Gaules par le Rhin.” Note that Tacitus uses the term “Gaule” in the plural, for there were several territories identified as “Gaule” under the Roman Empire.
- ¹⁵⁹“Zum Andenken an die einmuethige seigreiche Erhebung des deutschen Volkes und an die Wiederaufrichtung des deutschen Reiches 1870-1871.”
- ¹⁶⁰“Je tiens au cœur de France.”
- ¹⁶¹*Marianne et Germania 1789-1889*, 278.
- ¹⁶²“La plus belle gifle qu’on puisse leur flanquer pour le moment.” Quoted in Nicolas Beaupré, *Le Rhin: une géohistoire* (Paris: Documentation française, 2005), 28.
- ¹⁶³Alain Schnapp, “French Archaeology: Between National Identity and Cultural Identity,” in *Nationalism and Archaeology in Europe*, ed. Margarita Díaz-Andreu and Timothy Champion (Boulder, San Francisco: Westview Press, 1996), 56.
- ¹⁶⁴Philippe Forest, *Qu’est-ce qu’une Nation? Ernest Renan* (Paris: Pierre Bordas et fils, 1991), 25.
- ¹⁶⁵“La terre et les morts.” James McMillan, “Introduction: Republic and Nation in the *Belle Époque*,” in McMillan, *Modern France 1880-2002*, 7.
- ¹⁶⁶“Une nation est un principe spirituel, résultant des complications profondes de l’histoire, une famille spirituelle, non un groupe déterminé par la configuration du sol.” Ernest Renan, “Qu’est-ce qu’une Nation?” in Forest, *Qu’est-ce qu’une Nation?* 41.
- ¹⁶⁷F. H. Seager, “The Alsace-Lorraine Question in France, 1871-1914,” in *From the Ancien Régime to the Popular Front: Essays in the History of Modern France*, ed. C. K. Warner (New York: Columbia University Press, 1969), 113.
- ¹⁶⁸Forest, *Qu’est-ce qu’une Nation?* 5.
- ¹⁶⁹Seager, “The Alsace-Lorraine Question,” 114.
- ¹⁷⁰*Ibid.*, 114.
- ¹⁷¹Daniel Nordman, “From the Boundaries of the State to National Borders,” in *Rethinking France: Les Lieux de Mémoire*, ed. Pierre Nora (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), 109.
- ¹⁷²*Ibid.*, 117.
- ¹⁷³*Ibid.*, 122.
- ¹⁷⁴*Marianne et Germania 1789-1889*, 96.
- ¹⁷⁵*Ibid.*, 96.

- ¹⁷⁶John Godfrey Herder [Johann Gottfried Herder], *Outlines of a Philosophy of the History of Man*, trans. T. Churchill, Vol. II (London: Luke Hansard for J. Johnson, 1803), 329-330.
- ¹⁷⁷*Marianne et Germania 1789-1889*, 96.
- ¹⁷⁸“Grande table de musée, en noyer sculpté, dont le dessus en ébène est incrusté de bois variés,” “fort remarquable.” “Classe 17. –Meubles à bon marché et meubles de luxe. –M. Meynard, rapporteur,” in *Exposition universelle internationale de 1889 à Paris*, ed. Alfred Picard (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1891), 11.
- ¹⁷⁹“Table patriotique.” T. Lamathière, “Gallé (Émile),” *Dictionnaire biographique des hommes du XIXe siècle, panthéon de la Légion d’honneur* (Paris: E. Dentu, 1890), 359.
- ¹⁸⁰Jules Lemaître (1853-1914) was a critic and dramatist who wrote for *Journal des débats* and *Revue des deux mondes*. With Maurice Barrès, Lemaître was among the founders of the nationalist group *Ligue de la Patrie Française*. Susan Rubin Suleiman, “The Literary Significance of the Dreyfus Affair,” in *The Dreyfus Affair: Art, Truth, and Justice*, ed. Norman L. Kleeblatt (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 121.
- ¹⁸¹“Massive, imposante, royale.” T. [Jules Lemaître], “Billets du Matin,” *Le Temps* (September 28, 1889).
- ¹⁸²“Ce sont d’admirables chardons, aussi nobles que des acanthes, avec des contours plus énergiques.” *Ibid.*, n.p.
- ¹⁸³“Sur la table, enfin, se déroule, à la façon d’un bas-relief, une longue bande de dessins, formés d’incrustations en ébène et en bois d’essences diverses. C’est la traduction pour les yeux de cette phrase de Tacite inscrite au-dessus de la composition: ‘Le Rhin sépare profondément la Gaule de la Germanie.’ Les figures, très simplifiées, sont d’un grand style. Au centre, le vieux Rhin, un patriarche à la longue barbe ondoyante, serre contre lui, d’un geste de protection, une belle jeune femme qui est la Gaule; il y a, à gauche, une famille gauloise, guerriers, femmes, enfants, et, à droite, un campement germain... *Du facessant!* En attendant, une phrase de Tacite ne saurait offenser personne.” *Ibid.*, n.p.
- ¹⁸⁴“Une phrase de Tacite ne saurait offenser personne.” *Ibid.*, n.p.
- ¹⁸⁵“Absolument artistique bien qu’une expérience de 2 000 ans ne permet pas de la trouver fidèle du point de vue historique.” *Berliner Börung Zeitung* (July 21, 1889). Quoted in Charpentier and Thiébaud, *Gallé*, 256.
- ¹⁸⁶“Table lorraine.” Énault, “Les rois de l’Exposition,” 298.
- ¹⁸⁷“Cette table lorraine est une merveille, et l’un des clous de l’Exposition de 1889. Ce beau morceau d’ébénisterie est en prunier et en noyer sculptés. Une grande traverse, ou épine, lui sert de pied en figurant le chardon de Lorraine—qui s’y frotte s’y pique!—taillé dans un seul bloc de bois d’un mètre cinquante. Un double exergue enlace ses lettres dans les inextricables racines du chardon, dont rien ne peut plus les arracher: “*Je tiens au cœur de France!*” et, d’autre part, “Plus me poignent, plus j’y tien!” ce qui est une fière et noble parole dans une bouche de vaincu.” *Ibid.*, 298.

¹⁸⁸“Le sujet de cette mosaïque, laquelle n’est autre chose qu’un véritable tableau, est le commentaire d’une phrase de Tacite. “*Germania omnis a Gallia Rheno separatur.*” Le Rhin sépare des Gaules la Germanie tout entière. A vrai dire, c’est l’invasion des Teutons, repoussée par les Gaulois: deux figures symboliques, un homme et une femme, représentent la Moselle et le Rhin. La Moselle, bonne créature sans rancune, se jette dans les bras du Rhin paternel, qui, d’un geste grandiose et souverain, montre aux hommes du Nord l’antique frontière qui devrait être éternellement respectée, tandis que la trompette gauloise appelle les hommes de cœur à la défense du sol sacré de la patrie.” Ibid., 297.

¹⁸⁹“Il a pris, par exemple, dans *la Germanie* de Tacite, une phrase purement géographique: “*Germania omnis a Galliis Rheno separatur.* La Germanie toute entière est séparée des Gaules par le Rhin,” –et vous devinez quel sens aigu se cache sous cette phrase innocente... Il en a fait la devise d’une grande table en noyer, en prunier et en ébène incrusté. Le dessus, dessiné par un fidèle collaborateur de Gallé, le sculpteur lorrain Prouvé, représente le *Père Rhin* recevant la Gaule éplorée dans son giron, et la protégeant d’un de ses bras. A droite, les farouches hordes germaniques, aux tresses rouges, se pressent comme pour forcer le fleuve vénérable; à gauche, les Celtes, plus humains, se tiennent prêts à la défensive. La différence des races est accusée par le contraste saisissant à l’époque de sauvagerie primitive, mais encore ineffacé sans doute... Là est le fossé profond qu’aucune force ne comblera.” Desjardins, “Chronique de l’Exposition,” (September 1, 1889).

¹⁹⁰“Les patins de la table sont sculptés en alérions de Lorraine, portant la double croix sur le poitrail. Différentes plantes allégoriques, le chardon, qui se défend, le lierre qui s’attache, et le myosotis qui dit de ne pas oublier, s’enguirlandent tout autour. Un fort pied de chardon lorrain s’enlace étroitement aux arceaux qui supportent le plateau. En bas se lit la devise Je tiens au cœur de France; Et de l’autre côté, Plus me poignent, plus j’y tiens.” Ibid., n.p.

¹⁹¹Victor Champier, *Les Industries d’art à l’Exposition universelle de 1889* (Paris: Union centrale des arts décoratifs, 1889-1891).

¹⁹²“La table de musée à épine et à rallonges en noyer et prunier.” Roger Marx, *La Décoration et l’art industriel à l’Exposition Universelle de 1889* (Paris: Ancienne Maison Quantin, Librairies-Imprimeries Réunies, 1890), 28.

¹⁹³Émile Gallé to Roger Marx, June 16, 1889, in *Lettres pour l’art: Correspondance 1882-1904*, ed. François-Thérèse Charpentier, Georges Barbier-Ludwig, and Bernard Ponton (Strasbourg: La Nuée Bleue/DNA, 2006), 67.

¹⁹⁴Perrin “Victor Prouvé dessinateur,” 23.

¹⁹⁵Ibid., 23.

¹⁹⁶“We ourselves saw, in the reign of the Blessed Vespasian, that famous Veleda who was for so long and among so many tribes held in the place of a God.” *Germany: A Translation from Tacitus*, trans. Charles Isaac Elton (London: 1874), 13.

¹⁹⁷Following the publication of Chateaubriand’s novel *Les Martyrs* (1809), the story of Veleda briefly became a popular subject in art of the Romantic era. In 1843-44, Étienne Hippolyte Maindron (1801-1884) created a marble sculpture of the prophetess. Contemporaries gave the name *Velléda*

(Veleda, ca. 1868-1870) to a painting by Jean-Baptiste Camille Corot (1796-1875). Prouvé's Veleda, like that of Maindron, is dressed in classical drapery, which the flowing lines of the composition render all but indistinguishable from the scene around her. Prouvé's figure lacks the attributes that identify Maindron's prophetess, who resembles classical depictions of the goddess Diana, but the figure's association with nature is clear. Veleda holds a lamp in one hand, suggesting hope for a future that only the prophetess, whose name means "One who sees," can discern. By choosing the figure of Veleda to decorate one of the cupboard's central panels, Prouvé again thematizes defeat at the hands of an invading army—the Romans.

¹⁹⁸“Cabinet en chêne lacustre... d'après les *Poème antiques* de M. Leconte de Lisle.” Gallé, “Notice sur la production de menuiserie,” 367. See Charles-Marie Leconte de Lisle, *Poèmes antiques* (Paris: M. Ducloux, 1852). Both artists also looked to another work by Leconte de Lisle, *Poèmes barbares* (Paris: A. Lemerre, 1872) for inspiration in creating later works. Gallé employs an inscription from *Poèmes barbares* on a glass urn created the same year as *De Chêne lorrain*, for example, and Prouvé designed a leather binding for *Poèmes barbares* as well as a matching lectern in 1896.

¹⁹⁹Perrin, “Victor Prouvé dessinateur,” 24.

²⁰⁰“J’ai fait ce meuble d’un chêne lacustre, recueilli au pays Lorrain.”

²⁰¹“Le chêne lacustre dont j’ai fait un cabinet a évoqué dans les ateliers où ce meuble s’est élaboré, la forêt celtique et la figure légendaire de Velléda.” Gallé, “Notice sur la production de menuiserie,” 357.

²⁰²“La recherche de ses matériaux et de ses procédés a quelque chose d’imprévu et d’attirant, même quand elle fait sourire: par exemple, dans ce bahut en ‘chêne lacustre’ qui nous dit une histoire “inspirée des poèmes antiques de M. Leconte de Lisle”.” Philippe Daryl, “Chronique de l’Exposition: Le meuble,” *Le Temps* (July 9, 1889).

²⁰³“Le meuble est tout entier en bois de chêne ayant longtemps séjourné dans les étangs et les marais de Lorraine, où il a pris une teinte vénérable de vieux bois, qui convient bien aux personnages que le sculpteur a tirés de ses flancs. Ce sont pour la plupart des héroïnes empruntées aux poèmes barbares de Leconte de l’Isle [*sic*], pour lesquelles le bois de rose manquerait absolument de couleur locale. Le reste du décor de ce meuble sévère a pour thème la glorification du chêne, feuilles, brindilles et ramures, sans oublier le gland, ni la papillon qui vit au dépens du roi de nos forêts.” Énault, “Les rois de l’Exposition,” 297-98.

²⁰⁴Perrin, “Victor Prouvé dessinateur,” 23.

²⁰⁵“Adaptation libre de l’art celtique.” Gallé, “Notice sur la production de menuiserie,” 363.

²⁰⁶Paul Desjardins, “Chronique de l’Exposition, Les Industries d’art, Deuxième promenade: L’Exposition d’Émile Gallé, de Nancy,” *Journal des débats* (August 16, 1889): 2.

²⁰⁷“L’artiste a voulu donner à ses arrangements le caractère de la vieille Gaule. Seulement, comme on n’a rien conservé de cet art national primitif, il a dû tout inventer, avec le secours d’une sorte de divination et grâce à une entente toute particulière du symbole. Imaginez un pavillon dont la forme d’ensemble rappelle la tente de quelque vergobret, de quelque chef arverne, des piques relevant tout autour la draperie, et surmontées elles-mêmes du sanglier celtique en bronze vert-de-

grisé, d'où pendent les torques gaulois en verroterie. La décoration est complétée par de grands coqs, d'une figure hiératique, moulés en bronze, représentations légendaire de la nationalité gallique, et par le gui sacré des druides. La boiserie est faite uniquement avec les essences des vieilles forêts de notre sol, dont l'artiste a respecté le coloris naturel et qu'il s'est refusé à vernir. Le tout, imaginé, dessiné, exécuté par M. Gallé lui-même, ce bon et loyal Gaulois, respire le génie français de nos ancêtres." *Ibid.*, 2.

²⁰⁸“Dans le vestibule d'honneur, M. E. Gallé avait élevé un pavillon dont l'ensemble rappelait la tente d'un druide, d'un chef gaulois; le tout imaginé, dessiné, exécuté par M. Gallé. Des piques relevant tout autour la draperie et surmontées elles-mêmes du sanglier celtique en bronze vert, d'où pendent les torques gaulois en verroterie, des coqs gaulois, complètent la décoration. La boiserie est faite uniquement avec des essences de vieilles forêts lorraines. L'aménagement de ce pavillon a été fait avec un goût extrême.” Jules Henrivaux, “La verrerie à l'Exposition universelle de 1889,” *Revue des Arts décoratifs* 10, no. 10 (1889-1890): 177.

²⁰⁹Michel Pastoureaux, “The Gallic Cock,” in Nora, ed., *Rethinking France*, 406.

²¹⁰*Ibid.*, 406.

²¹¹During the Middle Ages, foreign artists sometimes used the image of the rooster to parody the king of France and his policies. *Ibid.*, 407. Soon, Valois sovereigns adopted the image of the cock as an emblem, perhaps hoping to deflect ridicule by emphasizing the bird's courage and strength. In patristic writings, meanwhile, the rooster symbolized the coming of dawn and functioned as a Christian symbol of awakening or resurrection. *Ibid.*, 413. In images commissioned by Louis XIV, the figure of a crowing rooster symbolizes the people of France, who salute their king in the guise of the rising sun. *Ibid.*, 414-415. During the Revolution, the rooster came to serve as a symbol of the people or of the Third Estate. *Ibid.*, 415-416. With the advent of the Third Republic in 1871, the rooster began once again to figure on flags, seals, coins and other official forms of representation. *Ibid.*, 424.

²¹²*Ibid.*, 424.

²¹³Gallé est fier de s'appeller Gallé, parce que Gallé ressemble à *Gallus*. “T.” [Lemaître], “Billets du Matin,” (September 27, 1889).

²¹⁴“Une œuvre de paix et de concorde.” “Classe 17. –Meubles à bon marché et meubles de luxe,” 5. The report identifies Meynard as an “ancien fabricant d'ébénisterie d'art.”

²¹⁵Louis Gonse was editor of the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* from 1875 to 1893. He was also a scholar of Japanese art and published his study *L'Art japonais* in 1883. For more on Gonse, see François Gonse, “Louis Gonse (1846-1921) et le Japon,” *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 119 (1992): 81-88.

²¹⁶“Voici la quatrième bataille que la France livre sur le terrain pacifique des arts et de l'industrie.” Louis Gonse, “Exposition universelle de 1889: Coup d'œil avant l'ouverture,” *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (May 1, 1889): 355.

²¹⁷“L'architecture accuse par son style, ses formes et ses tendances, le caractère et les progrès de civilisation des peuples. Le meuble joue à peu près le même rôle au point de vue des sociétés dont il traduit les mœurs et les goûts.” Maurice Brincourt, “Le Meuble à l'Exposition universelle,” *La*

Nouvelle revue 60 (September 1, 1889): 212. See also Maurice Brincourt, *L'Exposition universelle de 1889* (Paris: Librairie de Firmin-Didot et Cie, 1890), 40-48.

- ²¹⁸“L’absence de formes nouvelles et la profusion outrée de copies ou d’inspirations de styles anciens [...] fait que notre époque ne marquera d’aucun caractère particulier son passage dans l’histoire du mobilier.” Brincourt, “Le Meuble à l’Exposition,” 214.
- ²¹⁹Philippe Daryl was the pseudonym of Jean François Paschal Grousset (1844-1909), a French journalist, writer, and former Communist, who returned to Paris in 1880 after eight years of exile in New Caledonia. In 1893, he became a Socialist deputy for the 12th arrondissement in Paris.
- ²²⁰“Un véritable cas pathologique.” Daryl, “Chronique de l’Exposition,” 2.
- ²²¹“L’histoire du meuble... expriment un état particulier de la conscience nationale et répondent exactement à la littérature ambiante. [...] Mais, brusquement l’évolution s’arrête; le mobilier cesse de suivre la transformation des idées et des mœurs.” Ibid., 1-2.
- ²²²“Sous une forme ou sous l’autre, c’est toujours la même maladie qui sévit: celle qui consiste à n’être pas de son temps ou à s’imaginer qu’on n’en est pas, à se transposer par la pensée et même par le décor dans un âge, dans un monde, dans un milieu différent du milieu réel.” Ibid., 2.
- ²²³“Idées et mœurs” and “la formule mobilière de notre temps.” Ibid., 2.
- ²²⁴He served as a functionary (*missionnaire*) in the Ministry of Fine Arts from 1882 to 1888. Jennifer L. Shaw, *Dream States: Puviv de Chavannes, Modernism, and the Fantasy of France* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 55; Lisa Tiersten, *Marianne in the Market* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 65.
- ²²⁵These include *Les Musées et les écoles d’art industrielle en Europe* (Museums and Schools of Industrial Art in Europe, 1890) and *Pour la défense de nos industries d’art* (For the Defense of Our Arts Industries, 1898). Silverman, *Art Nouveau*, 55.
- ²²⁶In 1918, nearly thirty years after the *Exposition universelle*, Vachon would found the *Club Artistique de France*, whose goal was the protection of French art from foreign influence. Neil McWilliam, *Monumental Intolerance: Jean Baffier, a Nationalist Sculptor in Fin-de-Siècle France* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000), 254.
- ²²⁷“Parallèle entre les constitutions politiques et les formes mobilières.” Marius Vachon, “Le mobilier à l’Exposition universelle de 1889,” *L’Art* 48 (1890): 79.
- ²²⁸“L’état du mobilier contemporain n’est point sensiblement différent de celui de notre politique.” Vachon follows this statement, however, with a series of inconsequential observations underscoring the inchoate nature of both republicanism, in his view, and of contemporary decorative arts. Ibid., 79.
- ²²⁹“Commerce malsain et désastreux.” Ibid., 80.
- ²³⁰“Faut-il dire que, pour la beauté du travail, aucune époque n’a surpassé la nôtre?” Marx, *La Décoration et l’art industriel*, 23.

- ²³¹“Quelque pastiche de l’ancien.” Marx, *La Décoration et l’art industriel*, 24.
- ²³²“Mais combien il est regrettable que nos ébénistes qui font école aujourd’hui, par la connaissance des styles et par la perfection de leur fabrication, ne nous délivrent pas des constantes imitations du temps passé!” “Classe 17. –Meubles à bon marché,” 6.
- ²³³“Cette misérable production... la conséquence de la sottise prétentieuse du public ignorant qui la fait vivre.” Vachon, “Le mobilier à l’Exposition,” 80.
- ²³⁴Victor Champier, “Le mobilier à l’Exposition,” in *Revue de l’Exposition Universelle de 1889*, ed. Louis de Fourcaud and F. G. Dumas, Vol. II (Paris: Motteroz, Administrateur-Directeur, Librairie des Imprimeries réunies and Ludovic Baschet, Éditeur, Librairie d’Art, 1889), 330.
- ²³⁵“Soyons de notre temps.” *Ibid.*, 331.
- ²³⁶“Classe 17. –Meubles à bon marché,” 5.
- ²³⁷*Ibid.*, 6.
- ²³⁸“Notre place n’est menacée que dans les arts industriels. La raison en est facile à concevoir: le pastiche est une affaire d’attention et d’habileté où tout le monde peut nous égaler. De plus, pastiche pour pastiche, les étrangers aiment encore mieux copier leur passé, quand ils en ont un, que le nôtre, ce qui les éloigne tout à fait de nous.” Paul Bourde, “Chronique de l’Exposition,” *Le Temps* (October 18, 1889).
- ²³⁹“Classe 17. –Meubles à bon marché,” 7.
- ²⁴⁰“Nous devons réagir au plus tôt contre grave manie qui, devenant une tendance dangereuse, au point de vue du goût national, menacerait, ce qui est plus important encore, l’avenir et la prospérité de l’exportation de nos meubles français.” *Ibid.*, 7.
- ²⁴¹“Conceptions les plus étranges et les combinaisons les plus propres à offenser le goût.” Paul Bosq, “L’Exposition de 1889,” *Le Petit Marseillais* (July 27, 1889).
- ²⁴²“On a reproché bien souvent à l’industrie du meuble de n’avoir pas su créer le style du dix-neuvième siècle; copiste admirable, elle ne crée pas. [...] Le mode, qui plie tout sous ses lois, exige impérieusement ces reconstitutions du passé.” *Ibid.*, n.p.
- ²⁴³“Un exposant de Nancy... Il cherche, il imprime son cachet à ses œuvres, il crée, et si son goût heurte souvent le mien, je lui sais gré cependant de n’être ni tapageur ni banal.” *Ibid.*, n.p.
- ²⁴⁴“Tandis que d’autres artistes s’appliquent... à reproduire les meubles des temps passés, seul, Émile Gallé invente.” [Lemaître], “Billets du Matin,” (September 27, 1889).
- ²⁴⁵“Le respect de la matière, le sentiment de la convenance entre la forme, le décor et la destination de l’objet, la fertilité d’invention, l’originalité, le sentiment poétique, l’amour du sol natal, la passion de la nature, [et] un idéal élevé.” Lamathière, “Gallé (Émile),” 360.

- ²⁴⁶«D'un caractère si français.» Ibid., 360.
- ²⁴⁷«1^o son art est naturaliste; 2^o il est national; 3^o il est symboliste et poétique.» Desjardins, “Chronique de l'Exposition,” (August 16, 1889): 2.
- ²⁴⁸«Plus généralement, les créations de M. Gallé se différencient des autres en ce qu'elles se composent dans leur entier d'éléments tirés de la nature.» Marx, *La Décoration et l'art industriel*, 26.
- ²⁴⁹«Déformation systématique de la nature.» Bourde, “Chronique de l'Exposition,” 2.
- ²⁵⁰«Grand retour à la réalité.» Ibid., 2.
- ²⁵¹Ibid., 2.
- ²⁵²«Le point de départ d'une ère nouvelle.» Ibid., 2.
- ²⁵³«Une intelligence singulièrement raffinée de la valeur d'expression propre aux matières qu'il emploie [et] une imagination qui [...] excelle à approprier la décoration d'un objet à sa destination par des symboles amusants et clairs.» Ibid., 2.
- ²⁵⁴«C'est qu'il ne suffit pas d'une superficielle imitation des choses pour en tirer tout un renouvellement de l'art. Il faut pénétrer la nature, y enfoncer, se mettre comme en son coeur pour deviner ses plans, et les dégager.» Desjardins, “Chronique de l'Exposition,” (August 16, 1889): 2.
- ²⁵⁵«Je crois, à ce propos, que Gallé serait ravi de retrouver dans John Ruskin le développement magnifique des mêmes idées. L'auteur des *Modern Painters* est si mal connu en France (et en Angleterre aussi), que l'artiste lorrain n'a pas dû le lire. S'il l'avait lu, sûrement il le citerait, tant la parenté de génie est frappante entre eux.» Ibid., 2.
- ²⁵⁶« Les choses inutiles seules sont bonnes pour l'ornement: les choses qui sont parce qu'elles sont, simplement, et en qui aucune finalité ne se montre; je veux dire les choses de la nature.» Ibid., 2.
- ²⁵⁷«Le jour où les arts industriels seront, comme les entend Gallé, [...] un moyen toujours nouveau pour l'artiste de reproduire des émotions personnelles, il n'y aura pas de raison pour que nous ne retrouvions pas... la supériorité.» Ibid., 2.
- ²⁵⁸«Aime et connaît profondément la figure des végétaux, et il excelle à exprimer le caractère propre et comme la physionomie de chaque espèce de plantes.» [Lemaître], “Billets du Matin,” (September 27, 1889).
- ²⁵⁹«[Gallé a] un sentiment exquis de la nature qui se manifeste dans la vérité avec laquelle il fait saillir les caractères des choses qu'il représente, et avec le respect qu'il a de leur physionomie individuelle.» Bourde, “Chronique de l'Exposition,” 2.
- ²⁶⁰«Une imagination qui saisit curieusement les rapports cachés des choses.» Ibid., 2.
- ²⁶¹The Viscount Eugène Melchior De Vogüé (1848-1910) was a diplomat and a writer who helped to popularize Russian literature in fin-de-siècle France. He is also known for his neo-Christian

writings. Philippé Thiébaud, "Gallé face aux critiques de son temps," in Charpentier and Thiébaud, *Gallé*, 66.

- ²⁶²“Leur a rendu une personnalité, un langage; il a retrouvé les lois mystérieuses de leurs attitudes.” Eugène Melchior De Vogüé, “A Travers l’Exposition: V. De Quelques Industries,” *Revue des deux mondes* 95 (September 1, 1889): 209.
- ²⁶³Robert John Goldwater, *Symbolism*, 1979 (Boulder, CO: Woodview Press, 1998), 7.
- ²⁶⁴“La libellule qui déploie ses élytres, le colimaçon aux cornes craintives, le houx épineux, la marguerite indiscreète, contiennent toujours, pour lui, un symbole profond, gracieux ou philosophique, moral ou instructif à mettre en ornements.” Vachon, “Le mobilier à l’Exposition,” 81.
- ²⁶⁵“Symboliste... Parfois la fantaisie du symboliste procède d’Edgar Poë et de Baudelaire; elle demande à cette matière complice des songes, le verre, de rendre des hallucinations qu’on approuverait au Chat-Noir et que signerait M. Odilon Redon.” De Vogüé, “De quelques industries,” 209. Baudelaire (1821-1867) had a significant impact on the Symbolist movement in both art and literature and published a translated edition of short stories by the American author Edgar Allan Poe (1809-1849) in 1856. See Edgar Allan Poe, *Histoires extraordinaires*, trans. Charles Baudelaire (Paris: M. Lévy, 1856). The eccentric painter Odilon Redon (1840-1916) was likewise an influential figure for the younger generation of Symbolists who came of age in the 1880s.
- ²⁶⁶“Il a... une table à jeu où il a mis plus de fantaisie que les imagiers de nos cathédrales gothiques, et des trésors d’allégories d’une subtilité à rendre jaloux M. Gustave Moreau lui-même.” Champier, “Le mobilier à l’Exposition,” 337.
- ²⁶⁷“Vous reconnaissez là, dès l’abord, une singulière disposition d’esprit. Comment la définir?... On songe aux poètes symbolistes, ces précurseurs maladifs d’un art qui, peut-être, fleurira bientôt, on songe à Richard Wagner, ce grand créateur et interprète de mythes.” Desjardins, “Chronique de l’Exposition,” (August 16, 1889): 2.
- ²⁶⁸Teodor de Wyzewa, “Notes sur la peinture wagnérienne et le Salon de 1886,” *La Revue wagnérienne* 2 (May 8, 1886): 100-113. Wyzewa was an artistic, literary, and musical critic of Polish origin and a frequent contributor to journal *La Revue wagnérienne*, founded in 1885 by Wyzewa’s friend Édouard Dujardin. Henri Dorra, *Symbolist Art Theories: A Critical Anthology* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 147.
- ²⁶⁹“Ainsi s’explique la nécessité du Réalisme dans l’art: mais non point d’un réalisme transcrivant, sans autre but, les apparences que nous croyons réelles: d’un réalisme artistique, arrachant ces apparences à la fausse réalité intéressée où nous les percevons, pour les transporter dans la réalité meilleure d’une vie désintéressée.” *Ibid.*, 102. Translation by Henri Dorra.
- ²⁷⁰“Poète-magicien.” [Lemaître], “Billets du Matin,” (September 27, 1889).
- ²⁷¹“D’autres ouvrages laissent croire, par l’abondance et la profondeur de cette fantaisie, que l’artisan lorrain s’est plutôt nourri de Shakspeare [sic], et qu’il loge dans son cerveau la machine à transformer le réel où l’on reconnaît les grands poètes.” De Vogüé, “De Quelques Industries,” 209.

- ²⁷²“Il est poète.” Desjardins, “Chronique de l’Exposition,” (August 16, 1889): 2.
- ²⁷³“C’est pourquoi, parlant de Gallé en critique littéraire, comme il convient, je me borne à remarquer que ce poète a mieux réussi dans sa tentative que ceux de ses confrères en symbolisme qui se servent du langage rythmé[,] mieux que Verlaine lui-même.” Ibid., 2.
- ²⁷⁴“J’ajouterai qu’elles ont toujours comme un arrière-goût et un parfum littéraires, car elles s’inspirent des poètes, dont elles reproduisent les plus beaux vers, en des inscriptions dont la calligraphie est à elle seule un ornement et un décor.” Énault, “Les rois de l’Exposition,” 297.
- ²⁷⁵“Pour lui, un meuble est un compagnon destiné à parler à l’âme. Il fabrique une table comme un historien écrit un livre, et il manie le bois comme un rimeur se sert des mots qui chantent.” Champier, “Le mobilier à l’Exposition,” 336.
- ²⁷⁶Champier’s description of these two strains in Gallé’s art resembles the distinction that Robert Goldwater establishes between *Gedankenmalerei*, or “thought painting,” and Symbolism. “Symbolists and thought-painters alike wanted to give pictorial form to the ‘invisible world of the psyche,’” Goldwater writes, “but where the former sought for an expressive unit of form and meaning, the latter were content to have them remain parallel: the one was true symbolism, the other merely personification or allegory.” Goldwater, *Symbolism*, 9. According to Goldwater’s discussion of these two modes of representation, Gallé’s art becomes increasingly Symbolist as the artist turns away from allegory and towards an expressive use of form and color.
- ²⁷⁷“Les artistes, les raffinés, les gens dont les yeux sont moins exercés que l’esprit, les poètes, enfin.” Champier, “Le mobilier à l’Exposition,” 336.
- ²⁷⁸“Toutes ces pièces sont marquées d’une idée.” “Classe 17. –Meubles à bon marché,” 11.
- ²⁷⁹“La vraie classification c’est celle qui sépare les hommes à idées des hommes sans idées, les créateurs des contrefacteurs, et les artistes originaux des copistes.” Desjardins, “Chronique de l’Exposition” (August 16, 1889): 2.
- ²⁸⁰“Ces procédés nouveaux... n’ont été recherchés et conquis par Émile Gallé... qu’en vue de préparer les matières exquises à l’aide desquelles il entend désormais traduire ses idées—toujours poétiques—et souvent d’une sentimentalité délicate. Sa main est au service de son âme, âme de penseur et de rêveur.” Énault, “Les rois de l’Exposition,” 296.
- ²⁸¹“Le maître lorrain, loin de limiter son ambition au plaisir des yeux, se préoccupe sans relâche de solliciter l’intérêt de l’esprit, l’éveil du sentiment par un symbolisme conforme en tous points aux aspirations de l’évolution contemporaine.” Marx, *La Décoration et l’art industriel*, 28.
- ²⁸²Paul Bourde, “Les poètes décadents,” *Le Temps* (August 6, 1885). Bourde is also the author of the review of Gallé’s furniture discussed above.
- ²⁸³“Ennemi de ‘l’enseignement, la déclamation, la fausse sensibilité, la description objective’, la poésie symbolique cherche: à vêtir l’Idée d’une forme sensible qui, néanmoins, ne serait pas son but à elle-même, mais qui, tout en servant à exprimer l’Idée, demeurerait sujette.” Jean Moréas, “Le Symbolisme,” *Le Figaro: Supplément littéraire* (September 18, 1886). Translation by Henri Dorra.

- ²⁸⁴G. Kahn, "Réponse des Symbolistes," *L'Événement* (September 28, 1886). Quoted in John Rewald, *Post-Impressionism*, 2nd ed. (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1962), 148.
- ²⁸⁵G.-Albert Aurier, "Le Symbolisme en peinture: Paul Gauguin," *Mercure de France* 2 (1891): 159-164. Quoted in Charles Harrison and Paul Wood with Jason Gaiger, *Art in Theory 1815-1900: An Anthology of Changing Ideas* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1998), 1028. Translation by H.R. Rookmaaker and H.B. Chipp.
- ²⁸⁶"Vraiment personnelles... témoignent d'une ferveur créatrice et d'un parti pris esthétique profondément émouvants." Daryl, "Chronique de l'Exposition," 2.
- ²⁸⁷"Ne sont que des prétextes à l'entrée en scène du sentiment." *Ibid.*, 2.
- ²⁸⁸"Empreinte personnelle." [Lemaître], "Billets du Matin," (September 27, 1889).
- ²⁸⁹"Un des mérites, et aussi l'un des charmes des œuvres d'Émile Gallé, c'est qu'elles sont toutes empreintes d'un sentiment éminemment personnel. Il y met beaucoup de lui-même, et l'on peut dire qu'elles sont les filles de sa pensée intime et de son cœur." Énault, "Les rois de l'Exposition," 297.
- ²⁹⁰"Rien de banal, rien de copié, c'est du Gallé." "Classe 17. –Meubles à bon marché," 11.
- ²⁹¹"Beaucoup moins des objets de fabrication industrielle que des produits de l'art le plus châtié et le plus pur." Émile Monod, *L'Exposition Universelle de 1889*, Vol. III (Paris: E. Dentu, 1890), 181-182.
- ²⁹²"S'est mis à composer, à dessiner et à *faire construire* des meubles." "Classe 17. –Meubles à bon marché," 11. Emphasis added.
- ²⁹³"Notre grand verrier," "verrier et céramiste," and "menuisier et fin ébéniste." It is interesting to note that Meyard also distinguishes between three categories of works produced by Gallé according to the level of craftsmanship involved in their making and to their cost. Meynard refers to "les menuiseries originales dans lesquelles [Gallé] a installé sa cristallerie et sa faïencerie," "ses petits meubles," and "ses meubles d'art." *Ibid.*, 11. Champier also refers to Gallé as an "ébéniste." Champier, "Le mobilier à l'Exposition," 336.
- ²⁹⁴"Un bon ouvrier du bois." Daryl, "Chronique de l'Exposition," 2.
- ²⁹⁵"Voici enfin, dans notre morne république de la division du travail, un homme qui nous fait comprendre la folie de l'art, telle que Vasari la décrit chez les maîtres florentins, alors que tourmentés par des formes trop nombreuses, ils en délivraient leur imagination avec tous les instrumens, [*sic*] sur toutes les matières, dans un besoin de création universelle et continue." De Vogüé, "De quelques industries," 209.
- ²⁹⁶"C'est toujours la patrie qu'il célèbre avec une sorte de mysticisme." Champier, "Le mobilier à l'Exposition," 337.
- ²⁹⁷"Ce sont toujours les fleurs de ses chers bois de Lorraine, et les arbres nés du sol gaulois, qui inspirent son décor." *Ibid.*, 337.

- ²⁹⁸“Amour sans bornes pour le sol natal.” Marx, *La Décoration et l’art industriel*, 26.
- ²⁹⁹[Lemaître], “Billets du Matin” (September 28, 1889).
- ³⁰⁰“Les ornements classiques des divers ordres doivent être laissés à l’Académie; l’artiste s’en va cueillir autour de Nancy les fleurs des prés et les plantes des bois.” Vachon, “Le mobilier à l’Exposition,” 81.
- ³⁰¹“Je ne connais pas, en effet, de pays plus attirant, plus enlaçant que ces campagnes discrètement accidentées et un peu tristes qui forment l’ancien territoire de la Lorraine centrale et des Trois-Evéchés. La terre est grisâtre et de tons sourds, la perspective y fait sans cesse en tournans [*sic*] en déclivités capricieuses; ce ne sont que des vallons qui se succèdent, pleins d’intimité et du frémissement des feuilles. C’est un charme qui pénètre surtout aux heures indécises, le matin, au moment de la rosée, et, le soir, à la première chauve-souris.” Desjardins, “Chronique de l’Exposition” (August 16, 1889): 2.
- ³⁰²“C’est que... à Nancy, la nature environnante est l’inspiratrice et le guide; c’est que... l’art exclusivement local, national, est le produit du sol et de la race.” Marx, *La Décoration et l’art industriel*, 52.
- ³⁰³“C’est, autant qu’il le peut, dans les arbres nés du sol gaulois, dans les arbres autochtones, qu’il ciselle avec piété les plantes arborigènes [*sic*] et les fleurs de la patrie.” [Lemaître], “Billets du Matin,” (September 28, 1889). Describing Gallé’s *Pavillon gaulois*, Desjardins writes, “La boiserie est faite uniquement avec les essences des vieilles forêts de notre sol, dont l’artiste a respecté le coloris naturel et qu’il s’est refusé à vernir.” Desjardins, “Chronique de l’Exposition” (August 16, 1889): 2. “Les bois qu’il aime à travailler sont ceux de sa province. [...] L’invariable règle de M. Gallé est de tirer la décoration de l’effet du bois, et toujours il lui conserve son aspect.” Marx, *La Décoration et l’art industriel*, 26.
- ³⁰⁴“Recherche au fond des tourbières le chêne préhistorique, plutôt que d’employer de l’ébène ou de l’acajou.” Vachon, “Le mobilier à l’Exposition,” 81.
- ³⁰⁵“Plus de laques, ni de vernis; la chair de l’arbre doit se montrer à nu, telle que le rabot ou le ciseau l’ont entaillée et polie.” *Ibid.*, 81.
- ³⁰⁶“Nationale.” Desjardins, “Chronique de l’Exposition” (August 16, 1889): 2.
- ³⁰⁷“Aime non seulement la terre, mais sa terre à lui, d’où sa race tire son origine. Il signe ses œuvres: *Gallus Nanceius faciebat*; il est de vieille famille lorraine.” Desjardins, “Chronique de l’Exposition,” (September 1, 1889): 2. In his rush to claim Gallé for Lorraine, Desjardins overstates the case a bit. While Gallé’s mother’s family had inhabited Nancy since the 17th century, Gallé’s father’s family originated in the Ile-de-France. Françoise-Thérèse Charpentier, “Ascendance lorraine de Gallé,” *Le Pays lorrain* 3 (1975): 153-154.
- ³⁰⁸“On sait quels sont, suivant le beau langage de Gallé lui-même, ‘les regrets et les espérances qui hantent ces ateliers, placés à deux pas d’une frontière factice, taillée en pleine chair française’. Cette préoccupation l’obsède sans cesse.” Desjardins, “Chronique de l’Exposition,” (September 1, 1889): 2.

- ³⁰⁹“Ce patriotisme exalté et mystique, joint à une imagination de poète et à une subtilité de scolastique, me plaît et me touche plus que je ne puis dire. [...] Il a au coeur une foi aussi ardente que les bons imagiers qui taillaient patiemment les figures de saints et les ornements minutieux des vastes cathédrales. Son travail est un acte d’amour, une prière ininterrompue.” [Lemaître], “Billets du Matin,” (September 28, 1889).
- ³¹⁰“Sentimens [*sic*] de piété française.” Desjardins, “Chronique de l’Exposition” (August 16, 1889): 2.
- ³¹¹“Cette préoccupation l’obsède sans cesse et, comme il arrive pour toutes les souffrances immatérielles, elle ennoblit son art.” Desjardins, “Chronique de l’Exposition,” (September 1, 1889): 2.
- ³¹²“Je puis parler là-dessus avec une candeur parfaite, n’ayant jamais fait partie d’aucune Ligue des patriotes, ni avant ni après, Boulanger. [...] J’avouerai donc avec tranquillité que le sentiment national ne *m’intéresse* que quand il est exquis. C’est-à-dire sensitif, profond et taciturne. Qu’on le touche seulement, et qu’il gémisses, c’est bien; mais qu’il ne parle pas, et surtout ne fasse pas de phrases! C’est ainsi que nous l’entendons, le bon Gallé et moi.” *Ibid.*, 2.
- ³¹³Seager, “The Alsace-Lorraine Question,” 117.
- ³¹⁴“Le sol français est ainsi pour lui un vrai sol... Son art s’inspire donc, ici encore, de la Nature; son amour pour sa terre natale n’est que la racine la plus déliée de son amour de la terre.” Desjardins, “Chronique de l’Exposition,” (September 1, 1889): 2.
- ³¹⁵“Pourquoi sa grande attache au pays ne vous donne-t-elle pas la moindre impatience, pas la moindre impression indiscreète, comme les choses patriotiques versifiées par M. Déroulède?” *Ibid.*, 2.
- ³¹⁶“C’est qu’elle est noble, sans doute; c’est aussi qu’elle est enveloppée, avec un art très fin, dans le mystère et le symbole.” *Ibid.*, 2. Reviews of Gallé’s work that appeared in the provincial press privilege the patriotic aspect of his art. Both *La Lorraine Artiste* and *L’Est Républicain*, a daily paper based in Nancy, reprinted excerpts from Paul Desjardin’s review, which was originally published in the *Journal des débats*. The title of the article in *La Lorraine Artiste*, “Un Lorrain à l’Exposition,” positions Gallé first and foremost as a native of Lorraine. Both articles reprint Desjardin’s lengthy commentary on the patriotic symbolism of *Le Rhin*, underscoring its relevance for contemporary audiences in Lorraine. “Un Lorrain à l’Exposition,” *La Lorraine Artiste* 7 (1889): 529-531; “La Lorraine à l’Exposition,” *L’Est Républicain* 2, no. 131 (September 14, 1889): 3.

Chapter Two

¹Thomson, *The Troubled Republic*, 176.

²The pact was signed on August 18, 1892.

³Among the gifts offered to the president on the occasion of his visit was a vase by Gallé. E. Marillac, *Les Fêtes de Nancy* (Paris: impr. L. Beillet, 1892), 22.

⁴For an account of the events surrounding Constantine’s visit, see Émile Goutière-Vernolle, *Les Fêtes de Nancy, 5, 6, 7 juin 1892* (Nancy: Imprimerie G. Crépin-Leblond, 1892), 32-34. Goutière-

Vernolle, who begins his account by railing against German newspapers for describing the festival as an expression of militant chauvinism, nonetheless personally fueled the fires of patriotism during Constantine's visit. By his own account, Goutière-Vernolle secretly informed a group of university students of Constantine's impending arrival, ensuring that they met the Grand-Duke's train when it pulled into the station in Nancy. Goutière-Vernolle's account is also peppered with military references, including the presence of onlookers bearing flags depicting the shields of Metz and Strasbourg, two annexed cities, in the crowds assembled to greet the Grand Duke.

⁵Vartier, *Histoire de Nancy*, 245.

⁶Tamara Rappe, "Un chef-d'œuvre de Gallé pour le tzar Alexandre III," *Estampille: L'objet d'art* 339 (1999): 53.

⁷"Le gouvernement vient de décider qu'une escadre russe [...] viendra au mois d'avril prochain, en France, rendre la visite que l'escadre de l'amiral Gervais a faite en 1891 à Cronstadt." *L'Est Républicain* (February 3, 1893). Quoted in Michèle Cussenot, "La table *Flore de Lorraine* d'Émile Gallé: Un cadeau de la Lorraine à la Russie," *Botanique Lorraine*, Special Issue (2000): 46.

⁸Cussenot, "La table *Flore de Lorraine*," 46.

⁹In December, both France and Russia accepted the treaty negotiated by General Boisdeffre, which was ratified by the Third Republic in January of the following year.

¹⁰Silverman, *Art Nouveau*, 159-60.

¹¹"Le devoir de la Lorraine était... de préparer une manifestation, qui complétât les fêtes officielles par l'expression solennelle et spontanée du sentiment de nos populations frontalières." Comité lorrain, *Historique de la manifestation franco-russe à l'occasion de la visite de l'escadre russe en France* (Nancy: G. Crépin-Leblond, 1894), 5.

¹²*Ibid.*, 5-6. The original twelve members consisted of Goutière-Vernolle, Alfred Krug, P. Schnéegans, Albert Barbier, Jacques Bergeret, Farrouch, Auguin, Courtois, Gérard, Ch. Keller, and Becker, in addition to a representative from each of the newspapers based in Nancy.

¹³"Il faut, dit M. Goutière-Vernolle [*sic*], que la Lorraine puisse offrir aux russes un objet auquel tout ce que notre province compte d'illustre aura participé. Un album, par exemple, qui contiendrait une adresse signée de toutes les sociétés de la Lorraine. La reliure pourrait être faite par les artistes dont les œuvres ont été si admirées au Champ de Mars de Paris; la couverture et l'écrin pourraient recevoir des motifs de bijouterie. Cette œuvre unique prouverait ainsi la vitalité de la gloire artistique de la Lorraine." *L'Est Républicain* (September 13, 1893). Quoted in Cussenot, "La table *Flore de Lorraine*," 47-48.

¹⁴Michèle Cussenot, "La table "Flore de Lorraine" d'Émile Gallé: Une œuvre militante," in "Un hommage à Émile Gallé," edited by François Le Tacon, special issue *Annales de l'Est* 55 (2005): 154.

- ¹⁵Cussenot, “La table “Flore de Lorraine,”” 154-55; Cussenot, “La table *Flore de Lorraine*,” 48, 51; Rappe, “Un chef-d’œuvre,” 53. A national subscription was launched around the same time, but the *Comité lorrain* specified that the funds it raised would go only towards the creation of gifts given on behalf of the province of Lorraine.
- ¹⁶“Enfin Émile Gallé a accepté de faire une table en mosaïque pour supporter le livre d’or.” Quoted in Cussenot, “La table “Flore de Lorraine,”” 155.
- ¹⁷Cussenot, “La table “Flore de Lorraine,”” 155.
- ¹⁸“On veut des merveilles jaillies dans une nuit comme le Palais d’Aladin. Ce n’est pas ainsi que les œuvres se doivent faire.” Émile Gallé to Roger Marx, October 15, 1893. Quoted in Charpentier, Barbier-Ludwig, and Ponton, eds., *Lettres pour l’art*, 123.
- ¹⁹*L’Est Républicain* reported on October 19th that “la table qui doit supporter le livre d’or est de M. Émile Gallé; elle n’est pas encore terminée et ne pourra vraisemblablement pas être exposée à l’hôtel de ville, mais on en dit des merveilles.” Cited in Cussenot, “La table “Flore de Lorraine,”” 155.
- ²⁰“Le plus en retard est M. Émile Gallé, qui tenant à honneur de ne livrer qu’une œuvre d’un fini parfait et digne de la haute réputation acquise par son nom, a créé—pour supporter le livre d’or—une table merveilleuse avec incrustations de métal. Cette table représente les variétés les plus diverses de la flore lorraine.” *L’Est Républicain* (October 20, 1893). Quoted in Cussenot, “La table “Flore de Lorraine,”” 155.
- ²¹“Douze ouvriers y travaillent sans désespérer et on sera ainsi parvenu à terminer, en peu de semaines, une besogne dont, en temps ordinaire, la livraison eut exigé plusieurs mois.” *L’Est Républicain* (October 20, 1893). *Ibid.*, 155.
- ²²“Ce n’est pas “à l’escadre russe” que sera décidément offerte la *Table lorraine* ni le *Livre d’or*. Monsieur de Mohrenheim estime en effet que la manifestation des 1 700 communes est digne de porter au-delà et il espère, par une dérogation exceptionnelle, les faire accepter par le Tzar. C’est lui-même qui tient à les faire parvenir. Mettez donc simplement, car ceci est entre nous, et il ne faut aucune indiscretion, “offerte au peuple russe.” Émile Gallé to Roger Marx, October 16, 1893, in Charpentier, Barbier-Ludwig, and Ponton, eds., *Lettres pour l’art*, 124.
- ²³According to Tamara Rappe, the price of *Flore de Lorraine* was 5,760 F, making it also one of the costliest gifts given to the Russian Czar. Rappe, “Un chef-d’œuvre,” 57. In addition to *Flore de Lorraine* and the *Livre d’or*, the *Comité lorrain* also commissioned a series of smaller works to be given to the Russian sailors, the admiral of the Russian Fleet, and Baron de Mohrenheim. The latter received an earthenware medallion designed by the painter Eugène Carrière, framed by d’Albret, and executed in Longwy. Admiral Avellan was in turn the recipient of an original bronze sculpture by Prouvé entitled *La Soif* (Hunger, 1893). The *Comité lorrain* also offered each of the five Russian ships a punch bowl complete with a silver spoon, glasses, and a platter. Some of the ships received a boat-shaped, Louis XV-style silver bowl, designed by E. Cardin and manufactured by Maison Daubrée, a firm of goldsmiths based in Nancy. The bowls were decorated with anchors and thistles, supported by four dolphins, and bore the arms of Lorraine and of Russia. Others received silver punchbowls based on a design by Martin and executed by the jeweler and goldsmith A. Kauffer, also from Nancy. Martin’s bowls were also ornamented with thistles and native plants. The committee offered Avellan’s officers champagne flutes

decorated with crosses of Lorraine, which were made by Daum *frères* of Nancy. The flutes, executed in enamelled crystal, bear the arms of Lorraine and of Russia as well as mottoes of cities in Lorraine, including “Plus penser que dire” and “Qui s’y frotte s’y pique.” Marius Vachon, *Les Marins russes en France* (Paris: Librairies-imprimeries réunies, 1893), 182-83. Finally, each sailor was given a commemorative portfolio decorated with the coats of arms of Lorraine and Russia. Each of these booklets contained a reproduction of the first two pages of the *Livre d’or* in both French and Russian. The Nancy firm of Berger-Levrault printed the booklets. Among the gifts, symbols associated with the province, including the cross of Lorraine, alerions, and thistles, predominated. These were often paired with the double-headed Russian eagle. In addition to the gifts commissioned by the *Comité lorrain*, several local factories also offered gifts to the visiting squadron. The owners and the employees of earthenware factories of Lunéville and St-Clement, for example, presented Admiral Avellan with a table service. (The owners of the factory in Lunéville were Keller and Guérin.) Original drawings of many of the gifts were included in the *Livre d’or*.

²⁴“Ces cadeaux furent exposés les 20, 21 et 22 octobre, au Grand Salon de l’Hôtel de Ville de Nancy, où ils furent visités par une foule innombrable de personnes, tant de la ville que des environs.” *Comité lorrain, Historique de la manifestation*, 26.

²⁵Victor Prouvé, as president of the *Association des Artistes Lorrains*, was among the members of the delegation, which included members from the different regional committees and sub-committees. *Comité lorrain, Historique de la manifestation*, 26-27. Silverman suggests that the Russian squadron visited Nancy on its tour of France, but there is no historical evidence for this assertion. Silverman, *Art Nouveau*, 164.

²⁶For an extensive list of the gifts offered to Admiral Avellan on behalf of various French cities, see Gustave Lejeal, “France et Russie,” *La Revue encyclopédique* (November 1, 1893): 633-634. The majority consisted of sculptures reproducing well-known works of art such as Marie d’Orléan’s *Jeanne d’Arc*, although some cities contributed products reflecting the renown of their local industries.

²⁷“Des œuvres exclusivement lorraines, conçues et exécutées par des artistes lorrains.” *Comité lorrain, Historique de la manifestation*, 29.

²⁸“Nous vous offrons, a ajouté à voix basse M. Goutière-Vernolle, cette marque d’affection profonde, en l’enveloppant de cette devise d’une de nos vieilles cités: *Plus penser que dire*.” The phrase “à voix basse” can also mean “to whisper,” which would further emphasize the almost furtive nature of Goutière-Vernolle’s utterance. *Comité lorrain, Historique de la manifestation*, 29-30. Goutière-Vernolle’s words recall those of Léon Gambetta, the renowned French statesman who served as Minister of the Interior in 1870-71, President of the Chamber of Deputies 1879-1881, Prime Minister 1881-82, and Minister of Foreign Affairs 1881-1882. In Gambetta’s famous speech given at Saint-Quentin on November 16, 1871, the statesman used the term “*revanche*” to refer not to a war of revenge against Germany but to the rebuilding of the French nation. Urging “a little order, a little calm,” Gambetta called for “a government adapted to [France’s] present needs and above all to the necessity for our country to regain its true role in the world.” Gambetta counseled the citizens of France to adopt a patient stance regarding Germany. “**Let us never speak of the foreigner, but let it be understood that we are always thinking of him.** Then you will be on the true road to revenge (*revanche*) because you will have acquired self-government and self-discipline,” he declared. Quoted in Seager, “Alsace-Lorraine Question,” 112.

²⁹Comité lorrain, *Historique de la manifestation*, 30.

³⁰Rappe, “Un chef-d’œuvre,” 57.

³¹*Ibid.*, 57.

³²Cussenot, “La table “Flore de Lorraine,”” 154.

³³Silverman, *Art Nouveau*, 165.

³⁴This was not the first time Gallé had created such a composition: in 1889, the artist designed a table he called *Fleurs de mon pays* (Flowers of My Country, 1889). Like *Flore de Lorraine*, the table is inscribed with the names of native plants and the places where they grow.

³⁵Rappe, “Un chef-d’œuvre,” 56.

³⁶*Ibid.*, 56.

³⁷Cussenot, “La table “Flore de Lorraine,”” 170.

³⁸“Mais tout au fond du tableau ligneux un horizon plus clair se déroule au souffle matinal, qui met en déroute les oiseaux nocturnes.” Quoted in Comité lorrain, *Historique de la manifestation*, 19.

³⁹“Flore de Lorraine—Gardez les cœurs qu’avez gagnés.”

⁴⁰“Une légende s’inscrit sous les corolles et les palmes. Elle nous dit à nous-mêmes, comme elle redira longtemps à nos amis russes: “Gardez les cœurs qu’avez gagnés.”” Quoted in Comité lorrain, *Historique de la manifestation*, 19.

⁴¹In his published description of the symbolism of *Flore de Lorraine*, Gallé explains: “Le dessus de table est une mosaïque de deux mètres de long sur un mètre de large, représentant, à l’aide de bois multicolores incrustés, les herbes caractéristiques du pays lorrain, avec la désignation de leurs noms populaires et ceux des localités où elles végètent: le *sapin* des Vosges, la *parnassie* de Remiremont, le *genêt* de Raon, la *fougère aquiline* de Cirey, etc. Ainsi, la *grande gentiane* symbolise le Donon antique et Dabo; la *merise*, le Val-d’Ajol; l’*osmonde royale*, Saint-Dié; le *lis des bois*, Domremy; la *jeanette* et l’*herbe à la Vierge*, Vaucouleurs; la *geule de lion*, Belfort. Ce buisson de *blanche épine*, qui file en bordure perlée, c’est Epinal. La *saponaire*, c’est Dombasle aux soudières géantes; la *lunaire*, Lunéville, et le *charme*, Charmes-la-Côte. Avec leurs pompons et leurs fusées de fleurs, l’*orchis militaire*, l’*orchis suave*, le *sabot de la Vierge* rappellent les villes et les bourgs sur la Moselle: Toul, Dieulouard, Frouard, Pompey, Liverdun. Et tous ces noms s’entortillent aux rameaux comme des lianes. Nancy se signe d’un *chardon* nerveux et coquet; Bruyères-le-Châtel se marque par un rameau de sa *bruyère*, et le Valtin par un brin de *myrtille*. Trois *pensées* disent Bar-le-Duc; le *châtaignier*, Châtenois; la *fléchière*, Pont-à-Mousson; le *nénuphar nain* et l’*isoètes*, Gérardmer et les lacs de la montagne. Enfin, cette touffe de *violette* des champs apporte l’offrande joyeuse du plus humble hameau: Réchicourt-la-Petite.” Cited in Comité lorrain, *Historique de la manifestation*, 19.

⁴²Cussenot, “La table “Flore de Lorraine,”” 156.

⁴³Ibid., 158.

⁴⁴Ibid., 158.

⁴⁵“Ici les orchis de Villey et de Pompey” and “se servir des chardons de Pierre-La-Treiche.” Cussenot, “La table *Flore de Lorraine*,” 60.

⁴⁶Cussenot, “La table “Flore de Lorraine,”” 157; D.A. Godron, *Flore de Lorraine*, 3 vols. (Nancy: Grimblot, Raybois et Cie., Imprimeurs-Libraires, 1843-45).

⁴⁷Cussenot, “La table “Flore de Lorraine,”” 161.

⁴⁸Ibid., 161.

⁴⁹Ibid., 163-64.

⁵⁰“Plus loin encore se devine, comme en rêve, une florule très lointaine, cataloguée par la science dans l’herbier lorrain, alors que les stations de la plante ont été détachées de la flore française; ce sont: l’*herbe du Bon-Pasteur*, au Ban de la Roche, les *carlines* au cœur d’or et d’argent, l’*androsace carnea*, puis les *anémones* des Hautes-Chaumes et du Champ-du-Feu, les *herbes amères* de Château-Salins, Vic et Marsal, le *dictamne* [*sic*] du Florimont.” Quoted in Comité lorrain, *Historique de la manifestation*, 19.

⁵¹Cussenot, “La table *Flore de Lorraine*,” 66.

⁵²Cussenot, “La table “Flore de Lorraine,”” 166.

⁵³Baïdine, “Gallé et la Russie,” 6.

⁵⁴Cussenot, “La table “Flore de Lorraine,”” 169.

⁵⁵“Un asile de mystère.”

⁵⁶“Cependant le *Livre d’Or* recouvre et cèle, comme dans un asile de mystère, une croix lorraine, fleuronée de floraisons de *dichlytras*, symbole d’union cordiale. Aux branches de la croix, s’enlacent des végétations de deuil. C’est *Le langage des fleurs et des choses muettes*... les *scabieuses* et l’*ancolie*, l’*immortelle* de Mars-la-Tour, la *rosa gallica*, la rose des Gaules, qui n’ouvre, en Lorraine, que sur le mont St-Quentin, à Metz, ses pétales de sang.” Quoted in Comité lorrain, *Historique de la manifestation*, 19.

⁵⁷Baïdine, “Gallé et la Russie,” 6.

⁵⁸Gallé writes: “Ce meuble, destiné à présenter le *Livre d’Or* de la Lorraine, est posé sur des colonnettes, fleuries de *myosotis* et frondées de *fougères* en bronze ciselé. Il est serti d’une ceinture en cuivre jaune et rosette, découpée à jours et martelée, figurant des flots marins, semés de corolles de *souvenirs*, et l’entrelacement du *pin* de Riga et du *chêne* gaulois, noués de liens de *pervenche*, avec, pour devise, l’étymologie du nom français de la fleur, *pervincio*, ce qui signifie: J’unis et j’attache.” Cited in Comité lorrain, *Historique de la manifestation*, 19.

- ⁵⁹“Nancy le 20 Octobre 1893. Émile Gallé et ses ouvriers et collaborateurs ont enfermé ce papier dans la Table offerte par la Lorraine au Peuple Russe, et qu’ils ont confectionnée dans un sentiment de fraternité et de patriotique espérance; ils espèrent que leur ouvrage de bois et de bronze sera moins durable que l’amitié et la grandeur des deux Peuples, la Russie et la France.”
- ⁶⁰“Émile Gallé à Nancy / Maître Ebéniste” and “L. Hestaux artiste peintre décorateur / de Metz.”
- ⁶¹“Certifié conforme le Vice-Président du Comité lorrain franco-russe / Ch Keller de Mulhouse / Cousin d’Émile Gallé.”
- ⁶²“J’ai oublié de vous prier, dans le cas où vous auriez l’intention bienveillante de publier le *Testimonium* enfermé par mes ouvriers dans la *Table lorraine*, de n’en rien faire; d’autres industriels peu scrupuleux pourraient être tentés de détourner à leur profit quelques ouvriers formés par moi.” Émile Gallé to Roger Marx, November 2, 1893, in Charpentier, Barbier-Ludwig, and Ponton, eds., *Lettres pour l’art*, 127.
- ⁶³“Gardez les cœurs qu’avez gagnés.”
- ⁶⁴Comité lorrain, *Historique de la manifestation*, 20.
- ⁶⁵Ibid., 19; Vachon, *Les Marins russes*, 179-181; Victor Champier, “Les cadeaux offerts à l’escadre russe,” *Revue des Arts décoratifs* 14 (1893-1894): 132-133; Roger Marx, “La Lorraine à la Russie,” *Revue encyclopédique* (November 1, 1893): 637-639; Jules Rais, “La Lorraine à la Russie,” *La Lorraine Artiste* (1894): 678-679.
- ⁶⁶Lejeal, “France et Russie,” 632.
- ⁶⁷“L’introduction de l’amour dans la politique.” E. Melchior de Vogüé, foreword to Vachon, *Les Marins russes*, ii.
- ⁶⁸Rappe, “Un chef-d’œuvre,” 56.
- ⁶⁹“Une attitude calme et recueillie.” Cussenot, “La table *Flore de Lorraine*,” 462.
- ⁷⁰“Si la guerre devait éclater plus tard, il ne faut pas qu’on puisse en imputer la responsabilité à l’entente franco-russe... Voilà pourquoi les moindres harangues à prononcer officiellement sont étudiées, châtiées, dépourvues de toute allusion capable de contenir un atome belliqueux. Voilà pourquoi les dessins, adresses, objets destinés à la Russie et au Tsar ont été soigneusement revus et corrigés—parfois à l’excès. En ce qui concerne le livre d’or lorrain, nous pourrions en fournir certains exemples... jamais la vieille devise lorraine “plus penser que dire” ne fut davantage à l’ordre du jour.” Quoted in Cussenot, “La table *Flore de Lorraine*,” 49.
- ⁷¹“Le Comité franco-russe vient de prendre connaissance de la description que je vous ai passée. Ces Messieurs, se conformant aux recommandations empressées qui leur ont été faites, m’invitent à supprimer de cette description toute allusion à l’Alsace-Lorraine. Dans le cas où vous croiriez publier quelques extraits de cette description, supprimez les deux phrases suivantes: “Plus loin

encore se devine=Florimont” “Les Scabieuses=pétales de sang”.” Émile Gallé to Roger Marx, October 15, 1893, in Charpentier, Barbier-Ludwig, and Ponton, eds., *Lettres pour l'art*, 124.

⁷²Writing in *La Revue encyclopédique*, for example, Albert Lefort declares, “Les feuilles de la “Triplice” ne sauraient évidemment s’en réjouir, mais de l’ensemble des articles et des diatribes éclos ces jours derniers il ressort avec netteté que le sens pacifique de l’accord franco-russe n’échappe à personne.” Albert Lefort, “La politique: Europe,” *La Revue encyclopédique* (November 1, 1893): 610.

⁷³“Le rapprochement intime des deux nations semblait n’avoir qu’un mobile, l’union défensive contre des adversaires communs.” De Vogüé, Foreword, ii.

⁷⁴“Et le contentement n’allait pas sans appréhensions, en Russie comme en France, chez tous ceux qui ont mission de sauvegarder l’ordre, la paix, la dignité nationale, les bonnes relations avec le dehors. N’aurait-on pas à regretter quelque intempérance chauvine dans les manifestations de notre joie, quelque fanfaronnade provocante pour d’autres, humiliante pour nous?.” Ibid., ii.

⁷⁵“Cette ivresse bien réglée.”

⁷⁶“La crue soudaine et irrésistible de ces sentiments: l’introduction de l’amour dans la politique.” Ibid., ii.

⁷⁷“Il y a là, dans la matière, qui ailleurs paraîtrait inerte, une âme. Tout, les fleurs, les feuilles, les plantes, les brindilles, les radicelles, etc., est une idée vivante, ingénieuse et pittoresque, qui dit quelque chose de tendre et d’ému, venant du cœur.” Vachon, *Les Marins russes*, 179.

⁷⁸“A peine nos hôtes ont-ils débarqué que le peuple prend la direction du mouvement; il imprime aux fêtes ce caractère imposant qu’en fait un véritable plébiscite nationale.” De Vogüé, Foreword, x.

⁷⁹In French, the word for pansy, *pensée*, also means “thought.” Like the presence of forget-me-nots in the marquetry decoration of *Flore de Lorraine*, the pansies urge Russia not to forget her ally. They also bring to mind the traditional motto “Plus penser que dire.” The description of the *Livre d’or* in the commemorative volume published by the *Comité lorrain* suggests that the figure of Lorraine is holding her hand out to offer the album to Russia. *Comité lorrain, Historique de la manifestation*, 16.

⁸⁰“La Lorraine, vêtue d’une robe de deuil, tête nue, le visage empreint d’une mélancolie souriante, appuyée sur un écusson aux armes de la province, s’incline, dans un gracieux mouvement de confiance affectueuse, vers la Russie...” Vachon, *Les Marins russes*, 178.

⁸¹Executed by Ronga, a silversmith from Nancy. *Comité lorrain, Historique de la manifestation*, 16.

⁸²Contemporaries often noted the visual similarities between the cross of Lorraine and the Russian orthodox cross, which bears an additional transverse bar set at an angle near the bottom. In an article published in *La Lorraine Artiste*, for example, F. Jacquot writes, “La *Croix de Lorraine*, n’est-elle pas la *Croix de Russie*? N’est-ce pas là un même symbole, un premier point de contact ou de fraternité entre les Lorrains et les Russes?” F. Jacquot, “Lorraine et Russie,” *La Lorraine Artiste* (1894): 609.

⁸³Cussenot, “La table *Flore de Lorraine*,” 49.

⁸⁴Cussenot, “La table “Flore de Lorraine”,” 155.

⁸⁵Blandine Otter, “Deux reliures pour *L'Art Japonais* de Louis Gonse par des artistes de l'École de Nancy,” *Revue du Louvre et des Musées de France* 56, no. 1 (2006): 64; Willa Z. Silverman, “Books Worthy of Our Era? Octave Uzanne, Technology, and the Luxury Book in *Fin-de-Siècle* France,” *Book History* 7 (2004): 266.

⁸⁶Comité lorrain, *Historique de la manifestation*, 17.

⁸⁷Silverman, *Art Nouveau*, 162.

⁸⁸Comité lorrain, *Historique de la manifestation*, 18. The innovative design of the *Livre d'or* would also have been enhanced by the more conventional appearance of a much smaller book that accompanied it. Donated by a bookseller from Nancy named Grosjean-Maupin, the volume was a luxuriously bound leather copy of Lapaix's *Armorial des Villes de Lorraine*.

⁸⁹“Les critiques formulées par Monsieur Marius Michel sur la reliure du *Livre d'or* peuvent bien être fondées, car Monsieur Marius Michel est un maître-ouvrier. Mais, s'il se place au point de vue de la reliure classique, il a tort en cette affaire. C'est avec courage et logique que nos artistes ont pris un large parti décoratif.” Émile Gallé to Roger Marx, November 2, 1893, in Charpentier, Barbier-Ludwig, and Ponton, eds., *Lettres pour l'art*, 127.

⁹⁰“Et si Monsieur M. Michel veut bien se placer aussi au point de vue patriotique, il gardera ses critiques pour le prochain Salon, parce qu'il serait mal avisé de déprécier des cadeaux offerts par nous, Français, aux Russes.” Ibid.

⁹¹“Après les propos dont j'ai été l'auditeur lors du concours de reliure de l'Union centrale, il est de toute urgence, dans l'intérêt de Wiener et de ses collaborateurs, qu'il n'expose pas une œuvre ne marquant pas un progrès décidé, sur ses précédentes reliures déjà si malveillamment accueillies ici.” Roger Marx to Émile Gallé, November 3, 1893, in Charpentier, Barbier-Ludwig, and Ponton, eds., *Lettres pour l'art*, 129.

⁹²“Je suis vivement contrarié d'avoir dans un bon sentiment de camaraderie lorraine et d'estime pour ces vaillants jeunes, agi dans un sens que vous n'approuvez pas ou qui peut vous attirer des ennuis.” Émile Gallé to Roger Marx, November 4, 1893, in Charpentier, Barbier-Ludwig, and Ponton, eds., *Lettres pour l'art*, 130.

⁹³The deputy's words are inscribed within a decorative frame designed by E. Auguin, in the style of 17th-century frontispieces. According to the organizers, the frame “emprunte tous ses éléments à la Lorraine.” The artist depicts Nancy's *Porte Saint-Georges* flanked by equestrian statues of René II and Joan of Arc. The committee noted that these three figures—St. Georges, the patron saint of both Russia and Lorraine, along with Joan of Arc and the Duke, “donnent à l'ensemble une allure très militaire et très fière.” Bas-reliefs depict the cities of Nancy and Toulon. At the bottom of the page, Auguin depicts the Czar's coat of arms, but replaces the figure of the saint on horseback with a view of Cronstadt and the Russian squadron. An inscription in the artist's hand reads, “Nancy, Cronstadt, Toulon, trois anneaux dans l'une même chaîne” (Nancy, Cronstadt, Toulon, three links in the same chain). In the words of the *Comité lorrain*, “It's purely Lorrainer art.” “C'est de l'art purement lorrain.” Comité lorrain, *Historique de la manifestation*, 11.

- ⁹⁴ “Va, livre d’or de la Lorraine, vers la Newa, vers Moscou, vers l’Oural, vers la mer Caspienne, vers l’Asie lointaine, partout où flotte le drapeau russe, porter le salut fraternel d’un peuple ami. Dis bien que, sur cette terre éminemment française, il n’y a pas une commune qui ne soit pénétrée du même sentiment. Aucun de nous n’oublie que, l’année dernière, dans une circonstance solennelle, Nancy, notre vieille Capitale, a reçu la visite du Grand Duc Constantin. Ce souvenir reste gravé au fond de nos coeurs. Nos hommages se sont partagés ce jour-là, entre le représentant de Sa Majesté l’Empereur de Russie et le Président de la République Française. Cronstadt, Nancy, Toulon, trois dates mémorables dans notre histoire, trois anneaux d’une même chaîne, gages définitifs d’amitié et de confiance entre deux généreuses nations! Nous connaissons les devoirs que nous imposent de si grands témoignages de sympathie; notre race de patriotes et de soldats saura les remplir jusqu’au bout avec fidélité!” Ibid., n.p.
- ⁹⁵ “Les Fidèles Lorrains/sont heureux de célébrer l’amitié/qui lie les deux Grandes Nations/Européennes pour l’œuvre de paix/et de justice. Unis dans un même sentiment de fierté et d’allégresse patriotiques/ils saluent avec émotion l’arrivée/d’une Escadre Russe dans la/Méditerranée. Les dix sept [sic] cent treize Communes [sic]/les cinq cent vingt Sociétés et la Presse/de Lorraine ont signé sur ce Livre/d’Or, et envoient à la noble, à la/vaillante Russie, l’affirmation/unanime de leur confiante, loyale et fraternelle affection./Vive la Russie!/Vive la France!” Ibid., n.p.
- ⁹⁶ “D’attributs lorrains.” The frames were designed by “M. Fuchs, lauréat du prix Jacquot à l’Ecole des Beaux-Arts de Nancy” and subsequently engraved and printed by Maison Royer. Ibid., 12.
- ⁹⁷ For the full list of works included as well as black and white photographs of each work, see the commemorative volume published by the *Comité lorrain*, entitled *Historique de la manifestation franco-russe*.
- ⁹⁸ “Donnèrent à la manifestation sa haute portée morale, puisqu’elles affirment l’unanimité réelle des Lorrains dans un même sentiment patriotique.” Comité lorrain, *Historique de la manifestation*, 9.
- ⁹⁹ “Profondément lorraine.” Ibid., 18.
- ¹⁰⁰ “Une œuvre d’art lorraine.” Ibid., 15.
- ¹⁰¹ “Les artistes lorrains ont été conviés à célébrer la Russie. Le génie de notre province s’est levé puissant, malgré ses plaies vives toujours. Toutes les voix se sont pour la première fois unies, depuis les jours de deuil lointains déjà, mais si proches à nos coeurs, dans un cri de fierté nationale et de patriotique reconnaissance. [. . .] Peintres, sculpteurs, mosaïstes, faïenciers, ébénistes, [et] orfèvres... ont du même coup attesté la vitalité de l’art lorrain aux inspirations si naturelles.” Rais, “La Lorraine à la Russie,” 676.
- ¹⁰² Marx’s commentary was subsequently reprinted in an article by Victor Champier, editor of the *Revue des Arts décoratifs*. See Champier, “Les cadeaux offerts à l’escadre,” 132-135.
- ¹⁰³ “La visite en France de l’escadre russe a été pour la Lorraine une occasion avidement saisie de témoigner son patriotisme fervent, de justifier le beau renom de ses industries.” Marx, “La Lorraine à la Russie,” 635.
- ¹⁰⁴ “L’hommage spécial rendu à la Russie par *une province chère entre toutes*.” Ibid., 635.

- ¹⁰⁵I will discuss the regionalist movement in Lorraine at some length in Chapter Six.
- ¹⁰⁶“Les libéralités vraiment sans pareilles de la Lorraine envers la nation amie.” Marx, “La Lorraine à la Russie,” 635.
- ¹⁰⁷“Des dons à tous égards d’exceptionnelle importance.” Ibid., 636.
- ¹⁰⁸“Inspirés par le plus pur patriotisme” and “d’absolus chefs-d’œuvre dont l’école française et l’art moderne se peuvent engorgueillir.” Ibid., 636.
- ¹⁰⁹“Leur maîtrise a montré à souhait combien la technique renouvelée de la mosaïque s’accommode excellemment des représentations héraldiques.” Ibid., 636.
- ¹¹⁰“Pour incarner le pays de Lorraine, pour en évoquer l’âme, les souvenirs, les aspirations, pour marquer le pieux attachement à la mère patrie, point d’allégorie poncive, point de figures à gestes tragiques, à attitudes déclamatoires. Il s’agit bien, n’est-ce pas, de chanter le coin de terre ancestral? A cette célébration l’herbier de la province doit suffire.” Ibid., 639.
- ¹¹¹“Il a fallu, pour y parvenir, l’émulation enthousiaste de tout un atelier enfiévré de patriotisme, un travail acharné diurne et nocturne, poursuivi sans trêve, avec la conscience de l’accomplissement d’une tâche haute; et l’idée a été belle de convier les vaillants ouvriers alsaciens ou lorrains, coopérateurs de l’œuvre, à apposer leurs signatures au bas de son acte de naissance, à proclamer, sur le parchemin scellé dans le meuble, la foi qui les anima, l’Espoir qui les soutint durant leur opiniâtre effort.” Ibid., 640.
- ¹¹²“Précieux contours,” “exquises ciselures,” “marqueteries savantes,” and “génie délicat et troublant.” Rais, “La Lorraine à la Russie,” 678.
- ¹¹³“Ce dessin simple et honnête, inscrit dans les bons bois français, a une éloquence que n’aurait pas l’or, que ne sauraient avoir des ornements riches, et, dans la disposition où ont dû le mettre les fêtes françaises offertes à ses marins, je suis persuadé que l’esprit mystique de l’Empereur sera sensible à tout ce que vous avez mis en votre œuvre.” Cited in Champier, “Les cadeaux offerts à l’escadre,” 135.
- ¹¹⁴“Certes, le charmeur captivant qu’est Émile Gallé a de quoi être satisfait, car sa Table au sort glorieux, destinée à l’empereur de Russie, par sa claire, expressive et puissante signification, a remué les cœurs français. [. . .] L’âme du peuple s’épanouissant dans une simple table, chef-d’œuvre tout moderne de vibrante sensibilité, voilà qui vaut mieux, on l’avouera, que le meilleur pastiche des perfections anciennes!” Ibid., 135.
- ¹¹⁵“Beau jet d’un décor primesautier et libre, une interprétation de la flore toute personnelle, et des harmonies, des associations de nuances d’une ineffable douceur.” Marx, “La Lorraine à la Russie,” 640.
- ¹¹⁶“Quel idéiste est parvenu à tirer du domaine agreste la matière des plus élevés symboles?” Ibid., 640.
- ¹¹⁷“Un Lorrain, tout à la dévotion de sa Lorraine, un Lorrain qui n’oublie ni ne se console.” Ibid., 640.

- ¹¹⁸“Des végétations de deuil.”
- ¹¹⁹“Et n’est-il pas à la fois plaisant et douloureux de songer que de toute la Lorraine, la *rosa gallica*, la rose de France mystérieusement éclore aux bras de la croix lorraine, n’ouvre qu’aux flancs du Mont-Saint-Quentin, à Metz, dans le Reichsland, ses pétales de sang?” Rais, “La Lorraine à la Russie,” 679.
- ¹²⁰“Plus loin encore se devine, comme en rêve, une florule, cataloguée par la science dans l’herbier lorrain, alors que les stations de la plante ont été détachées de la flore française.” Ibid., 679.
- ¹²¹“J’unis et j’attache.” Ibid., 678.
- ¹²²“Union cordiale.” Ibid., 679.
- ¹²³“En des œuvres qui vaincront le temps, ont fixé des sentiments que le temps, sans doute, ne brisera pas.” Ibid., 676.
- ¹²⁴“Les artistes, par une précieuse collaboration, y ont fixé nos sentiments, nos rêves, --et nos souvenirs.” Ibid., 676.
- ¹²⁵“C’est la petite fleur de Lorraine qui dira là-bas, bien loin, l’amertume de nos deuils, le réconfort de nos espoirs, l’effusion confiante de nos cœurs.” Ibid., 639.
- ¹²⁶McMillan, “Introduction,” 8-9. *Flore de Lorraine* did not mark the end of Gallé’s involvement with the Russian Imperial family, however. Two vases by Gallé figured among the diplomatic gifts presented to Nicholas II and his wife, Empress Alexandra Fyodorovna during their visit to Paris in 1896. Tamara Rappe, “Art and Diplomacy in the Reign of Alexander III and Nicholas II,” in *Art Nouveau Under the Last Tsars*, exh. cat. (Amsterdam: The Hermitage, 2008), 40. The vases, which depict orchids, bear engraved verses by the poet Émile Hinzelin and are mounted in gold settings by L. Falize. The works were not made specifically for the Czar but rather purchased from one of Gallé’s clients. That same year, Gallé obtained a personal audience with the Czarina, who subsequently purchased one of his vases, during a visit to Hanover. Baïdine, “Gallé et la Russie,” 9. On the occasion of President Félix Faure’s state visit to Russia in 1897 and President Émile Loubet’s visit in 1902, works by Gallé again numbered among those presented to the Czar. T. Rappe, “Les présents offerts par la Lorraine à la Russie,” in *Orchidées lorraines... Émile Gallé et les frères Daum*, exh. cat. (St. Petersburg: The Hermitage, 1999), 111. Among the gifts presented by President Loubet was the vase *Passiflora*, which depicts a passion flower. It is clear that Gallé’s works were considered prestigious and desirable diplomatic gifts, perhaps as much for their beauty as for the way in which they were believed to distill the essence of a native French style.

Chapter Three

- ¹“*Qvis et me inqvit, miseram, et te perdidit Orphev Qvis tantus fvrer? En itervm crvdelia retro Fata vocant, condit qve natantia lumina Somnvs. Virg.*” Virgil, *Georgics*, Vol. IX, Book 11, lines 494-496. Trans. Arthur S. Way, *The Georgics of Virgil* (London: Macmillan, 1912). Quoted in William Warmus, *Émile Gallé: Dreams into Glass* (Corning, NY: Corning Museum of Glass, 1984), 32.

²“Ne retournez plus/En arrière/Ce serait me perdre deux fois/et pour toujours.” Trans. William Warmus.

³Warmus, *Émile Gallé*, 32.

⁴“Tantôt, par la superposition de couches de cristaux, diversement colorés dans leur masse, intaillés et ciselés, l’artiste détache en relief des ornements dont les nuances semblent se jouer sur des dessous mystérieux. Parmi les plus beaux spécimens de ce type si remarquable, je citerai un grand vase... qui ressemble à un gigantesque camée, fait d’un bloc d’onyx nuageux. L’artiste a choisi pour motif du décor: Orphée perdant Eurydice. L’exécution du morceau est au dessus de tout éloge. Les chairs sont gravées en intaille dans une couche de cristal argentin. L’agate brune et l’onyx noir se combinent dans l’arrangement des vêtements. Les tons bitumineux des terrains, au pied du vase, se vaporisent en s’élevant, et finissent par courir dans les hauteurs en nuées roussâtres et enflammées.” Énault, “Les rois de l’Exposition,” 296.

⁵“A-t-il mêlé au cristal, pur comme le cristal de roche, des veines noirâtres, fuligineuses, plus sombres que celle de la sardoine, il évoque avec cela les fleuves de poix du Styx, de l’Achéron, et l’“ombre irrévocable”; alors, cette fois, c’est Orphée perdant Eurydice, qu’il grave au diamant sur sa buire, et la gravure en est fine comme un Benvenuto entaillé dans l’onyx, et le chantre se penche, tendant les bras, laissant échapper sa lyre, et le fantôme cher se dissipe déjà, sa chevelure dénouée devient déjà brouillard; elle se mêle aux vapeurs infernales et à l’“illusoire nuit.”” Desjardins, “Chronique de l’Exposition,” (September 1, 1889): 2.

⁶“Un vase de forme ancienne montre Orphée perdant la seconde fois Eurydice. La scène se passe sur les rives du Styx. Tous les détails en sont tirés de colorations noires et couleur fumée. L’artiste a placé encore ici une allusion à ses préoccupations patriotiques: “Ne retourne plus en arrière, ce serait me perdre deux fois et pour toujours.”” Marie Raffalovitch, “Exposition universelle de Paris 1889: Les Arts Exquis,” *Le Journal de Saint-Pétersbourg*, no. 131 (May 31-June 1, 1889): n.p. Marie Raffalovitch is most likely the pseudonym of M.A. Raffalovitch, a Russian economist, member of the Russian Ministry of Finance based in Paris, and vice-president of the Imperial Commission at the *Exposition universelle* of 1900. Valery Baïdine, “Gallé et la Russie,” *Arts nouveaux*, no. 15 (1999): 9.

⁷A term usually employed to describe ceramics, lithophane is porcelain decorated with embossed figures that appear only in transmitted light. Warmus, *Émile Gallé*, 39.

⁸Gallé, “Notice sur la production de verres,” 346. Translated by William Warmus.

⁹Warmus, *Émile Gallé*, 38-39.

¹⁰“La/Paix qu’il [sic]/faut c’est/qu’ils s’en/retourent/chez eux.”

¹¹Gerd Krumeich, “Joan of Arc between right and left,” in Tombs, 64. The publication of the complete text of Joan’s trials, by Jules-Étienne Quicherat (1814-1882) appeared in Latin in 1841. See Jules Quicherat, *Procès de condamnation et de réhabilitation de Jeanne d’Arc, dite la Pucelle*, 5 vols. (Paris: J. Renouard, 1841-1849). A version in French was published in 1868. Ernest O’Reilly, *Les deux Procès de condamnation, les enquêtes et la sentence de réhabilitation de Jeanne d’Arc* (Paris: Plon, 1868). The study of these and other sources suggesting that Charles II and his advisers were content to negotiate with the Burgundians rather than seek the liberation of France

led some left-wing historians to interpret Joan's struggle through the lens of populist republicanism.

¹²Ibid., 65.

¹³Jules Michelet, *Histoire de France*, Vol. 5 (Paris: L. Hachette, 1841).

¹⁴Michel Winock, "Joan of Arc," in Nora, ed., *Rethinking France*, 456.

¹⁵In Martin's view, the Celtic soul is aligned with the democratic spirit of the people, rather than the Germanic spirit of the French nobles. The idea of Joan as a Celtic or even Gallic heroine is also clearly at play in contemporary works such as Émile Chatrousse's monument *Aux martyrs de l'indépendance nationale* (To the Martyrs of National Independence, 1870), where Joan appears alongside Vercingetorix as the savior of the French nation. Ibid., 456.

¹⁶Neil McWilliam, "Conflicting Manifestations: Parisian Commemoration of Joan of Arc and Etienne Dolet in the Early Third Republic," *French Historical Studies* 27, no. 2 (Spring 2004): 394.

¹⁷Winock, "Joan of Arc," 441.

¹⁸In the face of increasing anti-clericalism following the establishment of the Third Republic, Catholics were quick to claim Joan for their own. In 1869, Félix Dupanloup, Bishop of Orleans, urged her canonization in a letter to the pope. Joan of Arc achieved beatification, the first step in her eventual canonization, in 1894. A papal bull issued in 1909 established her sanctity, and Joan was canonized in 1920. The Republican and Catholic visions of Joan clashed during celebrations marking the anniversary of Voltaire's death in 1878. Militant Catholics believed that the 18th-century philosopher, who had penned a irreverent poem entitled *La Pucelle* in 1755, had sullied the memory of their heroine with his satirical work. Both Catholic and Republican anticlerical activists planned demonstrations to take place in front of a statue of Joan on the Place des Pyramides, only to have the planned demonstrations banned by the State. Radical Republicans continued to view Joan as a woman of the people who betrayed by Church and Crown. In their eyes, Joan was republican in all but name. Moderate Republicans, however, attempted to use Joan's memory to unite separate factions of French society. Raymond Poincaré (1860-1934), who served as the minister of public instruction in 1893, declared that "Joan can unite all the French people through all the fundamental values of patriotism... because she represents the passionate desire for the independence and greatness of the nation." Lanery d'Arc, *Le Livre d'Or de Jeanne d'Arc* (Paris: Leclerc & Corniau, 1894), 359. Quoted in Krumeich, "Joan of Arc," 71. Images of Joan proliferated in painting and sculpture in the decades following the Franco-Prussian War. Many painters, including Jean-Jacques Scherrer and Edmond Aman-Jean, depicted Joan's triumphal entry into Orleans. Such depictions were more easily assimilated into a Republican narrative that presented Joan as the defender of the French nation. More often than not, artists avoided the depiction of the Joan's visions, the most controversial aspect of her story for contemporary audiences. Marck Zgórnjak, "Autour du Salon de 1887: Matejko et les Français," in *Jeanne d'Arc: Les tableaux de l'Histoire 1820-1920*, exh. cat. ([Rouen]: Musées ville de Rouen; Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 2003), 76.

¹⁹McWilliam, "Conflicting Manifestations," 395.

²⁰Ibid., 397.

²¹“Le saint laïque de la France” and “la patronne toujours chérie d’une nation à qui ton souvenir et ton exemple assurent une éternelle justice.” Vartier, *Histoire de Nancy*, 243.

²²Winock, “Joan of Arc,” 458.

²³In 1876, Gallé created a ceramic font for holy water entitled *Hoc signo vinces* (By This Sign You Will Conquer, 1876), his only overtly Catholic portrayal of Joan. According to legend, Constantine I adopted the phrase *Hoc signo vinces* as his motto after witnessing a mystical symbol, the chi ro, appear in the sky before the Battle of Milvian Bridge (312 CE). In *Hoc signo vinces*, Gallé replaces the chi ro with the cross of Lorraine, which provides both the form of the central composition and the decorative motif of the background. Fleurs-de-lys also decorate the font, suggesting Joan’s purity but also standing in for the nation of France. The fleur-de-lys, the crown, and the sword are also elements of Joan’s coat of arms. Marie, “Patriotisme et décor symbolique,” 223. A slightly later earthenware cachepot, entitled *The Ride of Joan of Arc*, depicts the heroine in a similarly medievalizing style (fig. 127). Although not represented waging battle, the figure of Joan is nonetheless shown wearing armor, indicating her status as a warrior. The cachepot bears an inscription reading, “Je say bien qu’il seront mis hors de France, sauf ceux qui y périront/Jeanne d’Arc, 1425” (“I know that they will be expelled from France, except for those who will die here.”).

²⁴“M. Gallé est deux fois lorrain, lorrain de naissance et lorrain de cœur. Un jour qu’il travaillait au décor d’un grand cornet, Jeanne d’Arc à la tête de la chevalerie française lui est apparue, poussant son fameux cri de guerre “La paix qu’il y faut, c’est qu’ils s’en retournent chez eux.” Cette apparition est consignée sur le grand camée transparent qui orne une des faces du cornet, avec l’exergue du cri de guerre.” Raffalovitch, “Exposition universelle de Paris 1889,” n.p.

²⁵“Sur un autre de ses ouvrages... est représentée la sainte fille de Domrémy, qu’on peut bien appeler la Lorraine (ou la France) incarnée. Le cristal en est épais, résistant à l’œil, rehaussé d’émaux en relief d’un noir de rouille; en haut, des fers de lance, modelés vigoureusement à la taille, puis repris et rongés par l’acide; sur le corps du vase, des entrelacs dans le style architectural du quinzième siècle, de la même nuance ténébreuse et enfin niché au creux d’une ogive, un groupe héroïque dont les premiers plans sont gravés en camée et les derniers, fuyans [*sic*] et translucides, en vitrail... Ce groupe, c’est un gros d’hommes d’armes, et au milieu d’eux la guerrière levant l’épée d’un geste terrible et religieux.” Desjardins, “Chronique de l’Exposition,” (September 1, 1889): 2.

²⁶“De la gangue épaisse Sagesse pourrait Comme un vase pur M’extraire.”

²⁷Husson, “Les assiettes patriotiques,” 35.

²⁸Alistair Duncan and Georges de Bartha, *Glass by Gallé* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., Publishers, 1984), 29.

²⁹*Ibid.*, 29.

³⁰“D’autres fois encore Gallé relève la tête. Il adresse aux destinées un signe anxieux d’interrogation. “C’name po tojo?” dit-il dans le patois de son pays; “Ce n’est pas pour toujours?”—Et il exprime son idée par un vase de verre dont la base est toute sombre et où des fleurs, sorties de cette nuit,

montent enfin s'épanouir dans un cristal inespérément limpide..." Desjardins, "Chronique de l'Exposition" (September 1, 1889): 2.

³¹"Une immense veilleuse comme voilée d'une gaze de soie noire, bordée de caractères franco-arabes en émail bleu translucide et or mat." Gallé, "Notice sur la production de verres," 347.

³²Stefano Carboni, "Glass Production in the Islamic World: A Historical Overview," *Glass of the Sultans*, ed. Stefano Carboni and David Whitehouse (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 6.

³³Ibid., 5.

³⁴Stefano Carboni, "Painted Glass," in Carboni and Whitehouse, 206.

³⁵David Whitehouse, "Imitations of Islamic Glass," in Carboni and Whitehouse, 298.

³⁶Ibid., 299.

³⁷J'ai cultivé aussi les couleurs à reflets en les associant aux émaux durs des Arabes. [...] Mon rapport au jury de l'Union centrale sur mon envoi lui signalait, en 1884, quelques émaux translucides, alors nouveaux, distincts des émaux employés dans le vitrail, comme du bel émail bleu limpide des Arabes." Gallé, "Notice sur la production de verres," 342-343.

³⁸Garner, *Gallé*, 95.

³⁹"Et ainsi, telle veilleuse dont le décor en seul émail opaque n'eût donné son effet que de jour, ce qui est un contresens, pourra, grâce à l'association de ces fondants colorés, scintiller à la lumière artificielle de tous les feux du rubis et du diamant." Gallé, "Notice sur la production de verres," 343.

⁴⁰Carboni and Whitehouse, 231.

⁴¹"Espoir / Et ma lumière / Elle luit au fond des maux."

⁴²Duncan and de Bartha, *Glass by Gallé*, 132.

⁴³Ibid., 133.

⁴⁴The phrase "en bon espoir," for example, accompanies Gallé's signature on the base of *Le Rhin*. The artist himself refers to "les regrets et les espérances qui hantent nos ateliers." Gallé, "Notice sur la production de menuiserie," 359.

⁴⁵Desjardins, "Chronique de l'Exposition, (September 1, 1889): 2.

⁴⁶"D'autres fois encore Gallé relève la tête. Il... compose une veilleuse en émail bleu translucide, il la voile d'un réseau noir de crêpe, puis, en prévision de la flamme qui y sera allumée et qui brillera au travers comme une timide étoile, il y inscrit: '*Espoir me luit au travers des maux*'." Ibid., 2.

⁴⁷"Par exemple, lorsque le poète (c'en est un) écrit simplement: "Ce n'est pas pour toujours", ce trait caché pénètre mieux que s'il criait: "Revanche, revanche!" sur les places." Ibid., 2.

- ⁴⁸“Chef d’école... un maître incontestable de la verrerie décorative et artistique de l’époque actuelle.”
Henrivaux, “La verrerie à l’Exposition universelle de 1889,” 184.
- ⁴⁹“M. Vidié s’honore à répandre le nouveau style de la verrerie française, et, grâce à ce style, nous voici naturellement ramené à ses inventeurs, à M. Rousseau-Leveillé, à M. Émile Gallé, de Nancy.”
Roger Marx. “L’art à l’Exposition: La verrerie (suite),” *L’Illustration* (August 17, 889): 127.
- ⁵⁰“Un art nouveau a été créée, art bien personnel et véritablement original, dans lequel l’habile praticien a trouvé des imitateurs, même à l’étranger, –on couramment aujourd’hui le *genre Gallé*, –mais dans lequel il ne recontera pas de rivaux.” Édouard Garnier, “La céramique architecturale et décorative, la faïence, les grès, le verre, la mosaïque,” in *Exposition universelle de 1889: Les beaux-arts et les arts décoratifs, L’art français rétrospectif au Trocadéro*, ed. Alfred de Lostalot and Louis Gonse (Paris: *Le Temps*, 1890), 506. Garnier’s article first appeared as “Les Industries d’art: la céramique architecturale et décorative, fa faïence, les grès, le verre, la mosaïque,” *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (December 1, 1889): 561-582.
- ⁵¹“La France n’a plus rien à redouter sous ce rapport dans nations rivales.” Garnier, “La céramique architecturale et décorative,” 506.
- ⁵²“On doit à M. Gallé et à quelques autres exposants d’avoir affirmé la supériorité de l’art français, pour la souplesse des tailles, l’originalité des compositions, leur caractère personnel, leur note idéale et poétique.” Picard, ed., *Exposition universelle*, 54. Picard (1844-1913) is described as “Inspecteur général des ponts et chaussées, président de section au conseil d’état.”
- ⁵³“De notre côté, l’on a pu voir des oeuvres innovées, tirées d’un fond personnel, joignant à un idéal élevé une conception toute moderne du décor. Le sentiment poétique, les réminiscences littéraires, l’emploi du symbolisme, parfois un patriotisme ému et discret, y jouent un rôle plus grand que l’abus d’un façonnage stérile.” “Classe 19. –Cristaux, verrerie et vitraux. –M. de Luynes, président, ses collègues du jury, rapporteurs,” in *Exposition universelle internationale de 1889 à Paris*, 167.
- ⁵⁴“Les travaux de MM. Didron, Clémandot, le *Rapport de la commission d’enquête sur la situation des industries d’art*, l’Exposition de l’*Union centrale* en 1884, ont montré la verrerie florissante, s’enorgueillissant d’artistes individuels égaux en mérite aux Beroviero, aux Hirschvogel, aux Schwanhard.” Didron and Clémandot were the authors of the official report on the glass exhibited at the *Universelle universelle* in 1878, published in *Exposition universelle de 1878, à Paris: Rapports du jury international, Groupe III* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1880-82). Marx. “L’art à l’Exposition: La verrerie (suite),” 127.
- ⁵⁵“L’effort épuisant, meurtrier, de l’insufflation buccale.” Marx, “L’art à l’Exposition: La verrerie (suite),” 127.
- ⁵⁶“Si, au seul point de vue de l’art, et malgré une ou deux exceptions extrêmement brillantes, l’exposition de la verrerie, en 1889, n’a pas été aussi remarquable qu’en 1878, il est juste cependant de dire qu’au point de vue de la fabrication, nos verriers ont fait preuve des plus extraordinaires progrès.”
Henrivaux, “La verrerie à l’Exposition,” 169.
- ⁵⁷*Ibid.*, 171, 174.

- ⁵⁸“L’Exposition de 1889... a témoigné de ce fait que le *verre* était en train de subir des transformations aussi nombreuses que singulières, en se pliant aux exigences de nos besoins de plus en plus variés et raffinés. [...] Bref, le fer et le verre, voilà les agents qui, je le crois, caractériseront le XXe siècle et lui donneront leur nom.” Ibid., 169-70.
- ⁵⁹“De toutes parts, dans les façons de concevoir et d’exécuter, ce ne sont que perfectionnements, tentatives d’affranchissement, abandon définitif des formules surannées.” Marx. “L’art à l’Exposition: La verrerie (suite),” 127.
- ⁶⁰“Il est beau à M. Brocart [*sic*] d’avoir “retrouvé la lampe d’Aladin” et emperlé d’émail, trente années durant, avec une incomparable technique, des entrelacs et des dentelles à l’entour des buires, des vasques et des bassins, mais que l’heure est sonnée de se risquer hors de l’Arabie et de la Perse à la découverte de sentes plus voisines de la terre de France.” Ibid., 127.
- ⁶¹“M. Brocard a reproduit avec le plus grand succès les dessins retrouvés sur les vases arabes, coupes de mosquées, brûle-parfums, etc. Le seul regret éprouvé en examinant ces magnifiques produits, c’est de constater le peu de variété des dessins, des couleurs, des émaux, et même des formes ainsi décorées. Ce genre a été imité, et dépassé, en ce sens que l’on est arrivé à une profusion de décors et de couleurs telle que le verre disparaît et qu’il est souvent difficile de reconnaître la matière sur laquelle ces couleurs, ces émaux, ont été appliqués.” Henrivaux, “La verrerie à l’Exposition universelle,” 173.
- ⁶²“L’alchimie de ce “lapidaire faussetier” métamorphose en pierres dures la substance vitreuse. Il sait façonner à son gré des sardoines, des onyx, simuler les fêlures des quartz, l’ambre cendrée, le tachetage de l’écaille; puis l’envie l’aiguillonne d’emprisonner dans le cristal le fuyant, l’insaisissable: la vapeur des nuages, le suintement des buées, l’écho assourdi des reflets, les fumées ondoyantes, les clartés lunaires... La science l’a pourvu d’une palette aux teintes atténuées et rares: vert d’eau dormante, blanc crémeux de chair nacrée, jaune éteint, rose tendre, gris duveteux, bleu paon.” Marx, *La Décoration et l’art industriel*, 55.
- ⁶³“Leur alliance avec tous les émaux précédemment décrits a permis à M. Gallé d’imiter la nature, de donner sur la même pièce, aux élytres d’un scarabée, aux yeux d’une libellule des reflets d’acier et d’azur, et à l’aile soulevée, la diaphanéité des tissus vivants, quelquefois même celle des gouttes de rosée.” Henrivaux, “La verrerie à l’Exposition,” 183.
- ⁶⁴“Dans ces colorations qui résultent... M. Gallé trouve des arborisations, des algues et des plantes au feuillage délicat, des phalènes et des libellules aux ailes argentées, des poissons ou des crustacés qu’il met à nu.” Garnier, “La céramique architecturale et décorative,” 507.
- ⁶⁵“Ces masses colorées, en sortant du feu, lui parlent un langage que lui seul comprend d’abord, et qu’il traduit bientôt en fantaisies d’une poésie charmante accompagnées le plus souvent de pensées originales, de citations empruntées aux poètes ou d’inscriptions vibrantes de patriotisme, qui communiquent une sorte de vie à ces œuvres d’un art si particulier.” Ibid., 507.
- ⁶⁶“La caractère *symboliste* de l’art d’Émile Gallé, sa puissance de suggérer parce qu’il montre plus qu’il ne montre, et de faire tenir l’insaisissable, l’indéfini, dans des formes finies.” Desjardins, “Chronique de l’Exposition,” (September 1, 1889): 2.

⁶⁷“Enfin une faune, une flore exotiques, irréelles, s’échappant hors du creuset comme tout une création miraculeusement délicate et vivante qui jaillirait d’un cratère de volcan.” Ibid., 2.

⁶⁸“Je fais des semailles brûlantes, dit Gallé; je vais cueillir ensuite à la molette mes floraisons paradoxales.” Ibid., 2.

⁶⁹“Un seul cerveau, une seule imagination a conçu des ouvrages si diversement touchants.” Marx, *La Décoration et l’art industriel*, 59.

⁷⁰Silverman, *Art Nouveau*, 209.

⁷¹Ibid., 208.

⁷²Fleck, “Émile Gallé,” in “Un hommage à Émile Gallé,” 142; François Le Tacon, “Les collaborateurs de Gallé à Meisenthal,” *Arts nouveaux* 13 (1997): 7. Previously, Charles Gallé had purchased his glass primarily from the Parisian companies Choisy-le-Roy, Saint-Denis, and Pantin and then from companies located in Lorraine, including Baccarat and Saint-Louis

⁷³“La pensée qui conçoit et la fabrique à laquelle il s’adresse est le bras qui exécute.” Quoted in Fleck, “Émile Gallé,” 142.

⁷⁴Ibid., 143; Le Tacon, “Les collaborateurs de Gallé,” 7.

⁷⁵*Meisenthal, berceau du verre Art Nouveau*, exh. cat. (Meisenthal: Musée-Maison du Verre et du Cristal, 1999), 15.

⁷⁶Le Tacon, “Les collaborateurs de Gallé,” 8.

⁷⁷*Meisenthal, berceau du verre*, 16. Charles Gallé employed a total of four engravers: Émile Lang, Sr., Mercier, Sr., Guy Anaïs, and Ferdinand Schmittberg, a native of Bohemia.

⁷⁸Le Tacon, “Les collaborateurs de Gallé,” 8.

⁷⁹Ibid., 8.

⁸⁰Ibid., 6.

⁸¹Jules S. Traub, *The Glass of Désiré Christian, Ghost for Gallé* (Chicago: Art Glass Exchange, 1978), 21. According to François Le Tacon, Christian was employed to work part-time on Charles Gallé’s commissions as early as 1866 or 1867. Le Tacon, “Les collaborateurs de Gallé,” 9.

⁸²*Meisenthal, berceau du verre*, 18-19; Le Tacon, “Les collaborateurs de Gallé,” 9. According to Le Tacon, it is not impossible that Christian occasionally created his own designs to decorate Gallé’s works, but no drawings signed by him have been found. Early members of Gallé’s design studio included Gengoult Prouvé, Louis Cayon, and later, Louis Hestaux, who would become head of the design studio.

⁸³Le Tacon, “Les collaborateurs de Gallé,” 10. Gallé also collaborated with the master glassmakers George Franckhauser and Jacques Joseph Stenger.

⁸⁴Fleck, “Émile Gallé,” 146.

⁸⁵Ibid., 150.

⁸⁶*Meisenthal, berceau du verre*, 22.

⁸⁷Fleck, “Émile Gallé,” 148.

⁸⁸Ibid., 149.

⁸⁹Traub, *The Glass of Désiré Christian*, 27; Le Tacon, “Les collaborateurs de Gallé,” 11. Details of the contract originally appeared in an article by Paul Schulz published in the journal *Die Werkkunst* in 1905-06. According to Le Tacon, Schulz may have obtained the contract from Désiré Christian or his son Armand. Émile Gallé’s personal copy of the contract is in the collection of the Musée d’Orsay.

⁹⁰The full text of the signed contract reads: “La verrerie de Meisenthal s’engage vis à vis de Monsieur Gallé à lui faire faire, tant que cela ne sort pas de la compétence de l’usine, tous les articles en verre uni, gravé ou taillé, sur ses dessins, dans ses moules et sur ses indications spécialisées. Aucun de ses modèles ne sera donné par l’usine à d’autres clients. Les décors seront exécutés par Monsieur Désiré Christian, leur artiste peintre. Par contre M. Gallé s’engage, dans l’intérêt de l’usine et des ouvriers décorateurs, d’alimenter d’un travail régulier l’atelier existant de peinture de l’usine; dans ce cas le peintre Christian maintient sa position existante et s’engage envers les deux parties à ne pas user de son art et de son savoir envers un tiers, soit comme invention de procédés et de perfectionnement d’émaux et autres applications sur le verre et cuits au feu de moufle. M. Christian se réserve que s’il trouvait une innovation et qu’après l’avoir présentée aux deux parties contractantes, ces dernières refusant de les accepter, il sera libre d’en faire ce que bon lui semble. Néanmoins l’usine aura la latitude de décorer, comme par le passé, son verre, sans naturellement copier, transformer ou imiter le verre de Gallé. Sur les articles qualifiés ordinaires la raison sociale Burgun, Schverer & Cie donne à M. Émile Gallé une remise de vingt pour cent (20 %) et le transport franco frontière. Les services de table décorés émaillés ne feront pas partie des articles qualifiés ordinaires. La qualification ordinaire comporte les articles de coloris ou de taille dont le prix de façon est au-dessous des deux tiers du prix du décor. Ces Messieurs, ainsi que les voyageurs et représentants de l’usine, garderont vis-à-vis du public, au sujet des productions de M. Gallé, la plus grande discrétion.” Quoted in Le Tacon, “Les collaborateurs de Gallé,” 10.

⁹¹“Les voyageurs et représentants de l’usine garderont vis-à-vis du public, au sujet des productions de M. Gallé, la plus grande discrétion.” Fleck, “Émile Gallé,” 148.

⁹²“Nuage qui avait, un instant, obscurci notre amitié.” Le Tacon, “Les collaborateurs de Gallé,” 8.

⁹³*Meisenthal, berceau du verre*, 22. A muffle kiln is used to refire glass or porcelain objects at a low temperature, between 700 and 900 degrees Celsius, in order to add enamel or gilt decoration or to create a luster effect.

⁹⁴Fleck, “Émile Gallé,” 151. Burgun would stay in Nancy until 1898 or 1899 and Schaeffer until at least 1897.

⁹⁵Traub, *The Glass of Désiré Christian*, 27. Nonetheless, the artist did not sever all ties with Burgun, Schverer & Co. In 1900, Gallé owned 14 shares of the company, and Désiré Christian was among the first members of the *École de Nancy*, founded in 1901.

⁹⁶“Ses prétentions et prix abusifs.” Quoted in Fleck, “Émile Gallé,” 151.

⁹⁷ According to the minutes, “il est donné lecture d’une lettre d’Émile Gallé, dénonçant son traité avec l’usine et avec D. Christian qui par ses prétentions et prix abusifs est devenu un obstacle aux affaires entre l’usine et cette maison.” The minutes also specify that Gallé would continue to purchase blanks from the factory of Burgun, Schverer & Co. Fleck, “Émile Gallé,” 151.

⁹⁸Le Tacon, “Les collaborateurs de Gallé,” 15. Le Tacon suggests that some designs by Kremer may even have been used for works signed Gallé but notes that there is no evidence for this assertion.

⁹⁹*Meisenthal, berceau du verre*, 25.

¹⁰⁰Traub, *The Glass of Désiré Christian*, 38.

¹⁰¹Le Tacon dates Christian’s departure to 1896, one year earlier. *Ibid.*, 45; Le Tacon, “Les collaborateurs de Gallé,” 9.

¹⁰²Le Tacon, “Les collaborateurs de Gallé,” *Arts nouveaux* 13 (1997): 16.

¹⁰³Le Tacon, *Émile Gallé*, 206.

¹⁰⁴*Ibid.*, 206.

¹⁰⁵*Ibid.*, 207.

¹⁰⁶*Ibid.*, 203.

¹⁰⁷*Ibid.*, 203.

¹⁰⁸“J’ai été affecté de voir que Christian faisait des décors rapprochés des miens, employant les mêmes procédés, au lieu, ce qui serait bien plus intelligent, de faire un genre différent, parce que l’on ne peut pas tirer deux moutures du même sac.” Quoted in Le Tacon, *Émile Gallé*, 207.

¹⁰⁹*Ibid.*, 204.

¹¹⁰*Ibid.*, 208.

¹¹¹“Ils [les Muller] ont surtout du toupet... Quant au coloris, cela ne m’étonne pas. Le misérable qui mène la bande [Henri Muller] a dû prendre dans mes livres une masse de notes et de même mes recettes, pourtant sous clef, car il collectionnait les bouts de papier, les tessons de verre, etc. Il est fâcheux que ne je sois pas au courant de la production actuelle de ces brigands, car si la similitude vous a tellement frappé, c’est qu’il y a plagiat... Muller qui furetait partout et avait, comme commis d’atelier et même commis de halle-cristallerie pendant quelques temps, le droit de circuler, d’assister aux opérations, recherches, et qui même a eu à y travailler pour des pesées,

etc. Il a bien pu, je n'en sais rien, mettre en pratique pour son compte des procédés dont je faisais alors les essais avec bien des peines et des inquiétudes, craignant toujours de voir Daum s'en emparer." Quoted in Le Tacon, *Émile Gallé*, 208.

Chapter Four

¹"Bénéissons le caprice du sort qui a fait naître un Japonais à Nancy." Eugène Melchior De Vogüé, "A Travers l'Exposition: V. De Quelques Industries," *Revue des deux Mondes* 95 (September 1, 1889): 209.

²The term "Japonisme" was first coined by the author and collector Philippe Burty in a series of articles published in *La Renaissance littéraire et artistique* in 1872. Burty defined Japonisme as "a new field of study of artistic, historic and ethnographic borrowings from the arts of Japan." Quoted in Lionel Lambourne, *Japonisme: Cultural Crossings Between Japan and the West* (New York: Phaidon Press, 2005), 6. Burty soon invented another neologism when he began signing letters with the word "Japoniste" after his name in 1871. Gabriel P. Weisberg, "Philippe Burty and a Critical Assessment of Early "Japonisme," in *Japonisme in Art: An International Symposium*, ed. Yamada Chisaburo (Tokyo: Committee for the Year 2001, 1980), 116.

³Silverman, *Art Nouveau*, 9.

⁴*Ibid.*, 126-133, 179-180.

⁵*Ibid.*, 231.

⁶"Dès 1882, s'énoncent les lois de l'observance desquelles il ne se départira jamais. Le décorateur doit être original, moderne, français; original "en buvant dans son seul verre, fût-ce de l'eau claire seulement", moderne, en fuyant l'anachronisme des styles morts; français, en respectant les traditions de l'esprit et de la race." Roger Marx, *Émile Gallé Écrivain* (Nancy: Imprimerie Berger-Levrault et Cie., 1907), 12. It is unclear why Marx identifies 1882 as the year in which Gallé transformed his artistic style. Gallé's first written reference to an artist drinking from his own glass dates from 1884, when Gallé published an article entitled "Sur le décor du verre" in the *Revue des Arts décoratifs*. Marx was not alone in considering Gallé's art to be, in the words of the art critic Louis Énault, "bien personnel, toute moderne et vraiment française." Louis Énault, "Les Arts industriels: Exposition de l'Union centrale," *La Presse* (Octobre 23, 1884): n.p.

⁷Gallé addressed similar issues in a series of lectures he gave before the *Société de géographie de l'Est*, the *Ligue française de l'enseignement*, and the *Cercle cantonal de Lunéville* in late 1883 and early 1884. In his lectures, which were published in the *Bulletin de la Société de géographie de l'Est* and as a pamphlet, Gallé demonstrates a keen awareness of the problems facing French industry and offers solutions to address them. Recognizing that trade has now become global, Gallé urges French manufacturers to seek new markets, including those in the colonies. French artists and industrialists should study work produced in other nations not only to improve industrial design in France, he argues, but also in order to identify products for which there is demand in other nations. Émile Gallé, *Considérations à propos de notre commerce extérieur* (Nancy: Imprimerie Berger-Levrault, 1884), 5-6.

- ⁸“La leçon d’art décoratif qu’il nous a faite naguère, le JAPON ne nous l’a point donnée gratuitement.”
Émile Gallé, “Notre commerce d’exportation,” *La Céramique et la Verrerie* 2 (October 1, 1882): 7.
- ⁹“Depuis son apparition soudaine dans les bazars du monde entier, le **bibelot japonais** est devenu quelque peu banal, mais il s’est fait place sur le terrain de la vente, et il s’y est ancré au moyen de stocks énormes.” *Ibid.*, 7.
- ¹⁰Klaus Berger, *Japonisme in Western Painting from Whistler to Matisse*, trans. David Britt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 7.
- ¹¹“C’est dans la vitrine des bazars que l’objet du Japon trouve un refuge, sous sa forme la moins relevée. C’est là qu’il sollicite, dans un fouillis pittoresque, les regards peu expérimentés du passant. Et celui-ci, attiré par un charme indéniable qui, malgré tout, se dégage de ces mille bibelots d’exportation, oublie de se demander si ce qu’il aperçoit représente autre chose que le vague reflet d’un art qui autrefois fut robuste et sain.” S[iegfried] Bing, “Programme,” *Le Japon Artistique* 1 (May 1888): 2. The same essay appears as S[iegfried] Bing, “L’Art japonais et l’industrie,” *Revue des Arts décoratifs* 8 (1887-1888): 351-352.
- ¹²“C’est par un envahissement de céramiques de toutes sortes, de laques, de bois, de bronzes, d’étoffes,” Gallé writes, “que s’est opérée pour notre art industriel cette transfusion du sang qu’a fait passer le *Japonisme* dans nos veines.” Gallé, “Notre commerce,” (October 1, 1882): 7. In 1888, Bing echoes Gallé’s words, declaring that, “Loin d’être soumis aux caprices d’un engouement frivole, cet art est désormais lié au nôtre d’une façon impérissable. C’est une goutte de sang qui est venu se mêler à notre sang et qu’aucun pouvoir du monde ne pourra plus en éliminer.” Bing, “Programme,” 9.
- ¹³“Nos artistes voient encore japonais.” Gallé, “Notre commerce,” (October 1, 1882): 7.
- ¹⁴In an era when the offspring of mixed race parents were considered at best inferior and at worse monstrous, Gallé’s image of the intermingling of French and Japanese blood is remarkable. For a discussion of theories surrounding miscegenation in 19th-century France, see Claude Blanckaert, “Of Monstrous Métis? Hybridity, Fear of Miscegenation, and Patriotism from Buffon to Paul Broca,” in *The Color of Liberty: Histories of Race in France*, ed. Sue Peabody and Tyler Stovall (Durham, N.C.: Duke, 2003), 42-70.
- ¹⁵“Nos femmes à la mode y trouvent des mariages heureux de couleurs furieuses. Elles dédaigneront volontiers, dans leurs achats, nos productions, pour telle porcelaine de Fizen, tel grès, d’une matière céramique des plus primitives industriellement parlant, mais croustillante, parée de ses défauts mêmes comme d’une plaisante grimace, ou d’un brevet d’antiquité.” Gallé, “Notre commerce,” (October 1, 1882): 7.
- ¹⁶“Le vague reflet d’un art qui autrefois fut robuste et sain.” Bing, “Programme,” 2.
- ¹⁷“Ni moi, ni mes ouvriers, nous n’avons trouvé impossible la conciliation de la production à bon marché et de l’art; nous n’avons pas pensé que la robe commerciale du cristal dût être nécessairement de mauvais goût.” Gallé, “Notice sur la production de verres,” 348-349.

- ¹⁸“L’Orient, non influencé par l’Europe, a su réaliser avec infiniment d’art des pacotilles éclatantes.”
Ibid., 349.
- ¹⁹“Nous arrivons, en un mot, à comprendre qu’à l’égal de ce qui existe pour les productions de notre propre pays, il doit y avoir à faire un départ entre les œuvres magistrales qui furent des créations, et les produits courants d’une industrie moderne dans lesquels s’est émiété, sous le souffle mercantile de l’époque actuelle, le puissant génie des ancêtres.” Bing, “Programme,” 3.
- ²⁰“Il est incontestable, assurément, que le Japon, depuis sa belle période créatrice des 15^e et 16^e siècles, ne s’est point arrêté jusqu’à nos jours dans son mouvement artistique et industriel.” “Il n’a cessé d’évoluer, d’innover.” Émile Gallé, “Notre commerce d’exportation,” *La Céramique et la Verrerie* 16 (May 1, 1883): 5.
- ²¹Troy, *Modernism and Decorative Arts*, 7.
- ²²“On n’innove guère dans tout le reste de l’Orient: tantôt les pièces qu’on nous montre sont de fabrication ancienne, ou péniblement imitées de celle-ci. [...] Quant à la Chine, comme la veuve inconsolable, elle continue son commerce, celui de faire du vieux neuf.” Gallé, “Notre commerce,” (May 1, 1883): 5.
- ²³“Il faut rendre justice à ces industriels [in Germany], ils suivent, nous allions dire *ils filent*, la production des modèles français au jour le jour et avec l’attention que porte l’Observatoire à toutes les variations barométriques.” Gallé, “Notre commerce,” (October 1, 1882): 7.
- ²⁴Although Gallé’s articles purport to address the decline of French industry in general, his remarks were addressed to those in the ceramics and glassmaking industries in particular.
- ²⁵Gallé, “Notre commerce d’exportation,” *La Céramique et la Verrerie* 8 (January 1, 1883): 9; Gallé, “Notre commerce d’exportation,” *La Céramique et la Verrerie* 9 (January 15, 1883): 7-8; Silverman, *Art Nouveau*, 110; Edgard Auguin, “À la cristallerie Émile Gallé,” *Revue industrielle de l’Est*, supplement (October 24, 1897): 12.
- ²⁶“Quant à l’exportation, elle ne prise rien tant, si ce n’est le bon marché, que ce goût de terroir qui tend partout à disparaître. Nous ne conserverons pas ce parfum français par la copie d’un passé qui peut être imité.” Émile Gallé, “Notre commerce d’exportation,” *La Céramique et la Verrerie* 15 (April 15, 1883): 12. Gallé’s use of the term “soil” signals the central role the he assigns to nature in the definition of a national style.
- ²⁷“En effet, je n’ai pas été le seul à faire ouvrir au cristal français moderne la porte des musées et celle non moins hautaine des collections particulières, entre-bâillées jusque-là aux seules reproductions de Venise, de la Bohême ou de la verrerie arabe, et aux cristaux exquis de l’Extrême-Orient.” Gallé, “Notice sur la production de verres,” 353.
- ²⁸“On se plaint que l’admiration des objets d’art ancien est exclusive, qu’elle étouffe depuis longtemps un essor nouveau. J’ai pensé que la production d’œuvres, **modernes** de conception, **françaises** de langue, nous ramènerait l’estime mieux que des plaintes stériles. J’ai voulu faire des choses qui parussent un jour avoir vécu dans leur temps, le nôtre (emphasis added).” Ibid., 352.

- ²⁹“Au moment où la production moderne de l’Extrême-Orient tend à devenir européenne, industrielle, Gallé a voulu faire de chaque pièce une œuvre personnelle, objet de recherches techniques et d’amusement.” Émile Gallé, “Notice sur la production céramique d’E Gallé,” 1889, in Gallé, *Écrits pour l’art*, 327.
- ³⁰“Oui, pour créer il faudrait appliquer librement, hardiment, à certains types choisis avec goût dans la nature et dans les arts, les procédés du dessin conventionnel.” Émile Gallé, “Notre commerce,” (April 15, 1883): 12.
- ³¹“Ce projet comporte aussi la création d’un service de renseignements et d’un cabinet d’échantillons susceptibles d’instruire le fabricant français. Ces échantillons seraient choisis avec discernement dans les types étrangers que nos voyageurs auraient rencontrés comme étant similaires aux produits français et lui faisant avantageusement concurrence. [...] Ce service, bien entendu, serait organisé de façon à ne pas faire une réclame au producteur étranger, et aussi à ne pas amener les adhérents à la copie des échantillons à la pratique constante et peu délicate du plagiat industriel.” For example, Gallé urges the State to create a collection of works produced in other nations for French industrialists to study. Émile Gallé, “Notre commerce d’exportation,” *La Céramique et la Verrerie* 6 (December 1, 1882): 8.
- ³²“Les créations humaines sont des mises en œuvre, des combinaisons et assemblages d’éléments divers et préexistants, des appropriations, des organisations au moyen du nombre, de la mesure et de l’harmonie.” Gallé, “Notre commerce,” (April 15, 1883): 10.
- ³³“Notre temps a moins fait retourqu’ [sic] amende honorable aux arts du passé, avec plus d’imitation service que d’inspiration renovatrice.” *Ibid.*, 11.
- ³⁴“L’Allemand, quand on se plaint de ses contrefaçons d’articles français, répond tout cru: ‘Nous nous servons de vos modèles, ainsi que vous avez utilisé fort habilement ceux du Japon. [...] Si la Chine et le Japon se plaignaient autant que vous des copies, où en serait-on?’” Gallé, “Notre commerce,” (May 1, 1883): 7.
- ³⁵—A la sueur de ton front styliseras en français, sans japoniser aucunement; —Afin d’innover avec sentiment, cultiveras archéologie, perspective et géométrie opiniâtrément; —Sur un siège Louis XV jamais ne t’assiéras volontairement; —Dans ton verre boiras, fût-ce de l’eau claire seulement.” Émile Gallé, “Sur le décor du verre,” *Revue des Arts décoratifs* 5 (1884-1885): 3. The term “*japoniser*” is not found in standard dictionaries of the French language. In this passage, it has a meaning inflected by similar terms such as *Japonisme*, *japanaiserie*, and *japonnerie*. While the first most often occurs in discussions of Japanese art, the remaining two terms usually refer to inexpensive French imitations of Japanese imports or to cheap decorative goods mass-produced and imported from Japan for the European market. In this passage, it is unclear whether Gallé means for the artist to avoid all study of Japanese art or merely to avoid its direct imitation, but I suspect the latter. The suffix “-iser” bears a slightly pejorative connotation in this respect, so that the novelty of the term itself suggests the cheap novelty of goods produced in imitation of Japanese exports.
- ³⁶“N’est-ce donc pas assez de répéter soir et matin les commandements de la loi.” *Ibid.*, 3.
- ³⁷“Docteur, docteur, n’est-ce point là une sévère hygiène?” *Ibid.*, 3.

- ³⁸Jean-Claude Bonnefont, “Émile Gallé et l’Académie de Stanislas,” in *Hommage à Émile Gallé*, ed. François Le Tacon, special issue, *Annales de l’Est* (2005): 12, 14.
- ³⁹“Gallé nous a dit sa pensée sur les destinées actuelles de son art dans une suite d’articles que publia, en 1882, le *Moniteur de la Céramique et de la Verrerie*... Il étudie les causes du malaise dont a souffert le commerce d’exportation; il gourmande la faveur accordée au dessin d’imitation; il montre le progrès de l’art décoratif dans la substitution d’un sentiment nouveau, moderne et français, à la copie servile des styles anciens ou étrangers.” Gabriel Thomas, “Compte rendu de l’année 1890-1891 par M. Gabriel Thomas Secrétaire annuel,” *Mémoires de l’Académie de Stanislas* 8 (1891): xli.
- ⁴⁰“Le décorateur français doit être français, en évitant la copie des styles étrangers; il doit être moderne et s’abstenir de pasticher les styles anciens.” *Rapport sur la candidature, au titre d’Associé correspondant, de M. Émile Gallé, de Nancy*, Dossier Gallé, *Académie de Stanislas*, Nancy, n.p. The original source of the quote is not identified.
- ⁴¹*Ibid.*, n.p.
- ⁴²“Sous une forme humoristique,” “c’est en s’inspirant de ces principes que M. Émile Gallé, servi par une imagination vive et originale, mais aussi guidé par un goût délicat et sûr, a produit ces œuvres merveilleux.” *Ibid.*, n.p.
- ⁴³This is due in part to the mission of the *Académie*, which served as an honorary society for intellectuals and men of letters. The committee would thus have been interested in Gallé’s activities as a botanist and author as well as his work in the arts. By the time of Gallé’s application for membership, the artist had published numerous articles both on his own work and on the decorative arts in general. The Academy’s interest in Gallé’s articles on trade and on the decoration of glass must therefore be considered significant.
- ⁴⁴The phrase seemed to hold a peculiar fascination for many critics. Louis Énault remarks, “Je n’ai pas mesuré son verre, mais je suis bien certain qu’il ne boit pas dans celui de son voisin.” Louis Énault, “Les industries de verre,” *L’Art* 31 (1882): 5. Similarly, Paul Bosq comments, “Je doute qu’il ait découvert le meuble du siècle; mais il boit dans un verre qui, s’il n’est pas grand, est du moins bien à lui.” Paul Bosq, “L’Exposition de 1889,” *Le Petit Marseillais* (July 27, 1889): n.p.
- ⁴⁵Abbé Vacant, “Compte rendu de l’année 1891-1892 par M. l’Abbé Vacant Secrétaire annuel,” *Mémoires de l’Académie de Stanislas* 9 (1891): lxxx; *Rapport sur la candidature*, n.p.
- ⁴⁶For more information on De Vogüé, see *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. XV (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1912).
- ⁴⁷De Vogüé, “A Travers,” 209.
- ⁴⁸“Quand on le compare à ses maîtres techniques, les Japonais, on aperçoit bien par où nous leur devons être supérieurs, et la comparaison permet de mettre des distinctions suffisamment précises sous ces mots vagues, le réalisme et l’idéalisme.” *Ibid.*, 209.
- ⁴⁹“Malgré toute son habileté, M. Gallé n’extraira jamais du monde extérieur la quantité de vie qu’un Japonais sait en tirer; mais cette vie, l’homme d’Orient ne peut la retravailler que jusqu’à un

certain point; il lui manque l'outil que nous devons à une hérédité intellectuelle plus complète, plus riche." Ibid., 209.

⁵⁰Edgard Auguin makes a similar argument in his review of the *Exposition des arts décoratifs* held in Nancy in 1894. He writes, "Dans l'ornementation des surfaces qui n'ont pas elles-mêmes aucune signification déterminée, qui ne sont le symbole ou le signe d'aucune idée, l'orient [sic] est merveilleux. L'Asie est admirable, pour ses rideaux, ses tapis, ses écrans, ses étoffes, ses céramiques, ses carrelages. Mais l'art décoratif européen a toujours eu et doit garder des intentions plus élevées que l'art asiatique; intentions qu'il réalise par des moyens propres à sa nature, et qui sont l'expression d'un haut idéal." Edgard Auguin, "Exposition industrielle des Arts décoratifs à Nancy: Le Problème d'une société nouvelle," *Revue Industrielle de l'Est* 3, no. 147 (October 28, 1894): 4-5.

⁵¹Frances S. Connelly, for example, has made the argument that "Close attention to the descriptions of "primitive" art suggest that its presumed lack of reason was the fundamental issue that separated it from the arts of "civilized" peoples. [...] The "primitive" was immersed in the immediate, physical experience of his senses without the mediation of abstract ideas." Frances S. Connelly, *The Sleep of Reason: Primitivism in Modern European Art and Aesthetics, 1725-1907* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999), 14. See also Elisa Evett, *The Critical Reception of Japanese Art in Late Nineteenth Century Europe* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1982), xiii-xv.

⁵²"Et la suprême jouissance de l'art, quoi qu'on en dise, n'est pas dans la vue, mais dans la vision; parce que l'intérêt le plus poignant pour nous n'est pas dans les choses, il n'est pas même dans le spectacle de la vie générale, si puissante que vous nous en rendiez l'image, il est dans l'homme, et dans ce que l'homme connaît le moins de lui-même." De Vogüé, "A Travers," 209.

⁵³The same claim was often made regarding "decorative" and the decorative arts in this period.

⁵⁴"La poésie... [est] accumulé par les siècles, tout un trésor patrimonial de pensées, de souffrances, de morales, d'inquiétudes et de mélancolies supérieures, toute la revision du monde par le regard intérieur, depuis Homère jusqu'à nous." De Vogüé, "A Travers," 209-210. Connelly notes that "primitive" cultures were commonly believed to be lacking in the heritage of literary and historical sources that informed the academic tradition. The art of these cultures was thus commonly presumed to be incapable of expressing higher meaning. Connelly, *Sleep of Reason*, 28.

⁵⁵Jules Bourgoïn (1838-1907) was a professor of ornament at the *École des Beaux-Arts* and the author of several treatises on ornament, including *Théorie de l'ornement* (Paris: A. Lévy, 1873) and *Grammaire élémentaire de l'ornement* (Paris: C. Delagrave, 1880). Bourgoïn also resided in Egypt for some years and, under the influence of the Egyptologist Émile Prisse d'Avennes (1807-1879), published two studies on Islamic art, *Les Arts arabes* (Paris: Vve A. Morel, 1867) and *Précis de l'art arabe* (Paris: E. Leroux, 1890-1892). Stuart Durant, "Aux origines de l'Art nouveau: Christopher Dresser et la science de l'ornement," in Loyer, ed., *L'École de Nancy*, 25.

⁵⁶"Le génie est de cette pénétration, ou cette force d'intelligence par laquelle un homme saisit vivement une chose faite ou à faire, en arrange en lui-même le plan, puis le réalise au dehors, et le produit soit en le faisant comprendre par le discours, soit en le rendant sensible par quelque ouvrage de sa main. Le goût dans les belles-lettres, comme en toute autre chose, est le sentiment du beau,

l'amour du bon, l'acquiescement à ce qui est bien." Jules Bourgoïn, *Grammaire élémentaire de l'ornement pour servir à l'histoire, à la théorie et à la pratique des arts et à l'enseignement* (Paris: Librairie Ch. Delagrave, 1880), 8. Bourgoïn cites the source of this passage as "Pluche, *La mécanique des langues*, 1751," most likely Noël Antoine Pluche, *La mécanique des langues et l'art de les enseigner* (Paris: Veuve Estienne & Fils, 1751).

⁵⁷Gallé did not necessarily agree that genius was innate. In "Notre commerce d'exportation," he argues that it is acquired through a lengthy process of patient training. He writes, "Les Viollet-le-Duc, les Dubouché, les de Chaulnes et les de Chennevières, les Antonin Proust, les Victor Champier, les de Lajolais... répétaient que la France est comme figée dans cette illusion fatale qu'elle est investie... d'un génie de droit divin, comme si le génie n'était pas une longue patience, [et] d'un monopole du goût, comme si le goût n'était pas la première récompense du labeur!" Émile Gallé, "Notre commerce d'exportation," *La Céramique et la Verrerie* 7 (December 15, 1882): 8.

⁵⁸"Le génie vient au monde avec nous... Il n'en est pas tout à fait de même de ce qu'on appelle goût. Il se peut acquérir." Bourgoïn, *Grammaire élémentaire*, 8.

⁵⁹In his review of the 1884 exhibition sponsored by the *Union centrale des Arts décoratifs*, for example, Louis de Fourcaud writes of Gallé's aesthetic that "je n'en sais pas de plus conforme à notre génie français." De Fourcaud, "Rapport général," 260.

⁶⁰The influence of Japonisme on Gallé's œuvre is well established in recent literature. Two recent exhibitions take this very topic as their theme: "Gallé and Japonisme," held at the Suntory Museum of Art in Japan in 2008 and "Émile Gallé: nature et symbolisme, influences du Japon," held at the Musée départemental Georges de la Tour in Vic sur Seille in early 2009.

⁶¹Based on the study of auction catalogues and written descriptions of 19th-century collections, Max Put has argued that collectors of Japanese art tended to be proponents of the Modern style. Many were early supports of the Impressionists. These collectors often also demonstrated an interest in Islamic, Medieval, and 18th-century art. Max Put, *Plunder and Pleasure: Japanese Art in the West 1860-1930* (Leiden: Hotei Publishing, 2000), 16. The identity of the members of the Société du Jing-lar, a private club composed of French artists, critics, and collectors, supports this theory. Members included Philippe Burty; the art critic Zacharie Astruc, one of Manet's staunchest supporters; the etcher Jules Jacquemart; M. L. Solon, a decorator at the Sèvres Porcelain Manufactory; the painter Henri-Fantin Latour; and the industrial designer Alphonse Hirsch. Gabriel P. Weisberg, "Félix Bracquemond and Japanese Influence in Ceramic Decoration," *Art Bulletin* 51 (1969): 280.

⁶²Weisberg, "Philippe Burty," 116. Chesneau was first employed as a *rédacteur* at the Louvre before serving as a member of the official Jury of Fine Arts at the *Exposition universelle* of 1867. He attained the post of Inspector of Fine Arts in 1869. Although generally conservative in his reviews of French art, Chesneau was an enthusiastic supporter of Japonisme, which he popularized in several reviews published in 1878. Chesneau was among the first to study Japanese art stylistically and to distinguish between the art of China and Japan. Nonetheless, like many early commentators on Japanese art, Chesneau defined its formal characteristics largely through the absence of elements associated with French art, including symmetry, modeling, and stability. Deborah Levitt-Pasturel, "Critical Response to Japan at the Paris 1878 Exposition Universelle," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 119 (1992): 76; Berger, *Japonisme*, 13, 15.

- ⁶³The opening of what Bing termed the “Salon de l’Art Nouveau” was held in conjunction with an exhibition of Japanese prints. Weisberg, “Félix Bracquemond,” 279.
- ⁶⁴Anna Jackson, “Orient and Occident,” in *Art Nouveau: 1890-1914*, ed. Paul Greenhalgh, exh. cat. (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 2000), 104.
- ⁶⁵*Ibid.*, 104.
- ⁶⁶*Le Japon Artistique* appeared in French, German, and English editions from 1888 to 1891. Bing published a total of 36 issues, each luxuriously illustrated with reproductions by Charles Gillot. According to François Le Tacon, Gallé subscribed to *Le Japon Artistique* and sometimes made tracings of the reproductions. Le Tacon, *Émile Gallé: Maître de l’Art nouveau* (Paris: La Nuée Bleue, 2004), 153.
- ⁶⁷“Elle s’adresse tout particulièrement aux nombreuses personnes qui, à un titre quelconque, s’intéressent à l’avenir de nos arts industriels.” Bing, “Programme,” 5. Quoted in Jackson, “Orient and Occident,” 104. Jackson notes that the contributors to *Le Japon Artistique* were by and large those committed to arts reform.
- ⁶⁸“Au Japon on ne fait pas une distinction aussi absolue entre les différentes expressions de l’art.” A[rthur] Lasenby Liberty, “Les arts industriels au Japon,” *Le Japon Artistique* 34 (February 1891): n.p.
- ⁶⁹Lambourne, *Japonisme*, 90; Jackson, “Orient and Occident,” 111; Linda Zatlín, *Beardsley, Japonisme, and the Perversion of the Victorian Ideal* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 32.
- ⁷⁰Jackson, “Orient and Occident,” 111.
- ⁷¹Jean-Paul Bouillon, “Remarques sur le Japonisme de Bracquemond,” in Chisaburo, 83.
- ⁷²*Ibid.*, 83 and 103.
- ⁷³Oliver Impey, *Chinoiserie: The Impact of Oriental Styles on Western Art and Decoration* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1977), 191.
- ⁷⁴In his study of Japonisme, for example, art historian Klaus Berger underscores the diverse ways in which artists responded to Japanese art in their own work. Berger argues that Japonisme was not a single phenomenon but rather several converging trends. Berger, *Japonisme*, 4. See also Shûji Takashina, “Problèmes du Japonisme,” in *Le Japonisme*, exh. cat. (Paris: Galeries nationales du Grand Palais, 1988), 16.
- ⁷⁵Evelt, *Critical Reception*, viii.
- ⁷⁶Hugh Honour notes that the majority of Chinese and Japanese objects exported to Europe from the fifteenth century to the mid-nineteenth century consisted of designs produced specifically for the European market. European artists who imitated such works thus encountered a form of art-making that was already at one remove from “authentic” works produced for a domestic market. Moreover, their emulation of such works remained superficial. Hugh Honour, *Chinoiserie: The Vision of Cathay*, 1961 (NY: Harper and Row, 1973), 222. Honour contrasts this exoticizing

approach to Japanese and Chinese art with the greater degree of humility and deeper comprehension of foreign artistic traditions that he believes characterized 19th-century *Japonisme*. Honour's concept of a "pure," native art tradition may perhaps be too simplistic an account of the multitude of pressures that impinge upon the creation of a work of art. The distinction he establishes between the superficial, exoticizing borrowing of motifs and decorative effects from the art of China and Japan (*chinoiserie* or *japonaiserie*) and the sustained study and analysis of the underlying artistic principles of those nations' artistic traditions is, I think, sound.

⁷⁷Thus Louis Gonse writes, "Si la couleur nous tient, elle ne nous lâchera plus. Ce sera un des bienfaits de l'influence des arts de l'Orient, et tous ceux qui ont l'œil artiste ne peuvent que se réjouir de cette transformation du goût." Gonse, "Exposition universelle de 1889," 355.

⁷⁸"Les Japonais sont les premiers décorateurs du monde." Louis Gonse, "Le génie des Japonais dans le décor," *Le Japon Artistique* 2 (June 1888): 12.

⁷⁹"Les Japonais ont le sens inné de la décoration. [...] Il est encore avivé par le goût naturel de la synthèse, par un instinct merveilleux des ressources de la couleur, une connaissance approfondie des lois de leur harmonie, une délicatesse infinie à varier leur emploi. Ce concours unique de qualités a fait des Japonais la nation la plus apte à approprier l'art aux usages courants de la vie [et] à l'ornementation du *home*." Ibid., 13.

⁸⁰"La variété, la souplesse et l'ingéniosité du décor japonais [et] tout est neuf, inventé, imprévu, en parfaite homogénéité avec la nature, la fonction, la matière de l'objet." Ibid., 18.

⁸¹Akiko Mabuchi, "Japonisme et naturalisme," in *Le Japonisme*, 38.

⁸²"L'amour très vif de la Nature, inné chez tout Japonais... est d'une très grande importance pour apprécier le tempérament artistique d'un peuple, pour juger de la direction dans laquelle on peut espérer le voir développer ses arts décoratifs; cet amour si vif, cette compréhension si juste des beautés de la nature, font espérer qu'il continuera à les exprimer avec le même succès." Lasenby Liberty, "Les arts industriels," n.p. Similarly, Gonse writes, "L'exemple de ces merveilleux décorateurs, s'il est bien compris, nous apprendra à mieux connaître, à mieux interroger cette nature qui nous entoure et qui, même après tout ce que lui ont demandé nos ancêtres, reste encore et restera toujours la source infinie et éternelle de l'Art." Louis Gonse, "L'art japonais et son influence sur le goût européen," *Revue des arts décoratifs* 18 (1898): 116.

⁸³Weisberg, "Philippe Burty," 113.

⁸⁴"Le magasin de bric-à-brac." Edmond Duranty, article in *Paris Journal* (August or September, 1869). Quoted in Weisberg, "Philippe Burty," 113.

⁸⁵"Une société française fondée pour l'épuration du goût français, pour la restauration des méthodes françaises." De Fourcaud, "Rapport général," 231.

⁸⁶"Nous avons en France, depuis quelques années, trop dévié de nos traditions artistiques, [et] nous avons négligé trop complètement nos modèles nationaux, pour nous lancer dans des imitations de produits exotiques, étrangers à notre goût et à notre génie." Vachon, *La crise industrielle et artistique*, 116-117.

- ⁸⁷“Nos industriels et nos négociants ne considéraient point certainement comme inutile un établissement national [a museum of decorative arts] où ils pourraient trouver sans frais, sans pertes de temps, les types et les modèles des produits variés à importer avec bénéfices dans toutes ces régions.” Ibid., 134.
- ⁸⁸“J’ai plus d’une fois entendu dire, par exemple, aux deux pôles de la civilisation européenne, en Allemagne et en Italie, que la France n’avait point d’originalité foncière. Si l’on nous concède certaines qualités, ce sont des qualités secondaires d’assimilation, de perfectionnement et d’expansive bonne humeur.” De Fourcaud, “Rapport général,” 232.
- ⁸⁹“En nous déniait le don créateur, il commettait une criante injustice, mais en nous accusant d’avoir trop volontiers suivi les inspirations étrangères au lieu d’obéir aux nôtres, il formulait une critique à laquelle, depuis quatre cents ans, nous avons prêté le flanc, pour ainsi dire, avec amour.” Ibid., 232.
- ⁹⁰Lambourne, *Japonisme*, 90; Jackson, “Orient and Occident,” 24.
- ⁹¹Martin Eidelberg and William R. Johnston, “Japonisme and French Decorative Arts,” in *Japonisme: Japanese Influence on French Art 1854-1910*, ed. Gabriel P. Weisberg et al., exh. cat. (Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1975), 141.
- ⁹²Ibid., 141.
- ⁹³The process of imitating the appearance of lacquer, commonly called “japanning” in England, quickly became a fashionable pursuit of young women in England, where the first treatise on the art, John Stalker and George Parker’s *A Treatise of Japanning and Varnishing*, was published in 1688. Lambourne, *Japonisme*, 17.
- ⁹⁴Quoted in Lambourne, *Japonisme*, 7.
- ⁹⁵Jackson, “Orient and Occident,” 112.
- ⁹⁶Ibid., 112.
- ⁹⁷Oliver Impey and Joyce Seaman, *Japanese Decorative Arts of the Meiji Period 1868-1912*, exh. cat. (Oxford: Ashmolean Museum, 2005), 5. Impey and Seaman argue that the Meiji government sought to demonstrate Japan’s modernization in order place itself on terms of equality with the West in the hopes of renegiating the “Unequal Treaties” imposed on Japan in the 1850s.
- ⁹⁸Lambourne, *Japonisme*, 25.
- ⁹⁹Put, *Plunder*, 11.
- ¹⁰⁰Ibid., 12.
- ¹⁰¹Elizabeth Holt, “The Documentation of the Contribution of Three Mid-Nineteenth Century Exhibitions to the Popularization of Japanese Art,” in *Art, the Ape of Nature: Studies in Honor of H. W. Janson*, ed. M. Barasch and L. Sandler (New York: Abrams, 1981), 646.

- ¹⁰²Evett, *Critical Reception*, 5.
- ¹⁰³Geneviève Lacambre, “Les milieux japonisants à Paris, 1860-1880,” in Chisaburo, 44-45.
- ¹⁰⁴Philippe Thiébaud, “Un meuble aux ombellifères d'Émile Gallé au musée des beaux-arts de Lyon,” *Revue du Louvre et des musées de France* 40, no. 4 (1990): 304. Gallé would also have been familiar with the reproductions of Japanese art published in the journal *L'Art pour tous*, to which his father subscribed in 1869. Le Tacon, *Émile Gallé*, 151.
- ¹⁰⁵Charles Gallé reported the accusation in a letter to his representative in Paris. Françoise-Thérèse Charpentier, “Au temps où l'on naissait japonais à Nancy.” *Le Pays Lorrain* 1 (1962): 29.
- ¹⁰⁶Holt, “Documentation,” 648.
- ¹⁰⁷A manuscript by Charles Gallé, *Référence des Echantillons Expédiés à L'Exposition de Londres de 1871* includes under the rubric “Fayences décorés au Reverbère” and “Fayences décorées au polychrôme sur gros émail” works described as “pot à tabac japonais,” “plateau festons, décor japonais,” and “chat japonais.” Thiébaud, “Un meuble,” 304.
- ¹⁰⁸Philippe Garner, *Émile Gallé* (New York: Rizzoli, 1976), 56.
- ¹⁰⁹Gallé writes of seeing “les merveilleux bibelots japonais, bronzes incrustés, laques d'or, céramiques, dont la révélation, malgré la beauté des Expositions de 1867 et de l'Union centrale, à Paris, ne fut bien complète pour l'industrie française qu'en 1878, c'est-à-dire après que Londres et Vienne s'en furent rassasiés.” Gallé, “Notre commerce,” (December 15, 1882): 7.
- ¹¹⁰Thiébaud, “Un meuble,” 304; Otter, “Deux reliures,” 67; Valérie Thomas, “The Influence of Japanese Art in Design Drawings from the Gallé Atelier,” in *Gallé and Japonisme*, exh. cat. (Osaka: Suntory Museum, 2008), 235; Tsuchida Ruriko, “Gallé and Japanese Aesthetics,” in *Gallé and Japonisme*, 225. Ruriko dates Gallé's earliest collecting activities to 1872. For a list of Japanese books and albums that Gallé is known to have owned, see Ikunobu Yamane, “Gallé's Collection of Japanese Art,” in *Gallé and Japonisme*, 238-242.
- ¹¹¹“Monstres japonais.” Françoise-Thérèse Charpentier, “Un Japonais à Nancy aux XIXe siècle: Tokouso Takacyma (1850-1931),” *Le Pays lorrain* 1 (1979): 11.
- ¹¹²Thiébaud, “Un meuble,” 304.
- ¹¹³Le Tacon, *Émile Gallé*, 152. Gallé devoted a portion of his garden to Japanese plants, of which he owned over a hundred specimens. Ruriko, “Gallé,” 225.
- ¹¹⁴After the exhibition closed, the firm's, Wakai Kenzaburo, assisted by Hayashi Tadamasa as his translator, remained in Paris to run a newly opened branch of the company. When the store closed in 1881, Wakai and Hayashi became influential art dealers in their own right. Levitt-Pasturel, “Critical Response,” 74.
- ¹¹⁵*Ibid.*, 69.
- ¹¹⁶Put, *Plunder*, 21.

¹¹⁷Evett, *Critical Reception*, 7.

¹¹⁸Lacambre, "Milieux japonisants," 48.

¹¹⁹Put, *Plunder and Pleasure*, 21; Levitt-Pasturel, "Critical Response," 68. Geneviève Lacambre has pointed out that labelling such works as "cheap rubbish," as both contemporary and more recent commentators are apt to do, ignores the complexity of the Japanese government's efforts to demonstrate their nation's modernity. Geneviève Lacambre, "Sources du Japonisme au XIXe Siècle," in *Le Japonisme*, 22. By denigrating industrially produced export wares, in other words, historians participate in the same primitivizing dialectic that motivated 19th-century observers to decry the destructive effect of Westernization on the art of Japan.

¹²⁰Deborah Levitt-Pasturel has argued that the Japanese government, recognizing that Western audiences' appreciation of traditional art forms was more sophisticated than previously presumed, began to improve the quality of its export wares following the *Exposition universelle* of 1878. Levitt-Pasturel, "Critical Response," 79. Without a full-scale study of export wares produced during this era, however, such a transformation is difficult to prove.

¹²¹Berger, *Japonisme*, 11. Geneviève Lacambre dates the opening of the Desoyes' shop to 1860. Lacambre, "Milieux japonisants," 45.

¹²²Berger, *Japonisme*, 10-11.

¹²³Ting Chang, "Collecting Asia: Théodore Duret's *Voyage en Asie* and Henri Cernuschi's Museum," *Oxford Art Journal* 25, no. 1 (2002): 21.

¹²⁴Gabriel P. Weisberg, "Japonisme: Early Sources and the French Printmaker 1854-1882," in Weisberg et al, eds., *Japonisme*, 1.

¹²⁵Berger, *Japonisme*, 89. In 1883, Sichel published an account of his travels entitled *Notes d'un bibeloteur au Japon* (Paris: E. Dentu, 1883), with a foreword by Edmond de Goncourt.

¹²⁶*Ibid.*, 90. The artist Henri-Charles Guérard (1846-1897) collaborated with Gonse to illustrate *L'Art Japonais*, creating eleven full-page etchings and 200 drawings of Japanese works from Parisian collections. Phillip Dennis Cate, "Japanese Influence on French Prints 1883-1910," in Weisberg et al, eds., *Japonisme*, 53.

¹²⁷In 1890, Bing also oversaw a comprehensive exhibition of Japanese prints in France, *Maîtres de l'Estampe Japonaise*, which was held from April 25 to May 22 at the *Ecole des Beaux-Arts* in Paris. The exhibition, which presented a historical overview of two centuries of printmaking in Japan, included 725 prints and 428 illustrated books. The works on display came from Bing's own personal collection and from the collections of Burty, Goncourt, Charles Gillot, Tadamasaya Hayashi, Henri Vever, Edmond Taigny, and Gonse.

¹²⁸Gillot, who collected Japanese prints and art objects, also printed the plates for Gonse's *L'Art Japonais*. Yvonne Brunhammer, "Le Japonisme et l'Art Nouveau," in Chisaburo, 307. *Le Japon Artistique* appeared in French, German, and English. Bing published both luxury edition printed on *papier Japon* and a less expensive version of the journal. Contributors to the journal included both arts

reformers such as Roger Marx and collectors of Japanese art such as Justus Brinckmann. Berger, *Japonisme*, 91.

¹²⁹ Gallé and Edmond de Goncourt began their correspondance in 1885. In his letters to Goncourt, Gallé mentions having seen his friend's collection of Chinese snuff bottles during a recent visit. Pierre Dufief, "Émile Gallé et quelques écrivains de la génération symboliste: Goncourt, Barrès, Montesquiou," in Loyer, ed., *L'École de Nancy*, 96. In their *Journal*, the Goncourt brothers discuss buying Japanese erotic prints, or *shunga*, at *La Porte Chinoise* in 1861. Evett, *Critical Reception*, 7. Jules de Goncourt died prematurely in 1870, but his brother Edmond began collecting Japanese art in earnest in the 1870s, purchasing many of his works from the dealer Philippe Sichel, who had visited Japan in 1874. Goncourt was the author of several novels and of studies of the work of the *ukiyo-e* artists Utamaro and Hokusai. Berger, *Japonisme*, 12.

¹³⁰ Charpentier, "Un Japonais," 3. According to Charpentier, contemporary periodicals such as *Nancy-Artiste* and *La Lorraine Artiste* used the spelling "Takacyma" or "Takasima," but he himself used the spelling "Takasyrna."

¹³¹ Charpentier, "Un Japonais," 3.

¹³² *Ibid.*, 4. Takacyma also published articles on Japanese roses in the May, June, July, and August 1886, and March 1888 issues of the *Journal des Roses*.

¹³³ Charpentier, "Au temps," 29.

¹³⁴ Ikunobu Yamane, "L'influence du japonisme dans l'œuvre d'Émile Gallé," in *Hommage à Émile Gallé*, ed. François Le Tacon, *Annales de l'Est*, special issue (2005): 56. Yamane also cites a note addressed to Takacyma, which reads, "Émile Gallé présente à Monsieur Takasima l'expression de son regret d'avoir manqué sa visite. Il est rentré d'une partie de chasse et a trouvé avec grand plaisir la *Nomenclature*. Il serait heureux de pouvoir la conserver quelques jours de plus. E. Gallé serait très heureux de recevoir Monsieur Takasima à n'importe quel moment à la Garenne. Il a beaucoup de questions à lui poser sur le pays des chrysanthèmes."

¹³⁵ "Ayant appartenu à M. Tokouso Takasima, de Tokio, élève à l'École forestière à Nancy, 1886-88, et offert par lui à son ami Émile Gallé, de Nancy." François Joyaux, "Wild Roses Native to Japan Introduced in France by Takacyma," *Rosa Gallica*, <http://www.rosagallica.org/wild-roses.html>, accessed July 24, 2009.

¹³⁶ "Chez M. R. Wiener, nous signalons l'exposition d'une petite œuvre d'une délicatesse extrême, comme tout ce qui émane de l'art japonais. Elle est signée M. Takasima, de l'École forestière, et rien n'est plus plaisant que de retrouver les fantaisies de l'Orient à travers cette clairière de sapins dénudés." "Autour des vitrines," *Nancy-Artiste* 3, no. 41 (December 13, 1885): 326.

¹³⁷ The work, which the anonymous author describes merely as "une fantaisie japonaise," may be a work by Victor Prouvé of the same name illustrated in the July 25, 1886 issue of *Nancy-Artiste*. The drawing depicts three women dressed in kimonos. *Ibid.*, 326.

¹³⁸ The comment is interesting in its inversion of conventional hierarchies of artistic accomplishment. Here it is European artists who try and fail miserably to imitate Japanese art, while typically it is Japan's attempts to Westernize that provoke such ridicule. "Autour des vitrines," *Nancy-Artiste* 3,

- no. 42 (December 20, 1885): 334. The praise is all the more striking in light of a review of Raymond de Dalmas's *Les Japonais, leur pays et leurs mœurs* (Paris: Plon, 1885), which appeared in the April 5, 1885 issue of *Nancy-Artiste*. In summarizing Dalmas's arguments, the authors of the review write, "L'influence de la civilisation européenne, loin de le rajeunir, semble être pour [l'art japonais] un dissolvant. Il perdra fatalement à ce contact son originalité et sa grâce, comme le peuple oubliera son farouche amour de l'indépendance." "Les Arts au Japon," *Nancy-Artiste* 3, no. 14 (April 5, 1885): 109.
- ¹³⁹“Pauvres européens que nous sommes et qui restons tels, quand nous voulons faire du japonisme! M. Takasima—très artiste et japonais très bon teint—doit bien sourire de nos pastiches français.” “Autour des vitrines,” (December 20, 1885): 334.
- ¹⁴⁰Reproductions of three of Takacyma's drawings, each entitled simply *Paysage Japonais* (Japanese Landscape), appeared in the July 11, 1886 issue of *Nancy-Artiste*.
- ¹⁴¹Charpentier, “Un Japonais,” 6.
- ¹⁴²E[mile] G[ouitière]-V[ernolle], “Le Salon de Nancy (*Suite*),” *Nancy-Artiste* 4, no. 22 (June 20, 1886): 174. “M. TAKASIMA, de l'école forestière de Tokio, expose un très curieux panneau japonais. Dans sa simplicité voulue, cette œuvre est d'un effet décoratif extraordinaire et d'une élégance rare.”
- ¹⁴³“Tokouso Takacyma: Note additionnelle,” *La Lorraine Artiste* 6, no. 9 (March 25, 1888): 29; Charpentier, “Un Japonais,” 6. The panels earned Takacyma the status of “Officier d'académie.” Takeshi Sakai, “Gallé, Takacyma, et la poésie symbolique de la nature,” *Pays Lorrain* 101, no. 85 (2004): 49. Eight out of the ten compositions were published in *La Lorraine Artiste*.
- ¹⁴⁴One set appeared as Plate 76, *Panneaux Japonais*, in the March 25, 1888 issue of *La Lorraine Artiste*; the other as Plate 96 in the July 20, 1888 issue.
- ¹⁴⁵“En effet M. *Takasima* a une prédilection marquée et remarquée pour les branchages, les petites fleurs, les gracieuses feuilles, les roseaux, enfin pour toute la vie végétative.” “L'exposition de M. Takasima,” *Nancy-Artiste* 4, no. 39 (October 17, 1886): 289.
- ¹⁴⁶“Toutes ces fleurettes, ces branches, ces feuillages sont d'un goût original exquis, et en même temps d'une vérité singulière. [...] En gardant la précieuse fantaisie, et l'artistique bizarrerie de composition qui caractérise l'art de son pays, il possède une sérieuse connaissance de la nature. [...] Etre un idéaliste réaliste, il fallait être Japonais, pour réussir cela—Japonais... et forestier.” *Ibid.*, 289-290.
- ¹⁴⁷“Botaniste et peintre, ingénieur et artiste, Tokouso Takacyma mérite d'être étudié à ce double point de vue.” “Tokouso Takacyma,” *La Lorraine Artiste* 6, no. 8 (March 18, 1888): 28. It is interesting to note that Auguin writes of studying the *man*, rather than his works, much as if Takacyma were a kind of specimen to be analyzed.
- ¹⁴⁸Auguin provides a step-by-step description, for example, of Takacyma's method of using the brush. He writes, “Lorsque Takacyma saisit le pinceau, son sujet est composé devant ses yeux à ce point qu'il ne laisse plus aucune place aux hasards de l'exécution. [...] Il tient son pinceau vertical, use d'instruments japonais très aigus dont la pointe est très souple et très déliée. Il épuise chaque ton

à tour de rôle et les teintes viennent prendre du premier coup, sur le papier, des emplacements dont lui seul a le secret, que rien n'explique aux spectateurs puisque aucun dessin préalable ne les relie. Sa main exécute ainsi une marche fantastique, plaçant avec une rapidité vertigineuse des pétales, des épis, des tiges, des aîles, des antennes. Et, magiquement, on voit toutes les taches se grouper, se raccorder, se compléter, prendre corps, les calices relier les corolles, les tiges soutenir les feuilles, les étamines naître, les brindilles surgir, les roseaux s'incliner, les touffes s'épanouir, les papillons s'envoler. [...] Du même pinceau gracile qui posait tout à l'heure des antennes ou chatironnait des carapaces—vous le voyez, dans l'angle de la carte, la main haute, ajouter une série de traits perpendiculaires, de bas en haut et de droite à gauche. C'est la signature: *Tokouso Takacyma*—l'œuvre est achevée." Ibid., 28.

¹⁴⁹“Ceux qui l'ont connu plus particulièrement garderont la mémoire de cette physionomie éminemment étrange par le ton de la peau, par les saillies caractéristiques du visage, par le développement des lèvres, par le noir presque bleu des cheveux découpés en masses brusques, rigides, d'un aspect métallique, par la malice de ses paupières bridées, aux coins effilés, sous lesquels vibrent deux petites prunelles volcaniques, noires, ardentes, incisives, éclairées d'un point brillant d'une vivacité diabolique. Evidemment ces yeux là, qui étaient tout l'homme, devaient voir bien des choses qui nous échappent et rire sous cape de bien des infirmités européennes que nous sommes les derniers à soupçonner.” “Tokouso Takacyma,” 27.

¹⁵⁰Tokouso Takacyma offre à l'observation de ses amis tout l'attrait et tout le piquant d'un “Japonais moderne,” greffé sur l'étoffe d'un “vieux Japonais” qui disparaît par l'action du temps et l'invasion des “barbares” d'Europe. Il est “vieux japonais” par son origine, par son mode d'instruction, par son éducation première, par la variété de ses connaissances et de ses talents; “japonais moderne” par la volonté du ministre, par ses fonctions, par ses attributions dans l'Etat, par son œuvre dont nous parlerons tout à l'heure, et enfin par l'étude très complète qu'il a faite de nos mœurs et de nos institutions européennes.” Ibid., 25.

¹⁵¹Ibid., 30. One measure of the relative rarity of such cross-cultural encounters in late 19th-century Nancy is the fact that Takacyma's private affairs were a matter of public interest.

¹⁵²The recipients included Camille Martin (six works), Wiener (six), Majorelle (one), Prouvé (four), Auguin (four), Hestaux (two), Marx (two), the Société des Amis des Arts (one), Gallé (two), “Arts décoratifs” (presumably Nancy's fledgling decorative arts museum, ten), and the *Ecole forestière* (seven large plates with a total of 140 drawings). Ibid., 30. A version of the list also appears in an unpublished letter to Wiener: “à R. Wiener: guitare japonaise, boîte aux couleurs (*sic*) Album. à M^r. C. Martin: guitare japonaise, boîte aux couleurs (*sic*) Album. à M^r. Auguin: Boîte aux couleurs, Album, à M. Majorelle: Pinceaux japonais, à M. Sadler: Album à M. L. Wiener: trois cartes.” Tokouso Takacyma to René Wiener, April 26, 1889. Quoted in Charpentier, “Un Japonais,” 7.

¹⁵³Chantal Humbert, “Le Japon et les arts décoratifs européens,” *La Gazette de Drouot* (December 12, 1986): 27.

¹⁵⁴*L'art du japon et l'École de Nancy* (Nancy: Musée de l'École de Nancy, 2003), n.p. Logé printed his circulars on *papier Japon*, paper imported from Japan. Otter, “Deux reliures,” 67.

¹⁵⁵Christine Peltre, ““Un peu d'âme épandue”: Les voix de l'Orient,” in Loyer, ed., *L'École de Nancy*, 89.

- ¹⁵⁶Otter, “Deux reliures,” 67.
- ¹⁵⁷Charpentier, “Un Japonais,” 11.
- ¹⁵⁸Ibid., 12-13.
- ¹⁵⁹Takeshi Sakai, for example, suggests that his friendship with Takacyma allowed Gallé to move from exoticism to “communication” with the Other and locates this shift in Gallé’s representation of nature after 1885. Sakai, “Gallé, Takacyma,” 49.
- ¹⁶⁰Several art historians have commented on this shift from literal transcription to a more personalized interpretation of Japanese art in Gallé’s œuvre. See Peltre, “‘Un peu d’âme,’” 89; Kenji Kaneko, “Japonisme in Decorative Arts and Contemporary ‘Craftical’ Formation,” in *Kōgei no japonisumu ten* [Japonisme in Decorative Arts], exh. cat. (Tokyo: NHK, 1998), 14-15; Helmut Ricke, “Art Nouveau Glass: Origins, Sources, Developments,” in Ricke and Schmitt, eds., *Art Nouveau Glass*, 19; Ruriko, “Gallé,” 225.
- ¹⁶¹Berger, *Japonisme*, 1.
- ¹⁶²Burty’s private collection included an astonishing 2,500 objects, all of which were sold at auction in 1891 following Burty’s death. Ibid., 188.
- ¹⁶³Philippe Thiébaud, “‘This is no longer Japanese, it’s Gallé.’,” in *Gallé and Japonisme*, 230.
- ¹⁶⁴Thomas, “The Influence,” 236.
- ¹⁶⁵Chantal Humbert describes this approach as a kind of *emballage*, or “wrapping.” Humbert, “Le Japon,” 26.
- ¹⁶⁶Brunhammer, “Le Japonisme,” 304.
- ¹⁶⁷Eugène Rousseau, an industrial designer, frequently commissioned works based on designs by other artists. The *Service Rousseau* was first manufactured by Lebœuf and Milliet in 1866 and subsequently reissued by Haviland and Company of Limoges, where Bracquemond was employed, in 1879. Its enduring popularity makes the *Service Rousseau* one of the most influential examples of Japonisme in fin-de-siècle France. Weisberg, “Félix Bracquemond,” 278. In the 1870s, other designers and manufacturers producing *japoniste* works included Collinot, Théodore Deck, Hippolyte Boulenger, Creil factory, Huard of Longwy, and Vieillard of Bordeaux, who variously imitated Japanese Satsuma ware, cloisonné designs, and crackleware. Ceramists such as Laurent Bouvier, Camille Moreau, Michel Cazin, and Albert Dammouse also worked in a style inflected by the artists’ interest in Japanese ceramics. Among glassmakers, Baccarat, Rousseau, and André Jean created works with *japoniste* themes. Eidelberg and Johnston, “Japonisme,” 144.
- ¹⁶⁸Weisberg, “Japonisme,” 3.
- ¹⁶⁹Brunhammer, “Le Japonisme,” 306-07. Gabriel P. Weisberg identifies four sources for Bracquemond’s images: Hokusai’s *Manga*; Hokusai’s *Kwacho Gwafu*; prints of animals by Hiroshige; and two collections by the artist Isasi (active 1821-80), *Kwacho Sansui Zushiki* (Drawings of Flowers,

Birds, and Landscapes; 1847-65) and *Kwacho Gaden* (Pictures of Flowers and Birds; ca. 1849). Weisberg, "Japonisme," 7.

¹⁷⁰Eidelberg and Johnston, "Japonisme," 145.

¹⁷¹*Ibid.*, 146-147.

¹⁷²Thiébaud, "Un meuble," 304.

¹⁷³"Quelquefois le tout se trouve souligné d'une réflexion, d'une citation littéraire, ainsi qu'on le voit dans les oeuvres de l'Extrême-Orient, et cette pensée, souvent grave et mélancolique, accompagne d'une note finale la signature de l'ouvrier artiste." *Exposition universelle internationale de 1889 à Paris, Groupe III, Classe 19: Cristaux, verrerie et vitraux* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1891), 165.

¹⁷⁴Most lettering found on European glass, however, was limited to inscriptions commissioned by the patron of the work. Gallé's *verreries parlantes*, Ruriko suggests, have more in common with the inscription of poetic verses in Japanese art. Ruriko, "Gallé," 226.

¹⁷⁵"Il est encore à propos de remarquer tout le parti que les Orientaux ont su toujours tirer de la *lettre*. [...] Elle est une séduction dans l'affiche de Chéret, dans le verre d'Émile Gallé, [...] chez les peintres japonais, dans toute la verrerie allemande, comme enfin nous la constatons dans la verrerie arabe et persane." Alexandre, *Histoire de l'art décoratif*, 275.

¹⁷⁶"Chez certains peuples asiatiques, chez les japonais [sic] particulièrement, il semble que le dessin et l'écriture soient menés de front, que ce soit une habitude de *croquer* lestement d'après nature les objets inanimés et les êtres vivants, enfin que le talent de faire, de mémoire, des signes figurant le chat, le chien, l'homme, le bambou, soit une calligraphie usuelle." Gallé, "Notre commerce," (January 15, 1883): 6.

¹⁷⁷Siegfried Wichmann, *Japonisme: The Influence on Western Art in the 19th and 20th Centuries* (New York: Park Lane, 1985), 224.

¹⁷⁸In the 19th century, *verre craquelé* was produced by rolling the parison, or mass of molten glass, along a surface covered with fine fragments of glass or by immersing the hot glass in cold water prior to blowing it. Louis Coffignal, *Verres et émaux* (Paris: Librairie J.-B. Baillière et fils, 1900), 249.

¹⁷⁹Motifs from Vols. 2, 3, 13, and 15 of Hokusai's *Manga* appear in Gallé's work produced between 1878 and 1884. Volumes 7 and 14 of Hokusai's *Manga* are still in the possession of Gallé's descendants. It is likely that Gallé owned or had at least seen the entire set of the *Manga* by 1884. Yamane, "Gallé's Collection," 238-239; Yamane, "L'Influence," 60.

¹⁸⁰According to Valérie Thomas, the fan shape was not found in Western art until the 1870s, when imported Japanese fans became popular in interior decoration and as motifs in paintings and prints. Thomas, "The Influence," 236.

¹⁸¹Impey, *Chinoiserie*, 188.

¹⁸²Other primarily decorative works include *Plat d'ornement* (Ornamental Dish, ca. 1878), in the shape of six entwined Japanese figures, and *Eventail Uchiwa* (Uchiwa Fan, 1879), a ceramic fan depicting Mt. Fuji, as well as many works based on 18th-century designs.

¹⁸³*Gallé and Japonisme*, 246.

¹⁸⁴Such works were characteristic of the eclecticism of the Second Empire, which saw the creation of courses in applied decoration in design schools and the publication of numerous encyclopedias and compendia of ornament. Valérie Thomas, foreword to *Fleurs et ornements: Ma racine est au fond des bois*, ed. Valérie Thomas and François Loyer, exh. cat. (Nancy: musée de l'École de Nancy, 1999), 13. The best known of these include Racinet's *L'Ornement polychrome* and the French edition of Owen Jones's *Grammar of Ornament*, published as *La Grammaire de l'ornement* (London: Day, [1856]).

¹⁸⁵Beaumont and Collinot began to publish their engravings of Japanese objects and prints by Hokusai in 1861. Their collected engravings also appeared as Adalbert de Beaumont and Eugène Collinot, *Encyclopédie des Arts Décoratifs de l'Orient: Recueils de dessins pour l'Art et l'industrie* (Paris: Canson, 1880-83). The set originally included four volumes: *Ornements de la Perse* (1880); *Ornements arabes* (1882); *Ornements vénitiens, hindous, russes* (1882); *Ornements du Japon* (1882). In 1883, Beaumont and Collinot added *Ornements de la Chine* (1883) and *Ornements turcs* (1883) for a total of 6 volumes. Beaumont engraved the illustrations for each volume after drawings by Collinot, a ceramist.

¹⁸⁶*The Fables of La Fontaine*, trans. Elizur Wright (London: George Bell and Sons), 165. The original French reads: "Deux Coqs vivoient en paix: une poule survint,/Et voilà la guerre allumée./Amour, tu perdis Troie! et c'est de toi que vint/Cette querelle envenimée/Où du sang des dieux même on vit le Xanthe teint!" Francis Tarver, ed., *Fables de La Fontaine* (London: Librairie Hachette et Cie, 1890), 138-139.

¹⁸⁷*Gallé et Japonisme*, 146.

¹⁸⁸This note is in the collection of the Musée d'Orsay, Paris.

¹⁸⁹"Cependant on ne se contentera pas d'emprunter à ces modèles les motifs tels que le dessinateur japonais les a conçus. On en tirera un enseignement plus général, et leur aspect suggérera à plus d'un esprit judicieux des réflexions extrêmement sérieuses sur les principes fondamentaux de l'ornement japonais, comparés aux traditions de notre école." Bing, "Programme," 6.

¹⁹⁰The dragonflies, moths, and other insects that decorate many of Gallé's works first began to appear in Chinese art during the Tang dynasty (618-907 CE). Beginning in the Edo period, Japanese artists were also able to study European natural history books imported through the port of Nagasaki. Images of tiny creatures soon proliferated in print culture. Kitagawa Utamaro's book, *Selection of Pictures of Insects* (1788), the first volume of Hokusai's *Manga*, and Sakai Hoitsu's series entitled *Satsugo Cho* (Various Trifles) provided European artists with easily reproduced, graphically concise images of insects in their natural environment. Nobuo Tsuji, "The Glass Masterpieces of Émile Gallé and their Affinity with Japanese Art," in *Art Nouveau Glass: The Gerda Koepff Collection*, ed. Helmut Ricke and Eva Schmitt (Munich: Prestel, 2004), 54-55.

¹⁹¹Lambourne, *Japonisme*, 17.

¹⁹²Ibid., 98.

¹⁹³Impey, *Chinoiserie*, 186. Caroline Mathieu has also noted the contrast between European rooms decorated in the Japoniste style, which were richly furnished with heavily ornamented export ware *objets d'art*, and the bare, proto-minimalist interiors of 19th-century Japanese homes. In a typical Japanese household, a simple *kakemono*, or painted scroll, and a seasonal flower arrangement provided the only decoration. Mathieu contends that the relative paucity of decoration in rooms such as those of the “Japanese farmhouse” erected for the *Exposition universelle* of 1878 had little to no impact on French design until the 20th century. Caroline Mathieu, “Japonisme et pureté,” in *Le Japonisme*, 51, 53. See also Eidelberg and Johnston, “Japonisme,” 149.

¹⁹⁴Lambourne, *Japonisme*, 99.

¹⁹⁵Two brothers, Georges (1853-1944) and Henry (?-1935) Pannier owned the *Escalier de Cristal*. In 1885, they formed *Pannier Frères et Cie.*, a firm that designed Japanese-style furniture and sometimes commissioned designs from other artists. Philippe Thiébaud, “Contribution à une histoire du mobilier japonisant: les créations de l’Escalier de Cristal,” *Revue de l’art* 85 (1989): 76.

¹⁹⁶Thiébaud, “Contribution,” 79.

¹⁹⁷“En imitation de laque et dans le plus pur style chinois.” Ibid., 81.

¹⁹⁸Ibid., 81.

¹⁹⁹“Meuble vieux Chine.” Ibid., 81.

²⁰⁰Ibid., 81.

²⁰¹“Par l’insertion et la sculpture en relief des morceaux de bois de couleurs et de matières diverses dans des panneaux pleins, j’ai mis une fois de plus en lumière, après des maîtres, un procédé, décor somptueux, dont l’Extrême-Orient n’a plus le monopole aujourd’hui, mais qui, chez nous, est encore trop exceptionnel.” Gallé, “Notice sur la production de menuiserie,” 357.

²⁰²The étagère was purchased by Alphonse Lavallée, founder of an arboretum in Segrez, for his daughter. Gallé subsequently produced several simplified versions of the étagère. Le Tacon, *Émile Gallé*, 152.

²⁰³Valérie Thomas, Roselyne Bouvier, and François Parmentier, eds., *Musée de l’École de Nancy* (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 2001), 38.

²⁰⁴“S’inspire d’un garde de sabre japonais.” Thiébaud, “Un meuble,” 304.

²⁰⁵Gallé employed the motif in a bedroom suite designed for his daughter Thérèse on the occasion of her marriage in 1902 and exhibited a similar suite at the *Exposition de l’École de Nancy* in 1903. According to Philippe Thiébaud, the humble hogweed flower also decorates the door of Eugène Vallin’s home on boulevard Lobau and the façade of the Gaudehaux store on rue des

Dominicains (1902), both in Nancy. Three designers associated with the *École de Nancy*, Majorelle, Jacques Grüber (1870-1936), and Camille Gauthier (1870-1963) each designed a living room suite using the motif. Ibid., 299.

²⁰⁶“L’instant / est si beau de / Lumière / au Fond / de nous dans notre cœur / Verhæren.”

²⁰⁷Émile Verhaeren, *The Sunlit Hours*, trans. Charles R. Murphy (New York: John Lane Company, 1916), 24-25. “L’instant est si beau de lumière, / Dans le jardin, autour de nous, / L’instant est si rare de lumière trémière, / Dans notre cœur, au fond de nous.” Émile Verhæren, *Les Heures claires* (Brussels: Edmond Deman, 1896), n.p.

²⁰⁸Chrysanthemums were a commonly depicted motif in Japanese art.

²⁰⁹The version of *Les Ombellifères* in Reims is an exact copy of the étagère exhibited in 1900, which was purchased for the Musée de Laval by a certain M. Ridel. Its present whereabouts are unknown. Henry Vasnier (1832-1907), a wine merchant, purchased the étagère in the collection of the Musée Saint-Denis, Reims, for 1500 francs in 1904 and bequeathed it to the museum upon his death. Charpentier and Thiébaud, eds., *Gallé*, 273.

²¹⁰“M. Gallé... a cherché dans les plantes et les fleurs de nos champs de ses thèmes ornementaux. Tentative louable, certes, dont on voudrait pouvoir dire le succès, mais qui, en fait, a avorté, montrant ainsi que le retour prêché à la nature est insuffisant pour rendre la vie à l’art industriel. M. Gallé, à ses débuts, eut un succès immense [mais] il manquait aux oeuvres de M. Gallé les qualités essentielles, indispensables, de composition, d’architecture nécessaires à la création d’un meuble, et que, si elles ne répétaient pas des modèles anciens, elles n’arrivaient pas non plus à constituer un style nouveau.” Claude Anet [Jean Schopfer], “L’exposition d’art appliqué au musée Galliera,” *La Revue Blanche* (August 1, 1901): 544-545.

²¹¹In 1896, for example, Louis de Fourcaud penned a similar criticism of Gallé’s furniture, writing “Personne ne conteste, au surplus, qu’on puisse obtenir d’heureuses ornementsations par la marqueterie. Le point faible des marqueteurs, c’est la conception des meubles à marqueter.” Louis de Fourcaud, “Les arts décoratifs aux Salons de 1896: Le Champ-de-Mars,” *Revue des Arts décoratifs* 16 (1896): 228.

²¹²“L’on verra donc au Musée Galliera un bureau et un petit buffet étagère de M. Gallé d’une pauvreté de dessin vraiment affligeante et qui montrent dans le choix des bois les aigres harmonies chères au maître de Nancy. Les panneaux sont traités en marqueterie; des feuillages, des gerbes de fleurs “imitant la nature” s’y étalent. Un botaniste nommerait à coup sûr les espèces représentées. Mais les meubles sont mauvais.” Anet, “L’Exposition,” 545.

²¹³“Plusieurs même... oubliaient d’être non seulement modernes, mais encore français.” Émile Gallé, “Le mobilier contemporain orné d’après la nature,” in Gallé, *Écrits pour l’art*, 237. Also published as Émile Gallé, “Le mobilier contemporain orné d’après la nature,” *Revue des Arts décoratifs* 20 (1900): 333-341, 365-377.

²¹⁴“Le style tentaculaire, tératologique.” Gallé, “Le mobilier,” 252. The issue of naturalism or the illusionistic depiction of natural forms, which is also raised in this passage, will be addressed in Chapter Six.

- ²¹⁵«Les formes fournies par les végétaux s’adaptent tout naturellement aux ligneux. [...] Il en est de même de tous les autres membres d’une structure: la plante permet toujours de les vêtir et leur assure les caractères rationnels, nobles et séduisants.” Ibid., 253.
- ²¹⁶«Un ensemble vivant, où la forme ne sera pas plus sacrifiée au décor que le décor ne sera immolé à la forme [et] chacun d’eux sera subordonné l’un à l’autre au bénéfice de l’unité.” Ibid., 258.
- ²¹⁷«A n’en pas douter, c’est [à l’étude des plantes] que nos architectes et tailleurs de pierres au treizième siècle puisèrent leurs inspirations exquises. [...] L’Extrême-Orient a tiré d’une seule plante, le bambou, tout un musée de formes appliquées à ses industries diverses.” Ibid., 263.
- ²¹⁸«Les membrures du meuble sont inspirées de la tige striée et cannellée de la berce. Comme on le voit, les tablettes reposent sur des assises naturelles formées par les fermes attaches des pétioles. Des ombelles très gracieusement découpées constituent une galerie qui orne agréablement la partie supérieure de cette étagère. Le même motif se répète à la base et relie chacun des pieds. Une autre petite galerie en métal découpé et ajouré apporte son tribut décoratif à l’ensemble. Enfin de délicates marqueteries ornent les panneaux et les tablettes de paysages et aussi de l’astrance bleue des Alpes.” Em[ile] N[icolas], “Meubles de M. E. Gallé (suite),” *La Lorraine Artiste* (1901): 114-115.
- ²¹⁹Paul d’Arbois de Jubainville, *Dictionnaire biographique lorrain* (Metz: Éditions Serpenoise, 2003), 305.
- ²²⁰« Dans la composition du meuble, il emprunte le point de départ aux modèles consacrés. Il songe à l’art oriental, à la Renaissance, au style Louis XVI; mais il ne les répète point. S’il reste fidèle aux grandes lignes caractéristiques de chaque idéal, il arrive, par un travail d’esprit qui se refuse à l’analyse, à varier le système de l’ornementation; il ajoute sa pensée à celle des créateurs primitifs, et, de plus en plus soucieux de la grâce sévère ou souriante, il parvient à exécuter des œuvres d’art qui ont un cachet nouveau.” Paul Eudel, “Édouard Lièvre: Œuvres décoratives, meubles, bronzes, tableaux,” in *L’hôtel Drouot et la curiosité en 1886-1887*, Vol. 7 (Paris: G. Charpentier & Cie, Éditeurs, 1887), 117.
- ²²¹«Parmi nos ébénistes exposants, un seul fait preuve de quelque effort d’originalité. C’est M. Viardot. S’inspirant des lignes et des formes chères aux Chinois et aux Japonais, il a su tirer de cette veine d’art encore nouvelle, toute une curieuse création, tout un style, qui lui demeurent bien personnels. [...] Nous savons bien qu’après tout, ce n’est là que de l’invention de seconde main, une appropriation plus ou moins spirituelle d’un style exotique habilement modifié dans le sens de nos besoins, de nos goûts, et non une création véritable; mais qu’importe si cela est charmant!” Paul Lefort, “L’Union centrale des Arts décoratifs: neuvième exposition,” *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (1887): 355.
- ²²²Silverman, *Art Nouveau*, 240.
- ²²³«Le maître de Nancy prit, à l’exemple des Japonais, le parti de demander aux végétaux eux-mêmes les éléments du thème plastique de la pièce céramique ou verrière qui leur devait emprunter son thème ornemental.” Louis de Fourcaud, *Émile Gallé* (Paris: Librairie d’art ancien et moderne, 1903), 25.

- ²²⁴“Ce qui l’impressionne par-dessus tout, c’est la façon des Japonais de traiter la fleur et l’insecte. Plus rien, en fin de compte, ne le touchera que l’émanation directe de la vraie nature étalée sous ses yeux.” Louis de Fourcaud, “A Propos d’une exposition prochaine: Émile Gallé et son Art du Verre,” *Le Gaulois* (April 9, 1910): 4.
- ²²⁵Reyen had worked for Gallé before joining Rousseau’s employ. Janine Bloch-Dermant, *Le Verre en France: d’Émile Gallé à nos jours* (Osny: Imprimerie de Busagny, 1983), 23.
- ²²⁶“Tous ces ouvrages sont remarquables, sont parfaits d’exécution, marqués de signes originaux; mais l’artiste les a à peine terminés que le doute et le mécontentement de soi le ressaisissent. Au fond rien ne le touchera plus jamais de ce qui n’émane par directement de la vraie nature, c’est là surtout par la célébration de la vie en ces merveilles que son âme réussit à s’exprimer.” Jules Henrivaux, “Émile Gallé,” *L’Art décoratif* 6 (1905): 128.
- ²²⁷Although Henrivaux’s essay on Gallé appeared only in 1905, the author voiced similar ideas as early as 1883. In *Le verre et le cristal*, Henrivaux posits that “M. Gallé est passé, comme à peu près tous les artistes industriels d’autrefois et ceux de notre temps, par les écoles de l’art oriental, et surtout celle si séduisante et si commode du japonisme. Mais il n’a pas voulu s’y attarder. [...] En résumé, sa grande préoccupation, comme la grande difficulté qu’il rencontre, ce n’est pas de faire du verre, tantôt plus ou moins blanc, tantôt plus ou moins coloré, c’est de faire *du Gallé*.” Jules Henrivaux, *Le Verre et le cristal* (Paris: Dunod, Éditeur, 1883), 399. Edgar Auguin cites this sentence in its entirety in his 1897 article on Gallé’s factory. Auguin, “À la cristallerie,” 12.
- ²²⁸“Les merveilleuses nouveautés des arts asiatiques ont exercé sur votre jeune imagination une action à laquelle tout, d’ailleurs, vous préparait: votre entourage, votre éducation et vos dispositions personnelles. Mais je me hâte d’ajouter que si cette empreinte, ressentie par toutes les branches de l’art, la peinture en particulier, s’est traduite chez vous par une profonde émotion, elle n’a été qu’un stimulant qui vous a amené à une conception d’art très distincte. L’art de la Chine et du Japon se contente du plaisir et de l’amusement des yeux; le vôtre a des visées plus hautes: il parle au cœur et fait penser.” Charles De Meixmoron de Dombasle, “Réponse du Président au récipiendaire M. Émile Gallé,” *Mémoires de l’Académie de Stanislas* 7 (1899-1900): xliii.
- ²²⁹“N’aboutit qu’à exalter chez lui la recherche d’une ingénuité raffinée et l’ambition de renouer avec la nature. Il s’y trouva encore porté par l’étude raisonnée et mûrie des créations de la Chine et du Japon surtout; en l’abordant, il se souciait moins d’obéir à la mode, comme on l’a insinué, que de découvrir chez les Athéniens de l’Extrême-Orient et les principes émancipateurs d’une libre esthétique, et des exemples dignes de répondre aux particulières aspirations de son tempérament. Comment n’aurait-il pas été conquis par un art national, jailli du sol, du pays et de la race?” Roger Marx, *Conférence de M. Roger Marx sur Émile Gallé* (Nancy: Imprimerie de l’Est, 1904), 7.
- ²³⁰Philippe Thiébaud, “Gallé face aux critiques de son temps,” in Charpentier and Thiébauts, eds., *Gallé*, 67.
- ²³¹“Émile Gallé ne devint vraiment lui-même qu’en 1884. A cette époque, il eut comme une révélation en étudiant l’art japonais. On lui a reproché depuis... de chercher son inspiration en Extrême-Orient. Un abîme sépare la manière de Gallé de celle des mongols. Lui-même se défend avec quelque indignation de les imiter, mais reconnaît qu’ils l’ont conduit à se rapprocher de la nature, autant

que les lois esthétiques de la décoration le permettaient.” Charles Ténib [Charles Binet], “Le nouvel art décoratif et l’École Lorraine,” *La Plume* 157 (1895): 483.

²³²“[Gallé] m’écrit à ce sujet: “Il est vrai que le même modèle vivant, de mes bois, a été interprété au Japon et en Europe par des artistes qui en ont fait des décors naturalistes souples et libres, chacun bien entendu avec son tempérament, sa race, son métier et son intellectualité. L’histoire du décor prouve d’ailleurs que cet art naturaliste n’a pas attendu chez nous, pour se produire, dès les âges les plus reculés que les albums de Hokou-taï aient vu le jour. Dirait-on pas que les rustiques figulines [sic], ce décor si naïf fort employé au Nippon soit d’origine japonaise, --et pourtant!” Ibid., 483.

²³³François D’Ervy, for example, praises Japanese art in terms that make clear its association with the decorative and with skilled craftsmanship—both aspects of his art that Gallé sought to elevate through an appeal to the idea of individual artistic genius. D’Ervy writes of the Japanese, “Ils ont une telle dextérité de main, ces gens du Nippon, avec une si délicate intuition de l’emploi des matières, un sens si fin de l’association des couleurs, un tact si juste de l’appropriation du décor!” François d’Ervy, “Promenades aux Sections orientales,” in De Fourcaud and Dumas, 151.

²³⁴Similarly, in his review of the *Exposition universelle* of 1889, Marx writes, “C’est que, à Copenhague et à Nancy, la nature environnante est l’inspiratrice et le guide; c’est que M. Krog et M. Gallé développent, suivant leur humeur et leur climat, les libres principes des Japonais; que, de côté et d’autre, l’art exclusivement local, national, est le produit du sol et de la race.” Roger Marx, *La Décoration et l’art industriel*, 52.

²³⁵H[ippolyte] Taine, *Lectures on Art*, trans. John Durand, First Series (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1896), 30.

²³⁶“Taine, qui aimait à faire ressortir l’importance des ambiances physiques, sociales et morales sur les inventions de l’Art, aurait trouvé son affaire au Japon. [...] L’Art au Japon est directement et absolument le résultat de l’ambiance.” Gonse, “L’art japonais,” 100.

²³⁷Like Bing, Liberty began his career as a merchant selling imported goods from the Far East. He opened a store selling “Oriental” imports, including fabric, furniture, and *objets d’art* in 1875. In the 1890s, Liberty added objects by contemporary designers working in the Art nouveau style to his stock, making a name for himself as a proponent of the new style.

²³⁸“Pendant deux siècles et demi, deux forces puissantes, la féodalité et l’isolement, ont donc agi de concert dans ce pays, l’une pour stimuler son ardeur artistique, l’autre pour maintenir dans toute leur pureté les formes originaires de son esthétique.” Lasenby Liberty, “Les arts industriels,” n.p.

²³⁹Burty penned art criticism for the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, *La Presse*, *La Liberté*, and *Le Rappel* beginning in the 1860s, when he also began collecting Japanese prints, books, and *objets d’art*. An advocate of Realism, Salon reform, and modern printmaking, Burty soon became closely associated with the nascent Japonisme movement. Burty was named an Inspecteur des Beaux-Arts in 1881 and delivered a series of lectures, subsequently published in the *Revue des Arts décoratifs*, on Japanese art and pottery at the Union Centrale in the fall of 1884. The auction of Burty’s private collection in 1891 allowed the public to study an ensemble that included an astounding 2,500 individual objects. Berger, *Japonisme*, 13. Like many *japonistes*, Burty was an advocate of arts reform and viewed the study of Japanese art as one way in which artists could

learn to break free of the stultifying academic tradition. Burty loaned works from his extensive private collection to the 1869 *Union centrale* exhibition at the Palais de l'Industrie, the *Exposition universelle* of 1878, and the exhibition organized by Gonse in 1883 at the Galerie Georges Petit in Paris. Weisberg, "Philippe Burty," 113, 117. His words thus carried weight with many artists in the modern movement, including Gallé, who befriended Burty in the 1880s.

²⁴⁰«Presque toujours l'ornementation que nous retrouvons dans l'art de l'Extrême-Orient est une ornementation symbolique. Il en est bien autrement pour l'Europe, avec ce malheureux système actuel de toujours copier, de toujours transcrire, de ne point poursuivre une pensée originale, de ne point nous demander si notre flore, si notre faune ne nous fourniraient pas des éléments essentiels de décoration absolument personnelle, absolument française. [...] Nous sommes, sur ce terrain de l'invention, surpassés par des nations plus simples, qui conservent en elles-mêmes ce feu sacré de l'amour de la nature, cette jalousie pour la beauté nationale.» Ph[ilippe] Burty, "La poterie et la porcelaine au Japon: Première conférence," *Revue des Arts décoratifs* 5 (1884-1885): 392.

²⁴¹In her study of primitivism in art, Connelly writes, "The principal framework of ideas that defined "primitive art" was that of the *classical tradition* as institutionalized in academies of art throughout Europe. The classical norm cast the "primitive" as a dark mirror image of itself. [...] Primitivizing artists held the same assumptions concerning the nature of "primitive" art and used the same nomenclature. The critical difference lay in their rejection of the classical center, a rejection that led them to embrace its presumed opposite, the peripheral "primitive"." Connelly, *Sleep of Reason*, 9 and 34.

²⁴²Roger Marx, "La moderne verrerie française: M. Émile Gallé et M. Lèveillé," *La Revue artistique de la famille* (November 1895): 49. "De toutes parts, dans les façons de concevoir et d'exécuter ce ne sont que perfectionnements, tentatives d'affranchissement, abandon définitif des formules surannées. Le secret de cette émancipation appartient à l'Extrême-Orient; le Japon et la Chine ont été les sources suggestives et vivifiantes auxquelles les verriers de cette fin de siècle ont demandé le rajeunissement de leur inspiration variée." An almost identical quote appears in Marx, "L'art à l'exposition: La verrerie (suite)," *L'Illustration* 2425 (August 17, 1889): 127. Marx omits any reference to China, however, in the earlier quote.

²⁴³Similarly, a Russian critic writes, "Il a remplacé les vieux mythes de l'Olympe par un mélange de l'élément japonais et de l'esprit français." Raffalovitch, "Exposition universelle de Paris," n.p.

²⁴⁴«Il fait bon célébrer aujourd'hui la découverte de l'art japonais, sa prise en considération par les esthètes, sa sortie du domaine de la curiosité, où le confinaient, sous prétexte de bizarrerie, l'ignorance et le préjugé; il fait bon, en attendant que le Louvre s'ouvre à lui, rappeler quels rapprochements il a provoqués de la part des archéologues, comment les plus dignes de croyance l'ont comparé à ces arts classiques de l'antiquité et du moyen âge auxquels il messierait de mesurer l'admiration et le respect." Marx, "Sur le rôle et l'influence," 145. Jules Rais quotes at length from Marx's essay in his review of the decorative arts in Lorraine. Jules Rais, "L'Art décoratif et industriel en Lorraine," *La Lorraine artiste* (July 22, 1894): 251-255.

²⁴⁵Gonse served as chief editor of the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* from 1875 to 1893. In 1883, Gonse organized an exhibition of Japanese art dating from the 9th to the 19th century, the *Exposition rétrospective de l'art japonais*, at the Galerie Georges Petit in 1883. *L'Art Japonais* was published in conjunction with the exhibition, which presented works from the collections of

Gonse, Burty, Duret, Bing and other major Parisian collectors, as well as the Japanese dealer Hayashi. Objects exhibited ranged from two-dimensional paintings, ink drawings, and prints to three-dimensional bronzes and examples of lacquer ware. Evett, *Critical Reception*, 14; Otter, “Deux reliures,” 64. See also Philippe Burty, “L’Exposition rétrospective de l’art japonais,” *La République française* (April 12, 1883): 2. Although Burty praises recent efforts made to study and understand Japanese art more fully, he nonetheless continues to view it primarily in terms of what it can offer French art. He remarks that “la collection de M. Gonse rendrait déjà à la France un service considérable [et] met au service de la critique... les plus solides arguments contre l’esprit de routine qui appauvrit nos arts et nos collections nationales.”

²⁴⁶“Selon moi, les Japonais constituent le peuple le plus artiste qui ait jamais existé—avec les Grecs; je le dis sans aucune espèce d’hésitation. [...] Chez ces deux peuples, en effet, il y eut le même goût pour l’oeuvre d’art, à tous les degrés de l’échelle sociale, de l’homme raffiné, cultivé, au plus humble paysan. Cela tient peut-être à cette cause que l’Art au Japon, comme en Grèce, n’était destiné qu’à l’embellissement de la vie; l’Art chez ces deux peuples est toujours associé à la vie; il n’a rien de factice ni d’artificiel.” Gonse, “L’art japonais,” 99.

²⁴⁷“Aucune intervention n’a été plus efficace à nous détacher des modes classiques traditionnels. Même, par une curieuse série de coups et de contre-coups, les créations de l’Extrême-Orient, chimériques et pratiques, décelant un si vif amour de la nature et une telle recherche de l’expression par le détail familier, a ramené quantité d’esprits au sens de nos origines.” Louis De Fourcaud, “Les arts décoratifs au Salon de 1892: Champs-Élysées et Champ-de-Mars (1^{er} article),” *Revue des Arts décoratifs* 12 (1891-1892): 323.

²⁴⁸“Pendant le moyen âge, la hiérarchie esthétique est si bien ignorée que chaque artiste exécute également tout ce qui ressortit à sa technique.” Ibid., 323. Marx likewise attributed the decline of artistic taste in 19th-century France to the imposition of a hierarchy of arts that divided artist from artisan. Marx, like Fourcaud, posits that unity of the arts is part of the “national tradition.” He writes, “C’est, de toute évidence, pour avoir établi des classifications arbitraires, pour avoir violé la tradition nationale et consommé le divorce entre l’artiste et l’artisan que le goût languit, ne se rénove point et que l’école contemporaine s’encombre et regorge de non-valeurs.” Roger Marx, Foreword to *Histoire de l’art décoratif du XVI^e siècle à nos jours*, by Arsène Alexandre (Paris: Librairie Renouard, 1892), vi. Elizabeth Emery and Laura Morowitz have analyzed at length the fin-de-siècle interest in medieval art and architecture as the expression of a unified French national identity. Elizabeth Emery and Laura Morowitz, *Consuming the Past: The Medieval Revival in Fin-de-Siècle France* (Aldershot, Hants, England: Ashgate, 2003), 17-18.

²⁴⁹Gonse, “Louis Gonse (1846-1921) et le Japon,” 83.

²⁵⁰Ibid., 85.

²⁵¹“Je les comparais tout à l’heure aux Grecs; on pourrait aussi bien les comparer, avec non moins d’à-propos, à nos artistes du Moyen-Age. Chez eux, le côté rationnel domine tout; cela corrobore ce que je disais: à savoir que les objets sont toujours faits pour un usage, qu’ils se rapportent toujours à un besoin de la vie.” Gonse, “L’art japonais,” 106.

²⁵²Put, *Plunder*, 13.

²⁵³Philippe Burty, “Japonism,” *The Academy* (August 7, 1875): 151.

- ²⁵⁴«Jamais les habitants de l'Extrême-Orient n'ont subi ce joug que subissent nos arts, surtout depuis le XVI^e siècle. Pendant le XIII^e siècle qui vit une des plus belles floraisons du génie français, tout avait également sa raison d'être. Jamais nos artistes n'avaient la pensée d'aller puiser dans des civilisations autres que la nôtre la représentation de ce qu'ils voulaient dire eux-mêmes. Ils le disaient en leur langue. On demandait tout à la réflexion, au pays, à la nature, et la nature est une mère dont la bouche n'est jamais muette pour ceux qui l'interrogent avec sincérité.» Burty, "La poterie," 415.
- ²⁵⁵«Du chaos des formes surgissent deux influences impérieuses: depuis que les Goncourt, ces explorateurs de l'Art, ont importé les trouvailles des Japonais qui font une science de la composition des bouquets et qui donnent à leurs femmes des noms de fleurs, depuis que le penseur John Ruskin, suivi par le poète-peintre William Morris, a rêvé d'étendre à toutes les provinces créatrices "la religion de la Beauté" –l'Extrême-Orient s'allie curieusement aux songes moyen-âgeux d'Albion pour conseiller nos chercheurs. La plante triomphe.» Raymond Bouyer, "Les Arts," *L'Image* (June 1897): 219.
- ²⁵⁶«Cette sympathie, cette influence, doit-on les imputer, les assujettir au caprice d'une mode et partant les juger éphémères, ou bien ne procèdent-elles pas plutôt d'une affinité de tempéraments dès longtemps prouvée: "L'apothéose" d'aujourd'hui ne serait alors que la reprise d'une tradition, le retour à une préférence, vive comme jamais à l'heure présente, mais nouvelle non pas.» Marx, "Sur le rôle," 142.
- ²⁵⁷«Il est patent que ces ouvrages dominant dans les collections et qu'ils vont précipiter la réaction contre le despotisme rigide, pompeux de Le Brun, en fournissant les éléments d'indépendance, de dissymétrie et de mouvement combinés à merveille par l'originalité nationale durant la Régence et sous Louis XV.» Ibid., 142.
- ²⁵⁸«Vienne la Révolution, il en ira –combien d'années! –des laques, des porcelaines, comme des créations françaises de la période qui les a su tant aimer. David, son école, sa génération, n'en ont cure, et, pour les voir prises à nouveau, force est d'attendre la révolte de quelques esprits libres en faveur de Watteau, de Chardin, de La Tour, de Fragonard, car les mêmes justiciers –qu'ils se nomment de Goncourt, Villot ou Burty –entreprendront, aux environs de 1850, la réhabilitation de notre école conspuée et la remise en honneur du génie extrême-oriental.» Ibid., 144.
- ²⁵⁹«Parce que l'art de l'Extrême-Orient était, comme celui du XVIII^e siècle, "un art de vérité et de rêve", les Goncourt ont été d'instinct attirés vers lui; littérateurs-artistes irrassasiés d'impressions neuves, ils en ont aimé le "grain d'opium si montant, si hallucinant, si curieusement énigmatique pour la cervelle d'un contemplateur".» Roger Marx, "Les Goncourt collectionneurs," in *Collection des Goncourt: objets d'art du XVIII^e siècle* (Paris: Librairies réunies, 1897), xv.
- ²⁶⁰Edmond de Goncourt, *La maison d'un artiste* (Paris: G. Charpentier, 1881).
- ²⁶¹Berger, *Japonisme*, 12.
- ²⁶²The special issue appeared on July 26, 1896.
- ²⁶³Émile Gallé, "Goncourt et les métiers d'art," 1896, in Gallé, *Écrits pour l'art*, 163.

- ²⁶⁴«Il paraît certain qu'il n'a pas prêté... mainforte au *sursum* de nos industries d'art. Goncourt n'en a pas moins été pour elles, bienfaiteur malgré lui, un fier instructeur, un remuant fomenteur d'art.» Ibid., 163-164.
- ²⁶⁵«Pour nous le transcrire, cet inventaire, il a imaginé un crayon à lui; pour en estamper en quelque sorte les illustrations reliefsées, il a inventé un outillage de graveur en médailles, un verbe plastique; il a employé un métal ciselé à sa main, une phrase musclée, des procédés de rapide impression, une phototypie en couleurs, dirais-je, et en mouvements; pour nous picturer les ouvrages des métiers artistes en leurs changeantes matières et manières, il s'est servi de pastels *arc-en-cièlés* de poussiéreuses ailes papillonnantes.» Ibid., 165.
- ²⁶⁶In 954, the Chinese emperor Chin-Tsung (r. 954-959), or Shizong, proclaimed that porcelain made for the imperial palace should be “blue as the sky after rain when seen between clouds.” Augustus Wollaston Franks, *Catalogue of a Collection of Oriental Porcelain and Pottery* (London: George E. Eyre and William Spottiswoode, 1876), x.
- ²⁶⁷«Les écoliers de métiers seront les auditeurs de vos *fairy tales*, de vos contes de *Mille et une Nuits*, où vous tramez des écharpes aux Sheherazade, aux Zobéide, où nous voyons l'empereur Chi-Tong commander, avec un sens rare chez un dirigeant, qu'à jamais soient bleues les porcelaines du palais, mais bleues “comme le ciel qu'on aperçoit après la pluie... dans l'intervalle des nuages.” C'est nous qui recueillerons “la grande fleur d'un bleu vitreux, l'hibiscus gravé et gaufré”, et nous enivrerons aussi nos ouvrages des aromes de la “rose Nankin”.” Gallé, “Goncourt,” 167.
- ²⁶⁸«Le cristal trouva chez Goncourt des résonances. Il goûta les verres chinois. Mais il dut laisser à l'avenir la pénétration de leur obscure histoire. Elles lui parurent chatouillantes les verreries du Palais d'été, malgré le poncif un peu bête de leurs figurations.» Ibid., 174.
- ²⁶⁹«Le blanc le plus rapproché du cœur d'un fleur de mangolia avec ces translucidités de jade.» Ibid., 174.
- ²⁷⁰«Telles images semblent bondir hors la page; d'autres ont capté la presque scientifique observation: “ce mouvement de compression des ailes d'une abeille dans une fleur”.” Ibid., 177.
- ²⁷¹«Edmond de Goncourt nous a initiés à l'œuvre énorme, incroyablement féconde d'un ouvrier d'horizons, le très bon maître Hokousai, à qui l'art de l'ingrat Japon a dû d'être arraché, il y a une soixantaine d'années, au décor conventionnel chinois. Et pourtant, l'homme dont l'influence immense dépassa les ateliers du Japon et modernisa, naturalisa l'art décoratif des nations, –à qui lui demandait des leçons, proclamait modestement, génialement ce principe: “On n'enseigne pas l'art! En copiant la nature, n'importe qui peut devenir un artiste!”” Ibid., 178-179.
- ²⁷²Clarence F. Shangraw, “Collections of Chinese Glass,” in *A Chorus of Colors*, 12.
- ²⁷³Donald Rabiner, “Chinese Glass and the West,” in *A Chorus of Colors*, 18.
- ²⁷⁴Ricke, “Art Nouveau Glass,” 20.
- ²⁷⁵«Wie ich als junger Assistent einst die anregende Sammlung solcher Gläser für den Meister aus Nancy geöffnet habe und wie Gallé zwei Wochen lang Stück für Stück untersuchte, nach denen noch kein deutscher Glasfachmann gefragt hatte: er hat sich aus Berlin die Grundlagen seiner

welterobernden Technik geholt.” P[eter] Jessen, “Reisestudien VII: China—Volkstum und Werkkunst,” *Kunstgewerbeblatt* 28 (1916/17): 157-64.

²⁷⁶Ricke, “Art Nouveau Glass,” 20.

²⁷⁷*Ibid.*, 20.

²⁷⁸Roger Marx, “L’art à l’Exposition: La verrerie,” *L’Illustration* 2424 (August 10, 1889): 103. Marx describes “les bouteilles chinoises de notre confrère S. Bing avec leurs bas-reliefs fouillés dans les couches délicatement colorées du cristal.”

²⁷⁹“C’est là, sans doute, qu’il faut chercher l’explication des travaux exécutés au dix-septième siècle dans l’Extrême-Orient, pièces traitées par les Chinois à la façon de l’ivoire, et dont la technique surprenante fera, quelque jour, de ma part, l’objet d’une contribution écrite à l’histoire si riche du verre.” Gallé, “Notice sur la production de verres,” 345.

²⁸⁰Ricke and Schmitt, 21.

²⁸¹Le Tacon, *Trésors de Gallé*, 83; Jean-Luc Olivié, “Émile Gallé and Japanese Art, Notes on Some Works in the Collection of the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris,” in *Gallé and Japonisme*, 232.

²⁸²The exhibition was entitled *L’Exposition Orientale des Champs-Élysées*. Gonse, “Louis Gonse,” 82. Born in Milan, Cernuschi emigrated to France during the Italian Wars of Independence. Following his involvement in the events of the Paris Commune, Cernuschi left precipitately on a long journey to the Far East, with the art critic Théodore Duret as his companion. Cernuschi acquired a large number of works in China and Japan, including many bronzes, which he exhibited in his home in the form of a private museum. Bernard Frank, “L’intérêt pour les religions japonaises dans la France du XIXe siècle et les collections d’Émile Guimet,” in *L’Age du Japonisme: la France et le Japon dans la deuxième moitié du XIXe siècle*, ed. Akiyama Terukazu et al. (Tokyo: Société franco-japonaise d’art et d’archéologie, 1983), 13.

²⁸³Cernuschi bequeathed his collection of Chinese and Japanese art as well as his luxurious townhouse to the city of Paris upon his death in 1896. Gaston Migeon, “Le Musée Cernuschi,” *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 28 (September 1, 1897): 217-218; Chang, “Collecting Asia,” 33. Today the house and its collections together comprise the *Musée Cernuschi*.

²⁸⁴Émile Guimet, a native of Lyons, was fascinated by Eastern religions. After visiting Egypt, Guimet traveled to Japan, where he spent three months visiting Japanese temples and collecting religious art in the company of the artist Félix Régamey. Upon his return to France, Guimet opened a museum of religious art, first in Lyons, in 1888, and then in Paris the following year. Berger, *Japonisme*, 97. Two recent events, the official separation of Shinto and Buddhism, with the accompanying call for the destruction of works displaying elements of both traditions, and the civil war that followed the end of the Shogunate and led to the destruction of many temples allowed Guimet to purchase a considerable number of religious works that would otherwise have been unavailable to him. Frank, “L’intérêt,” 7. Guimet’s two-volume account of his journey to Japan, *Promenades japonaises*, included illustrations by Régamey. Émile Guimet, *Promenades japonaises* (Paris: G. Charpentier, 1878).

²⁸⁵Jackson, “Orient and Occident,” 111; Evett, *Critical Reception*, 112.

²⁸⁶Chang, “Collecting Asia,” 26.

²⁸⁷Maurice Paléologue, *L’Art chinois* (Paris: Quantin, [1887]). More sustained attempts to study the artistic traditions of China, such as Édouard Chavannes and Henri Maspéro’s studies of Buddhist sculpture and the work of European archaeologists in China would have a broader impact on the appreciation of Chinese art only after the turn of the century. Honour, *Chinoiserie*, 223. Paléologue attributed the decadence of Chinese ceramics not to cultural decline but to attempts to meet the demand for Chinese products in the West. He limits his discussion of the period beginning in 1796 to two pages, noting sadly that “Cette époque, qui compte déjà près d’un siècle, ne se signale par aucune découverte céramique, par aucun progrès dans les procédés; elle est marquée, au contraire, par l’oubli des traditions techniques chez les artisans, par l’absence du style chez les décorateurs. [...] A partir de l’année 1840 environ, l’excès de la production causé par le développement du commerce occidental, —la préoccupation de satisfaire à l’engouement irréfléchi et au goût inexpérimenté des acheteurs européens pour les provenances de l’extrême Orient,—et sans doute aussi un certain abaissement du sens artistique chez les Chinois de notre temps, ont déterminé la decadence où tombe, chaque jour plus profondément, l’art céramique qui, il y a moins d’un siècle, brillait encore d’un si vif éclat.” Paléologue, *L’Art chinois*, 218-219.

²⁸⁸Montesquiou most likely refers to the Dardi School, a school of Bolognese swordsmanship founded in the 15th century and named for Lippo Bartolomeo Dardi di Lucca. He thus compares Gallé’s engraving technique to that of a gifted swordman.

²⁸⁹“C’est dans un musée de Berlin, on le sait, que notre Nancéien Dardi vit ces verres chinois dont il s’éprit, et qui lui servirent d’exemples, avec leurs couches vitreuses superposées et de coloris différents, dont son touret, sa tarière et sa bouterolle allaient rechercher, comme en des onyx préparés et des camées naturels, les filons qui se prêtaient à son dessein et dont profitait sa fantaisie.” Robert de Montesquiou-Fezensac, “Les verres forgés,” in *Têtes d’expression*, (Paris: Émile-Paul, 1912), 173. The article first appeared in *Les Modes* (October 1910). Montesquiou goes on to compare Gallé’s work with the organ of seven million glass pipes built on the island of Témodia by Tardi Seguso in Gabriele d’Annunzio’s novel *Le Feu* (1900). In his memoirs, Montesquiou writes “Plus tard seulement, après sa mort, j’obtins de moi l’ablution, l’absolution posthumes de ce grief médiocre contre l’homme, et j’essayai de rendre hommage à l’artiste dans le Chapitre “Les Verres Forgés” que m’inspira sa rétrospective.” Robert de Montesquiou-Fezensac, *Les Pas effacés*, Vol. II, (Paris : Émile-Paul frères, 1923), 299.

²⁹⁰Thiébaud, “Gallé face aux critiques,” 64. The exact cause of their quarrel is unknown. Some authors have postulated that it related to rumors circulating in Paris concerning Montesquiou’s actions at the time of the fire in the *Bazar de la Charité* and others have suggested that Montesquiou, an anti-Dreyfusard, severed his ties with Gallé when the latter declared his pro-Dreyfusard convictions in 1898. Le Tacon, *Émile Gallé*, 68. Pierre Dufief attributes the rupture to Montesquiou’s disgust with what he termed Gallé’s provincial snobbism and his interest the “vulgarization” of the decorative arts. Dufief, “Émile Gallé,” 101.

²⁹¹Robert de Montesquiou-Fezensac, *Le Chef des odeurs suaves* (Paris: G. Richard, 1893); Robert de Montesquiou-Fezensac, “Crystal,” in *Les Paons* (Paris: G. Richard, 1908). Dufief, “Émile Gallé,” 100.

- ²⁹²“La vue de pièces chinoises à coulures lui suggère, presque aussitôt, de poser son émail sur des trempés de fusibilité extrême, de nature à le faire jouer en des fonds coulés, lavés, brouillés, marbrés, mouchetés, éclaboussés de tons curieusement entraînés et projetés en se liquéfiant.” De Fourcaud, *Émile Gallé*, 33.
- ²⁹³The title of Montesquiou’s essay is taken from Charles Perrault’s classic fairytale, *La Barbe Bleue*. In the original, the passage from which the phrase is taken reads: “Pour cette petite clef-ci, c’est la clef du cabinet au bout de la grande galerie de l’appartement bas: ouvrez tout, allez partout, mais pour ce petit cabinet, je vous défends d’y entrer, et je vous le défends de telle sorte, que s’il vous arrive de l’ouvrir il n’y a rien que vous ne deviez attendre de ma colère.” Quoted in Georges Gérard, *Le Cabinet des fées, or Recreative Readings, Arranged for the Express Use of Students in French* (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1859), 117.
- ²⁹⁴“Le cristallier merveilleux, le prince de cette trinité, le résurrecteur des verres chinois... le patient étudiant du Musée de Berlin où brillent les plus beaux spécimens de cet art curieux qui superpose les vitreuses couvertes diversement colorées, pour les faire, au fur et à mesure du goût et du besoin, reparaître sous l’intelligente tarière.” Robert de Montesquiou-Fezensac, “Cette petite clef-ci,” *La Plume* 157 (1895): 490. “Cette petite clef-ci” was also reprinted in a collection of Montesquiou’s writings. See Robert de Montesquiou, “Orfèvre et verrier,” in *Roseaux pensants* (Paris: E. Fasquelle, 1897), 178-180. By “trinity,” Montesquiou is most likely referring to the fact that Gallé produced works in three media—glass, wood, and earthenware.
- ²⁹⁵“A la suite de ses recherches sur l’histoire et la technique du verre chinois, Gallé inaugure sa manière de traiter les vases de verre comme des camées, à plusieurs couches. Il reprend l’art antique des vases de Naples et du British Museum, et il le rejeunit.” Jules Henrivaux, *La verrerie au XXe siècle* (Paris: L. Geisler, 1911), 581.
- ²⁹⁶“Ces modèles viennent des Chinois, qui ont donné aux Japonais les premières leçons de peinture et qui leur imposent depuis cinq siècles déjà leurs procédés compassés et leur manière conventionnelle.” Clovis Lamarre and F. de Fontpertuis, *La Chine et le Japon et l’Exposition de 1878* (Paris: Librairie Ch. Delagrave, 1878), 74.
- ²⁹⁷“Une industrie vraiment nationale.” *Ibid.*, 91.
- ²⁹⁸“Le Japon subissait le prestige antique de l’Empire du Milieu [China], comme nous avons subi celui de la Grèce, ce qui est bien naturel, et celui de l’Italie.” Burty, “La poterie,” 387.
- ²⁹⁹Burty, “La poterie,” 406.
- ³⁰⁰“Je crois que c’est de la Chine, de ses livres et des kakémonos, que sont éclos les principaux motifs classiques des Japonais; mais ceux-ci ont l’esprit si souple, qu’ils transforment et s’assimilent tout ce qui leur vient de l’étranger, absolument comme la France en a eu le don.” *Ibid.*, 416.
- ³⁰¹Similarly, Lasenby Liberty writes that “le génie national des Japonais a conservé sa personnalité, qu’il a su tirer parti de son contact avec des influences plus anciennes et probablement plus puissantes, qu’il leur a pris ce qui pouvait lui être utile, qu’il leur a pris ce qui pouvait lui être utile, qu’il s’est appuyé sur ces conquêtes pour marcher vers la nouveauté et le progrès, pliant même le culte puissant de Bouddha et les enseignements des sages de la Chine à son tempérament personnel.” Lasenby Liberty, “Les arts industriels,” n.p.

- ³⁰²“Cette influence chinoise, qu’on a toujours jugée très considérable, l’est donc moins qu’on ne le croit, tout au moins pour les premières origines; mais elle est devenue à un certain moment, un facteur irrésistible. Au XVe siècle, elle a presque dominé l’art japonais tout entier. Antérieurement à cette influence, cependant, il s’était formé un art national et tout à fait spécial au Japon, auquel on a donné le nom particulier d’école de Tosa, l’école royale, protégée par les souverains, où s’est développé un art individuel et vraiment japonais.” Gonse, “L’Art japonais,” 104.
- ³⁰³Régamey makes the same argument in his study of Japanese art and society, *Le Japon pratique*. He writes, “C’est à la Chine et à la Corée que le Japon a emprunté, avec sa civilisation, ses principes d’art et ses procédés de fabrication. [...] Tandis que les initiateurs s’immobilisaient dans de sempiternelles redites... les initiés... se dégageaient des formules étroites qu’on leur avait transmises. [...] Ainsi, grâce à ses facultés incomparables d’observation, grâce à son impeccable sûreté de goût, à sa puissance prodigieuse d’invention, à son exquis sentiment de la nature, si ingénieux à la fois et si ingénu, l’élève élargissant, de toute l’ampleur de ses qualités natives, le cadre de la science acquise, a su créer, par delà des leçons du maître, un absolument personnel,—l’art national.” (emphasis added) Félix Régamey, *Le Japon pratique* (Paris: J. Hetzel Et Cie, Éditeurs, n.d.), 6-7.
- ³⁰⁴“S’est développé en dehors de toute influence étrangère.” Siegfried Bing, Foreword to *Salon annuel des peintres japonais* (Paris: Union centrale des Arts Décoratifs, 1884), 4.
- ³⁰⁵“Un grand peuple dont il faut toujours parler avec respect, même aujourd’hui) (*Rires*).” Burty, “La poterie,” 390. The author remarks upon the audience’s laughter in a parenthetical comment.
- ³⁰⁶Garnier is one of many who commented on the increasing Westernization of Japanese art. In his review of the *Exposition universelle* of 1889, he writes, “Si l’influence japonaise se fait sentir en Amérique, il est à craindre que les Américains,— et aussi les Européens,— ne finissent à leur tour, par exercer une action regrettable sur les Japonais. Forcés de se plier aux exigences d’une fabrication courante et à bon marché, il en est bien peu, parmi ces derniers, qui... aient conservé au moins cette originalité surprenante, cette fantaisie primesautière qui font des moindres objets qu’il décorent de véritables oeuvres d’art.” Garnier, “La céramique architecturale et décorative,” 504. Similarly, in his review of the same exhibition, D’Ervy remarks, “J’eus chez les Japonais une sensation très compliquée, mais très vive—la sensation d’un génie national qui s’abdique et se suicide.” He describes the works exhibited in 1889 as displaying “que les reflets des créations anciennes.” D’Ervy goes on to remark that the Japanese display includes “même des copies de modèles occidentaux.” D’Ervy, “Promenades,” 151.
- ³⁰⁷“Rien ne leur présageait encore que, vainqueurs, ils seraient à leur tour entraînés par l’impétuosité du courant nouveau, et que les plus farouches d’entre eux deviendraient les plus ardents à s’enrôler sous l’uniforme monotone de nos civilisations occidentales—peu jaloux d’ailleurs, de nous voir ramasser, en échange, les dépouilles démodées de leur culture artistique.” Siegfried Bing, Introduction to *Collection Philippe Burty: Objets d’art japonais et chinois qui seront vendus à Paris dans les Galeries Durand-Ruel* (Paris: Chamerot, 1891), vi-vii.
- ³⁰⁸Evelt, *Critical Reception*, 123.
- ³⁰⁹Frank, “L’intérêt,” 9; Lacambre, “Milieux japonisants,” 49.

³¹⁰Evett, *Critical Reception*, 123.

³¹¹Ibid., 123-124.

³¹²Matt K. Matsuda, "The Tears of Madame Chrysanthème: Love and History in France's Japan," in *The French and the Pacific World, 17th-19th Centuries: Explorations, Migrations and Cultural Exchanges*, ed. Annick Foucrier (Aldershot, Hants, England: Ashgate/Variorum, 2005), 263.

³¹³Evett, *Critical Reception*, 124.

³¹⁴Matsuda, "The Tears," 259.

³¹⁵Ibid., 260.

³¹⁶"Qui tend à nous envahir en France." Pierre Loti, *Madame Chrysanthème* (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1888). Quoted in Matsuda, "The Tears," 266.

³¹⁷It is unclear to whom or what Régamey refers in this phrase. *Sama* translates as "Mr." or "Mrs." Thus *Krizuka* can only refer to a proper name.

³¹⁸"Nous avons fourni aux Japonais des leçons et des armes. Ils ont bien profité des unes et s'entendent aussi bien que père et mère à se servir des autres. Ouais, qu'est ceci! N'allons pas si vite! Si la vieille Europe a donné au petit Krizuka Sama, un beau tambour ce n'est pas pour qu'il tape dessus; si elle a bien voulu faire cadeau à la petite Mousmé d'une belle poupée, c'est à condition qu'elle restera soigneusement enfermée dans l'armoire." Félix Régamey, "La raison du plus fort," *La Plume* 157 (1895): 499.

³¹⁹"Cela nous arrive par cargaisons qui rappellent les pacotilles que nous destinons aux peuplades du continent noir, et dans ces deux cas, le même mépris [sic] pour le destinataire, préside à l'envoi." Félix Régamey, "L'âme japonaise," *La Plume* 108 (October 15, 1893): 421.

³²⁰"Comment ne pas souffrir au spectacle offert par un peuple qui semble avoir perdu la conscience de sa valeur en art, qui, foulant aux pieds le génie de sa race, s'efface et s'humilie devant le fracas de nos produits." Ibid., 420.

³²¹This was a view shared by many. As early as 1878, two critics reviewing the Japanese display at the *Exposition Universelle* declared, "Les artistes japonais semblent en voie de perdre le respect de leurs vieilles traditions nationales, et leur goût, jadis si sûr, si irréprochable, fléchit au contact de l'art exotique. A cet art, il manquait l'idéal, mais il avait le style, et c'est assurément quelque chose; il ne faudrait pas qu'il le perdît et que le génie propre de la race japonaise abdiquât... devant le génie des races européennes, et troquât son originalité contre une imitation, plus ou moins servile et toujours maladroite, de formes étrangères." Lamarre and Fontpertuis, *La Chine*, 97.

³²²"Celui qui a suivi les modifications ainsi opérées, découvre à chaque instant, autour de lui, dans les objets d'art ou d'industrie, le signe de l'influence que le Japon a exercée et exerce encore. Mais comme il arrive lorsque les emprunts se produisent chez un peuple doué de son invention propre, ils ont fini par être absorbés, au point de devenir partie intégrante de l'art et des industries qui les avaient faits." Théodore Duret, "L'Art japonais," *La Plume* 108 (1893): 422.

- ³²³Théodore Duret, *Voyage en Asie: le Japon, la Chine, la Mongolie, Java, Ceylan, l'Inde* (Paris: Michel Lévy frères, 1874); Chang, "Collecting Asia," 20.
- ³²⁴"Créera-t-on des formes nouvelles? A coup sûr. Dans quel sentiment seront-elles conçues? je l'ignore, mais j'ai peine à croire qu'on ne s'inspirera pas dans une certaine mesure... des ingénieuses combinaisons japonaises. [...] Un des principes, par suite, sur lesquels on se règlera sans nul doute, sera celui de la dissymétrie." [François] Thiébault-Sisson, "L'Art décoratif aux salons: Où en est le nouveau style?" *Art et Décoration* 1 (1897): 102.
- ³²⁵Mais cette dissymétrie sera tempérée par un goût beaucoup plus épuré que celui des Japonais, par un souci plus marqué de l'équilibre des masses et par ce don de sobriété qui est inné dans une race pondérée, amoureuse (101) de logique, éprise de clarté comme la nôtre." *Ibid.*, 102.
- ³²⁶"Nous y trouverons des exemples dignes à tous égards d'être suivis, non certes pour ébranler les bases de notre vieil édifice esthétique, mais pour venir ajouter une force de plus à toutes celles que depuis des siècles nous nous sommes appropriées pour en étayer notre génie national. Comment celui-ci aurait-il pu maintenir sa vitalité s'il ne s'était de loin en loin retrempé en des sources nouvelles?" Bing, "Programme," 5.
- ³²⁷"Le jeune verrier lorrain s'est, du reste, essayé dans tous les styles et il a tenté toutes les formes, aussi bien que toutes les couleurs. Avec un goût que la critique la plus sévère ne saurait jamais trouver en faute, il approprie à nos besoins ou à nos caprices les plus séduisantes créations de l'art oriental." Énault, "Les industries," 7.
- ³²⁸"Un profond admirateur de l'art japonais." Edgard Auguin, "Exposition industrielle des Arts décoratifs à Nancy: Le Problème d'une société nouvelle," *Revue Industrielle de l'Est* 3, no. 136 (August 12, 1894): 8.
- ³²⁹"Là où on les pratique couramment, l'expression sincère et juste... non-seulement du milieu où elles sont nées, mais du génie propre des deux nations, l'une européenne, l'autre asiatique, qui leur ont donné naissance." *Ibid.*, 8.
- ³³⁰"Les oppositions savantes de couleurs, les exagérations d'allures et de formes, spéciales à l'art japonais, s'accordent merveilleusement dans leur infinie variété avec le polythéisme d'un peuple où les mœurs sont aussi douces que les lois sont violentes et arbitraires." *Ibid.*, 8.
- ³³¹"Il y a une question... d'aptitude anatomique qui distingue la race asiatique de la race européenne [et] le système d'art qui ravit justement le Japonais, échappe... à la critique de notre intelligence ou à la perception de nos sens." *Ibid.*, 8.
- ³³²"Que si l'on me propose de pénétrer les secrets industriels de cette nation, pour nous assimiler, si possible, ses méthodes et ses artifices de coloration, ses procédés manuels d'orfèvrerie, ses étonnants outils d'ébénisterie, j'applaudis. On ne saurait mieux faire, que de les imiter sur beaucoup de points. Si même on développe nos relations réciproques jusqu'à importer dans nos ateliers et nos usines l'usage de certaines matières premières ou fabriquées par eux, telles que métaux, alliages, couleurs, teintures végétales, papiers, etc., etc., j'applaudis toujours, car, là encore, ils nous sont en bien des points supérieurs, et c'est progresser que de les suivre jusqu'à

l'heure où, avec nos propres ressources, nous pourrions faire aussi bien ou mieux qu'eux." Ibid., 8.

³³³“La déviation du bon sens français sous une impulsion d'admirateurs aveugles dont l'engouement fanatique se consoleraient volontiers de voir périr les qualités nationales.” Ibid., 8.

³³⁴“Sans doute, il s'agit d'un art japonais, puisqu'il est né et qu'il s'est développé au Japon, puisqu'il est le produit d'une race et le reflet d'un pays. La singularité serait qu'il en fût autrement. La singularité, elle n'est pas là, elle est chez nombre de nos artistes modernes qui japonisent volontiers dans leur art les aspects des choses qu'ils ont vues de leurs yeux d'Européens du XIX^e siècle. Il y a là une factice alchimie cérébrale, une production marquée de stérilité à l'avance. Autant vaudrait attendre d'un pommier une éclosion d'oranges et de mandarines.” Gustave Geffroy, “Au Japon: Les Paysages d'Hiroshige, Les Femmes d'Outamaro,” *La Grande Dame* 1 (1893): 143-147.

³³⁵“Tant mieux... si l'art parle ici un langage encore non entendu par nous, s'il nous fait connaître une manière de comprendre la vie et de pratiquer les sentiments.” Ibid., 143-144.

³³⁶“On sait quel fut cet idéal, où survivait, ardent, l'esprit français du dernier siècle. Directement issu de cette époque, incessamment (III) nourri de ses raffinements intellectuels, Goncourt avait trouvé en Extrême-Orient certaines expressions d'art d'un sentiment tout similaire. En elles il rencontrait encore les mille visions exquises, gravées au profond de son cœur par tout ce qu'il chérissait dans l'art de son pays.” S[iegfried] Bing, “Les Arts de l'Extrême-Orient dans la collection des Goncourts,” in *Collection des Goncourt: Objets d'art du XVIII^e siècle* (Paris: Librairies réunies, 1897), iii.

³³⁷“Et c'est l'honneur des Goncourt d'avoir affirmé que tous les arts sont solidaires, qu'il faut les grouper, non suivant des origines locales, mais selon des parentés de sentimen [sic]. Et dans leur rigoureuse logique, peu importait le coin de terre où chaque fleur était née, pourvu que toutes fussent bien de même essence, se confondissent en une même harmonie.” Ibid., iii-iv.

³³⁸Jean-Louis Debievre, “Gallé, Daum: main basse sur les pâtes de verre,” *Le Figaro*, February 9, 1990; Françoise-Thérèse Charpentier, “Actualités,” *Art nouveaux* 5 (Spring 1990): n.p.

³³⁹“La gratuité, la fausseté et le danger de ce genre d'affirmations.” Charpentier, “Actualités,” n.p.

³⁴⁰B.P., “Le Soleil levant se coucherat-il?” *Arts nouveaux* 5 (Spring 1990), n.p.

³⁴¹Philippe Marcacci, “Vic-sur-Seille: le mystère du Gallé fendu,” *L'Est Républicain* April 8, 2009.

³⁴²Narasaki Muneshige, “Western Influence and Revival of Tradition in “Ukiyo-E,” in Chisaburo, 313. See also Anna Jackson and Amin Jaffer, eds., *Encounters: The Meeting of Asia and Europe, 1500-1800*, exh. cat. (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 2004).

³⁴³Muneshige, “Western Influence,” 313.

³⁴⁴Ibid., 313.

³⁴⁵Ibid., 315.

³⁴⁶Ibid., 315.

³⁴⁷Ibid., 112.

³⁴⁸Christine M. E. Guth, *Art, Tea, and Industry: Masuda Takashi and the Mitsui Circle* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 163.

³⁴⁹Ibid., 162.

³⁵⁰Cultural conservatives such as Miyake Setsurei (1860-1945) would take this idea even further. In *Shinzenbi Nihonjin* (The Japanese: The True, The Good, The Beautiful; 1891), Miyake urged the Japanese government to establish a museum of traditional art. For Miyake, the preservation of Japan's artistic heritage was motivated by a kind of cultural nationalism, a celebration of Japanese history and character as expressed by Japanese art. Ibid., 167.

³⁵¹Ibid., 8-9. Guth points out, however, that by far the majority of works exported to the West comprised export wares, prints, and forgeries rather than more valuable works. Ibid., 168-171.

³⁵²Put, *Plunder*, 26.

³⁵³Jackson, "Orient and Occident," 113.

³⁵⁴Fenollosa's lectures appeared posthumously as *Epochs of Chinese and Japanese Art* (New York: Frederick A. Stokes, 1912).

³⁵⁵Put, *Plunder*, 28.

³⁵⁶Ibid., 28.

³⁵⁷"Decorative Art in the Salon du Champ de Mars," *The Studio* 11 (1897): 46.

³⁵⁸Ibid., 47.

³⁵⁹"En fait, le sentiment de la personnalité, tout aussi développé en art que partout ailleurs, les conditions d'originalité quand même imposées aux artistes, peuvent-ils conduire à l'éclosion d'un style véritable et unique ayant, comme les précédents, ses maîtres, ses disciples, et fournissant, par la poursuite d'un idéal commun, des applications à toutes les branches de l'art?" Ch[arles] Genuys, "La Recherche du style nouveau," *Revue des Arts décoratifs* XV (1895): 355.

³⁶⁰"Ces conditions toutes modernes sont des plus défavorables au maintien ou à la formation d'une école étendue et par conséquent d'un style." Ibid., 355.

³⁶¹"La vérité semble être que nous n'en avons pas [de style], ou plutôt que nous en possédons bien un, mais que ce style n'est pas tel qu'on le désire, et qu'il a précisément pour caractère de n'en pas avoir. [...] Tel qu'il est aujourd'hui, l'art reste par règle supérieure conforme à sa mission; il exprime actuellement le manque d'unité, l'inquiétude morale, l'état de trouble enfin, communs à toutes les époques de transition, et qui dominent son milieu et son temps." Ibid., 355.

Chapter Five

¹“X. –Vous m’étonnez en m’apprenant que G..., l’exquis poète-verrier, est... Dreyfusard ou Dreyfusiste! Z. – Mieux qu’ça! il est Dreyfusartiste!” “Chronique de l’Est: Meurthe-et-Moselle,” *L’Est Républicain* December 18, 1898.

²“Haute trahison! Arrestation d’un officier juif! Le Capitaine Dreyfus!” *La Libre parole* November 1, 1894. Dreyfus was a member of the affluent French bourgeoisie. Although most of his family members, and Dreyfus himself, had opted for French citizenship in the aftermath of the Franco-Prussian War, several more remained behind in German-occupied Mulhouse to run the family textile business. Jean-Denis Bredin, *The Affair: The Case of Alfred Dreyfus*, trans. Jeffrey Mehlman, 1983 (New York: George Braziller, 1986): 12.

³The *bordereau* read: “Having no indication that you wish to see me, I am nevertheless forwarding to you, Sir, several interesting items of information 1. A note on the hydraulic break of the 120 and the manner in which that part has performed; 2. A note on covering troops (several modifications will be effected by the new plan); 3. A note on a modification of Artillery formations; 4. A note pertaining to Madagascar; 5. The *Sketch for a Firing Manual* for the country artillery (March 14, 1894); This last documents is extremely difficult to procure and I am able to have it at my disposal for only a very few days. The Ministry of War has distributed a fixed number of copies to the regiments, and the regiments are responsible for them. Every officer holding a copy is to return it after maneuvers. If you would then take from it what interests you and keep it at my disposal thereafter, I will take it. Unless you want me to have it copied in extenso and send you the copy. I am off to maneuvers.” Quoted in Bredin, *The Affair*, 59.

⁴Émile Zola, “J’Accuse,” *L’Aurore* January 13, 1898.

⁵Eugen Weber, Foreword to Kleeblatt, ed., *The Dreyfus Affair*, xxvi; Suleiman, “The Literary Significance,” 121.

⁶Michael B. Marrus, “Popular Anti-Semitism,” in Kleeblatt, ed., *The Dreyfus Affair*, 57.

⁷Weber, Foreword, xxvii.

⁸*Ibid.*, xxvii.

⁹Normal L. Kleeblatt, “The Dreyfus Affair: A Visual Record,” in Kleeblatt, ed., *The Dreyfus Affair*, 6.

¹⁰In his monumental history of the Dreyfus Affair, Jean-Denis Bredin argues that the press played an instrumental role both in Dreyfus’s arrest and in the final revision of the 1894 verdict. By dramatizing and publicizing events, and thus manipulating public opinion, Bredin contends that the press came for the first time in France’s history to exercise a truly decisive influence on events in the political sphere. Bredin, *The Affair*, 518.

¹¹Le Tacon, *Émile Gallé*, 93.

¹²Bertrand Tillier, *Émile Gallé: le verrier dreyfusard* (Paris: Éditions de l’amateur, 2004), 28.

¹³*Ibid.*, 28.

¹⁴*Émile Gallé et l’Affaire Dreyfus: Dossier de l’enseignant* (Nancy: Musée de l’École de Nancy, n.d.), n.p.

¹⁵Serman, “The Nationalists of Meurthe-et-Moselle,” 125.

¹⁶Tillier, *Émile Gallé*, 28; Jean Vartier, *Histoire de Nancy* (Paris: Mazarine, 1980), 247.

¹⁷Vartier, *Histoire de Nancy*, 247.

¹⁸Serman, “The Nationalists,” 128.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, 128.

²⁰*Ibid.*, 129.

²¹*Ibid.*, 130.

²²Le Tacon, *Émile Gallé*, 82.

²³Linda Nochlin, “Degas and the Dreyfus Affair: A Portrait of the Artist as an Anti-Semite,” in Kleeblatt, ed., *The Dreyfus Affair*, 99.

²⁴Phillip Dennis Cate, “The Paris Cry: Graphic Artists and the Dreyfus Affair,” in Kleeblatt, ed., *The Dreyfus Affair*, 69.

²⁵*Ibid.*, 89.

²⁶Paula Hyman, Book review, “The Dreyfus Affair: The Visual and the Historical,” *The Journal of Modern History* 61, no. 1 (1989), 97.

²⁷*Ibid.*, 93.

²⁸Katherine Marie Kuenzli, “Aesthetics and Cultural Politics in the Age of Dreyfus: Maurice Denis’s *Homage to Cézanne*,” *Art History* 30, no. 5 (2007): 683-711.

²⁹*Ibid.*, 686.

³⁰*Ibid.*, 686.

³¹*Ibid.*, 686.

³²According to Kuenzli, Mithouard associated the “Latin” race with classicism, reason, hierarchy, and a monarchical form of government. In contrast, he linked the “Germanic” race to romanticism, emotion, anarchism, and revolution. While Mithouard’s fellow nationalist, Charles Maurras (1868-1952), founder of the *Action française*, championed the ascendancy of the “Latin” tradition at the expense of the “Germanic,” Mithouard counseled their synthesis. *Ibid.*, 689.

³³*Ibid.*, 694.

³⁴Debat-Ponson's painting, which the artist exhibited at the Salon of 1898, was subsequently offered by subscription to Zola, author of "J'Accuse," thus confirming the common perception of the work as Dreyfusard. Kleeblatt, ed., "The Dreyfus Affair," 16.

³⁵Gallé held close personal ties to many of those actively involved in the Dreyfusard cause. For example, the banker Gustave Christ, a close friend of Dreyfus's brother Mathieu, was related to Gallé's wife. Charles Keller, founder of the Dreyfusard *Ligue des Droits de l'Homme* and an intimate of the Alsatian politician and early Dreyfus supporter Auguste Scheurer-Kestner (1833-1899), was Gallé's brother-in-law. Madame Schill, one of Dreyfus's sisters, lived in Nancy and also had ties to Gallé's family. These friendships may have partly determined Gallé's early commitment to the cause of revision. *Expositions dossiers du Musée de l'École de Nancy: Émile Gallé et l'affaire Dreyfus* (Nancy: Musée de l'École de Nancy, 2006), n.p.

³⁶The list of subscribers appeared in *Le Siècle* on March 20, 1898. Tillier, *Émile Gallé*, 35; Le Tacon, *Émile Gallé*, 97.

³⁷Picquart was the former head of the French Intelligence Bureau who had become convinced of Dreyfus's innocence, Bredin, *The Affair*, 245.

³⁸*Ibid.*, 247. The full title of the article was "J'accuse, letter to the President of the Republic by Émile Zola."

³⁹Zola begins his letter, for example, with praise of the President. He writes, "Although your star has been in the ascendant hitherto, it is now in danger of being dimmed by the most shameful and indelible of stains [...]. You are the radiant centre of our apotheosis, [...] but what a blot on your name... this abominable Dreyfus Affair is!" Émile Zola, "Letter to M. Félix Faure, President of the Republic ('J'accuse')," quoted in Émile Zola, *The Dreyfus Affair: 'J'accuse' and Other Writings*, ed. Alain Pagès, trans. Eleanor Levieux (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), 43. The use of light imagery quickly becomes even more dramatic, as Zola evokes the irrational actions of Lieutenant-Colonel du Paty de Clam, one of the officers of the General Staff most convinced of Dreyfus's guilt. "It was du Paty du Clam... who went out with a dark lantern intending to slip into the cell where the accused man was sleeping and flash the light on his face all of a sudden so that he would be taken by surprise and blurt out a confession," Zola asserts. According to Zola, Du Paty de Clam's "dark lantern" seeks only to distort the truth, but others may shed light on the events in question by examining them with preconceptions. In other words, Zola equates *looking* with *knowing*. He writes, "And there is more to reveal, but it is not up to me to reveal it all; let them look, let them find what there is to be found." Zola, *The Dreyfus Affair*, 44. Zola ends his impassioned plea for justice with the statement, "I have but one goal: that light be shed, in the name of mankind which has suffered so much and has the right to happiness. [...] Let the inquiry be held in broad daylight!" Zola, *The Dreyfus Affair*, 53.

⁴⁰Bredin, *The Affair*, 251.

⁴¹*Ibid.*, 252.

⁴²"Les soussignés, protestant contre la violation des formes juridiques au procès de 1894 et contre les mystères qui ont entouré l'affaire Esterhazy, persistent à demander la revision." "Une

protestation,” *L’Aurore*, no. 88 (January 14, 1898): 1. *L’Aurore* continued to print lists of new signatories through February 8.

⁴³Bredin, *The Affair*, 276; Suleiman, “The Literary Significance,” 121. Suleiman notes that in France, the Dreyfus Affair marked the first time that “intellectuals” united to act as a group in their attempts to sway public opinion.

⁴⁴Maurice Barrès, “La protestation des intellectuels,” *Le Journal* February 1, 1898.

⁴⁵“Maintien des garanties légales, seule protection des citoyens.” “Une Protestation,” *L’Aurore*, January 15, 1898.

⁴⁶“Émile Gallé, maître de verrerie, officier de la Légion d’honneur, Nancy.” “Les protestataires,” *L’Aurore* January 19, 1898.

⁴⁷“*L’Aurore* publie deux nouvelles listes de protestations en faveur de Dreyfus. On trouve parmi ces noms ceux de M. Émile Gallé et de M. Pariset, professeur à la Faculté des lettres de Nancy.” “La Ville: Protestations,” *Progrès de l’Est* January 20, 1898.

⁴⁸“A Nancy,” *L’Est Républicain* January 20, 1898.

⁴⁹Le Tacon, *Émile Gallé*, 91.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, 91.

⁵¹*Ibid.*, 91.

⁵²*Ibid.*, 109.

⁵³“Les notabilités du monde protestant sont nombreuses parmi les signataires.” “A Nancy,” *L’Est Républicain* January 20, 1898. The majority of Dreyfusards in Nancy, for example, were Protestant. Stephen Wilson, *Ideology and Experience: Antisemitism in France at the Time of the Dreyfus Affair* (East Brunswick, NJ: Associated University Presses, 1982), 83.

⁵⁴“Les soussignés, frappés des irrégularités commises dans le procès Dreyfus de 1894, et du mystère qui a entouré le procès du commandant Esterhazy, persuadés d’autre part que la nation tout entière est intéressée au maintien des garanties légales, seule protection des citoyens dans un pays libre, étonnés des perquisitions faites chez le lieutenant-colonel Picquart et des perquisitions non moins illégales attribuées à ce dernier officier, émus des procédés d’information judiciaire employés par l’autorité militaire, demandent à la Chambre de maintenir les garanties légales des citoyens contre tout arbitraire.” “A Nancy,” *L’Est Républicain*.

⁵⁵“Tous ces ‘intellectuels’ dont le plus grand souci est de sauvegarder ‘l’indépendance individuelle’.” *Ibid.*

⁵⁶“L’intérêt supérieur de la France et de son armée.” *Ibid.*, 1. See “Devoir pressant,” *Le Temps* (January 19, 1898).

- ⁵⁷Benjamin F. Martin, “The Dreyfus Affair and the Corruption of the French Legal System,” in Kleeblatt, ed., *The Dreyfus Affair*, 44.
- ⁵⁸“En faveur de Dreyfus.” “Une Séance agitée,” *Progrès de l’Est* January 24, 1898.
- ⁵⁹“Le maintien et l’observation des garanties stipulées par la loi française.” Ibid..
- ⁶⁰“C’est là, il est vrai, mon cher rédacteur,--et vous venez d’en faire l’expérience,--une prétention bien subversive.” Ibid.
- ⁶¹“On ne pourra bientôt plus souhaiter la lumière, parler de justice et de vérité sans passer pour un mauvais patriote.” Ibid.
- ⁶²Similarly, Gallé would describe the events surrounding the Affair as a kind of eclipse of reason and idealism. He writes to Marx, for example, that the Affair is an example “d’un désastre national, d’une débâcle de l’intelligence, d’un obscurcissement de l’âme française, car où sont les vertus, les générosités, les principes chers à nos pères?” Émile Gallé to Roger Marx, February 17, 1899, in Charpentier, Barbier-Ludwig, and Ponton, eds., *Lettres pour l’art*, 173.
- ⁶³According to Barrès, “C’est à Bayreuth, au sortir d’une représentation de *Parsifal*, que Gallé et moi nous nous sommes abordés.” Maurice Barrès, *Mes Cahiers*, Vol. IX (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1950), 128; Dufief, “Émile Gallé,” 98.
- ⁶⁴Françoise-Thérèse Charpentier, “Barrès et l’art lorrain de son temps,” *Maurice Barrès: Actes du colloque organisé par la Faculté des lettres et des sciences humaines de l’université de Nancy* (Nancy: Annales de l’Est, 1963), 67.
- ⁶⁵“Émile Gallé, nancéien.” Ibid., 67.
- ⁶⁶Ibid., 69.
- ⁶⁷In later years, Barrès would again refer to this conversation in his notebooks, writing “Quand je causais avec Gallé, le verrier de Nancy, j’étais frappé de la quantité de belles pièces qui craquent à la cuisson. Dieu en rate beaucoup, lui aussi. Ce sont les plus belles pièces qui se fêlent. Encore est-il plus facile à la nature de réussir un bon politicien qu’un grand artiste.” Maurice Barrès, *Mes Cahiers*, Vol. 13 (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1950), 41.
- ⁶⁸“Ces intellectuels sont un déchet fatal dans l’effort tenté par la société pour créer une élite. Dans toute opération, il y a ainsi un pourcentage de sacrifiés. Un verrier m’a souvent expliqué ce qu’il perd de pots pour un qui réussit. Tout en rejetant les intellectuels, nous devons les plaindre plutôt que les maudire.” Barrès, “La protestation des intellectuels.”
- ⁶⁹Thus in 1898, the Dreyfusard artist Henri-Gabriel Ibels would declare in the journal *Le Sifflet* that “intellectual had become the synonym for anti-patriot, informer, spy, traitor, agent of the [Jewish] syndicates.” Quoted in Kleeblatt, ed., “The Dreyfus Affair,” 1.
- ⁷⁰Serman, “The Nationalists,” 125.
- ⁷¹Ibid., 128.

- ⁷²“La France aux Français, Maurice Barrès, ancien député de la troisième circonscription.” Le Tacon, *Émile Gallé*, 98.
- ⁷³Bredin, *The Affair*, 293.
- ⁷⁴Serman, “The Nationalists,” 128. Barrès’s defeat was hardly a victory for the left, however, as together the two right-wing candidates garnered 68% of the vote. Vartier, *Histoire de Nancy*, 249.
- ⁷⁵Émile Gallé, “Réponse à M. Barrès,” *L’Aurore* February 15, 1898. An excerpt of the letter was also published in *L’Est Républicain* on February 17, 1898.
- ⁷⁶“Pauvres nigauds.” Ibid.
- ⁷⁷“Or, le vieillard, qui sur son banc s’agitait dans la salle des délibérations, éclata. *L’homme possède une conscience! L’homme peut et doit juger le gouvernement!* ... Il voulut que l’on fit venir le président et lui déclara: *Ce journaliste ne vaut pas cher. Mais nous l’acquitterons contre monsieur le procureur, et pour protester qu’il y a avant tout notre conscience.*” Et vous ajoutez, Barrès: “Voilà un homme!” Cordialement à vous. Émile Gallé.” Ibid.
- ⁷⁸The name Jules Rais was a pseudonym for Jules Cahen (called Nathan), who co-edited the revue *L’Image* with Roger Marx.
- ⁷⁹“*L’autel* qu’illumine “un reflet de l’Ame universelle des mondes, qui n’est que Justesse et Justice, l’impartial et l’immuable Amour”.” Jules Rais, “Les Salons de 1898—L’Art décoratif,” *L’Est Républicain* July 7, 1898.
- ⁸⁰“Mais la nuit n’est que de la lumière qui sommeille, et la tristesse n’est si inquiète que pour espérer encore.” Ibid.
- ⁸¹Rais published a review of Gallé’s works exhibited at the *Exposition universelle* of 1900, for example, in the journal *L’Art décoratif pour tous*. See Jules Rais, “La Décoration et les industries d’art à l’Exposition de 1900,” *L’Art décoratif pour tous*, no. 4 (March 14, 1902): n.p.
- ⁸²Kleeblatt, ed., “The Dreyfus Affair,” 16. Le Tacon has also noted that the plant depicted, *Rheum officinale*, otherwise known as Tibetan or Chinese rhubarb, is known to have healing properties. Gallé may be thus implying that only justice will heal the wounds of a beleaguered nation.
- ⁸³Gallé also signed the work *Anno D. 1898*, or “Year of Our Lord 1898.”
- ⁸⁴“Le Seigneur fera germer la Justice et l’Honneur parmi toutes les nations.”
- ⁸⁵Le Tacon, *Émile Gallé*, 103.
- ⁸⁶According to the twelfth-century work *Joseph d’Arimathie* by Robert de Boron, the grail held the blood of Christ. Richard Barber, *The Holy Grail: Imagination and Belief* (London: Penguin, 2004), 41.
- ⁸⁷Tillier, *Émile Gallé*, 71.

⁸⁸Le Tacon, *Émile Gallé*, 103.

⁸⁹“Ce calice marqué du signe du Christ et qui pleure des larmes fraternelles.” Rais, “Les Salons de 1898.”

⁹⁰“Car tous les hommes sont les fils d’un même père, Ils sont la même larme. Ils sortent du même œil.” At least three versions of *Le Figuier* exist, two of which are in the collection of the MEN. One of these is engraved with the citation from Hugo.

⁹¹“Remerciez donc Lucas Justin pour moi; dites-lui que je regrette, au lieu de ma prose, qu’il n’ait pas donné anti-humain, anti-chrétien parce qu’antisémite, etc. les deux vers de Hugo. [...] Combien peu les ont reproduits, pas même nos amis.” Émile Gallé to Roger Marx, October 10, 1898, in Charpentier, Barbier-Ludwig, and Ponton, eds., *Lettres pour l’art*, 169.

⁹²Tillier, *Émile Gallé*, 71.

⁹³*Ibid.*, 71.

⁹⁴“J’ai sculpté avec piété et douleur le signe auguste d’un plus oublié encore, et qui souffrir et mourut pour avoir promis qu’“heureux seront ceux qui ont faim et soif de justice, parce qu’ils seront rassasiés”.” Émile Gallé, “Mes envois au Salon,” in Gallé, *Écrits pour l’art*, 203. The article first appeared as “Mes envois au Salon,” *Revue des Arts décoratifs* 18 (1898): 144-148.

⁹⁵“Voilà, mon cher ami... pour quelle communion a été fait ce verre à boire, gigantesque et profond autant que possible.” *Ibid.*, 203.

⁹⁶“La Nature pleure... et dans ces larmes, la Vérité d’une Parole divine que scelle un signe sacré, tout entière, s’irradie.” Rais, “Les Salons de 1898.”

⁹⁷“Les soussignés, désirant que le conseil de guerre puisse s’éclairer complètement, expriment, dans l’intérêt commun de l’armée et de la justice, le vœu que le procès Picquart soit ajourné après la décision de la Cour de cassation, qui dispose des plus amples moyens d’information.” “Un vœu,” *L’Est Républicain* December 6, 1898.

⁹⁸“Un vieux fonctionnaire.” “A propos d’un vœu signé à Nancy,” *L’Est Républicain* December 8, 1898.

⁹⁹“Membres ardents d’une secte religieuse.” *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁰“Un vieux licencié.” “Tribune publique,” *L’Est Républicain* December 10, 1898.

¹⁰¹François Le Tacon has argued that this letter, which is signed “un soi-disant intellectuel,” is by Gallé. Le Tacon, *Émile Gallé*, 100. This is confirmed by a passage in *L’Est Républicain* on December 29, 1898, which reads “[Gallé] est lui-même l’auteur d’une lettre semblable, signée “Un soi-disant intellectuel” et parue dans le *Progrès de l’Est* du 12 décembre courant, au refus de l’*Est Républicain* de la publier.” “L’agitation dreyfusiste à Nancy (suite),” *L’Est Républicain* December 29, 1898.

¹⁰²“Au lieu de baisser le cou, nous prétendons que le droit et le devoir de tout bon citoyen est de protester hautement quand la justice et la loi sont violées.” “Correspondances: A propos d’un vœu signé à Nancy,” *Le Progrès de l’Est* December 11, 1898.

- ¹⁰³“Un soi-disant intellectuel.” Ibid.
- ¹⁰⁴“*L’Intellectuel*.” “L’Intellectuel,” *L’Est Républicain* December 14, 1898.
- ¹⁰⁵“Pour se débarrasser de cet insecte, les fumigations sont impuissantes, il faut crier plus fort que lui, et prendre au besoin les grands moyens.” Ibid.
- ¹⁰⁶“Le vrai ‘fait nouveau,’” *L’Est Républicain* December 16, 1898.
- ¹⁰⁷“Vous dites que “les honorables savants nancéiens” signataires d’une demande de sursis au procès du lieutenant-colonel Picquart “contribuent par leur adhésion à redoubler l’assurance des agitateurs”. Or, qui sont ces agitateurs? A Nancy, nous pouvons en nommer un, M. Cordonnier, rédacteur de la *Libre Parole*. Cet agitateur professionnel semble avoir pour mission de mettre Nancy au diapason d’Alger et d’inoculer à notre calme population le virus qui ne prend plus à Paris. Il est aidé dans cette tâche par les antisémites et les nationalistes du cru.” Gallé, Letter to the Editor, published in “Le vrai ‘fait nouveau’.”
- ¹⁰⁸“Car vous ne sauriez prétendre que les gens tranquilles que vous prenez à partie ont, il y a trois mois, fait afficher sur nos murs des placards sanguinaires, et parfaitement ridicules d’ailleurs. Ce ne sont pas eux non plus qui, dimanche et lundi, parcouraient les rues de Nancy en hurlant: *Mort aux juifs!* Vous reconnaissez, d’ailleurs, dans le même numéro, que les partisans de Picquart n’ont pas manifesté. Ce ne sont pas davantage “ces lettrés épris de formules généreuses” qui ont rendu toute réunion politique impossible à Nancy et réduit les amis du droit à la protestation écrite.” Ibid.
- ¹⁰⁹“Vous dites encore que “les agitateurs sont payés par l’étranger”. La légende du syndicat est bien usée! Mais peut-être parlez vous des antisémites. [...] Et pourtant ce que tout le monde sait, c’est que l’antisémitisme est né en Prusse, qu’il a été importé en France par Drumont, avec, pour emblème, la fleur des Hohenzollern, le bleuet (*Centaurea antisemitica*, variété *Regis*.)” Ibid. By his reference to a fictitious flower, “*Centaurea antisemitica*, variety *Regis*,” Gallé associates anti-Semitism with monarchist sympathies and implies that anti-Semitism is incompatible with a Republican form of government. Gallé is responding to a letter published in “Encore le vœu en faveur du colonel Picquart,” *L’Est Républicain* December 14, 1898 in which a certain Charles Andrez protests that although he signed the petition, he has nothing but respect for the army. Gallé quotes the editor’s comments on Andrez’s letter.
- ¹¹⁰“Les hommes d’argent, dont fourmille Israël.” “Le vrai ‘fait nouveau’.” The phrase is particularly interesting in light of the earlier article describing “intellectuals” as insects. The authors thus associate intellectuals with Jews, implying that both are pests that should be exterminated.
- ¹¹¹“L’incomparable artiste, le maître verrier, le rénovateur du mobilier.” “A Nancy,” *Le Siècle* December 19, 1898.
- ¹¹²“Chronique de l’Est.” See footnote 1.
- ¹¹³“Un protestant antidreyfusiste,” “sous la présidence d’honneur de M. Émile Gallé.” “Tribune publique,” *L’Est Républicain* December 27, 1898.
- ¹¹⁴Bredin, *The Affair*, 347.

¹¹⁵Ibid., 347.

¹¹⁶“40 membres, dont 38 protestants militants et 2 Israélites.” “Tribune publique.”

¹¹⁷“Je vous dirai qu’à Nancy la grande majorité des protestants déplorent l’attitude adoptée par plusieurs coreligionnaires en vue, adhérents de ce comité.” Ibid.

¹¹⁸“Je ne suis président d’aucun comité.” “L’agitation dreyfusiste à Nancy (*suite*),” December 29, 1898.

¹¹⁹Ibid.

¹²⁰“Nous autres, Républicains, démocrates d’origine, nous avons voulu la République, sous l’égide des anciens de 92, pour refaire la “grande nation”.” Ibid.

¹²¹“Les citoyens réunis à l’hôtel de l’Europe, sous la présidence du citoyen Keller, après avoir entendu le citoyen Lapique et plusieurs orateurs, se déclarent partisans de la revision du procès Dreyfus et réclament la lumière comme le seul moyen de mettre fin aux angoisses patriotiques du pays; ils considèrent comme urgent de défendre la liberté de réunion et de discussion contre la terreur antisémite et d’éclairer nos concitoyens abusés par une presse mensongère; ils donnent mandat au comité nancéien de la Ligue des *Droits de l’homme*, d’organiser prochainement une conférence de démonstration sur les faits connus du procès.” “L’agitation dreyfusiste à Nancy (*suite*),” *L’Est Républicain* December 30, 1898.

¹²²“Faire la lumière.” Ibid.

¹²³“On devine que dans la pensée de ces messieurs de Paris, la Ligue des Droits de l’homme et du citoyen doit jouer le rôle,—les circonstances aidant,—du fameux club des Jacobins, sous la Révolution. Comme ce club, la Ligue ambitionne d’être reliée à toute la France par des comités ou des agents locaux. A Paris, au centre, on aurait donc un véritable comité de Salut public?” “L’agitation dreyfusiste à Nancy (*suite*),” December 30, 1898.

¹²⁴“A ma brave femme, Henriette Gallé, en mémoire des luttes patriotiques pour les principes d’humanité, de justice et de liberté. Mai 1899. Émile Gallé, trésorier de la Ligue française pour la défense des droits de l’Homme et du citoyen.” *Émile Gallé et l’Affaire Dreyfus: Dossier de l’enseignant*, n.p.; Philippe Garner, *Émile Gallé* (NY: Rizzoli, 1976), 120. The present location of this work is unknown. Henriette Gallé-Grimm was an active, committed Dreyfusard who maintained correspondance with the lawyer Joseph Reinach for years after her husband’s death. She was also publicly active on behalf of the Dreyfusard cause. In 1898, Henriette Gallé-Grimm signed a petition urging the French courts to allow Alfred Dreyfus’s wife, Lucie, access to her husband’s letters and the right to join him in exile. “Appel aux femmes de France,” *Le Siècle* March 24, 1898. *L’Est Républicain* reported the Henriette-Gallé Grimm and two other local women had signed the petition on March 28, 1898. Le Tacon, *Émile Gallé*, 98.

¹²⁵“Nous consacrons notre article quotidien à une ligue de ralliement plutôt qu’à une ligue de division.” “Nancy, lundi 2 janvier 1899,” *L’Est Républicain* January 3, 1899.

¹²⁶Bredin, *The Affair*, 277.

¹²⁷The *Ligue de la Patrie Française* was at least initially quite successful. 1,200 people attended the first meeting, held on January 19, 1899, and membership in the *Ligue* swelled to 40,000 within only a few months. *Ibid.*, 349.

¹²⁸Serman, “The Nationalists,” 129.

¹²⁹Nouschi and Olivesi, *La France de 1848 à 1914*, 289.

¹³⁰Serman, “The Nationalists,” 129.

¹³¹*Ibid.*, 130.

¹³²“Hier, le dessous du panier de la judéophagie et du nationalisme cherchant fortune a fait sur notre ville une tentative peu flatteuse pour elle, ultime affront qui lui est arrivé par quelques esprits faussés, dupés ou de mauvaise foi, spéculateurs de la crédulité publique et d’un chauvinisme peut-être géographiquement excusable.” Émile Gallé to Émile Zola, [December 2, 1901?], Bibliothèque nationale, Paris, France, NAF 24519.

¹³³“Capitale de la Lorraine mutilée.” Pierre Barral et al, “La capitale de la Lorraine mutilée (1870-1918),” in *Histoire de Nancy*, ed. René Taveneaux (Toulouse: Privat, 1978), 382-389.

¹³⁴Thomson, *The Troubled Republic*, 195.

¹³⁵“L’Appel à l’Union,” *Le Temps* January 24, 1899.

¹³⁶“Les soussignés, déplorant les appels répétés à l’illégalité, à la violence et à la haine, persuadés qu’à l’heure présente le devoir de tous les Français est de travailler à la conciliation et à l’apaisement. Également respectueux de la magistrature, gardienne de la justice, sans laquelle aucune société ne saurait subsister, et de l’armée, école de dévouement et de sacrifice, nécessaire à la nation pour la défense de son territoire et de ses droits. Affirmant l’égalité de tous les Français devant la loi, s’accordent pour déclarer que l’agitation actuelle, funeste aux intérêts vitaux de la patrie, ne peut prendre fin que si tous les bons citoyens s’inclinent par avance devant la décision, quelle qu’elle soit, de la Cour de cassation, tribunal suprême du pays.” *Ibid.* The text of the “Call to Union,” in which the army is described as vital to the nation’s security, reveals an attempt to reconcile the rhetoric of the anti-Dreyfusards with the Dreyfusards’ quest for justice.

¹³⁷Émile Gallé to Louis Havet, July 7, 1899, Bibliothèque nationale, Paris, France, NAF 24494 (2), no. 256/257.

¹³⁸“Si vous désirez publier ma lettre j’y consens de tout cœur.” *Ibid.*, n.p. In a letter written later the same day, however, Gallé hesitates, questioning whether his support will help the Dreyfusard cause. “Je ne voudrais pas risquer, pour mon humble part, par une instance prématurée, de faire auprès d’une opinion encore farouche aucun tort à la cause qui nous est chère.” Émile Gallé to Louis Havet, July 7, 1899, Bibliothèque nationale, Paris, France, NAF 24494 (2), no. 258.

¹³⁹Émile Gallé to Louis Havet, September 10, 1899, Bibliothèque nationale, Paris, France, NAF 24494 (2), no. 260/261/262/263/264.

¹⁴⁰“Bêtes féroces,” “affouillent de leurs ongles séniles leur caserne pourrie.” *Ibid.*

¹⁴¹“Il n’y a plus d’art, il n’y a plus de beauté, il n’y a plus d’intérêt pour la vie que le salut des idées sacrées.” Ibid, n.p.

¹⁴²On September 18, meanwhile, Gallé signed yet another petition, this one entitled “Address to Dreyfus” and initiated by *L’Aurore* and *Le Siècle* upon news of the second guilty verdict. Gallé also maintained a copious correspondence with fellow Dreyfusards and with Alfred Dreyfus himself. Among his correspondents were Scheurer-Kestner, Zola, and Reinach, author of the first and most comprehensive history of the Dreyfus Affair. Gallé’s efforts on behalf of Dreyfus would continue even after the accused received a presidential pardon in 1899. In 1900, for example, following the passage of a law of amnesty relating to all events of the Affair, which effectively absolved those involved in Dreyfus’s condemnation of any responsibility for their part in his wrongful conviction, Gallé addressed a letter of support to Alfred and Lucie Dreyfus. The text of the letter reads: “M. & Mme. Émile Gallé présentent au Capitaine et à Madame Alfred Dreyfus l’hommage de profonde sympathie qui leur est dû. Ils embrassent avec émotion leurs chers enfants; ils forment l’intense vœu de voir une solution réparatrice venir mettre bientôt fin à la douleur qu’un nombre toujours plus considérable de bons Français partagent avec eux. Nancy, le 21 décembre 1900.” Gallé lent not only moral but also financial support to the Dreyfusard cause. In May of 1898, for example, the artist contributed 50 francs to a subscription for Auguste Rodin’s *Monument de Balzac* (Monument to Balzac, 1898), which had been refused by the society that commissioned it, the *Société des Gens de Lettres*. Supporters of the work tended to be Dreyfusard, and its detractors anti-Dreyfusard. As a result, the rejection soon became a public scandal, with many assuming that the monument was refused on political rather than aesthetic grounds despite Rodin’s insistence on his own impartiality in regards to the Affair. The statue was eventually erected in the *Jardin du Luxembourg* in 1908. Tillier, *Émile Gallé*, 35-36, 38, 44.

¹⁴³“La liberté, l’honneur, les droits sacrés d’un Français.” Émile Gallé to Arthur Boucheron, June 22, 1898. Transcript located in archives of the MEN. Location of letter unknown.

¹⁴⁴“L’œuvre de Dieu défaite, reculée de plusieurs générations; la puissance du mal, les outils du mal, perfectionnés, décuplés. Les vérités qui ont coûtés si cher à nos pères, sans écho; les meilleurs et les plus généreux de notre temps réduits au silence, ou parlant au désert.” Ibid., n.p.

¹⁴⁵Tillier, *Émile Gallé*, 11.

¹⁴⁶“Ce persecuteur et grand assassin de milliers de ses sujets... coupable enfin de l’état de médiocrité de la Lorraine catholique durant des siècles.” Émile Gallé to Roger Marx, August 14, 1900, in Charpentier, Barbier-Ludwig, and Ponton, eds., *Lettres pour l’art*, 203.

¹⁴⁷Michael Burns, “The Dreyfus Family,” in Kleeblatt, ed., *The Dreyfus Affair*, 12.

¹⁴⁸Ibid., 148.

¹⁴⁹Paula Hyman, “The French Jewish Community from Emancipation to the Dreyfus Affair,” in Kleeblatt, ed., *The Dreyfus Affair*, 25.

¹⁵⁰At mid-century, popular anti-Semitic discourse had been largely limited to defenders of the socialist Left, who railed against Jews as agents of capitalist exploitation, and local notables, who drew on a history of prejudice in rural areas, particularly in the east of France. Anti-Semitism quickly

gained in momentum, however, with the collapse of the Catholic-owned banking house *Union générale* in 1882. In the wake of the *Union générale* collapse, the writer Édouard Drumont benefited from the growing popularity of anti-Semitism to publish his epic, and immensely influential work, *La France juive*, which would sell over 100,000 copies in less than a year. Drumont was already well-known as the founder of the *Ligue Nationale antisémite de France*, created in 1888. In *La France juive*, Drumont laid the blame for France's problems squarely on the shoulders of the Jews, describing an epic struggle between "Aryans" and "Semites" for control of the nation. *La France juive* would help spread the rumor of the "Jewish Republic," the idea that all of the institutions of France were secretly controlled by the Jews. Drawing upon the success of his book, in 1892 Drumont launched an anti-Semitic newspaper, *La Libre Parole*, which attained a circulation of nearly 200,000 by the beginning of the Affair. Marrus, "Popular Anti-Semitism," 52, 54. Anti-Semitism soon made its way from popular culture into politics with the creation of a second anti-Semitic group, the *Ligue antisémite française*, or *Ligue antisémite*, founded in 1897 by Jules Guérin. Members of the *Ligue antisémite française* proclaimed themselves socialists and denounced Jews as capitalists who exploited the working classes. Their political strategies involved numerous demonstrations, many of which turned violent. The creation of anti-Semitic leagues marks the transition of anti-Semitism from the Left, where it had been used by Socialists to denounce capitalism and its abuses, to the Right, where nationalists and Catholic activists would use anti-Semitism as a rallying cry. Serman, "The Nationalists," 128.

¹⁵¹Ibid., 128.

¹⁵²“Car la grâce est une arme au combat pour l'idée.”

¹⁵³“Aussi, la calme et immuable nature, les richesses éternelles de l'art, de la poésie, les trésors consolants du Verbe divin réapparaissent en des temps semblables... sont: le grenier, l'asile, la patrie des âmes.” Gallé to Boucheron, n.p.

¹⁵⁴“Des points d'interrogation, des points d'exclamation, des appels, et mon très humble témoignage que, dans l'art comme dans la vie, la vérité est la meilleure et la lumière la plus belle.” Gallé, “Mes envois au Salon,” 200.

¹⁵⁵“Vibrer... les âmes.” Ibid., 200.

¹⁵⁶“Je maintiens, en effet, qu'on le raille ou non, mon mode d'appliquer... des textes à mes vases et d'édifier mes acheteurs par des écritures.” Ibid., 200-201.

¹⁵⁷“De l'art? De la beauté? Des fleurs? Pour quoi faire?... “Pour adoucir les hommes”, répond l'*Anémone Sylvie*, ou plutôt Sully-Prudhomme.” Ibid., 201. René François Armand (Sully) Prudhomme (1839-1907) was a French poet.

¹⁵⁸“Mais aujourd'hui, il faut jeter les fleurs sous les pieds des barbares!” Ibid., 202.

¹⁵⁹“La vertu magique de la beauté, cet élément si propre à faire de la chaleur et de la bonté.” Ibid., 202.

¹⁶⁰“Ce combat des idées contre les instincts.” Émile Gallé to Joseph Reinach, November 20, 1898, Bibliothèque nationale, Paris, France, NAF 13574, Folio 7.

- ¹⁶¹Joseph Reinach, “Le Silence des poètes,” *Le Siècle* November 15, 1898.
- ¹⁶²“Cette longue guerre qui se poursuit, depuis plus d’un an, pour la liberté et pour la justice, pour le bon renom de l’armée française et de la France elle-même à travers l’histoire.” Ibid.
- ¹⁶³Henriette Gallé-Grimm to Joseph Reinach, November 16, 1898, Bibliothèque nationale, Paris, France, NAF 13574 Folios 10-11; Henriette Gallé-Grimm to Joseph Reinach, November 20, 1898, Bibliothèque nationale, Paris, France, NAF NAF 13574 Folio 12; Émile Gallé to Joseph Reinach, November 20, 1898, Bibliothèque nationale, Paris, France, NAF 13574, Folio 7; Émile Gallé to Joseph Reinach, October 19, 1903, Bibliothèque nationale, Paris, France, NAF 13576.
- ¹⁶⁴Gallé appears three times in Reinach’s comprehensive, multi-volume *Histoire de l’Affaire Dreyfus*. Reinach includes the artist among the signatories of two Dreyfusard petitions. See Joseph Reinach, *Histoire de l’Affaire Dreyfus*, Vol. I, 1901-1911 (Paris: Éditions Robert Laffont, S. A., 2006), 848 and Vol. II, 221. He also laments the premature death of “le maître-verrier de Nancy, le premier et, pendant longtemps, presque le seul à parler en Lorraine pour la cause du droit.” Reinach, *Histoire de l’Affaire Dreyfus*, Vol. II, 822.
- ¹⁶⁵Many of Gallé’s ideas concerning the role of art in society are reminiscent of Roger Marx’s concept of *l’art social*, an art that transcended social class. Marx also worked to expand the reach of the decorative arts, arguing that they should not be confined to the bourgeois interior but instead should serve didactic purposes in schools and other public environments. Tillier, *Émile Gallé*, 19; Roger Marx, “L’Affiche et les industries d’art,” *Le Voltaire* November 29, 1897. Gallé had been member of the *Club de l’art social*, for example, since 1889. Founded by the militant socialist Adolphe Tabarant, the club sought to bring together “tous les artistes qui croient à la nécessité d’orienter leurs esprits vers les complexes questions sociales.” Robert Bernier, “Nos causeries du vendredi,” *La Revue Socialiste* 13 (January-June 1891): 245.
- ¹⁶⁶The *Four verrier* was also called *Le jardin de la lampe, les sept cruches de Marjolaine* (The Garden of the Lamp, The Seven Jugs of Marjolaine). Other Dreyfusard works exhibited in 1900 included the vase *Heracleum*, which bore the inscription “La berce élève vers le ciel ses ombelles légères en nous invitant à aimer l’idée sous tous ses aspects, Puissance, Vérité, Liberté, Paix, Justice, Innocence, V. Hugo,” and *Flambe d’eau*, a lamp with the inscription “La nuit d’hiver élève au ciel son pur calice, et j’élève mon cœur aussi, mon cœur déchiré. Verhaeren.” Both works were displayed in Gallé’s vitrine entitled *Repos dans la solitude*. Other works exhibited by Gallé at the *Exposition* continue this theme of light in their inscriptions, which read, “La lumière montera dans tout comme une sève,” “Lumière, tu ne seras pas éteinte,” and “Idée, tu ne seras point éteinte.” Le Tacon, *Émile Gallé*, 105.
- ¹⁶⁷Bernard Tillier, “Émile Gallé et l’affaire Dreyfus: vers une mutation des arts décoratifs,” in *Homage à Émile Gallé*, ed. François Le Tacon, *Annales de l’Est*, special issue (2005): 99. Magnard would later compose a symphony entitled *L’Hymne à la Justice*, which he dedicated to Gallé.
- ¹⁶⁸“Mon envoi de cristaux se compose d’un petit nombre de pièces... dont chacune a sa place marquée dans les groupes symphoniques arrêtés d’avance comme les figures d’un tableau.” Émile Gallé to Frantz Jourdain, 1889. Quoted in Charpentier, *Émile Gallé*, 84. Jourdain had requested the loan of several of Gallé’s works for his own display at the *Exposition universelle* but was refused. According to François Le Tacon, the present location of this and other letters which were in the possession of Françoise-Thérèse Charpentier at the time of her death is unknown.

- ¹⁶⁹Ibid., 84.
- ¹⁷⁰“L’air vieux grenier.” Quoted in Charpentier, *Émile Gallé*, 84.
- ¹⁷¹Gallé to Boucheron, n.p.
- ¹⁷²Charpentier, *Émile Gallé*, 85.
- ¹⁷³Charpentier details the enormous cost and effort involved in creating Gallé’s displays for the *Exposition Universelle*. She argues that by dedicating a large portion of his capital to preparations for the *Exposition*, Gallé neglected his production of less expensive works (*vente courante*) and entered into debt. Risking public opprobrium through the expression of his passionate Dreyfusard convictions was thus by any standard a risky move for Gallé. Ibid., 86-87.
- ¹⁷⁴“Débarrassé de toute charge de juré en ma qualité de dreyfusard avéré.” Émile Gallé to Roger Marx, June 4, 1900, in Charpentier, Barbier-Ludwig, and Ponton, eds., *Lettres pour l’art*, 195.
- ¹⁷⁵Gallé exhibited works in three classes, including furniture (class 69), glass (class 73), and ceramics. Works by Gallé also appeared in several retrospective exhibitions, including the *Exposition Centennale rétrospective des Arts du XIXe siècle, Musée Centennial du mobilier français*, and the *Histoire du verre français*, and in the contemporary exhibitions of the *Pavillon de l’Union Centrale des Arts décoratifs, Cristallerie française contemporaine*, and *Mobilier français contemporain*. Charpentier, *Émile Gallé*, 83-84.
- ¹⁷⁶Dreyfus would correspond with Gallé upon gaining his freedom and would also send the artist a signed copy of his memoirs, published as *Cinq années de ma vie* (1901). Le Tacon, *Émile Gallé*, 106. Gallé would in turn offer Dreyfus a vase with the inscription “Lumière tu ne seras pas éteinte.” Tillier, *Émile Gallé*, 74.
- ¹⁷⁷“Descends, divine Sagesse! Bénis nos fourneaux. Donne aux vases la belle nuance.”
- ¹⁷⁸“Mais, si les hommes sont méchants[,] faussaires et prévaricateurs, A moi les mauvais démons du feu! – éclatent les vases, croûle le four! Afin que tous apprennent à pratiquer la Justice. D’après Hésiode.”
- ¹⁷⁹Barrès, “La protestation des intellectuels.”
- ¹⁸⁰“En me faisant constater la multitude, hélas! des verres bulleux et fielleux, des lampes fumeuses et des lunettes troubles, vous avez fait trop d’honneur à l’homme de métier et peut-être trop d’indignité au citoyen.” Gallé, “Réponse à M. Barrès.”
- ¹⁸¹“Les sept Cruches de Marjolaine.—Pièces décorative inspirées du conte de Marcel Schwob (**Le Livre de Monelle**) et présentées sous le manteau d’un four verrier.” *Les emplacements de Gallé à l’Exposition universelle de 1900* (Nancy: Imprimerie Artistique J. Royer, 1900), 6. Gallé’s subtle sense of irony is reflected in the conjunction of the word “Marjolaine” with the word “Gaules,” words which also share a similar pronunciation. By conflating “Marjolaine” with the “Gauls,” Gallé suggests that the jugs in question are those of France itself.

- ¹⁸²“Ceux qui ignoraient ces choses ne voyaient que sept vieilles cruches décolorées,” writes Schwob, “sur le manteau renflé de l’âtre. Mais Marjolaine savait la vérité, par les contes de son père.” Marcel Schwob, *Le Livre de Monelle* (Paris: Léon Chailley, Éditeur), 146.
- ¹⁸³“Cette cruche habitait autrefois l’océan. Elle contenait un génie qui était prince. Fille sage surait briser l’enchantement par permission du roi Salomon qui a donné la voix aux mandragores.” Quoted in François Le Tacon and Flavien de Luca, *L’usine d’art Gallé à Nancy* (Nancy: Association des Amis du Musée de l’École de Nancy, 2001), n.p. The original text in “La Rêveuse” reads, “La cruche verte devait être fermée par un grand sceau de cuivre, marqué par le roi Salomon. L’âge y avait peint une couche vert-de-gris; car cette cruche habitait autrefois l’océan. Et depuis plusieurs milliers d’années elle contenait un génie, qui était prince. Un très jeune fille sage saurait briser l’enchantement à la pleine lune, avec la permission du roi Salomon, qui a donné la voix aux mandragores.” Schwob, *Le livre de Monelle*, 144.
- ¹⁸⁴King Solomon’s Seal, or Solomon’s Seal, is also the name of a genus of flowering plants, *Polygonatum*, which have healing properties. Given Gallé’s extensive knowledge of botany, this secondary meaning cannot be accidental.
- ¹⁸⁵Another possible reading is that the amphora once held the “demons of fire” that Hesiod calls upon to break the glass and topple the kiln so that justice may be achieved.
- ¹⁸⁶Bredin, *The Affair*, 288-289.
- ¹⁸⁷*Ibid.*, 289.
- ¹⁸⁸Gallé also commissioned Prouvé to design an allegorical figure of Justice for a vase to be exhibited in 1900. In a pencil sketch dated January 1900, Prouvé depicts two female figures representing Justice and several variations on the motto, “Pour tous une seule/Une seule pour tous/Une seule et même pour tous.” The vase, however, was never realized. Tillier, *Émile Gallé*, 79-80. Gallé also commissioned two further works, a vase entitled *Gorgone* and a table entitled *La Vérité*. While both works were shown in 1900, their present whereabouts are unknown. Le Tacon, *Émile Gallé*, 105.
- ¹⁸⁹According to Philippe Thiébaud, Sarah Bernhardt also owned a version of *Les Hommes noirs* whose present location is unknown. Philippe Thiébaud, “Le flacon *Raisins mystérieux* offert au musée d’Orsay: Un hommage d’Émile Gallé au comte Robert de Montesquiou-Fezensac,” *La Revue du Louvre et des Musées de France* 2 (2003): 80. Bernhardt, an American actress living in Paris, was a Jewish supporter of Dreyfus. Gallé would also offer the actress a vase engraved with a line from Shakespeare, “De la lumière! de la lumière! Hamlet.” Tillier, *Émile Gallé*, 75.
- ¹⁹⁰“Hommes noirs d’où sortez-vous?/Nous sortons du dessous la terre/Béranger.”
- ¹⁹¹“Les Révérends pères.” The song, which was most likely published as broadsheet, appears in several editions of Béranger’s collected works. See *Recueil complet des chansons de Béranger*, 2 vols. (Brussels: La Société typographique, 1828).
- ¹⁹²“Cette eau trouble et boueuse.” Quoted in “A Nancy,” *L’Est Républicain* January 20, 1898.

- ¹⁹³Gallé invented the technique of glass marquetry in 1897 and employed it for the first time in works exhibited at the *Salon du Champ de Mars* in 1898. Garner, *Émile Gallé*, 102.
- ¹⁹⁴ *Expositions dossiers du Musée*, n.p.
- ¹⁹⁵J. Rambosson, *Histoire et légendes des plantes utiles et curieuses* (Paris: Librairie de Firmin Didot Frères, Fils et Cie., 1868), 173.
- ¹⁹⁶Nathaniel Hawthorne, “Mosses from an Old Manse,” 1846 (Boston and New York: Adamant Media Corporation, 2005), 13.
- ¹⁹⁷*Émile Gallé et l’Affaire Dreyfus, Dossier de l’enseignant* (Nancy: Musée de l’École de Nancy, 2006).
- ¹⁹⁸Oddly, the figure of an owl, which appears in Goya’s etching, also sat atop the mantel of the *Four verrier*, suggesting that perhaps the reference to the work of the Spanish artist was intentional on Gallé’s part.
- ¹⁹⁹The hand-colored lithograph posters, which totaled 50 in all, were published weekly by subscription. They first appeared around the time of the Rennes trial and were no doubt intended to embarrass prominent Dreyfusards following the presidential pardon of Dreyfus. The artist of the caricatures signed them using a pseudonym, “V. Lenepveu.” Among those figures lampooned were Zola, Dreyfus, and Clemenceau. Kleeblatt, ed., “The Dreyfus Affair,” 10.
- ²⁰⁰Bredin, *The Affair*, 5.
- ²⁰¹*Ibid.*, 5.
- ²⁰²*Ibid.*, 6.
- ²⁰³Maurice Barrès, “La parade de Judas,” in *Scènes et Doctrines du nationalisme* (Paris: Félix Guven, 1902), 135.
- ²⁰⁴Léon Daudet, “Le châtement,” *Le Figaro* January 6, 1895.
- ²⁰⁵“La monstrueuse affaire... qui altère tout, empoisonne tout, arrête la vie d’une nation.” Gallé to Boucheron, n.p.
- ²⁰⁶“Grognements féroces.” *Ibid.*
- ²⁰⁷P.-J. Béranger, *Chansons de P.-J. Béranger anciennes et posthumes* (Paris: Perrotin, 1866).
- ²⁰⁸*Ibid.*, 213.
- ²⁰⁹The philosophers cited are François-Marie Arouet, called Voltaire (1694-1778) and Jean le Rond d’Alembert (1717-1783).
- ²¹⁰Le Tacon, *Émile Gallé*, 104.

- ²¹¹“Les fanatismes, les haines, les mensonges, les préjugés, les lâchetés, l’egoïsme, [et] l’hypocrisie.” Gallé to Prouvé, private collection. Quoted in Françoise-Thérèse Charpentier, “Mythes et modes dans l’œuvre de Gallé,” in Charpentier and Thiébauts, eds., *Gallé*, 34. Letter formerly in the collection of Françoise-Thérèse Charpentier, present location unknown.
- ²¹²Le Tacon, *Émile Gallé*, 104.
- ²¹³Burns, “The Dreyfus Family,” 148.
- ²¹⁴For a detailed account of the various documents involved in the case, see Bredin, *The Affair*.
- ²¹⁵“Sous le coup d’émotions violentes nées d’événements publics, [Gallé] montrait en 1900... un sombre vase de l’hallucinante apparition de l’Hypocrisie, du Mensonge et du Faux. La voie s’est ainsi pratiquement rouverte par des œuvres polémiques vers des évocations nouvelles, destinées sans doute à rester rares, de poétique humanité.” De Fourcaud, *Émile Gallé*, 46.
- ²¹⁶“Vous aurez les hommes noirs pour la fin de la semaine. Je les reprends entièrement mais sortant toujours d’une boue noire, n’est-ce pas? c’est entendu... cette recherche d’êtres louches, misérables fantômes, contraste sigulièrement avec ma frise qui est une sorte de réalisation du bonheur.” Victor Prouvé to Émile Gallé, October 10, 1899, Fonds Prouvé, Musée de l’École de Nancy, Nancy, France.
- ²¹⁷Tillier, *Émile Gallé*, 73. Tillier argues that the depiction of black hemlock (?) in the composition of *Les Hommes noirs* is a symbol of falsehood and calumny as well as a metaphor for the “bad ink” spilled by anti-Dreyfusard polemicists. He adds, “Cette verrerie est également conçue selon des effets de matières et de teintes opposant le mat et le brillant, le noir épais et le jaune lumineux, par allusion aux ténèbres de l’Affaire, aux hommes de l’ombre que furent les comploteurs, à l’obscurantisme du jésuitisme et de l’antisémitisme stigmatisés et dénoncés.” Similarly, I argue that Gallé’s use of layers of opaque glass and his choice to create a work that is intentionally ambiguous and nearly illegible, evoke not just the “shadowy” mystery surrounding the Affair, but more specifically, the dialectics of seeing/knowing and blindness/ignorance that lie at the heart of the Affair.
- ²¹⁸Perrin, “La collaboration,” 207.
- ²¹⁹Cate, “The Paris Cry,” 62.
- ²²⁰John Grand-Carteret, *L’Affaire Dreyfus et l’image* (Paris: E. Flammarion, [1898]).
- ²²¹“Je me demandais si ce sens satirique, quasi pamphlétaire, concordait avec cette matière claire, fragile, translucide qu’est le verre. N’est-ce pas plutôt le domaine de l’eau-forte faite de primesaut avec toutes les rudesses de l’acide, à la façon de Goya par exemple.” Émile Gallé to Victor Prouvé, November 14, 1899. Quoted in Philippe Thiébaut, *Les dessins de Gallé*, Exh. cat., (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 1993), 58.
- ²²²Nochlin, “Degas and the Dreyfus,” 111.
- ²²³Hyman, “The Dreyfus Affair,” 91.

²²⁴Ibid., 91.

²²⁵“Je n’ai pas multiplié les figures [...], je les ai indiquées se dégageant des mauvaises vapeurs [...], j’ai maintenu les têtes blanches en haut, têtes de lumière et de justice stupéfiées [...]. Quant aux anses, il faudrait je crois en développer le caractère afin d’en faire des hydres menaçants.” Victor Prouvé to Émile Gallé, n.d. Quoted in Tillier, *Émile Gallé*, 73.

²²⁶Rolf Reichardt and Deborah Louise Cohen, “Light Against Darkness: The Visual Representations of a Central Enlightenment Concept,” in *Practices of Enlightenment*, special issue, *Representations* 61 (1998): 95-148.

²²⁷Reichardt and Cohen, “Light Against Darkness,” 102.

²²⁸“Républicain, démocratique, anti-césarien et anti-clérical.” Quoted in Tillier, *Émile Gallé*, 86. The paper *Le Petit Anti-Juif de l’Est* would denounce *L’Étoile de l’Est*, writing that “L’Étoile de l’Est n’est fondée que pour venger Dreyfus et les rancunes juives. Mais de même que feu *Le Progrès*, elle trouvera unis contre elle tous les Français. [...] Les frères [Freemasons] y dominent avec messieurs Krug, Le Monnier, Constantin, Bernardin, Garnier, etc. Les protestants y sont nombreux aussi, tels Messieurs Gallé, Krug, Jean Grillon, Perreau [...] Tous ces messieurs sont des partisans de l’immonde Dreyfus.” Quoted in Le Tacon, *Émile Gallé*, 109. Similarly, a caricature published in *Terre Lorraine* on August 14, 1901 depicted Charles Keller and Jean Grillon, each on a ladder, replacing a sign reading *Progrès* with another reading *L’Étoile*. In the middle of the image were depicted a series of Masonic symbols. Gallé is depicted holding one of the ladders. Le Tacon, *Émile Gallé*, 109.

²²⁹The Star of the East or Star of Bethlehem also, according to Christian belief, marked the advent of the birth of Christ. *L’Étoile de l’Est* is thus aligned with the salvation of mankind—not through divine interventio, but through the spread of knowledge.

²³⁰Brian Jenkins, *Nationalism in France: Class and Nation Since 1789* (Savage, Maryland: Barnes & Noble Books, 1990), 82.

²³¹Ibid., 82.

²³²The *Ligue des droits de l’homme* also embraced anti-clericalism as part of its platform. During a meeting of the *Ligue* held at Gallé’s home on May 27, 1900, for example, members discussed how best to end clericalism in schools and agreed that the state should have control of the educational system. Le Tacon, *Émile Gallé*, 107-08.

²³³“Le poète justicier.” “Le Banquet Républicain,” *L’Étoile de l’Est* February 24, 1902.

²³⁴“En cet instant se retrouve... le petit groupe de ceux d’entre nos concitoyens qui sont sortis de la poignante, mais salutaire épreuve plus attachés que jamais aux principes de solidarité humaine [et] à la religion de la justice sociale.” Ibid.

²³⁵“Il nous semble qu’ils ont été bien inspirés, nos jeunes amis, en choisissant l’heure de midi pour célébrer publiquement une date lumineuse dans le monde, 1848... et— après une période d’étrange éclipse—la reconstitution dans l’Est de la France, du parti de la clarté et de la franchise.” Ibid.

- ²³⁶“Le style Républicain.” Rais, “La Décoration et les industries,” n.p.
- ²³⁷“Essentiellement démocratique, solidariste.” Ibid., n.p.
- ²³⁸“Un humaniste et un justicier.” Émile Gallé to Joseph Reinach, October 19, 1903, Bibliothèque nationale, Paris, France, NAF 13574.
- ²³⁹Tillier, *Émile Gallé*, 75.
- ²⁴⁰Le Tacon, *Émile Gallé*, 105.
- ²⁴¹“Grand artiste nancéien dont la réputation était mondiale,” “maître disparu qui inventa de nouvelles et précieuses formules d’art, qui fut un des créateurs incontestés de l’art décoratif moderne.” “Mort d’Émile Gallé,” *L’Est Républicain* September 24, 1904.
- ²⁴²“Devant la tombe de cet homme, dont l’âge semblait promettre encore de longues années d’un travail fécond, nous ne voulons parler que de l’artiste. Mais nous ne partageons pas la plupart des idées politiques de M. Gallé. Mais comme les passions du moment auxquelles elles ont donné naissance, ces idées ont un caractère passager et fugitif. Ce qui restera de Gallé, ce sera le souvenir d’un hardi novateur, d’un artiste d’une haute probité.” Ibid.
- ²⁴³“*L’Est Républicain* a rendu complètement justice au mérite de l’artiste. Il regrette de devoir faire une réserve d’ordre politique sur cette tombe à peine fermée.” “Obsèques de M. Émile Gallé,” *L’Est Républicain* September 26, 1904.
- ²⁴⁴“Nul mieux que lui ne devait, au moment de la crise morale que traversa la France, il y a sept ans, faire son devoir avec simplicité. L’un des premiers, en effet, il opposa, avec une irréductible fermeté, le principe de résistance à l’oppression à ceux qui affirmaient l’autorité de la chose jugée, encore qu’elle fût mal jugée.” Ibid.
- ²⁴⁵“Qui ne pensaient pas comme lui.” Ibid.
- ²⁴⁶“Mais on n’a jamais entendu dire que M. Gallé, malgré la générosité naturelle de ses sentiments, eût élevé la voix en faveur de la tolérance, ou pour exhorter son parti à travailler à la réconciliation des Républicains.” Ibid.
- ²⁴⁷Thus the author of the obituary published in *L’Est Républicain* opines, “Gallé a créé un art lorrain qui laissera de durables traces. C’est pourquoi tous les Lorrains, soucieux du bon renom de leur petite pa[t]rie [sic], oubliant des querelles meurtrières, ne peuvent que s’incliner devant son cercueil.” *Mort d’Émile Gallé*.
- ²⁴⁸“Il s’était fait de la vie une conception d’idéale justice entre les hommes; c’est pourquoi, ceux qui, de son vivant, n’ont pas partagé ses idées politiques, doivent, aujourd’hui qu’il a disparu, désarmer et ne se souvenir que de l’artiste éminemment supérieur. En face de la mort, les plus vifs dissentiments doivent s’effacer. Devant la tombe de cette homme de cœur, dont l’âge semblait promettre encore de longues années d’un travail fécond, saluons, nous autres Nancéiens, si fiers de nos gloires, l’illustre artiste, et aussi le citoyen qui chérissait sa ville natale.” “Nécrologie:

Émile Gallé,” *Le Temps* September 25, 1904. Republished in E. B., “Nécrologie: Émile Gallé,” *Bulletin des Sociétés artistiques de l’Est* 10 (October 1904): 160.

²⁴⁹“Un grand citoyen” and “luttés pour le Droit.” “M. Émile Gallé,” *Bulletin de l’Université Populaire de Nancy* (September 1904): 61.

²⁵⁰“Un obscurcissement passager de la conscience nationale.” Ibid., 61.

²⁵¹“Le courageux citoyen.” “La mort de M. Émile Gallé,” *L’Étoile de l’Est* September 24, 1904.

²⁵²“Notre concitoyen sut à un moment grave faire preuve d’un grand courage, alors que toutes les énergies semblaient éteintes en France; il fut un des premiers à réclamer la justice.” Ibid.

²⁵³“Gallé fit son devoir de citoyen comme il faisait son devoir d’artiste, passionnément. Il quitta la solitude de son atelier et se lança dans la mêlée de la rue.” Hinzelin adds, “Gallé est brisé comme un de ses vases. Mais, artiste complet, citoyen héroïque, il restera dans la mémoire de tous comme un chef-d’œuvre d’humanité.” Hinzelin thus explicitly links Gallé’s achievements to the symbolism of the *Four verrier*, with its broken vases, suggesting that Gallé’s life was one of those destroyed by the Affair. Émile Hinzelin, “Émile Gallé,” *L’Étoile de l’Est* September 27, 1904.

²⁵⁴“Ceux qui, comme nous, ne l’ont pas quitté dans cette lutte, savent ce qu’elle lui coûta. Exactement, elle lui coûta la vie.” Ibid. Gallé would write in a letter to a friend, “J’ai constamment des vertiges et cette Affair me donne des angoisses qui ne me laisseront bientôt plus dormir,” attributing his increasingly debilitating illness to the troubling impact of the Dreyfus Affair. Quoted in Charpentier, *Émile Gallé*, 81. Debora Silverman has addressed the way in which Gallé’s death was interpreted according to 19th-century theories regarding neurasthenia but does not address the connection between this view of Gallé’s death and his involvement in the Affair.

²⁵⁵“Ce n’est pas, non plus, ici, le lieu de dire ce que furent l’homme et le citoyen; nous savons tous qu’en lui le caractère valait l’esprit, que le courage était à la hauteur du talent et qu’il aimait d’une égale passion la beauté et la vérité, l’art et la justice.” Georges Le Monnier, *Hommage à Émile Gallé* (Nancy: Imprimerie nancéienne, 1904), 2. See also Georges Le Monnier, “Émile Gallé Vice-président honoraire de la Société Centrale d’Horticulture de Nancy,” *Bulletin de la Société centrale d’Horticulture de Nancy* (September-October 1904): 135-138.

²⁵⁶“Il avait tous les courages... Le courage de l’artiste qui lutte contre le convenu..., le courage du citoyen capable de résister à l’aveuglement de la majorité..., le courage du chrétien qui, dans un temps où la foi n’est pas bien portée, n’hésite pas un instant à la proclamer bien haut comme la source de toute moralité et de tout bonheur.” A. Cleisz, “Émile Gallé,” *Revue Chrétienne* (November 1904): 345.

²⁵⁷Émile Gallé to Victor Prouvé, November 14, 1899. Quoted in Thiébaud, *Les dessins de Gallé*, 58.

Chapter Six

¹Valérie Thomas, “Émile Gallé et l’association École de Nancy (1901-1904),” in *Hommage à Émile Gallé*, ed. François Le Tacon, *Annales de l’Est*, special issue (2005): 259.

²Marius Vachon, *Les Industries d'art, les écoles et les musées d'art industriel en France (départements)* (Nancy: impr. de Berger-Levrault, 1897), 432. "Ses status lui donnent pour but: le développement des arts décoratifs, l'organisation des expositions, l'organisation de concours, le développement de l'enseignement spécial, la création d'un musée d'art décoratif." See also Thomas, "Émile Gallé et l'association École de Nancy," 259.

³The mayor of Nancy, Hippolyte Maringer, was a member of the organizing committee. Roselyne Bouvier and Philippe Thiébaud, "L'alliance provinciale des industries d'art," in Loyer, ed., *L'École de Nancy*, 139.

⁴Valerie Thomas, "Le musée de l'École de Nancy," in Thomas et al, eds., *Musée de l'École de Nancy*, 7.

⁵Ténib, "Le nouvel art décoratif," 481. See also: Jules Rais, "La reliure lorraine au Salon," *L'Est Républicain*, April 24, 1893: "Les créations originales de MM. Prouvé, Martin et Wiener qui ont été particulièrement remarquées par le jury de la section des arts décoratifs, sont, croyons-nous, destinées à faire école. Et cette École [...] sera nôtre."

⁶The *Société lorraine des Amis des arts*, for example, held a biennial Salon in Nancy between 1882 and 1892. Otter, "Deux reliures," 64. For information on the 1882 Salon, see Roger Marx, *L'Art à Nancy en 1882* (Nancy: Grosjean-Maupin, 1883). In his review of the 1894 exhibition, published as a pamphlet, Émile Badel traces the history of earlier attempts to organize an exhibition of provincial art. According to Badel, a retrospective of art from Lorrain was held at the Hôtel de Ville in 1875 but exhibited only painting and sculpture. Seven years before the 1894 exhibition, the local newspapers *L'Immeuble* and *L'Express de l'Est* had suggested holding an exhibition of decorative arts in one of Nancy's newly built private mansions, but the exhibition never materialized. Badel credits Émile Goutière-Vernolle and Roger Marx with the idea for the 1894 exhibition. Émile Badel, *Les Arts décoratifs en Lorraine: Notice sur l'Exposition de la Salle Poirel Juillet 1894* (Nancy: A. Voirin et L. Kreis, 1894), 5.

⁷A former lawyer and insurance agent, Goutière-Vernolle was a member of Nancy's wealthy bourgeoisie and a passionate proponent of decentralization. Serman, "The Nationalists of Meurthe-et-Moselle," 123.

⁸"L'art décoratif méritait toute la sollicitude des personnes officielles ou privées qui avaient souci de la gloire et de la prospérité de notre province." Émile Goutière-Vernolle, "Exposition d'Art décoratif Lorrain," *La Lorraine Artiste* (December 31, 1893): 831.

⁹"Nous avons, dans nos trois départements, les éléments de succès les plus sérieux et les plus variés... il faut les grouper, les faire valoir, les mettre en lumière, constituer un ensemble qui force l'attention de tous; l'exposition réalisera ce désir." Ibid., 831.

¹⁰"La *Lorraine-Artiste*... se consacrera presque entièrement à la cause de l'art décoratif lorrain." Ibid., 832.

¹¹Silverman, *Art Nouveau*, 235.

¹²"Le but de l'Exposition est de faire connaître les efforts tentés par les artistes et industriels lorrains pour la réalisation du beau dans l'utile." *Exposition d'art décoratif et industriel lorrain*, Exh. cat. (Nancy: Berger-Levrault, 1894), 7.

¹³“L’Exposition est destinée à encourager surtout les créateurs qui, se préoccupant de varier et d’améliorer les formes, ont su trouver ces combinaisons nouvelles qui attestent la persistance du génie artistique lorrain et contribuent à déterminer le style propre de notre province et de notre époque.” Ibid., 7.

¹⁴“L’Exposition démontrera que c’est par la recherche perpétuelle du nouveau, le souci constant du mieux que se conserve la supériorité d’une région, et que s’accroît sa richesse.” Ibid., 7.

¹⁵“Fabricant d’objets d’art.” Ibid., n.p.

¹⁶“[L’Exposition] rappellera aussi que la collaboration de l’artiste et de l’industriel doit être glorieuse pour chacun d’eux; et que, pour être féconde, elle doit respecter le principe de justice exprimé par la devise *cuique suum*—à chacun le sien.” Ibid., 7.

¹⁷Silverman, *Art Nouveau*, 20.

¹⁸Ibid., 20.

¹⁹See *Le beau dans l’utile: Histoire sommaire de l’Union centrale des beaux-arts appliqués à l’industrie, suivie des rapports du jury de l’Exposition de 1865* (Paris, 1866).

²⁰“Sur ses dessins originaux” and “Études pour le décor.” See catalog numbers 323 (“Vases-camées ciselé au touret sur ses dessins originaux.”), 325 (“Gravures... exécutées, sur ses dessins originaux, par ses graveurs artistes.”), and 338 (“Études pour le décor... Par Gallé, Hestaux, Holdenbach, Steiner, Pierrat.”). *Exposition d’art décoratif*, 45, 47.

²¹Ibid., 45.

²²Le Tacon, *Trésors de Gallé*, 17.

²³See “Collaborateurs” under the subsection *Cristallerie-Verrerie*, catalog entry 325 (“graveurs artistes encore actuellement employés de l’usine”), “Collaborateurs et chefs du travaux” under the subsection *Céramique*, and “Collaborateurs” under the subsection *Mobilier*, which specifies that the collaborators are “exécutants faisant partie du personnel comme chefs de travaux.” *Exposition d’Art décoratif*, 45-46.

²⁴The catalog refers to “études du verrier” and “études pour le décor du bois, du verre, de la terre et du métal.” The first refers to experiments with glass, while the second most likely refers to drawings or preparatory sketches. The phrase “sur ses dessins originaux” serves to designate which of the works on exhibition were designed exclusively by Gallé. Ibid., n.p.

²⁵“Enfin l’Exposition décidera peut-être, parmi les jeunes artistes, quelques vocations heureuses qui viendront rajeunir nos industries anciennes et perpétuer leur puissance de création,” the catalog states. *Exposition d’art décoratif*, 7.

²⁶Humbert, *Les Arts décoratifs en Lorraine*, 25.

²⁷*Exposition d’art décoratif*, n.p.

- ²⁸C. André, *Exposition des Arts décoratifs lorrains: Discours prononcé à la séance d'inauguration du 22 juin 1894 par M. C. André, Architecte, Président de la Commission d'organisation* (Nancy: Imprimerie Nancéienne, 1894), 4.
- ²⁹Ibid., 4-5.
- ³⁰“C’est une Exposition d’art faite en vue de mieux mettre en lumière le talent varié, la puissance de production de beaucoup de nos artistes lorrains.” Ibid., 7.
- ³¹“C’est une œuvre de propagande, c’est un acte dans la lutte engagée contre la France par nos adversaires et nos ennemis.” Ibid., 8.
- ³²“C’est une manifestation en faveur de l’art décoratif dont le caractère et l’importance ont trop longtemps été méconnus.” Ibid., 8.
- ³³“Ce noble pays lorrain,” “a donné à la France de si vaillants soldats [et] tant d’artistes.” Ibid., 8.
- ³⁴“Le virtuose incomparable qui, ainsi le premier, a fait chanter le verre, vous l’avez tous nommé, c’est Émile Gallé.” Ibid., 10.
- ³⁵“Une œuvre de défense d’une partie importante de la richesse nationale.” Ibid., 13.
- ³⁶“Dans cette patriotique province, tous, nous sommes unis dans une seule et même pensée: la grandeur et la prospérité de la France.” Ibid., 13.
- ³⁷The *Musée de l’École de Nancy* will hold a retrospective of Martin’s work in 2010.
- ³⁸Otter, “Deux reliures” 63.
- ³⁹“Pour symboliser l’art décoratif dans son affiche, il a groupé de larges iris, une potiche et un paon d’une superbe élégance dont le plumage bleu-vert et or se dégrade doucement en lueurs de chrysoprases.” Jules Rais, “L’Art décoratif et industriel en Lorraine,” *La Lorraine Artiste* (August 5, 1894): 267.
- ⁴⁰“Sur un fond jaune, des feuilles de platane laissées en réserve forment un champ très doux rehaussé de mosaïques où la légende se fixe en caractères d’un précieux dessin: car M. Martin est encore un calligraphe très original.” Ibid., 267.
- ⁴¹Otter, “Deux reliures,” 66.
- ⁴²Ibid., 66.
- ⁴³Louis de Fourcaud writes that “ces reliures sont imaginées comme des vitraux et enluminées comme des affiches.” Louis de Fourcaud, “Les arts décoratifs aux Salons de 1893 (*troisième article*): La section des objets d’art au Champ-de-Mars,” *Revue des Arts décoratifs* 14 (1893-1894): 12.
- ⁴⁴“Fleur essentiellement japonaise.” Victor Prouvé to Camille Martin, March 6, 1893. Letter in collection of the Musée de l’École de Nancy. Quoted in Otter, “Deux reliures,” 69.

- ⁴⁵“C’est tout un art nouveau qui a pris naissance ici; il est en pleine floraison.” André, *Exposition des Arts décoratifs lorrains*, 10.
- ⁴⁶“Une multitude d’objets ont été créés; ils sont ravissants par la façon heureuse et très originale dont l’interprétation de nos fleurs décorent et poétisent ces charmantes productions.” *Ibid.*, 10.
- ⁴⁷“Une œuvre d’art est un coin de la création vu à travers un tempérament.” Émile Zola, “Proudhon et Courbet,” in *Mes Haines: Causeries littéraires et artistiques*, 1866 (Paris: G. Charpentier, 1879), 25. In the guide to the 1884 exhibition sponsored by the *Union centrale des Arts décoratifs*, the anonymous author similarly remarks, “M. Gallé a justifié cette parole de Bacon: l’art c’est la nature vue au travers d’une personnalité.” E. A. S., *Huitième Exposition de l’Union centrale des arts décoratif* (Paris: imp. de Chaix, 1884), 115.
- ⁴⁸Philippe Thiébaud, *Émile Gallé: le magicien du verre* (Paris: Gallimard, 2004), 91.
- ⁴⁹Charpentier, Barbier-Ludwig, and Ponton, eds., *Lettres pour l’art*, 135.
- ⁵⁰“Certaines villes paraissent—comme tels terrains exceptionnellement favorables à la floraison des roses—posséder sur l’éclosion des artistes, sur cette flore spéciale et fragile, rebelle aux acclimations, une influence particulière.” [Octave Maus?], “En passant par la Lorraine,” *L’Art moderne* (September 16, 1894): 291.
- ⁵¹“Quelques meubles, étranges fleurs compliquées, écloses en des serres de rêve, dressent... leurs panneaux délicatement incrustés de bois rares, en lesquels se marie aux raffinements de la flore lorraine l’efflorescence subtile de la poésie contemporaine.” *Ibid.*, 292.
- ⁵²“N’est-ce pas toujours dans leur milieu, dans le décor de leur vie qu’il faudrait voir et juger les artistes?” *Ibid.*, 293.
- ⁵³Maurice Agulhon, “The Center and the Periphery,” in Nora, ed., *Rethinking France*, 57.
- ⁵⁴*Ibid.*, 57. The Jacobins labeled their rivals, the Girondists, as “federalists,” a term which came to be associated with royalist resistance to the Revolution. Over the course of the century that followed, these two terms, “Jacobin” and “Girondin,” came to be used to refer to those in favor of a centralized state (the Jacobins) and those who believed decentralization was in the best interest of the provinces (the Girondins).
- ⁵⁵Organizations such as the *Félibrige*, founded in 1854 by the poet Frédéric Mistral and others to promote the Occitan language, slowly developed in several parts of France.
- ⁵⁶Agulhon, “The Center and the Periphery,” 67.
- ⁵⁷*Ibid.*, 66.
- ⁵⁸Martine Mathias, “La tradition interrogée: la Lorraine entre lotharingisme et régionalisme,” in *L’École de Nancy, 1889-1909*, 269.
- ⁵⁹*Lotharingia* was the medieval term for Lorraine.

- ⁶⁰Gallé was a member of the *Comité du Musée lorrain* beginning in 1893. Mathias, “La tradition interrogée,” 272.
- ⁶¹“Une division géographique insignifiante, bête et barbare..., un système qui foule aux pieds la nature et le bon sens..., une masse physique inerte..., un impromptu géographique.” Baron Auguste-Prosper-François Guerrier de Dumast, *Le Pour et le Contre sur la résurrection des Provinces* (Nancy: impr. de Vve Hissette, 1835). Originally published in *Revue de Lorraine* (May-June 1835). Quoted in Maurice Payart, “‘Un Projet de décentralisation’: Nancy (1865),” *Le Pays lorrain* (October 25, 1904): 322.
- ⁶²Mathias, “La tradition interrogée,” 269.
- ⁶³See Comité de Nancy, *Un Projet de décentralisation* (Nancy, 1865).
- ⁶⁴Vivien A. Schmidt, *Democratizing France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 37.
- ⁶⁵Richard Thomson, “Regionalism versus Nationalism in French Visual Culture, 1889-1900: The Cases of Nancy and Toulouse,” *Studies in the History of Art* 68, ed. June Hargrove and Neil McWilliam, (May 2005): 210.
- ⁶⁶*Ibid.*, 209.
- ⁶⁷Robyn Roslak, *Neo-Impressionism and Anarchism in Fin-de-Siècle France: Painting, Politics and Landscape* (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2007): 98.
- ⁶⁸*Ibid.*, 99.
- ⁶⁹Elisée Reclus, *La nouvelle géographie universelle*, vol. 2, *La France* (Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1877), 2. Quoted in Roslak, *Neo-Impressionism*, 99.
- ⁷⁰Reclus, *La nouvelle géographie universelle*, vol. 2, *La France*, 47; quoted in Roslak, *Neo-Impressionism*, 99.
- ⁷¹Le Tacon, *Émile Gallé*, 52.
- ⁷²*Ibid.*, 51.
- ⁷³*Ibid.*, 52.
- ⁷⁴*Ibid.*, 106.
- ⁷⁵Marie, “Patriotisme et décor symbolique,” 231.
- ⁷⁶Silverman, *Art Nouveau*, 49.
- ⁷⁷*Ibid.*, 49.
- ⁷⁸*Ibid.*, 49.

⁷⁹Vartier, *Histoire de Nancy*, 227.

⁸⁰Émile Goutière-Vernolle, “Exposition d’Art Décoratif Lorrain,” *La Lorraine Artiste* (December 31, 1893): 831. Goutière-Vernolle also lists Larcher, Marcot, and Bossert as members of the committee. Charles André headed the group, with De Meixmoron as vice-president, Marcot as treasurer, Daum as secretary, and Goutière-Vernolle himself as ‘general delegate.’

⁸¹“Une des plus glorieuses manifestations de notre art lorrain.” [Goutière-Vernolle?], “Exposition d’Art décoratif,” 204.

⁸²G[outière-] V[ernolle], “Décentralisation,” *La Lorraine Artiste* (April 7, 1894): 113.

⁸³“C’est l’enseignement et les arts qui bénéficieront les premiers des réformes que l’on pourra réaliser.” *Ibid.*, 114.

⁸⁴“Décentraliser, c’est le seul moyen pacifique d’arriver à rendre féconde l’énergie propre aux divers groupes communaux, provinciaux ou régionaux qui constituent notre unité nationale française.” [Goutière-Vernolle?], “Décentralisons et fédérons-nous.” *La Lorraine Artiste* (April 28, 1894): 151.

⁸⁵“La conquête de l’autonomie des Écoles des Beaux-Arts,” “cette conquête pouvant seule permettre l’établissement *par les intéressés eux-mêmes* de programmes correspondant aux aptitudes des populations et aux besoins spéciaux de chaque région.” *Ibid.*, 152.

⁸⁶“Plus féconde par la manifestation de leurs vitalités propres.” *Ibid.*, 151.

⁸⁷Schmidt, *Democratizing France*, 4.

⁸⁸Badel was born in Saint-Nicolas-de-Port in 1861 and died in Bayon in 1836. He was a journalist and the author of the *Dictionary historique des rues de Nancy* (1904-06). D’Arbois de Jubainville, *Dictionnaire biographique lorrain*, 30.

⁸⁹Badel, *Les Arts décoratifs en Lorraine*, 4.

⁹⁰“Un véritable succès.” Émile Badel, “Exposition des Arts Décoratifs et Industriels lorrains,” *L’Immeuble et la Construction dans l’Est* 9, no. 8 (June 24, 1894): 58.

⁹¹“Je pourrais résumer cette exposition en deux mots: ‘*A Lotharingiâ factum est istud, et est mirabile in oculis nostris!* C’est l’œuvre du seul pays lorrain, œuvre admirable pour tous!’” Badel, “Exposition des Arts Décoratifs,” 58. In the phrase “*A Lotharingiâ factum est istud, et est mirabile in oculis nostris*,” Badel substitutes “Lotharingia” for the more common “Domino” (God), transforming the meaning of the phrase. Loyalty to one’s native region, in other words, replaces faith in God.

⁹²“Montrer aux Parisiens étonnés, ce que pouvaient de pauvres petits provinciaux sans renom.” *Ibid.*, 7. Badel overstates his case a bit here— Gallé was hardly “without renown,” and many of the artists who exhibited in Nancy received their artistic training in Paris.

⁹³Ibid., 4.

⁹⁴Ibid., 9.

⁹⁵According to Badel, it is Nancy's role to serve as an example for other regions seeking decentralization. "Il appartenait à Nancy, --où jadis fut fondée cette célèbre école de décentralisation, qui aurait dû produire de si grands résultats,--de donner l'exemple aux villes de France." Ibid., 5. Jules Rais likewise identifies the 1894 exhibition as an attempt at decentralization of the arts. He writes of "ce mouvement d'émancipation des arts décoratifs en France," attributing its creation to three individuals: Roger Marx, Edmond de Goncourt, and Émile Gallé. Jules Rais, "L'Art décoratif et industriel en Lorraine," *Revue encyclopédique* (1894): 427.

⁹⁶"On a dit et avec raison que notre pays était vraiment la terre classique des arts dits de décoration et dans ce genre le XVIIIe siècle nous a laissé d'admirables chefs-d'œuvre." *Exposition des Arts décoratifs et industriels lorrains: catalogue de la Maison Henri Bossert* (Nancy: G. Crépin-Leblond, 1894), 3.

⁹⁷The present location of these works is unknown.

⁹⁸"J'ai consacré mes efforts à essayer un renouvellement de la bijouterie et de l'orfèvrerie de notre Lorraine, imaginant des motifs de décoration, empruntés à nos souvenirs nationaux ou aux œuvres les plus remarquables de nos grands artistes d'autrefois." *Exposition Catalogue de Bossert*, 4.

⁹⁹At the exhibition of 1894, Bossert also exhibited a bronze statuette of Lamour designed by a young Lorrainer sculptor, Véry. Bossert calls for the statue of Lamour to be erected in Nancy, where bronze statues of Stanislas and his architect, Emmanuel Héré, already stood.

¹⁰⁰"He sees the exhibition itself as a "tentative de décentralisation artistique, qui prouvera une fois de plus à la France que la Lorraine est toujours la terre des grands cœurs, des nobles projets, des conceptions intelligentes et des manifestations artistiques les plus élevées." *Exposition Catalogue de Bossert*, 6.

¹⁰¹"L'immortel serrurier lorrain." Badel, "Exposition des Arts Décoratifs," 64.

¹⁰²See Émile Badel, *De Callot à Jean Lamour, conférence publique faite à Nancy, le 18 mars 1894, dans la salle d'honneur de la porte de la Craffe, par Émile Badel* (Nancy: impr. de A. Voirin et L. Kreis, 1894).

¹⁰³"Le triomphe le plus complet de l'art lorrain [et] l'affirmation la plus solennelle de notre vitalité," "nos artistes d'aujourd'hui valent leurs ancêtres." Ibid., 9.

¹⁰⁴"Les traditions séculaires de l'art lorrain... dont le caractère demeura toujours naturel, logique et précis." Rais, "L'Art décoratif et industriel," 427.

¹⁰⁵"Par manque d'enthousiasme, par la faute de guerres aussi, [et] parce qu'il était plus intelligent que sensible, [the artist] s'attacha surtout jadis au progrès de la sculpture et de la gravure, arts mathématiques et à ce qui fut depuis nommé l'art industriel." Ibid., 427.

- ¹⁰⁶“La certitude de la renaissance d’un génie provincial,” “l’école lorraine du XVIIIe siècle.” Ibid., 427.
- ¹⁰⁷Rais, “L’Art décoratif et industriel en Lorraine,” (July 22, 1894): 254. “M. Émile Gallé, M. Victor Prouvé, fils d’un dessinateur en broderies, M. Camille Martin, dont le père est un sculpteur et un ornemaniste distingué, dont la mère fut une experte brodeuse... continuaient les traditions de notre art provincial.”
- ¹⁰⁸“L’art lorrain, art du décor.” Ibid., 255.
- ¹⁰⁹“Il a fait chanter à la matière qui en est la chair, l’esprit de la terre natale, sa fierté, sa richesse et sa douleur.” Ibid., 258.
- ¹¹⁰“D’un chêne lacustre découvert en pays lorrain.” Rais, “L’Art décoratif et industriel en Lorraine,” (July 29, 1894): 258.
- ¹¹¹Auguin was a civil engineer and journalist. He was appointed editor-in-chief of the *Journal de la Meurthe et des Vosges* in 1879 and subsequently served as director of the *Revue industrielle de l’Est*, which he helped to found, beginning in 1892. From 1884 to 1885, he was director of *Nancy Artiste*, which would later become *La Lorraine Artiste*. Auguin was also the author of *Monographie de la cathédrale de Nancy* (1893) and of a study of the Baccarat glassmaking factory, *Baccarat, ses écoles, ses institutions économiques et ouvrières, ses sociétés de prévoyance* (1878). See Edgard Auguin, *Exposition rétrospective de Nancy: Impressions et souvenirs* (Nancy: Crépin-Leblond, 1875). D’Arbois de Jubainville, *Dictionnaire biographique lorraine*, 28.
- ¹¹²“De toutes les causes fatales à l’esprit local, la plus puissante a été, sans contredit, l’action centrale d’un enseignement officiel, d’une esthétique officielle, créées, discutées et imposées à Paris; de récompenses, de distinctions et d’achats officiels émanant de Paris; Paris devait absorber et anéanti toutes les tendances provinciales.” Edgard Auguin, “Exposition industrielle des Arts décoratifs à Nancy: Le Problème d’une société nouvelle,” *Revue industrielle de l’Est* 3, no. 135 (August 5, 1894): 4.
- ¹¹³“Ce complément banal aurait en outre le tort de supposer que le génie de la France a un centre qui est Paris, et dans Paris telle ou telle esthétique officielle. Non. Le génie de la France est partout. MM. Daum et Gallé sont simplement deux rameaux de cet arbre robuste et sauvage, Le génie de la France, qui croît partout où le souffle de la liberté porte ses germes féconds.” Edgard Auguin, “Exposition industrielle des Arts décoratifs à Nancy,” *Revue industrielle de l’Est* (August 26, 1894): 9.
- ¹¹⁴“Une société régionale d’art décoratif lorrain.” Edgard Auguin, “Exposition industrielle des Arts décoratifs à Nancy,” *Revue industrielle de l’Est* 3, no. 132 (July 15, 1894): 4.
- ¹¹⁵“Les formes de cet art qui sont *exclusivement lorraines* par le style.” Ibid., 4.
- ¹¹⁶“Génie lorrain.” Ibid., 4.
- ¹¹⁷“La conservation du vieux génie lorrain... n’a plus maintenant de raison d’être aujourd’hui dans notre région française.” Ibid., 4.

- ¹¹⁸“L’art lorrain est mort parce que l’esprit lorrain est mort et bien mort avec la patrie lorraine.” Ibid., 4.
- ¹¹⁹“A-t-elle découvert dans l’ensemble de l’Exposition nancéienne un *art lorrain* nouveau?” Ibid., 4.
- ¹²⁰“Il n’y a plus de ‘style propre à notre province’.” Edgard Auguin, “Exposition industrielle des Arts décoratifs à Nancy,” *Revue industrielle de l’Est* 3, no. 133 (July 22, 1894): 3.
- ¹²¹“Si la Société nouvelle est destinée à encourager les tendances parisiennes modernes, et que ces tendances soient *anti-lorraines*, il faut le dire et rayer le mot *lorrain* du programme.” Edgard Auguin, “Exposition industrielle des Arts décoratifs à Nancy,” *Revue industrielle de l’Est* 3, no. 134 (July 29, 1894): 3.
- ¹²²Thomson, “Regionalism versus Nationalism,” 220.
- ¹²³“Toujours modérés et rationnels.” Auguin, “Exposition industrielle des Arts,” (July 29, 1894): 4.
- ¹²⁴“D’une remarquable élégance mais d’une simplicité presque étonnante,” “sentiment pur et délicat du dessin, le scrupule de la ligne nette et l’amour du plein bois fouillé.” Ibid., 4.
- ¹²⁵“Économie de la matière, [et] fermeté des lignes.” Ibid., 4.
- ¹²⁶“La région lorraine, continuant d’emboîter le pas servilement derrière Paris, s’est lancée... dans le vague du mysticisme allemand, dans l’incohérence des fantaisies japonaises.” Auguin, “Exposition industrielle des Arts,” (August 5, 1894): 4.
- ¹²⁷Similarly, the artist Gaston Save (1844-1904) would later concur with Auguin’s argument, citing it directly in his own critique of Gallé’s *Canthare Prouvé*. Save asserts wryly that “Le public artiste de Nancy a toujours accueilli avec intérêt les leçons de goût néo-symbolico-décadent de “l’éminent Maître ès-arts floraux”l.” Gaston Save, “Le nouveau four de M. Gallé,” *Bulletin des sociétés artistiques de l’Est* 8 (1896): 99. Save was a painter, lithographer, and engraver as well as an art critic. D’Arbois de Jubainville, *Dictionnaire biographique lorrain*, 361.
- ¹²⁸“Où nous menez-vous? où menez-vous l’art français? où menez-vous les générations d’ouvriers qui vous admirent et qui, peut-être, voudront demain vous imiter?” Auguin, “Exposition industrielle des Arts,” (August 12, 1894): 7.
- ¹²⁹Comparing Gallé’s more symbolist works unfavorably with *Le Rhin*, Auguin writes, “Que dirait Tacite en voyant la volute de fleurs épanouies qui surmonte comme d’un panache la cloison décorative de bois des îles? N’est-ce point là du transrhénan pur? Et l’emploi des sentences? et le mystique décor du reliquaire? et le tabernacle ou présentoir du *Graal*? et le *Graal* lui-même?” Ibid., 7.
- ¹³⁰Le Tacon, *Émile Gallé*, 103; Françoise-Thérèse Charpentier, “Une œuvre unique d’Émile Gallé: la Vitrine aux libellules,” *Revue du Louvre et des musées de France* 2 (1983): 133; Brigitte Leonhardt, “Emile Gallé: Symbolism and Art Criticism in Germany,” in Ricke and Schmitt, 46. In the catalog of the *Exposition des Arts décoratifs*, the authors give the following description of *Le Graal*, confirming the link to Wagner: “770. *Ego sum vitis vera*, Graal et son présentoir, en bois incrusté et métal, sur des thèmes de Richard Wagner (*Parsifal*).” The phrase “ego sum vitis vera” (I am the true vine) is taken from a passage in John 15:1 that reads “I am the true vine, and my Father is the vinedresser.” *Exposition d’art décoratif*, n.p.

- ¹³¹Émile Nicolas, “Émile Gallé,” *Le Pays Lorrain* (December 10, 1904): 361-367.
- ¹³²“*Ego sum vitis vera* motivait un Saint-Graal en verre demi-opaque ivoirin; du cuivre maintenu au maximum d’oxydation y simulait d’une façon saisissante l’effusion du sang eucharistique.” Auguin, “À la cristallerie,” 13.
- ¹³³“Le champ du symbolisme mystique où cet artiste se plaît à emprunter ses sujets,” “c’est bien le cycle merveilleux allemand toujours plus ou moins attristé par les nuages d’une métaphysique crépusculaire.” Auguin, “Exposition industrielle des Arts,” (August 12, 1894): 7.
- ¹³⁴“Les tendances pessimistes de l’art schopenhanérien [*sic*] ou wagnérien—c’est tout un, —répondent à l’allure actuelle du génie allemand, à ses aspirations vers un idéalisme obscur et lourd. Tout les pousse vers l’accumulation des détails dans des œuvres où l’artiste perd le sentiment de l’ensemble. [...] Son idéal répond à la manifestation d’une contemplation résignée de la vie intérieure. Pour exprimer cette manifestation, il a recours au symbolisme le plus acharné et le plus imprévu. Tout, dans ce système, nous semble en contradiction avec la précision, la clarté, la sobriété du caractère français.” *Ibid.*, 8.
- ¹³⁵“Reste la question des sujets lorrains à choisir qui est plus délicate, si, sortant d’un symbolisme vague et général, on veut *localiser* ce genre d’ébénisterie.” Auguin, “Exposition industrielle des Arts décoratifs à Nancy,” (August 19, 1894): 6.
- ¹³⁶“Simples, presque linéaires.” *Ibid.*, 6.
- ¹³⁷“Une conséquence harmonieuse de la forme,” and it should be derived from “la flore, la faune et les attributs du pays.” *Ibid.*, 6.
- ¹³⁸“Compositions avec ou sans figures, paysages, monuments, scènes diverses de la vie moderne lorraine.” *Ibid.*, 6.
- ¹³⁹*Ibid.*, 6. The author praises, for example, “des encadrements très amples [qui] ménageraient aux marqueteurs et aux pyrograveurs d’élite des surfaces étendues.”
- ¹⁴⁰“Un bel avenir pour un art lorrain très simple, très familier, très élégant.” *Ibid.*, 7.
- ¹⁴¹“Si elle partage sur ce point nos vues et le désir que nous que [*sic*] avons de voir nos virtuoses du bois, à défaut d’un japonisme douteux, se contenter d’un lotharigisme [*sic?*] certain, elle marchera de l’avant, et agira en conséquence, en important à Paris notre goût, celui de nos productions lorraines, au lieu d’aller s’inspirer du goût cosmopolite et bâtard d’expositions étrangères à notre province.” Auguin, “Exposition industrielle des Arts décoratifs à Nancy,” (August 19, 1894): 7.
- ¹⁴²Jules Rais, “L’Art décoratif et industriel en Lorraine,” *La Lorraine Artiste* (August 12, 1894): 279.
- ¹⁴³*Ibid.*, 279.
- ¹⁴⁴“Les exigences de l’art moderne.” *Ibid.*, 279.
- ¹⁴⁵*Ibid.*, 279.

- ¹⁴⁶“Cette tentative décentralisatrice.” Rais, “L’Art décoratif et industriel en Lorraine,” *Revue encyclopédique*: 428.
- ¹⁴⁷Vachon, *Les Industries d’art*, 432.
- ¹⁴⁸Mais des dissentiments nombreux ne tardèrent pas à se produire à propos de questions personnelles, de concurrence industrielle et commerciale, de froissements d’amour-propre d’artistes: *Genus irritabile*.” Ibid., 432.
- ¹⁴⁹Ibid., 433 and Vartier, *Histoire de Nancy*, 231.
- ¹⁵⁰Thomas, “Émile Gallé et l’association École de Nancy,” 269. Fridrich would be one of the founding members of the *Comité Directeur* of the *École de Nancy*, as would several other members of his Society, including Goutière-Vernolle.
- ¹⁵¹“Lieu de causeries et de démonstrations pratiques.” Bouvier and Thiébaud, “L’alliance provinciale,” 136.
- ¹⁵²“Un musée pour voir, comparer, critiquer les œuvres qui y sont exposées.” Source unknown. Quoted in Thomas, “Émile Gallé et l’association,” 269.
- ¹⁵³“La Maison d’Art Lorraine, créée dans le but de favoriser l’expansion de l’art moderne, organise dans ses salles des expositions permanentes destinées à faire connaître les résultats obtenus par les artistes, dans leurs recherches d’un art libre et indépendant.” “École de Nancy,” <http://edn.nancy.fr/web/index.php?page=charles-fridrich>, accessed February 11, 2009.
- ¹⁵⁴At least three of the artists who exhibited at the *Maison d’art lorraine* frequently collaborated with or worked for Gallé, contradicting Bouvier and Thiébaud’s theory that Gallé felt his business threatened by the *Maison d’art lorraine*. See Bouvier and Thiébaud, “L’alliance provinciale,” 136.
- ¹⁵⁵“L’initiateur.” “Association des artistes lorrains,” *Bulletin des Sociétés artistiques de l’Est* 7, no. 1 (January 1901): 6. Also published as “Allocution de M. Émile Gallé.” *La Lorraine Artiste* 19, no. 3 (February 1, 1901): 60-62.
- ¹⁵⁶“La révolution nécessaire est aujourd’hui [sic] accomplie: d’absurdes barrières ont disparu et nous voilà rassemblés.” Ibid., 6.
- ¹⁵⁷Majorelle was a manufacturer of art furniture and Daum, of art glass. Both artist-industrialists were based in Nancy and in fact constituted Gallé’s chief rivals.
- ¹⁵⁸“L’application intelligente, persévérante de plusieurs principes de travail qui... caractérisent éminemment la renaissance régionale de nos industries artistes.” Ibid., 7.
- ¹⁵⁹“Le principe de l’adaptation de l’art aux métiers.” Ibid., 7.
- ¹⁶⁰“Notre formule française, lorraine, d’un mobilier contemporain dont l’ornementation est entièrement issue... de l’observation studieuse du décor des ligneux dans la nature.” Ibid., 8.

- ¹⁶¹“L’application logique des prestiges vivants... à une saine et sage construction du mobilier et des objets utilitaires.” Ibid., 8.
- ¹⁶²“Décor naturaliste.” Ibid., 8.
- ¹⁶³“Les ateliers lorrains ne sont pas, Dieu merci, seuls à fabriquer un peu de bonheur, les vibrations émanées d’eux ont, en se propageant, rencontrés d’autres ondes d’activité bienfaisante par l’art: Paris, Bruxelles, Copenhague,--et, pourquoi ne pas le dire, les cercles artistiques de l’Allemagne, des Etats-Unis, et même l’artiste Japon, ont admiré et aimé vos œuvres lorraines en 1900, et nous avons souvent rendu aux leurs sympathie pour sympathie.” Ibid., 9.
- ¹⁶⁴“Nancy s’est annexé depuis vingt ans bien des provinces de cordialité. Tous ces anneaux éparés, s’élargissant, se sont unis; ils forment aujourd’hui sur les flots irritables une trame pacifiante.” Ibid., 9.
- ¹⁶⁵“Si l’art tend à devenir, au point de vue économique, une parure de la marchandise industrielle, une arme de la concurrence vitale, à de meilleurs égards il édifie en ce moment pour les peuples un vaste lieu de réconfort, une maison universelle.” Ibid., 9.
- ¹⁶⁶“Voilà toute notre *politique*: rechercher ce qui est beau, le faire aimer au travers de nos ouvrages; constituer, par l’émotion communicative, une solidarité amicale entre les ouvriers de l’idéal et les concitoyens, entre les contemporains et les artistes; être les artisans de l’Union dans la Beauté.” Ibid., 10.
- ¹⁶⁷Émile Gallé, “La Société des arts décoratifs de Nancy,” *La Lorraine Artiste* (January 15, 1901): 38-39.
- ¹⁶⁸See, for example, Émile Gallé, “Notre commerce d’exportation,” *La Céramique et la Verrerie* 2 (October 1, 1882): 6-9; 3 (October 15, 1882): 6-9; (November 1, 1882): 8-11; (December 1, 1882): 5-9; (December 15, 1882): 6-9; (January 1, 1883): 9-12; (January 15, 1883): 5-8; (February 15, 1883): 10-13; (March 15, 1883): 3-6; (April 15, 1883): 9-12; (May 1, 1883): 4-9.
- ¹⁶⁹“Presque universelle réputation.” Gallé, “La Société des arts décoratifs de Nancy,” 38.
- ¹⁷⁰“Un style nouveau a été réalisée ici,” “mais les mains font défaut... pour la reproduction des originaux.” Ibid., 38.
- ¹⁷¹“Cela est grand dommage, parce qu’il existe ailleurs des ouvriers suffisamment avertis et dont les dirigeants, avisés, les leur feront reproduire à nos frais.” Ibid., 38.
- ¹⁷²“Il faut... unir les intérêts dans un effort commun.” Ibid., 38.
- ¹⁷³“Il faut créer un terrain de culture qui permette aux semences du Décor d’étendre dans le sol des racines durables, propres à donner des récoltes dans l’avenir.” Ibid., 39.
- ¹⁷⁴“Le Décor, en effet, est ici devenu un produit du cru, aussi fameux, aussi digne de sollicitude que le vin de Champagne ou les dragées, à Verdun et à Reims, que la porcelaine à Limoges.” Ibid., 39.

- ¹⁷⁵“Le moment semble aujourd’hui venu pour mettre à profit la victoire de 1900, d’opérer un excellent travail de concentration pour multiplier nos forces productives au service de nos forces imaginatives.” Ibid., 39.
- ¹⁷⁶Due to the law of July 1901 regarding “associations d’utilité publique” and the necessity of obtaining legal advice, it would be a full year before Gallé registered the “déclaration de constitution” and the Statutes with the Prefecture of Meurthe-et-Moselle, on February 14, 1902. Thomas, “Émile Gallé et l’association,” 260.
- ¹⁷⁷Bouvier and Thiébaud, “L’alliance provinciale,” 135.
- ¹⁷⁸ *Statuts de l’École de Nancy*. http://edn.nancy.fr/web/uploads/file/documents_pdf/edn/end_statuts.pdf, accessed 2/5/09. See also *École de Nancy: statuts* (Nancy: Association des amis du Musée de l’École de Nancy; Pont-à-Mousson: Impr. moderne, 2001) for a facsimile edition of Alliance Provinciale des Industries d’Art, *Statuts de l’École de Nancy* (Nancy: Impr. A. Barbier et F. Paulin, 1901). The online file includes three components: a letter, sent with the Statutes to potential members, the foreword, and the Statutes themselves. The members of the Comité directeur, thirty-six in all, included: Charles André, Émile André, Henri Bergé, Oscar Berger-Levrault, Bergeret, Bourgon, Bussière, Paul Charbonnier, Antonin Daum, Finot, Émile Friant, Fridrich, Gallé, Gauthier, Goutière-Vernolle, Gruber, Guingot, Henry Gutton, Herborn, Hestaux, Kauffer, Larcher, Lombard, Majorelle, Henri Morot, Émile Nicolas, Prouvé, Paul Royer, Save, Schwartz, Souriau, Steinheil, Thiria, Vallin, Lucien Weissenburger, and Lucien Wiener.
- ¹⁷⁹“Resserrer encore, si possible, les liens qui unissent fraternellement, en notre Lorraine, tous les arts de la forme et de la couleur, et ceux qui les exercent.” “Banquet du 16 février 1901,” *Bulletin des Sociétés artistiques de l’Est* 7, no. 3 (March 1901): 25. Also published as Émile Gallé, “Toast prononcé au banquet des Artistes lorrains le 16 février 1901,” in Gallé, *Écrits pour l’art*, 277-281.
- ¹⁸⁰“Art naturiste.” “Banquet du 16 février 1901,” 27.
- ¹⁸¹“Les portraitistes de notre vieille maman lorraine,” “artiste décorateur,” “un éducateur... un patriote [et] un humaniste.” Ibid., 29.
- ¹⁸²“L’amour pacifiant de la nature.” Ibid., 30.
- ¹⁸³Gallé’s references to unity and harmony again evoke the theories of Reclus. Roslak argues that Reclus’s “preferred role for modern art... was to serve as an example of, and a model for, aesthetically pleasing environments... [because] the perception of aesthetic harmony, particularly if its basis lay in nature and its laws, could result in moral improvement for its viewers.” Roslak, *Neo-Impressionism and Anarchism*, 104.
- ¹⁸⁴“Une œuvre de décentralisation et d’utilité générale.” Letter, *Statuts de l’École de Nancy*.
- ¹⁸⁵“Par l’étude et l’adaptation des éléments naturels aux arts du mobilier, nos artistes industriels lorrains ont réalisé un mode d’ornementation qui caractérisera notre époque.” Ibid., n.p.
- ¹⁸⁶“C’est ce retour à la nature, à la vérité, à l’art national qui a valu à nos principes logiques de construction et de décor... le nom d’École de Nancy.” Ibid., n.p.

- ¹⁸⁷“Caractère commun à des œuvres d’art, de littérature ou de science.” A. Beaujean, *Dictionnaire de la langue française* (Paris: Librairie Hachette Et Cie, 1891), 364.
- ¹⁸⁸“Établissement où l’on enseigne les lettres, les sciences, les arts.” Ibid., 364.
- ¹⁸⁹“Nous espérons créer vite ainsi une population manufacturière d’une intelligence et d’une habileté consommée.” Letter, *Statuts de l’École de Nancy*, n.p.
- ¹⁹⁰“Ce n’est pas une nouvelle École des Beaux-Arts que nous prétendons ériger.” Ibid., n.p.
- ¹⁹¹“L’enseignement officiel.”
- ¹⁹²“La pénurie générale de dessinateurs industriels.” Ibid., n.p.
- ¹⁹³“Les résolutions offertes par l’Alliance provinciale... sont basées sur l’affranchissement du contrôle de l’État et l’indépendance absolue des méthodes et des œuvres d’initiative privée.” Ibid., n.p.
- ¹⁹⁴“Il ne s’agit pas d’ailleurs de créer un antagonisme entre l’industrie et l’Enseignement officiel tel qu’il existe. L’École de Nancy sera la première à applaudir aux tentatives des Écoles des Beaux-Arts pour rendre des services aux métiers français en péril.” Ibid., n.p.
- ¹⁹⁵“L’Association s’attache à conserver à la province les élèves de ses écoles, les collaborateurs et ouvriers de ses ateliers d’art.” Foreword, *Statuts de l’École de Nancy*, n.p.
- ¹⁹⁶François Le Tacon, “Émile Gallé et l’École de Nancy,” *Mémoires de l’Académie de Stanislas* 13 (1998/1999): 305.
- ¹⁹⁷ For more information on the *École professionnelle de l’Est*, see Émile Nicolas, “Les arts décoratifs à l’Ecole professionnelle de l’Est,” *La Lorraine Artiste* 19, no. 4 (February 15, 1901): 89-93. Bergé was also head of Daum’s design and modeling studio. He was one of the founding members of the École de Nancy in 1901. “Statuts de l’École de Nancy,” 9; “Le musée de l’École de Nancy dévoile ses réserves: Œuvres méconnues ou inédites,” http://www.artnouveau-net.eu/data/NEWS/NANCY_pressfile_reserves.pdf, accessed November 11, 2009.
- ¹⁹⁸“Les ateliers nancéiens sont les avant-postes de l’Art et de l’Industrie française [et] si l’on fait partout du style belge, la création moderne à Nancy est restée française.” Letter, *Statuts de l’École de Nancy*, n.p.
- ¹⁹⁹“Rendre profitables à tous l’effort et le succès de quelques-uns.” Letter, *Statuts de l’École de Nancy*, n.p.
- ²⁰⁰“Un sentiment de confraternité et d’intérêt commun.” Ibid., n.p.
- ²⁰¹“Les fondateurs de l’Association... ont senti l’urgente nécessité de substituer aux énergies isolées de la première heure un régime d’entente et d’efforts communs.” Foreword, *Statuts de l’École de Nancy*, n.p.
- ²⁰²The significance of the orchid in Gallé’s œuvre is a rich and complex topic of interest, which will be explored in François Le Tacon’s upcoming publication.

²⁰³“Tout y parlerait / A l'âme en secret / Sa douce langue natale.”

²⁰⁴Émile Gallé, “Formes nouvelles et polymorphisme de l’*Aceras hircina* Lindl., ou *Loroglossum hircinum* Reich.,” *Actes du 1er Congrès International de Botanique tenu à Paris à l’occasion de l’Exposition Universelle de 1900* (Lons-le-Saunier: Imprimerie et Lithographie Lucien Declume, 1900), 112-117. Gallé’s paper also appeared in pamphlet form. See Émile Gallé, *Orchidées lorraines: formes nouvelles et polymorphisme de l’“Aceras hircina”* (Lons-le-Saulnier: Impr. de L. Declume, 1900). In 1998, this work was reprinted as Émile Gallé, *Orchidées lorraines* (Paris: Messene, 1998).

²⁰⁵“Les coteaux herbeux du calcaire jurassique dominant les communes de Griscourt et de Gezoncourt.” Gallé, “Formes nouvelles et polymorphisme,” 112.

²⁰⁶Beth Fowkes Tobin, *Picturing Imperial Power: Colonial Subjects in Eighteenth-Century British Painting* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999): 178.

²⁰⁷“Influenced by the Linnaean system of classification... typically botanical illustration is diagrammatic, depicting the stem, leaves, and flowers of a plant against a white background. [...] Sometimes the flower, placed near the bottom border, is drawn in its various stages of blooming, even dissected to show its parts of fructification. Not represented is the whole plant—its size and shape—nor is there any attempt to record how the plant’s vital properties function. Root systems are represented infrequently. Dissected, cross-sectioned stems, limbs, and leaves rarely appear. [...] Also eliminated... is the plant’s environment, which includes the kind of soil it grows in and the kind of climatic conditions that it needs to survive. Not represented also is the plant’s relationship with other plants and with animals.” *Ibid.*, 178-79.

²⁰⁸Thiébaud, *Gallé: Le testament artistique*, 109.

²⁰⁹In the native dialect of Lorraine, “po” is “pour” and “tortous” is “tous.”

²¹⁰The newly elected president of the *Société d’horticulture*, Braun, announced the commission at a meeting of the society on January 13, 1901. “Procès-Verbal de la séance du 13 janvier 1901,” *Bulletin de la Société centrale d’horticulture de Nancy* (1900-1903): 2-4.

²¹¹François Le Tacon, *L’œuvre de verre d’Émile Gallé* (Paris: Editions Messene, 1998), 138.

²¹²“La Société d’Horticulture de Nancy 1877-1901 A son président honoraire Léon Simon.” Léon Simon died on September 14, 1913. His wife, Marie-Louis Bouchotte, passed away soon after, in November. *Roses de France* was bequeathed to the city of Nancy on December 11, 1913. In 1985, the cup was stolen from the *Musée de l’École de Nancy*. Following an investigation, it was returned to the museum after almost a decade’s absence. Georges Barbier-Ludwig, “La Coupe Simon, une verrerie exceptionnelle d’Émile Gallé,” *Arts nouveaux* 7 (Winter 1991): 4.

²¹³*Ibid.*, 2.

²¹⁴*Ibid.*, 2.

- ²¹⁵The work consists of two parts, a bowl and the pedestal, joined by a tenon. Originally, four glass insects concealed the join. The goblet is composed of at least two layers of glass, one clear and one rose-tinted, with inclusions inserted between the two layers.
- ²¹⁶François Le Tacon has compared the shape of the bowl to a caravel.
- ²¹⁷Le Tacon, “Émile Gallé,” 289.
- ²¹⁸Ibid., 2.
- ²¹⁹Ibid., 2. Barbier-Ludwig also notes that *Roses de France* resembles a jardiniere by Gallé entitled *Flora marina, Flora exotica* (1889).
- ²²⁰Léon Simon and P. Cochet, *Nomenclature de tous les noms de roses connus, avec indication de leur race, obtenteur, année de production, couleur et synonymes* (Metz: Impr. A. Béha, 1899). According to Le Tacon, Gallé also presented eleven reports on different varieties of roses to the *Société d’horticulture* between 1880 and 1904. Le Tacon, *L’œuvre de verre*, 138.
- ²²¹Godron identifies *rosa gallica*’s habitat as “Très-rare. Metz (côte St.-Quentin: *Holandre*.” Godron, *Flore de Lorraine*, 217.
- ²²²“La rose des Gaules, qui n’ouvre, en Lorraine, que sur le mont St. Quentin, à Metz, ses pétales de sang.” Comité lorraine, *Historique de la manifestation*, 19.
- ²²³Barbier-Ludwig, “La Coupe Simon,” 3.
- ²²⁴Valerie Thomas, “Émile Gallé and Nature: Types and Influences in His Glass,” *Art on the Line* (2007), 8. (http://www.bristol.ac.uk/artontheline/journal_20071/articles/pdf/20071_02.pdf; accessed 2/7/09)
- ²²⁵Ibid., 8.
- ²²⁶Barbier-Ludwig, “La Coupe Simon,” 4.
- ²²⁷“De la nécessité des notions physiologiques pour le compositeur désireux de créer une ornementation en harmonie avec la diffusion moderne des sciences naturelles.”
- ²²⁸“Les premiers, ils ont préconisé l’observation directe de la nature pour trouver des formes inédites à appliquer aux objets en tenant compte de la matière employée pour chacun d’eux.” Quoted in Émile Nicolas, “École de Nancy: Alliance provinciale des Industries d’Art,” *La Lorraine Artiste* (1901): 211.
- ²²⁹“Ils ont opéré dans le décor en s’efforçant de garder à chacune de leurs compositions les signes typiques des espèces naturelles.” Ibid., 211.
- ²³⁰“Chaque espèce possède sa beauté propre qui est la résultante de différenciations organiques en harmonie avec le milieu dans lequel elle se développe.” Ibid., 211.
- ²³¹“Le décor tératologique.” Ibid., 212.

²³²Ibid., 211-215.

²³³See Ernst Haeckel, *Kunstformen der Natur* (Leipzig and Vienna: Bibliographisches Institut, 1899-1904).

²³⁴See Ernst Haeckel, *Anthropogénie, ou Histoire de l'évolution humaine* (Paris: C. Reinwald, 1877) and *Histoire de la création des êtres organisés d'après les lois naturelles* (Paris: C. Reinwald, 1874).

²³⁵See Ernst Haeckel, *Die Radiolarien* (Berlin: G. Reimer, 1862).

²³⁶Stephen Escritt, *Art Nouveau* (London: Phaidon, 2000), 126.

²³⁷Bouvier and Thiébaud, "L'alliance provinciale," 142.

²³⁸"L'École lorraine d'industriels et d'artistes." Émile Gallé to Georges Berger, October 28, 1902. Archives of the *Union Centrale des Arts décoratifs*, Paris. Quoted in Thomas, "Émile Gallé et l'association," 265.

²³⁹Ibid., 265.

²⁴⁰Ibid., 265.

²⁴¹"Une exposition d'art décoratif lorrain." "Union centrale des arts décoratifs," *L'Est républicain* (December 16, 1902): 1. The same announcement also appeared in *La Lorraine Artiste*. See "Chronique des arts: Union centrale des Arts décoratifs," *La Lorraine Artiste* (1903): 16.

²⁴²"Ayant un caractère d'art." "Union centrale des arts décoratifs," 1.

²⁴³Ibid., 1.

²⁴⁴"On vient d'accueillir à Paris les ouvrages des maîtres stylistes de l'*Ecole de Nancy*, groupés par l'initiateur de cette renaissance en un pacte de famille unissant tous les métiers d'art lorrains." Émile Gallé, Foreword to *Exposition de l'École de Nancy à Paris* (Paris: Guérinet, 1903), n.p.

²⁴⁵"L'*Ecole de Nancy*, en effet, et c'est là ce qui la distingue heureusement des tentatives récentes pour imposer chez nous un *modern style* incohérent et bizarre, l'*Ecole de Nancy* prétend posséder et mettre en pratique certains principes qui lui sont propres." Ibid., n.p.

²⁴⁶Amy Ogata, "Artisans and Art Nouveau in Fin-de-siècle Belgium: Primitivism and Nostalgia," in *Antimodernism and Artistic Experience: Policing the Boundaries of Modernity*, ed. Lynda Jessup (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 165. According to Stephan Tschudi-Madsen, French critics employed the term "modern style" until about 1895, when the opening of Siegfried Bing's shop, *L'Art nouveau* popularized the new phrase to describe the reform movement taking place in the decorative arts. The use of the term "modern style" invokes the style's purported origins in English art, while "art nouveau" conjures a more francophone origin. Tschudi-Madsen also notes the use of less commonly used terms to describe the new art, including "Style Métro," a reference to Hector Guimard's designs for the Paris metro, and "style rastaquouère," which he translates as "foreign adventure." Stephan Tschudi-Madsen, *The Art Nouveau Style* (Oslo,

Norway: H. Aschebourg, 1956), 81. Émile Bayard would also employ the term “modern style” to castigate the essentially foreign origin of the Art Nouveau style. Paul Greenhalgh, *Modernism in Design* (London: Reaktion Books, 1990), 67.

²⁴⁷For more on this group, see Rossella Froissart-Pezone, *L'art dans tout: Les arts décoratifs en France et l'utopie d'un Art nouveau* (Paris: CNRS, 2005).

²⁴⁸“Qu’ on ne craigne donc pas de rencontrer... tels *salons-wagons*, où, sous couleur de modernisme et de confort, des mobiliers dont les pièces font partie intégrante de l’immeuble, se trouvent soudés les uns aux autres comme des *frères siamois*, ou bien apparaissent, comme dans le *Monde renversé*, les pieds au plafond.” Gallé, Foreword, *Exposition de l'École*, n.p.

²⁴⁹“L’ornementation du macaroni,” “*le style du coup de fouet*.” Ibid., n.p. “Stile Vermicelli,” for example, was a common term for Art Nouveau. In his earlier article, “Le Mobilier contemporain orné d’après la nature,” Gallé similarly argues that “la nature... ne fournit pas les festons et les astragales, prête à l’artiste bien autres choses que les lombrics et les ténias, les pseudovarechs et les vermicelles affolés dont on a pensé faire, avec beaucoup de talent, à l’occasion de 1900, un berceau où abriter le vingtième siècle, un style helminthique et “larveux”.” Émile Gallé, “Le Mobilier orné d’après la nature,” in Gallé, *Écrits pour l’art*, 251.

²⁵⁰“Offrir à l’Ecole de Nancy, à ses travaux, l’hospitalité du Pavillon de Marsan et du Musée des Arts Décoratifs, c’est ouvrir, nous voulons l’espérer, une féconde série d’expositions provinciales du décor à Paris.” Gallé, Foreword, *Exposition de l'École*, n.p.

²⁵¹“Une esthétique forte et sûre.” Ibid., n.p.

²⁵²“Celle-ci n’est, d’ailleurs, qu’un héritage national dans notre pays, amoureux avant tout de clarté, de logique.” Ibid., n.p.

²⁵³“L’observation scientifique des modèles vivants.” Ibid., n.p.

²⁵⁴“Prétend posséder et mettre en pratique certains principes qui lui sont propres... bien qu’elle laisse à ses sociétaires une indépendance absolue dans les applications particulières.” Gallé, Foreword, *Exposition de l'École*, n.p.

²⁵⁵“Notre style français logique et directement inspiré de la documentation naturelle.” Ibid., n.p.

²⁵⁶“Le style naturaliste contemporain.” Ibid., n.p.

²⁵⁷Émile Gallé, Foreword, *Exposition de l'Alliance provinciale des industries d'art, École de Nancy, mars 1903: Catalogue officiel illustré* (Nancy: ed. de la Lorraine artiste, 1904), 5.

²⁵⁸Ibid., 5. See also Émile Gallé, “L’Ecole de Nancy à Paris,” *La Lorraine Artiste* (March 15, 1903): 82-92.

²⁵⁹Gallé’s letter first appeared in *L’Aurore* on April 18, 1903.

²⁶⁰“Je trouverais fâcheux d’enlever pendant plusieurs années les meilleurs fils de nos métiers à leur naturelle atmosphère, celle de la claire France et de son intellectualité, pour en faire, eux aussi,

durant toute leur vie, des déracinés de la Villa Médicis.” Émile Gallé, “A propos du Prix de Rome,” *La Lorraine Artiste* (1903): 132.

²⁶¹“Le virus italien de l’imitation.” *Ibid.*, 131.

²⁶²Gallé here touches upon some of the themes that will preoccupy conservative commentators who embraced the ideas of order and rationality as components of a *French* classicism in the works of the Cubist generation. See Mark Antliff, *Avant-Garde Fascism: the Mobilization of Myth, Art, and Culture in France* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007).

²⁶³Prouvé’s design was also used for printed invitations to the exhibition. An example can be found in the Chambon Collection of the Rakow Library at the Corning Museum of Glass, Corning, NY.

²⁶⁴For a discussion of this work, see Silverman, *Art Nouveau*, 237.

²⁶⁵“Une affiche, dessinée par un peintre apprécié, M. Victor Prouvé... nous a paru exprimer et synthétiser, d’une façon ingénieuse, l’idéal de les procédés d’inspiration de l’esthétique nouvelle. Cette affiche— tout le monde a pu voir— représentait en un site agreste, presque sauvage, un artiste légèrement hirsute, comme il convient à un coureur de bois, vêtu de bure, porteur d’un démesuré carton, courbé vers le sol, et cueillant au milieu des grandes herbes une mignonne fleurette. Cette fleurette, vous l’avez deviné, est un symbole, — celui de l’interminable inspiration fournie par l’infatigable Nature. C’est cette fleurette qu’en maintes expositions nous avons vue interprétée, amplifiée, métamorphosée et finalement transformée en lampe électrique, en guéridon, en vase, en siège, en vitrine. Pour les novateurs de “l’École de Nancy”, nos arts mobiliers sont enfants de la Forêt!” Henry Havard, “Les Salons de 1903: Les Arts décoratifs,” *La Revue de l’Art ancien et moderne* (1903): 467.

²⁶⁶“Austerité un peu rustique, cette indigence dispendieuse, ces formes volontairement naïves.” *Ibid.*, 468.

²⁶⁷“Nous voulons parler de ces milles et une convenances, de ces exigences mondaines, de ces besoins intimes de confort et de sociabilité, que certains de nos novateurs “adeptes de la Forêt” ont une tendance à méconnaître, et dont trop souvent ils oublient de tenir compte.” *Ibid.*, 482.

²⁶⁸Gallé, Foreword to *Exposition de l’École*, n.p.

²⁶⁹Silverman, *Art Nouveau*, 141.

²⁷⁰“Les durables vestiges des élégances d’antan suggèrent sans peine que le culte de la beauté n’a pu de sitôt s’abolir, et on ne doit point s’étonner de voir reflourir à Nancy ces arts du foyer et de la rue qui s’y trouvèrent jadis honorés avec tant d’éclat.” Roger Marx, “L’École de Nancy au Pavillon de Marsan,” *La Chronique des Arts et de la Curiosité* (March 14, 1903): 83.

²⁷¹René d’Avril, “L’école lorraine du décor floral,” *La Lorraine Artiste* (September 1, 1903): 264.

²⁷²*Ibid.*, 264.

²⁷³Silverman, *Art Nouveau*, 9.

- ²⁷⁴«L’affiche de Victor Prouvé contient une symbole bien fait pour nous émouvoir. Le secret de l’art lorrain réside tout entier dans le geste d’humilité de l’artiste vers une fragile fleur croissant à l’orée des grands bois.» Émile Nicolas, “Les artistes décorateurs lorrains à Paris,” *La Lorraine Artiste* (1903/1904): 70.
- ²⁷⁵«Il était bon que l’art décoratif lorrain aille une fois de plus rappeler à Paris toutes ses suggestions... On sait combien on est discret à son égard dans les milieux artistiques de la grande cité, où on a la prétention de dicter à la province les modes et les goûts.» Ibid., 70.
- ²⁷⁶«Beaucoup passeront sans rien comprendre... sans saisir les liens qui les unissent au monde. D’autres, les moins nombreux, chercheront à comprendre... Il faut quelquefois peu de chose pour donner à un cerveau préparé le choc divin qui le fera vibrer à l’unisson de l’univers.» Ibid., 70-71.
- ²⁷⁷«Cependant, pour éveiller la conscience de l’utilité de l’art et de sa destination sociale, [et] pour ramener les inventeurs à une source d’inspiration commune... il fallait la contagion de l’exemple, les leçons quotidiennement répétées d’un directeur.» Marx, “L’École de Nancy au Pavillon de Marsan,” 84.
- ²⁷⁸«C’est ce rôle que M. Émile Gallé a assumé.» Ibid., 84.
- ²⁷⁹Jules Rais, “L’École de Nancy et son Exposition au Musée des Arts décoratifs,” *Art et Décoration* 13 (Jan-Juin 1903): 138.
- ²⁸⁰«Nous pouvons conclure qu’il lui est impossible d’entrer dans une association coopérative où l’altruisme, le désintéressement et le respect du travail manuel sont les seules bases sur lesquelles une telle association peut se développer.» Émile Nicolas, “A propos de l’Exposition de l’Ecole de Nancy au Pavillon de Marsan,” *La Lorraine Artiste* (1903): 119.
- ²⁸¹«Ce dont on ne saurait douter, c’est qu’il y a un paysage mosellan particulier. On remarque bien la coloration de ce paysage. [...] Il faut passer les Vosges pour comprendre le particularisme rural de la Lorraine. Mais cela ne prête guère à l’art, et il semble bien, en effet, que c’est dans toute la mesure que les habitants de la Lorraine ont renié leurs origines, oublié leurs horizons, qu’ils ont été des artistes.” Quoted in Émile Nicolas, “L’Exposition du Pavillon de Marsan,” *La Lorraine Artiste* (June 1, 1903): 173.
- ²⁸²«L’inspiration de Gallé déborde son cadre floral immédiat; Prouvé est plein de Delacroix et de Rubens: ces deux artistes, les deux plus personnels du groupe, ont des attaches qui sont loin d’être exclusivement lorraines. Ils ont beaucoup lu, fréquentent les milieux littéraires parisiens. Par leur culture, ils ont cessé depuis longtemps d’être de leur village: la Lorraine n’est plus pour eux que le siège de leur principal établissement.” Ibid., 173-74.
- ²⁸³«Aujourd’hui... l’art... devient l’occasion d’échanges entre la Lorraine et les autres centres, [et] son particularisme s’atténue.” Ibid., 174.
- ²⁸⁴«Et... les artistes, qui croyaient décentraliser, ont centralisé, car la centralisation n’est que le témoignage que la vie est plus générale.” Ibid., 174.
- ²⁸⁵Ibid., 174.

²⁸⁶“Dernièrement, sous prétexte de faire admirer au public parisien, les productions modern-style de quelques ouvriers d’art de Nancy, on permit aux honorables commerçants de cette ville de transporter là (c’est-à-dire en somme en plein Louvre), les plus précieuses pièces de leurs magasins.” Nicolas cites an article by an anonymous author published in the review *L’Occident*. Ibid., 174.

²⁸⁷“Une vitalité créatrice de la plus haute valeur.” Ibid., 174. Interestingly, Nicolas’s reference to “valeur” or “value” raises the specter of the very commercialism he seeks to avoid.

²⁸⁸“L’Union centrale des Arts décoratifs, en conviant les artistes lorrains à Paris, a jugé bon de montrer à la capitale où on a trop de tendance à s’enamourer des productions étrangères, que l’on peut recueillir autour de soi, sur la terre féconde, dans un milieu national, les inspirations harmonieuses de la beauté et du vrai.” Ibid., 175.

²⁸⁹Charles Sadoul, “M. Edouard Bour,” *Le Pays lorrain* (1905): 128.

²⁹⁰Ibid., 128.

²⁹¹[C^t [Commandant] Lalance], “Souvenirs de l’Exposition d’art décoratif de 1904,” *Bulletin des Sociétés artistiques de l’Est* 11, no. 8 (August 1905): 135-138.

²⁹²Ibid., 135-138.

²⁹³Thomas, “Émile Gallé et l’association,” 267.

²⁹⁴The catalog cannot be located at this time and may not have survived. The cover is in an unknown private collection.

²⁹⁵[Lalance], “Souvenirs de l’Exposition,” 135-138.

²⁹⁶Ibid., 135-138.

²⁹⁷Marx’s lecture was published as “Conférence de M. Roger Marx sur Émile Gallé,” *Bulletin des Sociétés artistiques de l’Est* 11 (November 1904): 195-208.

²⁹⁸Both lectures were published in *La Lorraine artiste*.

²⁹⁹Nancy was the capital of France’s prolific postcard industry. Other publishers included Bergeret and Jules Royer.

³⁰⁰Silverman, *Art Nouveau*, 74.

³⁰¹“L’effort commun pour affirmer un centre, une école.” [Lalance], “Souvenirs de l’Exposition,” 135. Lalance was a member of the Société historique de Nancy and later the author of two regionalist studies, *Origines gauloises sur le Rhin et en Lorraine* (1919) and *Les Origines de Nancy et le peuplement de la région lorraine* (1932). Similarly, Bour writes, “Nous applaudissons une fois de plus à la solidarité qui unit nos grands artistes, peintres, sculpteurs, décorateurs, travaillant ensemble à la grandeur de la petite patrie, et s’unissant dans un commun effort pour garder la

supériorité qu'ils ont partout conquise." E. B[our?], "Exposition d'Art décoratif," *Bulletin des Sociétés artistiques de l'Est* 7 (July 1904): 101.

³⁰²“Les vases, les coupes, les cristaux, les appareils d'éclairage chantent tour à tour la grâce des fleurs de nos champs, de nos bois et de nos jardins, la splendeur de nos forêts.” Émile Nicolas, “L'Exposition d'arts décoratif de Nancy,” *Pays lorrain* (1904): 350.

³⁰³“En résumé, on a pu dégager d'une étude sérieuse de cette exposition que l'art moderne s'est singulièrement assagi depuis une dizaine d'années. Les lignes sont loin d'être aussi tourmentées.” [Lalace, C^t [Commandant]?] “Souvenirs de l'Exposition d'art décoratif de 1904: (*Deuxième article*),” *Bulletin des Sociétés artistiques de l'Est* 11, no. 10 (October 1905): 171.

³⁰⁴Bour asserts, for example, “On a relevé partout un progrès sensible, un art plus sain, plus honnête, où la volonté se subordonne moins volontiers à la sensibilité nerveuse, où les droits de la raison et de l'esprit ont été respectés, selon le vœu même de la tradition de notre race.” Édouard Bour, “Exposition d'Art décoratif Lorrain,” *Bulletin des Sociétés artistiques de l'Est* 12 (1904): 226.

³⁰⁵“Les Lorrains ont contemplé sans fièvre, cette poussée souvent turbulente [...] et la fécondité de leur terroir... lui fournit aujourd'hui les moyens d'une originalité puissante et sobre, dédaigneuse des extrêmes.” Roger C. D'Einvaux, “L'Exposition d'art décoratif lorrain à Nancy,” *L'Art décoratif* (February 1905): 97.

³⁰⁶“Voici des artistes qui travaillent chez eux, dans le calme d'une province restée relativement elle-même. Ils ne reçoivent des influences cosmopolites que ce qu'ils veulent bien admettre; les courants étrangers ne les atteignent que dans la mesure qu'ils permettent.” *Ibid.*, 104. D'Einvaux also describes the group as profoundly affected by the landscape of their native province. He writes, “Mais ils sont perpétuellement plongés dans le milieu qui leur est adéquat; comme tous les Lorrains, ils aiment leur sol, leur vraie patrie, d'un attachement, je crois, particulièrement profond.” *Ibid.*, 104.

³⁰⁷Marcel served as *Directeur de Beaux-Arts* from 1903 to 1905.

³⁰⁸“Un ensemble de caractères communs, une sorte de parenté.” Quoted in Édouard Bour, “Inauguration de l'Exposition d'Art décoratif Lorrain,” *Bulletin des Sociétés artistiques de l'Est* 11 (1904): 187.

³⁰⁹“Doctrines systématiques.” *Ibid.*, 187.

³¹⁰“Ils n'ont pas encore créé un style, la révolution étant trop récente, mais à coup sûr, en attendant le triomphe définitif, ils ont doté notre temps d'un Art moderne.” E. Bour, “Exposition lorraine d'Art décoratif à Nancy du 30 Octobre au 4 Décembre 1904,” *Bulletin des Sociétés artistiques de l'Est* 10 (1904): 170.

³¹¹“En affirmant sur le terrain du beau le patriotisme provincial, bien loin d'affaiblir la nationalité française que menacerait seul l'émiettement d'un individualisme indifférent et égoïste, elle augmentera sa force de rayonnement et de propagande, car la vitalité d'un pays réside dans la vigueur et la cohésion des groupes qui le composent, comme la résistance d'un tissu dans la densité des fibres dont il est fait.” *Ibid.*, 190.

³¹²“Fidèle à son programme.” Bour, “Exposition lorraine d'Art décoratif,” 171.

³¹³Ibid., 171.

³¹⁴The *Musée des Arts décoratifs* was founded in 1935 when the owner of the department store *Magasins réunis*, Jean-Baptiste (Eugène) Corbin, donated 759 works by artists of the *École de Nancy* to the city. The museum moved to its present location in the former home of Corbin in 1952. Valérie Thomas, “Le musée de l’École de Nancy,” in Thomas et al, eds., *Musée de l’École de Nancy*, 13-14.

³¹⁵“Il était logique qu’après la brillante manifestation d’art qui vient de se dérouler à Nancy, la société initiatrice entrât résolument dans la réalisation de son programme primitif, élaboré avec tant de soin par le regretté maître Émile Gallé, mais dont quelques points seulement avaient pu être abordés.” Le Comité, “L’École de Nancy,” *La Lorraine Artiste* 23 (1905): 23.

³¹⁶David Cottington, *Cubism in the Shadow of War* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998): 24.

³¹⁷Roger Marx, “De l’art social et de la nécessité d’en assurer le progrès par une exposition.” *Idées Modernes* 1 (January 1909): 47-57; Roger Marx, *L’Art Social* Paris: Fasquelle, 1913.

³¹⁸“L’Ecole de Nancy est une association qui a pour objectif de créer en notre province une vie intense de l’art... surtout de l’art populaire, c’est-à-dire accessible par la modicité de son prix et par son application rationnelle à tous les objets usuels.” Le Comité, “L’École de Nancy” 24.

³¹⁹“Il est de notre devoir d’éveiller chez tous le sens de la Beauté.” Ibid., 24.

Conclusion

¹René d’Avril writes, for example, “On sait qu’aux écarts de fantaisie, souvent outranciers, des oeuvres modernes étrangères, l’École de Nancy oppose les fleurs exquises du goût français, naturaliste.” René d’Avril. “L’École de Nancy.” *Art et Industrie* (September 1909), n.p. Similarly, during a speech before the *Sociétés artistiques de l’Est*, Gallé stated, “Je préfère saluer ici, mes chers Maîtres lorrains, votre art naturaliste et vrai parce qu’il réjouit, il adoucit les hommes.” “Banquet du 16 février 1901.” *Bulletin des Sociétés artistiques de l’Est* 7:3 (March 1901): 27. Louis de Fourcaud would summarize one of central the aims of the *École de Nancy* as “d’étendre la fois en l’art naturaliste.” Louis de Fourcaud, “Émile Gallé (quatrième article),” *Revue de l’Art ancien et moderne* 12, no. 68 (1902): 351.

Critics often termed Gallé’s approach to art “naturalist.” In his review of the Salon of 1893, for example, Gustave Geffroy declares that Gallé is “tout à fait naturaliste.” Gustave Geffroy, “Salon de 1893: Au Champ-de-Mars,” *La Justice* (June 4, 1893): 1. Describing a buffet exhibited by Gallé in 1900, Émile Nicolas similarly declares that the work is “une de ses compositions ‘naturalistes’ la plus complète.” Émile Nicolas, “L’École de Nancy,” *Revue lorraine illustrée* 3 (January-March 1908): 22. In an article published thirty-two years after the author’s death by one of his contemporaries, Gaston Varenne likewise praises Gallé’s “lyrisme décoratif et naturaliste.” Gaston Varenne, “Emile Gallé et l’École de Nancy,” *Le Pays lorrain* (1936): 55. In his discussion of Lorraine’s place in the regionalist movement, Eugène Martin also opines, “Gallé fut l’un des plus ardents promoteurs, peut-être faudrait-il dire le lanceur de ce mouvement naturaliste.” Eugène Martin, “Comment la Lorraine travaille à l’œuvre nationale de la décentralization,” *Revue Lorraine illustrée* (July-September 1906): 99.

²“Cette élégance de la fleur, grâce aux mystères de son organisme et de sa destinée, grâce à la synthèse du symbole végétal sous le crayon de l’artiste, dépasse parfois en intense pouvoir suggestif l’autorité de la figure humaine.” Émile Gallé, “Le décor symbolique,” 1900, in Gallé, *Écrits pour l’art*, 216. “Et nous pouvons proclamer à notre tour notre fois profonde en la doctrine qui assigne à l’art une fonction de culture humaine, d’éveil des esprits et des âmes par la traduction des beautés épandues dans le monde.” *Ibid.*, 226.

³See Romy Golan, *Modernity and Nostalgia: Art and Politics in France Between the Wars* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995); David Cottington, *Cubism in the Shadow of War: The Avant-Garde and Politics in Paris 1905-1914* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998); David Cottington, “‘Ce beau pays de l’avenir’: Cubism, Nationalism and the Landscape of Modernity in France,” in *Framing France: The Representation of Landscape in France, 1870-1914*, ed. Richard Thomson, 194-216 (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1998); and Mark Antliff, *Inventing Bergson: Cultural Politics and the Parisian Avant-Garde* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992).

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