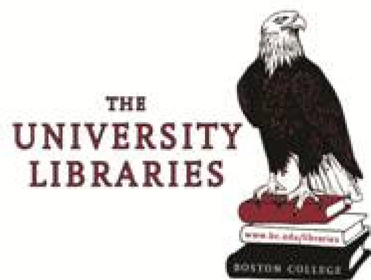

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Amelia Yeates

'A slave kept in Leyland's back parlour': The Male Artist in the Victorian Marketplace

In the second half of the nineteenth century, artists such as Dante Gabriel Rossetti and Edward Burne-Jones enjoyed regular patronage from a variety of middle-class patrons, such as William Graham and Frederick Leyland. Nonetheless, such support came with drawbacks; Burne-Jones complained of being a 'slave' to Leyland and Rossetti described his relationship to patrons as that of a 'whore'. These figurations speak of the dilemma the nineteenth-century male artist faced in the Victorian marketplace, a concern shared by literary artists too: for example, Browning in his artist poems. Focusing on self-perceptions by Victorian artists, as well as poetic representations of artists by Victorian writers and didactic commentaries about artists by authors such as Samuel Smiles, this article explores the various tropes used for imagining the male artist in relation to the challenges of the contemporary marketplace. It focuses in particular on concerns about the emasculation of the artist and the gendering of issues such as artistic freedom versus commodification.

Keywords: artist, masculinity, marketplace, prostitute, patrons, commodification, Rossetti, Burne-Jones

In his 1857 book *The Choice of a Profession*, H. Byerley Thomson divided professions into 'two principal classes – the privileged and the unprivileged', the privileged being 'regulated by law and closed to free competition from without'.[1] Painting, architecture and sculpture were classed by Thomson as unprivileged, and therefore characterized by competition and subject to particular market forces. We might also note that Thomson's 'unprivileged' professions do not carry a regular salary and therefore anyone entering such employment faces the additional anxiety of how to ensure a living. Furthermore, we might question for whom the 'unprivileged' professions work. The ideal was that artists worked for a sympathetic public or supportive patron. In practice, the reality was that art, like literature, was a commodity produced and exchanged in the marketplace and artists' letters and diaries frequently make reference to demanding patrons or uninitiated publics. Jennifer Ruth suggests that, 'At once outside the market and within it, the nineteenth-century professional juggles a kind of paradox'.[2] This paradox was particularly marked in relation to artists and writers, whose relationship to the market was characterized by a range of concerns and anxieties. Andrew Stephenson suggests that 'it was important to reinforce a sense of distance' between the artist, 'manual production' and 'commerce'.[3] Such distance was evident in John Ruskin's comment on the opening of the Grosvenor Gallery in 1877: Ruskin admired the gallery as 'it has been planned and

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is directed by a gentleman in the true desire to help the artists and better the art of his country – not as a commercial speculation'.[4] Given that the Grosvenor was in fact a commercial operation, Ruskin's comment betrays the type of 'misrecognition' of the artistic field that is articulated by Pierre Bourdieu and that art historians have related to the nineteenth-century art world.[5] Such 'misrecognition' is evident through commentaries in the periodical press and didactic literature, about the role and function of art, and through artists' biographies which, as Julie Codell has noted, regularly omit references to prices and payments and emphasize artists 'rejection of the marketplace'.[6] On the other hand, as Codell has also shown, periodicals such as *The Magazine of Art* regularly featured prices fetched by art works at sale, and artists' letters and diaries were full of pecuniary details.[7] As Colin Cruise argues in this issue, by the late 1860s there 'was a growing tendency to normalize the artist as a regular member of an economy of production with art as a kind of commerce'.[8] The 'misrecognition' described by Bourdieu[9] was therefore only partial and coexisted with explicit recognition by various parties of the commercial nature of art and art-making, as is evident in the scholarship brought together in Pamela Fletcher and Anne Helmreich's edited collection *The Rise of the Modern Art Market in London, 1850–1939* (2011).

This article examines the various ways in which the economic basis of the art profession was registered by both artists and critics in negative and anxious ways. Focusing on self-perceptions by Victorian artists, as well as poetic representations of and didactic commentaries about artists, this article explores various tropes used for imagining the male artist in relation to the problems posed by the marketplace. It focuses in particular on concerns about the emasculation of the artist and the gendering of issues such as artistic freedom versus commodification.

The artist as prostitute

From the point of view of didactic literature and artists' biographies, pecuniary reward was merely a by-product of hard work and should not be a goal in itself. In his best-selling *Self-Help* of 1859, Samuel Smiles devoted a chapter, entitled 'Workers in Art', to a discussion of artists. The key theme, evident in the chapter title, was labour; Smiles' favoured artists worked long and hard until they became successful. Recognition, not money, was their motivation. Although wealth is an acceptable outcome of hard work, Smiles claims it must not be the 'ruling motive', and that 'no mere love of money could sustain the efforts of the artist in his early career of self-denial and application'.[10] This is borne out by his many examples of artists who endured starvation and poverty whilst establishing their careers. Examples include J.W.M. Turner, who 'never slurred over his work just because he was ill-remunerated for it', or John Flaxman, who 'worked for art' rather than financial gain.[11] The gendered imperatives of such practices are evident in William Landels' claim in his 1861 book *True Manhood* that attaching value to wealth was not 'manly'.[12]

The Smilesian ideal of the artist persisted across the second half of the nineteenth century, evident in Frank Holl's alleged anxious comment, not long before his death in 1888, 'The fellows say I work too hard, and that I work for money . . . but it's not true'.[13] Nonetheless, during the second half of the nineteenth century artists became increasingly wealthy, a fact reflected in lavish homes that became important outward symbols of success, status and taste. Such symbols were shared with the public through the reporting of artists' homes,[14] and through 'Show Sundays' when artists' studios were opened to the public – an event which, as Charlotte Gere observes, was 'part of the public presentation of the artist'.[15] As Codell notes, 'The romantic suffering of the mid-century biographies evaporated before these narratives of success'.[16] Hence, it was increasingly socially acceptable, and even expected, for artists to receive appropriate financial reward. But success narratives were also underpinned by anxieties about the nature of the exchange between artist and consumer; whilst artists were rewarded financially for the fruits of their labour, such rewards brought with them a host of anxieties.

Perhaps unsurprisingly, anxieties about artistic labour manifested in various tropes of the disempowered. Burne-Jones complained, 'I'm as much a slave kept in Leyland's back parlour as a Greek artist at the time of the Empire', referring to his Liverpool shipping magnate patron Frederick Leyland.[17] Using an alternative metaphor of disempowerment, Dante Gabriel Rossetti likened his occupation as an artist to that of a prostitute, commenting, again in relation to Leyland, 'I have often said that to be an artist is just the same thing as to be a whore, as far as dependence on the whims and fancies of individuals is concerned'.[18] These figurations speak of the construction of the artistic self in response to the exchanges and transactions necessitated by the marketplace. Informing such tropes was the ideal that artists be free from constraints to their artistic productions. Robert Browning's Renaissance artists in his artist poems also voice these concerns. Andrea del Sarto, for example, exclaims: 'So free we seem, so fettered fast we are!'.[19] The key notion here is freedom, which in itself was seen as a manly right: in his lecture 'How We Live and How We Might Live' (1884) William Morris spoke of a 'free and manly people'.[20] Similarly, Charles Kingsley saw manliness as a state of rebellion from constraint: 'all true manhood consists in the defiance of circumstances'.[21] After a scandal at the Old Water Colour Society in 1870, concerning the male nudity in *Phyllis and Demophoon*, resulting in Burne-Jones' resignation, Burne-Jones claimed the 'the necessity for absolute freedom in my work'.[22] The trauma of the scandal resulted in Burne-Jones viewing the seven years that followed, before he began exhibiting again at the Grosvenor Gallery in 1877, as the 'blissfullest years of work that I ever had', a position his wife attributed to the these years being 'completely free'.[23] The anxiety governing the metaphors used by Burne-Jones and Rossetti related not only to the commodification and constraint of art and the selling of labour but the concomitant commodification of the self. It is significant that Walter Benjamin notes of the prostitute that she is both 'seller and commodity in one', pointing to the dual nature of the metaphor used by Rossetti.[24]

Figure 1. F. R. Leyland's drawing room, 49 Prince's Gate, London, 1892 (photograph by Harry Bedford Lemere)

The photograph reproduced in Figure 1 shows the kind of aesthetic interior Leyland created with works by artists such as Rossetti, once the works left their possession. In reality, Leyland seems to have been an excellent patron, paying Burne-Jones more than the agreed sum for work with which he was particularly satisfied, and Burne-Jones retained a good degree of artistic control over the works undertaken for Leyland.[25] Barbara Gelpi makes the same point regarding Rossetti's relationship with his 'long-suffering' patrons.[26] The metaphors that Rossetti and Burne-Jones used about their relations with their patrons, however, demonstrate their anxieties about the effects of patronage on artistic freedom and creativity. Perhaps in an effort to regain some of the control he felt he had lost, Rossetti referred to James Leathart, another of his patrons, as 'a victim of Art' and a lamb 'at the altar of sacrifice'.[27] Given Dianne Sachko Macleod's suggestion that Leathart was an 'exacting' and 'discriminating' patron, refusing works which he claimed were not 'up to my expectations', requesting alterations 'according to his specifications' and purchasing only 'the very best works by each artist',[28] Leathart does not seem to have been much of a 'victim', but Rossetti's recasting of him as subservient suggests the need to re-assert control when articulating the nature of their relationship.[29]

Arguably, the self-identification of artists with prostitutes was linked to what might be understood as the effeminization of the artist. Barbara Gelpi has located Rossetti not within the male sphere of Bohemianism, through which he is often discussed, but within the setting of a

'Victorian, feminine, middle-class culture . . . a feminine circle whose circumference was his mother, his aunts, his elder sister Maria, and his younger sister Christina'.[30] Gelpi sees Rossetti's complaint about his position as 'rational and sociologically astute' rather than dramatic or petulant, as artists' works in the marketplace are turned into 'commercial objects upon whose sale their existence is dependent', akin to the prostitute.[31] Gail Houston claims that Elizabeth Barrett Browning's *Aurora Leigh* (1856) 'pointedly demarcates how in Victorian culture every woman signified prostitution'.[32] If we accept this logic, then the emasculation of artists through their subservience to patrons automatically rendered them prostitutes. Furthermore, Houston claims that women themselves 'became the signs of market transactions'.[33] Such connotations were regularly circulated by the periodical press. *The Saturday Review*, for example, in its article on 'Aesthetic Woman', claimed that 'all women' were essentially 'women of business' as 'their life is spent over the counter . . . there is nothing in earth or heaven too sacred for their traffic and their barter'.[34] Within nineteenth-century discourses therefore, women were frequently linked with exchange and transaction, a connection that rendered problematic artists' activity in the marketplace.

The link between the prostitution of the artist and his work and the need to make a living is evident in Rossetti's comment that 'the bread-and-cheese question has led to a good deal of my painting being pot-boiling and no more – whereas my verse, being unprofitable, has remained (as much as I have found time for) unprostituted'.[35] The connection between prostitution and profitability here is clear: poetry, being less profitable because of the different way in which is it consumed compared with painting, is less susceptible to prostitution or, in this context, corruption or alienation. With the need to earn a living competing with artistic ideals, the reference to pot-boiling appears not only in Rossetti's letters but in those of his colleagues too.[36] Holman Hunt, for example, wrote 'For four years after my return [to England in 1856] I had to keep *The Finding of the Saviour* often with its face to the wall, while I was working at pot-boilers to get the means to advance it at all'.[37] In its aforementioned article on 'Aesthetic Woman', the *Saturday Review* complained that women and their 'supremacy' were the cause of (male) artists' commodification of their work: 'It is a great thing when woman can wring from an artist a hundred "pot-boilers," while man can only give him an order for a single "Light of the World"'.[38] In this account, demand for important, apparently singular, works comes from male collectors or supporters, whilst insatiable female consumers demand multiple and excessive numbers of inferior works. Artists' own accounts of this period suggest an alternative to this binary gender divide – that it was male collectors and dealers who forced them down the route of 'pot-boiling'; Rossetti wrote to Ford Madox Brown to ask him for a pot-boiler 'to show to blokes',[39] whilst Warner claims that Millais' greatest pressure to produce popular works came from Gambart.[40] Furthermore, the example the *Saturday Review* critic chooses as a singular important work – Hunt's *The Light of the World* – actually exists in three painted versions

(now in Keble College, Oxford, St Paul's Cathedral and Manchester Art Gallery),[41] as well as engravings, after Hunt sold the copyright for the 'original' to Gambart, owing to the popularity of the painting,[42] which problematizes the critic's distinction between the singular aesthetically valuable work and the popular reproducible work.

The reason for the popularity of 'pot-boilers' with dealers was clearly their commercial appeal. The tastes of the viewing public were often different from those of the artist: Sidney Colvin wrote in 1867, 'there is much that is discouraging in the position and prospects of painting in England. It is impossible to overlook the total want of understanding that subsists between the general public and the better sort of artists'.[43] Colvin went on to write that the result of a public who 'shrugs' and a press that 'sneers' was that the artist 'loses heart, renounces his natural bent … and produces what the common-place public will buy'.[44] Samuel Smiles also felt that artists should not have to be 'chaffering with the public for terms'.[45] Both Millais and Hunt commented resentfully on the necessity to adapt their work to public taste. Millais apparently complained to Hunt about his failure to convert the public to his 'best productions',[46] whilst Hunt wrote bitterly:

> Had we found a public showing only a reasonable amount of interest and independence of taste . . . I know that my two companions [Rossetti and Millais] would have done greater things than can easily be imagined, and I can assert that what I now show of my life's work would be but a tithe of what there would be.[47]

One solution to the problem of an unsympathetic and uninformed public was to rely on patrons so as to avoid more public forms of the marketplace, as Rossetti clearly did. Andrew Stephenson claims that the Whistler–Ruskin trial in 1878 'highlighted the increasing requirement that "masculine" creativity be removed from the vagaries of the marketplace'.[48] Whilst there was disapproval from some quarters of Rossetti's near-complete lack of public exhibition and Burne-Jones' more or less seven-year absence from exhibiting, increasingly artists who were seen as pursuing their own goals, rather than pandering to patrons or the public, were admired. By 1894, *The Art Journal*, for example, was praising Whistler for resisting 'the subjects and tricks that happen at the moment to please patron and dealer' and claimed instead 'you will find [in his work] that "painter's poetry" . . . which is the charm of all Art'.[49]

'Work's my ware': commodification in Browning's artist poems

Among the most striking nineteenth-century literary representations of artists in the marketplace are Robert Browning's artist poems, in which he arguably transposes the dynamics of the Victorian modern marketplace onto the Renaissance art world, exploring the productivity and creativity of his central eponymous characters, 'Pictor Ignotus' (1845),

'Andrea del Sarto' (1855) and 'Fra Lippo Lippi' (1855). The Pictor Ignotus, or Unknown Painter, has high ambitions but is soon jaded by experience and ends up stuck in a monastery painting repetitious works, living in obscurity instead of enjoying the fame for which he had at first hoped. Andrea del Sarto is a talented but self-centred, self-indulgent and apathetic artist who cares only for money. And then there is Lippo, who to a degree escapes failure through his rebellion against monasticism, signified in the opening scene by his visit to a brothel, and through his commitment to a naturalistic art, but ends up compromised by a reliance on his patrons, the Medicis.

The relationship of each artist-protagonist to the marketplace suggests a range of anxieties concerning the commodification of art. For Pictor Ignotus, although he initially desires fame, the thought of it eventually grows 'frightful' to him (Browning, 'Pictor Ignotus', 40). As he becomes successful, mixed with his 'loving trusting ones' are 'those cold faces' that begin 'To press on me and judge me' (46–7), at which point the Pictor is 'Shrinking, as from the soldiery a nun' (48). The basis of the Painter's suspicion of his patrons is their commercial interests: they 'buy and sell our pictures' and 'take and give', seeing artworks as merely 'household-stuff' (50–1), as the Pictor feels his work is becoming devalued by collectors within an interior of consumption and display. Furthermore, the threat that the patrons represent to the Pictor Ignotus, as with Burne-Jones and Rossetti, is an emasculating one, as Browning figures the Painter as a nun, suggesting the gendered threat of commodification.

'Andrea del Sarto' is a monologue directed towards Andrea's wife, Lucrezia. Andrea's sub-titular name is 'the "Faultless Painter"' but we soon discover he is faultless only technically, not morally, and that the title is therefore deeply ironic. Andrea's downfall is particularly evident in his attitude towards money. If we remember Smiles' account, artists should not be concerned with making money. However, unlike the Pictor Ignotus, who shies away from the monetary value of art, Andrea frequently refers to money. He does not, however, earn it; Andrea is the idler of the three artist poems, far happier to sit with Lucrezia looking out of the window than he is to work. A further way in which Andrea's failure is registered is that not only is his work for sale – 'work's my ware' (Browning, 'Andrea del Sarto', 225) – but he himself is for sale – 'Well, let smiles buy me! have you more to spend?' (223). Defined in all his relations by money, Andrea is, like Benjamin's prostitute, both seller and commodity. Furthermore, Andrea is emasculated through his complacence, U.C. Knoepflmacher describing Andrea as impotent.[50]

Browning's final and longest artist poem, 'Fra Lippo Lippi', continues with the theme of artistic production. The poem famously starts with Lippo being caught by the night guards leaving a brothel. Unrepentant, he defends himself, reporting that he has connections with Cosimo de Medici. Although having boasted of his patronage early in the monologue, Lippo later describes his vocation of painting for Cosimo Medici in terms of repetition and laboriousness:

And I've been three weeks shut within my mew,
A-painting for the great man, saints and saints
And saints again . . . (Browning, 'Fra Lippo Lippi', 47–9)

Whilst grateful to be making a living under the patronage of Cosimo, Lippo associates the Medicis with materialism and greed and becomes nostalgic for the monastery, unspoiled by commercial concerns. Lippo tries to strike a balance between the obscure life of the Pictor Ignotus and the self-indulgent Andrea but is caught in a trouble spot mid-way between the 'Trash[y]' world of the Medici (100) and the asexual life of the monastery. As Herbert Sussman notes:

Lippo stands between and embodies two formations of manhood. He has escaped the pre-industrial feminized cloister for the manly world of commerce, but, unlike Andrea, he is not wholly 'fallen' into bourgeois manhood; he is not married, not the breadwinner for a family. No longer under the patronage of the Church, he is supported by a merchant prince, but not yet fully dependent upon market-driven demand.[51]

Unlike the Pictor Ignotus, Lippo does not fade away into obscurity – claiming at the end of the poem 'all's saved for me' (388) – and, unlike Andrea, he possesses vision and integrity, leading him to be seen by many as Browning's 'successful' artist.[52] Despite this, Sussman reads Lippo as a fallen, rather than successful artist:

the portrait of Lippo shows how the entry or, in Ruskinian terms, the unfortunate 'fall' of the artist into the sphere of commerce generates a debilitating commodification of male energy, both artistic and sexual.[53]

Lippo is in many ways, therefore, no more successful than Browning's other troubled artists. As Sussman notes, Browning suggests that, through Lippo, 'the supposedly free individualistic activity of capitalism generates new forms for imprisoning male desire'.[54]

Although Browning's artist poems are set in the Renaissance, several scholars have agreed that they can be seen as voicing concerns over artistic production and reception in the nineteenth century. The poems struck a chord with Victorian artists, especially those of the Pre-Raphaelite circle. The Pre-Raphaelites particularly liked 'Pictor Ignotus' and, given the comments quoted earlier by Burne-Jones and Rossetti about their own position, we can imagine why the artists were touched by the Pictor's plight. In the aforementioned letter in which Rossetti likens himself to a prostitute, he went on to write, 'The natural impulse is to say simply – Leyland be d–d! – and so no doubt the whore feels but too often inclined to say and cannot'.[55] With Burne-Jones imagining himself a slave and Rossetti describing himself as a prostitute, the artist becomes defined by his capacity to sell his work, his labour and, by extension, himself.[56] As Larry Lutchmansingh notes, the slave metaphor employed by Burne-Jones defines 'art and artist in terms not of creative, inspired, and necessary work for a known and sympathetic public, but rather of mere production at the behest of powerful, private, and arbitrary forces'.[57] Framed in the Marxist terms of Lutchmansingh's account, this equates to a concern over the commodification of both the artistic

product and labour itself, as both are commodities according to Marx.[58] Burne-Jones claimed that 'a good artist ought to work for public purposes' and that 'no private person ought to own pictures'.[59] Samuel Smiles had also suggested that art should be seen by the masses, claiming that Wedgwood china and earthenware were more valuable than an 'elaborate' painting costing thousands of pounds, 'placed in some wealthy man's gallery, where it is hidden away from public sight'.[60] Part of the problem, then, with patronage was that it kept art private, for a minority rather than for the public good. Patronage prevented the artist from having to operate in the public marketplace and, in the case of Rossetti, meant that he barely had to exhibit work to attract buyers, but it also contradicted ideas about the public duty of the artist held by painters such as Burne-Jones. Lutchmansingh suggests that, in Marxist terms, Burne-Jones imagines the medieval and early Renaissance artist as being free to follow the 'use value' of art (its value in fulfilling human needs), which is later 'usurped' by an 'exchange-value' (its value on the capitalist market), similar concerns to those expressed by Browning's Lippo.[61] According to Joseph Jacobs, writing in 1899, Burne-Jones' 'great complaint against modern civilisation was that a workman could not turn out honest work that would last, he was determined in his own life to give an example to the contrary'.[62] This anxiety over producing meaningful works for lasting impact also features in Browning's artist poems.

Art, commerce and manufacture

A wider context for concerns about art and commodity was anxiety over what was seen as the growing commercialization of art in the second half of the nineteenth century, expressed particularly in the periodical press.[63] In 1873, the *Quarterly Review* complained that painting and picture-dealing are 'speculative ... operations', dependent on the market, 'without any just proportion to their merit or intrinsic worth', and lamented that 'True "Art" has almost passed away; Painting ... is now become a manufacture'. Against this is contrasted an idealized Renaissance Botticelli, who 'knew nothing' of 'greed' or 'speculation'.[64] Macmillan's Magazine suggested ten years later that the most striking aspect of the contemporary art world was 'the enormous extension of art as a profession, and as a species of manufacture'.[65] In the same year, *The Nineteenth Century* complained about 'the mass of so-called art yearly produced on semi-manufacturing principles'.[66] In its review of the 1878 Grosvenor Gallery exhibition, where Burne-Jones exhibited *Pan and Psyche* (1872–74, Figure 2), *the Magazine of Art* criticized his repetition of facial types and expressions, claiming that 'repetition is suggestive of manufacture'.[67] Taken together, we can see these reviews as representing the 'collective misrecognition' and 'disavowal' of the economy of art of which Bourdieu speaks,[68] as art is imagined to operate in a sacred realm, distinct from commerce. At the same time, with the

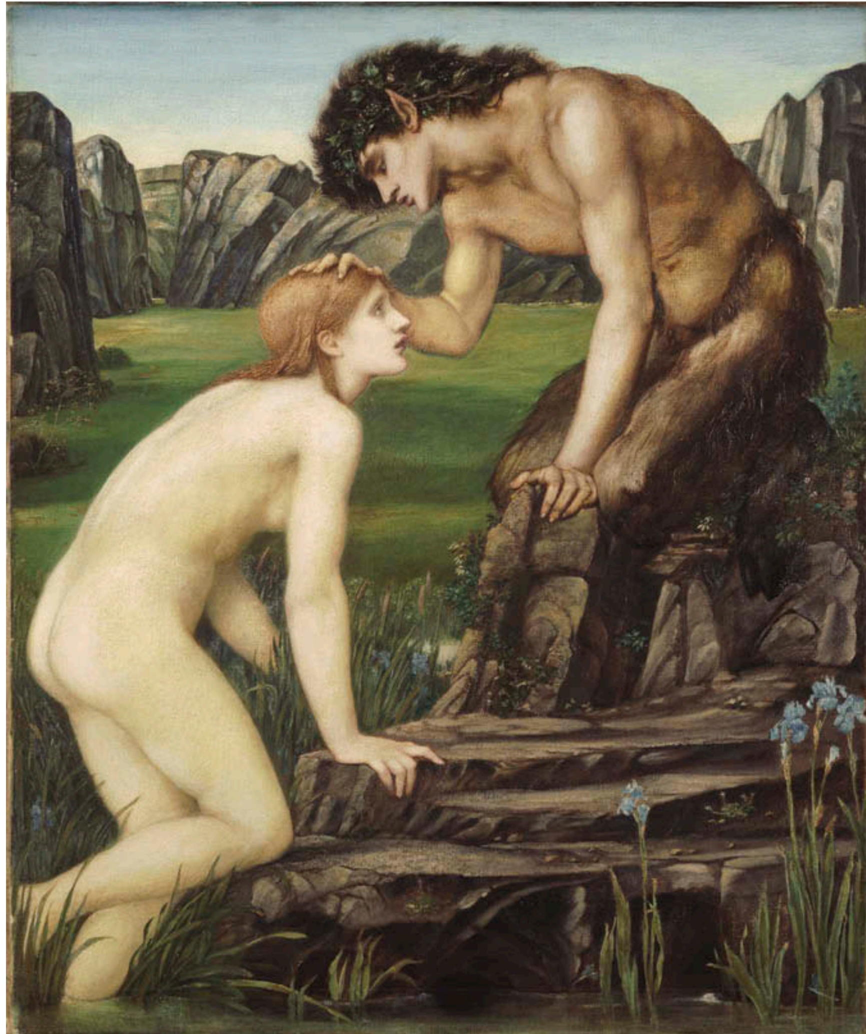

Figure 2. Edward Burne-Jones, Pan and Psyche,1872–74, Oil on canvas. Sight: 65.1 x 53.3 cm (25 5/8 x 21 in.), framed: 98.1 x 86.4 x 7 cm (38 5/8 x 34 x 2 3/4 in.) Harvard Art Museums/Fogg Museum, Bequest of Grenville L. Winthrop, 1943.187 Photo: Imaging Department President and Fellows of Harvard College

constant references to art as 'manufacture', critics betray a recognition that art is a product and a marketable commodity.

In a negative and ironizing review of Pre-Raphaelitism in 1868, one reviewer claimed that Pre-Raphaelite works were:

> assured by dealers and a part of the press [to be] ... genuine articles – good, solid, hard work ... works worthy of the steam-loom or spinning-jenny – works that would bear inspection through a magnifying glass ... they were substantially painted from centre to sides, all alike, and were equal in durability to the labours of the most thorough-going of house-painters; and, above all, these works, so prodigious in conscientiousness, were to be a good and profitable investment of capital.[69]

In this parodic list of Pre-Raphaelite traits, written twenty years after the formation of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, Pre-Raphaelitism has

become a commodity, investable and akin to the outputs of mechanized methods of production or the labour of a house painter.

In conclusion, an examination of the language used by artists and art critics in the second half of the nineteenth-century suggests a set of anxieties revolving around the idea of the commodification of art and of the self – both of which were perceived in gendered terms, as the masculine originative self is threatened with feminized forms of commodification – concerns also registered in histories of literary productions. The expansion of the art market in the second half of the nineteenth century relates to such histories but also points to the specific concerns over visual art and artists. Although artists' productions were one-offs, with the increasing number of artists in the second half of the nineteenth century their work was seen as approximating modern production methods, apparent in the frequent references to art as manufacture, and the gendered connotations this held. In Bourdieu's terms, misrecognition of the 'artistic field' sat alongside recognition, as artists and critics both embraced and elided the commercial aspects of art.[70]

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

Notes

1. Thomson, *The Choice of a Profession*, 4.
2. Ruth, 'Between Labor and Capital', 279.
3. Stephenson, 'Leighton and the Shifting Repertoires of 'Masculine', 225.
4. Ruskin, *Fors Clavigera*, in *The Works of John Ruskin*, 157.
5. For example, Codell, 'Charles Fairfax Murray', 42. See Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production*, 75, for 'misrecognition'.
6. Codell, 'Victorian Artists' Family Biographies', 97.
7. Codell, 'The art press and the art market'. Also see Christiana Payne's account of John Brett's productive practices in this issue.
8. Cruise, 'From the Margins', 138–154.
9. Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production*, 75.
10. Smiles, *Self-Help*, 184.
11. Ibid., 210.
12. Landels, *True Manhood*, 152.
13. Spielmann, 'The "Preferences" of Mr. Harry Quilter', 140.
14. Gere, *Artistic Circles*, 9.
15. Ibid., 9.
16. Codell, 'Victorian Artists' Family Biographies', 84.
17. Lago, *Burne-Jones Talking*, 179.
18. Letter to Ford Madox Brown, in Doughty and Wahl, *Letters*, vol. 3, 1175, May 30, 1873. Also see Gelpi's likening of oil painting itself to prostitution (107) and see Gelpi, 'The Feminization of D. G. Rossetti', for identification of Rossetti as not only a prostitute but a pimp in his offering up of Fanny Cornforth, through *The Kissed Mouth* (1859), as an object 'for a price, to her buyer' (107).
19. Browning, *Andrea del Sarto*, 51. Robert Browning used such language to speak about himself too, for example: 'As I began, so I shall end ... taking my own course, pleasing myself'. Quoted in *Browning: The Critical Heritage*, 18.
20. Quoted in Hanson, 'William Morris's *Sigurd the Volsung*', 39.
21. Ibid., 44.

22 Burne-Jones, *Memorials*, vol. 2, 12.
23 Ibid., 13.
24 Benjamin, *Charles Baudelaire*, 171.
25 Wood, *Burne-Jones*, 85.
26 Gelpi, 'The Feminization of D.G. Rossetti', 111. n42.
27 Quoted in Sachko MacLeod, 'Mid-Victorian Patronage of the Arts', 601.
28 Ibid., 601.
29 Rossetti wrote to Ford Madox Brown similarly of a patron – Mr Clabburn – who 'might possibly be nailed' (Doughty, *Letters*, vol. 2, 498, February 5, 1864).
30 Gelpi, 'The Feminization of D.G. Rossetti', 96.
31 Ibid., 106.
32 Houston, 'Gender Construction and the *Kunstlerroman*', 213.
33 Ibid., 224–5.
34 'Aesthetic Woman', 166.
35 Doughty, *Letters*, 21 April 1870, vol. 2, 849–50. See Hill, ed. *Letters of Dante Gabriel Rossetti*, Letter LIV, 22 March [1867], 277, for another claim by Rossetti (to William Allingham) that he has been 'pot-boiling'.
36 'Pot-boiling' was a term used since at least the eighteenth century to describe work undertaken out of financial necessity (*Oxford English Dictionary*, www.oed.com/).
37 Hill, ed. *Letters of Dante Gabriel Rossetti*, Editor's notes, 185–86.
38 'Aesthetic Woman', 166.
39 Doughty, *Letters*, vol. 2, 49, February 5, 1864.
40 Warner, 'Millais in the Marketplace', 232. On dealers, also see Macleod, *Art and the Victorian Middle Class*, 193–5.
41 Stansbie, 'Christianity, Masculinity, Imperialism', 189.
42 Rix, 'Branding the Vision', 239.
43 Colvin, 'English Painters and Painting in 1867', 464.
44 Ibid., 464.
45 Smiles, *Self-Help*, 184.
46 Quoted in Warner, 'Millais in the marketplace', 232.
47 Hill, ed. *Letters of Dante Gabriel Rossetti*, 186.
48 Stephenson, 'Leighton and the Shifting Repertoires of 'Masculine' Artistic Identity', 234.
49 'Art and Mr. Whistler', 358.
50 Knoepflmacher, 'Projection and the Female Other', 155.
51 Sussman, 'Robert Browning's "Fra Lippo Lippi"', 196.
52 For example Healy claims Lippo is a 'greater' artist than Andrea ('"Fra Lippo Lippi" and "Andrea Del Sarto"', 55).
53 Sussman, 'Robert Browning's "Fra Lippo Lippi"', 187.
54 Ibid., 187.
55 Letter to Ford Madox Brown, in Doughty and Wahl, *Letters*, vol. 3, 1175, May 30, 1873.
56 Of course Rossetti had famously allied himself with the prostitute through his poem 'Jenny'. See Gelpi, 'The Feminization of D.G. Rossetti', 104.
57 Lutchmansingh, 'Fantasy and Arrested Desire', 135.
58 Marx, *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy*, 165.
59 Quoted in Lago, *Burne-Jones Talking*, 179.
60 Smiles, *Self-Help*, 206.
61 Lutchmansingh, 'Fantasy and Arrested Desire', 135.
62 Jacobs, 'Some Recollections of Sir Edward Burne-Jones', 131.
63 For a more detailed discussion of the following reviews in the context of Burne-Jones specifically, see Yeates, 'Manliness and Health'.
64 'The State of English Painting', 301.
65 'The Pulse of English Art in 1883', 278.
66 Barrington, 'The Painted Poetry of Watts and Rossetti', 951.
67 'The Grosvenor Gallery. Second Notice', 81.
68 Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production*, 81, 75.

69 'Concerning Pra-Raphaelitism: Its Art, Literature, and Professors', 56.
70 Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production*.

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