Introduction

In 1881, the city of Paris sought to establish a furnishing school – the future École Boulle (opened in 1886) – in the very heart of Faubourg Saint-Antoine, the city’s center for trade and manufacturing. For this, it attempted to gain the support of professionals already working in the trades, including furniture and upholstery. Legriel and Lemoine, the presidents at the time of the Chambre syndicale de la tapisserie and the Chambre syndicale de l’ameublement, respectively, opposed the project vehemently. Chief among their concerns was the impossibility of providing cabinet-makers and upholsterers with a similar education. Focusing on drawing and treating all arts equally, the new decorative art schools proliferating at the time encouraged the formation of “creators,” desirous of innovation, rather than “workers,” happy to copy works from the past to support the trades. The École Boulle would undoubtedly be no exception. More importantly, such schools promoted the unity of arts (“pure” and “decorative”), an idea that had shaken the professional world at least since 1863, when Eugène Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc – forced to resign immediately afterward – had become the head of the highly controversial department of aesthetics at the École de beaux-arts. The École gratuite de dessin et de mathématique (renamed the École nationale des arts décoratifs after 1877), for example, continued Viollet-le-Duc’s mission and aimed to form “complete artists” able to handle comprehensive interior decoration projects. Its students were equally apt at designing furniture, ceramics, and wallpaper, eventually treating the decoration of interiors – spatial layout and individual objects included – as stylistically unified wholes. As such, the new generation of graduates did not merely espouse new styles over those of the past; it also threatened to destroy the faubourg’s long-held belief in guilds and trades, each responsible for a small part of what could be a larger – though yet unnamed – profession.
This book analyzes the early stages of the interior design profession as it began to be articulated within various circles involved in the decoration of the private home in the second half of the nineteenth century in France. Design historians have shown that the minimum “key steps” required in any process of professionalization, including “identifying and developing specialized knowledge; establishing training and educational requirements; controlling access to the profession through various means such as professional organizations and licensing; and monitoring performance and formulating professional behaviors, standards and ideologies,” were met by American interior decorators – the predecessors and direct ancestors of interior designers – early in the twentieth century. However, the process could not have happened without the earlier development, in the nineteenth century, of a widespread interest in the decoration and layout of the private interior that manifested at most levels of society throughout the Western world. In France, this interest was fostered by the increasing separation of work from home, which culminated in the aftermath of the Industrial Revolution in the visibility that the homes of the rich and the famous – writers, collectors, actors, and political figures among others – started to have in the public eye. A variety of professionals, including upholsterers, cabinet-makers, architects, stage designers, department store managers, taste advisors, collectors, and illustrators, came together to “sell” the idea of the unified and tastefully decorated interior as an image and a total work of art to their customers and the public at large. Further encouraged by the print revolution that occurred in the second half of the nineteenth century, the ideal domestic interior took several media as its outlets, including taste manuals, pattern books, illustrated magazines, art and architecture exhibitions, and department store catalogs.

Design historian Grace Lees-Maffei has further defined professionalization as the process of “developing an activity into a generally recognized profession through the setting up of professional organizations, the articulation and monitoring of standards and codes of conduct, the institution of clear educational routes and means of assessment, networking and gatekeeping.” The professionalization of interior design in twentieth-century America occurred in a similar manner. In her study of Nancy Vincent McClelland, Bridget May explains that the terms “profession” and “professional” were often used by American interior decorators in the early twentieth century with the general understanding that “a professional interior decorator engaged in paid work outside the home to provide clients with aesthetic services and assemblages that were tasteful, appropriate, beautiful and, above all, an expression of the client’s personality and lifestyle.” Additionally, educational routes such as Frank Alvah Parsons’s courses in decorating at the New York School of Fine and Applied Arts – later renamed Parsons School of Design – open to both men and women and later leading to the establishment of the Interior Architecture and Decoration program,
solidified the profession. As Peter McNeil points out, the School’s 1913 prospectus directly claimed that “‘Interior decoration’ ... like architecture, has reached the dignity of a profession.” Though limited to New York City, a program such as Parsons’s became more widely available in 1922, when Nancy McClelland and Harold Donaldson Eberlein instituted a correspondence course in interior decoration. Entitled The Arts and Decoration Practical Home Study Course, this early example of distance education covered topics ranging from wall and window treatments and floor coverings, to light fixtures, color schemes, furniture arrangements, and textile hangings. Networking and further articulation and monitoring of standards and codes of conduct came from newly established professional organizations such as the American Institute of Interior Decorators (AIID) in 1931 – renamed the American Institute of Decorators (AID) in 1936 and the American Society of Interior Designers (ASID) in 1975, after its merger with the National Society of Interior Designers (NSID). Interior designers thus owe their very existence as a professional group to the work of the interior decorators of the early twentieth century. They owe as much, however, to those yet-unnamed interior decorators of the nineteenth century, who, in France, identified with professional titles such as architect (architecte), upholsterer (tapissier), cabinet-maker (ébéniste), carpenter (menuisier), “upholster-decorator” (tapissier-décorateur), “architect-decorator” (architecte-décorateur), “artist-decorator” (artiste-décorateur), “painter-decorator” (peintre-décorateur), “draftsman-decorator” (dessinateur-décorateur), “furniture architect” (architecte d’ameublement), “creator of ensembles” (ensemblier), “upholsterer-draftsman” (tapissier-dessinateur), “draftsman in carpentry and furniture” (dessinateur en menuiserie et ameublement) or, simply, “decorator” (décorateur).

As proto-interior designers, all these various decorators laid claim to the new, yet-unnamed, burgeoning field of interior design. This book uses the terms “interior decorator” and “interior designer” interchangeably, signaling that no difference would have been made between these two terms – should they have (co)existed – at the time. As other scholars have recently noted, toward the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century a certain “shame” related to issues of effeminacy, gender, and sexuality would become “ingrained in the very fabric of the [interior design] profession’s history,” causing practitioners in both the United States and Europe today to favor more “manly” professional titles such as “interior designer” or, preferably, “interior architect” over the more “feminine” denomination of “interior decorator.” A lot of this “shaming,” design historian John Potvin suggests, is related to the tensions that developed between professionalism and amateurism on the one hand, and gender and sexuality on the other. It also seems to have been the result of the work and writings of early female decorators such as the American Candace Wheeler. After having established
the Society of Decorative Art of New York City in 1877 and worked with Louis Comfort Tiffany at Associated Artists in 1879, Wheeler vehemently defended “women’s right to professional status as decorator” based on “a fixed view of woman’s nature.” Writing in 1895 about “the apparently instinctive knowledge which women have of textiles, and which men have not,” Wheeler made a claim for women’s rightful place in interior decoration based on the supposition that women’s work was “innate and intuitive.” As design historian Peter McNeil argues, this “opposition of female intuition to male rationality became a constant in a wide range of sources concerned with both the practice of decorating and the broader cultural connotations of the adjective ‘decorative,’” ultimately leading to the latter’s rejection from the vocabulary of twentieth-century architecture and interior design.

Rather than engaging in a discussion about how sexuality and gender roles have influenced the history of the interior design profession, this book argues instead that the increased presence of the modern, domestic interior in the visual culture of the nineteenth century enabled the profession to take shape. A close analysis of a variety of mass-reproducible images related to the various professions involved in the art and business of interior decorating in the second half of the nineteenth century suggests that a battle was fought between various interest groups over the right to imagine and decorate the ideal private interior. The wide availability and circulation of model interiors on paper, via mass media, meant that many more trade members and lay people could see them, use them, become inspired by them, and thus seek to imitate or reproduce similar effects in the interiors they were themselves involved with, either as producers or as consumers. New facilities afforded by modern techniques of image making and especially image reproduction (including chromolithography and photogravure) allowed for a variety of interior decorating schemes to be present in the public eye, garnering much interest in and demand for the decoration/design (as well as the redecoration/redesign) of private homes at most levels of society. In turn, this had a direct impact on the development of interior decorating and the professions associated with what would later become the interior design profession.

Nowhere was this process more pronounced than in France, a country seen at the time as a leader of taste in matters concerning art, architecture,
fashion, and interiors around the globe. The French luxury market for collectibles and interior decorating items had flourished since the eighteenth century, and French furniture and interiors were accepted as the best that the world had to offer as late as the 1925 Exposition internationale des arts décoratifs et industriels modernes – to which we owe the development of the term “Art Deco” – and beyond.²⁴ For example, Nancy McClelland, the first woman president (1941–44) and one of the original founders of the American Institute of Interior Decorators (the future American Society of Interior Designers), visited Paris as a representative and buyer for the famed department store Wanamaker’s in 1907, attending art and art history classes and visiting local museums and palaces.²⁵ Upon returning to the US, McClelland opened Au Quatrième, “a special decorating and antique shop on the fourth floor of the New York Wanamaker’s, said to be the first of its kind in a department store,” where furnishings and objets d’art were displayed in period room installations.²⁶ While not the absolute first, Au Quatrième was nevertheless built on European models, and was a testament to how interior decorating ideas circulated across the Atlantic. The links between French and American decorators and interiors are numerous, with the former always used as a model by the latter. The US-centric and post-Second World War interior design profession is thus directly related to and rooted in European, especially French, antecedents.²⁷

This book, then, relates material evidence about the ideal, private interior to interior decorating debates specific to France during a particular historical moment – the second half of the nineteenth century – while also placing the saga of the interior design profession in a chronological sequence whose beginnings predate the first decades of the twentieth century and the careers of such fashionable “lady decorators” as the Americans Elsie de Wolfe, Candace Wheeler, or Nancy McClelland.²⁸ It charts the reception as well as the legacy of nineteenth-century French proto-interior designers at a time when a new era of mass communication accompanied the development of new printing techniques, steam-powered presses, efficient paper production machines, and mechanized typesetting. It builds on existing scholarship about the appearance and development of the modern interior and presents new material based on extensive research conducted in both European and American archives. In doing so, it shifts scholarship toward a new focus on professional groups and the new media outlets they generated.

The significance of this study is threefold. First, it develops new resources of interdisciplinary understanding by charting the origins of one profession – interior designer – in the practices and visual output of several specialized groups. Second, its subject complicates the British- and American-centered account that continues to credit the development of the modern interior design practice to the Anglo-American world. Third, by charting the growth of a visual culture of interior decorating, it argues
that private interiors defined modern art as much as modern life. The richly colored interior designs that circulated via mass media and selected exhibition venues did more than serve as two-dimensional blueprints for the construction of three-dimensional settings. They functioned as advertising schemes for the artists and enterprises that produced and popularized them and were consumed as works of art in their own right—admired, collected, put on library shelves, hidden inside cabinets, or reappropriated as objects of contemplation for private walls.


The growth of the modern French interior in relation to the social, cultural, economic, and political environments that it was part of, on the other hand, has been examined especially by historians such as Debora Silverman in *Art Nouveau in Fin-de-Siècle France: Politics, Psychology, and Style*, Whitney Walton in *France at the Crystal Palace: Bourgeois Taste and*
Artisan Manufacture in the Nineteenth Century, Leora Auslander in Taste and Power: Furnishing Modern France, Sharon Marcus in Apartment Stories: City and Home in Nineteenth-century Paris and London, Joan DeJean in The Age of Comfort: When Paris Discovered Casual – and the Modern Home Began, and Lisa Tiersten in Marianne in the Market: Envisioning Consumer Society in Fin-De-Siècle France. Focusing on the material culture’s relation to the development of the modern interior, its decoration, and especially its role in modern French society, these scholars engage very little with the plethora of visual imagery that this very same modern interior engaged with, responded to, and even engendered.

Finally, a third level of discourse that focuses more specifically on the development of the interior decoration and interior design professions in the twentieth century has been developed in book-length publications such as Anne Massey’s Interior Design of the Twentieth Century, Penny Sparke’s Elsie De Wolfe: The Birth of Modern Interior Decoration, John Potvin and Alla Myzelev’s (eds.) Fashion, Interior Design and the Contours of Modern Identity, and, more recently, Paula Lupkin and Penny Sparke’s (eds.) Shaping the American Interior: Structures, Contexts, and Practices. Peer-reviewed journal articles, especially Joel Sanders’s “Curtain Wars: Architects, Decorators, and the 20th-century Domestic Interior” in the Harvard Design Magazine, John Potvin’s “The Pink Elephant in the Room: What Ever Happened to Queer Theory in the Study of Interior Design 25 Years On?” in the Journal of Interior Design, John Potvin’s “The Pink Elephant in the Room: What Ever Happened to Queer Theory in the Study of Interior Design 25 Years On?” in the Journal of Interior Design, Peter McNeil’s “Designing Women: Gender, Sexuality and the Interior Decorator, c. 1890–1940” in Art History, Grace Lees-Maffei’s “Introduction: Professionalization as a Focus in Interior Design History” in the Journal of Design History, and Penny Sparke’s and Bridget May’s contributions to the same Journal of Design History issue, complement the book-length studies mentioned earlier. This scholarship foregrounds the important relationship between interior decorating and the later profession of interior design, but it often adopts a gender-based lens that associates the former with women, homosexuals, and fashion, downplaying to a large extent the importance of other male decorators to the development of interior design.

This volume posits instead that the first instances of what might be called “interior design” had already occurred in the visual culture surrounding the model interior in nineteenth-century France. There, equally important to the development of the interior design profession besides the above-mentioned groups, were art critics and private collectors, taste advisors and furniture-makers, architects and upholsterers, stage designers, illustrators, and department store managers. With few exceptions, these protagonists were men who did not perceive their investment in the decoration and design of the private, domestic interior as self-denigrating. On the contrary, their innovative approach to decoration and their engagement with mass media would have placed them at the forefront
of what would later become the interior design profession. This study does not, however, suggest that interior decorating in its early stages was an all-male field. Neither does it attempt to diminish the importance of women in the development of the new profession. Rather, it means to offer a balanced account of the invention and especially the circulation of the modern private interior on paper, as well as its role in the establishment of interior design. While the book does not include a specific chapter that engages with such gender debates, it attempts to address the gender imbalance seen in previous scholars’ work, whether biased toward men or women, by focusing on the interior decoration designs that appeared in mass media and other public spaces at the time. It does not re-emphasize the role of “fatherly” figures like Clarence Cook, William Morris, Viollet-le-Duc or the Adam brothers, among others, in the development of the interior design profession. Instead, it tries to challenge the dominance of “great men” as much as “great women” in the field of interior design history by arguing for an approach that takes the plethora of visual images associated with the design of the private interior – whoever their author might be – as objects of analysis. In doing so, it challenges current divisions in the field of interior design historiography, still visible in interior design history textbooks, which argue for a teleological development from Neoclassicism to Gothic Revival to the Arts and Crafts and Art Nouveau – each with their “star designer” figures – and suggests that these styles, in France, overlapped throughout most of the nineteenth century.34

The book comprises five chapters, an Introduction, and an Epilogue. Each chapter begins by outlining the context and terms of reception within which the work of each professional group involved in the appearance and design of the nineteenth-century French domestic interior emerged. They each continue by focusing on specific examples of the work that members of these groups undertook as proto-interior designers in the second half of the nineteenth century. While Chapter 1 concentrates on collectors and taste advisors, outlining the new definitions of the modern interior they developed, Chapter 2 focuses on the response of upholsterers, architects, and cabinet-makers to the same new conceptions of the ideal private interior. Chapter 3 considers the contribution of the world of entertainment to the field of interior design by looking at the work of stage designers and their students. Chapter 4 moves into the world of commerce to study how department stores and their managers further developed and popularized the modern interior with the middle and even the lower-middle classes. Finally, Chapter 5 returns to the work of architects to understand how their new engagement with popular journals not only shaped new interior decorating styles but also helped set professional goals for the burgeoning field of interior design. The chapters relate to each other directly and interweave many threads, though they are also focused examinations of specific individuals involved in the art and business of interior decorat-
ing. Together, they cover a large spectrum of issues related to the visual culture of the modern, nineteenth-century, private interior and its contribution to the development of a new profession. They also foreground the essential role occupied by the press in distributing the new ideas about the modern interior to the masses.

The first chapter, “The collector as taste advisor and interior decorator: popular advice manuals and the orchestration of the private interior,” examines influential collecting and taste manuals from the second half of the nineteenth century, dedicated exclusively to male or female audiences. After providing a brief history of collecting and its development in post-revolutionary France, the chapter explains how the visual and critical discourses about the proper appearance of the modern, private interior and the arrangement of objects displayed therein informed the development of a new, historicist, themed aesthetic. This new aesthetic required a mastermind to supervise the organization of each interior decorating ensemble within the upper- as well as the middle-class private home – increasingly more decorated in the aftermath of the industrial and consumer revolutions – thus paving the way for the work of the later interior decorators at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century.

Chapter 2, “The inventor of interiors: old professions in search of a name,” continues from where the first chapter left off, focusing on the visual and written records left behind by three professional groups – upholsterers, cabinet-makers, and architects – that were each invested in and made equal claims to the art and business of interior decorating. After a brief history of these groups in the pre-revolutionary era, the chapter examines their new status quo and quest for legitimacy in the nineteenth century and in the aftermath of the abolition of guilds and trades. Once both the upper and the middle classes demanded themed interiors for their homes, upholsterers, cabinet-makers, and architects rushed to their aid. To secure clients, they emphasized artistic skill over practical requirements or commercial interests. The results were dramatically different images and writings about the professions depending on the intended audience. While the trade literature was filled with practical advice and information specific to each profession – including educational opportunities, union requirements, and claims to the status of rightful interior decorators over other professional groups – the more widely circulating pattern books or illustrations in popular journals included a portfolio of images with minimal hands-on information. These latter publications favored creativity over practical considerations, helping blur the boundaries between professions and generally proposing designs for unified, themed interiors where every element occupied a unique and pre-established position within a larger whole. Going beyond the requirements and expectations of their own trade organizations, together upholsterers, cabinet-makers, and architects helped define the new profession of the proto-interior designer.
In Chapter 3, “Private home, artistic stage: the circulation and display of interior dreamscapes,” the book follows a different occupational group: stage designers. Most commonly known for his work as chief decorator at the Paris Opéra, Pierre-Luc Cicéri also established a career as an interior decorator and educator of students who treated interior spaces as three-dimensional images and artworks in their own right. Cicéri’s followers helped push the art of fantasy architecture (and especially that of “interior dreamscapes”) to a new level, creating a new form of art and popular entertainment based on the idea of the “ideal home.” Exhibited at the Salon and at a variety of universal and decorative arts exhibitions, as well as being published in expensive, luxury folios and reprinted in cheaper, popular editions, the “interior dreamscapes” by Cicéri’s students disseminated the interior for the interior’s sake. Turned into an image, the domestic interior could be admired, collected, hidden inside cabinets, or reappropriated as an object of contemplation for private walls. The same images functioned both as two-dimensional blueprints for the construction of three-dimensional settings and as advertising schemes for the artists who produced and popularized them, furthering interest in and creating a common language about the appearance of the modern, private home. The chapter ultimately argues that wishful thinking and vicarious identification with the – often missing – owners of the model interiors made available through these means and furtively perused in private homes helped create a professional niche that would soon be occupied by the interior designer.

Chapter 4, “The image of furniture: department stores and the trade in interior decoration designs,” examines department store retailing in the second half of the nineteenth century to understand how the interior decorating schemes proposed on paper by the various professions discussed above could materialize in the homes of middle-class consumers. In doing so, the chapter argues that department stores were eager to align themselves with the thriving market in artistic interior decoration designs, contributing to the further popularization of this new art form. Through their full-scale model rooms inside the stores as much as through their widely distributed and highly illustrated furniture catalogs, the Grands Magasins du Louvre, Au Bon Marché, Le Printemps, Au Petit St-Thomas, and the Grands Magasins Dufayel brought the image of the most modern furniture and interiors to life, right in front of customers’ eyes. By selling furniture groupings and complete decorative schemes in a variety of materials, these stores catered to several social groups at once. Similar objects could be procured at various prices, and comparable interior decorating effects could be achieved with more or less means. Further, by offering personalized interior decorating services to those customers who wished to obtain an exclusive décor, French department stores in the second half of the nineteenth century became themselves early forerunners of the twentieth-century profession of interior designer.
In Chapter 5, “Beautiful disorder, exception to the rule: the development of a new design aesthetic,” the book returns to the work of architects. It argues that architects’ engagement with popular journals helped shape new interior decorating styles by examining the projects undertaken by the architect Alexandre Sander and sponsored by the popular journal, La Revue illustrée. The chapter ultimately claims that imagination and theming played a most important role in the development of the profession of interior designer as well as in the formulation of new decorative styles such as Art Nouveau. These two developments are inextricably linked and cannot be understood in isolation from each other.

Finally, the Epilogue, “The presentness of historicism: the Musée centennial du mobilier et de la décoration and the legacy of proto-interior designers,” charts the later, twentieth-century career of Georges Rémond, an artistic grandchild of Pierre-Luc Cicéri. Rémond was an inventor of interior designs who took the historicist, themed aesthetic to a new level. Equally well-versed in revivalist and Art Nouveau interiors, together with his brother, Rémond also invented interior decorating schemes that paid lip service to the more recent political regimes of the nineteenth century (Second Republic style, Louis-Philippe style, Napoléon III style) as well as decorative settings in what would later become the Art Deco style. His workshop designed not only period rooms for the 1900 universal exhibition but also interiors for several ocean liners that brought the French aesthetic to America. His career is a perfect example of how the artistic output of French upholsterers, cabinet-makers, architects, stage designers, illustrators, collectors, and department store managers, directed toward the private interior, created a “system” which saw that unity and harmony, as expressed through one main theme and coordinated by the same person, would guide the design of each interior. Without the invention of this “system,” the twentieth-century profession of the interior designer might never have been born.

*Interior decorating in nineteenth-century France* thus takes the practices of interior decorating and design away from debates about gender, fashion, and decorating in a feminized private sphere and repositions them in the broader contexts of collecting, professional networks, commercial emporia, and art exhibitions that responded to the needs and the desires of the nineteenth-century world. When read in the context of the larger artistic output related to the private interior that culminated in the second half of the nineteenth century, new, “modern” styles such as Art Nouveau and Art Deco reveal themselves as part and parcel of their time rather than being individual styles that stand out from it. Rather than looking back to the past, the nineteenth-century proto-interior designers studied in this book were busy inventing the future. It is to them that we owe the look of many interiors in the twentieth century as well as the arrival of interior design as a marketable profession in its own right.
Notes

2 Ibid., 37.
3 Ibid., 21.
5 Ibid., 140.
11 Ibid. The New York School of Fine and Applied Arts had been founded in 1896 by William Merritt Chase. By 1904, it was already offering courses in interior decorating. See also Peter McNeil, “Designing Women: Gender, Sexuality and the Interior Decorator, c. 1890–1940,” Art History 17, no. 4 (1994), 639.
14 Harold Donaldson Eberlein and Nancy V. McClelland, eds., The ARTS & DECORATION Practical Home Study Course in Interior Decoration (New York City: Arts and Decoration, 1922).
16 See Chapter 2 for further explanation of these terms.
Introduction


22 Mark Hinchman points out that, in France, as late as 1920, interior designers or interior architects were still referred to as “ensembliers” or “creators of ensembles,” who would bring various items together in artful groupings. See Hinchman, “Interior Design History,” xv. However, the term “décorateur d’intérieur” (interior decorator) seems to have been used in parallel with “ensemblier,” as well as a variety of other terms, at least since 1906. See Catalogue de l’Exposition de la Société des Artistes Décorateurs au Pavillon de Marsan, Musée de l’Union Centrale des Arts Décoratifs (1906), 15–16, in the collection of the Musée d’Orsay, Archive, Dossier: “Exposition de la Société des Artistes Décorateurs, 1906, 16 nov.–31 déc.” The Société des artistes décorateurs had been created in 1901. See Évelyne Possémé, Le Mobilier Français: 1910–1930, Les années 25 (Paris: Éditions Massin, 1999), 82. As early as the 1910s, the younger generation of French decorators began to work together so as to present complete interior decorating ensembles at various Salons, under the supervision of one “chef d’orchestre,” following the example set beginning in 1895 by Siegfried Bing’s Maison de l’Art Nouveau. See Possémé, Le Mobilier Français, 41.

23 McNeil, “Decorating Women,” 639. Indeed, it is the period following the Second World War that design historians typically identify with the profession’s official beginnings. See Penny Sparke, An Introduction to Design and Culture: 1900 to the Present (London: Routledge, 2004), 168.


26 May, “Nancy Vincent McClelland,” 60.


