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Bracquemond, Ruskin, the Haviland-Hayes Service, and Rookwood:
Japonisme and Permanence in Art Pottery

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts at
Virginia Commonwealth University

By

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Acknowledgements

There are several people that I wish to thank. First of all, this thesis would not have been possible without the guidance and support of Dr. Charles Brownell. Thank you for introducing me to decorative arts, especially Art Pottery, and for sharing many years of your research with me. I would like to thank Tim Sublette and Mark Brown for sharing their extensive knowledge and enthusiasm for ceramics. I want to also thank Craig Reynolds. It made all the difference to tackle these last couple semesters together. Finally, I must acknowledge the incredibly generous support from my amazing family. Thank you to my parents, Bill and Stacy Campbell, and my sister, Meredith Campbell, for their many sacrifices and for cheering me on these past two years.

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Abstract

BRACQUEMOND, RUSKIN, THE HAVILAND-HAYES SERVICE, AND ROOKWOOD: JAPONISME AND PERMANENCE IN ART POTTERY

By Emily G. Campbell, M.A.

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of Master of Arts at Virginia Commonwealth University.

Virginia Commonwealth University, 2015

Major Director: Dr. Charles Brownell
Professor, Department of Art History

There are two principle arguments in this thesis. First, this thesis will show that Félix Bracquemond had a profound impact on late-nineteenth-century and early-twentieth-century ceramics in America. Second, this thesis will illustrate how John Ruskin's principle that pottery is "more permanent than the Pyramids" encouraged reform of the ceramic arts and shaped the Art Pottery Movement of the late nineteenth century. After this thesis introduces Bracquemond as an innovator in ceramic decoration and the dissemination of Ruskin's principle, the thesis will examine two instances in the American Art Pottery Movement in which Bracquemond's and Ruskin's influence can be detected. The first is Theodore Davis's 1879 design for the Haviland-

Hayes Service, the White House dinner service for Rutherford B. Hayes. The second case study is the Rookwood Pottery of Cincinnati, which represents the apex of Bracquemond's influence in America and Ruskin's principle of the permanence of pottery.

Introduction

The purpose of this thesis is to show that following the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition of 1876, the eminent French designer Félix Bracquemond (1833-1914) had a profound impact on late-nineteenth-century and early-twentieth-century ceramics in America. Above all, Bracquemond contributed to a design by Theodore Davis (1840-1894) for the Rutherford B. Hayes Presidential Dinner Service (1879-1880), executed by Charles Haviland and Co. (1853-1931) for the White House. Bracquemond also shaped major works by the Rookwood Pottery (1880-1967) of Cincinnati, the unquestioned leader of American Art Pottery during the attempt to counteract growing materialism under the Aesthetic Movement and Arts and Crafts Movement. As a result of research on this project, a still larger argument emerged that John Ruskin (1819-1900) was a font if not the fountainhead of the Art Pottery Movement of the late nineteenth century.¹

¹ The following definition of pottery and Art Pottery comes from Paul Evans, Art Pottery of the United States: An Encyclopedia of Producers and Their Marks (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1974) 6-7. Evans defines pottery as "in the broadest sense, includes everything made of a burnt admixture of clay(s), minerals, and water. ...pottery is a generic term encompassing: Earthenware [low-fire opaque ware, glazed or unglazed], Stoneware [opaque ware fired at a high enough temperature that it is semi-vitrified and non-porous], and Porcelain [high fired, vitrified ware, that is often translucent]." Evans defines Art Pottery as, "not identified by particular style or techniques, specific operations or spans of years, but rather by the philosophy or attitude of the individuals involved in its execution."

The definition of the Aesthetic Movement comes from Marion John Nelson, Art Pottery of the Midwest, Exhibition Catalogue (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota and the author in association with the University Art Museum, 1988) 1.

Félix Bracquemond was a major innovator in ceramic art, with works that would later inspire rising American ceramic decorators. He is remembered as an etcher, and he taught several avant-garde painters, including Édouard Manet, the technique. Bracquemond worked for Charles Haviland & Co. as a designer of ceramic decoration. He was greatly influenced by Katsushika Hokusai (1760-1849), a masterful Japanese woodblock artist, who published a fifteen-volume collection of printed sketches called the Manga. In 1866, Bracquemond designed the earthenware Service Rousseau for François-Eugène Rousseau (1827-1891), a wealthy entrepreneur. The imagery on the Service Rousseau was copied from Hokusai's Manga, making Bracquemond the first designer to combine Japanese imagery and ceramic art. Captivated by these Japanese images, Bracquemond subsequently depicted clusters of birds and allusions to the weather as seen in Hokusai's Manga on his Service Parisien (1874-1876).

The 1876 Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition was the first successful international trades fair in the United States. In the main exhibition hall, Haviland & Co., of Limoges had a display with 567 ceramic pieces, including Bracquemond's Service Parisien and a mural entitled L'Eau et Le Feu (Water and Fire). Here many visitors were introduced to Bracquemond's work as a ceramicist. There were three influential visitors to the Centennial Exhibition: Theodore Davis, M. Louise McLaughlin (1847-1939), and Maria Longworth Nichols (1849-1932). All three saw Haviland's display and were inspired. Each designer found various images and techniques to later emulate.

Theodore Davis, an illustrator, attended the Exhibition to document the event for Harper's Weekly. In 1879, he approached Mrs. Hayes, wife of President Rutherford B. Hayes, about designing a Presidential china service that would consist of images of flora and fauna of the United States. Davis has long been recognized as the designer of the Hayes Presidential

Service, which consists of 720 porcelain pieces. No one has analyzed the Haviland-Hayes service and given any possible sources for the design. Davis had never made designs for ceramic pieces; therefore, he would have needed models to emulate. The present thesis will argue that Davis took inspiration from Bracquemond's work previously shown at the Centennial Exhibition.

The second visitor to the Centennial was M. Louise McLaughlin, an artist and ceramic decorator from Cincinnati. McLaughlin is a key figure in the rise of ceramic arts in America. She was introduced to barbotine, painting with colored slip under a clear glaze, at the Centennial. Barbotine had been revived at Haviland and Bracquemond used it for the mural Water and Fire. In her book, Pottery Decoration Under the Glaze, McLaughlin claimed to be the "reinventer" of barbotine in the United States. McLaughlin experimented extensively with decoration under the glaze and shared her findings with the women in the Cincinnati Pottery Club. Thus, when these women became decorators at the Rookwood Pottery, barbotine became the foundation for most of Rookwood's most famous glaze lines, notably Standard Ware (1883-ca. 1920) and Vellum (1904-1948). Without M. Louise McLaughlin, Rookwood would not have enjoyed the same level of success.

The third visitor to the Centennial, Maria Longworth Nichols, also from Cincinnati, is best known as the founder of the Rookwood Pottery (1880). The standard scholarly interpretation of Rookwood is that it favored Japanese pottery traditions over other ceramic traditions. This was due to the fact that Maria Longworth Nichols took a great interest in Japan and the Japanese display at the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition. Nichols and most of the original decorators at Rookwood, however, experimented with the non-Japanese barbotine technique and used imagery similar to Bracquemond's Service Parisien.

The present thesis will explore the Japanesque imagery on early Rookwood pottery that derives from Bracquemond's work shown at the Centennial Exhibition, especially his interest in including seasonal landscapes and drawing attention to weather effects. Building on Bracquemond's precedent, decorators at Rookwood developed designs with atmospheric effects. The earliest pieces showed only subtle hints of fleeting atmospheric effects. This practice culminated with Rookwood's Vellum ware, in which smoother brushstrokes composed landscapes and atmospheric decoration that enveloped the ceramic vessel.

As for a larger argument, this thesis will examine some of the ideas on art popularized by John Ruskin (1819-1900). Ruskin, best known as an art critic, published twenty-nine books on a variety of topics from art and architecture to politics and religion. We will look especially at his principle on the permanence of pottery, and its impact on nineteenth century Art Pottery. In 1870, Ruskin published Lectures on Art and he stated,

I have hope of one day interesting you greatly (with the help of the Florentine masters), in the study of the arts of moulding and painting porcelain; and to induce some of you to use your future power of patronage in encouraging the various branches of this art, and turning the attention of the workmen of Italy from the vulgar tricks of minute and perishable mosaic to the exquisite subtilities of form and colour possible in the perfectly ductile, afterwards unalterable clay. And one of the ultimate results of such craftsmanship might be the production of pictures as brilliant as painted glass,—as delicate as the most subtle water-colours, and *more permanent than the Pyramids*[present author's bold italics].

The idea that pottery is “more permanent than the Pyramids” is repeated in books on ceramic arts. Dr. Christopher Dresser (1834-1904), the eminent industrial designer and theorist, is the

earliest known instance in 1873 in which Ruskin's passage was repeated. The quotation continued to appear into the Twentieth century in a 1905 book on Roseville's Rozane wares.²

Ultimately, the present thesis will trace the impact of Bracquemond's ceramic innovations. We will first see how Bracquemond's precedent in tableware design affected Davis's design for the Haviland-Hayes Service. Second, we will see how some of Bracquemond techniques and motifs were later used at Rookwood. Additionally, this thesis will begin to illustrate how Ruskin's principle of the permanence of pottery shaped the Art Pottery Movement.

² I specially want to thank Dr. Charles Brownell for suggesting that I pursue the issue of the permanence of ceramics and John Ruskin, as well as, for generously sharing year's worth of his notes with me.

For Ruskin's passage, see John Ruskin, Lectures on Art: Delivered Before the University of Oxford in Hilary Term, 1870 (New York: John Wiley & Son, 1870) 132.

Chapter 1
Félix Bracquemond (1833-1914), An Art Pottery Innovator

“As [Bracquemond’s “Water and the Fire”] is more closely studied, its true place in Art is better understood... We feel that another stage has been passed on the way toward the perfect union of the potter’s and painter’s skill, and toward the picture “permanent as the Pyramids” of which Ruskin writes.”

-- Jennie Young, The Ceramic Art, 295.

Félix Bracquemond is well known as a key figure of the French Art Pottery Movement. This thesis, however, will argue that American potters and ceramic decorators, especially Theodore Davis and the artists at Rookwood, looked to Bracquemond for models to emulate. The present chapter will briefly describe Bracquemond’s life, particularly his work as an etcher and as a ceramic decorator. We will focus on one of Bracquemond’s important etchings, Les Hirondelles (“The Swallows,” 1882), and three of his major designs for ceramics, the Service Rousseau, the Service Parisien, and Water and Fire. These three ceramic designs will be essential to the rest of the thesis.

Bracquemond is remembered as an etcher. Bracquemond was born in 1833 in Paris, and his parents were both dressmakers. When he was fifteen, Bracquemond worked for a commercial lithographer and he developed an interest in art, especially print art. Bracquemond’s only formal training came in 1848 when he took lessons with painter Joseph Guichard (1806-1880), a student of Ingres and Delacroix. Guichard, however, did not teach Bracquemond the etching or

engraving process. At the time, very few artists knew the etching process and the technique was nearly forgotten. Jean-Paul Bouillon, the eminent Bracquemond scholar, explains that Bracquemond was largely self-taught and that he used old texts, especially the Encyclopédie (1751-1772) of Denis Diderot and Jean d’Alembert, to learn the etching process.

Bracquemond’s partner in his artistic pursuits was his wife, Marie Quiveron (1840-1916), who was a painter. The couple married in 1869. Marie Bracquemond’s paintings, some shown at the Salon, were influenced by the Impressionists; and she also created some ceramic pieces during her career. Félix Bracquemond was a prolific artist: he made nearly 900 prints (original works of art and reproductive engravings). He continued to work on projects up until his death in 1914.³

When considering Bracquemond’s artwork, it is important to remember that he belonged to several important intellectual circles. Two of Bracquemond’s close friends were Edmond and Jules de Goncourt, art critics and writers who were responsible in part for the reevaluation of French realism, the rediscovery of the 18th century, and the rise of Japonisme. Bracquemond was also close to artists of the period, particularly Édouard Manet, the great avant-garde artist. Bracquemond was responsible for teaching Manet the etching process. Jean-Paul Bouillon, in Félix Bracquemond et les art décoratifs, approaches Bracquemond’s work as the unity of theory and handwork. Bouillon explains that these intellectual circles, such as the Goncourt brothers and Manet, shaped Bracquemond’s theory, which then informed his artwork.⁴

³ The information on Félix Bracquemond’s life and training comes primarily from Charlotte Van Rappard-Boon, Félix Bracquemond, 1833-1914, Martin Cleaver, trans., 19th-Century Masters—3 (Amsterdam: Van Gogh Museum, 1993). For more biographical information on Bracquemond, see also Emmanuel Benezit, Dictionary of Artists, Vol. 2, English edition edited by Christopher John Murray (Paris: Gründ, 2006) 1106-1107. J.P. Bouillon, “Félix Bracquemond,” in Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon: die Bildenden Künstler aller Zeiten und Völker, Vol. 13 (München: K.G. Saur, 1992) 517-519; Émile Bellier de la Chavignerie and Louis Auvray, Dictionnaire General des Artistes De L’École Française, Vol.1, 1882-1887 (Reprint; New York: Garland Publishing, 1979) 159. Ulrich Thieme and Felix Becker, Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart, Vol. IV (Leipzig: Seeman, 1978) 504-505. Frank Weitenkamp, “Félix Bracquemond,” in Art and Progress 6, 3(Jan. 1915): 96-97. See Appendix A for a working chronology of Félix Bracquemond’s life.

⁴ For more on the Goncourt brothers, see Edmund De Goncourt and Jules de Goncourt, The Goncourt Journals, 1851-1870, 1937, Lewis Galantiere, trans. (Reprinted; New York: Greenwood Press, 1968); Edmond and Jules De Goncourt, Journal Mémoires de la Vie Littéraire, 1864-1878 (Paris: Fasquelle and Flammarion, 1956). For information on the Goncourt brothers’ writing, see Richard Grant, The Goncourt Brothers (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1972). Edmond de Goncourt wrote a book

The exhibition, “Félix Bracquemond: Impressionist Innovator – Selections from the Frank Raysor Collection” (February 13, 2015 – October 4, 2015), at the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts (VMFA) facilitated the study of Bracquemond’s etchings, especially Le haut d’un battant de porte (“The Winged Door,” 1852) and Les Hirondelles (1882). Bracquemond’s first major etching, Le haut d’un battant de porte, is one of his most celebrated works (see Fig. 1). This etching portrays three birds and a bat nailed to a barn door. The startling subject matter and skilled execution of the etching process are the strengths of this early work. Apart from the inclusion of birds, however, Le haut d’un battant de porte is not characteristic of the majority of Bracquemond’s etchings.⁵

Les Hirondelles is another well-known Bracquemond etching and it is a mature work by Bracquemond (See Fig. 2). It was produced in 1882, thirty years after Le haut d’un battant de porte. Here Bracquemond has depicted a cluster of swallows flying over a river. The landscape is darkened due to the heavy clouds, apart from a beam of light in the distance. This etching represents the three key characteristics of Bracquemond’s work: his love of birds, his use of

on Hokusai in 1896, which is evidence of his continued interest in the subject throughout his life. See Edmond de Goncourt, Hokusai, 1896, Global Solutions International, trans. (Reprint; New York: Parkstone Press International, 2008).

Charlotte van Rappard-Boon discusses how Bracquemond taught Manet to etch and includes an example, see Félix Bracquemond, 1833-1914, 10-11.

Jean-Paul Bouillon discusses Bracquemond and his theories on art in “Bracquemond et Les Arts Décoratifs: À la Recherche de L’Unité Perdue,” in Félix Bracquemond et les arts décoratifs: du Japonisme à L’Art nouveau, exhibition catalogue (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 2005) 13-24. See also Rosella Froissart-Pezone, trans. by Pamela J. Warner, review of Félix Bracquemond et les arts décoratif: du Japonisme à L’Art Nouveau, by Jean-Paul Bouillon and Chantal Meslin-Perrier, Studies in the Decorative Arts 13, 2 (2006): 108-111. For Bracquemond’s writings on art see, Félix Bracquemond, Étude sur la gravure sur bois et la lithographie (Paris: Lahure, 1897); À propos des manufactures nationales de céramique et de tapisserie (Paris: Chamerot, 1891); Félix Bracquemond, Du Dessin et de la Couleur (Paris: G. Charpentier and Co., 1885).

⁵ There are two version of Le haut d’un battant de porte. One has a verse written on a piece of wood in the lower proper left corner. The second, which shown at the Virginia Museum, does not have the verse. The verse is:

Ici tu vois tristement pendre	Here you see, sadly hanged
Oiseaux pillards et convoiteux	Birds that rob and steal from you
A tout pareil c’est pour apprendre	The lesson that can be learned
Que voler et voler sont deux	Is that flying and stealing are two

The verse and translation come from Charlotte Van Rappard-Boon, Félix Bracquemond, 1833-1914, 28. For more on Le haut d’un battant de porte, see Jean-Paul Bouillon and Chantal Meslin-Perrier, Félix Bracquemond et les arts décoratifs, 37.

Japanese sources, and his mastery of naturalistic landscapes with fleeting atmospheric effects. These same traits would appear over and over again in his designs for ceramics.⁶

First, the primary subject of Les Hirondelles is swallows, migratory birds known for their phenomenal speed and agility. The greater majority of Bracquemond's etchings feature birds. Léonce Bénédite was the first to call Bracquemond an animalier, or artist of animals, due to his frequent portrayal of birds. It is apparent that Bracquemond admired his subjects. Only someone who truly appreciates birds would be able to so perfectly capture their nature. For example, the swallows in Les Hirondelles are flying in every direction, including out of the picture frame. A comparison with the filmed flight pattern of these birds tell us what a feat it was for Bracquemond to evoke the swallow's characteristic quick and unexpected movements.⁷

A second important characteristic of Les Hirondelles is Japonisme. As we will see in this chapter, Bracquemond took inspiration from Japanese prints for much of his work. At times, Bracquemond would even directly copy from Japanese sources. Gabriel Weisberg, a pioneering Bracquemond scholar, argued that the swallow in the center of the composition was taken from Ukiyo Ryusai gafu by Andō Hiroshige (1751-1772), a great Japanese woodblock artist. We will see other instances in which Bracquemond copied images from Japanese sources for his ceramic designs.⁸

The third characteristic seen in Les Hirondelles is Bracquemond's mastery of naturalistic landscape and environmental changes. Here is the first instance of Weisberg's combination of French realism and Japanese art. The landscape is naturalistic, as if portrayed from life, which was a characteristic of French realism. Bracquemond specialized in fleeting moments in his

⁶ For more on Les Hirondelles, see Charlotte Van Rappard-Boon, 51.

⁷ For more on Félix Bracquemond as an animalier, Léonce Bénédite, "Félix Bracquemond: L'Animalier" in Art et Décoration: Revue Mensuelle D'Art Moderne 27 (January-June 1905): 37-47.

⁸ Gabriel Weisberg first gives this connection between Les Hirondelles and Hiroshige's Ukiyo Ryusai gafu in Weisberg and others, Japonisme: Japanese Influence on French Art, 1854 – 1910, exhibition book (Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, in association with Rutgers University Art Gallery, the Walters Art Gallery, 1975).

landscapes. In Les Hirondelles, he has depicted a split second in which a light beam has broken free of the clouds: in all the history of the world the light, like the birds, will look like this for only a fraction of an instant. This attention to a fleeting quality, the ever-changing nature of the environment and atmosphere, is a profound trait of Japanese art.⁹

Jean-Paul Bouillon has argued that Bracquemond was primarily concerned with understanding material, so his approach to decoration, or “ornamentation,” was consistent across various media. Bouillon states that, “the painter-engraver, ceramicist, and decorator are inseparable.” The characteristics seen in Les Hirondelles will also play a major role in Bracquemond’s designs for ceramics.¹⁰

We will now move chronologically through Bracquemond’s career as a ceramicist, focusing on the period from 1856 to 1876. According to Weisberg and Bouillon, there are two crucial dates in the study of Félix Bracquemond’s ceramic designs: 1856, when he discovered Japanese images, and 1872, when he started at Haviland & Co.’s Auteuil studio.

In 1856, our first significant date, Bracquemond allegedly discovered pages from a volume of Katsushika Hokusai’s Manga at Auguste Delâtre’s print shop (see Fig. 3). The pages had been used to wrap Japanese porcelain that had been sent to the shop from Japan. The story of the discovery was first recounted in Léonce Bénédite’s 1905 article. Bénédite recalled,

⁹ Gabriel Weisberg argued that French realists were drawn to Ukiyo-e prints, like Hokusai’s Manga, because they shared an interest in capturing the external world. As the artists became more familiar with Japanese images, they blended these pictures into their own artistic style. See Gabriel Weisberg, “Japonisme in French Ceramic Decoration: Part I: the pieces for E. Rousseau, Paris,” in The Connoisseur 183 (July 1973): 210.

For the Japanese love of transience and changing weather effects, see Jocelyn Bouquillard and Christophe Marquet, Manga, Paris: Éditions du Seuil with Bibliothèque Nationale de France, 2007, Liz Nash, trans., as Hokusai: First Manga Master (New York: Harry N. Adams, 2007):21-55. The author of the present thesis had the opportunity to study transience in person at “Water and Shadow: Kawase Hasui and Japanese Landscape Prints,” an exhibition at the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond, VA.

¹⁰ Jean-Paul Bouillon describes Bracquemond’s interest in material and his approach to decoration in “Bracquemond et Les Arts Décoratifs: À la Recherche de l’Unité Perdue,” in Félix Bracquemond et les arts décoratifs, 13-25. See page 24 for Bouillon’s quotation.

In 1856, the year is certain, but I do not know if Bracquemond could verify the month and day. On a beautiful morning, Bracquemond took an etching plate, Les canards l'ont bien passée, to the printer Delâtre. ...At Delâtre's printshop Bracquemond discovered a small, bizarre book with a red cover. Because it was a soft and elastic material, it served to protect the porcelain shipped for the French from Japan. Bracquemond opened it with curiosity and he was suddenly struck by these quick sketches, prodigiously alive and expressive, of small professions, jugglers, dancers, children, landscapes, animals, insects and flowers.

Weisberg follows Bénédite's line of thought that Bracquemond first discovered the Manga, and Weisberg says that scholars have not been able to refute the story. It should be mentioned, however, that the Goncourt brothers claimed that they in fact discovered Hokusai's Manga.¹¹

Regardless of the discoverer, the Manga was an essential source for decorators and artists in the late nineteenth century. Katsushika Hokusai (1760-1849), a brilliant Japanese woodblock artist, published fifteen volumes of seemingly random sketches called the Manga. Volume I was published in 1814 and the final two volumes were published posthumously, in 1875 and 1878.

The title, Manga, means random sketches, which refers to the fact that there is no apparent correlation between the various images on a page. Hokusai filled volumes with pictures of animals, plants, landscapes, mythological figures, and grotesques, to name a few. After

¹¹ The quotation is from Léonce Bénédite, "Félix Bracquemond: L'Animalier," 39. It has been translated from French. The original passage is, "En 1856, la date de l'année est certaine, mais je ne sais si Bracquemond pourrait en certifier le mois et le jour, en 1856, un beau matin, Bracquemond s'en allait porter chez l'imprimeur Delâtre la planche de sa gravure: *Les canards l'ont bien passée*. ...Chez Delâtre, en effet, tout en causant, Bracquemond découvrit un petit livre bizarrement broché, à couverture rouge. En raison de sa matière souple et élastique, il avait servi à caler des porcelains expédiées par des Français établis au Japon. Bracquemond l'ouvrit avec curiosité, fu frappé soudainement par ces esquisses rapides, prodigieusement vivantes et expressives, de petits métiers, de jongleurs, de danseuses, d'enfants, de paysages, d'animaux, d'insectes et de fleurs."

Weisberg repeats this story in "Japonisme: Early Sources and the French Printmaker," Japonisme: Japanese Influence on French Art, 1854-1910 (Cleveland: The Cleveland Museum, in association with the Rutgers University Art Gallery and the Walters Art Gallery, 1975) 3; "Félix Bracquemond and Japanese Influence in Ceramic Decoration," in The Art Bulletin 51, 3 (Sept. 1969): 277-280. Charlotte van Rappard-Boon also repeats the story in Félix Bracquemond, 1833-1914, 19.

Martin Eidelberg points out discrepancies in Bracquemond's story in "Bracquemond, Delâtre and the Discovery of Japanese Prints," The Burlington Magazine 123, 937 (April, 1981): 220-225,227.

Bracquemond used images from the Manga, many artists and decorators also sought inspiration from these Japanese images (including the Rookwood Pottery as we will see in Chapter 4). The full impact on Western art cannot be expressed; however, it is possible to imagine how approachable the Manga must have been. In essence, it is a quick, easily grasped connection to Japanese artistic tradition laid out like a pattern book for sources of ornamentation.¹²

Bracquemond's Service Rousseau (1866) is the first instance of Japanese influence in modern decorative arts (see Fig. 4). The earthenware Service Rousseau was commissioned by François-Eugène Rousseau, a wealthy entrepreneur. For the design of the service, Bracquemond took direct quotations from Hokusai's Manga and applied the images in groups on the ceramic pieces. In 1878, Bracquemond's friend Edmond de Goncourt, the nineteenth century intellectual, commented on the success of the Service Rousseau. He stated, "[Bracquemond] has designed a service which has caused a revolution; but when it comes down to it, they are only copies of drawings from Japanese albums which are strewn on ... porcelain." It is important to know, however, that Bracquemond did many studies of the Manga, in which he practiced reproducing the prints. His final selections for the Service Rousseau were certainly intentional. Moreover, we will see that Bracquemond does move past copying and instead assimilates Japanese images into his own artistic style.¹³

¹² For the present thesis, the author looked at several reproductions of the Manga including Kazuya Takaoka, Mitsuru Uragami and Hideki Nakamura, Hokusai Manga (Tokyo: PIE International, 2011); Jocelyn Bouquillard and Christophe Marquet, Manga, Paris: Éditions du Seuil with Bibliothèque Nationale de France, 2007, trans. by Liz Nash as Hokusai: First Manga Master (New York: Harry N. Adams, 2007); James A. Michener, The Hokusai Sketch-Books: Selections from the Manga (Rutland, Vermont: Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1958).

For more information on Katsushika Hokusai, see Michener, The Hokusai Sketch-Books, 9-43. See also Jocelyn Bouquillard, Hokusai's Mount Fuji: The Complete Views in Color, Mark Getlein, trans. (New York: Abrams, 2007).

For more information on Japanese prints, see Ellis Tinios, Japanese Prints: Ukiyo-e in Edo, 1700-1900 (Burlington, VT: Lund Humphries, in association with the Trustees of the British Museum, 2010), especially pages 12 – 21.

¹³ For the most current and complete source on the Service Rousseau, see Jean-Paul Bouillon and Chantal Meslin-Perrier, Félix Bracquemond et les arts décoratifs, 45-67. See also Charlotte van Rappard-Boon, Félix Bracquemond, 1833-1914, 12-17; Gabriel Weisberg, "Japonisme in French Ceramic Decoration: Part I: the Pieces for E. Rousseau, Paris," The Connoisseur London 183 (July 1973): 210-213; Gabriel Weisberg, "Félix Bracquemond and Japanese Influence in Ceramic Decoration," The Art Bulletin 51, 3 (Sept. 1969): 277-280.

For Edmond de Goncourt's quotation see Charlotte van Rappard-Boon, 15.

The Service Rousseau was a part of the larger movement in France called Japonisme. Weisberg explains that term Japonisme is used in the discussion of the influence of Japan on France from 1854 to 1910. It is important to know that Japonisme affected nearly every form of artistic expression, including painting, printing, architecture, and textiles. The fascination with Japan at this time stemmed from the fact that Japan had previously been closed to the West, except to the Dutch, in the early seventeenth century. When Commodore Matthew Perry of the United States Navy opened Japan to the West in 1854, the flow of arts of Japan into Europe slowly increased. Europeans then had further exposure to Japanese art at the 1867 Exposition Universelle. It was not, however, until the Meiji Restoration, the reestablishment of imperial rule by Emperor Meiji, in 1868 that large amounts of Japanese art started to appear in Europe. It was not until 1868, with the availability of Japanese art, that Japonisme took off in France.¹⁴

Considering this timeline, Bracquemond's Service Rousseau was not just part of the Japonist tradition, it was quite provocative for the period. Weisberg states, "[the Service Rousseau] paved the way for future undertakings with Japanese overtones in the decorative arts." Bracquemond showed the service at 1867 Exposition Universelle, before the major influx of Japanese art in Europe following the Meiji Restoration.¹⁵

For discussion of Bracquemond's other Japanesque services, see Larry Simms, "Drawing on Japan," In The Apollo: The International Magazine for Collectors (September 2008): 64-73.

¹⁴ For more information on the history of Japonisme see William N. Hosley, The Japan Idea: Art and Life in Victorian America (Hartford: Wadsworth Atheneum, 1990); Siegfried Wichmann, Japonisme: The Japanese Influence on Western Art in the 19th and 20th Centuries, Mary Whittall and others, trans., New York: Harmony Books, 1981, originally published as Japonismus: Ostasien und Europa, Begegnungen in der Kunst des 19. Und 20. Jahrhunderts (Herrsching: Schuler Verlagsgesellschaft, 1980); Gabriel Weisberg and others, Japonisme: Japanese Influence on French Art 1854-1910, exhibition book (Cleveland: The Cleveland Museum of Art, in association with the Rutgers University Art Gallery and The Walters Art Gallery, 1975); Gabriel Weisberg, "Aspects of Japonisme," In The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art 62, 4 (April 1975): 120-130.

¹⁵ For quotation see Gabriel Weisberg, "Félix Bracquemond and Japanese Influence in Ceramic Decoration," 278.

Due to the success of the Service Rousseau, Bracquemond also started to gain attention for his ceramic decorations. Bracquemond had a brief six-month appointment in 1871 as the artistic director at Sèvres, the great French pottery. Then in 1872, our second important date, Bracquemond joined Haviland & Co. as the artistic director for their studio at Auteuil. During his nine years at Haviland, 1872 to 1881, Bracquemond helped the company transition from a manufacturer of porcelain tableware to a studio of ceramic artwork.¹⁶

Since its inception, Haviland & Co. was best known for their porcelain tableware. David Haviland (1814-1879), the founder of Haviland of Limoges, was an American who began his career in the tableware retail business. In 1842 David Haviland and his family moved to Limoges, France to start a porcelain factory. He chose Limoges, because the city already had an established tradition of porcelain manufacturing. The Haviland porcelain factory, along with a decorating department, opened and was fully operational by 1855. Haviland's first notable American commission was the production of the Lincoln Presidential china service in 1861. This began a long-term relationship between Haviland and the White House. Haviland later designed the Grant Presidential service and the incomparable Hayes Presidential service, which is the subject of Chapter 3.¹⁷

The literature is unclear as to the exact date, but by 1872 Haviland had an Art Pottery studio in Auteuil and Bracquemond was the artistic director. This studio was dedicated to artistic experimentation, while the original studio in Limoges would continue to produce porcelain tablewares. Laurens D'Albis, historian of Haviland production, describes Bracquemond's influence at Auteuil. D'Albis states, "In two years, Bracquemond imposed a real revolution [at

¹⁶ Jean-Paul Bouillon discusses Bracquemond's time at Sèvres in Félix Bracquemond et les arts décoratifs, 79-80.

¹⁷ For the history of Haviland & Co. see Wallace Tomasini, Celebrating 150 Years of Haviland China, 1842-1992 (Milwaukee, WI: Villa Terrace Decorative Arts Museum, in association with Haviland Collectors Internationale Foundation, 1992); Gertrude Tatnall Jacobson, A Pattern Identification Guide, Haviland China: Volume One (Des Moines, IA: Wallace-Homestead Book, 1979).

Auteuil]. To measure the extent of the cultural shock that [Bracquemond's work] represented, one must know that the traditional French ceramic decoration, whatever the technique, was ordered [methodical]. ...Bracquemond literally exploded all the taboos [of traditional French design]." Bracquemond designed unconventional dinner services at Auteuil, including the Service Parisien (1876) and Service Animaux (1878). Bracquemond also assisted with large projects, such as the Hayes Presidential Service (which is the subject of Chapter 3).¹⁸

In 1874 Bracquemond began planning the Service Parisien. Executed in 1876 for the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition of that year, the service consisted of twelve unique designs (see Fig. 5). Each design depicts birds, and some of the images have similarities with Hokusai's Manga. (The connections to Hokusai's Manga have been illustrated in Appendix B). Similar to Les Hirondelles, the Service Parisien represents a mature design. In fact the same three characteristics can be seen in the Service Parisien: love of birds, use of Asian sources, and mastery of naturalistic landscape with fleeting atmospheric effects. This is proof of Bouillon's argument, that it is impossible to separate Bracquemond the etcher from Bracquemond the ceramicist. The material is different, but his approach to decoration is the same.¹⁹

First, the Service Parisien is further evidence that Bracquemond loved to illustrate birds.

There are several species of bird featured on the service, including pheasants, cranes, geese, and

¹⁸ Lauren D'Albis's quotation has been translated from French. The original text is, "En deux ans, Félix Bracquemond impose un véritable révolution. Pour mesurer l'amplitude du choc culturel que cela représente il faut savoir que le décor céramique français traditionnel, quelle qu'en soit la technique, se veut << ordonné >>. ...Bracquemond fait littéralement << exploser >> tous ces tabous." For more on Bracquemond's role at Auteuil, see Lauren D'Albis, "L'atelier d'Auteuil de la Manufacture Haviland de la Recherche de la Productivité à La Création D'objets D'art," in Émaux Atmosphériques: La Céramique Impressionistes (Paris: Éditions Nicolas Chaudun in association with Musées de la Ville de Rouen and Musée de la Céramique, 2010) 37-48. See also Jean-Paul Bouillon, "Félix et Marie Bracquemond à l'atelier d'Auteuil," in Émaux Atmosphériques: La Céramique Impressionistes, 51-59; Jean-Paul Bouillon and Chantal Meslin-Perrier, Félix Bracquemond et les arts décoratifs, 84-86; Wallace Tomasini, Celebrating 150 Years of Haviland China, 1842-1992 (Milwaukee, WI: Villa Terrace Decorative Arts Museum, in association with Haviland Collectors Internationale Foundation, 1992) 12-13.

¹⁹ For more information on the Service Parisien, see Jean-Paul Bouillon and Chantal Meslin-Perrier, Félix Bracquemond et les arts décoratifs, 88-105. See also Gabriel Weisberg, "Félix Bracquemond and Japanese Influence in Ceramic Decoration," 279.

For the Service Parisien at the Centennial Exhibition, see Larry Simms, "Haviland and Company at the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition of 1876," in American Ceramic Circle Journal 17 (2013): 168-169.

sparrows. Just as Bracquemond captured the nature of the swallow in Les Hirondelles, each species in the Service Parisien seems to have been studied from life. Within the same service, Bracquemond captures the precision and intensity of a hawk in “L’Effroi” as well as the graceful, effortless glide of a flock of geese in “Plein Soleil.”

The second characteristic is Bracquemond’s use of Asian sources. While the Service Parisien does have similar images to those found in Hokusai’s Manga, these are not direct copies. Weisberg explains that artists “first borrowed directly from Japanese models and then later assimilated Japanese concepts thoroughly [with French artistic practices].” By the time Bracquemond designed the Service Parisien and Les Hirondelles, he exuded a Japonist style without copying directly from Japanese sources. It had become part of his artistic style. On the Service Parisien, Weisberg states, “In the first phase of Japonisme Bracquemond relied on exact borrowing [Service Rousseau]; later decorative services such as le Service Parisien, where preliminary etchings were also done for a ceramic service, created Japonisme environments without recourse to direct quotation.”²⁰

The third characteristic is Bracquemond’s attention to naturalistic landscape with fleeting atmospheric effects. In these twelve plates, Bracquemond depicted various seasons and times of day. He even goes one step further to include the most fleeting of natural events such as a thunderstorm, a snowstorm, and a rainbow. This practice derives from his study of Japanese art. There is no trait in Japanese Ukiyo-e prints that is more fundamental than transience. Bracquemond’s designs are successful, because the few clues he gives to the setting were carefully planned. For instance in the design of “L’Orage” the bamboo bends in submission to

²⁰ These two quotes on the assimilation of Japanese art come from Gabriel Weisberg, “Aspects of Japonisme,” in The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art 62, 4 (April 1975): 120-130.

heavy wind and Bracquemond included dark grey storm clouds and jagged lightening bolts. Each of these pieces is essential to understanding that the motif is a thunderstorm.²¹

Félix Bracquemond did not only design table services. Ernest Chaplet introduced Bracquemond to the barbotine technique, or method of painting with colored slip (wet clay) on greenware (partially dried clay), at the Auteuil studio. After Charles Haviland attended the 1873 Exposition Universelle in Vienna, he realized he needed something unique to present at the 1876 Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition. At Vienna, he said “there are three [important potteries]. Deck, in the first line,... Worcester, for Japanese ivories,... and Minton. The rest are insignificant.” Charles Haviland wanted Haviland & Co. to stand out from the rest of the European manufacturers. This is why in 1874 Charles Haviland hired Ernest Chaplet, the ceramicist credited with rediscovering and refining the barbotine technique, to teach the artists at Auteuil the technique. The barbotine technique allowed the decorators to create paintings on ceramics. These would be purely art-objects.²²

The Musée de la Ville de Rouen with the Musée de la Céramique have now had two exhibitions on these pieces, in 1975 and 2010. The curators treat these ceramics as artworks and have started to call these barbotine wares “la céramique impressionniste,” because of the similarities with Impressionist paintings (see Fig. 7). Audrey Gay-Mazuel, a contributing author to the 2010 exhibiton book, explains that, “a ceramic may be considered Impressionist when it

²¹ Laurens D’Albis does not specify that Bracquemond’s revolution included introducing weather effects. This is a working hypothesis of the present thesis, and the author has been encouraged in this by Tim Sublette and Mark Brown, owners of Seekers Antiques and collectors of ceramics.

²² The sources conflict on whether it was Chaplet or M. Laurin that rediscovered barbotine at a pottery in Bourg-la-Reine. M. Louise McLaughlin wrote that it was M. Laurin in *Pottery Decoration Under the Glaze* (Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co., 1880) 36. Alastair Scott Anderson wrote that it was Ernest Chaplet in “Pierre Mallet (1836-98) –Pioneer of French Aesthetic Ceramics in England” in *The Journal of Decorative Arts Society 1850 – the Present* 23 (1999): 87.

For more information on barbotine at Haviland see, *Émaux Atmosphériques: La Céramique Impressionniste*, especially Laurens D’Albis, “L’atelier d’Auteuil de la Manufacture Haviland,” 39-50. See also Antoine D’Albis, J.-P. Bouillon, and C. Romanet, *Céramique Impressionniste: L’atelier Haviland de Paris-Auteuil, 1873-1882* (Paris: Les Presses Artistiques with Société des Amis de la Bibliothèque Forney, 1975).

combines at the same time the touch, the motif, the point of view, and a particular attention to the effects of water, of light, and of atmospheric variations.” Gay-Mazuel goes on to argue, however, that it is not necessary to attribute these ceramics to a particular style of painting for them to be significant works of art. Instead, the two most important things about Haviland’s barbotine wares are that “they abolish the boundary between painting and decorative arts, and provide the basis for the definition of a modern ceramic.”²³

Even though Chaplet brought the secret of the barbotine technique with him to Haviland, Audrey Gay-Mazuel and Laurens d’Albis argue that Félix and Marie Bracquemond were key to the success of these wares. Bracquemond’s best-know barbotine design is a tile mural called Water and Fire, which we recall was displayed at the 1876 Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition (See Fig. 6). It consisted of 910 individually glazed tiles, which were assembled on site at the Centennial Exhibition. The mural is an allegory of human progress, and it depicts a gigantic figure standing among flames as he holds up a bronze statuette and a vase. In the background, we can see a female figure reclining on a bed of clouds, clusters of smokestacks, and a railroad train. Jennie Young, a brilliant nineteenth century ceramic historian, explained the subject in 1877 and again in 1878. At the later date, she stated, “the picture, as we have said, is allegorical, and represents the genius of man utilizing the waters of the rebellious stream and storm, the fires of the volcano and lightning, and making them subservient to progress.”²⁴

²³ The catalogues for the two exhibitions have already been introduced. They are: Antoine D’Albis and others. Émaux Atmosphériques; La Céramique “Impressionniste,” 2010; Antoine D’Albis, J.-P. Bouillon, and C. Romanet, Céramique Impressionniste: L’atelier Haviland de Paris-Auteuil, 1873-1882, 1975.

Gay-Mazuel quotation comes from “L’Impressionnisme en Céramique,” Émaux Atmosphériques: la Céramique Impressionniste, 33. The original passage is, “Une céramique peut être considérée comme impressionniste lorsqu’elle combine à la fois la touché, le motif, le point de vue et une attention particulière aux effets de l’eau, de la lumière ou aux variations atmosphériques.”

Second quotation is also Gay-Mazuel, “L’Impressionnisme en Céramique,” Émaux Atmosphériques, 34. “[Barbotine wares] abolissent les frontières entre la peinture et les arts décoratifs et jettent les bases de la définition d’une céramique moderne.”

²⁴ For more information on The Water and the Fire, see Susan Myers, “Much That is Suggestive: Ceramic Tiles at the Centennial Exhibition,” Tile Heritage 6 (Fall 2002): 4-5. See also Larry Simms, “Haviland and Company at the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition of 1876,” 152-153.

Water and Fire is significant because it illustrates both of Gay-Mazuel's characteristics of barbotine ware: it abolishes the boundary between painting and decorative art, and it provides a basis for the definition of a modern ceramic. Jennie Young does not just explain the subject matter of the mural. Young evaluates the strengths of this piece. She agrees that it abolishes the boundaries between painting and decorative art. Young states, "that another stage has been passed toward the perfect union of the potter's and the painter's skill...." She realizes that it is a painting on a ceramic. Young also saw the tremendous potential in this piece as a new definition of modern ceramic art, and she stated that, "it offers us much, but it promises more." Young was quite aware that this would be the new standard for ceramic art. Haviland would be a model for future potters to emulate.²⁵

A theme throughout this Chapter has been that Bracquemond created ceramic art. He was an artist, not a porcelain manufacturer or factory laborer. According to Sonia Coman, a Ph.D. candidate at Columbia University studying nineteenth century French art, Bracquemond saw no difference between the fine arts and the decorative arts. Therefore, he made intentional artistic choices when designing his ceramic pieces, in an attempt to elevate the ceramic arts from a manufactured product to the level of fine art worthy of study.²⁶

Jean-Paul Bouillon's argument supports Coman's claim. Bouillon uses a quotation from Bracquemond's book, Étude sur la gravure sur bois et la lithographie, to prove that Bracquemond recognized the difference between the artistic process and a mechanical exercise. Bracquemond

For Jennie Young's quotation and description of the mural, see The Ceramic Art: A Compendium of the History and Manufacture of Pottery and Porcelain (New York: Harpers & Brothers, 1878) 295. See also Jennie Young, "Ceramic Art at the Centennial," The Century: Its Fruits and Its Festival (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott & Co., 1877) 248.

²⁵ Young's quotation on the union of the potter and the painter comes from The Ceramic Art, 295. Young's second quotation comes from "Ceramic Art at the Centennial," 248.

²⁶ The information on Bracquemond blending the fine and decorative arts comes from Sonia Coman, "The Realignment of Medium Hierarchies in Nineteenth-Century French Art: Félix Bracquemond, Eugène Rousseau, and the Ceramic Dinner Service of 1866," presented at the 2015 Annual College Art Association Conference, New York City, NY, February 12, 2015.

states, “After having distinguished art from the subject, we can distinguish the art and the craft. Not always easy! Often, for craft, skilled as far as the trick of the eye, by dexterity, by the twist of the hand, by the knowledgeable routine, a work makes the change with the ignorance of the principles, without which there is no art, but simply mechanical exercise of the craft....” Here Bracquemond argued that craft without intention and principles is merely a mechanical exercise. As Coman suggests, Bracquemond strove for art so as to elevate the decorative arts from being just another mechanical exercise.²⁷

Coman also explained that Bracquemond was not alone in his pursuit: other artists were dabbling in various techniques. As we recall, Bracquemond taught Édouard Manet to etch. Similarly, painters were depicting ceramic art in their paintings. Coman stressed that in nineteenth century France the lines between various art media were blurring, and thus each was becoming equally valued.²⁸

The Service Parisien is one example of Bracquemond elevating the ceramic arts to the level of fine arts. As we recall from D’Albis’s quotation, traditional French ceramics, especially porcelain tablewares, were formulaic. The Service Parisien broke away from this tradition decisively. Each of the twelve designs for the Service Parisien is unique, as if Bracquemond started with a blank canvas each time. He also applied fine art directly to the plates. As we saw, the decoration for the service is a combination of two fine arts, Japanese woodblock prints and French realism.

²⁷ Bracquemond’s quotation has been translated from French. The original passage is, “Après avoir distingué l’art et le sujet, on distinguera l’art et le métier. Pas toujours facile! Souvent, par son métier, habile jusqu’au trompe-l’oeil, par l’adresse, par le tour de main, par la savante routine, une oeuvre donne le change sur l’ignorance des principes sans lesquels il n’y a pas d’art, mais simple exercice machinal d’un métier...” See Jean-Paul Bouillon and Chantal Meslin-Perrier, Félix Bracquemond et les arts décoratifs, 15-17.

²⁸ The information on Bracquemond blending the fine and decorative arts comes from Sonia Coman, “The Realignment of Medium Hierarchies in Nineteenth-Century French Art: Félix Bracquemond, Eugène Rousseau, and the Ceramic Dinner Service of 1866,” presented at the 2015 Annual College Art Association Conference, New York City, NY, February 12, 2015.

Water and Fire is a second instance in which Bracquemond blends the fine and decorative arts. As we recall, Jennie Young describes this piece as the union of the potter and the painter. Bracquemond used the ceramic tiles as a canvas, and the finished piece hung like a painting in a gallery. Usually each ceramic tile was a manufactured product, but in this case Bracquemond's painting was the product and the tile merely serve as the medium.

Félix Bracquemond was an important figure in nineteenth century French art for his innovations in ceramic arts and etchings. As Jean-Paul Bouillon argued, we cannot separate Bracquemond the painter-engraver, ceramicist, and decorator. Throughout Bracquemond's career and in both his etchings and ceramic designs, we saw the repetition of three characteristics: his love of animals, his use of Asian sources, and his mastery of naturalistic landscapes with fleeting atmospheric effects. Bracquemond also worked to elevate the decorative arts to the level of fine art, by treating all materials as a medium for creative expression. All of the themes from this chapter will be seen again because American potters, especially Theodore Davis and the decorators at Rookwood, will look to Bracquemond's work for models to emulate.

Chapter 2
The 1876 Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition and the Art Pottery Movement

“If the Berlin porcelain was taken out of the German section, and the Elkington silver and porcelain, and the Doulton ware out of the English, in respect to beauty, the space occupied by these countries would rank with that of France very much as a potato-field does with a flower garden.”

-- Frank Leslie's Illustrated Historical Registrar of the Centennial Exhibition, 236.

This chapter will argue that John Ruskin's idea about the permanence of pottery, first discussed in Lectures on Art (1870), changed the course of the ceramic arts from the manufacturing of porcelain tablewares to the application of paintings to pottery. The 1876 Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition, the first successful world trade fair in the United States, was the turning point in Art Pottery. This was due to fact that ceramic decorators in Europe were attempting to put Ruskin's ideas into practice. Two potteries, Doulton & Co. and Haviland & Co., brought their finest Art Pottery and they both left a profound impression on those who experienced their displays. Doulton and Haviland proved that ceramics could rival the fine arts shown in the Exhibition's Art Gallery. American ceramic decorators who attended the

Exhibition were inspired and immediately set out to promote an American Art Pottery movement.²⁹

First, this Chapter must address John Ruskin's ideas on permanence, because his work had a direct impact on the work shown at the Centennial Exhibition. Second, there will be a brief description of the Centennial Exhibition. Third, we will go to the Doulton display to examine three key pieces and to discuss the reception of Doulton's Art Pottery. Fourth, we will visit the Haviland & Co., of Limoges display to see the work of Félix Bracquemond, who was introduced in Chapter 1. Fifth, this Chapter will conclude with a brief discussion of the American ceramics at the Centennial Exhibition and their relationship to the American Aesthetic Movement.

1. John Ruskin and Lectures on Art

There are three principles from John Ruskin's work that we will return to throughout this thesis: the issue of permanence with ceramic arts, the idea that great art does not repeat itself, and the belief that landscape art evoked nationalist sentiment. Scholars have long wrestled with Ruskin's writings as they relate to architectural reform and the rise of the Arts & Crafts movement. This thesis, however, is the first to credit Ruskin as the fountainhead for the Art Pottery movement of the late nineteenth century.

John Ruskin (1819-1900) is remembered primarily as a critic of art and architecture; however, he was a prolific writer on a variety of subjects, including science, religion, and education. J.M.W. Turner (1775-1851), the great British landscape painter, was Ruskin's supreme modern hero, which Ruskin reinforced by referring to Turner's work in his books. Additionally, Ruskin supported the Pre-Raphaelites, the group of British artists interested in

²⁹ Doulton & Co. has gone by several names in the history of the company. According to J.P. Cushion, Doulton & Co. is the name of the company from 1858-1910. See *Pocket Book of British Ceramic Marks Including Index to Registered Designs, 1842-83*, 4th ed. (London: Faber and Faber, 1994) 120.

emulating late medieval and early Renaissance practices in art. Ruskin and the Pre-Raphaelites shared a devotion to the artistic practice of “Truth to Nature.” Ruskin published twenty-nine books, most famously Seven Lamps of Architecture (1849) and The Stones of Venice (1851-53). According to Dinah Birch, a scholar of Ruskin’s writing, Ruskin stopped writing solely on art and architecture beginning about 1860. From this point forward, his publications on art took the form of lectures and essays, and his principal ideas are often confused with other subjects.³⁰

Ruskin’s Lectures on Art, published 1870, matches Birch’s assessment because it is a collection of short lectures that often are not relate from one to the next. It is here that Ruskin writes,

It is surely a severe lesson to us in this matter, that the best works of Turner could not be shown to the public for six months without being destroyed, --and that his most ambitious ones for the most part perished, even before they could be shown. ***I will break through my law of reticence, however, so far as to tell you that I have hope of one day interesting you greatly*** (with the help of the Florentine masters), ***in the study of the arts of moulding and painting porcelain***; and to induce some of you to use your future power of patronage in encouraging the various branches of this art, and turning the attention of the workmen of Italy ***from the vulgar tricks of minute and perishable mosaic to the exquisite subtilties of form and colour possible in the perfectly ductile, afterwards unalterable clay***. And one of the ultimate results of such craftsmanship might be the production of pictures as brilliant as painted glass,—as delicate as the most subtle water-colours, and ***more permanent than the Pyramids***[present author’s bold italics].

³⁰ For the biography of John Ruskin, see Robert Hewison, “Ruskin, John (1819-1900),” in Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, online ed., edited by Lawrence Goldman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/24291. See also Dinah Birch, “Ruskin, John,” Grove Art Online, in Oxford Art Online (Oxford: Oxford University Press) <http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/art/T074542>.

In this passage Ruskin argued that artworks on paper and canvas, like the work of Turner, are simply too perishable. It was only logical to encourage a reform of the most permanent of the art forms, the ceramic arts, which has withstood time better than even the pyramids at Giza. Even though this idea is inherently false (because pottery does erode), this quotation would be repeated numerous times by practitioners, critics, and historians of the ceramic arts. Previous scholars have missed this traceable connection between Ruskin and the ceramic decorators of the Aesthetic and Arts and Crafts Movements.³¹

The remainder of this thesis begins to correct this oversight by documenting the widespread popularity of Ruskin's idea that ceramics are "more permanent than the Pyramids." A selection of major writers will demonstrate how influential Ruskin's idea was in the 1870s alone. (For the full fourteen passages known to date, see Appendix C.)

In the early 1870s, in two successive publications by Dr. Christopher Dresser (1834-1904), the eminent industrial designer and theorist, promoted the idea. Dresser states, "...as works in pottery enjoy a longer existence ...[they] are preserved not as fragments merely, but as works in their entirety, and with the same beauty that they possessed when first they left the hands of the workmen." In this passage, Dresser asserts that not only are the ceramic bodies imperishable, but also the decoration is not affected over time. We must take into consideration that Dresser and Ruskin were adversaries. By restating Ruskin's principle on permanence, Dresser gave the idea more currency and he established it outside of the circle of Ruskin's followers.³²

³¹ For Ruskin's passage on the permanence of the Pyramids, see Lectures on Art: Delivered Before the University of Oxford During Hilary Term, 1870 (New York: John Wiley & Son, 1870) 131-132.

³² Dresser's quotation appears in two publications. See "Principles of Design – XXII: Pottery and Hollow Vessels," The Technical Educator: An Encyclopedia of Technical Education, Vol. II (London: Cassell & Company, n.d.) 342; Principles of Decorative Design (London: Cassell, Petter & Galpin, 1873) 117.

Ruskin's passage on permanence appeared in discussions on the ceramics shown at the 1876 Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition. George Ferris is the author of Gems of the Centennial (1877), a book that served exclusively to highlight the most impressive artworks from the Exhibition. Ferris praised, "the rich possibilities of Art in the manipulation of ordinary clay, as shown in the Doulton ware and Lambeth faience [fine china]. ...It is a great consolation to know that such painting as this is *absolutely indestructible*. There is no flying of color, no scaling off of impasto, no cracking nor decay. *The work disappears only by wanton carelessness, and ought to live for ages, a permanent record of the age in which it was created*[present author's bold italics]." Ferris further perpetuated Ruskin's idea on permanence. He contributes to the discussion of Ruskin's idea by suggesting that potteries such as Doulton were illustrating this principle of permanence.³³

Ruskin's idea infiltrated the art educational system, which insured that the phrase, "more permanent than the Pyramids" would influence the next generation of ceramic artists. John C. L. Sparkes, a major figure in the art world at the time, is important as a leader in art education in Great Britain. He was not only responsible for educating Doulton's two most famous decorators, George Tinworth and Hannah Barlow, but he was also instrumental in convincing Henry Doulton to experiment with Art Pottery. In 1877 Sparkes writes, "...[*the potters*] *handiwork lasts for ever*. Coins rust with time. ...and *the pyramids themselves are slowly disappearing*. Every monument that mankind have thought most lasting yields to time, **except the work of the potter**. *The most frail of man's production is yet the most permanent* [present author's bold italics]." As an educator, Sparkes played a key role in the dissemination of Ruskin's idea.³⁴

³³ For Ferris's quotation, see Gems of the Centennial Exhibition: Consisting of Illustrated Descriptions of Objects of an Artistic Character, in the Exhibits of the United States, Great Britain, France, ..., Etc. Etc., at the Philadelphia International Exhibition of 1876 (New York: D. Appleton & Company, 1877) 26.

³⁴ John C. L. Sparkes, A Handbook to the Practice of Pottery Painting, 3rd ed (London: Lechertier, Barbe, & Co., 1879) 50.

Some authors inserted Ruskin's quotation on ceramics being "more permanent than the Pyramids" directly into their text. Jennie Young's 1878 text, The Ceramic Art, is a case in which Ruskin's full passage appears: "'It surely is,' [Ruskin] says, 'a severe lesson to us in this matter, that the best works of Turner could not be shown for six months without being destroy... And one on the ultimate results of such craftsmanship might be the production of pictures as brilliant as painted glass—as delicate as the most subtle water-colors, and more permanent than the Pyramids.'" Jennie Young was a brilliant historian in the ceramic arts who has been unjustly neglected by scholars. The breadth of Young's knowledge of ceramics arts became clear when she examines Ruskin's idea on permanence in detail. Using Ruskin's principle, Young concluded that, "The ceramic is the union of two branches of art, the architectural and the graphic. It combines form and proportion [Young's architectural aspects] with drawing and color [Young's graphic aspects]. ...therefore, *it may be said to be the highest of all the arts*[present author's bold italics]."35

In just eight years since the original publication of Ruskin's Lectures on Art, notable texts on ceramics have cemented Ruskin's vision (and of course, the impact of "more permanent than the Pyramids" continued into the twentieth century, as Appendix C details). Some of the intellectual setting for the Centennial Exhibition has become evident. In 1870 Ruskin called for a reform of the ceramic arts, because a medium "more permanent than the Pyramids" needed to be better utilized as a form of artistic expression. As we will soon see, Ruskin's principles were best captured in the Art Pottery pieces displayed by Doulton and Haviland.

³⁵ For Jennie Young's discussion of John Ruskin, see The Ceramic Art, 33-35.

2. The 1876 Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition at Fairmount Park

In one respect the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition served as an opportunity for world leaders to show off their latest innovations and resources. It is more important, however, to remember that the Centennial Exhibition allowed for cross-cultural exchange of traditions and ideas, especially in the arts. This Centennial Exhibition was a pivotal moment in American decorative arts: it was this event that sparked the American Art Pottery Movement and inspired ceramic decorators to strive for the level of artwork as seen at Doulton and Haviland.

This monumental moment in the ceramic arts was subsidiary to the vast Exhibition that consisted of (in the words of the formal title) “Arts, Manufactures and Products of the Soil and Mine” (see Fig. 18). The 1876 Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition was meant to commemorate the one-hundredth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence and to show off America as a leading industrial power. The Exhibition opened May 10, 1876, and closed November 10, 1876. Fairmount Park, a 285-acre tract of land that overlooked the Schuylkill River, was the site of the event. Over nine million visitors came to Fairmount Park to see displays from thirty-seven countries in 250 buildings. The five major buildings that housed displays were the Main Building, Machinery Hall, the Art Gallery, the Agriculture Building, and the Horticultural Building. Notably the 1876 Centennial Exhibition was the first world’s fair to include a Women’s Pavilion. A group of Cincinnati ladies, in particular those under the influence of English reformers, displayed their art wares. (We will see these ladies again in Chapter 4, because they are key to the story of the Rookwood Pottery.)³⁶

³⁶ For more information on the 1876 Philadelphia Centennial, see Free Library of Philadelphia, “The Centennial Exhibition: Philadelphia,” on Centennial Exhibition Digital Collection (accessed 10 January 2014). <http://libwww.library.phila.gov/cencol/>. See also George T[itus] Ferris (1840-), Gems of the Centennial Exhibition (New York: D. Appleton & Company, 1877); C.B. Norton, Treasures of Art, Industry and Manufacture Represented in the American Centennial Exhibition at Philadelphia, 1876 (Buffalo: Cosack & Co., 1877); Contributions to the International Exhibition at Philadelphia, 1876; Illustrated with One Chromolithograph, Eight Engravings on Steel and One Hundred and Eighteen on Wood (London: Virtue & Company, 1876); James McCabe, The Illustrated History of the Centennial Exhibition, Held in Commemoration of the One Hundredth Anniversary of

Most of the ceramic displays were found in the Main Building, the largest of the exhibition buildings with the greatest number of displays (see Fig. 8). The building was broken into sections for various countries. The 1876 book Contributions to the International Exhibition at Philadelphia described the layout of the Main Building. The text states that, “the great European states which have assumed within the century the supreme direction of human affairs are assigned a prominent central position in the Main Building.” The Main Building had two primary walkways that ran perpendicular through the center of building. At this principal crossing, the four principal countries were situated at each of the corners. This included Great Britain and its colonies, with 99,917 square feet of displays; France, with 43,314 square feet; the United States, 187,705; and Germany, 27,975.³⁷

3. Leaders in the Ceramic Arts: Great Britain and France

In their prominent locations, both Britain and France had impressive displays, especially in their displays of Art Pottery. George Ferris, author of Gems of the Centennial, writes, “[Haviland & Co.] Limoges faience [fine china] can only be compared, though essentially different in character and treatment, with the Doulton stone-ware and Lambeth faience [fine china]; for these two groups of pottery were essentially the features of the Exhibition of their kind, most pregnant with new ideas and important art suggestions.” Doulton and Haviland were

American Independence (Philadelphia: The National Publishing Company, 1876); Phillip T. Sandhurst and others, The Great Centennial Exhibition: Critically Described And Illustrated (Philadelphia: P.W. Ziegler & Co., 1876); United States Centennial Commission, International Exhibition, 1876. Official Catalogue, Complete in One Volume (Philadelphia: John R. Nagle and Company in association with Centennial Catalogue Company Assignees, 1876); Visitors' Guide to the Centennial Exhibition and Philadelphia: May 10th to November 10th, 1876 (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott & Co. in association with the Centennial Guide Book Company, 1876); Thompson Westcott, Centennial Portfolio: A Souvenir of the International Exhibition at Philadelphia, Comprising Lithographic Views of Fifty of its Principal Buildings, with Letter-Press Descriptions (Philadelphia: Thomas Hunter, 1876); “The Centennial,” In Harper's Weekly 20, 1039 (November 25, 1876): 949-950.

For more information on the display of wares by the Cincinnati Ladies, see Anita J. Ellis, The Ceramic Career of M. Louise McLaughlin (Athens: Ohio University Press in association with the Cincinnati Art Museum, 2003) 25-42. See also Julie Aronson, ed., contri. by Anita J. Ellis and Jennifer Howe, The Cincinnati Wing: The Story of Art in the Queen City (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, in association with the Cincinnati Art Museum, 2003) 106-107; Carol Macht and Deborah Long and Kenneth Trapp, The Ladies, God Bless 'Em: The Women's Art Movement in Cincinnati in the Nineteenth Century, Cincinnati Art Museum, February 19-April 18, 1976, exhibition book (Cincinnati: Cincinnati Art Museum, 1976) 8-9.

³⁷ For more description of the interior of the Main Building, see Contributions to the International Exhibition at Philadelphia, 1876, 30.

featured in numerous texts on the Centennial, and the critics agree, these were premier displays on ceramics. This was largely due to the fact that both Doulton and Haviland were pioneers of John Ruskin's principle from Lectures on Art. By putting paintings, incised decoration, and relief decoration on ceramics, the pieces from Doulton and Haviland had resulted in artworks, "more permanent than the Pyramids."³⁸

We will first visit the Doulton display at the Centennial Exhibition (see Fig. 9-10). There are three points that stand out at the Doulton display: painted tiles for a fireplace, the work of Hannah Barlow (1851-1916), and a pulpit by George Tinworth (1843-1913). Second, we will go to the Haviland's display in the French section (see Fig. 15). Haviland brought work by several of their designers; however, the name commonly referred to in books on the Centennial and in reviews of the ceramics is Félix Bracquemond.

Doulton & Co.

At one time Doulton had been the most unlikely leader in the production of Art Pottery. John Doulton (1793-1873) founded Doulton in 1815 primarily to manufacture utilitarian stoneware for sewer pipes and sanitary fittings. He was later joined by his son, Henry Doulton (1820-1897). Henry was a ruthless industrialist, and he made a fortune manufacturing utilitarian stoneware. Therefore, it is shocking that Doulton expanded into Art Pottery production, because

³⁸ For George Ferris's quotation, see Gems of the Centennial, 105.

For Doulton at Centennial see... Frank H. Norton, ed., Frank Leslie's Historical Register of the United States Centennial Exposition, 1876, 1877; (reprint ed., with an introduction by Richard Kenin, New York: Paddington Press, 1974) 98, 220-222, 299; United States Centennial Commission, International Exhibition, 1876: Reports and Awards. Vol. III, Groups I and II, Francis A. Walker, ed., (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1880) 53-54; Edward Bruce, The Century: Its Fruits and Its Festival (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott & Co., 1877) 249-250; Contributions to the International Exhibition at Philadelphia, 1, 18; Elliott, Charles Wyllys. "Pottery at the Centennial," 570-571; George Ferris, Gems of the Centennial Exhibition, 21-26; J.S. Ingram, The Centennial Exposition, Described and Illustrated, 405-409; New York Tribune. "The British Section, Ceramics – Art-Furniture." May 13, 1876.

For Haviland at Centennial see Larry Simms, "Haviland and Company at the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition of 1876," in American Ceramic Circle Journal 17 (2013): 149-179. See also Jennie J. Young, The Ceramic Art, 319-325; George Ferris, Gems of the Centennial Exhibition, 102-106; Jennie Young, "Ceramics at the Exhibition," The Century: Its Fruits and Its Festival (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott & Co., 1877) 246-249; Charles Wyllys Elliott, "Pottery at the Centennial," 574-575; Frank H. Norton, ed., Frank Leslie's Historical Register of the United States Centennial, 236-237; "The Centennial," In Harper's Weekly 20, 1039 (November 25, 1876): 949-950.

an artistic venture was contrary to the established practices at Doulton. As we have seen, it was John C.L. Sparkes, the headmaster at the Lambeth School of Art, who finally talked Henry Doulton into experimenting with Art Pottery. It would be fascinating to know how Sparkes convinced Doulton to take on such a risky business venture as Art Pottery. Sparkes also contributed to the success of the undertaking by sending his students, first from the Lambeth School of Art and later from the South Kensington School of Art (the epicenter of art education in Britain), to work as decorators and to put Ruskinian theory into practice. Two of Sparkes's students, Hannah Barlow and George Tinworth, are the most famous of Doulton's decorators.³⁹

Doulton is one of the first, if not the first, Art Pottery studio. The literature makes it difficult to know exactly when the great Art Pottery production began at Doulton. It was around 1870 when Doulton became known as an Art Pottery studio. We have already seen that Sparkes embraced the Ruskinian idea of greater permanence than the pyramids. This thesis proposes that Sparkes injected another Ruskinian idea into the landmark Doulton Art Pottery production: the principle that, since the wares were art, no two pieces should be alike. This really would have been a startling experience for Henry Doulton, going from uniform sewer pipes to the practice that no two pieces the same. Doulton's Art Pottery was formally introduced to the United States at the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition: the stakes were high. As a successful businessman,

³⁹ For the history of Doulton see Paul Atterbury and Louise Irvine, The Doulton Story: a souvenir booklet produced originally for the exhibition held at the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 30 May-12 August 1979, exhibition book (Stokes on Trent: Royal Doulton Tableware, 1979); Richard Dennis, Doulton Pottery from the Lambeth and Burslem Studios, 1873-1939, Part II (Uxbridge, England: Richard Dennis, in association with the Hillingdon Press, 1975). For more information on Henry Doulton see Edmund Gosse, Sir Henry Doulton: The Man of Business as a Man of Imagination, Desmond Eyles, ed., (London: Hutchinson & Co. with Desmond Eyles, 1970).

For more information on Henry Doulton, see Edmund Gosse, Sir Henry Doulton: The Man of Business as a Man of Imagination, Desmond Eyles, ed. (London: Hutchinson & Co. in association with Desmond Eyles, 1970); Alexander James Clement, "Doulton, Sir Henry (1820-1897)." In Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, online ed., edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, doi: 10.1093/ref:odnb/7944. See also Appendix D.

For more information on John C.L. Sparkes, see R.C. Denis, "Sparkes, John Charles Lewis (1832/3-1907)," in Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, online ed., edited by Lawrence Goldman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004, doi: 10.1093/ref:odnb/56307). John C.L. Sparkes wrote seven books, the following are books on art. A Handbook to the Practice of Pottery Painting, 3rd ed. (London: Lechertier, Barbe, & Co., 1879); "School of Art: Their Origin, History, Work, and Influence," in The Health Exhibition Literature, 729-880 (London: William Clowes and Sons, in association with International Health Exhibition, 1884); John C. L. Sparkes and Walter Gandy, Potters: Their Arts and Crafts (New York: Thomas Whittaker, 1897). Also see Appendix E.

Henry Doulton realized the importance of overseeing key moments in an investment. A writer for the New York Tribune states that, “Mr. Doulton [was there] in person with an immense display of the peculiar stone ware to which he has given his name and the terra-cotta for which he has made a world-wide reputation.”⁴⁰

Doulton, only rivaled by Haviland, was the largest of the Art Pottery displays at the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition. Visitors to the Centennial were most impressed by the variety of wares in the Doulton display. George Ferris states, “there is no moulding of shape, no servile copying either of form or decoration. *Therefore everything is unique*, and never can be exactly reproduced. *Every vase, plate, bottle, or cup, becomes an individual expression as a work of art* [present author’s bold italics].” As we recall, Ferris also related Ruskin’s idea of permanence to Doulton. Therefore, Sparkes had been successful in infusing Ruskinian theory. The molders and decorators at Doulton incorporated Ruskin’s ideas of a permanence greater than the Pyramids and great art that does not repeat itself.⁴¹

Of Doulton’s many works of art displayed at the Exhibition, there are three bodies of work that were discussed most frequently in literature on the Centennial: a fireplace with glazed tiles, vases with incised images of animals by Hannah Barlow, and a terracotta pulpit by George Tinworth, which drew much attention. These pieces best illustrated that the decorators at Doulton were creating works of art.

⁴⁰ Charles Wyllys Elliott’s quotation comes from Pottery and Porcelain, From Early Times Down to the Philadelphia Exhibition of 1876 (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1878) 77-79.

The author of the present thesis is still assessing a primary source on Sir Henry Doulton by Edmund Gosse. The editor, Desmond Eyles, concedes that this text has been changed since Edmund Gosse finished it, but the text does serve as a document from the period, written by a friend of Henry Doulton. Importantly, Gosse proposed that Henry Doulton was quite familiar with John Ruskin’s books, especially The Seven Lamps, The Stones of Venice, and Modern Painters. Gosse claimed that Doulton began studying Ruskin about 1861, and that Ruskin was later familiar with the Art Pottery and its ceramicists. According to Gosse, Ruskin was particularly fond of George Tinworth and Hannah Barlow. For all of the passages on Ruskin, see Sir Henry Doulton: The Man of Business as a Man of Imagination, Desmond Eyles, ed. (London: Hutchinson & Co. in association with Desmond Eyles, 1970) 57, 72, 85, 200.

⁴¹ George Ferris, Gems of the Centennial, 22.

As to the fireplace (one of three that Doulton displayed) it had nine glazed tile panels and it was mentioned at least four times in reviews of the Centennial Exhibition (see Fig. 11). The New York Tribune describes this fireplace as, “[A fireplace] in dark oak, the woodwork being little more than a great frame for the exhibition of a set of Shakespearean tile-paintings, Touchstone and Audrey on opposite sides of the fire, and seven scenes from the Midsummer Night’s Dream overhead.” Here Doulton showed the scope of their achievement in the ceramic arts. Not only did Doulton have pottery pieces, but they showing the public how these pieces could also embellish household interiors with art (an essential theme in the Aesthetic Movement and later Arts and Crafts Movement). This fireplace also showcased both of the Ruskinian traits that characterize Doulton. Art tile made it readily possible to have colorful works of art on the fireplace. Additionally, no two of the tiles are the same, which elevates each piece as a unique work of art.⁴²

For the second feature of the Doulton display, we must look at the collection of work by Hannah Barlow (see Fig. 12). Barlow, one of Doulton’s most famous ceramic decorators, designed and executed pieces that appeared at the Centennial Exhibition. Barlow was one of John C.L. Sparkes’s students, and therefore she may have been exposed to Ruskinian ideas. Her work (and that of her sister, Florence) is characterized by sgraffito or incised decoration of nature subjects, above all animals, and certainly seems to align with Ruskin. Barlow’s incised

⁴² For New York Tribune description of the fireplace, see “The British Section, Ceramics – Art-Furniture,” May 13, 1876. For more discussion of the fireplace with Shakespearean tiles see, Jennie Young, The Ceramic Art, 372; George Ferris, Gems of the Centennial, 23; J.S. Ingram, The Centennial Exposition Described and Illustrated, 408.

Doulton’s role as a producer of art tile has not been fully investigated by Doulton scholars. For some additional information on Doulton’s Art Tile production see, Paul Atterbury and Louise Irvine, The Doulton Story, 65-75; Desmond Eyles, The Doulton Lambeth Wares (London: Hutchinson & Co., 1975) 52-53.

Minton’s tiles are the best known examples of art tile in Great Britain. For more information on art tile at Minton, see Hans van Lemmen and others, Minton Tiles, 1835-1935, D.S. Skinner and Hans van Lemmen, eds. (Stoke-on-Trent: City Museum and Art Gallery, 1984).

Following the Centennial Exhibition, American ceramic decorators also started to experiment with art tile. For more information on Art Tile in America, see Norman Karlson, American Art Tile, 1876-1941 (New York: Michael Friedman Publishing Group, in association with Rizzoli International Publications, 1998).

decoration was foundational to Doulton's practice of experimenting with surface treatment (both incised and relief decoration). (As a lover of animals, Barlow was known for carrying frogs and mice in her pockets.) Charles Wyllys Elliott, a prominent art critic, wrote, "the designs of the Misses Barlow –animals and flower pieces –have great spirit and merit. They are etched in the soft clay and then colored and fired." Barlow should be remembered as an artist, because she made major contributions to ceramic decoration and each of her pieces was an original conception.⁴³

Barlow also did not go unnoticed by two figures from Cincinnati, M. Louise McLaughlin and Laura Fry. (McLaughlin, a nationally important figure in elevating pottery to the rank of fine art, is crucial to the story of the Rookwood Pottery in Chapter 4.) In 1880 McLaughlin wrote Pottery Decoration Under the Glaze, an invaluable text that was used as a guide by potters in the period. Each Chapter gives instructions for a different method of decoration, and for each McLaughlin gave the name of an artist to reference. For "Incising and Carving in Clay," McLaughlin states, "that of Miss Hannah Barlow will be remembered as an instance of incised work, in black lines, upon a red or light brown body." No other ceramic decorator is mentioned because Barlow was the exemplar example of this form of decoration. Laura Fry, one of Rookwood's most innovative decorators, emulated Barlow's incised decoration on at least two

⁴³ The quotation comes from Charles Wyllys Elliott, "Pottery at the Centennial," 571. Critics often mentioned Hannah Barlow's work at the Centennial. For the quotation known to this date, see Appendix F.

For a biography of Hannah Barlow, see Julie McKeown, "Barlow, Hannah Bolton (1851-1916)," in Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, online ed., Lawrence Goldman, ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, doi: 10.1093/ref:odnb/50578). See also Appendix F for a list of quotation in which Barlow's work is mentioned.

According to Edmund Gosse, John Ruskin was familiar with Hannah Barlow's work. Gosse stated, "...Mr. Ruskin came down to Lambeth—very dubious, a little inclined to petulance, more than half-disposed to curse the whole movement. He remained to bless it in no measured terms. It is remembered that when Henry Doulton, after one of these visits of Mr. Ruskin's, asked him to accept whichever piece of Doulton Ware had pleased him most, the great critic, after much reflection, said, 'I will have, please, the jug with all the little piggies scurrying round under the handle.' This, it is almost needless to say, was one of Miss Hannah Barlow's animal pieces." From Sir Henry Doulton, 85.

pieces (see Fig. 13). Both pieces, in the shape of pitchers, feature a scene with ducks, which is also consistent with Barlow's work.⁴⁴

George Tinworth, the other famous Doulton decorator, was also a student of Sparkes. Tinworth should be remembered, first and foremost, as a ceramic modeler. For the Centennial Exhibition, Tinworth executed a terra-cotta pulpit with panels portraying religious scenes in high relief (see Fig. 14). George Ferris commented that, "the terra-cotta pulpit on exhibition at Philadelphia, which, it may be remarked, was entered under [Tinworth's] name, and not that of Doulton, was undoubtedly one of the most striking and interesting art-objects to be seen at the great fair. This work, adorned with Scriptural panels and plaques, would have charmed the eyes of Albrecht Dürer for its boldness and beauty." There are two important points to take away from Ferris's quotation: first that this is an art-object, and second that Tinworth entered the piece under his name, claiming it as his work. (It was novel at the time to sign a ceramic piece the way that an artist would sign a work on canvas.) The pulpit drew much attention and it was mentioned in several books and articles on the Centennial. Tinworth gained much admiration at the Centennial for his work. Ferris states, "[Tinworth] has found in his peculiar work an opportunity for an unfettered development of his genius, and extorted the unqualified admiration even of the cynical John Ruskin." Thus we have come full circle. Tinworth's work represents a high level of art executed in the most permanent of art forms, which was admired and supported

⁴⁴ For McLaughlin's quotation, see *Pottery Decoration Under the Glaze* (Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co., 1880). Carol Macht was the first to recognize the connection between Laura Fry's work and Hannah Barlow of Doulton. See Carol Macht, "Introduction," *The Ladies, God Bless 'Em: The Women's Art Movement in Cincinnati in the Nineteenth Century*, Cincinnati Art Museum, February 19-April 18, 1976, exhibition book (Cincinnati: Cincinnati Art Museum, 1976) 10-11.

by John Ruskin, the man who, this thesis argues, initiated the reform of the Art Pottery movement in the English speaking world.⁴⁵

Haviland & Co., of Limoges

Haviland was the other leader in Art Pottery that presented high-quality wares at the Centennial Exhibition. In fact, its displays were only separated by a walkway from the displays of Doulton. John McCabe, author of a widely distributed book on the Centennial, writes, “the porcelains [from Haviland] are arranged along the central transept, and face the English display in friendly defiance, being separated from it only by the broad walk. In this department France is absolutely peerless among the nations of Europe, and the rare beauty and extent of her display will delight all lovers of beautiful objects.”⁴⁶

The history of Haviland and the work of Félix Bracquemond, Haviland’s top decorator, were detailed in Chapter 1. The present section will first discuss Haviland’s display at the Centennial Exhibition. Second, we will examine two of Bracquemond’s pieces, the Service Parisien and Water and Fire, that were exhibited at the Centennial. As we recall, these pieces were introduced in Chapter 1. The purpose of this section is to examine how Bracquemond’s work was received, and how it fits with the Ruskinian ideas that were filtering through the exhibition.

⁴⁵ For Ferris’s quotations see, Gems of the Centennial, 22. For more discussion of Tinworth’s pulpit, see “The British Section,” New York Tribune, May 13, 1876; Edward Bruce, The Century: Its Fruits and Its Festivals, 245. In addition to Ferris’s quotation, Desmond Eyles says that Ruskin had an interest in George Tinworth. See The Doulton Lambeth Wares, 90.

For more information on George Tinworth see R.P. Bedford, “Tinworth, George (1843-1913),” in Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, online ed., Lawrence Goldman, ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, doi: 10.1093/ref:odnb/36525). See also, Paul Atterbury and Louise Irvine, The Doulton Story, 18-19.

For John Ruskin’s discussion of Tinworth’s work at the Royal Academy, see Notes on Some of the Principal Pictures Exhibited in the Rooms of the Royal Academy, 1875, 4th ed. (Kent: George Allen, 1875) 14-15.

⁴⁶ For McCabe’s quotation, see James McCabe, The Illustrated History of the Centennial Exhibition, 381.

There are two books on the Centennial Exhibition published a floor plan, which illustrates where each country had displays inside the Main Building. See Thompson Westcott, Centennial Portfolio: A Souvenir of the International Exhibition at Philadelphia, Comprising Lithographic Views of Fifty of its Principal Buildings, with Letter-Press Descriptions (Philadelphia: Thomas Hunter, 1876) 2. Visitors’ Guide to the Centennial Exhibition and Philadelphia: May 10th to November 10th, 1876 (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott & Co. in association with the Centennial Guide Book Company, 1876).

Haviland & Co. had a striking display at the Centennial, comprised of 567 pieces (see Fig. 15). Among these pieces, Haviland brought examples of their decorated porcelain services as well as a sampling of their innovative works in Art Pottery. Larry Simms, a Haviland scholar, has done extensive research on Haviland at the Centennial and his work has shed light on the tremendous variety of production at Haviland. Using recently discovered documents, the “Certificat d’admission,” “Claimants for Damages,” and “Owner’s Oath,” Simms has pieced together and clarified the contents of the Haviland display. Most importantly, Simms reveals that some of Haviland’s wares were categorized as “oeuvres d’art,” artwork, while others were equivalent to commercial goods. The most conspicuous of these artworks is Bracquemond’s tile mural, called Water and Fire.⁴⁷

The most significant of the Haviland designers, in terms of impact on future Art Pottery production, was Félix Bracquemond. As we recall from Chapter 1, Bracquemond sought to elevate the decorative arts to the level of fine art. He achieved this by putting paintings on pottery. This concept goes hand in hand with Ruskin’s idea of the permanence of ceramic art. (It remains a question if Bracquemond was aware of Ruskin.) What better media to elevate to the level of the fine arts than the most imperishable, the one “more permanent than the Pyramids?”

Two of Bracquemond’s pieces displayed at the Centennial were particularly successful in blending the arts in Ruskin’s permanent medium, and some who visited the Haviland display noticed. We will examine these two pieces more closely. The first, the Service Parisien, was discussed in Chapter 1 (see Fig. 5). This Japanesque service received much attention, and an image of “L’Orage”, the thunderstorm plate, was illustrated at least three times after the

⁴⁷ Larry Simms research on the objects at Haviland’s display is unrivalled. For the full article, see “Haviland and Company at the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition of 1876,” in American Ceramic Circle Journal 17 (2013): 149-179.

Exhibition. The second Bracquemond work is the tile mural, Water and Fire. As we recall, the Havilands recognized this mural as a work of art, and we will soon see that critics and historians agreed.

The Service Parisien was art composed on a functional object. These twelve unique designs were meant as a dinner set. Therefore, Bracquemond's Service Parisien showed visitors to the Centennial Exhibition that domestic items could be fine art. An anonymous author for Harper's Weekly states, "by [Bracquemond] are twelve plates, with pictures of "Morning," "Night," "a Thunderstorm," etc., painted with great delicacy and originality." For those familiar with Ruskin's Lectures on Art, the Service Parisien would have been recognized as an illustration of Ruskinian ideas, just as we saw previously at Doulton. The most obvious connection to Ruskin is that no two plates are alike. Each plate in the Service Parisien was treated as a unique work of art, thus fulfilling Ruskin's vision.⁴⁸

Bracquemond's Service Parisien was featured prominently at Haviland's display. There are three known instances in which Bracquemond's plate "L'Orage" from the Service Parisien was illustrated in America after the Centennial Exhibition. An image of "L'Orage" was first reproduced in Jennie Young's Chapter, "Ceramic Art at the Centennial," which is part of Edward Bruce's significant 1877 publication on the Exhibition called The Century: Its Fruits and Its Festival. "L'Orage" appeared a second time a year later in Young's 1878 publication, The Ceramic Arts (see Fig. 16). We see an image of "L'Orage" a third time in an etching executed in 1885 by M. Louise McLaughlin, whom we met earlier in the discussion of Hannah Barlow (see

⁴⁸ The quotation comes from "The Centennial." In Harper's Weekly 20, 1039 (November 25, 1876): 949-950. See Appendix A for a list of quotations by critics on the Service Parisien at the Centennial Exhibition.

Fig. 17). (This connection between Bracquemond's "L'Orage" and M. Louise McLaughlin is important to the discussion in Chapter 4.)⁴⁹

Bracquemond showed several innovative pieces at the Centennial Exhibition; however, Water and Fire best illustrated both Bracquemond's desire to blend the arts as well as Ruskin's idea of permanence (see Fig. 6). Jennie Young showed particular interest in the mural, because she discussed it in two publications. In her chapter "Ceramic Art at the Centennial" she states, "[the mural] offers us much, but it promises more. Nowhere else do we find the same flesh tint or an equal combination of correct drawing and happily-blended colors. ... We are not won by its beauty, but we cannot resist the appeal it makes to the artistic sense." Even though Young hinted that this mural could be improved, she certainly agrees that it should be seen as a work of art and that it represents an exciting innovation in the ceramic arts.⁵⁰

Water and Fire is also the only ceramic artwork that Jennie Young compares to John Ruskin's idea on permanence. Young states, "As [the mural] is more closely studied, its true place in art is better understood, and we ultimately accept the piece as an indication of the possibilities of M. Bracquemond's art. We feel that another stage has been passed on the way toward the perfect union of the potter's [architectural aspects] and painter's [graphic aspects] skill, and toward the picture "permanent as the Pyramids" of which Ruskin writes." As we saw earlier, Young not only agrees with the Ruskinian principle of permanence, but she uses Ruskin's quotation to prove that ceramic art is the highest form of all the arts. Therefore, Bracquemond's mural is important as a successful portrayal of the blending of the arts and

⁴⁹ To see the illustration of "L'Orage", see Jennie Young, The Ceramic Art, 321; Jennie Young, "Ceramic Art at the Exhibition," in The Century: Its Fruits and its Festival, 243.

⁵⁰ Jennie Young first describes the tile mural in her Chapter, "Ceramic Art at the Exhibition," in The Century: Its Fruits and Its Festivals, 248. Young sees the potential in the mural but some critics were not impressed. For instance a critic from The American Architect and Building News stated that, "[we] sincerely hope that for the credit of art such effects [barbotine] will never be repeated." This quotation was included in Susan Myers, "Much That is Suggestive: Ceramic Tiles at the Centennial Exhibition," 4.

Ruskin's idea. In Jennie Young's opinion, it signifies the shift toward the ceramic arts being the highest form of art.⁵¹

4. American Ceramics at the Centennial and the rise of the Aesthetic Movement

At the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition of 1876 it became apparent that it would take a remarkable feat for the United States to compete with the Art Pottery of Great Britain and France. The only American Art Pottery founded prior to the Centennial Exhibiton was Chelsea Keramic Art Works in Boston. Starting in 1872, Chelsea Keramic was committed to creating ceramic pieces of which no two were the same, perhaps in response to Ruskin's Lectures on Art (1870). At the Centennial, however, the United States displayed crude utilitarian white wares that were far from being considered art-objects.⁵²

The United States displayed ceramics that in no way compared to the highly refined Art Pottery of Doulton and Haviland. The writer for Contributions to the Centennial recalled, "naturally the American section [of ceramics]...presented in the myriad of cases, nothing, or but little, specifically attractive from an art point of view." Charles Wyllys Elliott, the art critic, agreed that Americans had little to be proud of in the ceramic arts. From Elliott's description of the American display of ceramics, we can ascertain that these wares were not meant as art. Rather Americans had not yet progressed past the production of purely utilitarian wares. Elliott states, "Some twenty firms, mostly from Trenton, are collected in the southeast corner of the Main Building, where they make a creditable display of what is known as the "white granite" ware, so useful and so detestable; thick, that it may resist the hostility of the Milesian maiden,

⁵¹ For Jennie Young's discussion of the tile mural, see The Ceramic Art, 295.

⁵² For the most current information on Chelsea Keramic and the developments of Art Pottery in Boston, see Amy Griffin, "From Red Figure to Grueby Green: the Development of Boston Art Pottery, 1870-1919" (paper presented at the 21st Annual VCU Symposium on Architectural History and the Decorative Arts, Richmond, VA, November 15, 2014).

clumsy because of that, without color or decoration of any kind, and cheap....” These quotations leave no room for doubt: the American ceramics were not considered art.⁵³

Following the Centennial Exhibition, there was an increased interest in Art Pottery production in the United States (which will we will in Chapter 3 and 4). This interest in Art Pottery, however, was not solely due to a desire to rival the pottery of Britain and France. More generally, the Centennial Exhibition had introduced Americans to the British artistic awakening, known as the Aesthetic Movement, which is the first phrase of the Arts and Crafts Movement. Marion John Nelson defines the Aesthetic Movement as “an attempt to counteract the materialism of the time with a new emphasis on art.” To achieve this, artists took products that had largely been industrially manufactured and treated them as art. Thus, the Aesthetic and Arts and Crafts Movements were predominantly a decorative arts movement, focusing on furniture, glass, wallpaper, carpet, and ceramics. The intention was that more people would have access to these art objects for their home, and thus would have greater exposure to good taste and fine art.⁵⁴

⁵³ The allusion to Milesian maiden remains elusive.

The quotations on the American ceramics, see Contributions to the International Exhibition at Philadelphia, 1876, 49; Charles Wyllys Elliott, “Pottery at the Centennial,” 577. For more information on the American ceramics at the Centennial, see especially Charles Wyllys Elliott, Pottery and Porcelain: From Early Times Down to the Philadelphia Exhibition of 1876 (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1878) 334-342; Jennie Young, The Ceramic Art, 442-481. See also, Edwin AtLee Barber, The Pottery and Porcelain of the United States (New York: G.P.Putnam’s Sons, 1893. Rev. ed., 1901).

⁵⁴ This line of thought that the Centennial Exhibition was the event that introduced Americans to the British Aesthetic Movement descends from Robert Judson Clark and others, The Arts and Crafts Movement in America: 1876-1916, Robert Judson Clark, ed. (Princeton: Trustees of Princeton University in association with Princeton University Press, 1972). Marion John Nelson gives the best definition of the Aesthetic and Arts and Crafts Movement and how it applies to Art Pottery in Art Pottery of the Midwest, exhibition catalogue (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota and the author in association with the University Art Museum, 1988) 1-2.

In addition to Robert Judson Clark and Marion John Nelson, the following sources on the general history of American Art Pottery, Cooper-Hewitt Museum, American Art Pottery (Seattle: Smithsonian Institute, in association with University of Washington Press, 1987); Alice Cooney Frelinghuysen, “Aesthetic Forms in Ceramics and Glass,” in In Pursuit of Beauty: Americans and the Aesthetic Movement (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, in association with Rizzoli International Publications, 1986) 198-235; Paul Evans, Art Pottery of the United States: An Encyclopedia of Producers and Their Marks (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1974); Edwin AtLee Barber, The Pottery and Porcelain of the United States (New York: G.P.Putnam’s Sons, 1893. Rev. ed., 1901).

Art Pottery, primarily a decoration for the home, played a major part in achieving this artistic awakening first in Britain and later in the United States. As the Aesthetic Movement and later the Arts and Crafts Movement took hold in the United States, American potters looked to the precedent set by Doulton and Haviland. As we will see in Chapter 3 and 4, American potters successfully went from the detestable white granite wares shown at the Centennial Exhibition to ceramic art that “placed a new emphasis on art” in the Aesthetic Movement.

This Chapter has shown that John Ruskin’s principle that pottery is “more permanent than the Pyramids” had a tremendous impact on Art Pottery production. Moreover, the 1876 Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition was the turning point in American Art Pottery production. It was here that Americans saw Ruskin’s principles put into practice. First, we saw Doulton’s impressive display of art wares. Doulton excelled at making no two pieces the same, a tenet of Ruskin’s work. Second, we saw Bracquemond’s work at the Haviland display. It is important to remember that it was Bracquemond’s Water and Fire that Jennie Young praised for being an embodiment of Ruskin’s principle of permanence. The American displays were far from rivaling Great Britain and France, but we will see that American potters were quick to apply what they had learned from Doulton and Haviland at the Centennial Exhibition.

Chapter 3
“Félix Bracquemond and the Haviland-Hayes Service (1879-1880)”

“In the children of noble races, trained by surrounding art, and at the same time in the practice of good deeds, there is an intense delight in the landscape of their country as memorial; a sense not taught to them, not teachable to any others; but, in them, innate; and the seal and reward of persistence in great national life....”
-- John Ruskin, Lectures on Art, 1870

The Haviland-Hayes Service, designed by Theodore Davis (1840-1894), is one of the most conspicuous examples of American Aesthetic Movement ceramics. It was conceived in 1879 and the production of the Presidential set was completed in 1880. At first glance the service appears to be a disjointed collection of dishes with depictions of American flora and fauna. Davis, however, was looking to nineteenth-century artistic theory and his work is indebted to the developments at Haviland, specifically Félix Bracquemond. This chapter will explore two aspects of Davis’s design for the Haviland-Hayes service.

First, this Chapter argues that Davis’s design for the Haviland-Hayes Service puts John Ruskin’s theories on art into practice. The Haviland-Hayes Service is the earliest nationally discussed example of Aesthetic movement tableware in America and it foreshadows the future Art Pottery production in the United States. (Chapter 4 will show how Ruskin’s principles were fully realized in the pottery production at the supreme American Art Pottery, Rookwood.)

Second, Davis had never designed decoration for ceramic, so he would have needed examples to guide his planning. This section will argue that Davis was inspired by the work of Bracquemond who had previously shown his tablewares at the 1876 Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition. (See Appendix H for a catalogue of pieces from the Haviland-Hayes Service).

1. Theodore Davis and His Design

Theodore Davis first trained with Henry W. Herrick in the early 1850s and then he studied with James Walker at Rittenhouse Academy in Washington, D.C., in 1856. Davis worked for the journal Harper's Weekly as an illustrator from 1861 to 1894. His career began as a Civil War artist-illustrator, and he witnessed the battle of the Monitor and the Merrimac as well as the Battles of Shiloh and Antietam. Davis attended the 1876 Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition on behalf of Harper's Monthly magazine to record sights from the exhibition (see Fig. 18-20). Several of his illustrations, including an aerial view of the entire exhibition site, can be found at the Free Library of Philadelphia. Davis spent a great deal of time at the Exhibition planning his illustrations for the magazine. According to an article in Ladies Home Journal, Davis met Theodore Haviland, one of the business directors of Haviland, at the Exhibition. We can deduce that he also visited the conspicuous Haviland and Co. of Limoges display where Bracquemond's work was shown in the main exhibition building.⁵⁵

⁵⁵ Oxford Art Online omits Theodore R. Davis, for biographical information on Theodore Davis see Peter Hastings Falk, ed., Who was Who in American Art, 1564-1975: 400 Years of Artists in America, Vol. 1, (Madison, CT: Sound View Press, 1999). See also Emmanuel Benezit, Dictionary of Artists, English edition edited by Christopher John Murray (Paris: Gründ, 2006) 504; Bob Creps, Biographical Encyclopedia of American Painters, Sculptors & Engravers of the U.S., Colonial to 2002, Vol. 1, Howard Creps and others, ed. (Land O'Lakes, FL: Dealer's Choice Books, 2002) 340; Christine Rohrschneider, "Theodore Davis," Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon: die Bildenden Künstler aller Zelten und Völker, Vol. 24 (München: K.G. Saur, 1992) 526; George Groce and David Wallace, The New-York Historical Society's Dictionary of Artists in America 1564-1860, 1957 (Reprint, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1975) 168.

Theodore Davis's illustrations and a description of Bracquemond's tableware appear in the same issue of Harper's Weekly. See "The Centennial," in Harper's Weekly 20,1039 (November 25, 1876): 949-950. (ALSO ATTACH IMAGES FROM FILES) See Free Library of Philadelphia, "The Centennial Exhibition: Philadelphia," on Centennial Exhibition Digital Collection, accessed 10 January 2014, <http://libwww.library.phila.gov/cencol/f> for more images from the exhibition.

It is by sheer coincidence that Davis designed the Presidential service. Haviland was already contracted with the White House to produce a service that would have simply been tableware, like all preceding Presidential tablewares such as the Lincoln service ordered from Haviland & Co. and the Grant service also ordered from Haviland & Co (See Fig. 21-22). For the Hayeses, Haviland had proposed a variation on one of their standard designs, and some of Haviland's decorators, such as Bracquemond, Pallandre, and Lyssac, were already assigned to work on parts of the project.⁵⁶

Davis's 1879 visit to the White House changed the conception from a conventional one to that of major/enduring work of art. Davis came to the White House to do an illustration of the President and his Cabinet for Harper's Monthly. During this visit he met Lucy Hayes in the conservatory as she was picking ferns to be used in the design of the dessert plates. One would love to know about the conversation that led to an immediate change of mind and an astonishing conception. Davis briefly recounts his first meeting with Mrs. Hayes in 1889 article in The Ladies Home Journal.

I expressed regret that we might not then, (although we could to-day) make the porcelain set in America. The decorative features of the set might be drawn from our flora and fauna ...Mrs. Hayes conceded the point, as well taken – the fern photograph was not made – and before our negative of the Cabinet meeting was secured, at the President's wife's dictation, Col. Casey, U.S.A. Superintendent of Grounds and Buildings, wrote a letter to Haviland & Co. requesting cancellation of the first contract....

⁵⁶ Margaret Klapthor, scholar of White House china, is the first to include details from the first contract with Haviland. See Official White House China, 1789 to the Present, 2nd ed. (New York: The Barra Foundation in association with Harry N. Abrams, 1999) 102-104.

Robert Doares, a Museum Educator at Colonial Williamsburg, has spent over twenty years unraveling the mysteries of the Haviland-Hayes Service. He has done research in the Haviland archive and Haviland factory archive. Doares is the first to find Haviland's watercolor studies of the original proposal for the state dinner service. Doares discovered that they planned to use a version of their standard Persian border repeated in various colors. This information comes from Doare's lecture, "New Light on the President Hayes White House Dinner Service," lecture at Maymont Mansion, Richmond, VA, March 17, 2015.

Even though Davis was not experienced in ceramic decoration, Mrs. Hayes thought it was advantageous to have an American decorator for the project since the service would be produced in France. Additionally Davis was also a natural fit for the project, because he already knew Theodore Haviland from his time at the Centennial Exhibition.⁵⁷

The Presidential service was completed in 1880. Part of the set was shipped in June and the rest followed in December (see Appendix G). It consisted of 720 pieces with 130 unique designs. Davis was also responsible for the unique ceramic forms for each course, including soup, fish, game, dinner, and fruit. The service was costly to produce and, due to the contractual agreement with the White House, Haviland lost money in the attempt to complete Davis's design. In an effort to regain some of their loses, Haviland produced about twenty-five duplicate sets of the Hayes service. The more elaborate pieces, such as the snowshoe dessert plates and butter pats, were not included in the duplicate sets. According to a newspaper article, eleven of these sets came to the United States to be sold. A complete set was valued at \$1,200. One of the duplicate sets belonged to the Honorable J.A. Chapleau, the lieutenant governor of the Province of Quebec. Robert Doares, leading Haviland scholar, traced this set to the Museum of Civilization in Quebec. The largest duplicate set in the United States can be found at Maymont Mansion in Richmond.⁵⁸

⁵⁷ For Theodore Davis quotation and account of his meeting with Lucy Hayes, see "The White House Porcelain Service for State Dinners," in Ladies Home Journal VI, 8 (July 1889): 4. See also Margaret Brown Klaphor, Official White House China, 104-105.

⁵⁸ Margaret Brown Klaphor, Official White House China, 102-121, is the most recent and most comprehensive source on the history and production of the Haviland-Hayes Service. See also Susan Detweiler, American Presidential China: The Robert L. McNeil Jr., Collection at the Philadelphia Museum of Art, (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, in association with Yale University Press, 2008) 14-16; 61-68. Susan Detweiler, American Presidential China, Exhibition book, (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1975) 57-59; Marian Klamkin, White House China (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1972) 82-89. See also "The Story of a Dinner Set: American Rivalling French Art," New York Tribune, August 1, 1879. which mentions the eight duplicate services to be sold in the United States, and the additional seventeen would be sold in Europe. See Appendix G for a table with the various orders from the White House. See Appendix H for a catalogue of the pieces in the Haviland-Hayes Service.

The reference to the Canadian duplicate service is in Margaret Klaphor, Official White House China, 118. Bob Doares described his finding on the Canadian service in "New Light on the President Hayes White House Dinner Service," lecture at Maymont Mansion, Richmond, VA, March 17, 2015.

One of the extraordinary things about the service is that Haviland prepared an eighty-eight page pamphlet on it prepared in consultation with three scientists from the Smithsonian Institute. This pamphlet, The White House Porcelain Service: Designs by an American Artist, Illustrating Exclusively American Fauna and Flora, was included with the service when it was delivered to the White House. Here Theodore Davis explained the animals, the plants, the landscape settings that often appear, and sometimes historical events depicted in these landscapes. Without the pamphlet, it is impossible to fully comprehend the complexity of Davis's design. For instance a critic, possibly Clarence Cook, wrote that, "The leaf of the wild apple is said to be the model of the plate for fruit, but nobody would guess it, and the shape is certainly not an agreeable one to the eye."⁵⁹

Davis also reveals the production method for the service. He made watercolor studies of the intended subject matter at his studio in New Jersey. Then Bracquemond made an etching of the watercolor that would be used to transfer the image to the ceramic body. Finally the pieces were painted and the gilt was applied. Due to this production technique and the significant amount of painting, no two pieces in the Haviland-Hayes service are exactly the same. Davis explains in the introduction of the pamphlet that the service should be enjoyed in its entirety. He states, "for some of these plates, when examined singly, lose a part of their attractiveness, but the same plates, when placed upon the table, will not seem inferior to others." This service was meant first and foremost to be a work of art and it was intended for display in the dining room.⁶⁰

⁵⁹ For Davis's description of all of his American designs see, The White House Porcelain Service: Designs by an American Artist Illustrating Exclusively American Fauna and Flora (New York: Haviland & Co., 1879) reproduced photographically in Margaret Klapthor, Official White House China, 201-288. For the quotation, see "The White House Porcelain Service," New York Tribune, November 6, 1880.

⁶⁰ For description of the production technique see, Theodore Davis, The White House Porcelain Service, 3-5. Scholars previously believed that Davis's watercolor studies had been destroyed. Robert Doares, Haviland scholar, has found surviving watercolor studies at the Haviland & Co. archives and at the Haviland & Co. factory archives. This discovery gives us the ability to see Davis's mind at work as he planned the Haviland-Hayes Service. Doares presented his findings in "New Light on the President Hayes White House Dinner Service," lecture, March 17, 2015.

There were opposing views on the success of the Haviland-Hayes Service. For Mrs. Hayes the service was art, not just expensive house wares. In an 1880 letter to Davis, Mrs. Hayes thanks him for his dedication to the project and for the beautiful service. She wrote, “The exquisite dinner service executed by Haviland & Co. from original designs by you is universally admired by all competent judges of works of art who have seen it ...I congratulate you in the accomplishment of the task which [has] added fresh laurels to American art.” To properly showcase the new Presidential service, Mrs. Hayes commissioned a sideboard and dining table, which can be identified by its legs that are in the shape of American eagles (see Fig. 23). Art Carvers of Cincinnati, William, Henry, and Laura Fry designed and executed the pieces. (Woodcarving in Cincinnati was a prelude to the work of Rookwood). It has been cited in Davis’s 1889 article in *Ladies Home Journal* that President Chester Arthur also enjoyed the service and frequently used it. Davis says, “President Arthur, to use the homely phrase of an habitual to the White House, kept the dust off the set –which he used not only on State occasions, but frequently for his personal table. ...many pieces specially admired by him were, during the summer removed to decorate the dining room of the Soldier’s Home [Presidential retreat, Washington D.C.]” Mrs. Hayes’s sideboard was removed from the White House, so Arthur had the dining table with the eagle legs cut up to be made into a buffet, now untraced, to better display the Hayes service in the White House (see Fig. 24).⁶¹

⁶¹ Margaret Klapthor has transcribed Mrs. Hayes’s letter to Theodore Davis in *Official White House China*, 120. For the facsimile of the original, see Theodore Davis, *The White House Porcelain Service*, 88.

The description of Mrs. Hayes’s table and sideboard are found in *New York Tribune*, September 24, 1880: “Mrs. Hayes has ordered a beautiful extension table and sideboard for the White House, which, with the new dinner set, will brighten the life of her successor. Both are of beautifully carved mahogany. The legs of the table are bodies of eagles conventionalized.”

According to Jennifer Howe, the Cincinnati Carvers, William, Henry, and Laura Fry, executed the table and sideboard for the Hayeses. They completed the piece from June 1880 to November 1880 and were paid \$1,000 for the project. The Hayeses would later commission the Cincinnati carvers to complete a portrait frame and a bedframe. See Jennifer Howe, “‘Love, labour, and enjoyment should be common to all:’ Henry and William Fry in England and America,” in *Cincinnati Art-Carved Furniture and Interiors*, Jennifer Howe, ed. (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, in association with Cincinnati Art Museum, 2003) 43-46, 57. The first article to name the Cincinnati Carvers as the designers for the Hayes pieces was Theodore Davis, “The White House Porcelain Service for State Dinners,” in *Ladies Home Journal*, 4.

There were, however, other opinions on the Haviland-Hayes Service. For instance one critic for the New York Tribune, believed to be Clarence Cook, wrote a particularly negative review for the service. The critic disagreed that Davis depicted exclusively American flora and fauna. Instead, the critic asserts that a few of the species are native to Europe and Asia. The critic also explained that the treatment of the decoration is not American, but rather Japanese, as handled in a characteristically French fashion. In general, this critic was concerned for the future of American ceramic art.⁶²

2. John Ruskin and the Haviland-Hayes Service

As previously stated, the work of John Ruskin, especially Lectures on Art (1870), should be seen as pivotal in the rise of Art Pottery production. Three key issues come into play with the Haviland-Hayes Service. First, one can argue that the Haviland-Hayes Service represented Ruskin's idea of permanence. It was a service created for the chief executive to use in perpetuity. Second, Ruskin advocated that good art did not repeat itself just as nature does not repeat itself. The Haviland-Hayes Service for the White House consisted of 710 unique paintings on plates. Third, Ruskin argued that art, especially landscape art, could promote national memory. Davis wanted the Haviland-Hayes service to represent America by highlighting the beauty of its landscape, an idea that was circulating among painters of the nineteenth century.

Also see "The White House Porcelain Service for State Dinners," 4, for the quotation on Chester Arthur. See also Susan Detweiler, American Presidential China, exhibition book (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1975) 61.

The original sideboard has been conserved at the Rutherford B. Hayes Presidential Center, see fig. 23, but at this time, the location of the Arthur buffet is unknown.

As to another source of evidence that the service was meant for display, the author hypothesizes that the shape of the plates was better suited for display. All of the dishes are a coup shape, or convex in the center, as apposed to flat. Even the dinner plates, which customarily are flat in the center, are convex. When you hold them up to the light, the curved shape decreases the glare, making the decoration more visible.

⁶² For the negative review of the service, see "The White House Porcelain Service," New York Tribune, November 6, 1880.

Davis could scarcely have been unaware of Ruskin. After the original publication in 1870, New York publisher John Wiley, later J. Wiley and Sons, reprinted Ruskin's Lectures on Art at least six times from 1872 to 1879. Copies of Lectures on Art were widely accessible. In addition to Ruskin's book, Jennie Young is one possible source. Young's book, The Ceramic Art, was meant as a global survey of ceramics and Harper & Brothers published it in 1878. Harper & Brothers was also responsible for Harper's Monthly and Harper's Weekly, two widely distributed publications where Davis often contributed illustrations. Just from the introduction of The Ceramic Art, it is apparent that Jennie Young is an enlightened scholar of the ceramic arts. As we recall, not only does she reprint Ruskin's entire passage on ceramics being "more permanent than the Pyramids," Young clearly explains Ruskin's argument as, "whatever form the art may have assumed, it is, when applied to pottery, practically imperishable...[Ruskin] has in view the culminating point of ceramic art, the apex to which the works of the artists of all time lead up step by step." Young spelled it out: a great work of art applied to ceramics would be the ultimate achievement for artists.⁶³

Theodore Davis would have first experienced Ruskin's idea of permanence made real at the 1876 Centennial Exhibition with the work of Félix Bracquemond. Jennie Young particularly favors Bracquemond's work, and it is she who pins down that Bracquemond's tile mural, Water and Fire embodies Ruskin's principle. As part of an analysis of the mural, Young writes, "we feel that another stage has been passed on the way toward the perfect union of the potter's and painter's skill, and toward the picture "permanent as the Pyramids" of which Ruskin writes." As mentioned earlier, Davis met Theodore Haviland at the Exhibition and he had spent a great deal

⁶³ John Ruskin, Lectures on Art: Delivered Before the University of Oxford in Hilary Term, 1870 (1872; repr., 1874; repr.; 1875; repri.; 1876; repri.; 1878; repri.; 1879; repri., New York: John Wiley, 1870) 132.

For Jennie Young's discussion of John Ruskin, see The Ceramic Art, 33-36. For a list of references to the idea of permanence in Ceramic art literature, see Appendix C.

of time at the event working on illustrations. It would have been impossible for Davis to overlook Bracquemond's mural, the largest piece at the Haviland display.⁶⁴

As to our three Ruskinian issues, first there is permanence. There are two reasons that Davis's design for the Haviland-Hayes Services represented Ruskin's theme of permanence. To begin with, the Haviland-Hayes service was a monumental undertaking that was meant to become a permanent possession of the nation for use and display in the official residence of the most powerful man in America. Earlier Presidential services, such as the Lincoln service and the Grant service, were just tablewares, only separated from any other service by the Presidential seal. In the original White House contract, Haviland & Co. was ready to prepare a conventional service with a standard border for President and Mrs. Hayes. With the addition of Theodore Davis as decorator, however, Haviland embarked on the largest Presidential service ever produced. According to Robert Doares, Davis's design was so complex that Haviland called upon leaders in ceramic decoration to assist with the product. The Haviland-Hayes Service was meant as a carefully composed work of art to be displayed in the dining room of the White House. Unlike the previous Presidential services that were meant for dinner, Davis's Haviland-Hayes service should be seen as a permanent acquisition to the collection of art at the White House.⁶⁵

There is a second indication that Davis regarded this service as a permanent work of art. Davis took a remarkable step (anticipated by Bracquemond on the Service Parisien) in initialing his work. Davis permanently affixes an identifying mark to his work, thus insuring that no one else could claim his works of art. This is an essential part of the Art Pottery movement

⁶⁴ Jennie Young quotation see *The Ceramic Art*, 295.

For more information on Bracquemond's tile mural see Susan Myers, "Much That is Suggestive: Ceramic Tiles at the Centennial Exhibition," 2-15. See also Larry Simms, "Haviland and Company at the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition," 152-153.

⁶⁵ Robert Doares, "New Light on the President Hayes White House Dinner Service," lecture, March 17, 2015.

(anticipated by some work at Doulton and Bracquemond, leading to signed works by firms such as Rookwood). Moreover, Robert Doares was the first to notice that Davis had incorporated additional initials into a number of the designs. For instance on the fish plates called “Spanish Mackerel,” the initials L.W.H. appear alongside the name Carrie written in the sand. L.W.H. stands for Lucy Webb Hayes and Carrie is Carrie Paulding Davis, Theodore Davis’s daughter. Mrs. Hayes was quite fond of Davis’s daughter and referred to Carrie as “her little friend.” By writing their names together in the sand, Davis permanently recorded his daughter’s friendship and his connection to the Presidential family.⁶⁶

Theodore Davis’s designs for the Haviland-Hayes Service relates to a second of John Ruskin’s foundational principles, that “great art does not repeat itself”. This comes from Ruskin’s Chapter “The Nature of Gothic” in The Stones of Venice (1851-53). In “The Nature of Gothic” Ruskin attempted to isolate six characteristic or “moral elements” of Gothic architecture. Changefulness or variety is considered the second most important moral element, and it is in this passage that Ruskin states, “we must no more expect to derive either pleasure or profit from an architecture whose ornaments are of one pattern, and whose pillars are of one proportion, than we should out of a universe in which the clouds were all of one shape, and the trees all of one size.” This principle could be applied to all art media. Jennie Young provides further evidence as to why Ruskin’s theories on architecture would be just as applicable to the ceramic arts. As we recall Young explains, “The ceramic is the union of two branches of art, the architectural and the graphic. It combines form and proportion [architectural aspects] and drawing and color [graphic aspects] ...therefore, it may be said to be the highest form of art.”⁶⁷

⁶⁶ The “Spanish Mackerel” plate can be found in the catalogue of the Haviland-Hayes Service, see Appendix H. Robert Doares explained the initials in “New Light on the President Hayes White House Dinner Service.”

⁶⁷ For Ruskin’s discussion of changefulness, see The Nature of Gothic: A Chapter from the Stones of Venice, edited by William Morris (1892;reprinted, The Aesthetic Movement and the Arts and Crafts Movement, New York: Garland Publishing, 1977) 37-38. For Jennie Young’s discussion of Ruskin and the ceramic arts, see The Ceramic Art, 34.

One of the primary tenets of Art Pottery was that each piece was a fresh conception, making it a work of art rather than a manufactured good. For instance, the ceramic artists at Haviland and Doulton were already pushing the boundaries of the ceramic arts. Therefore, it is no coincidence that Theodore Davis chose to have 130 unique designs for the Haviland-Hayes Service. It was an intentional artistic choice that the pieces did not match. Each piece is really a painting on a plate, elevating the pieces to works of art.⁶⁸

The third instances of the Haviland-Hayes relating to John Ruskin comes from a discussion in Lecture of Art on landscape art. Ruskin believes that representation of landscape embodies a sort of national identity and memory. The epigraph for this chapter, from Ruskin's Lectures on Art, states that "intense delight in the landscape of their country as memorial; a sense not taught to them, not teachable to any others; but, in them, innate; and the seal and reward of persistence in great national life." For Ruskin, landscape and nation are synonymous. He goes on to discuss a print and a drawing by J.M.W. Turner. Both are studies of nearly the same location. Ruskin states that, "[both are] a permanent expression to you of what English landscape was once; – and must, if we are to remain a nation, be again." Therefore, not only does Ruskin see landscape as vital to national identity, he suggests that artists are responsible for making permanent records of the landscape to preserve national memory.⁶⁹

Theodore Davis certainly meant the Haviland-Hayes Service to portray America and to evoke a sense of nationalism. It has long been recognized that Davis's design features American flora and fauna. Scholars, however, have not addressed the fact that about thirty of the pieces are equally important for the depiction of an American landscape sometimes with historical events. Moreover, it is necessary to remember that American landscape painting was one of the

⁶⁸ Appendix H is a catalogue of the Haviland-Hayes Service and shows multiples of the same design to highlight the differences in the painting.

⁶⁹ Ruskin's discussion on landscape comes primarily from Lectures on Art, 22-25.

predominant forms of expression in the nineteenth century, the age of Thomas Cole, Albert Bierstadt, and the Luminists. Elizabeth O’Leary, former associate curator of American Art at the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, states that “dramatic scenery suited prevailing sentiments that images of America’s vast wilderness and natural resources were ideal vehicles for national and religious expression.”⁷⁰

Davis’s designs should be seen as a celebration of the American landscape and American history. Davis includes a variety of settings in his designs. Dinner plates “Bear” and “The Antelope, or Prong-Horn” highlight the mountainous terrain of the American wilderness, while the soup bowls “Crab,” “Green Turtle” and “Southward Flight” give an impression of America’s coastline. Some of the landscapes were meant as a setting to depict American history. For example for a soup bowl called, “American Soup of the XVth Century,” Davis depicts an American Indian building a fire near a waterfall as he sits next to a slain deer. Davis explained in the pamphlet that the dish is equally about American landscape and a history of Native Americans. Robert Doares pointed out that there are even landmarks that are identifiable. On another soup bowl called, “Palmetto Cabbage,” it is possible to make out Fort Sumter off the coast of South Carolina. Both of these bowls suggest the treasures of the American landscape, primarily as a means of permanently recording our national memory. The Native American represents early national memory and the American wilderness before colonial settlement. “Palmetto Cabbage,” conversely, is poignant reference to recent national memory. In 1879 the

⁷⁰ Davis explains in the pamphlet when a scene depicts a historical event. See Theodore Davis, The White House Service. See also Appendix H to see images of the various landscapes that Davis illustrated.

For more information about the tradition of American landscape painting, see Elizabeth O’Leary and others, American Art at the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts (Charlottesville: Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, in association with University of Virginia Press, 2010) 156.

United States, especially the southern states, was still working to recover and rebuild after the Civil War.⁷¹

3. Bracquemond and the Haviland-Hayes Service

This section will argue that Davis was inspired by Bracquemond's innovations in ceramic art. There are three characteristics of the Haviland-Hayes Service that can be tied to Bracquemond's work. First, there is evidence that Davis was looking to examples of Bracquemond's work while he planned the Haviland-Hayes Service. One subject and one decorative treatment will be examined. Second, Davis designs no two pieces alike for his service, a principle that corresponds with the teachings of John Ruskin. Davis, however, could have also been inspired by Bracquemond's Service Parisien that was shown at the Centennial. It too was designed to have no two pieces alike. Third, the Haviland-Hayes Service is proof that Davis was a proponent for the blending of the fine and decorative arts. According to Sonia Coman, a Ph.D. Candidate at Columbia University, Bracquemond had been advocating the blending of the fine and decorative arts since the 1866 Service Rousseau.

There are three reasons that we can be confident that Davis knew Félix Bracquemond's work. Beginning with evidence that was previously discussed, Davis attended the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition and Bracquemond's work was featured prominently at the Haviland display. A second possibility is that Bracquemond's work was mentioned in several newspapers and magazine articles on the Exhibition, including an issue of Harper's Weekly that also featured several of Davis's Centennial illustrations (see Fig. 19). As for a third reason, Robert Doares found letters in the Haviland archives that detail Bracquemond's involvement in the planning and design of the Haviland-Hayes Service. Theodore Davis had no experience in ceramic

⁷¹ To see more landscapes and historical events, see Theodore Davis, The White House Porcelain Service, 8-80. The identification of Fort Sumpter comes from Robert Doares, "New Light on the President Hayes White House Dinner Service."

decorating, which made Bracquemond a valuable resource during the planning process.

(Additionally, a correspondent to the New York Tribune who visited Davis at his studio in Asbury Park remarked that, “over [the artist’s chair] are shelves holding a few pieces of choice Haviland ware.” It is not known which Haviland wares specifically, but very suggestively the wares were situated among Davis’s study pieces for the service, including insects, dried plants, and woven Indian blankets. These were additional models to aide in Davis’s planning for the ceramic decorations.)⁷²

Given Davis had never designed a table service, this section will argue that Davis drew inspiration from precedent set by Bracquemond. There is one subject and one decorative treatment that have been isolated that share similarities with Bracquemond’s work.

For the subject, it is necessary to look closer at a Haviland-Hayes dinner plate called “The Cranes’ Walk ‘Round.” Davis claims that this plate depicts sand-hill cranes of the Western States. The depiction of the cranes, however, is strikingly similar to two plate designs by Bracquemond. The first comes from the Service Parisien of 1876. On the plate called “La Lune,” Bracquemond has included two clusters of cranes walking and looking about (see Appendix B). The second instance comes from Bracquemond’s Le Service Animaux of 1878 (see Fig. 25). One of the plates has a cluster of cranes in the center of the plate. The Service

⁷² For Bracquemond at the Centennial see Larry Simms, “Haviland and Company at the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition of 1876,” in American Ceramic Circle Journal 17 (2013): 149-179; Jennie J. Young, The Ceramic Art, 287-304; Edward Bruce, The Century, 243,246-247; Charles Wyllys Elliott, “Pottery at the Centennial,” 575; New York Tribune, “The World’s Fair.” May 13, 1876.

For the Harper’s Weekly article that features both Davis’s illustrations and a review of Bracquemond’s work, see “The Centennial,” in Harper’s Weekly 20, 1039 (November 25, 1876): 950.

According to Robert Doares, there are letters in the Haviland & Co. archive that indicate that Bracquemond was frequently consulted during the planning and execution of the Haviland-Hayes Service.

In the same article that described Davis’s studio, “The Story of a Dinner Set: American Rivalling French Art,” New York Tribune, August 1, 1876., the author recounts details of an exchange between Davis and Theodore Haviland. The author states, “Haviland was in the country, and offered Mr. Davis every assistance and cooperation, but at first he was disposed to doubt if anyone could surpass his favorite artist, Bracquemond. He brought out an oyster plate, “That.” Said he, “is the best oyster plate that was ever made.” Mr. Davis didn’t like it, and frankly said he thought he could do better. “If you do I will break this plate,” said Theodore Haviland. A few days afterward Mr. Davis showed him the design, and the favorite plate was seized and dashed into a hundred pieces that strewed the warehouse floor.”

Animaux lacks the vibrant colors, but otherwise the composition is remarkably similar to Davis's design.⁷³

The connection to Bracquemond's cranes is also significant because it connects Davis's design to Katsushika Hokusai's Manga. Chapter 1 of this thesis explained that Bracquemond was one of the discoverers of Japanese woodblock prints, especially Hokusai's Manga. Bracquemond first used the Manga on the Service Rousseau in 1866. According to Gabriel Weisberg, Bracquemond continued to pull inspiration from the Manga for the Service Parisien. The cranes seen on "La Lune" from the Service Parisien are one of the subjects that can be traced to the Manga. Accordingly, it can be argued that Davis's "The Cranes' Walk 'Round" links the Haviland-Hayes Service to the tradition of Japonisme.⁷⁴

As for the decorative treatment, all of Davis's landscapes are naturalistic. Although it's not merely that they are naturalistic, some go so far as to display specific and transient weather conditions. Davis carefully portrayed impending storm clouds on "The Antelope, or Prong-Horn" and a snowstorm on "Maple Sugar." These are only two examples of many. Davis obviously wanted to record the American landscape as he had drawn it from life. The antiquarians Tim Sublette and Mark Brown have urged the present writer to argue that the only known precedent for this treatment is Bracquemond's Service Parisien. The most iconic plate of the Service Parisien, "L'Orage," records a thunderstorm with dark clouds, blowing plants, and lightening bolts. Davis could have created fanciful, idealized scenes of the American wilderness,

⁷³ I would like to thank Dale Wheary, Curator and Director of Historical Collections & Programs at Maymont Mansion, for sharing the connection between Davis's "The Cranes' Walk 'Round" and Bracquemond's Le Service Animaux, and for allowing me to study James and Sallie Dooley's reproduction set of the Haviland-Hayes Service.

The author would also like to hypothesize that while Davis did use subjects similar to Bracquemond, Davis did not share the same passion for the animals. As we saw in Chapter 1, Bracquemond had obviously studied these birds and meticulously captured their unique nature in his depictions. Davis's depictions of birds are beautiful, but it does not seem like he has studied their characteristics as closely as Bracquemond.

⁷⁴ See Appendix A for the comparison of "La Lune" and the Manga. See Appendix H for an image of Davis's "The Cranes' Walk 'Round."

but instead he followed Bracquemond's practice of putting faithful depictions of nature on ceramics.

A second characteristic that the Haviland-Hayes Service shares with Bracquemond's work is the idea of creating a set with no two pieces alike. It has been discussed that this practice aligns with Ruskin's theory that "great art does not repeat itself." Davis, however, was not the first to conceive of a set of tableware that does not match. Traditionally services (like a breakfast service or dinner service) were produced to match, and each piece has the same pattern. Bracquemond was first to design a large-scale set where no two pieces were the same with the Service Rousseau in 1866. (At least he was the first designer, since Royal services of the eighteenth century). Each ceramic in the Service Rousseau had a different composition of three images from the Manga. Bracquemond pushed this idea of no two the same even further with the Service Parisien, because each of the twelve designs is vastly different. Thus by 1879, Davis had already been exposed to the idea of intentionally treating each piece as a separate work of art, in essence putting a painting on a plate.⁷⁵

As to a third connection between Bracquemond and Davis, Bracquemond was a proponent for the blending of the fine and decorative arts, an idea that is perpetuated by the Haviland-Hayes Service in American Art Pottery. As previously discussed in Chapter 1, Bracquemond wanted the decorative arts to be seen as equal to the fine arts. Therefore, many of his design choices are deliberately an attempt to combine fine art, such as Japanese woodblock prints and Impressionist painting, with ceramic arts. As we recall, Jennie Young believes that

⁷⁵ The author would like to especially thank Tim Sublette and Mark Brown for sharing their extensive knowledge of European tablewares. Sublette and Brown agree that Félix Bracquemond's Service Rousseau, followed by the Service Parisien, are probably the first examples of designs in which each piece is treated as a separate work of art.

For more information on Bracquemond's design for the Service Rousseau and Service Parisien, see Jean-Paul Bouillon and Chantal Meslin-Perrier. Félix Bracquemond et les arts Décoratifs: du Japonisme à L'Art nouveau. Exhibition catalogue. Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 2005.

Bracquemond's Water and Fire is the best example of the union of the potter and the painter, thus fulfilling Bracquemond's idea.⁷⁶

In every way Theodore Davis treated the commission to design the Haviland-Hayes Service as a chance to design a masterpiece. Each of his designs from the ceramic body to the last touch of gilt was carefully selected. He clearly intended the service to represent artistic merit and originality, to be plates with paintings on them. Davis also suggested that he hoped the Haviland-Hayes Service would spark a revolution in American Art Pottery. In a letter to Davis, the President of the Trenton Potter's Association says, "This work of Haviland & Co. should encourage all American potters and induce them to use greater efforts in their arts." Davis in designing the Haviland-Hayes Service was successful in realizing Bracquemond's desire to blend the fine and decorative arts.⁷⁷

It was an auspicious meeting, the day that Theodore Davis found Lucy Hayes in the White House conservatory. After a short conversation with Mrs. Hayes, Davis became the designer for the new Presidential porcelain service. It has long been known that Davis wanted to create a service about the American flora and fauna. This chapter, however, has demonstrated that the Haviland-Hayes Service fits into the discussions of Ruskin's work and Bracquemond's innovation. Davis's service perpetuated John Ruskin's teachings, because it aligned with Ruskin's ideas on permanence, on not repeating a conception, and on landscape as a symbol of nation. Without a doubt, Davis had studied Bracquemond's work and looked to him as a source

⁷⁶ Sonia Coman, a PhD candidate at Columbia University, is the authority on this idea that Bracquemond was trying to blend the fine and decorative arts. This information comes from, "The Realignment of Medium Hierarchies in Nineteenth-Century French Art: Félix Bracquemond, Eugène Rousseau, and the Ceramic Dinner Service of 1866." Presented at the 2015 Annual College Art Association Conference, New York City, NY, February 12, 2015.

For Jennie Young's quotation on Bracquemond blending the arts, see 295.

⁷⁷ The letter to Theodore Davis from the President of the Trenton Potter's Association was included in [Cook, Clarence?], "The White House Porcelain Service," New York Tribune, November 6, 1880.

of inspiration when designing the Haviland-Hayes Service. The Haviland-Hayes Service should be seen as a key moment in the rise of the Art Pottery movement in the United States.

Chapter 4
Félix Bracquemond at the Rookwood Pottery (1880-1967)

“I have hope of one day interesting you greatly, in the study of the arts of moulding and painting porcelain...the ultimate results of such craftsmanship might be the production of pictures as brilliant as painted glass, -as delicate as the most subtle water-colours, and more permanent than the Pyramids.”
-- John Ruskin, Lectures on Art, 132.

Scholars have stressed that the inspiration behind the decoration on early Rookwood pottery came from Japanese examples. This Chapter, however, will argue that writers have not previously noted Rookwood’s connections to developments popularized by Bracquemond at Haviland. Moreover, this thesis puts forward a new argument that Rookwood was also looking to innovations at Doulton.⁷⁸

There are three characteristics of Bracquemond’s ceramic designs that can be traced to the Rookwood Pottery. First Bracquemond pioneered the use of Japanese images on ceramics, often using images of birds and plants from Katsushika Hokusai’s Manga. Decorators at the Rookwood pottery would later use images from Bracquemond’s Japanesque designs. Second

⁷⁸ Previously scholarship and articles on Rookwood focus predominantly on the influence of Japanese art. See Anita J. Ellis and Kenneth R. Trapp, Rookwood Pottery: The Glorious Gamble, exhibition book, Cincinnati Art Museum (New York: Rizzoli International Publications, 1992); Kenneth Trapp, “Rookwood and the Japanese Mania in Cincinnati,” Cincinnati Historical Society Bulletin 39 (Spring 1981): 51-75; Nancy Owen, Rookwood Pottery at the Philadelphia Museum of Art (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art in association with the Antique Collectors’ Club, 2003) 24-39; “Ceramics in Cincinnati: An Interesting Branch of Art in the Queen City,” News-Herald (Hillsboro, OH), May 17, 1888: 2; Elizabeth Williams Perry, “Decorative Pottery of Cincinnati,” Harper’s New Monthly Magazine 62 (May 1881): 834-45.

Bracquemond experimented with barbotine, a process of painting with colored wet clay under the clear glaze. This became the foundation for six of Rookwood's glaze lines, including the earliest, the Limoges glaze line, as well as the supreme ones, Standard (1884 – ca. 1920) and Vellum (1904-1948) (See Fig. 29 and 30). A glaze line, unlike a glaze, is defined by the treatment of the ceramic body and the decorating technique. Third, Bracquemond was a master of naturalistic landscapes with fleeting atmospheric effects. At Rookwood the practice of putting fleeting landscape effects on pottery had a long delayed fruition, but it culminated with the scenic landscape Vellum wares.

As to Doulton, there are also three characteristics that would later appear at Rookwood. First, as we saw earlier, John C. L. Sparkes, who is associated with Doulton, was an advocate of John Ruskin's idea that pottery is "more permanent than the Pyramids." This principle can be traced to Cincinnati, in the Rookwood orbit. Second, Doulton produced original art wares, in which no two were alike. This is also a Ruskinian idea, and Rookwood would later claim to produce no two pieces alike. Third, Doulton employed nearly fifty female decorators. The decorating department at Rookwood always had more women than men.

1. Founding the Rookwood Pottery and an Interest in Japan

Maria Longworth Nichols (1849-1932) founded the Rookwood Pottery in 1880, after she attended the 1876 Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition (Fig. 26). Though Nichols dabbled in ceramic decorating in the early 1870s, it was supposedly the ceramic displays, especially the Japanese displays, at the Centennial Exhibition that inspired her to start her own pottery. In fact, scholars often point out that Nichols asked her father, Joseph Longworth, to buy her a Japanese Pottery to have in Cincinnati. Though Nichols did not ever have a Japanese Pottery, Rookwood would become home to one Japanese artist, Kataro Shirayamadani (1865-1948). Apart from

Shirayamadani, local women were Rookwood's predominant employees in the decorating department. From the start, Rookwood prided itself on experimentation, and there is tremendous variety in the art wares that they produced. These early decorators laid the foundation for Rookwood's eighty-seven-year history. Kenneth Trapp, a pioneering Rookwood scholar, states that "[Rookwood] left a legacy of ceramics unparalleled in artistic and technical brilliance."⁷⁹

Ever since Maria Longworth Nichols professed her admiration for Japanese ceramics, writers and scholars have continuously connected Rookwood to the Japanese ceramics seen at the Centennial Exhibition. As early as 1881, the year after Rookwood was founded, Elizabeth Perry, a fellow ceramicist, discusses Maria Longworth Nichols' interest in Japanese imagery and comments on the dragon motif commonly found on Nichols' work. More recently, scholarship has continued to reinforce the idea that the potters at Rookwood strove for a Japanese aesthetic derived from authentic ceramics, textiles, and prints from Japan (see Fig. 27 and 28). Kenneth Trapp initiated the analysis of the Japanese images found in Rookwood decoration. Trapp argued that the Rookwood potters had access to Japanese art through Maria Longworth Nichols's private collection and the pieces at the Cincinnati Art Museum. Anita Ellis, another pioneering curator at the Cincinnati Art Museum, perpetuates this story by continuing to highlight the

⁷⁹ The following sources are fundamental to the study of the Rookwood Pottery, Jeffrey B. Snyder, Rookwood Pottery (Atglen: Schiffer Publishing, 2005); Nancy Owen, Rookwood Pottery at the Philadelphia Museum of Art, (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art in association with the Antique Collectors' Club, 2003); Nancy Owen, Rookwood and the Industry of Art: Women, Culture, and Commerce, 1880-1913 (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2001); Anita J. Ellis and Kenneth R. Trapp, Rookwood Pottery: The Glorious Gamble, Exhibition book, Cincinnati Art Museum (New York: Rizzoli International Publications, 1992); Herbert Peck, The Second Book of Rookwood Pottery (Tucson, Arizona: for the author, 1985); Kenneth Trapp, "Rookwood and the Japanese Mania in Cincinnati," Cincinnati Historical Society Bulletin 39 (Spring 1981): 51-75; Kenneth Trapp, Ode to Nature: Flowers and Landscapes of the Rookwood Pottery, 1880-1940, exhibition book (New York: Jordan-Volpe Gallery, 1980); Edwin J. Kircher and Barbara Agranoff and Joseph Agranoff, Rookwood: Its Golden Era of Art Pottery, 1880-1929 (Cincinnati: Edwin J. Kircher, Barbara and Joseph Agranoff, 1969); Herbert Peck, The Book of Rookwood Pottery (New York: Crown Publishers, 1968); Rachel Littell, "Rookwood Ware," The Decorator and Furnisher 19, 2 (November 1891): 54-56; "Ceramics in Cincinnati: An Interesting Branch of Art in the Queen City," News-Herald (Hillsboro, OH), May 17, 1888: 2; Elizabeth Williams Perry, "Decorative Pottery of Cincinnati," Harper's New Monthly Magazine 62 (May 1881): 834-45.

Kenneth Trapp's quotation comes from his excellent overview of Rookwood's entire eight-seven year history, see "Rookwood Pottery: The Glorious Gamble," in Rookwood Pottery: The Glorious Gamble, 11-41.

The story about Maria Longworth Nichols asking her father for a Japanese Pottery has been repeated in nearly all of the Rookwood literature; however, the source of this story is unknown.

Rookwood pieces with direct quotations from Japanese art. Consistently the scholarship on Rookwood focuses on the pieces that support this argument, at the expense of Rookwood's broader experimentation and ties to less exotic, European sources. Indeed it is necessary to consider whether every instance of Japanese motif at Rookwood was a direct quotation from a work of Japanese art. It is more likely that many of these images are instead a derivation of European pottery traditions, which had already begun popularizing a blend of Japanese art and western art.⁸⁰

2. Doulton and the Rookwood Pottery

Previously writers have not spelled it out: there are three traits that Rookwood owes Doulton, probably the seminal British Art Pottery. First, John C. L. Sparkes, the founding father of Art Pottery at Doulton, was a major promoter of Ruskin's idea of the permanence of pottery. As we have previously seen, it is possible to trace Ruskin's idea to the United States, especially to Ohio. Second, Henry Doulton stressed that each piece was a unique work of art, another Ruskinian idea. Rookwood would make a similar declaration concerning their ceramic production. Third, Doulton was the first Art Pottery to employ predominantly female decorators. It was becoming apparent that ceramic decorating was a suitable career for women. Rookwood continued this practice.

⁸⁰ For the complete discussion of the role of Japanese art at the Rookwood Pottery, see Rosemary Smith, "Japanese Influence and Rookwood Art Pottery" in *Journal of American Art Pottery Association* 14, 3 (May-June 1998): 14-17; Kenneth Trapp, "Rookwood and the Japanese Mania in Cincinnati," *Cincinnati Historical Society Bulletin* 39 (Spring 1981): 51-75. See also M. Louise McLaughlin, "Hints to China Painters: XI. Lessons to be Derived from Japanese Art," *Art Amateur* 8 (May 1883): 139; "Hints to China Painters: XII. Coloring of the Japanese Design," *Art Amateur* 8 (May 1883): 139.

Maria Longworth Nichols illustrated her husband's book on pottery with images of Japanese woodblock prints. This evidence has been used to support her interest in Japanese art as a decorative motif for ceramics. Her illustrations appear in George Ward Nichols, *Pottery: How It Is Made, Its Shape and Decoration. Practical Instructions for Painting on Porcelain and all Kinds of Pottery with Vitriifiable and Common Oil Colors. With a Full Bibliography of Standard Works Upon the Ceramic Art and 42 Illustrations* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1878) viii, 34, 45, 68, 82, 112.

The specific Japanese ceramics displayed at the Centennial are Hizen, Kioto, Owari, Kaga, Satsuma, Banko, Yedo. For a complete description of the Japanese display, see Charles Wyllys Elliott, "Pottery at the Centennial," in *Atlantic Monthly* 38 (November 1876): 576-578; For further information on Japanese ceramics, see George A. Audsley and James L. Bowes, *Keramic Art of Japan* (Adamant Media Corporation, 2005. First published 1881 by Henry Sotheran & Co).

First as to permanence, we recall from Chapter 2 that Doulton was the leading British Art Pottery at the Centennial Exhibition, by demonstrating great skill and variety in their ceramic art wares. Henry Doulton was a magnate, not a gentle aesthete, so how was the shrewd businessman convinced to experiment with Art Pottery production? John C. L. Sparkes gave us the clue in his book A Handbook to the Practice of Pottery Painting (1877). Sparkes wrote, “...***[the potter’s] handiwork lasts for ever***...stone walls fall to the earth, and ***the pyramids themselves are slowly disappearing***. Every monument that mankind have though most lasting yields to time, except the work of the potter. ***The most frail of man’s production is yet the most permanent*** [present author’s bold italics].” Here Sparkes endorsed Ruskin’s notion that pottery is the most permanent of the arts, and he used Ruskin’s comparison to the great Pyramids.⁸¹

As to Ruskin’s idea of permanence in Ohio, the present author has not yet found Rookwood endorsing the idea, but it is conspicuous in the Rookwood orbit. First, there is M. Louise McLaughlin: without her development of an American barbotine technique, none of Rookwood’s triumphs, above all the Standard and Vellum glaze lines, would have been possible. McLaughlin’s technique becomes basic to Rookwood and no doubt so does her book Pottery Decoration Under the Glaze. McLaughlin puts Ruskin’s argument thus, “...The painting executed with these beautiful colors, moreover, is practically unchangeable, and none of the ravages of time, short of the destruction of the piece of ware itself, can affect it. In decorations for buildings, or for ordinary use in portraiture, or the higher forms of art, ***it offers, what has long been desired among artists and art lovers, a method of making works of art indestructible***

⁸¹ For Sparkes’s quotation see John C.L. Sparkes, A Handbook to the Practice of Pottery Painting, 50. See Appendix C for a list of references to Ruskin’s idea of permanence.

and beyond the possibility of change [present author's bold italics]." Certainly this belief in permanent works of art is consistent with how Rookwood treated their wares.⁸²

A second connection to this Ruskinian idea lies with Jennie Young. We have seen that she embraced the argument. Young not only directly copied Ruskin passage on "more permanent than the Pyramids," she also evaluated his argument. Young concluded that, "the ceramic is the union of two branches of art, the architectural and the graphic. It combines form and proportion [architectural aspects] with drawing and color [graphic aspects]. ...Therefore, *it may be said to the highest of all the arts* [present author's bold italics]." This passage is also consistent with the increased interest in Art Pottery production in Cincinnati. We know that a copy of Young's The Ceramic Art made its way to Ohio, because it is evident that McLaughlin used the book.⁸³

McLaughlin, along with some of the Rookwood ladies, formed the Cincinnati Pottery Club in 1879 (see Fig. 31). The club predominantly served as a group for female ceramicists to meet and share their latest work. The Cincinnati Pottery Club continued to meet until 1890 well after Rookwood was founded. They held an annual show to display their designs, and M. Louise McLaughlin, also a trained engraver, designed the invitation for the reception.⁸⁴

An invitation she designed in 1883 for a Pottery Club reception is a revelation, which

⁸² For the M. Louise McLaughlin quote see Pottery Decoration Under the Glaze (Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co., 1880) 39.

Anita Ellis suggests that McLaughlin's book would have been easily accessible in the Cincinnati area. Additionally, the women who worked at Rookwood were her colleagues through the Cincinnati Pottery Club. For more discussion on Pottery Decoration Under the Glaze, see Anita Ellis, The Ceramic Career of M. Louise McLaughlin (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2003) 94-99.

For more information on McLaughlin's discovery of barbotine, see Anita Ellis, The Ceramic Career of M. Louise McLaughlin, 49-65; M. Louise McLaughlin, Pottery Decoration Under the Glaze, 36-40.

⁸³ For Jennie Young on John Ruskin, see The Ceramic Art, 34-35. To this discussion of Jennie Young's The Ceramic Art, one can add Edward Bruce's popular general reference, The Century, 243. Jennie Young wrote an essay as part of Bruce's book on the Centennial. Again Félix Bracquemond's "L'Orage" was featured as one of the images in the text. This is further evidence that Bracquemond's plate was quite circulated.

⁸⁴ For more information on the Cincinnati Pottery Club, see Anita Ellis, The Ceramic Career of M. Louise McLaughlin, 66-93. See also Carol Macht and Deborah Long and Kenneth Trapp, The Ladies, God Bless 'Em: The Women's Art Movement in Cincinnati in the Nineteenth Century, Cincinnati Art Museum, February 19-April 18, 1976, exhibition catalogue (Cincinnati: Cincinnati Art Museum, 1976) 6-13.

scholars have not noticed (Fig. 17). On two sides of the card there are seven different plates. The card showcases Bracquemond's "L'Orage" from the Service Parisien as part of a celebration of world ceramic traditions (See Fig. 16). This initially was proof that McLaughlin was aware of Bracquemond's work.⁸⁵ In fact, she probably copied the Bracquemond's "L'Orage" from Jennie Young's The Ceramic Art. Three of the other plates come from Young's book, which supports the theory that McLaughlin was referring to the text. McLaughlin used a design by Théodore Deck (1823-1891), one of the supreme French ceramicists of the 19th century, Bernard Palissy (1510-1590), supreme French ceramicist of the 16th century, and a design by an unknown Japanese artist (see Fig. 32-34). The final three designs did not come from Jennie Young's book; however, one plate can be identified as "Blue Willow," one of the most repeated china patterns. Another plate was modeled after a Spanish, Moorish design.⁸⁶

It is unthinkable that so well equipped a Pottery as Rookwood did not have and use so fundamental a reference work as Young's The Ceramic Art. Rookwood was legendary for their access to reference materials. As we already discussed, Kenneth Trapp argued that they looked to examples of Japanese art. Additionally, their Standard ware line of Native American portraits is evidence that they had a collection of photographs of Native Americans (Fig. 35).

Furthermore, Ellen Denker, a scholar of American ceramics, suggests that female decorators with only minimal access to formal training often used books on ceramics, such as The Ceramic Art, as guides for decorating.⁸⁷

⁸⁵ The Potter Club invitation appears in Ellis, The Ceramic Career of M. Louise McLaughlin, 112. For M. Louise McLaughlin's discussion of the Haviland display at the Centennial Exhibition and on barbotine painting see Pottery Decoration Under the Glaze (Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co., 1880) 36-40.

⁸⁶ For descriptions of the plates, see Jennie J. Young, The Ceramic Art: A Compendium of the History and Manufacture of Pottery and Porcelain (New York: Harpers & Brothers, Publishers, 1878) 162, 276, 321, 325.

⁸⁷ For more information on Rookwood's Native American portraiture, see Anita Ellis, Rookwood and the American Indian: Masterpieces of American Art Pottery from the James J. Gardner Collection (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, in association with the Cincinnati Art Museum, 2007). See also Anita Ellis, Rookwood Pottery: The Glorious Gamble, 80-83; Nancy Owen, Rookwood Pottery at the Philadelphia Museum of Art, 40-42.

As to a third Ohio case, as late as a quarter of a century after McLaughlin's book, one of Rookwood's principle competitors, the Roseville Pottery, published a pamphlet. The second page of text claims that Roseville's Rozane ware Art Pottery was created in response to the Ruskin passage on permanence. Ruskin's quotation is copied directly into the text as follows, "It is surely a severe lesson to us that the best works of Turner could not be shown for six months without being destroyed. ...And one of the ultimate results of such craftsmanship might be the production of pictures...*more permanent than the Pyramids*[present author's bold italics]." It's no accident that the text appears amidst pages and pages of imitations of Rookwood's Standard ware. It's perfectly clear that Ruskin's idea of permanence made the rounds of the Rookwood orbit.⁸⁸

A second Doulton characteristic later emulated at Rookwood was that the potters made no two pieces the same. As we discussed in Chapter 2, each piece was an individual work of art. This concept of making no two pieces the same was of course a Ruskinian idea. Ruskin published The Stones of Venice (1851-1853), a three-volume work that contains his famous Chapter "The Nature of Gothic". Here Ruskin states that, "great art, ...does not say the same thing over and over again...we must no more expect to derive pleasure or profit from an architecture whose ornaments are of one pattern...than we should out of a universe in which the clouds were all of one shape, and the trees all of one size." In this chapter, Ruskin was referring to the variety in the design of Gothic architecture; however, the concept can be applied to all the arts.⁸⁹

For more on the use of ceramics books as guides for decoration, see Ellen Denker, "The Grammar of Nature: Arts and Crafts China Painting," in The Substance of Style: Perspectives on the American Arts and Crafts Movement (Hanover: University Press of New England, in association with Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, 1996) 281-300.

⁸⁸ For the Roseville's reference to Ruskin, see Roseville Pottery Company, Rozane Ware. 1905. Reprint, n.p., n.d. For more information on Roseville, see Paul Evans, Art Pottery of the United States, 264-268.

⁸⁹ For Doulton on making individual works of art, see Charles Wyllys Elliot, "Pottery at the Centennial," 570; George Ferris, Gems of the Centennial Exhibition, 22-26. For more on Ruskin's idea of changefulness and variety, see John Ruskin, The

Maria Longworth Nichols and her husband, George Ward Nichols, took hold of this idea from Doulton at the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition. Following the Exhibition, George Ward Nichols wrote Art Education Applied to Industry (1877), which argues that artistic instruction needed to be applied to all common trades (ceramic production) and occupations. Nichols also wrote Pottery, How It is Made (1878), which instructs Americans on how to make pottery manufacture a great art industry in the United States. Kenneth Trapp argued that both these books employed ideas from Ruskin; and, that Nichols's principles would be pivotal to the mission of the Rookwood Pottery. Since its inception, Rookwood had prided itself on experimentation and Maria Longworth Nichols encouraged the decorators to try various subjects for designs. Like Doulton, Rookwood was not a ceramic factory but instead it was an artists' studio. Therefore, these ceramics should be seen for their merit as individual works of art (see Fig. 36).⁹⁰

As to a third Doulton practice that was later seen at Rookwood. Doulton was also important as an employer of female decorators. During a time when women struggled to find appropriate careers, Doulton employed at least fifty women in their ceramic decorating department. These women, most notably Hannah Barlow, showed their work at the Centennial

Nature of Gothic: A Chapter of the Stones of Venice, William Morris, ed. (1892; reprint, The Aesthetic Movement and the Arts and Crafts Movement, New York: Garland Publishing, 1977) 37-38.

⁹⁰ For more on Ruskin's idea of changefulness and variety, see The Nature of Gothic, 34-44.

It has long been recognized that Rookwood pieces are unique conceptions and each represents a work of art. Nancy Owens, Rookwood Pottery at the Philadelphia Museum of Art (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art in association with the Antique Collectors' Club, 2003) 23 & 27; Kenneth Trapp, "Rookwood Pottery: The Glorious Gamble," in Rookwood Pottery: The Glorious Gamble exhibition catalogue, Cincinnati Art Museum (New York: Rizzoli International Publications, 1992) 13-14; Kenneth Trapp, Ode to Nature: Flowers and Landscapes of the Rookwood Pottery 1880-1940 (New York: Jordan-Volpe Gallery, 1980) 16-17; Oscar Lovell Triggs, "Rookwood: An Ideal Workshop," in Chapters in the History of the Arts and Crafts Movement (Chicago: Bohemia Guild of the Industrial Art League, 1902) 157-162; "Ceramics in Cincinnati: An Interesting Branch of Art in the Queen City," News-Herald (May 17, 1888): 2.

Most notably Nancy Owen, have argued that perhaps Rookwood should not been seen solely as an artist studio. According to Owen, William Watts Taylor, the business director at Rookwood, monitored the decorating department at Rookwood and encouraged artists to continue to paint popular images. Therefore there may not have been the artistic freedom that was often advertised. Regardless this Chapter will show that there is sufficient evidence that the decorators at Rookwood were making conscious decisions to be engaged in artistic trends of the period and that there was a variety of experimentation which lead to some of their most successful lines, such as Vellum wares. Nancy Owen, Rookwood and the Industry of Art: Women, Culture, and Commerce, 1880-1913 (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2001); Nancy Owen, "Rookwood Pottery: Culture and Consumption, 1883-1913," Studies in the Decorative Arts 4, 2 (Spring-Summer 1997): 2-21.

Exhibition. In a review of the Exhibition, Charles Wyllys Elliott, a prominent art critic, stated that the Messrs. Doulton have, “solved the woman question.” Elliott suggested that Doulton offered a possible solution to the lack of available careers to women.⁹¹

Moria Vincentelli, a scholar of women in the ceramic industry, provides the most comprehensive explanation of the role of women in ceramic industry. Vincentelli explains that china painting had long been seen as a feminine activity. This may have been perpetuated by the fact that women were often the primary consumers of ceramic products. Then beginning in the nineteenth century, print media, such as newspaper and magazines, reinforced that china painting was a respectable job for a lady. The reasoning was that ceramic decorating required no great strength, there was no rigorous activity, and it took place indoors. Vincentelli also explained that potteries encouraged the employment of women because they could pay women lower wages than men. Finally the trend of having female decorators was cemented at art schools. In the early 1860s, more art schools began to offer classes on china painting for women, thus preparing them for a career in decorating. Schools such as the Lambeth School of Art and the South Kensington School of Art led the way in England in the education of female ceramic decorators.⁹²

As we already know, some of the Cincinnati ladies attended the Centennial Exhibition, and there is no doubt that Doulton’s practice of employing female decorators would have been an inspiration. Not only was the Rookwood Pottery founded by a woman, Maria Longworth Nichols, but there was always more female decorators. Additionally, many of these ladies were

⁹¹ Elliott’s quotation comes from “Pottery at the Centennial,” *Atlantic Monthly* 38(November 1876): 571. Additional information about the ladies at Doulton, Edwin AtLee Barber. *The Pottery and Porcelain of the United States* (New York: G.P. Putnam’s Sons, 1893. Rev. ed., 1901) 307; Charles Wyllys Elliott, *Pottery and Porcelain*, 79.

⁹² Moria Vincentelli has written the most comprehensive study of women’s role in ceramics through history. She discusses the femininity of china painting, the rise of women in art school, and the culmination of female decorators during the Aesthetic Movement and Arts and Crafts Movement. *Women and Ceramics: Gendered Vessels* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, with the author, 2000) 77-103. See also Moria Vincentelli, *Women Potters: Transforming Traditions* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press in association with the author, 2003)17-40.

studying ceramic arts with Benn Pitman, a British immigrant and Ruskinian. (Pitman was such an admirer of Ruskin's work that he named his first child Ruskin.) Pitman sponsored classes on ceramic decorating for women at the Cincinnati School of Art starting around 1873. Therefore, not only did these women have access to a career, they were beginning to have specialized training. Moreover, scholars, such as Anita Ellis and Nancy Owen argue that Rookwood as an employer of women played a role in the rise of the Women's Art movement.⁹³

3. Félix Bracquemond at the Rookwood Pottery

There are three characteristics of Bracquemond's work that would later be emulated at the Rookwood pottery. First, Bracquemond often painted images of birds and plants on ceramic. We will see a bird and reed design, similar to the Service Parisien, repeated many times at the Rookwood Pottery. Second, Bracquemond, along with Ernest Chaplet, experimented and refined the barbotine technique at Haviland's Auteuil's studio. The barbotine technique was the foundation for six of Rookwood's glaze lines. Third, Bracquemond was a master of naturalistic landscapes with fleeting atmospheric effects. Rookwood will also capture fleeting atmospheric effects on their pieces.

Birds and Reeds

As we recall from Chapter 1, Gabriel Weisberg, the eminent scholar on Bracquemond, explained that the design for the Service Parisien, though not directly, was also derived from the Manga and other Japanese prints. Weisberg states, "his emphasis in the decoration was upon

⁹³ The women of Cincinnati played an important role in the development of the Aesthetic movement and the Arts and Crafts movement. For more information on the role of women in the rise of American art pottery, see Anita Ellis, The Ceramic Career of M. Louise McLaughlin, 10-37; Ellen Paul Denker, "The Grammar of Nature: Arts and Crafts China Painting," 281-300; For a more complete account of early work by female decorators in Cincinnati, see Carol Macht and Deborah Long and Kenneth Trapp, The Ladies, God Bless 'Em, 1976.

For more information on Ben Pitman, see Jennifer L. Howe, ed., Cincinnati Art-Carved Furniture and Interiors (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, in association with the Cincinnati Art Museum, 2003) 58-59; Anita Ellis, The Ceramic Career of M. Louise McLaughlin, 10-16.

changing seasons. Images of birds streaking across the sky over a windswept marsh with bamboo reiterate Bracquemond's continuing interest in Japanese sources. While the forms are not directly quoted, the atmosphere is still that of Japan, although handled within an Impressionist landscape format." There are two Japanesque subjects that are repeated in the Service. First, on eight of the twelve plates there are small birds, similar to those depicting in the Manga. Second, Japanesque bamboo and reeds appear on six of the plates.⁹⁴

Bracquemond's practice of using these Japanesque birds and plants in his designs for the Service Parisien is significant because similar images can be found at the Rookwood pottery (see Fig. 37-40). As early as 1882, blowing reeds accompanied by a small bird in flight became a common, subtle expression of Japonisme in early Rookwood pieces, in the so-called Limoges glaze line, named for Haviland. This motif was repeated on a variety of ceramic bodies, including vases, jugs, and plaques. It was not just one Rookwood decorator that produced ceramics with this motif, but instead a great deal of the early decorators experimented with the birds and reeds, including Maria Longworth Nichols, Laura Fry, Albert Valentien, and Matthew Andrew Daly.

Some of the Rookwood decorators, such as Maria Longworth Nichols and Laura Fry, attended the Centennial Exhibition, and they may have seen Bracquemond's Service Parisien. How was it that the decorators became so familiar with this motif? The author of the present thesis argues that this motif arrived at Rookwood by way of M. Louise McLaughlin. As we recall, McLaughlin used Bracquemond's "L'Orage" on her Pottery Club invitation. The

⁹⁴ For the quotation on Bracquemond and Japonisme, see Gabriel Weisberg, "Félix Bracquemond and Japanese Influence in Ceramic Decoration," The Art Bulletin 51, 3 (Sept. 1969): 279. Also see Gabriel Weisberg, "Félix Bracquemond and Japonisme," The Art Quarterly 32 (Spring 1969): 56-68; Gabriel Weisberg, "Japonisme in French Ceramic Decoration: Part I: the Pieces for E. Rousseau, Paris," The Connoisseur London 183 (July 1973): 210-213.

principle subject of “L’Orage” is blowing bamboo and birds. It is also important to note that the motif was used with the Limoges glaze line, another of McLaughlin’s contributions that derives from Bracquemond at Haviland.

Rookwood’s Barbotine

As we recall, the literary sources conflict on the history of barbotine. It is not clear whether it was Ernest Chaplet, who later worked with Bracquemond at Auteuil, or M. Laurin who revived the process of painting with colored slip circa 1871 at a pottery in Bourg-la-Reine. We do know that Charles Haviland hired Ernest Chaplet in 1875 to instruct the potters at Auteuil on the barbotine technique. Bracquemond learned the barbotine technique from Chaplet, and he designed the great tile mural Water and Fire for the 1876 Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition. Jennie Young made it clear: the mural was successful because it showed how barbotine could look like a painting on a canvas. Though there was great interest at the Centennial Exhibition, Haviland’s production of barbotine wares was not profitable. In 1886 Charles Haviland stopped the production of all non-porcelain products, which included most of the work at the Auteuil studio.⁹⁵

Haviland discontinued their barbotine production, but following the Centennial Exhibition, M. Louise McLaughlin led the way in continuing the technique in the United States. McLaughlin declares herself as the re-inventor of the technique in her book, Pottery Decoration Under the Glaze, stating, “the first application of a similar style in the decoration of pottery, in this country, was made by the writer in Cincinnati, in October, 1877.” Many of McLaughlin’s

⁹⁵ Alastair Scott Anderson names Ernest Chaplet of Bourg-la-Reine as the inventor of barbotine painting in his article, “Pierre Mallet – Pioneer of French Aesthetic Ceramics in England,” in The Journal of the Decorative Arts Society 1850 – to Present 23 (1999): 87. M. Louise McLaughlin names M.Laurin of Bourg-la-Reine as the inventor of barbotine in Pottery Decoration Under the Glaze, 36.

For more information on Chaplet at Haviland and Charles Haviland’s interest in Impressionist style ceramics, see Antoine D’Albis and others, Émaux Atmosphériques; Wallace Tomasini, Celebrating 150 Years of Haviland China, 1842-1992; Gertrude Tatnall Jacobson, A Pattern Identification Guide, Haviland China: Volume One, 98-128; Antoine D’Albis and J.-P. Bouillon and C. Romanet, Céramique Impressionniste.

pieces resemble Haviland’s barbotine wares, especially the floral motifs that she often used in her designs (See Fig. 41). As we have previously seen, McLaughlin also took great interest in instructing fellow ceramicists, as evidence by her books and numerous articles in Art Amateur. Therefore, her innovation would have been shared with the members of the Cincinnati Pottery club. As previously mentioned, many of the women affiliated with the club were also employed at Rookwood. It is no surprise that almost all the important glaze lines at Rookwood were directly related to McLaughlin’s innovation.⁹⁶

Barbotine	Non-Barbotine
The following glaze lines are derivatives of the Haviland’s barbotine technique.	The following glaze lines are not related to Haviland’s barbotine technique.
Limoges	Cameo
Standard	Mat
Dull Finish	
Aerial Blue	
Sea Green	
Iris	
Vellum	

The glaze line at Rookwood called Limoges ware is most directly related to Haviland’s barbotine. On some of the early pieces, it is possible to see the layers of paint in photographs because of the heavy-handed application. This could have been an attempt to have the same textured appearance as the Haviland barbotine ceramics. Anita Ellis’s Chapter, “Eight Glaze Lines: The Heart of the Rookwood Pottery,” is peculiar and subjective: she wrote about her interests and dismissed the rest. Ellis, due to personal taste, does not include Limoges among Rookwood glaze lines (Cameo, Dull Finish, Standard, Aerial Blue, Sea Green, Iris, Mat, and Vellum). This thesis, however, is reinstating Limoges ware, because it is the starting point for

⁹⁶ For McLaughlin’s quote, Pottery Decoration Under the Glaze, 36. For further information on McLaughlin’s innovations with the barbotine technique see Anita Ellis, The Ceramic Career of M. Louise McLaughlin, 49-77 and 94-98. See also McLaughlin’s “Hints to China Painters” series in Art Amateur 8 (January 1883 – November 1883).

Rookwood and the foundation for two of its supreme glaze lines, Standard and Vellum.⁹⁷

Standard was produced longer than any other glaze line at Rookwood, from 1883 to ca.1920 (see Fig. 27 and 29). It was the Standard ware that brought Rookwood national and international acclaim. Rookwood's Limoges wares and earlier pieces of Standard ware are characterized as "earthenware painted with a soft transition of color, realistic decoration, and a Japanese rather than a Western approach to placement and design." In July 1883 Laura Fry, possibly Rookwood's most important innovator, made the production of Standard ware possible when she developed the atomizer, a tool that allowed the decorator to apply a thin layer of graded glazes to green ware. With this new technology the decorators were able to paint a delicately blended background, often fading from browns to gold tones. After the background color was complete, the decorator could then hand paint the primary decoration. Standard ware pieces feature a variety of decoration, including Japanese images, portraits of Native Americans, flower motifs, and images of animals. Standard continues to be one of Rookwood's most celebrated glaze lines.⁹⁸

Standard, however, was only one of six glaze lines related to barbotine painting. Another is Rookwood's Vellum wares (1904-1948), which consisted of nearly the exact same process as Standard (See Fig. 30 and 42). Both processes begin with painting in colored slip on greenware. The difference between the two is that Standard is finished with a clear glossy glaze while

⁹⁷ For Ellis's description of Rookwood's glaze lines, see "Eight Glaze Lines: The Heart of Rookwood Pottery," in *Rookwood Pottery: The Glorious Gamble*, 43-57. See also Anita Ellis, *Rookwood Pottery: The Glaze Lines* (Atglen, PA: Schiffer, 1995); Edwin J. Kircher and Barbara Agranoff and Joseph Agranoff, *Rookwood: Its Golden Era of Art Pottery, 1880-1929*.

For more information on the Limoges tradition of art pottery in US, see Marion John Nelson, *Art Pottery of the Midwest*, Exhibition Catalogue. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota and the author in association with the University Art Museum, 1988) 2-10. Martin Eidelberg, "Art Pottery," in *The Arts and Crafts Movement in America: 1876-1916*, Robert Judson Clark, ed. (Princeton: Trustees of Princeton University in association with Princeton University Press, 1972) 151- 164.

⁹⁸ For information on Standard Ware, see Kenneth Trapp, "Rookwood Pottery: The Glorious Gamble," in *Rookwood Pottery: The Glorious Gamble*, 16-21; Anita Ellis, "Eight Glaze Lines: The Heart of Rookwood Pottery," in *Rookwood Pottery: The Glorious Gamble*, 44-49.

For Marian Nelson's characteristics of Rookwood, see *Art Pottery of the Midwest*, 4. Also see pages 2-14 for more information on the rise of Art Pottery and barbotine in the United States.

Vellum is finished with a clear mat glaze. Vellum wares most often took the form of tile plaques or vases. The decoration usually consisted of scenic landscapes. Vellum is characterized by a slightly blurred effect on the decoration, which is a product of the clear mat glaze.⁹⁹

Rookwood and Atmosphere

Bracquemond incorporated naturalistic landscapes into his designs. Moreover, he was a master of fleeting atmospheric effects. We saw this first in his etching, Les Hirondelles, when he portrayed a light beam breaking free of the surrounding gray clouds. Bracquemond captured an instant, and the exact lighting would never be replicated. We saw this innovation a second time with the Service Parisien. Here Bracquemond depicted various fleeting effects, including a lightning bolt, snow flurries, and a rainbow.

Rookwood decorators would later attempt to replicate Bracquemond's innovation in fleeting effects. We will first see evidence of fleeting effects with the Limoges ware. Second we will look at the Vellum wares, Rookwood's crowning achievement in atmospheric effects.

First, for the Limoges wares we will return to the motif of the birds and reeds (see Fig.37-40). The present section will argue that the Rookwood decorators did not just borrow the motif, they were also trying to capture a fleeting atmospheric effect. Weisberg described Bracquemond's Service Parisien as "images of birds streaking across the sky over a windswept marsh with bamboo." For instance in "L'Orage" and "Le Combat" the plants bend as the wind blows. Just as lighting is fleeting, at any moment the wind can shift. The author of the present thesis argues that the birds and reeds at Rookwood also resemble Weisberg's description of birds streaking across the sky over a windswept marsh with bamboo. The plants in the Rookwood

⁹⁹ For more information on Vellum ware, see Kenneth Trapp, "Rookwood Pottery: The Glorious Gamble," in Rookwood Pottery: The Glorious Gamble, 30-31; Anita Ellis, "Eight Glaze Lines: The Heart of Rookwood Pottery," in Rookwood Pottery: The Glorious Gamble, 56-57; Anita J. Ellis, "American Tonalism and Rookwood Pottery," in The Substance of Style, 301-315; Kenneth Trapp, Ode to Nature: Flowers and Landscapes of the Rookwood Pottery, 1880-1940, 15-42.

pieces also bend into the wind. They depict a fleeting moment: never again will the bird and the reeds look exactly the same.¹⁰⁰

For the second example of atmospheric effect at Rookwood, we will look at the Vellum wares. The story of the Vellum wares is immensely technical, so this is merely a first sketch of a point. The production of Vellum wares began in 1904, and it is easy to see why they were a popular glaze line. The decorative effect is transcendent. Great skill was required to achieve these detailed yet tranquil scenic landscapes. Carl Schmidt and Sallie Coyne are two supreme Vellum ware decorators (See Fig. 30 and 42). Each of their pieces captures remarkable details of naturalistic landscape settings and fleeting atmospheric effects.¹⁰¹

Kenneth Trapp and Anita Ellis have argued that one source for the Vellum ware decoration was American Tonalism painting. Ellis defines Tonalism as, “a personal escape to peace and quietude. Depicted themes were intimate—as pools in the woods or a clearing highlighted by a soft snow or a quiet rain. ...Subtle light diffused through atmosphere created a personal, peaceful, meditative moment.” Trapp and Ellis have compared the Rookwood pieces with Tonalist paintings by John Henry Twachtman (1853-1902) and George Inness (1825-1894). Moreover, Ellis discusses that the Rookwood decorators had access to Tonalist painting, because there were no fewer than ten exhibitions on Tonalism at the Cincinnati Art Museum between 1895 and 1922. Comparing Twachtman’s Winter Harmony (ca. 1890/1900) and an example of Vellum ware by Sallie Coyne, it is impossible to ignore the similarities (See Fig. 42 and 43).¹⁰²

The present section will add that Rookwood Vellum wares were striking examples of

¹⁰⁰ The quotation from Weisberg comes from, “Félix Bracquemond and Japanese Influence in Ceramic Decoration,” 279.

¹⁰¹ For more information on Rookwood Vellum see, Anita Ellis, “The Eight Glaze Lines: The Heart of Rookwood Pottery,” in Rookwood Pottery: The Glorious Gamble, 56-57; Kenneth Trapp, Ode to Nature: Flowers and Landscapes of the Rookwood Pottery, 1880-1940, 36-42.

¹⁰² For the discussion of Vellum wares and American Tonalism, see Anita Ellis, “American Tonalism and the Rookwood Pottery,” in The Substance of Style, 301-315. Kenneth Trapp was the first to suggest the similarity between Vellum and Tonalism in Ode to Nature, 36-42.

Bracquemond's fleeting landscape effects. For instance, one of Carl Schmidt's pieces depicts sailboats with a dramatic sunset (See Fig. 30). The sailboats are the focal point of the piece, but Schmidt's vase is really about an attention to the lighting effect. Similar to Bracquemond's ray of light in Les Hirondelles, the lighting effect of oranges and yellows hues on the water will last merely an instant. Sallie Coyne also used fleeting atmospheric effects to create drama in her pieces (See Fig. 42). A vase created in 1918 depicts a quiet forest scene, indicative of American Tonalism. The calm, snow covered forest, however, is secondary to the lighting effect of the sunrise or sunset. This fleeting effect adds interest to the piece, because we know that this moment will never be repeated.

Blending the Arts: Rookwood as an Aesthetic Movement Pottery

From Chapter 1, we recall that Sonia Coman, a scholar of Japonisme in France, argued that Bracquemond was a proponent for the blending of the fine and decorative arts. Bracquemond did not believe that one medium was more prestigious than the others, and he made intentional artistic choices to elevate manufactured porcelain tablewares to art objects. According to Jennie Young, Bracquemond's Water and the Fire is the best example of the blending of the potter's and the painter's skill, because it looks like a painting on a canvas.¹⁰³

Rookwood was certainly trying to blend the potter's and the painter's skills. Starting with the earliest Limoges wares, the Rookwood decorators were experimenting with under the glaze painting techniques, like barbotine, to put paintings on pottery. The Vellum wares could not be clearer: Rookwood was blending fine art, such as American Tonalism, with the decorative arts, vases meant for display in the home. Additionally, each Rookwood piece was handled as a

¹⁰³ The information about Bracquemond's desire to blend the fine and decorative arts comes from the work of Sonia Coman, "The Realignment of Medium Hierarchies in Nineteenth-Century French Art: Félix Bracquemond, Eugène Rousseau, and the Ceramic Dinner Service of 1866." Presented at the 2015 Annual College Art Association Conference, New York City, NY, February 12, 2015.

unique work of art, as if the decorator was beginning on a blank canvas.

This is important that Rookwood perpetuated Bracquemond's idea to blend the fine and decorative arts; because, by treating pottery as fine art objects, Rookwood fulfills Nelson's definition of the Aesthetic Movement. As we recall, Marion John Nelson defines the Aesthetic Movement as a movement that "counteracts the materialism of the time with a new emphasis on art." Rookwood's pieces were not manufactured goods and the decorators were not factory laborers. Instead, Rookwood should be seen as an artist studio that produced art objects for people to purchase for their home.¹⁰⁴

In this Chapter, we have seen that Rookwood was looking to less exotic, European sources for inspiration. First, we examined connections between Doulton and Rookwood. There were three characteristics that could be traced: the Ruskinian principle of permanence, the Ruskinian idea that great art does not repeat itself, and the interest in having female employees in the decorating department. Furthermore, the second European source was Bracquemond at Haviland. We saw that the decorators at Rookwood used images of birds and reeds, similar to those found on Bracquemond's Service Parisien. Rookwood also adapted M. Louise McLaughlin's American barbotine that was derived from Haviland's barbotine technique. Finally, the Vellum wares demonstrated Rookwood's eventual mastery of naturalistic landscapes with fleeting atmospheric effects. What a combination of elements, the artform more permanent than the Pyramids being used to fix atmospheric effects that last only a second! Such is the synthesis of Rookwood Art Pottery.

¹⁰⁴ For Nelson's definition of Aesthetic Movement, see Art Pottery of the Midwest, 1.

Conclusion

This thesis has shown that Félix Bracquemond had a profound impact on late-nineteenth-century and early-twentieth-century ceramics in America, especially on the Theodore Davis's design for the Hayes Presidential Dinner Service and on the pieces made at the Rookwood Pottery. Furthermore, this thesis argued that John Ruskin's principles that pottery is "more permanent than the Pyramids" and that "great art does not repeat itself" played a major role in shaping the Art Pottery Movement of the late nineteenth century. With the influence of Félix Bracquemond and John Ruskin, the Art Pottery movement championed the rise of ceramics as art objects, not solely as manufactured goods.

In Chapter 1, we looked at Félix Bracquemond's ceramic innovations. Jean-Paul Bouillon argued that Bracquemond studied material, so his approach to decoration was the same for every medium. Therefore, we saw three characteristics in his etchings and ceramics designs: his love of animals, his use of Asian sources, and his mastery of naturalistic landscape with fleeting atmospheric effects. Bracquemond also learned the barbotine technique, which allowed him to blend the decorative art of ceramics with the fine art of painting. Laurens D'Albis stated that, "[Bracquemond] exploded all the taboos [of traditional French pottery]." These innovations would later inspire American ceramicists.

In Chapter 2, we examined Ruskin's principle that pottery is "more permanent than the Pyramids," which he published in Lectures on Art in 1870. As we recall, this idea appeared in at least twelve British and American books on ceramics. Therefore, many ceramicists were likely exposed to Ruskin's principle. We also discussed the Doulton and Haviland displays, the two leaders in Art Pottery at the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition. Doulton, a force in the British Aesthetic Movement, showed Art wares. We were able to apply Ruskin's idea of permanence as well as the Ruskinian principle of making no two pieces the same to the Doulton wares. We also saw that Bracquemond's Service Parisien and Water and Fire were showcased at the Haviland display, highlighting Bracquemond's innovation. It was at the Centennial Exhibition that American ceramicists found inspiration; and following the Centennial Exhibition, there was remarkable growth in American Art Pottery production.

Chapter 3 focused on Theodore Davis's design for the Haviland-Hayes Service. Davis convinced Lucy Hayes that the Presidential service should feature American flora and fauna, and he created 130 unique designs for the service. The Haviland-Hayes Service relates to both of the arguments of this thesis. First, we examined three Ruskinian principles of the service: the idea of permanence, the principle that great art does not repeat itself, and the belief that landscape could represent nation. Second, we looked at the relationship between Bracquemond's work and the Haviland-Hayes Service. This Chapter concluded that Davis may have taken direct quotations from Bracquemond's work; that he was influenced by the Service Parisien's twelve unique designs; and that he included naturalistic landscapes with fleeting atmospheric effects. The Haviland-Hayes Service was our first key evidence that Ruskin and Bracquemond had an impact on American Art Pottery.

Chapter 4 discussed the Rookwood Pottery, founded in 1880 by Maria Longworth Nichols.

Rookwood represents the unification of all the themes throughout the thesis. First, we examined possible connections to Doulton, especially to the Ruskinian principles of permanence and no two the same. Second, we looked at Rookwood motifs that were probably derived from Bracquemond, including the birds and reeds motif, the barbotine technique, and most important the interest in fleeting atmospheric effects.

In the end, this thesis has shown how Bracquemond's innovations inspired Theodore Davis and the Rookwood Potters. This thesis has also argued that John Ruskin's work was key to the rise of the nineteenth century Art Pottery Movement. Influenced by both sources, Theodore Davis with the Haviland-Hayes Service and the Rookwood decorators used the most permanent of the art forms to fix original works of art.

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Appendix A

Félix Bracquemond (1833-1914)

This Appendix serves as a record of important dates regarding Félix Bracquemond's career. The entries focus on his work as a ceramicist as well as important quotations pertaining to Bracquemond's work seen in the United States, specifically at the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition. Entries with out a citation come from, Jean-Paul Bouillon and Chantal Meslin-Perrier. Félix Bracquemond et les arts décoratifs: du Japonisme à l'Art nouveau. Exhibition catalogue (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 2005).

1852

He completes his best-known etchings, Le haut d'un battant de porte, (The Winged Door). This etching was shown at the Exposition Universelle in 1855 and at the Salon in 1856. (Fig.4) Charlotte van Rappard-Boon, Félix Bracquemond, 1833-1914 Translated by Martin Cleaver, 19th-Century Masters--3 (Amsterdam: Van Gogh Museum, 1993) 28.

1853

His etching, Sarcelles, was completed. It featured ducks, which would be a theme throughout his work. He later copied the flying duck pictured at the center proper left on his Service Rousseau. Charlotte van Rappard-Boon, Félix Bracquemond, 1833-1914, 29.

1856

Bracquemond allegedly discovered Japanese albums at Auguste Delâtre's print shop. Léonce Bénédite, "Félix Bracquemond: L'animalier," 39.

1867

He designs the Service Rousseau for François-Eugène Rousseau. This Service has direct copies from Hokusai's Manga. Jean-Paul Bouillon, and Chantal Meslin-Perrier, 45-65. Charlotte Van Rappard-Boon, Félix Bracquemond, 1833-1914, 12-17.

1872

He became the artistic director of the studio set up in Auteuil, France for Haviland from Limoges.

1874

He began designing the Service Parisien, a collection of twelve designs for plates.

“The development of Bracquemond’s Japonismee is comparable with that of Vincent van Gogh: first he copied meticulously to master the unknown idiom and later this was used and interpreted freely. In the case of Bracquemond this happened in later services and in the free work for Haviland where form and positioning of the decoration are completely Japanese in style and sometimes display a large degree of abstraction.”

Charlotte Van Rappard-Boon, Félix Bracquemond, 1833-1914, 20.

1876

The Service Parisien was presented at the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition.

“Twelve dinner-plates, designed by Bracquemond, [...] , are good; but as they are simply imitations of Japanese birds and plants, one is again impelled to ask, Why should not this artist have spent his strength upon the birds and plants of France?”

Charles Wyllys Elliot, “Pottery at the Centennial,” Atlantic Monthly 38 (November 1876): 575.

“Here, for example, is a set of plates painted with different scenes, such as a snow-storm, morning, night, before a shower, during a shower, and other similar subjects. The details are not wrought in with obtrusive precision. Something is left to imagination, and the effect of every view is perfect. They are painted by M. Bracquemond.”

Jennie Young, The Ceramic Art, 322.

“The Invoice lists twelve plates as “Subjets parisien Bracquemond.” These plates are Bracquemond’s designs showing nature’s atmospheric changes, the ‘Service parisien.’”

Larry Simms, “Haviland and Company at the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition of 1876,” 170.

“By [Bracquemond] are twelve plates, with pictures of “Morning,” “Night,” “A Thunder-strom,” etc., painted with great delicacy and originality.”

“The Centennial,” Harper’s Weekly (November 25, 1876): 950.

Bracquemond’s other significant contributions to the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition included: one commemorative vase, and “L’Eau et le Feu” a 910 piece wall mural.

The most current source to discuss both the mural and the vases is Larry Simms, “Haviland and Company at the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition of 1876,” American Ceramic Circle Journal 17(2013): 152-155.

On the commemorative vases:

“They are the joint productions of MM. Bracquemond, designer, and Delaplanche, sculptor, and are intended to commemorate the Centennial of American Independence. The broad and easily understood conception is intensely American, and was, in fact, due to American inspiration. They fitly stand in the capital, not only as lasting memorials of the hundredth anniversary of America’s entrance into the great commonwealth of nations, but

as a congratulatory compliment from the ceramic artists of France.”
Jennie Young, The Ceramic Art, 292.

On “L’Eau e le Feu” (“The Water and the Fire”):

“We turn to the tile-piece in which, upon nearly a thousand tiles, M. Bracquemond presents his allegory of Human Progress, with a mingled feeling of dislike and attraction. It also stands in the Smithsonian Institute. The repellent influence is first experienced, and arises, probably, from an apparent absurdity of design and the peculiar coloring. A figure of gigantic size occupies the centre, trampling fire underfoot, and having a greenish bronze statuette in the right hand and a vase in the other. On the left are the chimneys and smoke of a factory, and on the opposite side is a railway train. A flash of lightning strikes in from the right, and above the central figure is the recumbent form of a woman partially enveloped in cloud. The picture, as we have said, is allegorical, and represents the genius of man utilizing the waters of the rebellious stream and storm, the fires of the volcano and lightning, and making them subservient to progress. As it is more closely studied, its true place in art is better understood, and we ultimately accept the piece as an indication of the possibilities of M. Bracquemond’s art. We feel that another stage has been passed on the way toward the picture ‘permanent as the Pyramids’ of which Ruskin writes.”
Jennie Young, The Ceramic Art, 295.

“Tiling is represented by one large piece on which is painted an allegory of human progress. It offers us much, but it promises more. Nowhere else do we find the flesh tint or an equal combination of correct drawing and happily-blended colors. When M. Bracquemond designed it he may fairly be suspected of having in view an illustration of the possibilities of his art as well as of human progress. We are not won by its beauty, but we cannot resist the appeal it makes to the artistic sense. Haviland has already succeeded in making Limoges faïence the standard of reference or comparison. How much more he may accomplish by keeping on in the course he has chosen we cannot measure.”
Jennie Young, “Ceramic Art at the Exhibition,” in The Century: Its Fruits and Its Festival, 248.

1877

Following the Centennial Exhibition, Bracquemond’s commemorative vase and the wall mural were given to the Smithsonian Institution.

“Ceramic Art Treasures.” New York Daily Tribune. January 23, 1877: 8.

His etching, Une Vue du Pont des Saint-Pères, incorporates the diagonal rain seen in the Hokusai’s Manga. This piece was shown at the Fourth Impressionist Exhibition in 1879.
Charlotte van Rappard-Boon, Félix Bracquemond, 1833-1914, 48.

1878

He designs a title page, modeled after his design for “L’Eau et le Feu,” for Jennie Young’s book The Ceramic Art.

Jean-Paul Bouillon, and Chantal Meslin-Perrier, Félix Bracquemond et les arts décoratifs, 149-150.

Bracquemond designs the “Service Animaux” for Haviland & Co. which also references Japanese motifs.

Jean-Paul Bouillon and Chantal Meslin-Perrier, Félix Bracquemond et les arts décoratifs, 106-121.

1879

Félix Bracquemond is listed as the etcher for the White House Porcelain Service made for Rutherford B. Hayes. Haviland & Co. produced the service, but Theodore Davis, an American illustrator for Harper's Weekly, made the original design.

Margaret Brown Klaphor, Official White House China: 1789 to the Present, 205.

He designs "Service à fleurs et rubans" which integrates many of the characteristics of his earlier work. The composition is similar to the "Service Rousseau", but Bouillon explains that it does incorporate techniques from the "Service Parisien".

Jean-Paul Bouillon and Chantal Meslin-Perrier, Félix Bracquemond et les arts décoratifs, 122-133.

1881

In June, Bracquemond leaves his position at Auteuil.

1882

Bracquemond etches Les hirondelles, which evokes his usual style of pulling from Japanese sources.

Charlotte van Rappard-Boon, Félix Bracquemond, 1833-1914, 51.

1892

He signed a ten year contract with Théodore Haviland, Limoges porcelain manufacturer, for a new position at 21 rue du Val-de-Grâce.

1893

He resigns from his position with Théodore Haviland.

1914

Bracquemond dies on October 27, 1914. He completed etchings into 1914.

Appendix B

Comparison of Bracquemond's Service Parisien and Hokusai's Manga

Service Parisien	Hokusai's <u>Manga</u>	
"La Lune"		
"Soleil Couchant"		
"La Pluie"		
"L'Orage"		

“Soleil Levant”	
“L’Effroi”	
“Plein Soleil”	

Appendix C

John Ruskin and Art Pottery

1870

“I have hope of one day interesting you greatly (with the help of the Florentine masters), in the study of the arts of moulding and painting porcelain; and to induce some of you to use your future power of patronage in encouraging the various branches of this art, and turning the attention of the workmen of Italy from the vulgar tricks of minute and perishable mosaic to the exquisite subtleties of form and colour possible in the perfectly ductile, afterwards unalterable clay. And one of the ultimate results of such craftsmanship might be the production of pictures as brilliant as painted glass,—as delicate as the most subtle water-colours, and *more permanent than the Pyramids.*”

John Ruskin, Lectures on Art, 132.

1873

“...as works in pottery enjoy a longer existence...Many works of Greek pottery are known to us, and not a few such works by the ancient Egyptians, and these are preserved not as fragments merely, but as works in their entirety, and with the same beauty that they possessed when first they left the hands of the workmen.”

Christopher Dresser, Principles of Decorative Design, 117.

1875

“The potter’s work furnishes opportunity for the skill of the sculptor, in moulding forms, and of the painter, in decoration. It demands the highest ability in uniting the beautiful and the useful. ...Its results are more lasting than any other work of man’s hands. Metals corrode, stone crumbles; pottery and porcelain, if well made, are unchanging in form, surface, and color, for ages. These reasons are ample to justify the high position given to the ceramic, among the fine arts...”

Metropolitan Museum of Art, Pottery and Porcelain: Hand Book for the Use of Visitors Examining Pottery and Porcelain in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, 3.

1877

“The rich possibilities of Art in the manipulation of ordinary clay, as shown in the Doulton ware and Lambeth faience, teach a lesson full of suggestions, and hint of unknown stores of beauty and grace in materials hitherto consecrated to mere utility. It is a great consolation to know that such painting as this is absolutely indestructible. There is no flying of color, no scaling off of impasto, no cracking nor decay. The work disappears only wanton carelessness, and ought to live for ages, a permanent record of the age in which it was created.”

George Ferris, Gems of the Centennial Exhibition, 26.

“...[the potters] handiwork lasts for ever. Coins rust with time. Statues of marble and bronze crumble or are corroded; inscriptions are obliterated; stone walls fall to the earth, and the pyramids themselves are slowly disappearing. Every monument that mankind have thought most lasting yields to time, except the work of the potter. The most frail of man’s production is yet the most permanent.”

John C.L. Sparkes, A Handbook to the Practice of Pottery Painting, 50.

1878

“The colored pictures in the books fade, but the potter’s pictures are lasting in gorgeous blue, and whoever preserves these will have permanent memorials of a style of art and an artist excessively popular for a long time in England.”

Annie Slosson Trumbull, The China Hunters Club, 244.

1879

“We may allow Mr. Ruskin to state the reverse case, and draw the conclusion. “It is surely,” he says, “a severe lesson to us in this matter, that the best works of Turner could not be shown for six months without being destroyed—and that his most ambitious ones, for the most part, perished before they could be shown. I will break through my law of reticence, however, so far as to tell you that I have hope of one day interesting you greatly (with the help of the Florentine masters) in the study of the arts of moulding and painting porcelain; and to induce some of you to use your future power of patronage in encouraging the various branches of this art, and turning the attention of the workmen of Italy from the vulgar tricks of minute and perishable mosaic to the exquisite subtleties of form and color possible in the perfectly ductile, afterward unalterable clay. And one of the *ultimate results of such craftsmanship might be the production of pictures as brilliant as painted glass—as delicate as the most subtle water-colors, and more permanent than the Pyramids.*” Both these writers thus refer to permanency as a feature of the potter’s art, which lends it a special importance. *Whatever form the art may have assumed, it is, when applied to pottery, practically imperishable.* By his allusion to the effect of time and exposure upon the paintings of Turner, Mr. Ruskin invests the results he contemplates with a certain kind of grandeur. *He has in view the culminating point of ceramic art, the apex to which the works of the artists of all time lead up step by step.* What process he would adopt, or what forms of the art he would discard, we need not now inquire. It will be sufficient to take our stand at the point indicated—the perfection of form and decoration—and observe how the artists of the past have approached it, and to mark the ideas by which they have been influenced.”

The Ceramic Art, 33-34.

“The ceramic is the union of two branches of art, the architectural and the graphic. It combines form and proportion with drawing and color. It is unnecessary here to define art in the abstract; but there are certain general principles which may help us to estimate the works of the ceramic artists of all countries. Of these, the first is thus stated by Ruskin: “The entire vitality of art depends upon its being either full of truth or full of use; and however pleasant, wonderful, or impressive it may be in itself, it must yet be of an inferior kind, and tend to deeper inferiority, unless it has clearly one of these main objects—either to state a true thing, or to adorn a serviceable one. It must never exist alone—never for itself.... Every good piece of art ... involves skill, and the formation of an actually beautiful thing by it.” The “statement of a true thing” referred to in the passage quoted is Similitude, one of the philosopher-critic’s essentials in the graphic arts. ***In the architectural arts, including pottery, he demands Skill, Beauty, and Use; in the graphic arts, Skill, Beauty, and Likeness.*** If, however, we keep in mind what Dr. Birch says of the vases of Greece being a reflection of the Greek school of painting, and also Mr. Ruskin’s desideratum of pictures upon *exquisitely moulded porcelain, we shall see that the essentials of the ceramic art, as a special branch, comprise those of both the architectural and graphic divisions—Skill, Beauty, Use, and Similitude. In one respect, therefore, it may be said to be the highest of all the arts.*”

The Ceramic Art, 34.

“The artists of Sèvres, anticipating in a manner Ruskin’s idea, embellished their vases with compositions similar to those on canvas.”

The Ceramic Art, 38.

“As [“The Water and the Fire”] is more closely studied, its true place in Art is better understood... We feel that another stage has been passed on the way toward the perfect union of the potter’s and painter’s skill, and toward the picture “permanent as the Pyramids” of which Ruskin writes.”

The Ceramic Art, 295.

1879

“...the work of the potter being permanent, the baked ware enduring for ages without change, the ceramic art takes precedence of others as the index of human character in various ages and countries.”

William Prime, Pottery and Porcelain of All Times and Nations, 18.

“The practice of pottery painting will then become as easy of accomplishment as any other methods of painting; over all of which it possesses this great advantage—that the pictures, being fixed by burning, will not fade, but are as permanent as the piece itself on which the work is executed.”

E. Campbell Hancock, The Amateur Pottery & Glass Painter, 1.

1880

“Colors may be daubed upon pottery, as they are, alas! upon canvas, by those whose training and whose feeling for art would hardly fit them to become good house painters; but the result will not be good art, nor will it ever be its own excuse for being. If other branches of decorative art require taste, knowledge, and practical skill, so much the more does this, which it offers scope of the highest capacity. ...The painting executed with

these beautiful colors, moreover, is practically unchangeable, and none of the ravages of time, short of the destruction of the piece of ware itself, can affect it. In decorations for buildings, or for ordinary use in portraiture, or the higher forms of art, it offers, what has long been desired among artists and art lovers, a method of making works of art indestructible and beyond the possibility of change.”

M. Louise McLaughlin, Pottery Decoration Under the Glaze, 39.

1897

“Whatever there is of interest to us in the piece of work, the workman put there; the work has become the permanent expression of the worker’s skill and taste- the material comparatively nothing; the art almost everything.

John C.L. Sparkes, Potters: Their Arts and Crafts, viii.

1905

“It is Ruskin I am reading. Mentioning the permanency of ceramic works as compared with those of other branches of art, he says: ‘It is surely a severe lesson to us that the best works of Turner could not be shown for six months without being destroyed. . . .And one of the ultimate results of such craftsmanship might be the production of pictures as brilliant as painted glass—as delicate as the most subtle water colors, and more permanent than the Pyramids.’”

Roseville Pottery Company, Rozane Ware, 7.

Appendix D

Henry Doulton (1820- 1897) Chronology¹⁰⁵

1815

John Doulton (1793-1873) became a partner in the Vauxhall Walk pottery, mostly producing functional brown stoneware.

1835

Henry Doulton left the University College School in London and began working in the pottery industry with his father.

1846

Henry initiated his own branch, specifically to produce ceramic pipes for the sanitary market.

1849

Henry married Sarah Kennaby, daughter of John L. Kennaby.

1857/8 (?)

John Sparkes, principal of Lambeth School of Art, approached Doulton with the idea of producing such ware....”Ten Years previously John Sparkes, principal of the Lambeth School of Art, had approached Doulton with the idea of producing such ware but while the business of functional pottery was proving so successful there had seemed no need to add any new products. But Sparkes had not been dissuaded and, with the help of Edward Cresy, and engineer and

¹⁰⁵ Sources on Doulton & Co. include Alexander James Clement, “Sir Henry Doulton (1820-1897),” in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online ed., ed. Laurence Goldman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), doi: 10.1093/ref:odnb/7944; Desmond Eyles, *The Doulton Burslem Wares* (London: Barrie & Jenkins, in association with Royal Doulton Tableware Limited, 1980); Paul Atterbury and Louise Irvine, *The Doulton Story: a souvenir booklet produced Originally for the exhibition held at the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 30 May – 12 August 1979*, exhibition book (Stokes on Trent: Royal Doulton Tableware, 1979); Richard Dennis, *Doulton Pottery from the Lambeth and Burslem Studios, 1873-1939*, Part II (Uxbridge, England: Richard Dennis, in association with the Hillingdon Press, 1975); Desmond Eyles, *The Doulton Lambeth Wares* (London: Hutchinson & Co., 1975).

lifelong friend of Henry Doulton, he eventually convinced him to experiment with purely artistic design”

1867

Doulton presents the first examples of art pottery to be made by the company in the Paris Exhibition of 1867.

1870

The potters at Doulton started to work out technical problems with art pottery production and they are now beginning to produce high quality wares.

Ca. 1870

George Tinworth begins working at Doulton, by John Sparkes recommendation.

1872

Hannah Barlow begins working at Doulton, and the variety of art pottery production had expanded and improved.

1877

Henry Doulton was approached by Shadford Pinder, a potter from Burslem, Stoke-on-Trenton, with the proposition to form a partnership. Doulton agreed to the partnership with Pinder, Bourne & Co.

1882

Due to financial struggle, there was a growing rift between the partners. When Pinder retired in 1882, Doulton took full ownership of the Burslem factory and the name changed to Doulton & Co., Burslem.

1885

Henry Doulton was awarded the Albert medal, presented by the Prince of Wales (King Edward VII), for Doulton & Co.’s successes in creating art wares as well as functional designs.

1887

Henry Doulton was knighted by Queen Victoria at Osborne House.

1897

Henry Doulton died at his London residence and he was buried at Norwood cemetery.

Appendix E

John Charles Lewis Sparkes (1832/3-1907) Chronology¹⁰⁶

According to R.C. Denis there is little known about John C. L. Sparkes's early life. There is some information about his education. He was first taught by Paul Naftel in Guernsey and then continued at Leigh's academy and the Royal Academy Schools in London.

1853

Leigh advised John C.L. Sparkes to take up teaching. In 1853 he entered the art masters' training class at Marlborough House, Department of Science and Art.

1854

Sparkes took charge of Reverend Robert Gregory's art classes at the schools of St. Mary-the-Less in Lambeth. It is important to note that it was from these classes at St. Mary-the-Less, Sparkes developed the Lambeth School of Art which was later a leader in the instruction in applied art and design.

1868

On 1 August Sparkes married the painter and illustrator Catherine Adeline Edwards (unknown-1891), who had been a student at Lambeth.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁶ R.C. Denis, "Sparkes, John Charles Lewis (1832/3-1907)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online ed., ed. Lawrence Goldman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) doi: 10.1093/ref:odnb/56307; John C. L. Sparkes and Walter Gandy, *Potters: Their Arts and Crafts* (New York: Thomas Whittaker, 1897). John C. L. Sparkes, "School of Art: Their Origin, History, Work, and Influence," in *The Health Exhibition Literature* (London: William Clowes and Sons, in association with International Health Exhibition, 1884) 729 – 880; John C. L. Sparkes, *A Handbook to the Practice of Pottery Painting*, 3rd ed. (London: Lechertier, Barbe, & Co., 1879).

John C. L. Sparkes was among the first instructors to teach mechanical drawing. Students drew actual pieces of machinery as opposed to merely copying flat examples. Sparkes was a traditionalist with art and design education. He believed that the best way to learn was to draw from life. Though they did not always agree, John C. L. Sparkes and Henry Cole (1808-1882), head of the Department of Science and Art at Marlborough House, lead the way in educated women to work as ceramic decorations. Both strove for art educational reform throughout their career. For further information on Henry Cole, see Ann Cooper, "Cole, Sir Henry (1808-1882)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online ed., ed. Lawrence Goldman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), doi: 10.1093/ref:odnb/5852.

See Appendix C for Sparkes's connection to the teachings of John Ruskin.

Before 1869

A friendship formed between John C. L. Sparkes and Henry Doulton. Due to this relationship, many of the artists trained at Lambeth School of Art went to work at Doulton's pottery manufactory.

1869

He developed coursework at the school geared toward the pottery trade.

1875

Sparkes was invited by Edward J. Poynter to become headmaster of the National Art Training School at South Kensington.

1877

Sparkes wrote A Handbook to the Practice of Pottery Painting.

1879

Sparkes wrote The Classical Composition of John Flaxman, Sculptor.

1881

Sparkes was promoted to principal at South Kensington when Poynter left the position.

mid-1880s

The advanced pottery classes, previously held at the Lambeth School of Art, were taken over by the City and Guilds Institute.

1885

Sparkes wrote Hints on Pottery Painting.

1888

Sparkes wrote Manual of Artistic Anatomy.

1891

Catherine Sparkes dies in 1891. Following her death, John C. L. Sparkes made arrangements with the Royal Academy to bequeath the proceeds of his Surrey estates towards funding scholarships for female students, in memory of his wife.

1894

Sparkes wrote Wild Flowers in Art and Nature.

1897

Sparkes wrote Potters: Their Arts and Crafts.

1898

Sparkes retired from the principal position at South Kensington. He had reached the age limit.

¹⁰⁷ Catherine Adeline Edwards exhibited many pictures at the Royal Academy from 1866 to 1890. She first exhibited under her maiden name and then as Mrs. C. A. Sparkes after 1870.

1907

12 December 1907 John C. L. Sparkes died in Heathside, Ewhurst, Surrey.

Appendix F

References to Hannah Barlow (1851-1915)

This appendix serves to record the references found thus far on Hannah Barlow's work.

"The designs of the Misses Barlow - animals and flower pieces- have great spirit and merit. They are etched in the soft clay and then colored and fired." (1876)
Charles Wyllys Elliott, "Pottery at the Centennial," 571.

"A very fine exhibition of this work was made at the United States Centennial Festival at Philadelphia, which attracted much and deserved praise. Among the artists early engaged were some ladies named Barlow, I think, who did excellent work. One of them etched in the wet clay groups of animals which were spirited and fascinating; the other, I believe, did flowers and plants. These ladies went to work, and thus solved the "woman question," so far as it concerned themselves. Their work was much valued by collectors as far back as five or six years." (1878)
Charles Wyllys Elliott, Pottery and Porcelain: From Early Times Down to the Philadelphia Exhibition of 1876, 79.

"That of Hannah Barlow will be remembered as an instance of incised work, in black lines, upon a red or light brown body." (1880)
M. Louise McLaughlin, Pottery Decoration Under the Glaze, 81.

"The etching on this ware is principally by Miss Hannah Barlow, also by Miss Edwards and Mr. Butler; [...]. Of the former are some good vases by Miss Barlow, with groups of deer, horses, etc..." (1880)
United States Centennial Commission, International Exhibition, 1876: Reports and Awards. Vol III, Groups I and II
Francis A. Walker, ed. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1880) 53.

"This is in the nature of the old sgraffito style, in which the etched designs show the color of the clay beneath. In this manner he has procured some exceedingly artistic effects by outlining of heads, figures, and animals, somewhat after the Doulton stone-ware which has been brought into such prominence through the etchings of Miss Hannah B. Barlow and her co-workers." In reference to the work of Charles C. Benham, the first American to seriously take up the work of carving ornamental designs on ordinary salt-glazed stoneware. (1893)

Edwin AtLee Barber, The Pottery and Porcelain of the United States (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1893. Rev. ed., 1901) 507.

“In the *History of the Cincinnati Musical Festivals and of the Rookwood Pottery*, unpaginated, Maria Storer writes: ‘Our first kiln was drawn in November, 1880. I had not yet found any decorators, and except my own work, we had made only pitchers, tea-pots, etc., of simple red or yellow clay, and of pretty shape, after the fashion of early Doulton ware.’ Doulton shapes and decoration exerted one of the strongest English influences upon Rookwood. The entry for this shape in the Shape Record Book reads: ‘Pitcher 1881. After Hannah Barlow design.’” This entry was in response to a Laura Fry piece has used incised decoration to portray animals on a pitcher. (Fig.39)

Carol Macht and Deborah Long and Kenneth Trapp. The Ladies, God Bless 'Em: The Women's Art Movement in Cincinnati in the Nineteenth Century, Cincinnati Art Museum, February 19-April 18, 1976, Exhibition catalogue, (Cincinnati: Cincinnati Art Museum, 1976) 44.

Appendix G

Ordering the Haviland-Hayes Service¹⁰⁸

Order Placed on October 2, 1879		Order Placed ca. July 3, 1880		July 3 rd Order Modified on August 9, 1880*		
Item	Special Note	Item	Special Note	Reduced Item	New Item	
60 Dinner Plates	10 copies of 6 of Mr. Davis's designs.	4 Fish platters	Shad	2 Fish platters	40 dinner plates	Davis's Designs**
60 Game Plates	10 copies of 6 game subjects	4 Sauce boats	Water lily	2 Sauce boats		
60 Fish Plates	10 copies of 6 fish subjects	4 Game platters	"On the Chesapeake"	2 Game Platters		
60 Soup Plates	10 each of 6 subjects	4 Dinner platters	Wild Turkey	2 Dinner Platters		
60 Dessert Plates	10 each of 6 fruit designs	4 Ice Cream trays	Snow Shoe	2 Ice Cream trays		
60 Pairs of teas		80 Ice Cream plates	Individual	50 Ice cream plates		
60 Pairs of After Dinner Coffees		50 Salad plates	"Washed ashore"	No changes to order		
		50 Oyster plates	Blue Points and raccoon oysters	No changes to order		
		50 Indian plates	"Crackers, Cheese, & Cigars"	No changes to order		
		80 Independent butters	Lily Leaf	50 Independent Butter Plates		
TOTAL pieces: 720						

* Colonel Casey, the current commissioner of public buildings and grounds, modified the order made on July 3, 1880, because it did not take into account the silver platters that would no doubt be used at state dinners at the White House. Therefore with the additional serving pieces, parts of the order were adjusted.

** These 40 dinner plates are in addition to the 60 previously ordered. For the first 60 plates, only six of Davis's twelve designs were used, but three more of Davis's designs were added when the 40 additional plates were added. The designs included in the later order are: Bear in a Bee Tree, Antelope, and Prong Horn.

¹⁰⁸ The information on the orders comes from Margaret Klaphor, Official White House China, 102-121.

Appendix H

Catalogue of the Haviland-Hayes Service

Oyster Plate

Theodore Davis (1840-1894)
1879-1880
Philadelphia Museum of Art

Theodore Davis
1879-1880
Baltimore Museum of Art

Theodore Davis
1879-1880
Rutherford B. Hayes Presidential Center

Turkey Platter

“Wild Turkey”

Theodore Davis
1879-1880
Philadelphia Museum of Art

Theodore Davis
1879-1880
Philadelphia Museum of Art (2)

Theodore Davis
1879-1880
Margaret Klaphor, Official White House China, 110.

The Game Platter

“On the Chesapeake”

Theodore Davis
1879-1880

Philadelphia Museum of Art

Theodore Davis
1879-1880
Rutherford B. Hayes Presidential Center

Fish Platter

“The Shad”

Theodore Davis
1879-1880
Philadelphia Museum of Art

Theodore Davis
1879-1880
Rutherford B. Hayes Presidential Center

Sauce Boat

Theodore Davis
1879-1880
Margaret Klaphor, Official White House China, 112.

Salad Plates

“Washed ashore”

Theodore Davis
1879-1880
Philadelphia Museum of Art

Theodore Davis
1879-1880
Philadelphia Museum of Art (back)

Theodore Davis
1879-1880
Baltimore Museum of Art

Theodore Davis
1879-1880
Rutherford B. Hayes Presidential Center

Seafood Salad Plate

Theodore Davis
1879-1880
Philadelphia Museum of Art

Theodore Davis
1879-1880
Rutherford B. Hayes Presidential Center

Theodore Davis
1879-1880
Margaret Klapthor, Official White House China, 104.

Soup Plates

“Mountain Laurel”

Theodore Davis
1879-1880
Philadelphia Museum of Art

“Southward Flight”

Theodore Davis
1879-1880
Philadelphia Museum of Art

Theodore Davis
1879-1880
Baltimore Museum of Art

Theodore Davis
1879-1880
Rutherford B. Hayes Presidential Center

“American Soup of the XVth Century”

Theodore Davis
1879-1880
Philadelphia Museum of Art

Theodore Davis
1879-1880
Rutherford B. Hayes Presidential Center

“Crab”

Theodore Davis
1879-1880
Philadelphia Museum of Art

Theodore Davis
1879-1880
Margaret Klapthor, Official White House China, 107.

“Clam-Bake and Chowder”

Theodore Davis
1879-1880
Philadelphia Museum of Art

Theodore Davis
1879-1880
Rutherford B. Hayes Presidential Center

“Palmetto Cabbage”

Theodore Davis
1879-1880
Philadelphia Museum of Art

“Green Turtle”

Theodore Davis
1879-1880
Philadelphia Museum of Art

“The Frog”

Theodore Davis
1879-1880
Rutherford B. Hayes Presidential Center

(back of soup bowl)

Theodore Davis
1879-1880
Philadelphia Museum of Art

Fish Plates

“Pompano”

Theodore Davis
1879-1880
Philadelphia Museum of Art

Theodore Davis
1879-1880
Baltimore Museum of Art

Theodore Davis
1879-1880
Rutherford B. Hayes Presidential Center

“Smelt”

Theodore Davis
1879-1880
Philadelphia Museum of Art

Theodore Davis
1879-1880
Baltimore Museum of Art

“Black Bass”

Theodore Davis
1879-1880
Philadelphia Museum of Art

“Sheep’s-Head”

Theodore Davis
1879-1880
Philadelphia Museum of Art

Theodore Davis
1879-1880
Rutherford B. Hayes Presidential Center

“The Pike”

Theodore Davis
1879-1880
Philadelphia Museum of Art

Theodore Davis
1879-1880
Rutherford B. Hayes Presidential Center

“Spanish Mackerel”

Theodore Davis
1879-1880
Philadelphia Museum of Art

Theodore Davis
1879-1880
Philadelphia Museum of Art

“Red Snapper”

Theodore Davis
1879-1880
Philadelphia Museum of Art

Theodore Davis
1879-1880
Rutherford B. Hayes Presidential Center

“Terrapin”

Theodore Davis
1879-1880
Philadelphia Museum of Art

“Striped Bass”

Theodore Davis
1879-1880
Philadelphia Museum of Art

“Blue-Fish”

Theodore Davis

1879-1880
Rutherford B. Hayes Presidential Center

“Fresh-Water Lobster”

Theodore Davis
1879-1880
Rutherford B. Hayes Presidential Center

Game Plates

“California Quail”

Theodore Davis
1879-1880
Philadelphia Museum of Art

“The Canvas-Back Duck”

Theodore Davis
1879-1880
Philadelphia Museum of Art

Theodore Davis
1879-1880
Baltimore Museum of Art

Theodore Davis
1879-1880
Rutherford B. Hayes Presidential Center

“Ptarmigan’s Bath”

Theodore Davis
1879-1880
Rutherford B. Hayes Presidential Center

“Rice or Reed Bird”

Theodore Davis
1879-1880
Rutherford B. Hayes Presidential Center

“Wild Pigeon”

Theodore Davis
1879-1880

Rutherford B. Hayes Presidential Center

“Ruffed Grouse”

Theodore Davis
1879-1880
Rutherford B. Hayes Presidential Center

“Bob-White”

Theodore Davis
1879-1880
Margaret Klapthor, Official White House China, 111.

“The Woodcock”

Theodore Davis
1879-1880
Margaret Klapthor, Official White House China, 111.

Dinner Plates

“Racoon”

Theodore Davis
1879-1880
Philadelphia Museum of Art

Theodore Davis
1879-1880
Rutherford B. Hayes Presidential Center

“Antelope, or Prong-Horn”

Theodore Davis
1879-1880
Philadelphia Museum of Art

“Big Horn”

Theodore Davis
1879-1880
Philadelphia Museum of Art

Theodore Davis
1879-1880
Margaret Klapthor, Official White House China, 111.

“The May-Flower”

Theodore Davis
1879-1880
Philadelphia Museum of Art

Theodore Davis
1879-1880
Rutherford B. Hayes Presidential Center

“The Cranes’ Walk ‘Round”

Theodore Davis
1879-1880
Philadelphia Museum of Art

“The Mule Deer”

Theodore Davis
1879-1880
Rutherford B. Hayes Presidential Center

“Buffalo”

Theodore Davis
1879-1880
Margaret Klapthor, Official White House China, 111.

Fruit Plates¹⁰⁹

“The Studio”

Theodore Davis
1879-1880
Philadelphia Museum of Art

Theodore Davis
1879-1880
Rutherford B. Hayes Presidential Center

“Maple Sugar”

Theodore Davis
1879-1880
Philadelphia Museum of Art

Theodore Davis
1879-1880
Rutherford B. Hayes Presidential Center

Theodore Davis
1879-1880
Margaret Klapthor, Official White House China, 112.

“Huckleberry”

¹⁰⁹ The shape is modeled from the leaf of the American wild apple.

Theodore Davis
1879-1880
Philadelphia Museum of Art

Theodore Davis
1879-1880
Rutherford B. Hayes Presidential Center

“Pecan”

Theodore Davis
1879-1880
Philadelphia Museum of Art

Theodore Davis
1879-1880
Rutherford B. Hayes Presidential Center

“Locust”

Theodore Davis
1879-1880
Philadelphia Museum of Art

Theodore Davis
1879-1880
Baltimore Museum of Art

Theodore Davis
1879-1880
Rutherford B. Hayes Presidential Center

“The Concord Grape”

Theodore Davis
1879-1880
Philadelphia Museum of Art

Theodore Davis
1879-1880
Rutherford B. Hayes Presidential Center

“The Cedar Bird, or Cherry Bird and Persimmon”

Theodore Davis
1879-1880
Philadelphia Museum of Art

“Baltimore Oriole

Theodore Davis
1879-1880
Philadelphia Museum of Art

Theodore Davis
1879-1880
Philadelphia Museum of Art

Theodore Davis
1879-1880
Rutherford B. Hayes Presidential Center

“The Mocking-Bird”

Theodore Davis
1879-1880
Philadelphia Museum of Art

“The Chincapin”

Theodore Davis
1879-1880
Philadelphia Museum of Art

Theodore Davis
1879-1880
Rutherford B. Hayes Presidential Center

“Papaw”

Theodore Davis
1879-1880
Rutherford B. Hayes Presidential Center

Theodore Davis
1879-1880
Rutherford B. Hayes Presidential Center

“Ohio Golden-Rod”

Theodore Davis
1879-1880
Margaret Klapthor, Official White House China, 112.

Indian Plate

“Crackers, Cheese, & Cigars”

Theodore Davis
1879-1880
Philadelphia Museum of Art

Theodore Davis
1879-1880
Baltimore Museum of Art

Theodore Davis
1879-1880
Rutherford B. Hayes Presidential Center

Theodore Davis
1879-1880
Rutherford B. Hayes Presidential Center

Ice Cream Platter

Theodore Davis
1879-1880
Philadelphia Museum of Art

Ice Cream Plates

Theodore Davis
1879-1880
Philadelphia Museum of Art

Theodore Davis
1879-1880
Philadelphia Museum of Art (2)

Theodore Davis
1879-1880
Philadelphia Museum of Art (back)

Theodore Davis
1879-1880
Baltimore Museum of Art

After Dinner Coffee

Theodore Davis
1879-1880
Philadelphia Museum of Art

Theodore Davis
1879-1880
Philadelphia Museum of Art

Theodore Davis
1879-1880
Margaret Klapthor, Official White House China, 112.

Tea cup and Saucer

Theodore Davis
1879-1880
Rutherford B. Hayes Presidential Center

Theodore Davis
1879-1880
Margaret Klapthor, Official White House China, 112.