

MASTER  
THESIS

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**Self/Other's Delftware:**

**An Analysis of Blue and White Ceramics and Their  
Collecting in England and The Netherlands In The  
Nineteenth Century (1868–1901)**

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Szu-Yu Chen  
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## **Self/Other's Delftware:**

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## **Abstract**

Dutch delftware and English delftware underwent a similar development process: they were invented in the seventeenth century; they decreased in popularity in the seventeenth century. However, hardly any research has focused on the development of delftware in the nineteenth century. Therefore, the thesis specifically pays attention on Dutch and English delftware and their respective development in the context of nineteenth-century Europe. By focusing on aspects of blue and white delftware in the late nineteenth century and how people collected it in England and the Netherlands, I will offer an analysis of what was the role of delftware in the daily lives of the upper and middle-class and discuss what it meant for them to collect the delftware.

The primary sources of this thesis are books, newspapers, magazines, catalogues, diaries and advertisements from nineteenth-century England and the Netherlands. Through a combination of a theoretical review and a comparative analysis of English delftware with the Willow Pattern and Dutch delftware, this thesis hopes to contribute to the field of delftware studies.

### **Keywords:**

Delftware, Willow Pattern, The Nineteenth Century, England, The Netherlands, Collecting, Blue and White Ceramics, Chinamania, Aesthetic Movement.

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Joyce Szu Yu Chen

June 29 2020 in Rotterdam

## Chapter One: Introduction

‘I find it harder and harder every day to live up to my blue and white china.’<sup>1</sup>

- Oscar Wilde

Oscar Wilde (1854–1900) was one of the most well-known figures linked to the Aesthetic Movement (Aestheticism) and the craze of blue and white china in the late nineteenth century. This quote from Wilde, the great Irish writer who aspired to live up to the blue china, demonstrated the fashion trend in nineteenth-century Europe. Wilde said it when he got two vases in Magdalen college at Oxford University.<sup>2</sup> There, he earned the reputation for furnishing his room with blue and white china.

It was not just him, but most European people who were obsessed with Oriental, in particular Chinese, objects. This is sometimes called Chinoiserie, which is derived from the French term ‘Chinois’. Chinoiserie is used to describe a type of European Aesthetic mode centred around Chinese and pseudo Chinese motifs.<sup>3</sup> What started in France then traveled to England and the Netherlands, from where Chinoiserie expanded to the rest of Europe throughout the late seventeenth and eighteenth century. The common art forms associated with Chinoiserie are architecture, furniture, gardening, ceramics and fabrics.<sup>4</sup>

Among the artefacts associated with Chinoiserie, delftware, the Dutch and English imitation of Chinese blue and white porcelain, is the most representative one. Typically portrayed as a European Chinoiserie object, delftware was invented in the seventeenth century in the Netherlands, and soon the technology of delftware spread to England and other European countries.<sup>5</sup> Queen Mary, who was the

<sup>1</sup> Richard Ellmann, *Oscar Wilde*, (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1987), 43-44.

<sup>2</sup> Leanne Grech, *Oscar Wilde's Aesthetic Education*, (Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019), 88.

<sup>3</sup> Gordon Campbell, *The Grove Encyclopedia of Decorative Arts: Two-volume Set*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 237.

<sup>4</sup> Paul F. Hsai, ‘Chinoiserie in Eighteenth Century England’, *American Journal of Chinese Studies*, (October 1997), 238.

<sup>5</sup> R. J. C. Hildyard, *European Ceramics*, (Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), 42.

ruler both in England and the Netherlands, and her porcelain rooms, made the English delftware on a par with the Dutch delftware in the seventeenth century. She and her husband William of Orange became king and queen of England in 1689 after the Glorious Revolution. Because of this parallel history, I am curious about the nature of the development of delftware afterwards in both countries, as hardly any research has shed light on it. Thus, my research is specifically focus on Dutch and English delftware and their respective development in the context of nineteenth-century Europe, when people like Wilde were fond of collecting blue and white ceramics. Collecting delftware was also almost as trendy in nineteenth-century Netherlands as in the UK. By focusing on aspects of the craze about blue and white delftware in the late nineteenth century and how people collected it in England and the Netherlands, I will offer an analysis of what was the role of delftware in the daily lives of the upper and middle-class and discuss what it meant for them to collect the delftware.

As mentioned above, this vogue for the blue and white ceramics in the nineteenth century has piqued my interest. This thesis aims to portray of English and Dutch people in the nineteenth century through the lens of delftware. This means I will not only look at the delftware that the upper-class possessed but also focus on the middle-class and their relationship to delftware in England and the Netherlands of the late nineteenth century. The main research question of my thesis is therefore: *How can the collecting of blue and white delftware be explained in the Aestheticism period (1868–1901) in English and Dutch society?* The research period I choose for examining the delftware consumption and collection in England and the Netherlands runs from 1868 to 1901. Since those artists and the nobles, who are mentioned in this thesis, were all based in London, I limit my research frame only to England, which means Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland are not under consideration. The time is chosen based on the rise of the Aesthetic Movement I already mentioned above, whose motto ‘Art for



Art's sake' revived the enthusiasm of blue and white china and delftware again in the late nineteenth century.<sup>6</sup>

The sub questions are as follow:

- How did the role of blue and white ceramics, delftware in particular, transform in the late nineteenth century in the Aesthetic period?
- How did the meaning of collecting delftware differ in these two countries?
- To what extent were these two phenomena, the trend for collecting delftware in the Netherland and Chinamania in England related and what was the difference?

The enthusiasm for having blue and white ceramics, however, was short-lived while not in the mainstream of the European society – the economic attraction of delftware disappeared in the eighteenth century. The massive import taxes and the presence of new type of ceramics, English creamware for instance, hampered the growth of blue and white delftware.<sup>7</sup> After almost a few decades of decline, the second rise of blue and white ceramics returned in the late nineteenth century. In this period, the widespread desire to have the blue and white ceramics was called 'Chinamania' in England. This vivid term expressed the mania for Oriental objects such as porcelain and ceramics, peacock feathers and silks.<sup>8</sup> As mentioned above, Oscar Wilde was known for collecting blue and white ceramics during the Chinamania period. Next to Wilde, several Victorian artists like James McNeill Whistler and Dante Gabriel Rossetti also had a preference for blue and white decoration.<sup>9</sup> In

<sup>6</sup> C. S. Lambert, *Sea Glass: Rare and Wonderful* (Maine: Down East Books, 2017), 84.

<sup>7</sup> Titus M. Eilens, Marjoleine Groen, Sebastian Ostkamp, *Delftware: History of a National Product* (Zwolle: Waanders, 1999), 10.

<sup>8</sup> Michael Hatt, 'Space, Surface, Self: Homosexuality and the Aesthetic Interior', *Visual Culture in Britain* v.8, n.1 (01 June Summer 2007), 105.

<sup>9</sup> Anne Anderson, "'Fearful Consequences . . . of Living up to One's Teapot': Men, Women, and "Cultchah" in the English Aesthetic Movement c. 1870–1900', *Victorian Literature and Culture*, Vol. 37, (Mar 2009): 220.

the nineteenth century, the Aesthetic Movement (Aestheticism) sought pure beauty in the realm of art, supported by these artists. Simultaneously, blue and white ceramics as a popular interior decoration of was central in the movement.<sup>10</sup> Since Chinamania was regarded as the emblem of the Aesthetic Movement's motto 'Art for Art's sake', (on which I will elaborate in the section on theoretical concepts), the popularity of old blue and white ceramics and delftware surged on the market again.<sup>11</sup>

In the Netherlands, something similar was happening in the same period. The country also underwent a second craze for blue and white delftware in the late nineteenth century. The first high peak of Dutch delftware was the seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth century, the period that Dutch delftware was invented and developed. From then on, delftware gradually came to be the iconic national products of the Netherlands. In the nineteenth century, as one of the unique products of the golden age, Dutch delftware was collected and purchased substantially and passionately by collectors. The collectors such as John F. Loudon and Jan Peter Six purchased and appreciated the old delftware as it represented the glory of the Netherlands in its Golden Age – the seventeenth century.<sup>12</sup> From the time of Amsterdam international exhibition in 1883, the notion that delftware was a national product with a historical background bloomed and became the domestic focus from then on.

This thesis will cover three types of blue and white ceramics in the Aesthetic period.<sup>13</sup> The first one is the Oriental Porcelains, mainly the Chinese blue and white porcelain produced in the Qing dynasty. Generally, it was called 'old Nankin' or Kangxi porcelain.<sup>14</sup> The second type is the Dutch delftware. This refers to the blue and white ceramics made in the Netherlands, most of which were

<sup>10</sup> Michael Hatt, 'Space, Surface, Self,' 105.

<sup>11</sup> C. S. Lambert, *Sea Glass*, 84.

<sup>12</sup> Jan van Campen, 'The Rijksmuseum and the Collecting of Chinese Ceramics in the Nineteenth Century', *Vormen uit Vuur* 2005/2 – 3 191/192 (2005): 72.

<sup>13</sup> Anne Anderson, "'Fearful Consequences,' 222.

<sup>14</sup> Anne Anderson, "'Fearful Consequences,' 222.

from the city of Delft. The last one is eighteenth-century European ceramics, including French, Germany and English products. In particular, this thesis will focus on the English delftware painting with the Willow Pattern which was emerged in the eighteenth century.

The terminology in the thesis is as follows. The term ‘ceramic’ and ‘china’ refer, in general, all three types of the blue and white. ‘Old blue and white’ is sometimes mentioned in the thesis, which also means all types of blue and white ceramics, but the word ‘old’ is used to emphasise their antiqueness. The term ‘porcelain’ is mainly used to refer to the Chinese and Oriental blue and white. The term ‘delftware’ includes both English and Dutch typss, and if necessary, I will use Dutch delftware and English delftware to make the distinction.

To make it clear, the target social stratifications in the thesis are the upper-class and middle-class, who had the ability to afford the blue and white ceramics. The upper-class refers to the aristocracy and nobles. The middle-class refers to people who had the professional jobs including manufacturers, merchants, attorneys and shopkeepers.<sup>15</sup> Within the middle-class, there is a distainction between the wealthy upper-middle-class people and the regular lower-middle-class.<sup>16</sup> The thesis will conduct the discussion based on this social class structure.

<sup>15</sup> Simon Gunn, ‘Translating Bourdieu: cultural capital and the English middle-class in historical perspective’, *The British Journal of Sociology* Volume 56 (2005): 50.

<sup>16</sup> Robert C. Allen, ‘Class structure and inequality during the industrial revolution: lessons from England’s social tables, 1688–1867’, *Economic History Review*, 72, 1 (2019): 97.

## 1.1 Main Theoretical Concepts

I present four theoretical concepts to support my thesis. The first one is Chinamania, which is deemed essential for the Aesthetic Movement; the second one is the Aesthetic Movement; the third is the notion of otherness; and the last one is the national identity built by delftware.

In a rejection of dark and heavy Victorian designs, the interest in simpler fabric, painting and blue and white china led to the Aesthetic Movement in England.<sup>17</sup> Chinamania, a movement that experience its peak in popularity in the period, refers to a particular phenomenon of collecting the blue and white ceramics during the Aesthetic Movement. A critic in the Magazine *Punch*, George du Maurier, invented the term Chinamania to satirise the insane desire to have blue and white china.<sup>18</sup> *Punch* was a weekly periodical depicting cultural and political lives in Victorian England for the middle-class.<sup>19</sup> With the cartoons, *Punch* showed an awareness of Chinamania wrecking the country and its citizens. The editors of *Punch* believed that not only the upper-class but the middle- and working-classes also had the craze about Chinoiserie ceramics – the blue and white china. The mania hit a high spot in the 1870s and later Wilde gave it a new impulse. Chinamania had a direct and obvious link with the Aesthetic Movement – according to prominent aesthetes, a beautiful home should be decorated with Aesthetic antiques such as old blue and white china.<sup>21</sup>

Also referred to as Aestheticism, the Aesthetic Movement began in 1860 and ended in 1901. It derived from two artistic concepts: design reform and the belief in ‘Art for Art’s sake’.<sup>22</sup> With the

<sup>17</sup> C. S. Lambert, *Sea Glass*, 84.

<sup>18</sup> Brian Maidment, ‘The Presence of Punch in the Nineteenth Century’, In *Asian Punches A Transcultural Affair*, ed. Hans Harder and Barbara Mittler (Berlin Heidelberg: Springer-Verlag, 2013), 15.

<sup>19</sup> Patrick Leary, “‘The Immortal Periodical’: Punch in the Nineteenth Century.’ *Punch Historical Archive 1841–1992: Cengage Learning* (2014), 11.

<sup>20</sup> Amy Matthewson, ‘Mr Punch and Chinamania: Blue Willow China and Consumer Consumption in ‘Punch’ Magazine, 1874–1880’, Lecture Series 2017–18, 20 February 2018, Royal Asiatic Society Lecture Theatre, 14 Stephenson Way London, NW1 2HD United Kingdom.

<sup>21</sup> Anne Anderson, “‘Chinamania’: Collecting Old Blue for the House Beautiful, c.1860–1900’, in *Material Cultures, 1740–1920: The Meanings and Pleasures of Collecting* ed. John Potvin and Alla Myzelev (London: Routledge, 2017), 113.

<sup>22</sup> Jennifer Adams, ‘Nothing is true but beauty: Oscar Wilde in the Aesthetic Movement’, (MA diss., Corcoran College of Art & Design, 2009), 5.

motto 'Art for Art's sake', the core value of the Aesthetic Movement was that arts shouldn't be evaluated on a moral basis, which challenged the mainstream Victorian culture and traditional Aesthetic standard.<sup>23</sup> This movement was advocated by several Victorian artists (or aesthetes) such as Oscar Wilde and James McNeill Whistler. Not surprisingly, their works all followed the rule of 'Art for Art's sake'.

Aside from discussing the Chinamania and the Aesthetic Movement, my research will also focus on the phenomenon of otherness to a certain extent, in the sense that, the Chinese porcelain first arrived in Europe as an 'other' in the seventeenth century. Yet, the Oriental 'other' appearance, as well as the undeniable 'Chinese root' of delftware and blue and white porcelain, became a part of the 'self' mainstream culture eventually. This is line with Edward Said's famous work on Orientalism and European's imagined geography of the Orient embodied through the colonial occupation and the enormous transnational trades.<sup>24</sup> Based on Said's work, researchers have conducted studies on the relation between exotic/Oriental objects and their otherness. Due to the asymmetric power relationship between Westerners and others, Exoticism is regarded as the most direct form of otherness geographically. <sup>25</sup> Chinoiserie, the desire for exotica in the Western context, served as a solid evidence of Exoticism in Europe. Moreover, Anne Anderson also emphasised that the charm of the blue and white, the antique Chinoiserie objects, in the nineteenth century, led in its oddness, antiquity and 'otherness'.<sup>26</sup>

The last theoretical concept that will be covered is the identity issue. Dutch delftware has been seen as an iconic national product of the Netherlands. A national symbol is a basic concept making

<sup>23</sup> Carolyn Burdett, 'Aestheticism and Decadence', *Discovering Literature: Romantics & Victorians*, 15 Mar 2014. <https://www.bl.uk/romantics-and-victorians/articles/Aestheticism-and-decadence>. Accessed: 2 March 2020.

<sup>24</sup> Edward W Said, *Orientalism*, (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978).

<sup>25</sup> Jean-François Staszak, 'Other/Otherness', in *International Encyclopedia of Human Geography vol. 8* ed. Kitchin R. and Thrift N (Oxford: Elsevier Science, 2009), 46.

<sup>26</sup> Anne Anderson, "'Chinamania'", 110.

members distinctive and visible. By using symbols, such as flags, uniforms or ceremonies, members are reminded of their shared heritages and cultural connection, and the feeling is strengthened by the sense of common identity and belonging.<sup>27</sup> However, as historian Eric Hobsbawm said: “‘Traditions’ which appear or claim to be old are often quite recent in origin and sometimes invented.”<sup>28</sup> The emergence of the Dutch national identity was in the nineteenth century. In the book *Imagined Communities*, Anderson also proposes the concept of an imagined community as ‘an imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign.’<sup>29</sup> What he believes is that a nation is constructed by the people who perceive themselves as a part of that group.<sup>30</sup> Both *Imagined Communities* and *The Invention of Tradition* remind us that the identity of a certain group of people isn’t be generated by itself – it is invented, formed and built by the members of the group.

In this thesis, I will argue that the invention of ‘delftware as a national product’ took place in the nineteenth century. Furthermore, Anthony D. Smith addressed, primarily, the concept of nationalism and national identity. He claims that there are five essential features forming national identity: historical territory, common myths and memories of origin, a common mass public culture, common legal rights and duties, and common economy and territorial mobility.<sup>31</sup> In this case, I will focus on the invention of delftware as a common mass public culture. By doing so, I try to map out how the craze for delftware became related to the identity formation.

Overall, Chinamania, the Aesthetic Movement, otherness and the building of identity are the foundations of my thesis.

<sup>27</sup> Anthony D Smith, *National identity* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1991), 16–17.

<sup>28</sup> Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger ed, *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 1.

<sup>29</sup> Benedict Anderson, *Imagined communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism* (Revised ed.), (London: Verso, 1991), 6.

<sup>30</sup> Benedict Anderson, *Imagined communities*, 6.

<sup>31</sup> Anthony D Smith, *National identity*, 14.

## 1.2 Literature Report

In this part, I give an academic overview of several literature publications. There are six various approaches of the historiography explored in this proposal: Chinoiserie in Europe, the development of Dutch and English Delftware, the Aesthetic Movement, the Chinamania, the making of identity and the relationship between class stratification and material consumption and collecting in nineteenth-century England and the Netherlands.

### Chinoiserie in Europe

The establishment of an Asian trading route had indicated Westerners' interest in the Orient since the sixteenth century. This literature report has been streamlined to studies primarily focusing on the movement of porcelain and ceramics. Books like *The Pilgrim Art*<sup>32</sup> and Maria Teresa's dissertation<sup>33</sup> explore the cultural role of Chinese porcelain in world history to point out the significant cultural influence of Chinese porcelain around the globe. Maria Teresa specifically indicated that porcelain imported into England was highly appreciated and it remained the privilege of the royalty, nobility and wealthy merchants for decades. The Dutch, by contrast, were reported to have porcelain for daily use.

With trades between East and West, Chinoiserie was initiated in the seventeenth, but became a long-lived trend throughout eighteenth-century Europe. It refers to as the Chinese decorative motifs and concepts in Western cultural and artistic production including porcelain, furniture, literature and architecture.<sup>34</sup> In his book, Johns examines Chinoiserie in the context of the church and other political architectures, which have been largely overlooked in studies of it.<sup>35</sup> Instead of focusing on Chinoiserie

<sup>32</sup> Robert Finlay, *The Pilgrim Art: Cultures of Porcelain in World History* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2010).

<sup>33</sup> Llorens Planella Maria Teresa (Teresa Canepa), 'Silk, porcelain and lacquer: China and Japan and their trade with Western Europe and the New World, 1500–1644. A survey of documentary and material evidence' (PhD diss., Leiden University, 2015).

<sup>34</sup> Angela Kang, *Musical Chinoiserie*, (PhD diss., University of Nottingham, September 2011), i.

<sup>35</sup> Christopher M. S. Johns, *China and the Church: Chinoiserie in Global Context* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2016).

architecture, Portanova casts light on the porcelain in the article ‘Porcelain, The Willow Pattern, and Chinoiserie’.<sup>36</sup>

Later, Chinoiserie and Chinoiserie porcelain has been linked with women as well as femininity. Alayrac-Fielding’s article looks at several periodicals and paintings to examine the relationship between femininity and low culture.<sup>37</sup> In the 1750s, related negative judgements on Chinoiserie emerged, which turned Chinese ceramics into metaphorical representations of women. She believes that the feminisation of the artistic style was an intention to present both chinoiserie and its feminine element as emblems of low culture.<sup>38</sup> The process shows the male-dominant discourse attempts to endanger the power of women in the realm of art, culture and taste.

All in all, the works above points out three characteristics of Chinoiserie: otherness, femininity and instability to society. Based on these studies, my thesis will further confirm these characteristics within the context of English Chinamania in the nineteenth century.

### **Delftware in the Netherlands and England**

Considered as a remarkable representation of Chinoiserie, delftware was created to meet the demands of Oriental goods and Chinese porcelains. Scholars have shown the interest in different aspects of delftware. Some trace back the long history of Dutch delftware while some focus on special concern on a specific era.<sup>39</sup> In particular, Odell focuses on a long period of history from the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries to trace the Dutch reception of Chinese porcelain, the English

<sup>36</sup> Joseph J Portanova, ‘Porcelain, the Willow Pattern, and Chinoiserie.’ (n.d.), 1.

<http://www.nyu.edu/projects/mediamosaic/madeinchina/pdf/Portanova.pdf>. Accessed 8 March 2020.

<sup>37</sup> Vanessa Alayrac-Fielding, “‘Frailty, thy name is China’: women, chinoiserie and the threat of low culture in eighteenth-century England”, *Women’s History Review* Volume 18, (2009): 659–668.

<sup>38</sup> Vanessa Alayrac-Fielding, “‘Frailty, thy name is China’: women, chinoiserie and the threat of low culture in eighteenth-century England”, *Women’s History Review*, Volume 18, (2009): 659–668.

<sup>39</sup> Dawn Odell, ‘Delftware and the Domestication of Chinese Porcelain’ traces the long history and Thijs Weststeijn, ‘Cultural reflections on porcelain in the 17th–century Netherlands’ focuses on the seventeenth century.



consumption of Dutch ceramics, and the rediscovery of delftware by Dutch entrepreneurs and American tourists in the nineteenth century.<sup>40</sup> Based on this article, my thesis further delve into the gradual acceptance of the porcelain in the Dutch context in the nineteenth century, the period that hasn't been fully covered to date.

The design of delftware combines both Eastern motifs and Western creations. Professor Jing Sun, in the essay 'Exotic Imitation and Local Cultivation: A Study on the Art Form of Dutch Delftware Between 1640 and 1720', investigates how exactly Delftware artists borrowed from Chinese motifs and styles, and how they were combined the exotic appearance of Chinese porcelain with native Dutch characteristics and customs.<sup>41</sup> In contrast, 'No Delft Without China: The Dynamics Between Dutch Delft Ceramics and Chinese Porcelain' by Dorien Knaap explains the dynamic tension between local influences and the Oriental motifs that led the Dutch painters to try to create their own design, through the combination of various Chinese and Japanese illustrations and Dutch traditional majolica painting. In particular, the tulip vase is a typical Dutch design made by Delft potters.

A great secondary source for analysing delftware is museum catalogues. *Delffse Porceleyne*, written by Jan Daniel van Dam, is in the delftware collection in the Rijkmuseum.<sup>42</sup> *Delftware Wonderware: Het Wonder Van Delfts Blauw* by Suzanne M R Lambooy; Marion S. van Aken-Fehmers; Titus M Eliëns; Erik Hesmerg provides a look at Kunstmuseum's collection of Dutch delftware.<sup>43</sup>

The other major focus of the thesis is the English delftware. The craze for Chinoiserie spurred the emergence of English delftware as well. Delftware was introduced to Britain from the Netherlands before the mid-seventeenth century by Dutch potters. Barber mentions in the article 'English Delft'

<sup>40</sup> Dawn Odell, 'Delftware and the Domestication'.

<sup>41</sup> Jing Sun, 'Exotic Imitation and Local Cultivation: A Study on the Art Form of Dutch Delftware Between 1640 and 1720' in *The Transformation of Vernacular Expression in Early Modern Arts*, ed. Joost Keizer and Todd Richardson (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2012).

<sup>42</sup> Jan Daniel van Dam, *Delffse Porceleyne* (Zwolle: Waanders, 2004).

<sup>43</sup> Suzanne M. R. Lambooy, Marion S. van Aken-Fehmers, Titus M. Eliëns, Erik Hesmerg, *Delftware Wonderware: Het Wonder Van Delfts Blauw* (Den Haag: de Kunstmuseum 2012).

that the English delftware was generally inferior to the Dutch one owing to the material difference.<sup>44</sup> ‘Delftware Chronology: A New Approach to Dating English Tin–Glazed Ceramics’, written by Shlasko illustrates the development of English tin–glazed ceramic.<sup>45</sup> Particularly, this study provides focused date ranges and average dates for specific decorative styles and techniques utilised by tin–glaze potters in England during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. English delftware with the Willow Pattern, in particular, is the primary focus of this thesis. Portanova’s article ‘Porcelain, The Willow Pattern, and Chinoiserie’ discusses the emergence of the Willow Pattern delftware.<sup>46</sup> Also, ‘The willow pattern that we knew: the Victorian literature of blue willow’, written by Patricia O’Hara investigates the origin of the Willow Pattern legend.<sup>47</sup> She uses an article in 1849 as an entry point and thoroughly examines the evolution of the legend, including plays and poetry.

There are a few studies talking about the connection between Dutch and English delftware.<sup>48</sup> In particular, *Delftware Dutch And English* by N. Hudson Moore gives a clear overview of both Dutch and English delftware.<sup>49</sup> With the quote ‘the Dutch copied at the first hand, the English used as models the copied objects,’ Moore clearly points out that the Dutch–English relationship was more like that of initiator and follower.<sup>50</sup> An interesting connection between England and the Netherlands was the shared ruler: Queen Mary, and her porcelain rooms. Ashikari’s Master dissertation looks closely at Queen Mary’s collection of interior decoration of Het Loo and Hampton Court Legacies.<sup>51</sup> This study mainly focuses on the decorated rooms at Het Loo and Hampton Court that housed porcelain and its

<sup>44</sup> Edwin A Barber, ‘English Delft’, *Bulletin of the Pennsylvania Museum*, Vol. 4, No. 13 (January 1906), 8–11.

<sup>45</sup> Ellen Shlasko, ‘Delftware Chronology: A New Approach to Dating English Tin–Glazed Ceramics’, Diss.s, Theses, and Masters Projects, Paper 1539625501(1989).

<sup>46</sup> Joseph J Portanova, ‘Porcelain, the Willow Pattern, and Chinoiserie.’ (n.d.).

<http://www.nyu.edu/projects/mediamosaic/madeinchina/pdf/Portanova.pdf>. Accessed 8 March 2020.

<sup>47</sup> Patricia O’Hara, “‘The willow pattern that we knew’: the Victorian literature of blue willow’, *Victorian Studies* Vol. 36, Issue 4 (1993): 421–442.

<sup>48</sup> Others like Lisa Jardine, *Going Dutch: How England Plundered Holland’s Glory*, (New York: Harper Perennial, 2009).

<sup>49</sup> Hudson Moore, *Delftware Dutch and English*, (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company, 1908).

<sup>50</sup> Hudson Moore, *Delftware Dutch and English*, 63.

<sup>51</sup> Ayumi Ashikari. ‘The Porcelain Rooms of Mary Stuart at Het Loo and Hampton Court Legacies of the Orange princesses and Mary’s creativity’ (MA diss., Leiden University 2018).

imitation, delftware. It also indicates the remarkable importance of how women initiated the development of interior design with delftware and related customs.

## **Aesthetic Movement**

Moving to the Aesthetic Movement in the nineteenth century, a great primary source on this topic is *The Aesthetic Movement in England* in 1882 written by the author Walter Hamilton.<sup>52</sup>

Among all the performances and influences of the Aesthetic Movement, the thesis focusses primarily on the aesthetes, who represented the movement. Anderson's work 'Wilde, Whistler and Staging "Art for Art's sake"' talks about Wilde and Whistler, two famous aesthetes, and criticism of them.<sup>53</sup> After examining their works and the publications such as *Punch*, she concluded that the criticism failed to discredit Aestheticism.

The most well-known supporters of Aestheticism was Oscar Wilde. In 'Nothing is True but Beauty: Oscar Wilde in the Aesthetic Movement', Adams believes Wilde deserved the reputation for his contributions to the Aesthetic Movement.<sup>54</sup> The article by Qi Chen points out the clear connection between Chinese object consumption and Wilde's Aestheticism, which explores the cultural resources contributed to his Aesthetic system.<sup>55</sup> The consumption of Chinese goods was originally a symbol to distinguish your membership of a certain class. At the end of the nineteenth century, it spread from aristocracy and social elites to a wider market. Driven by the forces including consumerism, industrialisation and the new middle-classes' ambitions for social mobility, the Aesthetic Movement

<sup>52</sup> Walter Hamilton, *The Aesthetic Movement in England*, (London: Reeves and Turner, 1882).

<sup>53</sup> Anne Anderson, 'Wilde, Whistler and Staging "Art for Art's sake"' *Theatre Notebook*, (February 2016): 32–65.

<sup>54</sup> Jennifer Adams, 'Nothing is true but beauty: Oscar Wilde in the Aesthetic Movement', (MA diss., Corcoran College of Art & Design, 2009).

<sup>55</sup> Qi Chen, 'Aristocracy for the Common People: Chinese Commodities in Oscar Wilde's Aestheticism', *Victorian Network Volume 1, Number 1*, (2009), 39–54.

thus became a plea for social transformation. The author states that Aestheticism also served as a way to improve society materially.<sup>56</sup>

Furthermore, James Whistler was another key person linked to the Aesthetic Movement, whose work represented the principles of the movement very well. James McNeill Whistler, the artist and the aesthete, had played an essential role in Chinamania and the collecting of the blue and white in the nineteenth century. Blue and white porcelain was the indispensable elements in most of his paintings. Also, Whistler's Peacock Room, his most famous masterpiece, is regarded as a retrieved paradise in the nineteenth century.<sup>57</sup> Sally-Anne Huxtable's 'Whistler's Peacock Room and the Artist as Magus' believes the room expressed the artistic identity consciously created by Whistler.<sup>58</sup> The article then goes through an analysis of the meaning of the peacock, in areas from the mythology to alchemy. John Siewert, in his 'Interior Motives: Whistler's Studio and Symbolist Mythmaking', puts the focus on Whistler's studio to find out implications generated by this particular place in order to place Whistler within the larger narrative of the movement of Aestheticism.<sup>59</sup> Nevertheless, in addition to Whistler's efforts on art, he also acted as an ambassador of a globalised world. He had left his footprint in Chile,<sup>60</sup> France,<sup>61</sup> Venice,<sup>62</sup> Amsterdam,<sup>63</sup> and so on, all of which had been reflected in his painting and works. A chapter in Singletary's book *James McNeill Whistler and France: A Dialogue in Paint, Poetry, and Music*, singles out Whistler's paintings, which had shown the Dutch seventeenth-century

<sup>56</sup> Qi Chen, 'Aristocracy', 39–54.

<sup>57</sup> Max F. Schulz, *Paradise Preserved: Recreations in Eden in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century England*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985): 306.

<sup>58</sup> Sally-Anne Huxtable, 'Whistler's Peacock Room and the Artist as Magus' in *Palaces of Art: Whistler and the Art Worlds of Aestheticism*, ed. Lee Glazer and Linda Merrill (Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution Scholarly Press 2013), 67–80.

<sup>59</sup> John Siewert, 'Interior Motives: Whistler's Studio and Symbolist Mythmaking' in *Palaces of Art: Whistler and the Art Worlds of Aestheticism*, ed. Lee Glazer and Linda Merrill (Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution Scholarly Press 2013), 81–92.

<sup>60</sup> Daniel E. Sutherland, 'James McNeill Whistler in Chile: Portrait of the Artist as Arms Dealer', *American Nineteenth Century History* Volume 9 (2008), 61–73.

<sup>61</sup> Suzanne Singletary, *James McNeill Whistler and France: A Dialogue in Paint, Poetry, and Music*, (Abingdon-on-Thames: Taylor & Francis, 2016).

<sup>62</sup> Margaret MacDonald, *Palaces in the Night: Whistler in Venice*, (Oakland: University of California Press, 2001).

<sup>63</sup> Suzanne Singletary, *James McNeill Whistler*.

interior with the title ‘Holland and Modern Interior’.<sup>64</sup> Therefore, Amsterdam and the Netherlands, among all these cities and countries he visited, will represent the direction of the thesis to find out whether there is a link between the Aesthetic Movement and the craze for blue and white in the Netherlands or not.

## **Chinamania**

Chinamania refers to the craze for collecting blue and white ceramics in the Aesthetic Movement.<sup>65</sup>

It is believed that Oscar Wilde brought the blue and white into the public’s attention, while Whistler was the one who initiated the enthusiasm among the general public. Several studies emphasised its significance, for example Anderson’s “‘Fearful Consequences . . . of Living up to One’s Teapot’: Men, Women, and “Cultchah” in the English Aesthetic Movement c. 1870–1900’,<sup>66</sup> and Margaret MacDonald ‘Whistler’s Designs for a Catalogue of Blue and White Nankin Porcelain’.<sup>67</sup> Scholars such as Martin,<sup>68</sup> Rodgers,<sup>69</sup> and Trippi<sup>70</sup> also focus on Whistler’s works and the appreciation of blue and white china.

It should be noted that there is a lack of research about Chinamania in academia. The only essay directly showing the relation between the Chinoiserie ceramics and Chinamania is Anne Anderson’s “‘Chinamania’: Collecting Old Blue for the House Beautiful, c.1860–1900’. In the essay, Anderson

<sup>64</sup> Suzanne Singletary, *James McNeill Whistler*, 102–127.

<sup>65</sup> Anne Anderson, ‘Chinamania’, 110.

<sup>66</sup> Anne Anderson, “‘Fearful Consequences’, 219–254.

<sup>67</sup> Margaret MacDonald, ‘Whistler’s Designs for a Catalogue of Blue and White Nankin Porcelain’, *Connoisseur*, vol. 198, (August 1978): 291–295.

<sup>68</sup> Matthew Martin, ‘From Japonisme to Art Nouveau’ in *Japonisme: Japan and the birth of modern art* Amanda Dunsmore, ed. Matthew Martin, and Wayne Crothers (Melbourne: National Gallery of Victoria, 2018), 31–38.

<sup>69</sup> Josephine White Rodgers, ‘Patronage, Power, and Aesthetic Taste: The marketing of James McNeill Whistler’s Art and Legacy’, (MA diss., The State University of New Jersey, May 2015).

<sup>70</sup> Peter Trippi, ‘Whistler, Freer, and Their Living Legacy’, *Fine Art Connoisseur* (2015): 48–53.

emphasises that the craze for blue and white ceramics began with collecting old blue from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The belief in a beautiful home, a house decorated by antiques like old blue and white, was advocated by aesthetes widely in the late nineteenth century. Anderson associates Chinamania with gendered collecting – masculine collecting is good and feminine collecting is bad. Namely, women collected ceramics according to the appearance and without a systematic manner, while men’s collecting was regarded as professional and organised.<sup>71</sup>

Similarly, a point addressed by Matthewson is that blue and white ceramics were gendered and linked to femininity, uselessness and irrationality in the British content.<sup>72</sup> In her speech, ‘Mr Punch and Chinamania: Blue Willow China and Consumer Consumption in “Punch” Magazine, 1874–1880’, she mentions how the symptoms of the illness of Chinamania manifested differently for men and women. Infected by Chinamania, men were criticised for the wealthlessness and women for maternal misbehaviour.<sup>73</sup>

Both Anderson and Matthewson’s studies are based on cartoons in the magazine. In other words, the research about Chinamania has to be conducted with a closer look at Magazine *Punch*, in which an interpretation of trends in the nineteenth century is represented.

In spite of several studies talking about the Chinamania and the craze for the blue and white ceramics, they do not, in my opinion, make a clear statement about the actual involvement of the English middle-class in the Chinamania. This thesis, thus, follows this perspective.

## **Dutch Delftware and Building Identity**

<sup>71</sup> Anne Anderson, “Chinamania”, 118.

<sup>72</sup> Amy Matthewson, ‘Mr Punch and Chinamania: Blue Willow China and Consumer Consumption in “Punch” Magazine, 1874–1880’. Lecture Series 2017–18, 20 February 2018, Royal Asiatic Society Lecture Theatre, 14 Stephenson Way London, NW1 2HD United Kingdom.

<sup>73</sup> Amy Matthewson, ‘Mr Punch and Chinamania: Blue Willow China and Consumer Consumption in “Punch” Magazine, 1874–1880’. Lecture Series 2017–18, 20 February 2018, Royal Asiatic Society Lecture Theatre, 14 Stephenson Way London, NW1 2HD United Kingdom.

Identity is defined extensively as self-understandings, connected often with socially constructed raced, gendered, classed, and sexual identity labels.<sup>74</sup>

The collecting of the blue and white in nineteenth-century Netherlands had a lot to do with the identity issue. van Campen's 'The Rijksmuseum and the Collecting of Chinese Ceramics in the Nineteenth Century' depicted the collecting of Chinese ceramics in the Netherlands in the nineteenth century, and those ceramics have been donated to the Rijksmuseum for presenting.<sup>75</sup> He clearly points out that collecting Chinese porcelain was always the secondary focus, while the delftware was the first choice because of its Dutchness.<sup>76</sup> Furthermore, according to his article 'Delftware and the Domestication of Chinese Porcelain', Odell mentioned that under the reviving delftware trend in the nineteenth century, the producers already had the self-consciousness to reconstruct delftware as a national commodity.<sup>77</sup>

In spite of the fact that the existing researches seldom sheds light on it, this thesis, based on these two studies, will offer a further discussion of the enthusiasm for delftware in nineteenth-century Netherlands in the context of identity making.

## **Class Stratification and Material Consumption and Collecting in Nineteenth-Century England and The Netherlands**

As mentioned previously, the Aesthetic Movement in the nineteenth century spurred the consumption of Chinese goods. Forces such as consumerism, industrialisation and the new middle-classes' ambitions thus made the social transformation happen.<sup>78</sup> Meanwhile, more and more cultural

<sup>74</sup> Luis Urrieta Jr., 'Cultural Identity Theory and Education: What We Have Learned About Selves and Others' in *Cultural Constructions of Identity Meta-Ethnography and Theory*, ed. Luis Urrieta and George W. Noblit (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 1.

<sup>75</sup> Jan van Campen, 'The Rijksmuseum', 68–79.

<sup>76</sup> Jan van Campen, 'The Rijksmuseum', 68–79.

<sup>77</sup> Dawn Odell, 'Delftware and the Domestication', 200–202.

<sup>78</sup> Qi Chen, 'Aristocracy', 52.

consumptions was taking place in this period. For instance, Breward provides an insight into the presence of women's fashion papers and articles to examine the issues of gender and consumption according to their contents.<sup>79</sup> Helmreich concentrates on art consumption and the commercial art galleries in Victorian London.<sup>80</sup> Corfe uses a special form of publication, i.e. the Nineteenth-century street ballads providing news of sensational events, to rethink the consumption in different classes. The affordable price of ballads allowed people to access the information and also reflects the general eagerness among ordinary people to purchase news.<sup>81</sup>

In nineteenth-century England, the growing middle-class was one of the essential elements of the consumption studies. In 'Class structure and inequality during the industrial revolution: lessons from England's social tables, 1688–1867', Allen defines and illustrates the social structure for several classes.<sup>82</sup> Mostly, I take his cue for the references to the social stratification. Despite not being a specific focus on the middle-class consumption, Chen's 'Aristocracy for the Common People: Chinese Commodities in Oscar Wilde's Aestheticism' provides an overview of the increase in Chinese commodity consumption and the rise of the English middle-class.<sup>83</sup> Simon Gunn's 'Class, identity and the urban: the middle class in England, c. 1790–1950' points out that the urban and urbanity played an important role in shaping the meanings of the English 'middle class' in the nineteenth century.<sup>84</sup> Furthermore, his study, 'Translating Bourdieu: cultural capital and the English middle-class in historical perspective' places the cultural identity of the English middle-class on Bourdieu's cultural

<sup>79</sup> Christopher Breward, 'Femininity and Consumption: The Problem of the Late Nineteenth-Century Fashion', *Journal of Design History*, Vol. 7, No. 2 (1994): 71–89.

<sup>80</sup> Anne Helmreich, 'The Art Market and the Spaces of Sociability in Victorian London', *Indiana University Press*, Volume 59, Number 3, (2017): 436 – 449.

<sup>81</sup> Isabel Corfe, 'Sensation and Song: Street Ballad Consumption in Nineteenth-Century England', in *Media and Print Culture Consumption in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, ed. Paul Raphael Rooney and Anna Gasperini (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 131–145.

<sup>82</sup> Robert C. Allen, 'Class structure and inequality during the industrial revolution: lessons from England's social tables, 1688–1867', *Economic History Review*, 72, 1 (2019): 97.

<sup>83</sup> Qi Chen, 'Aristocracy', 39–54.

<sup>84</sup> Simon Gunn, 'Class, identity and the urban: the middle class in England c. 1790–1950', *Urban History* 31(2004): 29–41.



capital theory.<sup>85</sup> In addition, Musgrove's study gives an insight into how the employment of the middle-class then.<sup>86</sup>

There is a limited number of studies related to Dutch art and cultural consumption and the middle-class in the nineteenth century, especially in English. 'The Development of Consumption Culture and the Individualization of Female Identity: Fashion discourse in the Netherlands 1880–1920' investigated how fashion, as an example of consumer culture, became an important locus of female individualisation in the Netherlands through sources such as *Women's World* and *The Graceful Woman*.<sup>87</sup> At the same time, Harms concentrated on the production and consumption of the Dutch penny print with his 'Popular Culture and Penny Prints: How Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Readers in the Dutch Republic Indirectly Created their Own Narratives'.<sup>88</sup>

The last focus in this literature review is on the collecting of material goods in both countries. In the English case, Anderson had put her attention specifically on the collecting culture related to old blue and white china and distinguishes the collecting to feminine and masculine two types.<sup>89</sup> Using the psychology, Macleod portrays Lady Charlotte as a great collector in the Victorian era, who was impassioned about collecting of porcelain, fans, and playing cards. The author believed her motivations is embedded in her lonely childhood and the wish to try to escape.<sup>90</sup> Based on Anderson's 'feminine collecting is bad and masculine collecting is good' theory and Macleod's introduction of Lady Charlotte, I will be keeping an eye on the gender issues while investigating the different types of

<sup>85</sup> Simon Gunn, 'Translating Bourdieu', 50.

<sup>86</sup> Frank Musgrove, 'Middle-class Education and Employment in the Nineteenth Century', *The Economic History Review*, Vol. 12, No. 1 (1959): 99.

<sup>87</sup> Christine Delhaye, 'The Development of Consumption Culture and the Individualization of Female Identity: Fashion discourse in the Netherlands 1880–1920', *Journal of Consumer Culture*, (2006): 87–115.

<sup>88</sup> Roeland Harms, 'Popular Culture and Penny Prints: How Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Readers in the Dutch Republic Indirectly Created their Own Narratives', *The Journal of the Social History Society*, (2015): 217–234.

<sup>89</sup> Anne Anderson, "'Chinamania'", 117–118.

<sup>90</sup> Dianne Sachko Macleod, 'Art Collecting As Play: Lady Charlotte Schreiber (1812–1895)' *Visual Resources*, 27:1 (2011).

collecting among the English upper-class and middle-class. The book *Private Collecting, Exhibitions, and the Shaping of Art History in London* covered the comprehensive history of the development of fine art and ceramics collecting in England by the members of the Burlington Fine Arts Club, including the famous blue and white lover James Whistler and others.<sup>91</sup> In the Dutch society, elites did the material collecting, not the middle class, and there was a close relationship with colonialism. Scholars like ter Keurs and Weber both indicated that the material collecting in the Netherlands was heavily connected to the scientific and natural fields in Indonesia and other colonies.<sup>92</sup> The English and Dutch attention to the collecting was quite different – the middle-class had involved significantly in collecting in England while the Dutch middle-class not. Also, the interest in collecting in the Netherlands was in the scientific realm while the English one was specifically based on Chinoiserie goods.

The purpose of this historiographical analysis is to form a solid theoretical basis for further research. This will also enable me to place this thesis accurately within academia. Based on the overview of the literature, I expect that with regard to the delftware trend in the nineteenth century, I will discover the answer to the main question – How can the collecting of blue and white delftware be explained in the Aestheticism period in English and Dutch society?

### **1.3 Innovative Aspects**

Delftware from the Netherlands and England had a quite similar start: both of them thrived in the seventeenth century, decreased in the eighteenth century and revived in the nineteenth century. From the literature report, it is evident that previous studies on both Dutch and English delftware are limited,

<sup>91</sup> Stacey J. Pierson, *Private Collecting, Exhibitions, and the Shaping of Art History in London: the Burlington Fine Arts Club*, (London: Taylor & Francis, 2017), 77–79.

<sup>92</sup> Pieter ter Keurs, 'Agency, Prestige and Politics: Dutch Collecting Abroad and Local Responses, in *Unpacking the Collection. One World Archaeology*, ed. Sarah Byrne, Anne Clarke, Rodney Harrison and Robin Torrence (New York: Springer, 2011), 165–184. And Andreas Weber, 'Collecting Colonial Nature: European Naturalists and the Netherlands Indies in the Early Nineteenth Century', *Bijdragen en mededelingen betreffende de geschiedenis der Nederlanden* 134 (2019) :72–95.

namely studies so far focus mainly on the heyday of delftware from the seventeenth to the eighteenth century. A lack of research on the delftware's nineteenth-century development makes the delftware studies incomplete, in the sense that, no scholar has explained the different development of Dutch and English delftware. In fact, the Dutch delftware is now a national icon while the English equivalent is not. Thus, this thesis considers the turning point – the nineteenth century to discuss the reviving trend for collecting blue and white delftware.

The thesis has several innovative aspects. First of all, this thesis is the first one to conduct the research covering both two European delftwares in the nineteenth century, which to my knowledge had not been included in any academic study before. Second, this thesis presents and delineates the English and Dutch ordinary daily lives through the trend of blue and white ceramics, giving insight into the relationship between social stratification and material consumption and collecting. Through the lens of delftware and the craze for blue and white ceramics, the thesis sheds light on not only the upper-class but the middle-class in the English and Dutch society. Furthermore, the thesis uses several rarely-used primary sources such as Lady Charlotte's journals and John Loudon's catalogue to analyse the collection of blue and white ceramics and delftware in the nineteenth century.

This thesis intends to fill the gap in the field of delftware and blue and white ceramics study. In my opinion, my thesis is a pioneering study in this perspective. My goal is to delve into the history and the cultural context to provide a clearer picture of the collecting of blue and white delftware in the second half of the nineteenth century in England and the Netherlands.

#### **1.4 Sources and Methods**

The primary sources for my research are books, newspapers, magazines, catalogues, diaries and advertisements. In general, on the one hand, I use the primary sources written by or published by artists

and the aristocracy themselves to understand the upper-class's fancy for the collection and the process of collecting. On the other hand, I use magazines and newspapers, in other words the mass media, to examine the middle-class's behaviour in the area of consumption, collecting and appreciation.

To examine the changing role of blue and white delftware and ceramics in England, I take Oscar Wilde and Whistler's speech for reference. Furthermore, I use household magazines such as *The Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine*, *Sylvia's Home Journal* and *The Family Friend*, all of which were targeted at the English middle-class, especially housewives, and served as a guideline as well as inspiration for household management. Women were the driving force in this trend of decorating a beautiful and artistic house. I, thus, examine interior decoration books written by women like *The art of the house* and *Beautiful Houses: Being a Description of Certain Well-known Artistic Houses* to sort out the role of blue and white ceramics.

To discuss the collecting of blue and white ceramics in England, catalogues and journals including the *Catalogue of Oriental Porcelain and Pottery*, *A catalogue of blue and white Nankin porcelain*,<sup>93</sup> *forming the collection of Sir Henry Thompson, 1820-1904*,<sup>94</sup> *Blue and White China*,<sup>95</sup> and *Lady Charlotte Schreiber's Journals*<sup>96</sup> were employed, in which showed the collector's collecting manner and focuses. The magazines *Punch* and *Fun* were used to investigate the English middle-class's participation. Both illustrated magazines had a middle-class readership. In addition, the examination of lyrics of songs and rhythms like *Ballades in Blue China* demonstrated the popularity of the Willow Pattern.

<sup>93</sup> A.W. Franks, *Catalogue of a Collection of Oriental Porcelain and Pottery: Lent for Exhibition*, (London: G. E. Eyre and W. Spottiswoode, 1876).

<sup>94</sup> Sir Henry Thompson, (editor Murray Marks, illustrator James Whistler), *A catalogue of blue and white Nankin porcelain, forming the collection of Sir Henry Thompson* (London, Ellis & White, 1878).

<sup>95</sup> Alexander T. Hollingsworth, *Blue and White China*, (London: Chiswick Press, 1891).

<sup>96</sup> Charlotte Schreiber, *Lady Charlotte Schreiber's Journals: Confidences of a Collector of Ceramics & Antiques Throughout Britain, France, Holland, Belgium, Spain, Portugal, Turkey, Austria & Germany From the Year 1869 to 1885*. Volume 1 (London: John Lane, 1911).

For the Dutch case, the overview of the transformation of delftware's role depended on the travel literature, *Holland and its People*<sup>97</sup> and *L'Exposition d'Amsterdam Et la Belgique aux Pays-Bas: Ouvrage Dédié À S. M. Le Roi Léopold II Avec Son Autorisation*<sup>98</sup>, and advertisements in newspapers, from which the changing role of delftware could be traced. I also use *Catalogue chronologique et raisonné des faiences de Delft composant la collection de Mr John F. Loudon* to discuss Loudon's collecting manner.

The primary method in this research is comparative analysis. The English delftware with the Willow Pattern and Dutch delftware will be analysed in two dimensions. First, I analyse what the role of delftware was in the nineteenth century. Secondly, I examine the reasons for this and ways it was collected. This is then supplemented with information on the social background stratification and material consumption and collecting. etc. Through this, the thesis presents the features that influenced the different developments of Dutch and English delftware – the Dutch delftware is now identified while the English delftware was not after the nineteenth century.

After the introduction, chapter two presents the historical background of delftware, indicating the comparability of the two countries, as England and the Netherlands once shared the rulers. Firstly, the invention and development of delftware from the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries in the Netherlands and England will be demonstrated. Secondly, the thesis will shed light on Queen Mary's porcelain room with a discussion of blue and white ceramics as the decorative style for the noble and royal families. Finally, an overview of the Aesthetic Movement, including its development and its influence. Chapter three will demonstrate the role of blue and white delftware in England. The chapter includes an overview of the Aesthetic interior style and the notion of the house beautiful; an examination of the

<sup>97</sup> Edmondo de Amicis (English translator: Caroline Tilton), *Holland and Its People*, (New York: G.P.Patnam Sons, 1881).

<sup>98</sup> Théophile Fumière, *L'Exposition d'Amsterdam Et la Belgique aux Pays-Bas: Ouvrage Dédié À S. M. Le Roi Léopold II Avec Son Autorisation* (Bruxelles : E. Guyot, 1883).

use of ceramics and their meaning for nineteenth-century English middle-classes; and the emergence as well as the development of the blue and white Willow Pattern to indicate the role of English delftware in the nineteenth century. In chapter four, the performance and influence of the blue and white mania in England are illustrated. The purchasing, collecting and appreciation of blue and white china were thrived. There were different performances and influences within the different social classes. Through a concentrated focus on blue and white porcelain and English Willow Pattern, the upper-class and the middle-class are covered. The discussion is shaped into three parts to examine the collecting culture of blue and white ceramics: the collecting culture and the display among the upper-class; the involvement of the English middle-classes in consumption through the lens of the magazine *Punch*; and the popularity of Willow Pattern delftware in the English society. In chapter five, the attention is focused on depicting the collecting of delftware in the Netherlands in the nineteenth century. This chapter contains an investigation of the connection between English Chinamania and the collecting of Dutch delftware, the examination of the transforming role through the Dutch government's promotion and individual's efforts, and the overview of the delftware collectors. Lastly, the concluding chapter will provide the wrap up of the research and the answer to the main research question.

## **Chapter Two: Crazy for Blue and White: The Historical Background of Delftware**

Since the seventeenth century, trades between East and West had spurred the popularity for Oriental porcelain and the development of the European imitations – in particular delftware, which thrived from the seventeenth century. The co-rulers of England, Queen Mary and William, were influential among the upper-class in using blue and white porcelain and delftware on their interiors in both England and Netherlands among the upper-class, as they lived firstly in the Netherlands then moved to England after taking the British crown. Over about a century, the popularity of delftware reached its peak. Although the economic growth of delftware was declining after the middle of the eighteenth century, it became a fashionable trend once again in the late nineteenth century, a period when blue and white delftware was collected passionately. This chapter provides a historical overview of the development of delftware, the invented tradition of delftware as an interior decoration, and the collecting of blue and white ceramics started by the Aesthetic Movement in nineteenth-century England.

### **2.1 The Lure of the Orient: The Invention and Development of Delftware in the Netherlands and England (from the Fifteenth to Eighteenth Century)**

The history of the two countries, England and the Netherlands, overlapped because of the fact that the rulers, William of Orange and Mary of England were powerholders in both countries. The similarities between Dutch and English delftware consisted of parallels in the production process and imitated design of the trend for Chinoiserie trend in both markets in the eighteenth centuries. This offers for compared study.

Since the fifteenth century, which was the beginning of the Age of Discovery, the trade between East and West grew rapidly. Portuguese traders in the sixteenth century imported Chinese porcelain

directly to Europe, which could be seen as the start of the regular porcelain trade between Asia and Europe. Chinese blue and white porcelain made up a significant proportion of the export trade to Europe. In Europe, it became known as Kraak porcelain, which is a Dutch (adapted) term for a Portuguese merchant ship 'caracca'. The popularity of Chinese Kraak, especially the blue and white porcelain, pushed Dutch potters to attempt to imitate it. However, since they lacked raw materials, it was impossible to create porcelain in the Netherlands. In the seventeenth century to the beginning of the eighteenth century, potters, therefore, tried to produce pottery instead with local materials, which had a similar visual appearance to the Chinese objects. Delft, during that time, had a long history of being the manufacturing centre for potteries. The oldest delftware from Delft can be traced back to 1614. Inspired by the Chinese Kraak porcelain, the Dutch delftware is actually difficult to distinguish visually from its Chinese counterpart in both colour scheme and decorative form.

Like the Dutch predecessors, English delftware copied the design of products that were predicted to be successful on the other side of the channel. Moore points out that 'the Dutch copied at the first hands, the English used as models the copied objects.' Delftware was introduced to England by Dutch potters in the seventeenth century. The first pottery in England is regarded to have been in Lambeth of London. Afterwards, large manufacturing centres were established in London, Bristol and Liverpool, while some potteries were produced in Dublin and Glasgow. The Dutch Elers Brother, who came to England when the Prince of Orange inherited the English throne, began the business of producing red Delftware in 1690. The Dutch delftware industry experienced its peak in the mid-eighteenth century. Afterwards, it was replaced gradually by the English delftware.

Ceramics have been used as practical necessary tools, as cooking utensils and for serving food for centuries. Gradually, many people began to use them as more than functional daily products, and



gradually they became cultural and decorative artefacts.<sup>99</sup> Because of the unique raw material and high-quality technique, a small village in China, Jingdezhen, became well-known for its beautiful Chinese porcelain and pottery. Chinese porcelain has a long history in the global context, in terms of its cultural, economic and political impact. At least 300 million pieces of Chinese porcelain arrived in Europe from the fifteenth to eighteenth centuries and most of them were made in Jingdezhen, which showed how popular Chinese porcelain was globally.<sup>100</sup> Owing to this craze for exported Oriental goods, Dutch and English delftware was invented. The famous tin-glazed earthenware site was established in Delft. After the inheritance of King William III, the Prince of Orange, of the English throne, the blue and white decoration was introduced to England by Dutch potters in the seventeenth century.

The eighteenth century was a turning point. The growth of blue and white delftware had been impeded due to massive import taxes and the presence of new trends such as English creamware.<sup>101</sup> After the invention of Kaolin, a rare material, for porcelain, in 1709, the factories and potteries began moving to other countries such as Germany and France.<sup>102</sup> Later, the emergence of creamware happened in the late eighteenth century, which soon replaced blue and white delftware and porcelain.<sup>103</sup> Also, the Netherlands faced economic recession in this period as the country lost its superior position.<sup>104</sup> Overall, the development of delftware was highlighted by several milestones: the

<sup>99</sup> Lili Jiang, 'Valuing Craftsmanship: In particular the crafting of Chinese porcelain and Dutch Delft Blue' (MA diss., Erasmus University of Rotterdam, 2018), 115.

<sup>100</sup> Robert Finlay, *The Pilgrim Art: Cultures of Porcelain in World History*, (Oakland: University of California Press, 2010): 22.

<sup>101</sup> Titus M. Eilens, Marjoleine Groen, Sebastian Ostkamp, *Delftware: History of a National Product*, (Zwolle: Waanders, 1999): 10.

<sup>102</sup> Jessica van Erkel and Arnold de Koster (research), *Van Plateelbakkerij tot Royal Delft 1653 – 2003 / From Pottery to Royal Delft*, (Delft: De Koninklijke Porceleyne Fles, 2003), 9.

<sup>103</sup> It is said that creamware was invented in the 1760s. George L. Miller, 'Origins of Josiah Wedgwood's "Pearlware"', *Northeast Historical Archaeology* (1987): 83.

<sup>104</sup> Jan Daniel van Dam, *Delffse Porceleyne*, 133.

invention by Delft potters, the participation of English factories, the thriving period in the seventeenth and early eighteenth century, and the decline in the late-eighteenth century.

## **2.2 Queen's Porcelain Room: A New Style For Decoration In The Seventeenth Century**

In the seventeenth century, Queen Mary II (Princess Mary Stuart of England) had an obsession with blue and white porcelain and ceramics. She was the daughter of King James II. In 1677, she married to Prince of Orange William (King William III). The marriage meant their ruling areas became two countries, the England and the Netherlands. For about twelve years, Mary had lived in the Netherlands. Consequently, Mary and her husband returned to England in 1689 for the succession to the throne of Great Britain together. Since her stay in the Netherlands, Mary had been interested in the designing and decorating of palaces and their surrounding gardens.<sup>105</sup> In particular, her porcelain room with its blue and white, was the most famous achievement of interior design.

The development of the Dutch V.O.C and the wave of Chinoiserie caused the rising popularity of porcelain. Especially, the manner in which porcelain was displayed was quite developed at the palaces and among upper-class women.<sup>106</sup> The popular interest began in the Netherlands, then spread throughout Europe, promoted primarily by the female nobles like Mary. Mary established two porcelain room to showcase the blue and white ceramics in the two countries respectively: Hampton Court in England and Paleis Het Loo in the Netherlands. Among all the palaces owned by Mary and William, Het Loo and Hampton Court were the most significant for them in terms of their concern and money.<sup>107</sup>

<sup>105</sup> Ayumi Ashikari. 'The Porcelain Rooms', 2–3.

<sup>106</sup> Ayumi Ashikari. 'The Porcelain Rooms', 13.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid., 40.

Mary's two porcelain rooms were said to inherit the preceding style of the Orange princesses.<sup>108</sup> In fact, the idea of porcelain room was initiated by the female royals of Orange and spread by their international marriages. William's grandmother, Amalia von Solms from Germany who married to Prince of Orange Frederick Henry, installed the earliest lacquer room in about 1654 at Huis ten Bosch.<sup>109</sup> All of her four daughters married to German princes. These princesses built parts of their pleasure palaces in the similar interior designs including Oriental ceramics and ornaments as well as decorative schemes referencing to Huis ten Bosch and their parents' other palaces.<sup>110</sup> The porcelain rooms established by Mary at Het Loo and Hampton Court not only inherited legacies of the Orange princesses but also exemplify changes in the tradition.<sup>111</sup> The rooms were designed by Daniel Marot, a French designer and architect, whose invention such as the triad of porcelain, lacquer and mirror typified the later porcelain cabinets and porcelain rooms.<sup>112</sup> Besides this, Mary began to decorate the court with blue and white delftware as the decoration in the court. By combining her love of plants and ceramics, Marot created a design, the tulip holder, with blue and white delftwares and fresh flowers. The unique-shaped delftware vase having several spouts unifies the beauty of ceramics and the art of garden in an unprecedented way.<sup>113</sup>

Porcelain rooms or rooms housing ceramics collections and their variants were initiated and boosted by women.<sup>114</sup> This confirms the statement that interior design, in general, was seen as a female domain because displaying ceramics enabled women to exercise power and independence to a modest extent.<sup>115</sup> In the case of Mary's porcelain rooms, it is also evident that ceramics and rooms of

<sup>108</sup> Ibid., 58.

<sup>109</sup> Cordula Bischoff, 'Women collectors and the rise of the porcelain cabinet' in *Chinese and Japanese porcelain for the Dutch Golden Age*, ed. Jan van Campen and Titus Eliëens (Zwolle: Waanders, 2014), 171.

<sup>110</sup> Cordula Bischoff, 'Women collectors', 175.

<sup>111</sup> Ayumi Ashikari, 'The Porcelain Rooms', 58.

<sup>112</sup> Ibid., 61.

<sup>113</sup> Ibid.

<sup>114</sup> Cordula Bischoff, 'Women collectors', 171.

<sup>115</sup> Moira Vincentelli, *Women and Ceramics: Gendered Vessels*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 113.

collected items were personal properties rather than the family-owned objects, which could be bestowed from a mother to her daughter.<sup>116</sup> From then on, the Dutch court style, mainly led by Queen Mary, as well as the association between women and ceramics had become a strong influence on the collecting and decorating habits relating to blue and white delftware and porcelain in interior design extensively in the Netherlands and England.

### **2.3 The Aesthetic Movement as The New Cultural Trend (1868–1901)**

The late nineteenth century was a period of rapid change in social, political, and economic aspects rooted in the Industrial Revolution, which began at the end of the eighteenth century in the UK. Mass production emerged in this period and machines increasingly replaced hand labour. England, the original place of industrialisation, underwent an artistic movement which had a huge impact on the society in the late Victorian era. This movement invoked pure beauty combined with a disdain for machine-made production and products. Labeled the Aesthetic Movement and also called as Aestheticism, it began in 1867 and ended in 1901. It is hard to establish how the Aesthetic Movement exactly started – though it was probably based on the criticism of the visual arts by John Ruskin in 1867.<sup>117</sup> It ended due to the death of Oscar Wilde in 1900.<sup>118</sup> The movement put visual and sensual standards of art and design over practical and moral considerations.<sup>119</sup>

Already a long time before the Aesthetic Movement (about 1880), English people had shown their admiration for craftsmanship. In 1851, the Great Exhibition in London welcomed more than six million visitors. The audience appreciated technically sophisticated works showcased in the exhibition

<sup>116</sup> Moira Vincentelli, *Women and Ceramics*, 113.

<sup>117</sup> Qi Chen, 'Oscar Wilde and East Asia: Empire, Nation-State, and the Globalisation of Aestheticism', (PhD diss., Royal Holloway, University of London, 2011), 9.

<sup>118</sup> Sara Gustafsson, 'Aesthetic Principles in Oscar Wilde's *The Picture of Dorian Gray*', Class essay in Literature, Halmstad University (2011): 10.

<sup>119</sup> 'Art Term: Aesthetic Movement', Tate London, nd. <https://www.tate.org.uk/art/art-terms/a/Aesthetic-movement> Accessed: 13 April, 2020.

such as the ‘Kenilworth buffet’, a sideboard carved in oak.<sup>120</sup> However, not every visitor enjoyed the enormous architecture and technical miracles of the exhibition. The highly decorated, machine-made products demonstrated in the Great Exhibition had surprisingly become a disgrace to a group of people.<sup>121</sup> Afterwards, the importance of craftsmanship was promoted by William Morris, who was also one of the advocates of the Aesthetic Movement. Morris initiated a revolution of design called the Arts and Crafts Movement in the 1860s.<sup>122</sup>

The Arts and Crafts Movement didn’t go along with the spirit of the industrial revolution and its decorative arts. The basic idea of the movement mainly came from John Ruskin and his love for medieval art.<sup>123</sup> He believed that the craftsmanship as well as the social effects of individualisation were the essence of medieval art and should replace machinery.<sup>124</sup> In addition to Ruskin, Morris was the driving force of the movement translating Ruskin’s ideas into practical activities.<sup>125</sup> His friends and he founded a furniture and decorative arts firm called Morris, Marshall, Faulkner & Co. (in 1875 it became Morris & Co.) which produced and sold hand-made crafts, furniture, wallpapers and traditional textiles.<sup>126</sup>

More than pursuing the material transformation that advocated by the Arts and Crafts Movement, the Aesthetic Movement should not be regarded simply as a way to improve the practical application of certain materials in society. Spiritual benefits and the sense of beauty were accrued by those who

<sup>120</sup> Charlotte Gere with Lesley Hoskins, *The house beautiful: Oscar Wilde and the Aesthetic Interior*, (London: Lund Humphries, 2000), 36.

<sup>121</sup> For example, the famous writer John Ruskin in the nineteenth century. He was one of the leaders and inspiration of Arts and Crafts Movement.

<sup>122</sup> Martyn Lyons, *Books A Living History*. (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2011), 190–191.

<sup>123</sup> Tadashi Sanaka, ‘A Socioeconomic Essay about the Arts and Crafts Movement’, *比治山大学現代文化学部紀要 [Bulletin of Faculty of Contemporary Culture, Hijiya University]*, (2010): 41–42.

<sup>124</sup> Sushma, ‘Role of Arts and Crafts Movement in Digital Era: A Descriptive Study’, *IOSR Journal Of Humanities And Social Science*, Volume 22 (December 2017): 6.

<sup>125</sup> Tadashi Sanaka, ‘A Socioeconomic Essay’, 42.

<sup>126</sup> Mary Greensted, ‘The Arts and Crafts Movement: exchanges between Greece and Britain (1876–1930)’, (MA diss., University of Birmingham, 2010), 15.

participated or responded to the movement.<sup>127</sup> For instance, possessing the right objects stood for owning spiritual superiority.<sup>128</sup> Possessing the right objects, conferred a certain high-esteemed status in the Aesthetic circles; highly regarded items included Chippendale furniture, dados, old fashioned brass and wrought iron work, medieval lamps, stained glass in small squares, and old china.<sup>129</sup>

The dogma of the Aesthetic Movement championed by aesthetes was ‘Art for Art’s sake’. This phrase was derived from a French concept ‘l’art pour l’art’, meaning pure Aesthetic pleasure of art without a practical purpose.<sup>130</sup> Although the Arts and Crafts Movement carved forms true to characteristics of materials making moral imperative, the Aesthetic Movement used motifs and ornaments to seek pure beauty inwardly.<sup>131</sup> In other words, instead of following the ethnic value promoted by the Arts and Crafts Movement, those above-mentioned items of the Aesthetic Movement were seen as the outer and visible signs of inner and spiritual grace.<sup>132</sup> The key to the motto ‘Art for Art’s sake’ was that arts shouldn’t be judged on the basis of morality, which challenged the values of mainstream Victorian culture and traditional aesthetic standards. That is to say, the Aesthetic Movement, which valued beauty with moral, social, or educational usefulness, influenced a wide range of art forms from fine arts to furniture and interior design. Several Victorian artists (or aesthetes) such as Oscar Wilde, James McNeill Whistler, Dante Gabriel Rossetti and the above-mentioned William Morris and their works advocated the movement.<sup>133</sup> In this thesis, specific attention will be paid to Whistler and Wilde.

<sup>127</sup> Mary Ann Stankiewicz, ‘From the Aesthetic Movement to the Arts and Crafts Movement’, *Studies in Art Education A Journal of Issues and Research*, Volume 33 (1992): 165.

<sup>128</sup> Mary Ann Stankiewicz, ‘From the Aesthetic Movement’, 168.

<sup>129</sup> Walter Hamilton, *The Aesthetic Movement in England*, (London: Reeves and Turner, 1882), 34.

<sup>130</sup> It became popular owing to a great extent to the writings from the French poet Théophile Gautier. José Angel García Landa, ‘Criticism after Romanticism: 2. Art for Art’s Sake. 3. Impressionism and Subjectivism’, *SSRN Electronic Journal* (1987): 13. Available at SSRN: <https://ssrn.com/abstract=2801069> or <http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2801069>

<sup>131</sup> Mary Ann Stankiewicz, ‘From the Aesthetic Movement’, 170.

<sup>132</sup> Walter Hamilton, *The Aesthetic Movement*, 34.

<sup>133</sup> Jennifer Adams, ‘Nothing is true but beauty: Oscar Wilde in the Aesthetic Movement’, (MA diss., Corcoran College of Art & Design, 2009), 9.

As a painter advocating ‘Art for Art’s sake’, James Whistler (1834–1903) emphasised form and colour over narrative.<sup>134</sup> His paintings like *Lange Lijzen*, *The Golden Screen* and *La Princesse du Pays de la Porcelaine* were associated with the Japanese Aesthetics.<sup>135</sup> Furthermore, by extending the concept of Aesthetics, his works, including the luxurious dining room the Peacock Room, conveyed a feeling – not an intention to preach morality – but a sense of integrity, in terms of frames for the paintings and interiors inside the exhibition spaces.<sup>136</sup>

Oscar Wilde was the most famed and essential symbol of the Aesthetic Movement. Wilde was the one who pushed the pursuit of ‘Art for Art’s sake’ from a small circle of confined artists into the spotlight of a greater circle, where he made it accessible to more people.<sup>137</sup> Through Wilde’s personal style and charisma, the movement became more recognisable.<sup>138</sup> His American tour also made the idea of ‘The House Beautiful’ sparkle.<sup>139</sup> That is to say, in addition to working on books and acts, Wilde tried to cultivate the Aesthetic taste of the public and spread knowledge to undereducated house acquirers about his refined taste and a natural sense of beauty.<sup>140</sup>

<sup>134</sup> Anne Anderson, ‘Wilde, Whistler and Staging’, 32.

<sup>135</sup> Burns Archer Stubbs, *James McNeill Whistler: A Biographical Outline Illustrated from the Collections of the Freer Gallery of Art* (Washington: Freer Gallery of Art, 1950), 12.

<sup>136</sup> Marek H. Dominiczak, ‘Artist’s Method: James Abbott McNeill Whistler’, *Clinical Chemistry* 61:4 (2015): 679.

<sup>137</sup> Anne Anderson, ‘Wilde, Whistler and Staging’, 32.

<sup>138</sup> David Dewing, ‘Introduction’ in Charlotte Gere with Lesley Hoskins, *The House Beautiful: Oscar Wilde and the Aesthetic Interior*, (London: Lund Humphries Publishers, 2000), 8.

<sup>139</sup> The term ‘The House Beautiful’ was firstly used in 1882. Kevin H. F. O’Brien, “‘The House Beautiful’: A Reconstruction of Oscar Wilde’s American Lecture”, *Victorian Studies*, Vol. 17, No. 4 (June 1974): 395.

<sup>140</sup> Jennifer Adams, ‘Nothing is true’, 9–10.

## **Chapter Three: Usefulness or Attractiveness: The Changing Role of the Ceramics in England**

Initially, ceramics were used as kitchenware or houseware for practical functions such as cooking utensils and drinking containers such as cups.<sup>141</sup> People usually associated with the use of ceramics with practical application. However, starting with Queen Mary and then revived by aesthetes, the use of ceramics became related to the artistic, cultural and decorative aspects.

In this chapter, I try to answer the sub-questions ‘How did the role of blue and white ceramics, delftware in particular, transform in the Aesthetic period in the late nineteenth century’ for the case of England. The aim is to depict the changing role of ceramics and delftware through the examination of socioeconomical circumstances in England in the nineteenth century. There was a complexity beyond the craze for the blue and white ceramics in nineteenth-century English society. That is, the blue and white which was favoured and collected in the late Victorian era contained three types of ceramics, as mentioned previously. It is impossible to discuss any of these types separately. Therefore, the role of blue and white delftware, in this trend, cannot be reviewed without considering the craze for Chinese porcelain such as the old Nankin. The social structure then is another key element within this chapter. The chapter presents a three-pronged discussion including an overview of the Aesthetic interior style and the notion of ‘The House Beautiful’ to outline the whole picture of the rise of the blue and white ceramics; an examination of the use of ceramics and their meaning for nineteenth-century English middle-classes; and lastly, the focus will come back to the emergence as well as the development of the blue and white Willow Pattern in order to finally indicate the role of English delftware in daily lives of people in the nineteenth century.

<sup>141</sup> Lili Jiang, ‘Valuing Craftsmanship: In particular the crafting of Chinese porcelain and Dutch Delft Blue’ (MA diss., Erasmus University of Rotterdam, 2018), 115.



### 3.1 The House Beautiful: Aesthetic Interior and Blue and White Old China

In the late nineteenth century, interiors were characterised by a messy appearance: the frilled curtains, busy wallpapers and decorations, leading to the fact that clutter was a typical word to describe a Victorian drawing room.<sup>142</sup> An aesthetic interior was a highlight of the Aesthetic Movement, which had the intention carried forward by aesthetes, to educate people, especially the middle-class, to adorn the house, furniture and dress.<sup>143</sup> Oscar Wilde delivered his last lecture in America with the title ‘The house beautiful’.<sup>144</sup> Originally called as ‘The Decorative Arts’, ‘the house beautiful’ speech expressed the encouragement from Wilde to the middle-class to keep the Aesthetic principle to make better and more artistic life. This did not allow for any machine-made products and attempted to encourage Oriental objects, which followed the value ‘Art for Art’s sake’, at home.<sup>145</sup>

Industrialisation from the last century had promoted conspicuous consumption. The display of household items acted as an evidence to prove people’s social and economic status in the world through personal consumption power.<sup>146</sup> The establishment of Liberty’s, a spectacular department store in London associating with Aestheticism, was a solid evidence of that. This shop opened in 1875, introducing London consumers to various items and textiles imported from the Middle East and Japan.<sup>147</sup> Apparently, Eastern elements played an important role in the Aesthetic Movement and its decorative art, which was typified by simpler fabric, flowers, peacock feathers and the blue and white ceramics.<sup>148</sup> The Aesthetic circle had increasingly orientalised East as a locus of exotic otherness and

<sup>142</sup> Kathryn Rachel Ferry, ‘Clutter and the Clash of Middle-class Tastes in the Domestic Interior’, *Open Cultural Studies* (2017):113.

<sup>143</sup> ‘Oscar Wilde’s Last Lecture,’ *Daily Record–Union (Sacramento, Cal.)*, 10 April, 1882.  
<https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn82014381/1882-04-10/ed-1/seq-3/> Accessed: 20 April, 2020.

<sup>144</sup> ‘Oscar Wilde’s Last Lecture,’ 10 April, 1882.

<sup>145</sup> ‘Oscar Wilde’s Last Lecture,’ 10 April, 1882.

<sup>146</sup> Kathryn Rachel Ferry, ‘Clutter and the Clash’, 113.

<sup>147</sup> Fiona MacCarthy, ‘The Aesthetic Movement’, *The Guardian*, Sat 26 Mar 2011.

<https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2011/mar/26/Aestheticism-exhibition-victoria-albert-museum> Accessed: 14 March, 2020.

<sup>148</sup> Anne Anderson, ‘Chinamania’, 110.

combined artificial Eastern and Western elements together consciously in the second half of the nineteenth century.<sup>149</sup>

The collecting of art pieces and antiques, blue and white ceramics in particular, was an important part of the Aesthetic Movement and typified the Aesthetic interior design. The taste for Oriental or pseudo Oriental objects had been singled out in the late nineteenth century. Yet, this popularity of Oriental objects could be traced back to the rise of Japonisme in the 1860s.<sup>150</sup> It was the term showing Europe had been influenced hugely by Japanese art in the middle of the nineteenth century and European artists and architects were also stimulated by it.<sup>151</sup> Japanese art became a large source of inspiration. Instead of imitating, the artists, who championed the Japonisme, absorbed the elements of Japanese art to form their own style.<sup>152</sup> The first initiative of Japonisme in Europe was the opening of Japan in 1854 which continued up to 1867, the year of the first Exposition Universelle in Paris. This was followed by the next stage from 1868 to around 1883, in which the extensive influence on the middle-class began.<sup>153</sup>

James Whistler, a supporter of the Japonisme, showed his interest in Japanese art actively. His focus could be described in three aspects: the collecting of Japanese items, the experimentation with the Japanese composition in his works, and the utilisation of Japanese factors within the paintings. He applied and was inspired largely by the Japanese Ukiyo-e prints in his painting.<sup>154</sup> Whistler's *Caprice in Purple and Gold, No. 2* (1864) was a great example of the inspiration. Teasley points out that in this

<sup>149</sup> Paul Gladston, *Deconstructing Contemporary Chinese Art: Selected Critical Writings and Conversations, 2007–2014* (Berlin Heidelberg: Springer, 2015), 56.

<sup>150</sup> Although the trend rose in the 1860s but the term Japonisme was first used by the French critic Philippe Burty in the journal *La Renaissance litteraire et artistique* published in May 1872. See Ayako Ono, 'Japonisme in Britain – A Source of Inspiration: J. McN. Whistler, Mortimer Menpes, George Henry, E.A. Hornel and nineteenth century Japan,' (PhD diss., University of Glasgow 2001), 1.

<sup>151</sup> Ayako Ono, 'Japonisme in Britain', 1.

<sup>152</sup> Ibid.

<sup>153</sup> Yoko Chiba, 'Japonisme: East–West Renaissance in the Late 19th Century', *Mosaic: A journal for the interdisciplinary study of literature* Vol. 31 (June 1998): 2.

<sup>154</sup> John Sandberg, "'Japonisme" and Whistler', *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 106, No. 740 (Nov., 1964): 500.

painting, Whistler used Japanese objects – woodblock prints, a lacquer and gold-leaf folding screen, kimono, and blue and white ceramics – for the interior and borrowed the asymmetrical layout, diagonal lines, and Japanese composition to depict a courtesan surrounded by the overflowing Oriental items.<sup>155</sup> As for his passion for collecting Oriental antiquaries, Whistler began to acquire items from dealers and from shops like Liberty’s in London and Paris.<sup>156</sup> In 1876, Whistler created a stunning room called the Peacock Room for his patron to house a rally of East Asian artifacts and a large collection of blue and white china.<sup>157</sup>

The prevailing trends for Japonisme and Chinoiserie in Europe were intertwined. Japonisme in nineteenth-century England was considered as an extension of the Chinoiserie, both of which represented a fanciful European curiosity about the far and exotic East.<sup>158</sup> The artists and the supporters of Japonisme perhaps couldn’t even tell whether those Oriental objects were Chinese, Japanese or pseudo-products. Yet, Japonisme served as a driving force to support an innovative art movement, Aestheticism, to address the necessity for artistic and social reform.<sup>159</sup> For Aesthetes, the study of Japanese art and other Oriental cultures encouraged new ways of thinking in terms of artistic techniques and traditional Aesthetics.<sup>160</sup>

Although Whistler did gradually cease to employ so much Oriental porcelain in his works, he didn’t lose his taste for collecting.<sup>161</sup> In the field of blue and white ceramics, James Whistler was regarded as a trendsetter by scholars.<sup>162</sup> These artists began to collect the ‘old Nankin’ porcelain and

<sup>155</sup> Sarah Teasley, ‘Japonisme’, in *The Bloomsbury Encyclopedia of Design*, Volume 2, ed. Clive Edwards (London, New York: Bloomsbury Academic (2016), 252–256.

<sup>156</sup> Sarah Teasley, ‘Japonisme’, 252–256.

<sup>157</sup> Paul Gladston, *Deconstructing Contemporary Chinese Art*, 56.

<sup>158</sup> Ayako Ono, ‘Japonisme in Britain’, 2.

<sup>159</sup> Ibid.

<sup>160</sup> Matthew Martin, ‘From Japonisme to Art Nouveau’, 34–35.

<sup>161</sup> Margaret MacDonald, ‘Whistler’s Designs’, 291–295.

<sup>162</sup> Charlotte Gere with Lesley Hoskins, *The house beautiful*, 14.

enjoyed the limitless opportunities for finding bargains.<sup>163</sup> Old Nankin was a commonly-used term in nineteenth-century England to describe the antique Chinese-made porcelain. The term refers to blue and white porcelain made for export in the Qing dynasty (especially during the reign of the emperor Kangxi, 1661–1722). It was named after the port city Nankin in China, where Western dealers shipped the products to the West.<sup>164</sup> Blue and white porcelain is called ‘Qing Hua Ci’ in Chinese, showing the natural beauty of ‘the very blue and white of the sky’ and the colour of ‘sky blue after rain’.<sup>165</sup> The collector Hollingsworth believed that the reason why blue and white porcelain was favoured is due to its exquisiteness and its great adaptability to the surrounding. That is to say, blue and white was seen as an exquisite decoration for the house and its beautiful natural colour was perfect for any types of furnishing.<sup>166</sup>

In around 1876, the interest in old blue and white was reaching its zenith; this is also the year Oscar Wilde entered the circle.<sup>167</sup> The price of Chinese and Oriental commodities became more affordable then thanks to the advanced navigational technology and the decreased transportation costs.<sup>168</sup> Wilde, a young student college student at the age of 22, thus, could afford the blue and white.<sup>169</sup>

At this point, I point again to the opening quote – Wilde’s famous remark – in the introduction: ‘I find it harder and harder every day to live up to my blue and white china.’ According to Gere, Wilde’s two blue and white vases were found in an Oxford bric-à-brac shop.<sup>170</sup> These blue and white

<sup>163</sup> Charlotte Gere with Lesley Hoskins, *The house beautiful*, 14–15.

<sup>164</sup> The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica, ‘Nanking porcelain’, Encyclopædia Britannica, September 24, 2010. Accessed: 20 April 2020. <https://www.britannica.com/art/Nanking-porcelain>

<sup>165</sup> Alexander T. Hollingsworth, *Blue and White China*, (London: Chiswick Press, 1891), 26.

<sup>166</sup> Alexander T. Hollingsworth, *Blue and White China*, 26–29.

<sup>167</sup> Anne Anderson, ‘Fearful Consequences’, 225.

<sup>168</sup> Charlotte Gere with Lesley Hoskins, *The house beautiful*, 14–15.

<sup>169</sup> Qi Chen, ‘Aristocracy’, 40.

<sup>170</sup> Charlotte Gere with Lesley Hoskins, *The house beautiful*, 15.

pieces were possibly produced by Sèvres,<sup>171</sup> a European porcelain manufactory located in Sèvres, France.<sup>172</sup> In fact, unlike Whistler's exclusive enthusiasm for Nankin porcelain, the Aesthetic circle was also attracted to other European ceramics, Dutch delftware and eighteenth-century British delftware, in particular Worcester and Coughley.<sup>173</sup>

The Aesthetic interior style promoted by the artists and aesthetes showed that the role of ceramics was associated with the artistic taste. Blue and white china, even in the form of plates and platters, is not valued for the food it holds but for its intrinsic beauty. Take James Whistler for instance. To Whistler, the pioneer who was the enthusiastic about the blue and white, 'old Nankin' as well as blue and white ceramics became an artistic inspiration of / in his works and paintings. The artistic meaning was singled out.

Furthermore, the Aesthetic circle endowed the blue and white ceramics with cultural meaning as well, which was valued within by artists and aristocracy. Starting from Whistler, moving on then to Wilde, the fondness for and the increasing possession of the blue and white in the late Victorian era resulted from their fascination with the Far East. Such fascination was affiliated with the imperialism and colonialism.<sup>174</sup> On the one hand, the blue and white ceramics offered a glimpse into the expansion of imperialism.<sup>175</sup> On the other hand, English artists worshiped exotic cultures and created their own imaginative interpretations of these cultures such as the Chinoiserie, the Japonisme and the blue and white ceramics, yet ignored and obscured the dark side of colonialism.<sup>176</sup> In Wilde's words, 'the East has always kept true to art's primary and pictorial conditions'.<sup>177</sup> The enthusiasm for blue and white

171 Richard Ellmann, *Oscar Wilde*, (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1987), 43.

172 It was established in 1756 until now. 'Sèvres Porcelain Manufactory, Collection of Smithsonian Cooper-Hewitt,' National Design Museum, nd. <https://collection.cooperhewitt.org/people/18043925/> Accessed: 23 April 2020.

173 Anne Anderson, 'Fearful Consequences', 223–224.

174 Kojin Karatani, 'Uses of Aesthetics: After Orientalism', trans Sabu Kohso. *Boundary 2*, Vol. 25, No. 2, (1998): 152.

175 Karen Fang, *Romantic Writing and the Empire of Signs: Periodical Culture and Post-Napoleonic Authorship*, (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2010), 41.

176 Kojin Karatani, 'Uses of Aesthetics', 152.

177 Oscar Wilde, *Essays and Lectures*, ed. Robert Ross. (London: Methuen, 1908), 134.

porcelain and delftware was actually a demonstration of seeking the ‘pure beauty’.<sup>178</sup> Watson also believed China to be ‘the fairyland in fine’.<sup>179</sup> Blue and white ceramics, thus, were a production for ‘satisfying both the eye and the imagination.’<sup>180</sup> In this sense, the role of ceramics became a cultural carrier, which, however, perpetuated a fanciful image of the Oriental countries.

In the meantime, not only were Aesthetes very keen on practicing the Aesthetic principle and the concept of ‘The House Beautiful’ by collecting the blue and white but so too were the emerging English middle-class.

### **3.2 For a Correct Taste: The Middle-Class and the Aesthetic Principle**

As Asa Briggs has put it, ‘middle-class ideals set standards for the nation’.<sup>181</sup> This shows the significance of the Victorian middle-class in the English context. The middle-class, as a rather new social class, was forged out of the industrial revolution from the eighteenth century. The increasing amount of trade and manufacturing transformed Britain into an ‘industrial country’.<sup>182</sup> By the mid-Victorian period, the middle-class gained a clear socio-economic foundation in business and professional fields. The occupational groups – manufacturers, merchants, attorneys, shopkeepers – of the middle-class grew in large numbers from the eighteenth to the nineteenth century.<sup>183</sup> Although they all made a living from commercial activities, two subgroups were distinguished in the middle-class: the wealthy upper-middle-class people and the regular lower-middle-class.<sup>184</sup> Accumulating sufficient wealth, the upper-middle-class pursued a life close to the aristocratic one, while the lower-

<sup>178</sup> Oscar Wilde, *Essays and Lectures*, 114.

<sup>179</sup> Rosamund Marriott Watson, *The art of the house* (London: G. Bell and Sons, 1897), 104.

<sup>180</sup> Rosamund Marriott Watson, *The art*, 104.

<sup>181</sup> Asa Briggs, *Victorian People: A reassessment of Persons and Themes 1851–67* (London: Penguin Books, 1955), 28.

<sup>182</sup> Simon Gunn, ‘Class, identity’, 30.

<sup>183</sup> Simon Gunn, ‘Translating Bourdieu’, 50.

<sup>184</sup> Robert C. Allen, ‘Class structure and inequality during the industrial revolution: lessons from England’s social tables, 1688–1867’, *Economic History Review*, 72, 1 (2019): 97.

middle-class was almost merged with the working-class. The lower-middle-class separated from the working class only by status, that is, without doing manual labour.<sup>185</sup> A clear way to differentiate the upper-middle and lower-middle-class was by their annual salary. Roughly speaking, the upper-middle class had annual incomes of over £1000 and the lower-middle merely earned about £200 annually in the nineteenth century.<sup>186</sup>

More importantly, the core value of the middle-class were shaped by ‘the style of living’, the willingness to consume necessities and comforts.<sup>187</sup> Shopping habits and consumption began to change from the 1850s onwards. Despite the long history of consuming Chinoiserie objects in England, it was a monopolised privilege for the nobility until the Empire finally completed its early global expansion in the 1860s.<sup>188</sup> Following the current aristocratic vogues made the middle-class consumers feel identified. Therefore, the consumption of Chinoiserie goods, something popular among the Royal family and upper-classes for almost three centuries and which became cheaper in the Victorian age, gave the middle-class a starting point.<sup>189</sup> For instance, the department store Liberty’s could be seen as an embodiment of commercialism of the Aesthetic Movement and also an essential intermediate access point for normal people, mostly the middle-class, to obtain Oriental objects.<sup>190</sup>

During this time, social reforms were generated from the Aesthetic Movement and its motto ‘Art for Art’s sake’.<sup>191</sup> The middle-classes exemplified one of the reforms in terms of domesticity. It was aesthetes who stimulated the middle-classes to adorn their houses and furniture with the Oriental

<sup>185</sup> W. D. Rubinstein, *Britain’s Century: A Political and Social History, 1815–1905*, (London: Arnold, 1998), 291.

<sup>186</sup> Frank Musgrove, ‘Middle-class Education and Employment in the Nineteenth Century’, *The Economic History Review*, Vol. 12, No. 1 (1959): 99.

<sup>187</sup> W.R. Greg, ‘Life at high pressure’, *Contemporary Review* (Mar 1875): 633.

<sup>188</sup> Qi Chen, ‘Aristocracy’ 40.

<sup>189</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>190</sup> Fiona MacCarthy, ‘The Aesthetic Movement’, *The Guardian*, Sat 26 Mar 2011. Accessed: 14 March, 2020. <https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2011/mar/26/Aestheticism-exhibition-victoria-albert-museum>

<sup>191</sup> One example is the missionary Aestheticism for the working class. See Diana Maltz, *British Aestheticism and the Urban Working Classes, 1870–1900: Beauty for the People*, (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2005).

decoration, including blue and white ceramics.<sup>192</sup> Under such influence, building a ‘correct’ taste for domestic interior exactly met the middle-class’s need for keeping up the Aesthetic principle.<sup>193</sup> The correct taste in furniture and decorative design demonstrated to inhabitants as well as visitors an evidence of gentility and refinement.<sup>194</sup> In pursuit of correctness, the use of ceramics again transformed. Unlike the artists and aesthetes, the middle-class emphasised the decorative function over the cultural worship. To the middle-classes, having the blue and white at home to create a clear distance from the workers visually was much more important than expressing the admiration for the East. Blue and white ceramics, therefore, were purchased and collected intensively by the middle-class a decoration indicating the social status and economic success.<sup>195</sup>

The growing numbers of female household magazine and publications since the mid-nineteenth century hinted at the middle-class’s possession of blue and white ceramics. In the Victorian era, women played a crucial role in the domesticity. They were, according to Dresser, expected to create a beautiful and well-decorated home in order to ‘have an elevating influence on those who dwell in it’.<sup>196</sup> During this period, the focus of women’s magazines underwent a gradual change from the common fictional story to the domestic concern, from the romantic to the realist.<sup>197</sup> *The Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine*, for example, had begun in 1852 and aimed to provide general news, household management, dress patterns, and recipes to the middle-class women.<sup>198</sup> Yet, the specific volumes of periodicals introducing house interior and decoration emerged in the 1870s. It resulted from the influence of the

<sup>192</sup> ‘Oscar Wilde’s Last Lecture,’ 10 April, 1882.

<sup>193</sup> Linda Young, *Middle Class Culture in the Nineteenth Century: America, Australia and Britain*, (London: Springer, 2002), 173.

<sup>194</sup> Deborah Cohen, *Household Gods: The British and Their Possessions*, (Yale: Yale University Press, 2006), 89.

<sup>195</sup> Kathryn Rachel Ferry, ‘Clutter and the Clash’, 113.

<sup>196</sup> Christopher Dresser, *Studies in Design* (London: A. Goater in Nottingham, 1874), 9.

<sup>197</sup> Jeffrey A. Auerbach, ‘Mid-Nineteenth Century English Women’s Magazines and the Emergence of a Consumer Culture’, *Victorian Periodicals Review*, Vol. 30, No. 2 (1997): 121–122.

<sup>198</sup> Marion Diamond, ‘Maria Rye and “The Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine”’, *Victorian Periodicals Review*, Vol. 30, No. 1 (Spring, 1997): 6.



Aesthetic Movement, advocating that furnishings in the house were treated as works of art for decorative function.<sup>199</sup> For instance, an article from *Sylvia's Home Journal* about novelties stated that 'a little thing such as old-fashioned bowl of blue and white china' was 'a great deal of taste'.<sup>200</sup> And 'dark blue and white china' was more 'fashionable than any other for ordinary use'.<sup>201</sup>

One of the editors of *Sylvia's Home Journal* who must be highlighted was Graham Tomson – the pseudonym of Rosamund Marriott Watson – whose editorship placed her to accompany Oscar Wilde in the Aestheticism.<sup>202</sup> As a female aesthete in the late nineteenth century, she not only advocate regarding stitching, gardening, fashion and cookery, but also the visual arts and artistic illustration of Aesthetic principles in the magazine.<sup>203</sup> Her editorship demonstrated a great tension between the aesthete and female through the dialectic of cultural authority and domesticity.<sup>204</sup> Later under her real name, Watson released a book *The art of the house*, in which she directly indicated that 'blue china in the world of faience occupies much the same position as Shakespeare in poetry'.<sup>205</sup> What she was telling her reader – the middle-classes – was that having an item of blue and white china meant the pursuit of pure pleasure, whether it was produced in the Orient, in Delft or England.<sup>206</sup> She admitted that consuming the blue and white was like 'giving hostage to fortune'.<sup>207</sup> Nevertheless, it offered 'perennially more opportunities of pleasure than, perhaps, any other sort of chattel'.<sup>208</sup>

<sup>199</sup> Julie Codell, 'Introduction: Domesticity, Culture, and the Victorian Press', *Victorian Periodicals Review* Volume 51, (2018): 222.

<sup>200</sup> *Sylvia's Home Journal: For Home Reading and Home Use, of Tales, Stories, Fashion, and Needlework*, (London: Ward, Lock and Company, 1879), 75.

<sup>201</sup> *Sylvia's Home Journal*, 75.

<sup>202</sup> Linda K. Hughes, 'A Female Aesthete at the Helm: "Sylvia's Journal" and "Graham R. Tomson", 1893–1894', *Victorian Periodicals Review*, Vol. 29, No. 2 (1996): 173.

<sup>203</sup> Linda K. Hughes, 'A Female Aesthete', 175.

<sup>204</sup> *Ibid.*, 182.

<sup>205</sup> Rosamund Marriott Watson, *The art*, 100.

<sup>206</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>207</sup> *Ibid.*, 103.

<sup>208</sup> *Ibid.*

Other than purchasing the blue and white china, Haweis went out of her way to promote the aesthetic principles via publication as well. Her book *Beautiful Houses: Being a Description of Certain Well-known Artistic Houses*, listed a few well-known artistic houses at that time to initiate ones' originality to decorate one's house.<sup>209</sup>

Anderson's theory of the 'imagined communities' analyses the way that individuals relate to their nations. Yet, the author McLean argues that cultural phenomena also encourage the imagined communities via the sharing belief built by novels, books, museums etc.<sup>210</sup> – even the passion for ceramics. Rather than becoming the upper-class aristocracy, what the middle-classes were trying to do was to differentiate themselves from the working people.<sup>211</sup> Through the blue and white ceramics, English middle-class's cultural became strengthened as a community.

### **3.3 The 'Chinese' Style: English Willow Pattern and the Otherness in The Nineteenth Century**

Around the end of the eighteenth century, a specific pattern of blue willow trees on the delftware was favoured in England, which has been called 'Willow Pattern.' Willow Pattern was introduced from the end of eighteenth century to the beginning of the twentieth century and reached its peak in around the 1850s.<sup>212</sup>

The rise of the Willow Pattern resulted from the transfer printing, a revolutionary technology taking place in the second half of the eighteenth century.<sup>213</sup> Transfer printing had dramatically changed the ceramics industry in England and by the 1790s the English tableware had made its

<sup>209</sup> Mary Eliza Joy Haweis, *Beautiful Houses: Being a Description of Certain Well-known Artistic Houses*, (London: Sampson Low, 1882), ii–iii.

<sup>210</sup> Tommy McLean, *The Other East and Nineteenth-Century British Literature: Imagining Poland and the Russian Empire*, (London: Springer, 2011), 2.

<sup>211</sup> Shani D'Cruze, 'The Family' in *A Companion to Nineteenth-Century Britain*, ed. Chris Williams (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing 2004), 241.

<sup>212</sup> It had a higher price since the 1850s than other transfer painting ceramics. See George L. Miller, 'Classification and Economic Scaling of 19th Century Ceramics', *Historical Archaeology*, Vol. 14 (1980): 4.

<sup>213</sup> George L. Miller, 'Classification and Economic', 1.

culmination in the world trade.<sup>214</sup> It is believed that the Willow Pattern was invented between 1780 to 1790 at the Caughley Factory in Shropshire.<sup>215</sup> Spode, as one of the major manufacturers of Willow Pattern, collaborated with the inventor Thomas Turner to improve the work and began to produce the blue and white Willow Pattern commercially, which targeted to the tea drinking and other table services for small homes.<sup>216</sup> Domestically-manufactured ceramics with the Willow Pattern were affordable and offered consumers a substitute for the hand-painted Chinese porcelain, so the demand had increased throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.<sup>217</sup> By the mid-nineteenth century, Willow Pattern was substantially installed in Victorian households among broad strata of society.<sup>218</sup>

Normally, the unprecedentedly popular blue and white Willow Pattern is composed of a Chinese style chamber or pagoda, willow trees and two birds. The common composition of the pattern, according to Portanova, is described as follows: a willow tree at the center of the plate; a huge building, chamber or pagoda, is in the right foreground with a smaller building to the left and a variety of trees to the right. In the foreground is a zigzag fence; a bridge is located below the willow tree, over which three figures are walking towards a small pavilion; above the bridge, a boatman is poling his ship to the right, while behind him is an island with one or two houses.<sup>219</sup> According to Portanova, the motifs in the Willow Pattern might be inspired by Chinese textiles, lacquerware or the Chinese San Sui (hills and streams) paintings.<sup>220</sup>

<sup>214</sup> Ibid.

<sup>215</sup> Mayo said it was invented in 1780 while D'Antonio stated 1790. See Robert D. Mayo 'The Egoist and the Willow Pattern', *ELH: A Journal of English Literary History* Vol. 9, No. 1 (1942): 71. and Francesca D'Antonio, 'The Willow Pattern: Dunham Massey', *The East India Company at Home, 1757–1857 – UCL History* (2014), 1. <https://cpb-eu-w2.wpmucdn.com/blogs.ucl.ac.uk/dist/1/251/files/2014/06/Willow-Pattern-PDF-Final-19.08.14.pdf>

<sup>216</sup> G Bernard Hughes, 'Spode Blue and White Ware', *Country Life*, (October 1967), 820.

<sup>217</sup> Patricia O'Hara, 'The willow pattern', 422.

<sup>218</sup> Ibid.

<sup>219</sup> Joseph J Portanova, 'Porcelain, the Willow Pattern, and Chinoiserie.' (n.d.): 6. <http://www.nyu.edu/projects/mediamosaic/madeinchina/pdf/Portanova.pdf>. Accessed 3 May, 2020.

<sup>220</sup> Joseph J Portanova, 'Porcelain'.

Not only was the Willow Pattern itself was trendy but also the legend behind the pattern. The legend of the Willow Pattern came from a love story of a young couple. Although the earliest dated version of the story was told by Lemon appearing in *Bentley's Miscellany* in 1838<sup>221</sup>, the famous version came from *The Family Friend* in 1849; it was called 'The Story of the Common Willow-Pattern Plate'.<sup>222</sup> A Chinese commissioner's daughter Koong-see and his secretary Chang were a couple. However, her wealthy and powerful father opposed their relationship because he wanted Koong-see to marry an old duke. Afterwards, they failed to flee. The young couple killed themselves and transformed into two white doves after their death.<sup>223</sup> This British perspective of a love story contained various modes of typical imperialistic views of Eastern culture.<sup>224</sup>

The legend of the Willow Pattern emerged as a European attempt to capture the attractive essence of the Oriental.<sup>225</sup> Willow Pattern was considered widely, usually by the British, as a 'real Chinese' object. They also believed the story of the blue willow plate, as what was written in *The Family Friend* version, was 'said to be to the Chinese, what our Jack the Giant Killer or Robinson Crusoe is to us.'<sup>226</sup> Interestingly, consumers and owners of the Willow Pattern hardly ever questioned the authenticity of the plate or the story. The British periodicals and magazines provided some evidences. For instance, the author of a post in *The Ludgate illustrated magazine* recalled a memory with of her grandmother 'who never tired of repeating the True Story of the Willow Pattern.'<sup>227</sup>

<sup>221</sup> Mark Lemon, 'A True History of the Celebrated Wedgewood Hieroglyph, Commonly Called the Willow Pattern,' *Bentley's Miscellany* (1838): 61–65.

<sup>222</sup> Patricia O'Hara, 'The willow pattern', 422.

<sup>223</sup> J. B. L, 'The Story of the Common Willow-Pattern Plate,' *The Family Friend* 1 (1849): 124–127. McClary assumed that J.B.L may have been John Baxter Langley, whose *A Literary Sandwich: A Collection of Miscellaneous Writing* was published in London in 1855. See Ben Harris McClary, 'The Story of the Story: The Willow Pattern Plate in Children's Literature' *Children's Literature* Volume 10 (1982): 56–69.

<sup>224</sup> Patricia O'Hara, 'The willow pattern', 422.

<sup>225</sup> John R. Haddad, 'Imagined Journeys to Distant Cathay Constructing China with Ceramics, 1780–1920', *Winterthur Portfolio* 41:1(2007): 64.

<sup>226</sup> J. B. L, 'The Story', 124.

<sup>227</sup> Florence Gardiner, 'Whisper's from the woman's World', *The Ludgate Illustrated Magazine*, Nov.1893–Oct.1895, 8, (1895), 549.

Typically printed on plates, bowls and cups, Willow Pattern was a more commonplace item, not such elegant blue and white porcelain.<sup>228</sup> It acted as a reconciliation of mass production and Aesthetic perfection.<sup>229</sup> Therefore, Willow Pattern, as Chang indicates, became one of the most recognisable tastes for the domestic middle-class.<sup>230</sup> The growing middle-class, resulting from industrialisation and urbanisation, had become addicted to decorating their newly possessed houses, which provided a potentially huge market for exotic goods.<sup>231</sup> This led to a situation where the upper-middle-class attempted to obtain fine china and the appearance of Willow Pattern showed a new entry point for the lower-middle-class to decorate their house.<sup>232</sup> To the middle-classes, especially to those lower-middle-class people, practicing the Aesthetic principle was a means by which to live up to an aristocratic life, and to prevent themselves from being mistaken for the working-class.<sup>233</sup>

The otherness of Willow Pattern came from the item as such and the imagined story. The imitation of motifs and blue and white colour as well as the narrative context caused the Willow Pattern to be enthusiastically welcomed by the middle-class, especially the lower-middle-class. As seen in the magazines, the play and the song, the self-claimed authenticity of the story showed the intention of manufacturers who were eager to sell more ‘Chinese porcelain’, while the middle-class consumers were eager as well to purchase the ‘Chinese Porcelain’ as well to declare their social status.<sup>234</sup> Other than that, the cheap price of items showing the Willow Pattern spurred the lower-middle-classes to

<sup>228</sup> Catherine Lanone, “‘Toujours la porcelain’: George Meredith and the Willow Pattern’, *Ceramics/Submorphemics*, Miranda, <https://doi.org/10.4000/miranda.4450>. Accessed: 2 May 2020.

<sup>229</sup> Catherine Lanone, ‘Toujours la porcelain’.

<sup>230</sup> Elizabeth Hope Chang, *Britain’s Chinese Eye: Literature, Empire, and Aesthetics in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2010), 87.

<sup>231</sup> Qi Chen, ‘Aristocracy’, 40.

<sup>232</sup> Peter Hovenden Longley, *Forsythia: A Memoir of Lost Generations*, (Bloomington: iUniverse, 2012), 390.

<sup>233</sup> Shani D’Cruze, ‘The Family’ in *A Companion to Nineteenth-Century Britain*, ed. Chris Williams (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing 2004), 241.

<sup>234</sup> Elizabeth Hope Chang, *Britain’s Chinese Eye*, 87.

possess the trendy items. A graphic from Miller's study suggests that the price of the 16 vessels in Willow Pattern in 1855 was less than £1,<sup>235</sup> while the average annual income was £200.<sup>236</sup>

It is interesting to see that Willow Pattern owned by the lower-middle-class families still retained the original function – as a teacup or plate with its appearance on a tea-table or in a china-cupboard.<sup>237</sup> The practical function as well as the decorative role, as a follower of the blue and white trend, made Willow Pattern a popular and enduring domestic object in England for followers of the blue and white trend.

### 3.4 Remarks

What makes the discussion of the transforming role of blue and white ceramics under Chinamania so complex are the emergence of the middle-class, a newly-formed social stratification in the nineteenth century, and the arrival of various types of blue and white ceramics which happened simultaneously. In the late nineteenth century, the favoured blue and white included the Oriental Porcelains, the Dutch delftware and the English delftware with the Willow Pattern. Since Dutch delftware did not gain lots of interest in this period in England, I put that to one side.

The role of blue and white ceramics had changed then. The use of ceramics, initially, was linked to the practical application, for example kitchenware. Nevertheless, the artists in the late Victorian era valued such ceramics due to their artistic taste. The role of ceramics to the artists was an artistic inspiration. In addition, the aesthetes and the upper-class had a craze for blue and white ceramics because of the worship of the Oriental culture. Therefore, the blue and white ceramics became a cultural carrier fulfilling a fanciful image of the East. Following the aesthetes, the use of ceramics was

<sup>235</sup> George L. Miller, 'Classification and Economic', 7.

<sup>236</sup> Frank Musgrove, 'Middle-class Education and Employment in the Nineteenth Century', *The Economic History Review* Vol. 12, No. 1 (1959): 99.

<sup>237</sup> Elizabeth Hope Chang, *Britain's Chinese Eye*, 109.

associated with the decorative meaning attributed by the English middle-class. To the middle-classes, having the blue and white helped them to be clearly distinguished from the workers. The blue and white ceramics, thus, were purchased as the decoration to demonstrate their social status and economic success.<sup>238</sup> Returning to the answer of the sub-question: How did the role of delftware transform in the late nineteenth century in the Aesthetic period? – it is evident that in England, the role of delftware functioned as a practical utensil equipped with the decorative blue and white Willow Pattern, which meant people were trying to follow the fashion trend to show their social status as well. In short, whereas the other kinds of blue and white ceramics, like old Nankin, could not be used practically anymore, the othered English delftware did show its competitiveness in the market combining both usefulness and the attractiveness.

<sup>238</sup> Kathryn Rachel Ferry, 'Clutter and the Clash', 113.

## **Chapter Four: The Craze of The Blue and White: The Collecting Culture and Practice in England**

This chapter draws attention to the performance and influence of the blue and white mania in England. Under the wave of the Aesthetic Movement, the purchasing, collecting and appreciation of blue and white china emerged and thrived. It had various appearances and influences within the different social classes. In particular, the participation of the upper-class and the middle-class are covered here.

In this chapter, I aim to answer the sub-question: ‘How did the meaning of collecting delftware differ in these two countries’? Again, it is impossible to examine the delftware collecting without the context of Chinamania and social stratification. Therefore, the discussion is cut into three parts: the collecting culture and the way in which the upper-class and aesthetes displayed their collections, the involvement of the English middle-classes in the consumption of the blue and white through the lens of magazines and the significance of Willow Pattern delftware in the English society, to examine the collecting culture surrounding of blue and white ceramics.

### **4.1 The Connoisseurs: The Desire to Display Ceramics as Exemplified by the Peacock Room, Collectors’ Journals and Catalogues, and Museum Exhibitions**

As mentioned previously, James Whistler played an essential role in Chinamania, and the enthusiasm for the blue and white in the nineteenth century. It is true that Oscar Wilde brought it to the public’s attention, but it was Whistler who initiated the collecting, the application and the display of the blue and white. In other words, Whistler put blue and white as well as the collecting trend back into the spotlight.<sup>239</sup> From the seventeenth century, ceramics, including the blue and white porcelain

<sup>239</sup> Anne Anderson, ‘Fearful Consequences’, 225.



and delftware, were collected as the decoration or the display objects since then. In the late Victorian era, not only the Aesthetic circle and the aesthetes but also the upper-class (the nobles) and the upper-middle-class (the wealthy merchants) of the English society were the main collectors of blue and white ceramics. Possessing blue and white ceramics became a demonstration of foreign (Oriental) influence, effectively distinguishing artistic taste from the ordinary interest.<sup>240</sup>

This section provides an overview of the ways the English upper-class and upper-middle-class, the nobles and the rich merchants, displayed their collection of blue and white ceramics. With the discussion of several remarkable collectors in England, I claim that their desire to showcase the collections was revealed on three levels: the private display room, collectors' records, and museum exhibitions, through which they could be deemed to be the connoisseurs for the purpose of self-actualization.

Whistler's well-known work the Peacock Room, originally located in London in 1876 and now in the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. demonstrated Whistler's passion visually and vividly.<sup>241</sup> However, while appreciating the beauty of the Peacock Room, people tend to ignore the reason it was created. The establishment of the room was requested by Whistler's major patron Frederick Leyland from 1876 to 1877.<sup>242</sup> Leyland was also a Chinamaniac whose room was decorated in a traditional British style with his private collection of old Nankin porcelain.<sup>243</sup> Leyland, the Liverpool ship owner, wanted to transform the mansion at Prince's Gate into a palace of art showcasing his collection. Inspired by the brilliant colours and sinuous patterns of the blue and white, Whistler redecorated the

<sup>240</sup> Elizabeth Hope Chang, *Britain's Chinese Eye*, 104.

<sup>241</sup> The room can be visited virtually on the website The Story of the Beautiful. This online project represents the view of the Peacock Room in London and Detroit. <http://peacockroom.wayne.edu/peacock-london> Accessed: 25 April 2020.

<sup>242</sup> Max F. Schulz, *Paradise Preserved: Recreations in Eden in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century England*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985): 306

<sup>243</sup> Johannis Tsoumas, 'A new road to modernity: Thomas Jeckyll's design innovations or the reformation of the Mid-Victorian decorative arts through the Japanese culture', *Res Mobilis. Oviedo University Press*. Vol. 5 (2016): 148.

room with Oriental styles.<sup>244</sup> The blue and gold scheme led the Peacock Room being titled: *Harmony in Blue and Gold: The Peacock Room*. Whistler's intention in redecorating the Peacock Room was to set an ideal place for appreciating the his former painting *La Princesse du pays de la Porcelaine*.<sup>245</sup> Through creating a harmonised balance from the blue and white porcelain, gilded shelves and the leather wallpaper, he achieved this goal.<sup>246</sup> A letter from Whistler's friend Cole, a museum official, complimented the design of the room: 'Peacock feather devices – blues and golds – extremely new and original.'<sup>247</sup> The peacock theme was favoured by these Aesthetic artists under the influence of Japonisme. Whistler believed that the reference to the peacock's narcissism and vanity was a great motif of the artistic room with *La Princesse du pays de la Porcelaine* and the collection of the blue and white.<sup>248</sup> Until 1892, the year of his death, Leyland used the Peacock Room for dining and to display his collection of blue and white porcelain.<sup>249</sup> To that end, the Peacock Room did not only enhance Whistler's reputation<sup>250</sup> but also serve as a solid evidence of the collecting enthusiasm of the era.

Even though James Whistler was not the original ordered designer of the renovation of the dining room – Thomas Jeckyll was – the motivation and goal of the transformation did not change. That is, Leyland intended to show off his collection of the blue and white. Thomas Jeckyll, an English architect

<sup>244</sup> Lee Glazer and Margaret R. Laster, 'Introduction' in *Palaces of Art: Whistler and the Art Worlds of Aestheticism*, ed. Lee Glazer and Linda Merrill (Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution Scholarly Press 2013), 2.

<sup>245</sup> Josephine White Rodgers, 'Patronage, Power, and Aesthetic Taste: The marketing of James McNeill Whistler's Art and Legacy', (MA diss., The State University of New Jersey, May 2015), 44.

<sup>246</sup> Josephine White Rodgers, 'Patronage', 44.

<sup>247</sup> Alan Summerley Cole Dairy, 24 March 1876. in *The Correspondence of James McNeill Whistler, 1855–1903*, ed. Margaret F. MacDonald, Patricia de Montfort and Nigel Thorp.

<https://www.whistler.arts.gla.ac.uk/correspondence/subject/display/?cid=12986&indexid=31&rs=3> Accessed: 18 May 18, 2020

<sup>248</sup> Angelle M Vinet, *James McNeill Whistler an Evolution of Painting from the Old Masters: Identified By Two Missing Masterpieces*, (Morrisville: Lulu.com 2017), 145.

<sup>249</sup> The Story of the Beautiful, 'View of the north east corner of the Peacock Room', nd. <http://peacockroom.wayne.edu/history-london> Accessed: 24 April, 2020.

<sup>250</sup> '11– B The Peacock Room, 1876–1877' in *A Head Start on Picturing America Resource Guide*, (Washington D. C.: National Endowment for the Humanities, 2011), 52–53. Whistler's Aesthetic principle considered frames as integral to their effect. See Ira M. Horowitz, 'Whistler's Frames', *Art Journal*, Vol. 39, No. 2 (1979–1980): 124–131.

and a designer, and he became well known for his design of metalworks.<sup>251</sup> Leyland ordered Jeckyll to undertake the dining room transformation in 1876 to display his collection of the blue and white. Among his more than three hundred pieces, most of the blue and white porcelain were produced in the Jingdezhen during the Kangxi reign (1662–1722). Jeckyll planned to maintain the room's old function, which was as Porsellanzimmer (the room of porcelain) of the German Elector of Saxony Augustus II The Strong before, to showcase the remarkable collection of porcelain owned by Leyland with engraved walnut shelves.<sup>252</sup> However, due to Jeckyll's health problem and the fact that Leyland did not like the red colour scheme, Whistler was asked to take over the redecoration to harmonise the room.<sup>253</sup> In 1904, Charles Lang Freer, an American entrepreneur, purchased the Peacock Room and had it reassembled in his Detroit mansion. Unlike Leyland, who was under the sway of Chinamania, Freer considered the blue and white colors too bright so replaced them with a variety of ceramics collected by himself from all over Asia in the Peacock Room.<sup>254</sup> It is also possible that Freer, as claimed by Glazer and Laster, saw Chinamania as an embarrassing Victorian relic characterised by its extravagant decorations.<sup>255</sup>

A small group of collectors, made up of the nobles and the rich, followed the aesthetes Whistler and Rossetti's enthusiasm for the blue and white. These enthusiastic collectors recorded and filed their collections by means of publishing journals and catalogues. Augustus Wollaston Franks, the administrator and great donor of antiquities at the British Museum, was a fan of Oriental ceramics. Franks was also noted as a private collector of antique ceramics in the nineteenth century. One of his multiple publications was the *Catalogue of Oriental Porcelain and Pottery*, in his own words 'the first

<sup>251</sup> Johannis Tsoumas, 'A new road to modernity: Thomas Jeckyll's design innovations or the reformation of the Mid-Victorian decorative arts through the Japanese culture', *Res Mobilis. Oviedo University Press*. Vol. 5 (2016): 139.

<sup>252</sup> Johannis Tsoumas, 'A new road to modernity: Thomas Jeckyll's design innovations or the reformation of the Mid-Victorian decorative arts through the Japanese culture', *Res Mobilis. Oviedo University Press*. Vol. 5 (2016): 148.

<sup>253</sup> Peter Trippi, 'Whistler, Freer, and Their Living Legacy', *Fine Art Connoisseur* (2015): 50.

<sup>254</sup> Lee Glazer and Margaret R. Laster, 'Introduction' 2–3.

<sup>255</sup> *Ibid.*

time attempted to exhibit Oriental porcelain and to distinguish the respective productions of China and Japan'.<sup>256</sup> Finding there was a difficulty in discerning between the glazed and true porcelain, Franks started to work on the subject with complete introductions, depictions of pieces and an appendix of marks and symbols in 1876.<sup>257</sup> His collection of Chinese and Japanese porcelain was exhibited at the Bethnal Green Museum in 1876 and now resides in the Wallace Collection.<sup>258</sup> Through his publication and private collection of Oriental ceramics, Franks improved the knowledge in the field of the porcelain study and museum display.

Although the book is not a special edition for blue and white porcelain or old Nankin, it did indeed show how popular Oriental ceramics were in the late-nineteenth century. Also, he noted that the European blue and white, especially the Dutch delftware, was made differently from the Chinese porcelain, as the Dutch counterpart used models for glazing. Moreover, he focused on the social context in that period. As he states in the book: 'at the present moment, the blue and white has become greatly in fashion in this country, where probably it commands higher prices than can be obtained elsewhere.'<sup>259</sup> The high price of the blue and white ceramics during the era of Chinamania was particularly highlighted. Another thing from the book that should be noted is that the willow tree, associated with the popular Willow Pattern plates in England, was proved not to be a common motif on Chinese porcelain. In this collection, there were only four pieces painted with willow trees. Willow Pattern delftware, a popular item in Britain, thus, was confirmed indirectly to be a British fantasy of the Orient through the lens of Franks' collection.

<sup>256</sup> A.W. Franks, *Catalogue of a Collection of Oriental Porcelain and Pottery: Lent for Exhibition*, G. E. Eyre and W. Spottiswoode (1876), vii.

<sup>257</sup> A.W. Franks, *Catalogue of a Collection of Oriental Porcelain and Pottery: Lent for Exhibition*, G. E. Eyre and W. Spottiswoode (1876).

<sup>258</sup> Anne Anderson, 'Fearful Consequences', 226.

<sup>259</sup> A.W. Franks, *Catalogue of a Collection of Oriental Porcelain and Pottery: Lent for Exhibition*, (London: G. E. Eyre and W. Spottiswoode, 1876), 17.

A female collector, Lady Charlotte Schreiber, was notable as being the only woman in Franks's circle of friends. She was famed then due to her enthusiasm for collecting as well. With her second husband Charles Schreiber, she travelled throughout Europe and hunted high and low to collect ceramics from the year 1869 to 1885. Her collecting behaviour was a type of playing, according to Macleod, was due to her lonely childhood.<sup>260</sup> *Lady Charlotte Schreiber's journals* is literally a journal recording her trips and the acquisition of ceramics. Through her words, the process involved and details of the trips, including all the aspects from travelling, seeking, and bargaining to purchasing of ceramics were documented valuably.

Mostly, the couple seemed to focus on buying early English ceramics. Among her huge collection of ceramics, about 12,000 specimens, the blue and white only made up a small part. She acquired probably less than one hundred pieces of blue and white ceramics, most of which were the old Oriental porcelain or Worcester English blue and white delftwares, but not the Dutch delftware. With a note about the unstable quality of Dutch delftware, she only owned less than ten pieces of Dutch delft.<sup>261</sup> Even though she was not a huge fan of the blue and white, she frequently referred to the trendy craze in London in the journals with the comments like 'Everyone is still wild about blue and white'<sup>262</sup>; 'the rage of blue and white is truly ridiculous!'<sup>263</sup>; or 'such a ridiculous rage in England.'<sup>264</sup>

It is notable that Lady Charlotte got more than half of her blue and white ceramics from the Netherlands, often from an antiquary shop owned by Mr. Tennyssen, the dealer in the Hague. During

<sup>260</sup> Her father died when she was six and her mother remarried to an alcoholic cleric. See Dianne Sachko Macleod, 'Art Collecting As Play: Lady Charlotte Schreiber (1812–1895)' *Visual Resources*, 27:1 (2011): 19.

<sup>261</sup> She never used the word 'bad' to describe other types of blue and white. She used 'bad' to depict the quality of delftware mostly. 'nothing but blue and white Oriental and Delft, mostly are bad' in page 45; 'He found nothing but bad Delft' in page 169. Charlotte Schreiber, *Lady Charlotte Schreiber's Journals: Confidences of a Collector of Ceramics & Antiques Throughout Britain, France, Holland, Belgium, Spain, Portugal, Turkey, Austria & Germany From the Year 1869 to 1885*. Volume 1 (London: John Lane, 1911).

<sup>262</sup> Charlotte Schreiber, *Lady Charlotte Schreiber's Journals*, Volume 1, 434.

<sup>263</sup> *Ibid.*, 435.

<sup>264</sup> *Ibid.*, 494.

the era of Chinamania, the price of the blue and white porcelain in London rose too high. The Netherlands and other European continental countries became the place where they were able to buy blue and white ceramics cheaply. Sometimes, the price could be half that in London. For example, in the Netherlands, Lady Charlotte and her husband met an English dealer, who bought a blue and white bottle for twenty-five pound and expected to sell it for thirty-five pounds on his return to England.<sup>265</sup> Furthermore, Lady Charlotte and her husband had become friends with Mr. Loudon, a significant Dutch collector of delftware during a trip to the Netherlands in 1872. Although she was not particularly fascinated by delftware that much, Lady Charlotte still admitted that Loudon's collection of Dutch delftwares was wonderful.<sup>266</sup> Therefore, it is evident that, to a certain extent, the Netherlands had some kind of connection to the English Chinamania craze.

Sir Henry Thompson, a famous surgeon at that time, also rubbed shoulder with artists by acquiring pieces of blue and white china from Whistler and Rossetti.<sup>267</sup> In 1878, Thompson collaborated with Whistler to categorise his collection of the blue and white. Whistler was the illustrator of this valuable primary source of Chinamania, i.e. *A catalogue of blue and white Nankin porcelain, forming the collection of Sir Henry Thompson, 1820–1904*.<sup>268</sup> It recorded 335 pieces of blue and white items from plates to vases with short descriptions for most of pieces composed by the owner Thompson and the drawings by Whistler. Both Whistler and Thompson joined the Burlington Fine Arts Club, which held the 'Blue and White Oriental Porcelain' exhibition in 1895.<sup>269</sup> The exhibition consisted of mainly of blue and white porcelain but also with a few Japanese pieces.<sup>270</sup>

<sup>265</sup> Ibid., 435.

<sup>266</sup> Ibid., 169.

<sup>267</sup> Keren Rosa Hammerschlag, 'The Gentleman Artist–Surgeon in Late Victorian Group Portraiture', *Vis Cult Br.* (2013): 178.

<sup>268</sup> Sir Henry Thompson, *A catalogue of blue and white*.

<sup>269</sup> Stacey J. Pierson, *Private Collecting, Exhibitions, and the Shaping of Art History in London: the Burlington Fine Arts Club*, (London: Taylor & Francis, 2017), 79–80.

<sup>270</sup> William Cosmo Monkhouse, *Catalogue of blue & white Oriental porcelain exhibited in 1895*, (London Burlington Fine Arts Club, 1895), 1.

Another collector Hollingsworth, produced a book *Blue and White China* which included some incredible remarks relating to issues such as the history of the blue and white porcelain in Europe, his personal thoughts about the blue and white popularity and an appendix on marks on the specimens by Joseph Grego, a famous editor of the time. Hollinsworth stated that the blue and white ceramics were ‘an undeniably exquisite decoration for the interior of our houses’.<sup>271</sup>

These publications written by Franks, Lady Charlotte, Sir Thompson and Hollinsworth introduced the craze for the Oriental porcelain and the blue and white ceramics in detail. However, the main difference between these collectors was that Franks and Lady Charlotte acquired ceramics (such as yellow porcelain or black enamel) inclusively while Sir Thompson and Hollinsworth merely focused on the antique blue and white. Also, it is evident that delftware, no matter whether it was the Dutch or English, was not considered seriously by these connoisseurs as the items worthy of being collected.

In addition to the private display rooms and books of (blue and white) ceramic, another way to showcase the collection professionally was via the museum exhibitions. A museum noted previously for the exhibition of Franks’s Chinese and Japanese porcelain is Bethnal Green Museum. The Bethnal Green Museum was a branch of the South Kensington Museum and it was opened in 1872 by the Prince of Wales on behalf of Queen.<sup>272</sup> What is distinctive about the museum is that collections inside it were lent from public bodies and private individual.<sup>273</sup> Franks’s *Catalogue of a Collection of Oriental Porcelain and Pottery: Lent for Exhibition*, was actually the proof of a collaboration between the private collector and the public museum. Franks lent part of his collection of Oriental ceramics to the Bethnal Green Museum in 1876.

<sup>271</sup> Alexander T. Hollingsworth, *Blue and White China*, 25.

<sup>272</sup> Henry Benjamin Wheatley, *London Past and Present: Its History, Associations, and Traditions*, (1891 first edition) (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 180–181.

<sup>273</sup> Henry Benjamin Wheatley, *London Past and Present*, 181.

In addition, Lady Charlotte donated most of her collection of ceramics to the South Kensington Museums (renamed the Victoria and Albert Museum in 1889) in her husband's memory in 1885. She presented almost 2000 pieces of porcelain and pottery, including 807 selected pieces of English wares, as a memorial to Charles Schreiber.<sup>274</sup> The intention of both collectors was no more merely to display their acquisition; they also intended to make a contribution to the society and Lady Charlotte wanted to pay the tribute to her husband through the objects. Moreover, the display and exhibition in a public museum was undoubtedly a recognition of their capabilities for collecting as a connoisseur. In this sense, the collecting of ceramics meant more than the individual's aspiration for exertainment or showing off. It, actually, represented a greater ambition for self-actualization.

Connoisseurship is the most positive word to apply to the life-long pursuit of these collectors. Unlike the amateurs or the normal citizen, the connoisseurs such as Whistler, Leyland, Franks, Lady Charlotte, Sir Thompson and Hollinsworth, the previously mentioned artists, nobles and merchants, collected their targets in an organised and intentional way. They evaluated the qualities and the beauty of the ceramics and acquired them through haunting, their networks and auctions. They expressed their desire to be seen, be remembered and be recognised ultimately by the works, the display rooms, the publications and the public exhibition in the museum.

#### **4.2 The English Middle-Class and Chinamania in Magazines and Publications.**

'Of recent years blue and white has had its revenge in England, the taste for it having risen almost to a mania.' This was written in a nineteenth-century catalogue.<sup>275</sup> Old blue and white ceramics were at the centre of Chinamania. It represented a passion for collecting ceramics in blue and white including

<sup>274</sup> Charlotte Jacob-Hanson, 'Charlotte Schreiber: The Unforgotten Grand Dame of the "Chasse",' *Northern Ceramic Society Newsletter*, No. 166, (June 2012): 54.

<sup>275</sup> William Cosmo Monkhouse, *Catalogue of blue & white Oriental porcelain exhibited in 1895*, (London Burlington Fine Arts Club, 1895), vi.



Oriental porcelains, Dutch delftware and English Willow Pattern.<sup>276</sup> This term was invented by George du Maurier, a critic working for the magazine *Punch*.<sup>277</sup> As a weekly magazine based in London, *Punch* was known for satirising the political, social and cultural life in the nineteenth and twentieth century.<sup>278</sup> It was a popular periodical targeting the upper-middle-class, and had a circulation around 40,000.<sup>279</sup> The best edition of *Punch*, which proved a runaway success, sold about 90,000 copies in one week.<sup>280</sup>

Pioneered by Whistler, the mania for the blue and white had reached a peak in the 1870s among huge numbers of English middle-classes. A beautiful home, according to aesthetes, should be decorated with antiques like old blue and white.<sup>281</sup> The trend for blue and white china was at its height by the middle of the 1870s and encountered satirical critique coming from *Punch* and its artist George du Maurier in several cartoons depicting Chinamania.<sup>282</sup> It made fun of both the vogue for using blue and white china for home decorating and the cult of the antique.<sup>283</sup> Those cartoons in the *Punch* served as visual references to outline the entire history of blue and white china initiated by exponents of the Aestheticism.<sup>284</sup> Moreover, these sources provide an entry point for examining the English middle-class's collecting manners and consuming behaviours relating to blue and white ceramics.

Cartoons in *Punch* showed the rising price of the blue and white and they were actually unaffordable to some Chinamania patients – the middle-classes in particular. As Monkhouse said, 'Pieces, which

<sup>276</sup> Anne Anderson, 'Fearful Consequences', 222.

<sup>277</sup> Amy Matthewson, 'Mr Punch and Chinamania: Blue Willow China and Consumer Consumption in 'Punch' Magazine, 1874–1880'.

<sup>278</sup> Brian Maidment, 'The Presence of Punch in the Nineteenth Century', In *Asian Punches A Transcultural Affair* ed. Hans Harder and Barbara Mittler, (Berlin Heidelberg: Springer-Verlag, 2013), 15.

<sup>279</sup> Patrick Leary, "'The Immortal Periodical': Punch in the Nineteenth Century.' *Punch Historical Archive 1841–1992: Cengage Learning* (2014), 3.

<sup>280</sup> Patrick Leary, 'The Immortal Periodical', 3.

<sup>281</sup> Anne Anderson, 'Chinamania, 113.

<sup>282</sup> Kathryn Rachel Ferry, 'Clutter and the Clash', 120.

<sup>283</sup> Anne Anderson, 'The Mutual Admiration Society', 73.

<sup>284</sup> Xiaoyu Ding, 'Oscar Wilde and China in Late Nineteenth Century Britain: Aestheticism, Orientalism, and the Making of Modernism' (MA diss., The University of Hong Kong, August 2012), 89.

forty years ago, could have been purchased for a few sovereigns, perhaps for a few shillings, have sold for hundred pounds.’<sup>285</sup> The price of the blue and white became surprisingly high. In ‘Aptly Quoted from the Advertisement Column’ (Figure 1), the family was suffering from poverty due ultimately to the purchase and collection of blue and white china. In spite of already housing six vases inside their home, the father still got two new china. The mother wanted to stop him. She said: ‘More useless china! More money thrown away when we have so little to spare!’. However, the father believed this was all about making a comfortable house.

Figure 1: Aptly Quoted from the Advertisement Column.<sup>286</sup>



In addition, written evidence of the middle-class women’s participation in blue and white china collecting came from Mary Ezra Haweis. In her dairy 8 October 1869, she wrote:

For all our poverty . . . we do have the occasional odd shilling and sixpence to devote to extravagance. Today we went to Baker Street Bazaar and invested 3/–<sup>287</sup> in some odd bits of Chinese porcelain. . . . Now I call that enjoyment!’<sup>288</sup>

<sup>285</sup> William Cosmo Monkhouse, *Catalogue of blue & white Oriental porcelain exhibited in 1895*, (London Burlington Fine Arts Club, 1895), vi.

<sup>286</sup> George du Maurier, ‘Aptly Quoted from the Advertisement Column’, *Punch* 15 December 1877. Accessed: 2 June 2020. <https://punch.photoshelter.com/image/I0000IMgmt5LEMPw>

<sup>287</sup> It is a kind of English Pre-decimal coins.

<sup>288</sup> Bea Howe, *Arbiter of Elegance: A Victorian Biography by Bea Howe – Mary Eliza Haweis*, (London: Harvill Press, 1967), 91.

The quote expressed her enjoyment as an enthusiast in obtaining blue and white china as well as the consumption behaviour of the middle-class – the extravagance when having spare money for a decorative object or to follow the trend. With the ironic cartoons, *Punch* also gave an insight into the economic impacts caused by Chinamania, such as extravagance and overspending, and showed the awareness of Chinamania wrecking the country and its citizens from the upper-classes and the middle-class citizen.<sup>289</sup>

Women, in the Victorian era, played an important role in the domestic sphere as well as Chinamania. It is worth noting that the Chinamania cartoons in *Punch* focused more on women than men. Under du Maurier's pen, six out of twelve cartoons used women as the main characters, while only two cartoons were from the men's perspective.<sup>290</sup> In 'Pet and Hobby' (Figure 2), the daughter was in her mom's good grace due to her sweet words, saying she loved her mom better than blue China. 'Chinamania Made Useful At Last' (Figure 3) was sarcastic about blue and white china's useful(less)ness by indicating that ladies could put the china on their dresses as the trimming. 'An Apology' (Figure 4) depicted a satirical conversation between a mistress and a careless maid who had broken a tea cup. The mistress asked the maid to apologise for her mistake in being careless. However, the maid did so only because she felt pity for the shattered old china, not sorry for her irresponsibility. 'Chinamania' (Figure 5) illustrated a French person dressed in sandals and a Japanese kimono, who was apparently attracted by a group of Oriental objects such as dragons and blue and white china. While she was appreciating these items, her butler exhorted her: 'You'll find it rather expensive.'

<sup>289</sup> Alvar Ellegård, 'The Readership of the Periodical Press in Mid-Victorian Britain: II. Directory', *Victorian Periodicals Newsletter*, No. 13 (1971), 22.

<sup>290</sup> The twelve cartoons that mocked Chinamania in *Punch* include: du Maurier's 'The Passion for Old China' (2 May 1874); 'Chronic Chinamania (Incurable)' (17 December, 1874); "Acute Chinamania" (17 December, 1874); "Incipient Chinamania" (26 December 1874); 'A Disenchantment' (19 July 1876); 'Pet and Hobby' (26 August 1876); 'Our Chinamaniacs Abroad' (13 October 1877); 'Aptley Quoted from the Advertisement Column' (15 December 1877); 'An Apology' (29 December 1877); 'Chinamania Made Useful At Last' (12 December 1879); and 'The Six Mark Tea-Pot' (30 November 1880); and Sambourne's 'Let us Live Up To It' (7 May 1881). See Lionel Lambourne, *The Aesthetic Movement* (London: Phaidon, 2011), 113–133.

Figure 2: *Pet and Hobby*.<sup>291</sup>



Figure 3: *Chinamania Made Useful At Last*.<sup>292</sup>



Figure 4: *An Apology*.<sup>293</sup>



Figure 5: *Chinamania*.<sup>294</sup>



The highlighted role of women in those cartoons, in particular, illustrated the fear that women embracing Aestheticism would show symptoms of social and physical disorder.<sup>295</sup> The misbehaviours indicated by *Punch* included over-purchasing, irrational obsession and incompetent maternity among

<sup>291</sup> George du Maurier, 'Pet and Hobby' *Punch* 26 August 1876. <https://asia.si.edu/exhibition/porcelain-frenzy/#jp-carousel-444943> Accessed: 2 June 2020.

<sup>292</sup> George du Maurier, 'Chinamania Made Useful At Last', *Punch* 12 December 1879. <https://asia.si.edu/exhibition/porcelain-frenzy/#jp-carousel-444936> Accessed: 2 June 2020.

<sup>293</sup> George du Maurier, 'An Apology', *Punch* 12 December 1879. <https://asia.si.edu/exhibition/porcelain-frenzy/#jp-carousel-444933> Accessed: 2 June 2020.

<sup>294</sup> George du Maurier, 'Chinamania', *Punch* 15 September 1883. <https://asia.si.edu/exhibition/porcelain-frenzy/#jp-carousel-444935> Accessed: 2 June 2020.

<sup>295</sup> Rebecca N Mitchell, 'Acute Chinamania: pathologizing Aesthetic dress', *Fashion Theory* (2010), 47.

mothers and wives under Chinamania. Female characters in the cartoons were depicted negatively and reproved harshly for collecting and having blue and white china – while men were doing the same thing but were not being criticised.

Similarly, the magazine *Fun*, the rival of *Punch*, also demonstrated the concern of Chinamania. Accompanying topical cartoons as well, *Fun* portrayed and commented on political, literary and leisure lives weekly in a satirical way.<sup>296</sup> Only costing one penny, which was one-third of the cost of *Punch*, *Fun* appealed to the lower-middle-class audience.<sup>297</sup> Therefore, *Fun* was dubbed *Funch*, meaning a cheaper *Punch* for the poorer people.<sup>298</sup> Using a different format to the cartoons in *Punch*, *Fun* showed its awareness about Chinamania in words and passed over it lightly over. A short post about Chinamania in the article ‘Cracked China’ stated: ‘an old aunt of ours has such a passion for ancient china that we have asked her spiritual advisor to warn her wickedness of avarice and teapot-idity.’<sup>299</sup> The post again linked the china, especially the cracked pieces, to the female elder satirically.

The visual references to shattered ceramics, as Porter indicated, was a common metaphor for mocking women’s preoccupation with exotic goods.<sup>300</sup> Traditionally, the English middle-class mothers were expected to transform their houses into healthy shelters, where they could raise their children, take good care of their husbands and perform their wifely duties with proper self-sacrifice.<sup>301</sup> The depiction from *Punch* and *Fun*, on the one hand, was a serious allegation about the specific capability and morality of women. On the other hand, it did emphasise women’s great participation in Chinamania in terms of possessing blue and white ceramics.

<sup>296</sup> Alvar Ellegård, ‘The Readership’, 21.

<sup>297</sup> *Ibid.*, 20.

<sup>298</sup> Alvin Sullivan, *British Literary Magazines: The Victorian and Edwardian Age, 1837–1913* (London: Greenwood Press, 1984), 135.

<sup>299</sup> *Fun*, ‘Cracked China’, *Fun*, September 24, 1879, 118.

<sup>300</sup> David Porter, ‘China and the Formation of the Modernist Aesthetic Ideal’ in Anne Witchard ed *British Modernism and Chinoiserie*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015), chapter 1.

<sup>301</sup> John R. Haddad, ‘Imagined Journeys to Distant Cathay Constructing China with Ceramics, 1780–1920’, *Winterthur Portfolio* 41:1(2007), 66.

Kwon and Kim said, ‘consumption derived from incomplete desire repeats the endless pursuit of desire’.<sup>302</sup> To the middle-classes, those who suffered from the endless desire but without deep pockets, the consumption of blue and white ceramics was more like a once in a while impulsive purchase, as expressed in the diary of Haweis, and as compared to the upper-class-style of costly, serious and organised collecting. Being the followers of the aristocratic vogues, the middle-class consumers could purchase the cheaper blue and white from stores such as Liberty’s. Liberty’s even had a collection of ‘inexpensive Oriental porcelain’ targeting the middle-classes who were attempting to decorate their houses. In the catalogue *Eastern Art of c.1880*, it showed each piece was one shilling and sixpence, ranging from the Chinese to the Japanese ones.<sup>303</sup> The middle-class could certainly afford these prices when consuming the blue and white, though not for collecting professionally and substantially. Therefore, the exaggerated misbehaviour depicted in the magazines *Punch* and *Fun* was deemed unreal and the truth is ‘satire ensured aestheticism’s lasting fame.’<sup>304</sup> The satire from *Punch* and *Fun* actually aroused public interest, particularly from the middle-class readers, in the decorative arts and blue and white ceramics.<sup>305</sup> As the cartoons and Haweis’s dairy suggested, the English middle-class women were major consumers and collectors of blue and white ceramics which had to be reckoned with. Overall, to the middle-class, the collecting and consuming of blue and white ceramics actually involved the spiritual enjoyment and a demonstration of the social and financial success.

<sup>302</sup> Yoo Jin Kwon and Min-Ja Kim, ‘Orientalism in fashion’, *Paideusis – Journal for Interdisciplinary and Cross-Cultural Studies* Volume 5 (2011), B12– B13.

<sup>303</sup> Charlotte Gere with Lesley Hoskins, *The house beautiful: Oscar Wilde and the Aesthetic Interior*, (London: Lund Humphries, 2000), 133. The image 151.

<sup>304</sup> Anne Anderson, ‘The Mutual Admiration Society’ 85.

<sup>305</sup> *Ibid.*, 84–85.

### 4.3 A Familiar Object at Home: Willow Pattern in the Late Victorian Era

In 1875, a theatre play, *A Tale of Old China*, written by Francis Burnand made its debut on April 19.<sup>306</sup> As one of the later *Punch* editors, Burnand, who had a good sense of humour, he also disliked the prevailing Chinamania at that time. Unlike du Maurier's creation through the image, his talent for satire shone on the stage. The play revolved around the Willow Pattern, and detailed the distinction between Willow Pattern and Chinese porcelain at the end. In the story, the china dealer took the Willow Pattern teapot for the rare Chinese porcelain and convinced of the value of teapot.<sup>307</sup> O'Hara stated, the Willow Pattern here functioned as a 'comic metonymy' to display the conspicuous consumption of decorative object.<sup>308</sup> Moreover, *A Tale of Old China* revealed the truth that the well-known Willow Pattern legend was all imagined and made-up.<sup>309</sup> The satire addressed by the performance made connoisseurs of ceramics dismissed the Willow Pattern.<sup>310</sup>

Willow Pattern in the nineteenth century was considered as 'the poor man's blue and white.'<sup>311</sup> Already in 1849, the writer J.B.L referred in *The Family Friend* to how: 'the sale of the common blue plate, known as the "Willow Pattern" exceeds that of all the others put together'.<sup>312</sup> Yet, it is difficult to find out the solid printed evidence to prove how popular it was among the lower-middle-class in nineteenth-century England and the information on collecting behaviour, as such individuals were not well-educated people who were able to read and to write. It is also hard to find the direct evidence of collection and consumption of delftware, due to its low-price and commonality, which was expected from the beginning. D'Antonio also singled out this difficulty in his study: 'My difficulty in reaching

<sup>306</sup> Ibid., 76.

<sup>307</sup> Patricia O'Hara, 'The willow pattern', 425–426.

<sup>308</sup> Ibid.

<sup>309</sup> Ibid, 426.

<sup>310</sup> Alison Syme, *Willow*, (London: Reaktion Books, 2014), Chapter three Patterns of Romance and Mystery.

<sup>311</sup> Bevis Hillier, *Pottery and porcelain, 1700–1914; England, Europe, and North America*, (New York, Meredith Press, 1968), 212.

<sup>312</sup> J. B. L, 'The Story of the Common Willow–Pattern Plate,' *The Family Friend* 1 (1849): 124.

conclusive findings regarding Willow Pattern wares primarily occurred due to the frequency of omissions and absences in the written historical record.’<sup>313</sup> He found the term ‘Willow Pattern’ disappeared from the inventories of a nineteenth-century family and his explanation was that Willow Pattern was of little monetary value so it was deemed unnecessary to mention it.<sup>314</sup>

Nevertheless, some hints can still show Willow Pattern’ significance in the English society. The first clue is the adoption of the Willow Pattern story’s plot in literature. Surprisingly, although Willow Pattern was a common object rather than the symbol of highbrow art, it featured significantly well in literature.<sup>315</sup> After *A Tale of Old China*, George Meredith’s novel *The Egoist*, published in 1879, developed based on the legend. The main character in *The Egoist* was Sir Willoughby Patterne whose name showed a clear implication to the popular Willow Pattern.<sup>316</sup>

Another clue is the widely passed-down nursery rhymes referring to the Willow Pattern. Mayo suggested that the rhymes was a sure mark of the popularity of the Willow Pattern.<sup>317</sup> However, the number was actually untraceable – the oral tradition made the versions slightly differ from one to another.<sup>318</sup> These nursely rhymes were not only recalled in childhood memories but proved the vitality of the legend.<sup>319</sup> An example is *Old Staffordshire Song*:

Two pigeons flying high,  
Chinese vessels sailing by:  
Weeping willows hanging o’er,  
Bridge with three men, if not four:  
Chinese temples, there they stand,  
Seem to take up all the land:

<sup>313</sup> Francesca D’Antonio, ‘The Willow Pattern’, 15.

<sup>314</sup> *Ibid.*, 15.

<sup>315</sup> Catherine Lanone, ‘Toujours la porcelain’.

<sup>316</sup> George Meredith, *The Egoist*. (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1910).

<sup>317</sup> Robert D. Mayo ‘The Egoist’, 71–72.

<sup>318</sup> For instance, this website presents seven examples of one rhyme: <http://www.thepotteries.org/patterns/willow2.html> Accessed: 17 May 17, 2020.

<sup>319</sup> Patricia O’Hara, ‘The willow pattern’, 426.



Apple trees with apples on,  
A pretty fence to end my Song.<sup>320</sup>

This nineteenth century nursery song is named after Staffordshire, the place of origin of the Willow Pattern.<sup>321</sup> Its different uses led to various versions of this rhyme. The apple trees were replaced by the orange trees or a zigzag fence was used instead of a pretty fence.<sup>322</sup>

The most famous rhythm is the *Ballades in Blue China* created by the poet Andrew Lang in 1880. In Lang's work, blue willow and its legend were depicted as exquisite artifacts.<sup>323</sup> Instead of using the term Willow Pattern, Lang utilised a series of dreamy images that weave a narrative of the pattern in the 'Ballade of Blue China':

Where the lovers eloped in the dark,  
Lived, died, and were changed into two  
Bright birds that eternally flew  
Through the boughs of the may, as they sang:  
'Tis a tale was undoubtedly true  
In the reign of the Emperor Hwang.<sup>324</sup>

At the end, Lang put the emphasis again, like other authors and creators who referred to the blue willow did, on the genuineness of the Willow Pattern legend. The allusive term Emperor Hwang might refer to Huangdi (Huangdi literally means Emperor Hwang), the legendary Chinese leader in B.C 2711. Therefore, the line 'in the reign of the Emperor Hwang' attempted to convince readers that the pattern and the legend both came from the country China. O'Hara suggests that the collecting of

<sup>320</sup> *The Story of the Willow Pattern Plate* (London: Richards Press, 1963), p. 5. Quoted in Ben Harris McClary, 'The Story of the Story: The Willow Pattern Plate in Children's Literature', *Children's Literature Volume 10* (1982): 63–64.

<sup>321</sup> Ben Harris McClary, 'The Story', 57.

<sup>322</sup> The Short Willow Pattern Poems, thepotteries.org, nd. <http://www.thepotteries.org/patterns/willow2.html> Accessed: 17 May 17, 2020.

<sup>323</sup> Patricia O'Hara, 'The willow pattern', 425.

<sup>324</sup> Andrew Lang, 'Ballade of Blue China', *XXXII Ballades in Blue China* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Company, 1883), 56.

old china as an appreciation of the material and imaginative cultures was expressed through this ballade.<sup>325</sup>

In spite of the fact that these indirect proofs, adaptations, nursery rhymes and ballades, were developed based on the legend behind the Willow Pattern, it still gives an insight into the great amount of possession of Willow Pattern by English citizens, especially the English lower-middle-class. By the end of the nineteenth century, over fifty firms in England were manufacturing and marketing Willow Pattern wares.<sup>326</sup>

English essayist Max Beerbohm stated: 'Tea grew quite cold while the guests were praising the Willow Pattern of its cup.'<sup>327</sup> It is evident that unlike those fancy blue and white china, Willow Pattern functioned not only as a decoration but also had practical uses. Yet, as Chang had put it, 'Blue and white china, even in the form of plates and platters, is always valued not for the food it holds but for its intrinsic beauty.'<sup>328</sup> Willow Pattern, in this case, was favoured by the middle-classes due to its appealing forms, high functional values, as well as their social symbolisms,<sup>329</sup> and the fact that they could offer an opportunity for the middle-class to pursue the trendy Oriental influence, the imagined otherness and childhood memory at the same time.<sup>330</sup>

#### 4.4 Remarks

This chapter has emphasised on the meaning and the manner of collecting blue and white ceramics in the English society divided into the manner of collecting for the different classes.

<sup>325</sup> Patricia O'Hara, 'The willow pattern', 427.

<sup>326</sup> Ibid., 422.

<sup>327</sup> Max Beerbohm, *The Works of Max Beerbohm* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1896), 4.

<sup>328</sup> Elizabeth Hope Chang, *Britain's Chinese Eye*, 105.

<sup>329</sup> Gordon Daniels and Chushichi Tsuzuki, *The History of Anglo-Japanese Relations, 1600-2000, Volume V: Social and Cultural Perspectives*, (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 151.

<sup>330</sup> Elizabeth Hope Chang, *Britain's Chinese Eye*, 109.

The practices in the upper-class and upper-middle-class differed from the those in the middle-class due to the connoisseurship. The connoisseurs did not just consume, but they evaluated every purchase, considering its values and qualities. In contrast, instead of collecting professionally, the normal middle-classes consumed when having spare money. For the connoisseurs, collecting was a way to be recognised and remembered, achieving a high level of self-actualisation. For the middle-class, the collecting and consuming of blue and white ceramics actually meant the spiritual enjoyment and was a demonstration of the social and financial success.

Collecting in the upper-class and the upper-middle-class contrasted quite markedly with the collecting of English delftware. The English delftware with the Willow Pattern was always the secondary focus in the Chinamania, as it was cheap and less sophisticated. Yet, it was a great choice for the lower-middle-class. Willow Pattern purchased by lower-middle-class families has not even been reported on and recorded in print, namely Willow Pattern was too common and less-valued as a collected item. In contrast to the professional manners in which the upper-classes and the upper-middle-class collected, exhibiting extravagant behaviours, the collecting of Willow Pattern was meaningless and barely undertaken. Nevertheless, the ample adoption of the legend, the passing-on of nursery rhymes about the Willow Pattern and the sharing of childhood memory of having Willow Pattern in the cupboard still prove its prevalence in the nineteenth century, and offers a way to follow the trend in blue and white ceramics. Having the Willow Pattern, to the middle-classes, especially to the lower-middle-classes, represented the pursue of the mass popular trend as well as the imagined otherness.

So far, this thesis has focused on blue and white ceramics and Willow Pattern delftware in England. The thesis has confirmed three characteristics for the mania of blue and white ceramics in England in the nineteenth century: otherness, femininity and unstable to society. The following chapter will

discuss the Dutch counterpart in the frame of the nineteenth century. Comparing to the English Willow Pattern, Dutch delftware's role and collecting was more important to the country and its people – as it is now the national product of the Netherlands.

## **Chapter Five: Identified: Dutch Delftware and ‘Made in the Netherlands’**

In this chapter, the goal is to depict the delftware mania in the context of Dutch circumstances in the nineteenth century. Through the analysis of delftware, I aim to present the process by which the delftware was constructed as the national product of the Netherlands based on the newspapers, collectors’ catalogues or journals, and magazines. With such an intention, I will firstly answer the last sub-question: ‘To what extent were these two phenomena, the trend for delftware in the Netherlands and Chinamania in the Aesthetic Movement in England related and what was the difference?’ The aesthete James Whistler and his frequent Dutch interactions are the entry point for the discussion. After that, this chapter will also examine the former two sub-questions: ‘How did the role of blue and white ceramics transform in the late nineteenth century in the Netherlands?’ and ‘What was the meaning and manner of collecting delftware?’ – in the Dutch context as a contrast to the English one. The examination of the transforming role includes the government’s promotion and individual’s efforts. The overview of the delftware collecting is based on two famous Dutch collectors: Jan Pieter Six and John F. Loudon.

### **5.1 Whistler and The Cultural Interaction with The Netherlands**

Ornaments in the field of Aesthetics, implied transnational relationships.<sup>331</sup> For instance, the emergence of delftware was inspired by blue and white porcelain, showing the European and Asian interaction. James Whistler, the artist who collected blue and white porcelain passionately and practice the Aesthetic principles actively, has been connected closely with the Dutch art and the country. This section, therefore, tries to answer the sub-question: ‘To what extent were these two phenomena, the trend of delftware in the Netherlands and Chinamania in the Aesthetic Movement in England related

<sup>331</sup> Alison Georgina Chapman, ‘Ornament and Distraction: Peripheral Aesthetics In The Nineteenth Century’, *Victorian Literature and Culture* (2017): 249.

and what was the difference' through a close examination of the well-known aesthete Whistler, a pioneer in collecting the blue and white in England. Generally, Whistler's Dutch visit resulted from three purposes: the etching practice, the collecting of old Dutch paper and the collecting of blue and white porcelain. By reviewing these achievements, the imitation of Dutch seventeenth-century masters and the related reports from the media, the questions would be answered.

A long time before the term global citizen was coined, Whistler already acted like a representative of it. He was born in Massachusetts, in the US, grew up in St. Petersburg, Russia, and studied in Paris, France.<sup>332</sup> In the 1850s he moved to London and started his dandy life as an artist.<sup>333</sup> It is worth noting that the fashion trend in England then was distinctive for its 'international style', which could be traced back to the Empire's expansionism.<sup>334</sup> In such an atmosphere, Whistler had several visits to Amsterdam and the Netherlands. In 1858, Whistler had first travelled to Amsterdam.<sup>335</sup> A few decades later, he paid multiple times of visit in the summer of the year 1889 to make a series of etchings in Amsterdam, and he was invited to the Third Exhibition of the Netherlands Etching Club in The Hague.<sup>336</sup> To Whistler, etching gave him 'great satisfaction' and in Amsterdam, he found himself 'doing far finer work than any I have hitherto produced.'<sup>337</sup>

To make his etchings perfect, Whistler collected special old papers.<sup>338</sup> Just like Dutch painter Rembrandt who sought mid-century ones, Whistler preferred to use seventeenth-century Dutch papers, especially those with Dutch watermarks such as the 'Arms of Amsterdam' due to its better texture,

<sup>332</sup> Peter Trippi, 'Whistler, Freer, and Their Living Legacy', *Fine Art Connoisseur* (2015): 48.

<sup>333</sup> Peter Trippi, 'Whistler', 48.

<sup>334</sup> Johannis Tsoumas, 'A new road to modernity: Thomas Jeckyll's design innovations or the reformation of the Mid-Victorian decorative arts through the Japanese culture', *Res Mobilis. Oviedo University Press*. Vol. 5 (2016): 139.

<sup>335</sup> Peter Trippi, 'Whistler', 48.

<sup>336</sup> Catherine Bindman and Gordon Cooke, *James McNiell Whistler Prints*, (London and New York: The Fine Art Society and C.G. Boerner, 2016): 105.

<sup>337</sup> Elizabeth Boone, 'Review of 'Whistler and Holland' by J. F. Heijbroek and Margaret F. MacDonald, in *CAA Reviews* · May 1999.

<sup>338</sup> Margaret MacDonald, *Palaces in the Night*, 84.

colour, and absorption.<sup>339</sup> To feed this obsession, Whistler sometimes asked his friends to keep an eye out for it. For instance, in a letter to Carel Vosmaer, the Dutch etcher, he wrote: ‘You mentioned old Dutch paper – it is very kind of you to think of me in this way – if by any chance you find some you know how happy I should be to have it.’<sup>340</sup> He also travelled looking for antique papers in other European countries. Equally, his friend Mortimer Menpes stated: ‘we had a long and delightful hunt for old Dutch paper..... Whistler was almost like a schoolboy in his delight over the find.’<sup>341</sup>

As for collecting porcelain, Whistler began his passion for the blue and white in 1856 in Paris within a small group of artists.<sup>342</sup> Later, Whistler moved to London and ‘invented blue and white in London.’<sup>343</sup> People in memorial of his love of the blue and white had put it: ‘in his house in Chelsea he had lovely blue and white Chinese and Japanese’,<sup>344</sup> ‘He found more appeal to him and affected him, in the blue and white porcelain of China than in any painting in Madrid’,<sup>345</sup> and ‘he found blue and white china which gave him inspiration to do things beside which the finest art of France is crude and barbaric.’<sup>346</sup> He was proud of himself for being the exponent of the trend: ‘When no one cared of it, I used to find in Amsterdam the most beautiful blue and white china.’<sup>347</sup> Obviously, Whistler obsessed about collecting of blue and white porcelain and Amsterdam was a great place for him to

<sup>339</sup> Daniel E. Sutherland, *Whistler: A Life for Art's Sake* (London: Yale University Press, 2014): 81. And James Whistler, Letter to Carel Vosmaer. 25 January 1864. in *The Correspondence of James McNeill Whistler, 1855–1903*, edited by Margaret F. MacDonald, Patricia de Montfort and Nigel Thorp.

<https://www.whistler.arts.gla.ac.uk/correspondence/place/display/?rs=6&placeid=HOAmst> Accessed: 18 May 18, 2020

<sup>340</sup> James Whistler, Letter to Carel Vosmaer. 25 January 1864. in *The Correspondence of James McNeill Whistler, 1855–1903*, edited by Margaret F. MacDonald, Patricia de Montfort and Nigel Thorp.

<https://www.whistler.arts.gla.ac.uk/correspondence/place/display/?rs=6&placeid=HOAmst> Accessed: 18 May 18, 2020

<sup>341</sup> Mortimer Menpes, *Whistler as I knew him*, (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1904): 153.

<sup>342</sup> Elizabeth Robins Pennell and Joseph Pennell, *The Life of James McNeill Whistler*, (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1925): 85.

<sup>343</sup> Elizabeth Robins Pennell and Joseph Pennell, *The Life of James McNeill Whistler*, (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1925): 85.

<sup>344</sup> Elizabeth Robins Pennell and Joseph Pennell, *The Life of James McNeill Whistler*, (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1925), 85.

<sup>345</sup> Arthur Jerome Eddy, *Recollections and Impressions of James A McNeill Whistler*, (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1903), 258.

<sup>346</sup> Arthur Jerome Eddy, *Recollections and Impressions of James A McNeill Whistler*, (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1903), 69.

<sup>347</sup> Arthur Jerome Eddy, *Recollections and Impressions of James A McNeill Whistler*, (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1903), 71.

augment his collection. He spent the summer of the year 1863 in Amsterdam to collect and purchase considerable amount of Chinese porcelain.<sup>348</sup> After he returned from Amsterdam, he sent a message to John O’Leary saying: ‘I have just come from another runaway journey into Holland’ and he had ‘ruined himself in old China!!’<sup>349</sup> In this first-time collecting of porcelain, he obtained more than 300 pieces and spent up to £60.<sup>350</sup> Not only did he travel back and forth between London and Holland to collect blue and white ceramics, but so too did his dealer Murray Marks. As a dealer, Marks often imported the blue and white from Holland, where ‘blue and white was common and cheap’ compared to London.<sup>351</sup>

Whistler’s interest in blue and white porcelain is also conveyed through his works. His very first one painting showing the Oriental influence, the Japanese composition skill, was *At the Piano* in 1859.<sup>352</sup> Yet, not until 1864, was blue and white porcelain utilised as the decoration appeared in his work: *Purple and Rose: The Lange Lijzen of the Six Marks*, which testified to his remarkable collecting of blue and white in Amsterdam that summer.<sup>353</sup> The noticeable title used a Dutch term ‘*Lange Lijzen*’ to refer to ‘Long Elizaz’, a type of Chinese blue and white porcelain with two ladies on it.<sup>354</sup> Whistler believed ‘*Six Marks*’ referred to the potter’s sign of six marks on the vase.<sup>355</sup> The six-character mark, however, meant the name of the dynasty and the imperial name of the Emperor.<sup>356</sup>

<sup>348</sup> Anne Anderson, “‘Chinamania’: Collecting Old Blue for the House Beautiful, c.1860–1900’, 121.

<sup>349</sup> James Whistler, 18 or 25 August 1863. in *The Correspondence of James McNeill Whistler, 1855–1903*, edited by Margaret F. MacDonald, Patricia de Montfort and Nigel Thorp.

<https://www.whistler.arts.gla.ac.uk/correspondence/place/display/?rs=6&placeid=HOAmst> Accessed: 18 May 18, 2020

<sup>350</sup> James Whistler, 18 or 25 August 1863. in *The Correspondence of James McNeill Whistler, 1855–1903*, edited by Margaret F. MacDonald, Patricia de Montfort and Nigel Thorp. Notes 3. Accessed: 18 May 18, 2020

<https://www.whistler.arts.gla.ac.uk/correspondence/place/display/?rs=6&placeid=HOAmst> and George du Maurier, Daphne du Mauriered, *The Young George du Maurier: A Selection of His Letters 1860–67*, (New York: Doubleday & Company, INC, 1952), 216.

<sup>351</sup> Elizabeth Robins Pennell and Joseph Pennell, *The Life of James McNeill Whistler*, (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1925), 86.

<sup>352</sup> John Sandberg, “‘Japonisme’ and Whistler’, *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 106, (1964): 503.

<sup>353</sup> Daniel E. Sutherland, *Whistler: A Life for Art’s Sake* (London: Yale University Press, 2014), 84.

<sup>354</sup> Daniel E. Sutherland, *Whistler: A Life for Art’s Sake* (London: Yale University Press, 2014), 84.

<sup>355</sup> John Sandberg, “‘Japonisme’ and Whistler’, *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 106, (1964): 503.

<sup>356</sup> William Cosmo Monkhouse, *Catalogue of blue & white Oriental porcelain exhibited in 1895*, (London Burlington Fine Arts Club, 1895), viii.



A remarkable fact during my research is that I found some of the studies had spelled the title to ‘*Lange Leizen*’ and translated it into ‘Long lady’.<sup>357</sup> The mistake might cause an audience to focus on the wrong subject, as they misbelieve the main character in the painting to be the ‘long lady’ instead of the porcelain. In fact, the attention of *Lange Lijzen of the Six Marks* should be put on the blue and white vase held by the lady. According Anna Whistler, all the porcelain in this painting were based on Whistler’s collection.<sup>358</sup> The work, said Merrill, demonstrated Whistler’s ambitious attempt to ‘reform his art in the image of porcelain – to live up, as it were, to his own blue china.’<sup>359</sup>

In addition, Whistler’s works followed the trail of seventeenth-century Dutch interior. Degas indicated that they both were ‘on the same road, the road from Holland.’<sup>360</sup> In the nineteenth century, since both reflecting and interpreting the everyday lives, the construction of houses as private spaces had been linked with Dutch art.<sup>361</sup> Therefore, to Whistler, the idealised past of Dutch art served as a catalyst to create a modern conception of portraiture.<sup>362</sup> Dutch artists’, such as Pieter de Hooch, Vermeer and Rembrandt, geometrical composition and music theme became the filter of a great amount of his paintings. *At the Piano* showed a lady who was playing a piano. The large areas in the same colour and the purely decorative vertical and horizontal lines suggested the inspiration from of De Hooch and Vermeer’s artifacts in seventeenth-century Holland.<sup>363</sup> There was a blue and white charger behind the lady. Also, the *Symphony in White, No. 2: The Little White Girl* depicted a girl gazing into a mirror hanging above the fireplace. It is hard to tell what she looks like – Her actual face

<sup>357</sup> Such as Elizabeth Hope Chang’s *Britain’s Chinese Eye: Literature, Empire, and Aesthetics in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, Catherine Lanone’s “‘Toujours la porcelain’: George Meredith and the Willow Pattern’ and Doreen Bolger Burke and Alice Cooney Frelinghuysen’s *In Pursuit of Beauty: Americans and the Aesthetic Movement*.

<sup>358</sup> Anne Anderson, “‘Chinamania’: Collecting Old Blue for the House Beautiful, c.1860–1900’, 121.

<sup>359</sup> Linda Merrill, ‘Whistler and the “*Lange Lijzen*”’, *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 136 (1994), 683.

<sup>360</sup> Patrick Chaleysin, *James McNeill Whistler: The Strident Cry of the Butterfly*, (London: Parkstone International, 2004), 53.

<sup>361</sup> Suzanne Singletary, *James McNeill Whistler*, 102.

<sup>362</sup> Ibid.

<sup>363</sup> John Sandberg, “‘Japonisme’ and Whistler’, *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 106, (1964): 503.

is half-covered – and yet the facial expression reflected in the mirror is sorrowful. A blue and white porcelain is placed on the fireplace so as a red lacquer.<sup>364</sup> The bright colour of the vase, the lacquer and the fan held by the girl are in contrast to her white dress.<sup>365</sup> The interior composition also reminded audiences of Dutch seventeenth-century influence. However, the blue and white charger as well as the vase in these paintings were assumed by scholars to be more like an expression to the prevailing Japonisme over a seventeenth-century Dutch product – delftware, as it was associated with lots of Japonisme objects.<sup>366</sup>

In fact, Whistler's blue and white collection was exclusively made up of the old Dutch delftware. Despite the fact that Whistler really liked Dutch art, Dutch material, the antique papers, and the inspiration from Dutch masters, he didn't fancy the Dutch delftware at all. As has been stated, 'Old delft did not inspire him with any enthusiasm', because he thought that old delft was 'crude, crude, crude.'<sup>367</sup>

Whistler was considered a 'completely unique figure in England' in the Aesthetic Movement by Frederik van Eeden, the Dutch writer.<sup>368</sup> Aesthetic Movement and the Aesthetic principle had passed over to the Netherlands and had caused the influence there – it was called as 'Engelsche Literatuur De Kunst voor Kunst' in Dutch.<sup>369</sup> 'The peacock feather belongs to the sunflower, and has also come through Oscar Wilde's aesthetic and vogue,' was written in a Dutch magazine *Bettina Polak*.<sup>370</sup> According to this post in the magazine, the sunflower, originally English item, had become a symbol

<sup>364</sup> Thomas R. Way and G. R. Dennis, *The art of James McNeill Whistler: An Appreciation*, (London: G. Bell and Sons, 1905), 28.

<sup>365</sup> Lisa N Peters, *James McNeill Whistler*, (New York: Smithmark, 1996), 19.

<sup>366</sup> For example, Angelle M Vinet, *James McNeill Whistler an Evolution of Painting from the Old Masters*, (Morrisville: Lulu.com, 2017), 128.

<sup>367</sup> Arthur Jerome Eddy, *Recollections and Impressions of James A McNeill Whistler*, (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1903): 71.

<sup>368</sup> Original: 'Whistler nu is een geheel eenige figuur in Engeland.' Frederik van Eeden, 'Nieuw Engelsch proza' [New English prose], *De Nieuwe Gids*, (1892): 70.

<sup>369</sup> André de Ridder, 'Vreemde Arbeid' [Strange Work], *Vlaamsche Arbeid. Jaargang 2*, (1906), 155.

<sup>370</sup> 'Het fin-de-siècle in de Nederlandse schilderkunst' [The fin-de-siècle in Dutch painting], *Bettina Polak*, (1955): 238.

in the Dutch painting – because of Van Gogh’s substantial use of it in his works.<sup>371</sup> However, the enthusiasm for owning blue and white ceramics as indispensable decoration did not have such an influence on the Dutch society. The search results from the *Delpher*, the Dutch newspapers database, about James Whistler suggested that the country recognised him as a painter (*schilder*) but not a collector of blue and white ceramics.<sup>372</sup> Furthermore, de Vries had pointed out particularly, there were ‘passionate hunters for porcelain, as the English express it in such a peculiar way’.<sup>373</sup> This demonstrates that the Dutch knew what was going in England, in terms of Chinamania, but they didn’t follow the trend and were not affected by it – they maybe as a trace of distaste for such crazy behaviour.

Lady Charlotte, I already mentioned in the previous chapter, proved England’s cultural connection with the Netherlands in the field of ceramics collecting. Lady Charlotte and her husband Charles went to the Netherland for another hunt, or in her way to say –a ceramic chasse.<sup>374</sup> Introduced by Bisschop, the painter in the Hague, they visited Mr. John Loudon in 1872. The remarkable Dutch delftware collector had ‘a wonderful collection of Delft and other Dutch objects.’<sup>375</sup>

Based on the various focuses of these two phenomena – the English attention was put on the blue and white porcelain while the Dutch trend was for delftware – I argue the collecting of delftware in the Netherland in the nineteenth century and Chinamania in the Aesthetic Movement in England were not related. Nevertheless, the English and Dutch artistic circle were bonded by the artists (like Whistler), the connoisseurs (such as Lady Charlette) and the dealers resulting from the collecting of the blue and white ceramics and Chinamania in England. Being a crossing–border traveler like Lady Charlotte, Whistler made more contribution than she did to increaseing the English–Dutch cultural

<sup>371</sup> ‘Het fin–de–siècle in de Nederlandse schilderkunst’ [The fin–de–siècle in Dutch painting], *Bettina Polak*, (1955): 238.

<sup>372</sup> Such as ‘den schilder James MC. Neill Whistler’. ‘Kunst en Wetenschap’, *Dagblad van Zuidholland en ’s Gravenhage*, 10 September 1890.

<sup>373</sup> Original: ‘zijn door hartstochtelijke jagers naar porcelein, zooals de engelschen het zóó eigenaardig uitdrukken’.  
J.G.A.N. de Vries, ‘Porcelein’, *Elseviers Geïllustreerd Maandschrift*, (1916): 331

<sup>374</sup> Charlotte Schreiber, *Lady Charlotte Schreiber's Journals* Volume 1, 6.

<sup>375</sup> *Ibid.*, 169.

interaction. He not only devoted himself to hunting for material goods, such as the blue and white and antique paper, in the Netherlands but also achieve significantly in the realm of art with his Amsterdam set of etching, which inspired the current and future artists. Also, Whistler's open-mindedness, his love of Japonisme and the Dutch masters, enabled his works to demonstrate a great balance between the East and the West and be singled out in the Aesthetic Movement in the late nineteenth century.

Moreover, the biggest difference between these two phenomena is the attention to the delftware. Delftware in England was a second choice for the middle-class and upper-class, like Whistler and Lady Charlotte, while for the Dutch it was a primary focus for a Dutch collector like Loudon. I will further discuss the detail of the Dutch delftware in the following sections.

## **5.2 Back to The Glory: The Formation of a National Product – Delftware**

National identity is a sense of belonging, which generated from the lived experience of habitation and combined with recognition of a symbolic notion.<sup>376</sup> In the case of delftware, it is a widely-recognised symbol for the Dutch people nowadays. Dutch Museums exemplify this point directly with their catalogues of delftware collection. The book *Delffse Porceleyne* of the Rijkmuseum states: 'it is almost self-evidence that the most important collection of "national" product in the Netherlands should be in the Rijkmuseum'.<sup>377</sup> What could also be found on the cover of *Delftware Wonderware: Het Wonder Van Delfts Blauw* of the Kunstmuseum Den Haag is: 'For over 400 years, blue delft has been the Netherlands' most iconic national product'.<sup>378</sup> In addition, the cover words on *Delftware: History of a National Product* notes: 'this book about Delft pottery continues the history of a national

<sup>376</sup> Grace Lees – Maffei, 'Signifying Orientalism, chinoiserie and japonisme: Fashion photography in vogue as case study' in Grace Lees – Maffei and Nicolas ed, *Reading Graphic Design in Cultural Context*, (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2019), 104.

<sup>377</sup> Jan Daniel van Dam, *Delffse Porceleyne*, 7.

<sup>378</sup> Suzanne M R Lambooy, Marion S van Aken–Fehmers, Titus M Eliëns and Erik Hesmerg, *Delftware Wonderware*, cover.

product'.<sup>379</sup> It is undoubtedly the case that the delftware is now a national product known from China to Peru. Yet, it is still questionable whether the delftware had been nationally identified as a symbol in the nineteenth century.

In this section, I discuss the issue of delftware as a Dutch national product in-depth. The aim is to prove the development of the national identity around the delftware which began in the nineteenth century and tries to provide the answer to two sub-questions in the Dutch context: How did the role of blue and white ceramics transform in the late nineteenth century in the Netherlands?' and 'What was the meaning and manner of collecting delftware?'

### **5.2.1 Dutch Nationalism and The Interest in The Past in The Nineteenth Century**

A quote from the Dutch journalist Johan de Meester had put it, 'Are we Dutch people too hospitable? – spiritually we have always been a country of transit'.<sup>380</sup> A country of 'transit' lay on its unsettled history – the independence, the wars, the expansion on the ocean, the French occupation, the independence of Belgium – until the nineteenth century. The nineteenth century was the century of nationalism, when the Dutch defined their national identity.<sup>381</sup> In addition, the nineteenth century was also the time that European countries invented the symbols to represent the nation states, such as capitals, flags, national anthems and military uniforms, depended largely on the model of the British.<sup>382</sup>

<sup>379</sup> Loet A. Schledorn, Titus M. Eliëns and Marion S. van Aken–Fehmers, *Delftware: History of a National Product (Volume III) De Porceleyne Fles*, (Zwolle: Waanders Publishers, 2003), cover.

<sup>380</sup> Original text: 'Zijn wij Hollanders te gastvrij? – Ook geestelijk zijn wij altijd een land van doorvoer geweest'. Johan de Meester, 'Wat van Whistler te Rotterdam', [Some of Whistler in Rotterdam], *Elseviers Geïllustreerd Maandschrift* 17 [Elseviers Illustrated Magazine], Volume 17 (1907), 149.

<sup>381</sup> Donna C. Mehos, *The Amsterdam Zoo Artis in the Nineteenth Century*, (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006), 15.

<sup>382</sup> Eric Hobsbawm, 'Mass-Producing Traditions: Europe 1870–1914' in *The Invention of Tradition*, eds. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 266.

Eric Hobsbawm, already mentioned in the introduction describe the period 1870 to 1914 was the era of mass-producing traditions.<sup>383</sup>

At the same time, interest in the history of the seventeenth century had increased in the Netherlands, accompanied by the wish to recreate the Dutch ancestors' success in the Golden Age.<sup>384</sup> Unlike other European nations, the Dutch nation state didn't extend far back to the Middle Ages.<sup>385</sup> Dutch nationhood forged only with revolts and independence since the sixteenth century and developed rapidly in the glorious seventeenth century. The Dutch nationalism and the national sentiment were subject to outward movements; the French occupation until 1815 for example.<sup>386</sup> The interest in the past resulted from an indication of 'indigenous' and 'foreign' items, from which the Netherlands could be distinguished from other states without outer chaos.<sup>387</sup> As a result, the seventeenth century's brilliant history had been nationalised.<sup>388</sup> For the same reason, the term 'Golden Age' became fashionable and widely accepted during the nineteenth century – as it recalled the country's unity, pride and heroes in a nationalist context.<sup>389</sup> In nineteenth-century Netherlands, the cultural influence of Dutch nationalism and the interest in the seventeenth century was demonstrated through the paintings, literatures and novels, in which were depicted the themes such as the old master Rembrandt. Meanwhile, delftware had been noticed as well and brought back into vogue again. As a material that linked the 'Golden Age' to the contemporary society, delftware was undoubtedly capable

<sup>383</sup> Eric Hobsbawm, 'Mass-Producing Traditions', 263.

<sup>384</sup> Els Kloek and Nicole Teeuwen, *Marijke Huisman Women of the Golden Age: An International Debate on Women in Seventeenth-century Holland, England and Italy*, (Leiden: Uitgeverij Verloren, 1994), 15.

<sup>385</sup> Azar Gat, 'Premodern Nations, National Identities, National Sentiments and National Solidarity.' In *The roots of nationalism: national identity formation in early modern Europe, 1600–1815*, ed. Lotte Jensen (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2016), 40. (31–45)

<sup>386</sup> N.C.F. van Sas, 'Dutch nationality in the shadow of the Golden Age: national culture and the nation's past, 1780–1914', in *The Golden Age of Dutch painting in historical perspective*, eds. F Grijzenhout and H. van Veen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 51.

<sup>387</sup> N.C.F. van Sas, 'Dutch nationality', 53.

<sup>388</sup> *Ibid.*, 55.

<sup>389</sup> Tom van der Molen, 'The Problem of 'the Golden Age'', CODARTfeatures, November, 2019. Accessed: 26 May 2020. <https://www.codart.nl/feature/curators-project/the-problem-of-the-golden-age/>

of promoting the image of the nation.<sup>390</sup> Therefore, in the following section, I aim to use the example of Dutch delftware to discuss what was its transformation into a national product and what did it mean to collect blue and white delftware.

### **5.2.2 From Outsider to Insider: The Changing Role Of Dutch Delftware In The Nineteenth Century**

According to Smith, there are five elements for building national identity: historical territory, common myths and memories of origin, a common mass public culture, common legal rights and duties, and common economy and territorial mobility.<sup>391</sup> Leaving the matter of the four other features aside, the emergence and development of a common mass public culture is echoed in the Hobsbawm and Ranger's concept of 'The Invention of Tradition'. In the Dutch case, it refers to delftware. Hobsbawm indicated that the invented tradition could be generated officially and unofficially – the political one led by states and the social one led by social groups.<sup>392</sup> Therefore, based on the 'invented tradition' concept, I will examine how the role of delftware had changed from a kitchenware to the national product with the craze for collecting and appreciating delftware from the second half of the nineteenth century through both governmental promotion and individuals' efforts.

Before considering the situation in nineteenth-century Netherlands, it is necessary to turn our attention back to the seventeenth century. Delftware was invented in response to the popularity of Chinese blue and white porcelain in seventeenth-century Netherlands. In the heyday of delftware, it mostly functioned as tableware for domestic use.<sup>393</sup> Owing to its fashionable appearance and

<sup>390</sup> Dawn Odell, 'Delftware and the Domestication', 198.

<sup>391</sup> Anthony D Smith, *National identity* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1991), 14.

<sup>392</sup> Eric Hobsbawm, 'Mass-Producing Traditions', 263.

<sup>393</sup> Michael C. Plomp, 'Drawing and printmaking in Delft during the seventeenth century', in *Vermeer and the Delft school*, ed. Walter A. Liedtke, Michiel Plomp, and Axel Rüger (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2001), 193.

similarity to the Chinese porcelain, the demand for delftware increased as a cheap, easily available substitute for porcelain. The blue and white delftware replaced ‘wit-goet’, the white ware, became the welcomed household utensil.<sup>394</sup> The tulipiere (the tulip-holder) was a great example. Although it is usually called as tulip-holder, according to the expert Henry Havard, hyacinth was actually better to grown in this way.<sup>395</sup> This multi-spouted delftware vessel was created to hold the tulip, which often painted with sunflowers and tulips. Invented by Queen Mary and the designer Daniel Marot as a combination of Queen Mary’s favourite things: plants and delftware, the common vase became popular in the seventeenth century. In addition, the Dutch elite gradually placed a table of plates and containers when having dinner perhaps under Louis XIV’s influence.<sup>396</sup> The delftware table services were favoured by the aristocracy inside and outside the Netherlands as beyond, for instance Prince Lobkowitz of Bilina who once ordered a whole set of delftware from the Dutch delftware factory.<sup>397</sup>

In spite of having few written materials in the seventeenth century on delftware, paintings could serve as the evidence to prove the prevalence of delftware in household. The seventeenth-century painters such as artist Pieter de Hooch and Jan Havickszoon Steen both utilised delftware as the decoration in paintings that associated with domestic virtue.<sup>398</sup> *Two Women Beside a Linen Cupboard* and *A Girl Eating Oysters* give great examples. *Women Beside a Linen Cupboard* by de Hooch in 1663 portrayed a lady was working with her daughter to put linen into a cupboard, on which the delftware had been placed.<sup>399</sup> Also, *A Girl Eating Oysters* by Jan Steen, showed delftware objects were placed on the table next to a girl who was preparing an oyster.

<sup>394</sup> Joanna Banham, *Encyclopedia of Interior Design* (London: Routledge, 1997), 359.

<sup>395</sup> Original: ‘portebouquets avec huit tubes pour jacinthes’. in Henry Havard, *Catalogue chronologique et raisonné des faïences de Delft composant la collection de Mr John F. Loudon*, (Paris: D. A. THIEME, ÉDITEUR, 1877), 15.

<sup>396</sup> Jan Daniel van Dam, *Delffse Porceleyne*, 80–81.

<sup>397</sup> Jan Daniel van Dam, *Delffse Porceleyne*, 81.

<sup>398</sup> Aronson Delftware Antiquairs, *Delftware in Seventeenth-Century Paintings*, (nd).

<https://www.aronson.com/delftware-in-seventeenth-century-paintings/> Accessed: 20 May, 2020

<sup>399</sup> Cornelis Hofstede de Groot, *A catalogue raisonné of the works of the most eminent Dutch painters of the seventeenth century based on the work of John Smith*. (Translated and edited by Edward G. Hawke), (London Macmillan, 1908), 438.



Notably, already in the seventeenth century, Dutch delftware had been constructed in a way that made it more than merely a pure ‘Chinese’ or ‘Oriental’ item. It was inevitable that the image painted on the delftware by the Dutch should be modified due to the specific cultural customs and local landscapes, even when Dutch painters attempted to imitate an authentic Chinese prototype.<sup>400</sup> The frequently copied Chinese motifs and patterns became gradually associated with flowers, such as the tulip, and biblical symbols like angels, which made an effort to combine exotic and vernacular visual reference to create the fanciful effect.<sup>401</sup> Odell called this process of localising the Chinese or Chinoiseire item to the recognisable Dutch product as ‘domestication’.<sup>402</sup> Exotic designs lost some of their attractiveness by the end of the seventeenth and especially the early eighteenth century, which was also the period in which more original, distinctive Dutch motifs appeared.<sup>403</sup>

In the nineteenth century, interest in the past and historical materials had been aroused simultaneously with a passion for the Golden Age. The antique material goods associated with the past were deemed a model to imitate, recreate and represent. The first public event led by the government to demonstrate such passion was a historic exhibition in 1863. To celebrate the fifty-year anniversary of the Orange Government’s restoration, the ‘Exhibition of Dutch Antiquities’ (Tentoonstelling van Oudheden te Delft) was held in Delft.<sup>404</sup> The core concept of the exhibition aimed to display objects that related to the ‘ancient ecclesiastical life’ (het aloud katholijk-kerkelijk leven), along with Dutch maritime success, civilian life in the eighteenth century, the glory of 1813 and Delft blue (delftware).<sup>405</sup>

<sup>400</sup> Dawn Odell, ‘Delftware and the Domestication’, 182.

<sup>401</sup> Jing Sun, ‘Exotic Imitation’, 382.

<sup>402</sup> Earlier, Anne Gerritsen uses domestication to explore the embodied experiences. Anne Gerritsen, ‘Domesticating Goods from Overseas: Global Material Culture in the Early Modern Netherlands,’ *Journal of Design History* 29, no. 3 (2016):232. Odell also argues the domestication is the reception of Chinese visual culture became not as exotic objects but as surfaces and materials made conventional within European domestic spaces. Dawn Odell, ‘Delftware and the Domestication’, 177.

<sup>403</sup> Jing Sun, ‘Exotic Imitation’, 391.

<sup>404</sup> Frans Grijzenhout, ‘Varderlandse Oudbeden’ In *Erfgoed: de geschiedenis van een begrip*, ed. Frans Grijzenhout (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2007), 127.

<sup>405</sup> Frans Grijzenhout, ‘Varderlandse Oudbeden’, 127.

Delftware, from then on, had gained the spotlight again. One quotation states, ‘seldom could one see such a wealth of Delft earthenware together as at the Delft Exhibition, and among the pieces the finest examples, outstanding in the refinement of the drawing, in the freshness of colour, in the superiority of the glaze, and in the beauty or whimsicality of design’.<sup>406</sup> The enthusiasm for delftware was declared clearly and publicly.

Two exhibitions also aroused interest in the antiquities on a national scale: the first Historical Exhibition of Amsterdam in 1875 and the Historic Exhibition of Friesland in 1877.<sup>407</sup> Later in 1883, the Amsterdam International Colonial and Export Exhibition (Internationale Koloniale en Uitvoerhandel Tentoonstelling) further elevated the passion for the past and antiquaries to the international level. Two things singled out the importance of the Amsterdam World Exhibition: the first-time display of the Dutch colonies’ culture as well as the antique Dutch furniture and crafts.<sup>408</sup> At the World Exhibition, the Division of the Fine Arts was divided into two types of artefacts: the old and the modern ones – ‘half of the so-called “antiquities” and in the other half of modern paintings, sculptures, drawings, engravings, painted porcelain, fabrics of high art value, etc. has been held.’<sup>409</sup> In particular, delftware was noticed widely and globally as an old beautiful artefact of the Netherlands. A short excerpt from the book *L’Exposition d’Amsterdam Et la Belgique aux Pays-Bas: Ouvrage Dédié À S. M. Le Roi Léopold II Avec Son Autorisation* by Théophile Fumière noted: ‘The old Delftware seems to want to rise from the ashes; we notice very happy imitations of them, but which

<sup>406</sup> Quoted from Jan Daniel van Dam, *Delftse Porceleyne*, 201. The commentary was to an illustration of two dishes in the exhibition.

<sup>407</sup> Frans Grijzenhout, ‘Varderlandse Oudbeden’, 127.

<sup>408</sup> Maria Montcalm, ‘Aesthetics and Ethnography: Japan in East Asian collections in Leiden, Milan, The Hague and Venice’, (MA diss., University of Amsterdam, 2019), 15.

<sup>409</sup> Original: ‘Men heeft de Afdeeling der Schoone Kunsten in tweeën gesplitst: in de eene helft heeft men de zoogenaamde ‘oudheden’ zoo veel mogelijk in kleine herschappen geheelen ten-toon-gesteld; in de andere helft heeft men eene internationale expoziitie van moderne schilderijen, beelden, teekeningen, gravuren, geschilderde porceleinen, weefsels van hooge kunstwaarde, enz. gehouden’. In J.A. Alberdingk Thijm, ‘De waereldtentoonstelling van 1883’, *De Gids* (14 October 1883): 303.

lack the softness of the earthenware enamel and the blue of the decor, which makes the great charm of the ancient Delft jugs.’<sup>410</sup> To that end, Dutch delftware was no longer an imitation of Chinese or Oriental porcelain, but rather a perfect and gorgeous types of Dutch art in its own right that other European counterparts tried to copy and intimate. Judging from the context, this book was written for the Belgian people under the name of the King Roi Léopold II to introduce them to their neighbouring country: ‘The reader will therefore have a fairly complete idea of a region that must be lived for some time to appreciate its charm and the picturesque side.’<sup>411</sup> Earlier in 1874, an Italian writer, Edmondo, de Amicis said in his travel book *Holland and its People* that Delft’s riches and its glory – the manufacture of majolica (delftware), had decayed and almost disappeared but ‘now these objects are sought for eagerly by amateurs of the art, and almost as highly prized as the finest Italian work.’<sup>412</sup> He stated that the Dutch delftware was first an imitation of the forms and designs of Chinese and Japanese porcelain and later a combination of the Asian and Dutch characters.<sup>413</sup> What is different in Théophile Fumière’s words in 1888 and de Amicis’s historical throwback in 1874 is the perspective they came from to describe delftware. For Fumière, who visited the Amsterdam World Exhibition in person, the delftware was displayed intrinsically as an Dutch product in an international exhibition, while de Amicis’s visit was only a private trip to Delft. Therefore, we could say the Amsterdam International Colonial and Export Exhibition, at which the delftware was deemed ancient and essentially a product of Dutch culture, was a key turning point for the international recognition to delftware as a national product.

<sup>410</sup> Original: ‘L’ancienne faïence de Delft semble vouloir renaître de ses cendres ; nous en remarquons des imitations très heureuses , mais auxquelles l’email de la faïence et le bleu du décor manquent de cette douceur qui fait le grand charme des anciennes potiches de Delft.’ In Théophile Fumière, *L’Exposition d’Amsterdam Et la Belgique aux Pays–Bas: Ouvrage Dédié À S. M. Le Roi Léopold II Avec Son Autorisation* (Bruxelles : E. Guyot, 1883), 79.

<sup>411</sup> Original: ‘Le lecteur aura dès lors une idée assez complète d’une contrée qu’il faut habiter quelque temps pour en apprécier le charme et le côté pittoresque’. In Théophile Fumière, *L’Exposition d’Amsterdam Et la Belgique aux Pays–Bas: Ouvrage Dédié À S. M. Le Roi Léopold II Avec Son Autorisation* (Bruxelles : E. Guyot, 1883), i.

<sup>412</sup> Edmondo de Amicis, *Holland and Its People*, trans., Caroline Tilton. (New York: G.p.patnam Sons, 1881), 97.

<sup>413</sup> Edmondo de Amicis, *Holland and Its People*, 97.

In this period, individuals also made an effort to collect antiquaries of ‘Golden Age’, the proud seventeenth century. The establishment of an association ensured the significance of delftware: *the Amsterdamsch Museum van het Koninklijk Oudheidkundig Genootschap*, or K.O.G. (Amsterdam Museum of the Royal Dutch Antiquarian Society). Founded in the capital Amsterdam in 1858, the K.O.G. devoted itself to promoting knowledge stimulating understanding of antiquities on a national and local level.<sup>414</sup> Through following the great models abroad, the South Kensington Museum in London for example, the Museum van Vaderlandse Oudheden (Museum of Dutch Antiquities) was established in 1875 in Amsterdam.<sup>415</sup> The ultimate goal of K.O.G was to use its collection of ‘patriotic antiquities’ to provide information and serve as a source for history, art and industry. From the inventory of K.O.G, a donated collection of delftware can be found.<sup>416</sup> Therefore, it is evident that delftware was identified by K.O.G, the Royal Dutch Antiquarian Society, as a kind of Dutch antiquity related to the patriotic sentiment.

Moreover, the delftware producers in the late nineteenth century seemed to be self-consciousness about being the historically relevant manner in terms of their materials.<sup>417</sup> This transition happened in the most famous delftware factory – the Royal Delft or in Dutch De Porceleynse Fles in 1876, when a renaissance took place under the new leadership.<sup>418</sup> The new owner, Joost Thoof took good advantage of old models and earlier technology for delftware manufacturing.<sup>419</sup> The replication of traditional

<sup>414</sup> Reneé Kistemaker, ‘Between local pride and national ambition: The “Amsterdam Museum” of the Royal Dutch Antiquarian Society and the new Rijksmuseum,’ *Journal of Historians of Netherlandish Art* 3:2 (Summer 2011). <https://jhna.org/articles/between-local-pride-national-ambition-amsterdam-museum-royal-dutch-antiquarian-society-new-rijksmuseum/> Accessed: 1 June, 2020.

<sup>415</sup> Reneé Kistemaker, ‘Between local pride’.

<sup>416</sup> Original: ‘Troost van A. VerHuell in 1895, een omvangrijke collectie zegels en oorkonden door jhr dr J. Six en jhr W. Six in 1899, een collectie Delfts aardewerk van douairière S.I. van der Wijck–Loudon in 1929, een uitzonderlijke verzameling sleutels van E. Vita Israël in 1937 en een unieke handgekleurde vogelvluchtkaart van Amsterdam door Cornelis Anthonisz. van jkvr. H.M.A.F. Six’. Frans Rikhof, *Archief van het Koninklijk Oudheidkundig Genootschap, alsmede van Gedeponeerde Archivalia*, K.O.G, (2016), 3.

<sup>417</sup> Dawn Odell, ‘Delftware and the Domestication’, 196.

<sup>418</sup> Rick Erickson, ‘Dutch Delftware and the Arts & Crafts Movement’, *Royal Delft Collectors’ “Society” Newsletter*, (28 March 2004): 5.

<sup>419</sup> Rick Erickson, ‘Dutch Delftware’, 6.

forms and decoration, dating back to the seventeenth and eighteenth century, was applied to pieces from the last decade of the nineteenth century.<sup>420</sup> Meanwhile, the advertisement of De Porceleyne Fles placed an emphasis on this point and used it as the selling point. Odell took out an 1886 advertisement placed in a Paris newspaper for example. By emphasising the authenticity of delftware, De Porceleyne Fles recommended its products in a Paris newspaper in 1886: ‘truly handmade and exact copy of the old forms.’<sup>421</sup> De Porceleyne Fles also adopted a similar marketing strategy in the domestic newspapers, like a report on *Het vaderland* which said: ‘De Porceleyne fles (owned) by Mr. Joost Thoof and Labouchère is well-known and honored within the country and abroad.’<sup>422</sup> Odell states that De Porceleyne fles relocated delftware to evoke the glorious Dutch history, Dutch craftsmanship and Dutch identity by establishing the historical associations of blue-and-white delftware in the advertisement as an authentic ‘Dutch’ item.<sup>423</sup>

Yet, even though the foreign recognition of delftware’s Dutchness happened in the second half of the nineteenth century, I believe the mass identity of delftware was not generated until the twentieth century, except among those professional delftware collectors such as Six and Loudon. De Porceleyne Fles may have become one of the Dutch cultural representations because of endorsement from the Royal family. Early in 1907, the Prince of the Netherlands Hendrik van Mecklenburg-Schwerin had paid a visit to the factory.<sup>424</sup> It was a visit to entertain Prince Francis of Teck from Britain. This visit to De Porceleyne Fles could be seen as the promotion of the Netherlands’ unique and representative

<sup>420</sup> Rick Erickson, ‘Dutch Delftware’, 6.

<sup>421</sup> Original: ‘Faïnce artistique veritable Delft, décor bieu entièrement fait à la main, copie exacte des forms anciennes chaque object porte la marque authentique: Delft.’ Rick Erickson, *Royal Delft: A Guide to De Porceleyne Fles* (Atglen, PA: Schiffer Publishing, 2003), 37.

<sup>422</sup> Original: “‘de Porceleyne fles’”, van de heeren Joost Thoof en Labouchère, hier te lande en in’t buitenland overigens genoegzaam gekend en geëerd’. In *Het vaderland*, ‘De tentoonstelling van Kunstnijverheid te’s Garvenhage’, *Het vaderland*, 26 June, 1888.

<sup>423</sup> Dawn Odell, ‘Delftware and the Domestication’, 199.

<sup>424</sup> Provinciale Geldersche en Nijmeegsche courant, ‘Hofberichten’, *Provinciale Geldersche en Nijmeegsche courant*, 9 March, 1907.

product to foreign countries. In 1909, a new commemorative plate in celebrating the birth of Princess Juliana – later the Queen Juliana (the grandmother of current King William Alexander) – was invented by De Porceleyne fles. The ‘Juliana Bordjes’ was priced at six Dutch guilders<sup>425</sup> and showed the Dutch lion surrounded by orange trees with the name of Juliana and her birthday.<sup>426</sup> It was only a start. De Porceleyne fles was then granted Royal in 1919, and became more and more identified by the Dutch people with a series of commemorative plate on various Dutch themes including the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Kingdom of the Netherlands and 25<sup>th</sup> wedding anniversary of Queen Wilhelmina and Prince Hendrik of the Netherlands.<sup>427</sup> The Royal family and the crown have been seen as a nation’s symbol and identity for a long time. The endorsement as ‘Royal Delft’ had made De Porceleyne Fles more convincing as a pure ‘Dutch’ product that had historical importance and the linkage with the Golden Age. A proof of the increasing domestic popularity and identity is the amount of the advertisement on the newspapers. In 1909, the first commemorative piece emerged, and there was more and more marketing relating to delftware. The annual advertisement circulation in 1909 was almost twice the total amount as that for the period between 1860 and 1908.<sup>428</sup>

Therefore, I argue the role of delftware in late nineteenth-century Netherlands was as a national product internationally yet it had not fully taken hold domestically. To the collectors, the producers and foreign visitors, delftware was already a valuable national treasure, but for the normal citizen, delftware was just the piled plates and cups stuck inside the cabinet. I believe, the ‘invention’ of delftware was through the top-down driving force as well as the outside-in oriented recognition.

<sup>425</sup> De Gooi– en Eemlander, ‘nieuws– en advertentieblad’, *De Gooi– en Eemlander*, 17 July, 1909.

<sup>426</sup> ‘Julian Bord’, *Bataviaasch nieuwsblad*, 27 April, 1910.

<sup>427</sup> Netty Leistra, ‘Dutch Commemorative Plates’, Netty Royal Blog, 14 April, 2017. Accessed: 22 May, 2020. <https://www.nettyroyalblog.nl/my-collection/dutch-commemorative-plates/>

<sup>428</sup> I use the website Delpher to analyse. The amount of advertisements of De Porceleyne Fles in 1909 is 35 and the total amount for the period 1860 to 1908 is 19.

### 5.3 National Pride: Collecting Delftware in The Nineteenth Century

As Hobsbawm and Ranger suggest, ‘New symbols came into existence for the national movement.’<sup>429</sup> In nineteenth-century Netherlands, collecting delftware became a movement and could be seen as the sign of the inventing of the ‘national product’ concept in the Netherlands.

It is important to make a clarification of the people who did the collecting. The truth is, the ordinary and common Dutch families did not join in the trend for collecting delftware in the second half of the nineteenth century. As mentioned previously, the delftware was an indispensable kitchen ware for most Dutch citizens from the seventeenth century. de Vries also indicted that the revival of delftware made people focus on collectors and the collecting, and in their homes they ‘found piles of porcelain where the blue color dominated. They were piles of dishes and plates, etc., completely hidden from view, because they were tucked away in cupboards and inheritance added to that stock’.<sup>430</sup> Dutch delftware, to the ordinary person, was ‘not visible’ – except that pieces had been put in a cupboard in the drawing room with dozens of cups and saucers, surrounded by low-valued modern objects.<sup>431</sup>

As for the professional Dutch collectors, collecting delftware was a means of protecting and preserving the historical highlights for the home country – the Netherlands. I have chosen Jan Pieter Six and John F. Loudon to exemplify the collecting manner and culture of Dutch delftware. Born in 1824, Jan Pieter Six collected antiques professionally and he was put into a prominent position in the Dutch cultural history as one of the founders of K.O.G.. In 1892, Six donated a group of his objects to

<sup>429</sup> Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger ed, *The Invention of Tradition*, 7.

<sup>430</sup> Original: ‘Van porceleinverzamelaars kon men tot betrekkelijk kort geleden in ons land eigenlijk niet spreken. Daarentegen vond men bij de meeste families opeenstapelingen van porcelein, waar de blauwe kleur domineerde. Het waren stapels schotels en borden, enz., geheel aan het oog onttrokken, doordat ze weggestoken waren in kasten en door erfenis werd die voorraad dan nog vermeerderd’. J.G.A.N. de Vries, ‘Porcelein’, *Elseviers Geïllustreerd Maandschrift*, (1916), 331.

<sup>431</sup> Original: ‘Veelal was dit porcelein voor niemand te zien, behalve hetgeen in een mooi modern. kastje in de salon geëtaled was, waar dan dozijnen of half dozijnen kopjes en schoteltjes in elkaar gezet stonden, dikwijls omgeven van moderne voorwerpen zonder groote waarde’. J.G.A.N. de Vries, ‘Porcelein’, *Elseviers Geïllustreerd Maandschrift*, (1916), 331–332.

the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam, most of which were ceramics and forty pieces were labelled ‘Delftsch’.<sup>432</sup> He was described as a passionate collector and yet not being stock to one certain system of collecting historical monuments, aiming to defend of architecturally significant memorials in the Netherlands.<sup>433</sup> With his innate sense of art, he was interested in a wide range of objects, such as drawings, prints, portraits, stamps and delftware, and collected those substantially to preserve his homeland.<sup>434</sup> Notably, even though those collections including delftware were not his primary focus – the antique coin was – , he still collected them in a great numbers.<sup>435</sup>

John F. Loudon, on the contrary, collected delftware exclusively. He was depicted as a ‘most agreeable’ and ‘most polish’ man by Lady Charlotte.<sup>436</sup> Loudon started to collect delftware in 1867, and he did the collecting professionally. According to Smit, as a true connoisseur, Loudon ‘bought flawless pieces in every way, and never let the opportunity pass by to get a piece at any price’.<sup>437</sup> Lady Charlotte also praised Loudon’s fine taste in his collection: ‘A glance at his collection, which seemed to us more wonderful than ever. It is admirably arranged and with the greatest taste’.<sup>438</sup> Within a short period of ten years, Loudon’s collection had reached a marvelous amount about 500 pieces.<sup>439</sup> He’s manner of collecting was professional – through his social network, with an unlimited budget and zeal, he possessed the largest collection of delftware in the country. He bought the entire collection from a man called Charles Antoine Edouard baron de la Villest de la Villestreux in 1872, a French who attended the Delft Exhibition and was captivated by delftware.<sup>440</sup> He fought internationally while

<sup>432</sup> Jan van Campen, ‘The Rijksmuseum’, 72.

<sup>433</sup> H.J. de Dompierre de Chaufepié, ‘Levensbericht van J.P. Six’, *Jaarboek van de Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde 1901–2000*, (1902): 186.

<sup>434</sup> H.J. de Dompierre de Chaufepié, ‘Levensbericht van J.P. Six’, 186.

<sup>435</sup> H.J. de Dompierre de Chaufepié, ‘Levensbericht van J.P. Six’, 186–187.

<sup>436</sup> Charlotte Schreiber, *Lady Charlotte Schreiber's Journals* Volume 1, 170.

<sup>437</sup> Original: ‘Als n echt kenner en man van verfijnden smaak kocht Jhr. Loudon alleen in alle opzichten onberispelijke stukken, en liet bij 'n verkooping nooit de gelegenheid voorbij gaan een stuk te verkrijgen tegen welken prijs ook’. Gonne Smit, *De collectie Loudon*, Elseviers Geïllustreerd Maandschrift, (1916), 2.

<sup>438</sup> Charlotte Schreiber, *Lady Charlotte Schreiber's Journals* Volume 1: 338.

<sup>439</sup> Gonne Smit, *De collectie Loudon*, 2

<sup>440</sup> Jan Daniel van Dam, *Delftse Porceleyn*, 204.



competing for delftware on auctions with two foreign collectors, Frédéric Fétis and Albert Evenepoel.<sup>441</sup> He dared to purchase the high value delftware – the most famous delftware violin was priced at 1500 Dutch guilders at the auction, and he was not afraid of it.<sup>442</sup>

In 1877, Loudon commissioned Henry Havard, an expert in the study of delftware, to make the catalogue for his delftware collection. In the introduction of *Catalogue chronologique et raisonné des faïences de Delft composant la collection de Mr John F. Loudon*, Havard stated: ‘we know nothing, or almost nothing, about most of the earthenware and porcelain factories which flourished on Dutch territory during the seventeenth and eighteenth century’.<sup>443</sup> The book was produced based on the goal to fill this gap and presented in chronological order with systematically information such as biographical details and the result of their studies.<sup>444</sup> In 1878, Havard revealed his further study about Dutch delftware in the book *Histoire des faïences de Delft*, in which the result of over ten years of European ceramics and five years of archival research were demonstrated.<sup>445</sup>

In 1916, the whole collection was devoted to the Rijksmuseum by Loudon’s heirs in his honor. The donation to the Rijksmuseum, the national palace of art, was best suited for such a national item that had been endowed with patriotic implications.<sup>446</sup> The collection of Loudon and his name are now on one of the cornerstones in the museum, where thousands of visitors pay a visit to appreciate the beauty and the history of the country.

<sup>441</sup> Lunsingh Scheurleer, ‘De collectie John F. Loudon veertig jaar in het Rijksmuseum,’ *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum*, 4/4, (1956): 94.

<sup>442</sup> Lunsingh Scheurleer, ‘De collectie’, 94.

<sup>443</sup> Original: ‘Non seulement on ne sait rien , ou presque rien , de la plupart des fabriques de faïence et de porcelaine , qui , fleurirent sur le territoire néerlandais pendant les XVII et XVIII’. Henry Havard, *Catalogue chronologique et raisonné des faïences de Delft composant la collection de Mr John F. Loudon*, (Paris: D. A. THIEME, ÉDITEUR, 1877), 2.

<sup>444</sup> Henry Havard, *Catalogue chronologique et raisonné des faïences de Delft composant la collection de Mr John F. Loudon*, (Paris: D. A. THIEME, ÉDITEUR, 1877), 7.

<sup>445</sup> Henry Havard, *Histoire des faïences de Delft*, (Amsterdam: Compagnie générale d’éditions “Vivat”, 1909), 5–7.

<sup>446</sup> C.A. Drieënhuizen, ‘Koloniale collecties, Nederlands aanzien: de Europese elite van Nederlands–Indië belicht door haar verzamelingen, 1811–1957’ (PhD diss., University of Amsterdam, 2012), 153.

Both Six and Loudon collected passionately in order to protect the national historical memory. Although their collecting manners were different: Loudon's was way more professional in terms of delftware. The collecting of delftware to these collectors was like a bounden duty. By collecting, they preserved and promoted the neglected but once glorious artefacts. Moreover, dedicating their collection to the museum was a demonstration of patriotism.

#### **5.4 Remarks**

After examining James' proceedings, Whistler's works, correspondences and the Dutch newspapers in that era, it has become clear that the trend for collecting delftware in the Netherlands and Chinamania for blue and white ceramics during the Aesthetic Movement were not related directly. Yet, it demonstrated that the English and Dutch artistic circle were connected based on the interaction of artists, the connoisseurs and the dealers.

Since the nineteenth century, through the top-down driving force and the outside-in oriented recognition, Dutch delftware had transformed from a typical kitchenware to one of the Netherlands' iconic products. By top-down, I refer to the promotion of delftware at the exhibitions, the establishment of K.O.G. and the advertisement of De Porceleyne Fles. The outside-in oriented recognition indicates that the foreign recognition appeared earlier than the domestic one and gave the impetus to it. The collecting of blue and white delftware built on the fact that Dutch collectors attempted to preserve the national historical objects by themselves to show the patriotic sentiment. Particularly, Loudon showed his professional collecting manner through the international competition, his wealth, and the published catalogue. Also, the deemed characteristics of Chinoiserie – otherness, femininity and unsettledness to society – didn't fit the Dutch situation but the English situation.

## 5.5 Comparison Remarks

After analyzing two European delftware, it is time to provide the comparison remarks. The main difference between the craze of delftware in England and the Netherlands in the nineteenth century was the priority of delftware. Dutch delftware was nearly the only and certainly the first choice of the Dutch collectors, whereas English delftware acted like the substitute for blue and white porcelain and other ceramics, given the fact that the lower-middle-classes wanted to follow the trend referred to as Chinamania. Compared to this, Dutch delftware was forged as a national icon in the nineteenth century, while the English Willow Pattern and English delftware was not valued as important as being the Dutch counterpart. The collecting of Willow Pattern rarely happened or was rarely reported. Most of the buyers of English delftware aimed to possess it, not to collect it in the nineteenth century. So, we could say that the collecting of Willow Pattern was basically meaningless, considering that it was cheap and uniform – with the blue willow trees, the pagoda and the birds; while the collecting of Dutch delftware was meaningful as a way to protect and to promote the national memory.

Such a different focus and development of delftware in England and in the Netherlands have been caused by the approaches taken by potters and manufacturer. Dutch potters gradually put local motifs such as tulips and windmills as well as representing the Dutch culture when producing the Dutch delftware. In contrast, the English manufacturers invented the pseudo Chinoiserie Willow Pattern and the fake legend of Willow Pattern to attract customers by claiming it was genuinely Oriental. The domestication of Dutch delftware and the otherness of English delftware resulted in two different endings. Also, the government-led promotion made the Dutch people more and more identified with the Dutch delftware, which did not happen in England. Consequently, Dutch delftware is now the national symbol of the Netherlands, identified internationally and domestically; the English

counterpart was the second choice after the blue and white porcelain in the nineteenth century and now seems an outdated product.

In conclusion, the thesis, as expected, proved the major difference between English and Dutch delftware by examining the collecting and the consumption behaviours. However, they have one similarity as well. That is, both delftwares were considered as the decoration, not merely a practical kitchenware anymore. The function of delftware had changed in the second half of the nineteenth century, which led by the different reasons: the role of the Dutch delftware changed because of the great interest in the seventeenth century in the Netherlands; whereas the role of the English delftware with Willow Pattern changed due to the craze of Chinamania in England.

## Chapter Six: Conclusion

The aim of this thesis is to explain the various developments of delftware in England and in the Netherlands. We know that delftware was invented in the seventeenth century, decreased in popularity in the eighteenth century and now the Dutch delftware is the symbolic icon of the Netherlands while the English equivalent is not that popular anymore. What is not quite so well-known is what happened in the nineteenth century. Why did the Dutch and English delftware follow different routes? The thesis, thus, puts the emphasises on the nineteenth century to examine the collecting of blue and white ceramics and delftware and tries to answer the main question: How can the collecting of blue and white delftware be explained in the Aestheticism period (1868–1901) in English and Dutch society?

With the sub-questions one and two, the thesis provides answers to the changing role of delftware and the meaning of collecting delftware in England and the Netherlands. The thesis suggests that the collecting meaning of delftware in the Netherlands was significant, as Dutch delftware had been shaped as a national item in the nineteenth century and the collectors realised the value of it. The meaninglessness of collecting English delftware was set off by the Dutch counterpart. Although English delftware functioned as a bridge for the lower-middle-class to get in touch with the fashionable tastes and as a way to prove their social status, the fact was that almost no one collected English delftware. This conclusion has been reached by paying close attention to happenings in England and the Netherlands in the nineteenth-century respectively.

In England, on the one hand, not only had the upper-class witnessed the Chinamania, but so too had the middle-class; many of them were crazy about collecting blue and white ceramics. To the aesthetes and the upper-class, the blue and white ceramics were an artistic inspiration as well as a cultural symbol depicting a fanciful image of the East. The collecting manner of these connoisseurs was professional; for example, they searched for and went to auctions, and they displayed their

collections passionately by various means. Following that, the English middle-class made ceramics associated with a decorative meaning. The middle-class saw the collecting and consuming of blue and white as a joyful behaviour. Women, especially, were major participants of the trend of Chinamania. Shops like Liberty's became popular places for acquiring cheap blue and white ceramics. Possession of blue and white meant having a correct taste, which would distinguish the owners from the workers. Furthermore, for the lower-middle-classes, who were unable to purchase and collect the blue and white porcelain, the delftware with a Willow Pattern became an attractive replacement for them. The Willow Pattern was favoured not only because it functioned as a practical kitchenware which also had a decorative use but also because of its fake 'Chinese root'. The English manufacturers declared the Willow Pattern and the legend of the Willow Pattern to be genuinely Oriental to attract customers. The otherness of English delftware made it popular in the English domestic market. Yet, its popularity didn't equal to the willingness to collect it. Nearly no one collected English delftware with the Willow Pattern in the nineteenth century.

In the Dutch case, on the other hand, the collecting of Dutch delftware in the nineteenth century had a strong connection with the national identity. The second half of the nineteenth century was a key moment when Dutch delftware had transformed from practical kitchenware to a national product. The top-down approach and the outside-in oriented recognition were supportive of this development. The top-down approach refers to the promotion of delftware at the government-held international exhibition, the establishment of the K.O.G. and the advertisements of De Porceleyne Fles's delftware. This top-down stimulation made the concept of 'delftware was a national product' blossoming. Foreign recognition of the Dutch delftware appeared earlier than the domestic identification. The Dutch collectors of blue and white delftware only appear among the upper-class, since the middle-class still regarded delftware as a utensil in their cabinets in the nineteenth century. Dutch collectors preserved

and collected delftware, the national historical objects, to show the patriotic sentiment. In particular, Loudon's collecting manner was really professional in terms of the international competition, the wealth, and the published catalogue. In addition to these efforts, another key element of the transformation is the domestication/ localisation. The use of local motifs and creation of new shapes made the Dutch see delftware as a part of their history in the Golden Age, which was totally opposite to the English delftware's emphasis on the otherness. Thus, Dutch delftware is now the national product of the Netherlands now; while the English delftware was deemed inferior to the blue and white porcelain and now is almost out of the sight.

Using James Whistler as the entry point, chapter five answered the sub-question three and suggested that the trend of collecting delftware in the Netherlands and Chinamania for blue and white ceramics during the Aesthetic Movement were not related directly. Yet, the Chinamania did strengthen the connection between English and Dutch artistic circles. Countless cultural interactions between artists, connoisseurs and dealers took place in the nineteenth century due to the collecting and haunting for blue and white ceramics in the Netherlands.

This delftware study, on Dutch delftware in particular, exemplifies glocalisation – the global trade and localisation – in the modern history. From a broader perspective, the collecting of blue and white ceramics and delftware in England and the Netherlands was only a small part of the long history of enthusiasm for Chinoiserie. In Europe, the mania for Chinoiserie ceramics was not limited to the blue and white colour objects but included French faïence, English enamel, and etc. Further researches on this European-wide trend needs to be done, and more cases at the national level should be singled out and analysed. With the help of more museum collections, private collectors and the publications associated with Chinoiserie ceramics, the commonalities of the ceramic mania under Chinoiserie could be discerned in European contexts.

Overall, in this thesis, I made contribution to the knowledge of the two European delftwares in the nineteenth century. Through the lens of English and Dutch delftware, the English and Dutch ordinary daily lives, as well as the relationship between social stratification and material consumption and collecting in nineteenth-century England and the Netherlands were revealed.



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