

JOSEPHINE BOWES AND THE CRAZE FOR
COLLECTING CERAMICS IN THE 19TH CENTURY

by Howard Coutts

Ceramics Officer, Bowes Museum, Barnard Castle, County Durham

ALTHOUGH FEW SUBJECTS CAN HAVE ATTRACTED AS much research as the history of post-Medieval European ceramics, we still know relatively little about the origin and processes of their appreciation in modern times. The process whereby people began to think of old pottery and porcelain as 'antique', rather than simply unfashionable or second-hand, is little known. However, by studying the references to the collecting of ceramics in old accounts and books, it is possible to piece together something of a history of the changes of taste which led to the (re)-appreciation of objects of the past, and the origins of the modern study of ceramics, in the 19th century. The study of historic documented collections such as those at The Bowes Museum, Barnard Castle, can provide insights into the process of acquisition and appreciation of the products of the past in modern times.

The collections at The Bowes Museum were largely formed in Paris in the third quarter of the 19th century by John (1811-85) and Josephine (1825-74) Bowes, who laid the foundation stone of their great museum at Barnard Castle in 1869. He was the wealthy but illegitimate son of the 10th Earl of Strathmore, who from the 1830s onwards spent increasing periods of time in Paris, probably to avoid a certain amount of social ostracism in London. He bought a house in Paris and even a theatre — the Théâtre des Variétés — which he ran with limited success until 1855. While there he formed a liason with the actress Josephine-Benoîte Coffin-Chevalier, whom he married in 1852. As a wedding present he gave her the Château Du Barry at Louveciennes, the former home of Louis XV's mistress Madame du Barry, which they furnished in a lavish 18th century style with the help of the firm Monbro fils ainé (the furnishings and household bills remain in The Bowes Museum to this day). It may well be that these two socially insecure people found a certain rapport in the similarities between their

relationship and that of Louis XV and his mistresses (Josephine had already played a peasant girl impersonating Madame de Pompadour in *Pompadour and Pompanette*), or Napoleon I and Josephine (of whom The Bowes Museum preserves some mementoes), and this may have influenced their interest in works of art from the immediate past'.

By the 1860s it was clear that they were not going to have any children, and Josephine appears to have hit on the idea of forming a museum of international scope in order to preserve their name. They no doubt took their inspiration from the many 'industrial' or applied art museums which were being formed in France and England at this time, with the specific intention of improving the quality of national manufactures. These museums made a point of acquiring first-rate objects from the past, especially from the Medieval and Renaissance periods, to act as patterns for modern designers and manufacturers to follow. To some extent they were a development of the 18th century 'antiquarian' tradition of collecting objects from the distant past, although without that emphasis on particular historical associations. However, the Bowes were unusual in that they laid the stress of their collections for the museum on objects from the later 17th and 18th centuries, particularly those items of social as well as artistic interest, a subject which was then relatively neglected by the major 'industrial' art museums.

However, the Bowes' collection can also be seen in another context, as part of the history of antique collecting in the modern sense, where domestic objects from the not-so-distant past are collected for their beauty or craftsmanship. The dominating taste here seems to have been Josephine's, who was the guiding force behind the museum. Although they



Figure 1. Josephine Bowes (1825-74). From a self-portrait of about 1855.

were collecting for a museum, Josephine's taste for the small-scale, good quality items (combined with her refusal to spend large sums of money!), was predominant, and gives the collections a special feminine flavour, which contrasts with many of the grander museums formed with government money. Although this means that The Bowes Museum is weak in major works of art of the Medieval period

Andrew Fountaine and Horace Walpole formed china cabinets in which old china featured largely, including both 'antiquarian' pieces such as fine Italian maiolica and French Palissy ware, and more modern specimens of Meissen, Sèvres and other contemporary factories'. These can be seen as antiquarian assemblages in which historical associations were of paramount importance: however, there



Figure 2. German stoneware tankard bearing a portrait of Mary II, c.1690. Height 26.5cm. X 3775. Formerly thought to represent Mary Tudor. Bought from Lamer, 24 April 1872, for 130 francs (formerly Greffier collection).

and Renaissance, the extensive collections of over 3,000 items of European 17th and 18th century pottery and porcelain, purchased at a time when these ceramic items were cheap, is the most important collection of its kind in Britain outside London and remains as a tribute to the enduring character of her taste.

The origins of this taste for collecting 18th century objects of domestic origin are difficult to trace. There must always have been a certain amount of interest in good quality ceramics from the immediate past which were not in a fashionable style, otherwise these items would not have been preserved for us at all. In the 18th century, connoisseurs such as Sir



Figure 3. Moneybox, Delft (De Porceleyne Clauw), c.1720. Height 29cm. X 3684. Bought from Lamer, 16 April 1867 for 28 francs.

may even have been in the 18th century collectors who sought out articles of a few years earlier on account of their quality. An article in the *The Edinburgh Evening Courant* for 7 June, 1757, discussing the wares of the Meissen factory, specifically mentions that old Meissen porcelain without a mark is much valued, presumably referring to Böttger ware'. Thus even in the 18th century there were certain people who preferred what might appear to have been merely 'second-hand' or unfashionable goods on the grounds of quality or interest.

However, the second, and great period for conscious revival of 18th century wares was the early 19th century, when British connoisseurs, such as the

Prince Regent, led the taste for Sèvres and other elaborate porcelain of the 18th century. The taste for soft-paste Sèvres porcelain in England in the early 19th century has been well-documented by Rosalind Savill⁵; it seems to have been based partly on sales of Sèvres porcelain generated by the upheavals of the French Revolution, and was centred on a group of collectors led by the Prince Regent, who had even bought Sèvres as new in the 18th century. The two main dealers seem to have been Jarman and Fogg, although the furniture dealer E.H. Baldock also contributed⁶. The British seem at first to have been alone in this taste for second-hand objects in out of date styles, however impressive in appearance, and it is doubtful whether any other prince in Europe would have bought, as the Prince Regent did, the wonderful rococo pink ground Sèvres *pot-pourri gondole* and two matching *vase herberts* of 1757 from the dealer Fogg on 20 June, 1809⁶. However, this taste may have commenced even earlier in England, as the famous Sèvres model of the *pot-pourri à vaisseau* (commonly called a 'vaisseau à mats') had been copied at Worcester as early as 1795⁷. There was a similar interest in the lavish rococo wares which were made at the Meissen factory in the 1750s and 60s; indeed, it has recently been shown that it was the British taste for these which led the factory to make reproductions of them (described as being *im Englischen Geschmack* — in the English taste) and even saved the factory from bankruptcy after the Napoleonic Wars⁸. In turn, authentic English porcelain of the 18th century in the same rich rococo style was similarly sought, with what was later to be termed 'rare old Chelsea' being sold for high prices at Queen Charlotte's sale in 1819⁹. The potency with which these old-fashioned wares came to dominate early 19th century taste can be judged by the dominance of the rococo style on English ceramics in the first half of the 19th Century, and the number of copies and fakes of Sèvres porcelain that were made.

Throughout the 19th century the most valuable form of 17th and 18th century ceramics continued to be large and imposing vases that could act as a chimney-piece or room decoration, preferably in garnitures of three or five vases, rather than the smaller domestic items for use at tea or dinner, whose place was in the collector's cabinet. The origins of the 'modern' collector of smaller items of fine porcelain by factory are still obscure. There are enigmatic references to 'bric-a-brac' collectors in the 1820s, such as the banker Henry Fauntleroy (who was hanged for forgery) as a collector of Meissen and Lady Blessington as a collector of Capodimonte¹⁰. However, the taste for early Meissen must have been quite general at the time, as Höroldt chinoiseries and

shipping scenes were copied at Davenport in about 1810–12¹¹ and Nantgarw in 1813—22¹². But it is not clear to what extent people knew exactly what they were buying, in the almost complete absence of reference books on the subject; the general situation in the 1840s may be summed up by the photograph of a collection of old porcelain on a shelf by the pioneer photographer, Fox Talbot. In his text Talbot explains how the new science of photography can be a boon to 'a virtuoso and collector of Old China' who needs no written catalogue for his collection now that the art of photography has arrived.



Figure 4. Sugar box and teapot with *bleu lapis* ground. Vincennes, 1753 and 1755. Height of sugar box 10.5cm. X 1744, 1293. These pieces were probably bought from Lamer, 3 May 1867, for 80 francs.

Although he does not state the source of his collection — it may be simply an assembly of items from his own home of Lacock Abbey — the illustration clearly portrays a mixture of 18th and 19th century porcelain, apparently all of good quality, but without any sense of the pieces being chosen by factory or age¹³.

The truth is that these early collectors would have had very little basis on which to build, other than their eye for quality and what they could have learnt from dealers or other people with interests in the subject. There was no reliable source book on old ceramics until Brongniart's *Traité des Art Céramiques ou des Poteries* of 1844 and Brongniart and Riocreux's *Musée Céramique* of 1845, which for the first time (as far as I am aware) recorded the marks of the more famous factories. Certainly there seems to have come into being a race of rich collectors who collected porcelain by factory as well as decorative appeal, although their numbers must have been rare and they must have formed a fairly exclusive group. The state of knowledge can be summed up by Balzac's fictional *Cousin Pons*, published in 1847 but set in 1844–45, to whom are attributed these lines:

- *Le mérite d'un collectionneur est de devancer la mode. Tenez! d'ici à cinq ans, on payera à Paris les porcelaines de Frankenthal, que je collectionne depuis vingt ans, deux fois plus cher que la pâte tendre de*

Sèvres

- Qu'est-ce que le Frankenthal? dit Cécile

- C'est le nom de la fabrique de porcelaines de l'Électeur Palatin; elle est plus ancienne que notre fabrique de Sèvres...Sèvres a beaucoup copié Frankenthal...Les Allemands, il faut leur rendre cette justice, ont fait, avant nous, d'admirables choses en Saxe et dans le Palatinat...

- Et à quoi reconnaissez-vous le Frankenthal?

- Et la signature! dit Pons avec feu. Tous ces ravissants chefs-d'oeuvre sont signés. Le Frankenthal porte un C et un T (Charles-Théodore) entrelacés et surmontés d'une couronne du prince. Le vieux Saxe a ses deux épées et le numéro d'ordre en or. Vincennes signait avec un cor. Vienne a un V fermé et barré. Berlin a deux barres. Mayence a la roue, Sèvres les deux LL, et la porcelaine à la reine un A, qui veut dire Antoinette, surmonté de la couronne royale. Au dix-huitième siècle, tous les souverains de l'Europe ont rivalisé dans la fabrication de la porcelaine. On s'arrachait les ouvriers. Watteau dessinait des services pour la manufacture des Dresde, et ses oeuvres ont acquis des prix foux. (Il faut s'y bien connaître, car, aujourd'hui, Dresde les répète et les recopie). Alors on a fabriqué des choses admirables, et qu'on ne refera plus!¹⁴.

We do not know exactly how Balzac came by this information, although one may suspect some careful research on his part, but he succeeds in communicating admirably the conspiratorial nature of these early collectors, who worked on a mixture of fact and fiction.

However, by the 1850s, there was the beginning of a more 'scientific' approach to the collecting of old pottery and porcelain. A major influence must have been that of the new decorative arts museums, which considered the finer products of earlier factories to come within their remit and built up their collections with the help of new trained museum staff such as the British Museum's Augustus Wollaston Franks, who in 1851, following his appointment as an assistant to the British Museum¹⁵, was offering to swap 'four plates of Chelsea ware' from the sale of the late Kilpatrick Sharpe, for 'Neapolitan ware' belonging to the Edinburgh Board of Manufacturers¹⁶. The new South Kensington Museum, then at Marlborough House, were enthusiastic buyers at the sale of Bernal in 1855, which prompted an excellent annotated catalogue, with depictions of marks, copied from the *Musée Céramique*, by H.G.Bohn. The best known reference book in English was Marryat's *History of Pottery and Porcelain*, first published in 1850, which ran into three editions before 1867, and gave a broad and catholic account of the major ceramic factories up to the 19th century, with a list of major collections at

the end. Although Marryat describes most of the factories known today, his illustrations reveal a taste for imposing porcelain with fine enamelled decoration which was an extension of the taste of the 1820s and 30s. The collection at Althorp, formed by the 4th Earl Spencer before his death in 1857, was based on just these kinds of principles, and consisted of fine specimens from all the major European factories¹⁷. The culmination of all this interest was the *Special Exhibition of Loans at the South Kensington Museum of 1862*, with a catalogue of the later ceramics by the dealer William Chaffers, which was visited by nearly



Figure 5. Chamber pot and bourdalou. Sèvres, 1774 and 1779. Height of pot 12cm. X 1238, 1198. Painted by Barré and Dame le Bel. Bought from Lepautre, 21 February, 1868, for 60 francs and 14 December, 1866 for 55 francs.

900,000 people in five months and must have led to a more general interest into what had before been a specialised field¹⁸.

The situation was presumably not dissimilar in France. A whole spate of books in the 1860s, headed by Albert Jacquemart's *Histoire de la Porcelaine* of 1861 and Auguste Demmin's *Guide de l'Amateur de Faïences et Porcelaines* (1861, 2nd edn, 1863), testify to a similar craze for ceramic collecting in France. Most interesting is the fact the French appear to have appreciated their tin-glaze pottery before they rediscovered their early soft-paste porcelain, with a variety of specialised studies being published in the 1860s¹⁹. This taste may have been slightly 'avant-garde', and certainly the radical thinker Champfleury (1821-89) was one of the first to appreciate *faïence patriotique*, publishing his *Histoire des Faïences Patriotiques sous la Revolution* in 1875, four years after the Commune.

It is in this context, from 1862 onwards, that Josephine Bowes started collecting for her museum project. She was a talented amateur painter with strong aspirations to be a patron of every art form then in vogue; to a certain extent, her own collecting of antiques is an indication of its fashionability. However, it should be stressed from the outset that she was not collecting for herself so much as for her museum (most of the collection was kept



Figure 6. Tray painted with a scene of the Comte et Comtesse de Provence being presented with a child by the Bishop of Tagaste. Limoges, c.1771. Height 33cm. X 1301. Bought from Lamer, 8 May, 1869.

in store), although she does appear to have taken a special interest in the ceramics and packed them up herself to be sent to England (some of the wooden boxes remain in the museum to this day). The collection is unfortunately undocumented, in the sense that none of the pieces were individually registered until the 1960s; however, what survives is an almost complete archive of her correspondence and bills with dealers in Paris and elsewhere in the 1860s and 70s, which give a fascinating glimpse of life in the early days of antique collecting.

The bills run from 1862 until 1875, one year after Josephine's death, when John Bowes seems to have stopped collecting in order to concentrate on getting the museum in order. At first they appear to have used a great variety of dealers; in the archives are bills from Angibout, Basset, Benoit, Delaune, Dubessy, Gotte, Jarry, Manger and Vogler in Paris, Sauvage and Ulmann from Angers, Wiart from Calais, and Bengst, Ganachaud and Mendes from Nantes, as well as a number of dealers from outside France that they met on their travels. However, they soon settled down to using the services of two main dealers, A.C.Lamer and Mme Lepautre of Paris, who visited Josephine once or twice a week when she was in Paris. It is to a large extent these two dealers who have given The Bowes Museum's collections

their distinctive character.

The normal procedure appears to have been for each dealer to present a variety of objects for Josephine's inspection almost weekly at her home or hotel with an accompanying letter and description; in turn she would mark the items she wanted to buy with a cross, pay the account, and retain the letter and description with the objects. Sometimes, for larger objects, they would ask her to visit their shop. Sometimes they mention particular sales that they are going to, or have bought from, such as those of the Marquis de Vilette, Marquise de Boissy, Duchesse de Berry, or even Alexander Barker in London; sometimes they will ask to have money advanced for a sale. After Josephine's death, in 1878, John even bought a couple of picture frames from the impecunious Mme Lepautre to help her financial situation. Josephine was somewhat fiery in temperament, with a determination to get a good buy; a great deal of flattery is apparent in the correspondence, with avowals that something is exceptionally cheap, rare or sought after, to whet her appetite. Sometimes the prices are marked down, and occasionally they say that no further discounts are allowed, indicating that she drove a hard bargain!

Unfortunately, at this distance in time, it is difficult to link up an object with a specific purchase, since the bills give such brief descriptions of the items. However, they do record the kind of thing that she was buying, and give us an idea of the state of knowledge in the 1860s and 70s. A 'typical' list of 27 August, 1865, from Mme Lepautre, mentions ceramic items such as: '1 petit pot de Delf (7f), 1 gourde verre gothique (6f), 2 assiettes chantilly pâte tendre (10f), 1 caraffe venise (18f)'. It is impossible to locate these items individually amongst the vast collections of The Bowes Museum — there are over 50 items of Chantilly porcelain alone, and 500 of Sèvres — but the sense of what she was offered and what she paid is clear. The bills mention various factories by name, often with descriptions of their marks — Chantilly, Sèvres, 'Mayence' (Höchst), 'Carl-Théodore' (Ludwigsburg), as well as many of the leading centres for *faïence* — Marseilles, Nevers etc — with distinctions between the soft-paste and hard-paste, old and new decoration, carefully expressed. Occasionally they give a glimpse of a new collecting field opening up, as when on the 12 November, 1866, Lamer offers her a small St Cloud vase, 'premier pâte tendre et aujourd'hui, porcelaine rare et recherchée'. Literally hundreds of items of ceramics and other items are recorded in the bills for the period 1862-73, and very few priced at more than 25 francs (then £1).

Although the collection proceeded with remarkable speed, things did not always go smoothly. A

letter from Lamer of 12 May, 1866, reads:

Madame Bowes,

Pour que j'ai cessé de mériter votre bienveillance, il faut que l'on m'ait calomnié auprès de vous. Sûr de ma conscience, je viens implorer de vous la connaissance des motifs qui m'ont pour ainsi dire banni de votre présence; j'ai attendu dans le silence que la vérité se fasse jour. Car, Madame, vous avez trop d'esprit et de bon sens pour admettre des calomnies, si calomniés il y a eu, sans permettre à celui qui en est la victime, de se justifier. Je répète, je n'ai jamais parlé de vous, Madame, ainsi que Monsieur, qu'avec le plus grand respect, et en rendant justice à vos éminentes qualités de bonté, et de justice: je le répète, je n'ai rien à me reprocher, et chaque fois que je vous ai rendu des objets, j'y toujours mis la plus grande délicatesse. Du reste, Madame, ma réputation de 20 ans répond pour moi, et ce n'est pas à mon âge que je voudrais la tenir auprès d'un vil intérêt... [The letter then goes on to offer her twelve items from the Carpentier sale, of which Josephine buys three.]

It is clear that Josephine felt that there had been adverse comment on herself, or her collecting policy. However, this letter clearly had its desired effect, for the relationship continued until Josephine's death in 1874, and with it the acquisition of many fine objects.

However, some objects can be identified specifically from the bills, and these give a good idea of the kind of objects available, and prices paid, in Paris at this time. These include a pair of late Delft plaques with the Prince and Princess of Orange (bought from Lamer, 6 March, 1866, for 43f); two green glazed 16th century German tiles with St John and St Matthew (Lepautre, 14 November, 1866, 44f); a Meissen teapot marked MPM (Lamer, 30 November, 1866, 30f); one Buen Retiro glass cooler (Lamer, 20 January, 1867, 115f); two pieces of *bleu de roi* Sèvres dated 1753, presumably the damaged teapot and sugar box with a *bleu lapis* ground (Lamer, 1 March, 1867, 80f); a Sèvres cup and saucer with the rebus *Elle est mon amie* (Lamer, 31 March, 1867, 35f); one Delft money box with the claw mark (Lamer, 16 May, 1867, 28f); one Meissen scent flask in the form of a 'gallant monk' (Lepautre, 6 December, 1871, 18f); one inscribed *faïence* salad bowl dated 1785 (Lamer, 1 November, 1872, 100f); two early 19th century Vienna dessert baskets (Lepautre, 26 January, 1872, 62f); one German stoneware jug with a portrait allegedly of Mary Tudor (in fact, Mary II) (Lepautre, 24 May, 1872, 130f); two Nevers plates of 1757 painted with tennis scenes (Lamer, 4 May, 1873, 110f). The higher prices seem to be accounted for by alleged historical importance. However, it is clear that Josephine seldom ever paid more than £5 for anything in the ceramics collection.

Sometimes the correspondence is devoted to

individual items as in this letter from Lamer of about 1869:

Madame,

J'ai un charmant article à vous montrer sur un plateau porcelaine royale de Limoges Louis 16 et Marie-Antoinette jeunes sont sur un trône

La France sous la figure d'une femme et la Religion sous celle d'un Prelat/ présentent Louis 17 à leurs Majestés; Blazons, fleur de Lys guirlandes/ Specimen très rare et dont il n'existe que celui là. [He then lists some other items, including some Clignacourt seaux.]

This must be the Limoges tray featuring the Comte and Comtesse de Provence being presented with a baby by the Bishop of Tagaste. It is the earliest known piece of Limoges porcelain (fig 6). On another occasion, in 1872, Lamer writes to say that he has been to Sèvres to see the Director, Monsieur Riocreux, for information on two plates of 1822 that he has sold her, and that Riocreux is willing to come and inspect her collection. It is thus clear that a certain amount of thought went into the collection,



Figure 7. Faïence tureen in the form of a tortoise. Brussels, c.1780. Length 36cm. X 4096. Bought from Lepautre, 10 March, 1872, for 22 francs.

and it is more than a random accumulation. Most factories from Europe are represented, and more modern factories by the Bowes' purchases from the 1862, 1867 and 1871 International Exhibitions³¹.

Although Josephine was not one of the very first collectors of old ceramics — she was collecting 20 years after the fictional Cousin Pons — she did have an exceptionally good eye for quality, combined with a willingness to buy the products of factories which were then hardly regarded, such as Chantilly, Menecy, St Cloud and Paris porcelain of the early 19th century. These may have had the added advantage of being cheap! Since all these items had been vetted by the dealers, there would appear to be



Figure 8. Wine-glass cooler. Buen Retiro, c.1780. Width 35.5cm. X 1950. Bought from Lamer, 20 January, 1867, for 115 francs.

remarkably few fakes in The Bowes Museum, although inevitably some of the Sèvres has been redecorated. Most of the prices that were paid would have been too low to justify faking or imitation. However, some Oriental armorial wine-coolers and plates painted with the French royal coat-of-arms seem a little mechanical in handling and may be examples of Samson imitations. If so, they are early examples of the genre, presumably made before Josephine's death in 1874²¹.

Josephine's collection, given the place of its formation, is almost totally lacking in English ceramics, with the exception of a little Wedgwood creamware. The foundations of the small but select collection today at The Bowes Museum were laid by John's cousin Susan Davidson, who left her enormous collection of over 1000 pieces of Oriental and other ceramics to him on her death in 1878. Most of the English pieces were 'modern', in the sense of having presumably been purchased by Susan Davidson for her own use in the 1820s and 30s, but they include some fine 18th century dessert services of Chelsea and Worcester porcelain, which may have been inherited from her grandmother Mary Eleanor Bowes, who owned a house at Chelsea and had an interest in botany. Although the quality of Susan's collection was variable, she was keen enough to be listed as a subscriber to William Chaffers *Marks and Monograms on Pottery & Porcelain* of 1866 (2nd edn), one of the first such handbooks of ceramic marks.

In general, English ceramics, other than Chelsea or Worcester, do not seem to have been highly regarded until the last quarter of the 19th century, although Wedgwood was always considered worthy of interest²². It was only in 1882 that John Bowes thought to send some early 19th century creamware by Wilson and a Wedgwood blue and white dinner service from his ancestral home to the museum. Certainly the craze for lesser English porcelain factories — Longton Hall, Lowestoft, Caughley and Bow etc — and pottery seems to have started after the fashion for the finer continental items, and brought forth the scorn of established collectors. The acerbic Byng Hall, who wrote the first book on china collecting, despised the collecting of printed rather than enamelled china and wrote that:

I therefore draw my sword to battle against the absurd taste for that which is called old English china, or the collection of marks... when I enter a shop (of which there are scores) and find dozens of sheep, lambs and shepherds of what is termed Staffordshire-ware, modern Derby, and Worcester, marked Salopian cups and saucers... it appears strange to me such articles should ever obtain a remunerative sale: but they do sell; and why so? Solely because this rubbish, looked on as English works of art



Figure 9. Plate from a service made for Charles X. Sèvres, 1830. Diam 24.1cm. X 1380. Bought from Lepautre, 6 May, 1867, three for 30 francs.

is in the fashion, as are ladies' high-heeled boots, which cramp the toes and destroy the most delicate foot and ankle²¹.

Byng Hall's comments are a record of a change of taste that occurred in the later 19th century, when new collecting patterns led to a taste for less glamorous products of the past. The subsequent development of appreciation of English pottery and porcelain can best be studied in Lady Charlotte Schreiber's diaries, which deal with the period from 1869 onwards²². However, we should give some thought towards her French counterpart, whose individual taste and determination led to the formation of one of the most comprehensive collections of ceramics in Britain.

NOTES

1. For information on the Bowes and their life in Paris, see C.E.Hardy, *John Bowes and the Bowes Museum*, Bishop Auckland, 1970.
2. B.Hillier, *Pottery and Porcelain 1700-1914*, London, 1968, pp.267-70.
3. I owe this reference to T.H.Clarke and Dr Kunze, Dresden.
4. R.Savill, *The Wallace Collection. Catalogue of Sèvres Porcelain*, London, 1988, pp.1167-72.
5. G.de Bellaigue, 'Edward Holmes Baldock', *The Connoisseur*, August/September 1975, pp.290-99, 18-25.

6. G.de Bellaigue, *Sèvres Porcelain from the Royal Collection*, London, Buckingham Palace, 1979-80, nos.59-60.
7. H.Sandon, *Flight and Barr Worcester Porcelain 1783-1840*, Woodbridge, 1978, p.47.
8. J.Kunze, 'Die Bedeutung des "Englischen Handels" mit Porzellanen im "Altfranzösischen Geschmack" der Meissner Manufaktur in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts', *Keramos* 95, 1982, p.39.
9. G.Reitlinger, *The Economics of Taste* vol II. London, 1963, pp.168, 550.
10. Reitlinger, *op.cit.*, p.163.
11. T.A.Lockett and G.A.Gooden, *Davenport: China, Earthenware and Glass 1794-1887*, London, 1989, p.217, fig 204.
12. e.g. plates sold Sothebys, 18 April, 1967, lot 58, and 19 November, 1991, lot 249.
13. Fox Talbot, *The Pencil of Nature*, London, 1844, facsimile reprint, New York, 1989, pl III. For an illustration of a china cabinet of the period, see John Millais' picture of *James Wyatt and his Granddaughter* of 1849 (R.Strong, *The English Portrait 1660-1960*, Woodbridge, 1991, p.330). However, the cabinet appears to contain a miscellaneous collection of Chinese porcelain of the later 18th century.
14. H.De Balzac, *Le Cousin Pons*, Paris, edn 1856, pp.35-6
15. D.Wilson, *The Forgotten Collector: Augustus Wollaston Franks of the British Museum*, London, 1984.
16. Their minutes, 6 August, 1851. I owe this reference to Ian Gow.
17. R.J.Charleston, 'Porcelain in the collection of Earl Spencer at Althorp, Northamptonshire', *The Connoisseur*, January, 1967, p.8.
18. The first publications on Chelsea (A.W.Franks 'Notes on the Manufacture of Porcelain at Chelsea', *Journal of the Archeological Institute*, 1862) and Derby (L.Jewitt in the *Art Journal* for 1862) appeared in 1862. W.Elliot ('Reproductions and Fakes of English Eighteenth Century Porcelain', *Transactions of the English Ceramic Circle*, no.7, Vol 2 1939, pp.67-83) dates the origins of faking from about 1862.
19. e.g. Broc de Seganges, *La Faïence...de Nevers* (1863), or Davillier's *Histoire des Faïences...de Moustiers...* (1863). What appears to be an almost complete list of publications on ceramics available to early collectors is given in Chaffers *Marks and Monograms on Pottery & Porcelain*, London, 1866.
20. See H.Coutts and S.Medlam in the *Journal of the Decorative Arts Society*, 1992.
21. For the collecting of Oriental porcelain in the 19th century, see G.C.Williamson, *Murray Marks and his Friends*, London 1919.
22. L.Burman, 'Joseph Mayer's Wedgwood Collection', in 'Joseph Mayer of Liverpool, 1803-1886', London, Society of Antiquaries, Occasional Papers (New Series IX), 1988.
23. H.Byng Hall, *The Bric-a-Brac Hunter*, London, 1875, pp 284-6.
24. M.J.Guest, *Lady Charlotte Schreiber's Journals*, London, 1911. Lady Charlotte started collecting in earnest in 1864; see R.Guest and A.V.John, *Lady Charlotte*, London, 1989, p.205.