EXPORT PORCELAIN FROM SETO IN THE MEIJI ERA:

THE DEVELOPMENT OF NORITAKE PORCELAIN IN THE CONTEXT OF THE JAPANESE CERAMICS OF THE MEIJI PERIOD

(VOLUME I)

Thesis submitted to the University of Oxford in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Trinity Term 2005 [i.e. 2006] (c.i.s 9.iii.06)

Yoshie Itani
St. Hilda's College

76,669 words

CONTENTS
VOLUME I

Acknowledgment i
Notes on Use of Language iii

INTRODUCTION 1
CHAPTER 1: EXPORT PORCELAIN BEFORE MORIMURA-KUMI 9
1) Seto ware and the Meiji Restoration 9
2) Westernization and Exhibitions 29
3) Toward the Consolidation of Overglazing Painters 41
4) Other Modern Porcelain Producers in the Meiji Era 52
5) The Relationship between Seto and Nagoya 57
CHAPTER 2 EARLY DAYS OF MORIMURA-KUMI 68
1) Morimura-kumi in the Early Meiji Period 68
2) Business Expansion 74
3) Noritake Marks & the "Invoices" 91
CHAPTER 3: MORIMURA GROUP PAINTERS 98
1) From Morimura-kumi to Nippon Tōki 98
2) Morimura "Design Books" & Design Grades in the Design Books 101
3) The Kawahara Factory and Its Designs 109
4) Ishida Satarō and the Kyōto Painting World 119
5) Saigō Hisakichi and Other Painters 122
CHAPTER 4: DESIGNS ASSOCIATED WITH OLD NORITAKE 130
1) The Relationships between Design Books Items and Actual Pieces 130
2) Roses in Japanese Art and Their Importance 139
3) Roses on Old Noritake 147
4) Copying by Noritake 157
5) Meiji period Porcelain Painting Technologies 169
CHAPTER 5: OLD NORITAKE IN LATE-MEIJI AND POST-MEIJI TIMES 179
1) Ichizaemon, Magobei and Kazuchika in the Late Meiji Period 179
2) Completion of a Full Dinner Service 190
3) The American Porcelain Market in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries 203
4) Old Noritake in America in the Modern Era 212
CHAPTER 6: LATER GENERATIONS 221
1) Nippon Tōki in the Modern Era 221
2) Service plates and the Prosperity of Noritake in the Modern Era 228

3) Old Noritake and Current Exhibitions 237
CONCLUSION 246
BIBLIOGRAPY 256

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am extremely grateful to the many people who have supported me during my years in Oxford and who have given so generously of their knowledge and time to help me with my thesis.

Above all, I would like to give my sincerest thanks to my supervisor, the late Dr. Impey to whom this thesis is dedicated.

At Oxford University

My original supervisor, Dr. Oliver Impey, Ashmolean Museum

My next Supervisor, Dr. Laura Newby, St. Hilda's College.

Dr. James McMullen, Pembroke College

Dr. Ann Waswo, St. Antony's College

Professor Roger Goodman, the Nissan Institute

Professor Arthur Stockwin, the Nissan Institute

Dr. Brian Powell, Keble College

Librarians at the Oriental Institute, Bodleian Japanese Library and Eastern Art Department Library at Ashmolean Museum

Dr. Shelagh Vainker and other members of the Ashmolean Eastern Art Department

Watanabe Mitsuko, Ashmolean Museum

At Japanese Institutions

Hattori Fumitaka at Seto Municipal Museum

Nakano Yasuhiro, Satō Kazunobu, and Tamura Satoshi at Aichi Prefectural Ceramic Museum

Kenji Kaneko, The National Museum of Modern Art Tokyo

Dr. Hiramatsu Kazuo, Yoshimura Motoo, Katō Tetsuhiro, Kawakami Shigeki, Dr. Soga Yūsuke and Tsuchiya Naoko at Kwansei Gakuin University

Dr. Tomoko Hata at Ōsaka Sumai-no Museum

Dr. Kumakura Isao at Hayashibara Museum

Dr. Fujita Haruhiko at Ōsaka University

Hirai Seiji at Ōkura Spirit and Culture Institute

Iwakiri Shinichirō at Tokyo Bunka Junior College

Komatsu Teruyuki at Nagoya Gakuin University

Iwata Hideyuki at Atomi Univeristy

Asano Shugō at Chiba City Museum

At Western Institutions

Dr. Timon Screech, Chair, Japan Research Centre, SOAS, University of London

NOTES ON USE OF LANGUAGE

Unless otherwise stated, English titles written in square brackets [ ] are my translations, while those in parentheses ( ) are generally accepted translations.

Unless otherwise specified, ages in this thesis are quoted Western-style, counting age from the date of birth, rather than the Japanese method of kazoe doshi, according to which a child is one year old at the time of birth.

Italics have been used for Japanese words except in titles and some quotations.

Japanese names are given with the surname first. In the bibliography and footnotes, Japanese and Western authors are both listed with their surname first.

Regarding the rendering of Japanese words within my English text, and particularly regarding the use of macrons to indicate long vowels, I have generally followed the guidelines established by *Monumenta Nipponica*.. Following *Monumenta Nipponica*, I have used macrons for all but fully Anglicized words and the main islands and principal cities of Japan (Hokkaido, Honshu, Kyushu, Tokyo, Kyoto, Osaka,). However, I have retained macrons in the spelling of lesser geographical areas (e.g.Kantō, Tōhoku).

Company names used in this thesis include Morimura-kumi, Nippon Tōki, Noritake Company Ltd and Noritake. The original Morimura-kumi (or "Morimura Group") was established in 1876. Nippon Tōki Gomei Kaisha was established in 1905, the result of the division of Morimura-kumi into three separate companies including Nippon Tōki, Morimura-kumi Ltd (which became Morimura Trading Co in 1946), and Morimura Bank (which merged with Mitsubishi Bank in 1929). Nippon Tōki was renamed Noritake Company Ltd in 1982. Given this evolution, I have chosen to refer to the company using the name by which it was known during the period in question, and occasionally to refer to the company in general as "Noritake".

Dr. John Carpenter, and Dr. Nicole Coolidge Rousmaniere, SOAS, University of London
Dr. David Spain,University of Washington
Dr. Rupert Faulkner and Gregory Irvine, Victoria and Albert Museum
Dr. Phil. Eva Ströber, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden
Dr. Hiroko Johnson, San Diego State University
Okamura Tomoko,Boston Museum
Christine Mangold, Staatliche Porzellan-Manufaktur Meissen GMBH

Other Scholars, potters and collectors
In Japan
Katayama Hideo, Iwasaki Takashi, Kawamura Tadashi, Suzuki Keishi, Tatematsu Tsutomu, Nakagawa Masashi, Kawaguchi Yūji, Andō Tadaharu and the staff at Noritake Company Ltd.
Ishida Yayoi, Katō Toyoaki, Kimura Kazuhiko, Kuroda Isamu, Moriguchi Emiko, Morikawa Takahiro, Negishi Mika, Ōga Yumiko, Takagi Noritoshi, Wakabayashi Tuneko.

Elsewhere: Araki Junko, Aoshima Shino, Paul Ch'en, Hugh Davis, Alfred Haft, Hamamura Masafumi, Harada Takayoshi, Kakogawa Tatsumi, Adam Kaufman, Kawakubo Kenzō, Tomoe Kreiner, Nonaka Kōhei, Okumura Tamie Ozaki Harumi, Nobuko and Jeffery Somers, Derek Steel, Tani Hiromi, Tatsuuma Rei, Yashiro Shinichi, Pat Wain, Wakatsuchi Masafumi, my family and friends.

INTRODUCTION

Seto City in Aichi Prefecture is one of Japan's representative ceramics-producing areas, with its Seto-yaki (Seto-ware) potteries underpinned by roughly a thousand years of history and tradition. Substantial deposits of fine raw materials suitable for both earthenware and porcelain, combined with the consistent study and efforts by the region's potters, have made Seto the only place in the world where ceramics have been produced continuously for over a millennium. But while the traditional wares produced in Seto have been studied extensively, research on the area's modern export porcelains has been largely neglected.

Since the 1980s, however, the type of porcelain known as "Nippon" has gradually come to be highly regarded in America. Originating in Seto, this porcelain was exported from Japan starting from the early Meiji era, and pieces manufactured by the company known as "Morimura-kumi" ("-kumi" meaning "Group") are particularly admired for their superb quality. These porcelains, which have since come to be known as "Old Noritake", first gained popularity through an exhibition titled "Noritake Art Deco Porcelains: The Collection of Howard Kottler", held in August 1982 at the Washington State University's Museum of Art. Back in Japan, Old Noritake pieces until recently have been regarded less as "art" and more as "products of industry". This perception has begun to change, and the city of Seto has lately begun to take its Old Noritake heritage more seriously.

Reflecting this growing new interest, my thesis will study the role played by Old Noritake in the world of export porcelains. Specifically, I shall:

- Introduce the history of Japanese decorative arts during the Meiji period, in addition to discussing of the background of export porcelain during that period;
- Explore the nature of design, including that of porcelain products, in the Meiji period, focusing particularly on those items from Seto exhibited in the various international and national exhibitions, many of which were recorded in a design album, titled *Onchizuroku* (or *"Onchi Pictorial Record)*, prepared for use at those exhibitions;
- Examine the Meiji period transition, in Seto, of porcelain finishing techniques from traditional *sometsuke* (blue underglazing) to overglazing;
- Consider the degree and type of artistry involved in overglazing mass-produced porcelains like "Old Noritake".

An important key to understanding these issues can be found in the considerable entrepreneurship demonstrated by Morimura-kumi founder Morimura Ichizaemon VI (1839–1919). Unlike more traditional family-operated Japanese potteries in Seto, the Morimura family began as dealers in leather harnesses, eventually settling in Tokyo during the mid-Edo period and broadening into more general commercial trading, with a particular emphasis on cultivating overseas business. Morimura Ichizaemon VI viewed ceramics as the keystone commodity in this endeavour, and set about establishing, through the amalgamation and adaptation of various existing manufactories, the facilities required for ceramic production. Because of the importance aspects of Morimura Ichizaemon, my thesis will include a detailed study of some aspects of his

life and works. Similarly, it will also consider his brother-in-law business partner, Ōkura Magobei (1843–1921), who served Morimura-kumi's vice-president, who was equal differently—instrumental in guiding the company on its long roa success.

Of all of the many and complex factors that contribute Morimura-kumi's success, the following three may be considered the important.

1) Unique characteristics of the Seto porcelain industry

By the early Meiji period, Seto porcelains were already widely acce in export markets. This was primarily because of their long history tradition, but other factors such as their cost compared to Arita porcel the accessibility of high-quality local material resources, and their abili be manufactured in close proximity to newly developing shipping p such as those in Yokohama, Kōbe, and Nagoya.

2) Technical innovation

By sharing its expertise, Morimura-kumi succeeded in produci white-bodied ceramic material, known as *Nittō 3-3,* which in 1913 be the acknowledged standard for Japanese white porcelain.

3) Matching of product designs to American consumer tastes

Morimura Ichizaemon's approach was to develop his bus independently, without government support, and this allowed him gr

freedom to focus specifically and consistently on the aesthetic tastes of American consumers, whom he recognized as the company's largest (and thus most important) target market. The result of this policy was that in 1921, after World War 1, Morimura-kumi exported approximately 60,000 dinner services to the United States, which accounted for an extraordinary sixty percent of all tableware exported from Japan to the U.S. that year.

Among the factors listed above, the most important to consider is the last, that is, Morimura-kumi's efforts to cater to American tastes in its design efforts. Morimura Ichizaemon recognized the necessity of learning about European porcelain design and therefore dispatched researchers to a number of Western countries, but at the same time also sent designers to the United States to learn more about the specific tastes and fashions among consumers. The importance of these understandings were subsequently recognized to the extent that Morimura-kumi would even adopt a policy advocating "highest priority to American directives" ("*beijō shinsei*" 米状神聖), the essence of which was that letters and requests arriving from the company's agents in America were to be given priority over other company activities.

In the United States at the time, hand-painted porcelains imported from Britain, France and Germany occupied the majority of the tableware market. These imported goods tended to be expensive and thus affordable only among those in the higher echelons of society.[1] The middle classes also aspired to own such European porcelains, but could only do so if they could

---

[1] Glanville, Philippa. *Elegant Eating*. London: V& A Publications. 2002, p 40.

be obtained at a lower price. The story of Sears & Roebuck,[2] for instance, one of Morimura-kumi's major clients, is a tale of how high-quality products, once the preserve of the rich, were made accessible to the general consumer through the implementation of an effective mail-order system.

Until the 1920s, Noritake concentrated mainly on traditional European painting styles, including Art Nouveau and, later on, Art Deco. After this experimental period, however, the company's dinnerware design resumed a more conventional style, typically featuring a white central area framed by floral borders. As Old Noritake was gaining popularity in America, design trends were also becoming simpler. For example, designs by Kathryn E. Bard Cherry,[3] were much simpler than those depicted on traditional European porcelains, as were the naturalistic rose patterns designed by Eduard Braunsdorf[4] for Meissen during the same period. This suggests that Noritake's move toward simpler designs arose not only from the needs of mass-production, but also from the need to cater to the American taste for relative simplicity.

Following some historical background on Old Noritake and the matrix from which it emerged, I will trace the development of Seto porcelain production through detailed illustration, description, and analysis of individual examples of Old Noritake.

---

[2] Sears & Roebuck Company is one of the largest mail order catalogue companies in the United States. Sears Watch Company was founded by Sears, Richard Warren (1863－1914) in Minneapolis in 1886 and sold it three years later for $100,000.

[3] Cherry, Kathryn E. Bard (1880－1931): American ceramic artist and one of the most prominent artists in Saint Louis in the early twentieth century. At the 1904 World's Fair, she won the only gold medal awarded to a woman. In 1915, she became head of the art department at Principia Junior College Academy.

[4] Braunsdorf,Eduard Julius (1841－1922): Began his career at Meissen as an apprentice flower painter, his flower decorations eventually evolving towards a distinctly impressionist style. He created a technique known as "naturalistic flower painting", in which arrangements of flowers, based on nature, were softly painted in vivid colours resulting in an elegant style.

Research Materials and Sources

- Morimura-kumi's "Export Invoices" (Copies of Sixteen Volumes)

What I shall refer to as "Export Invoices" (or more simply "the Invoices") are documents, now preserved in both the Noritake Museum and the Seto Prefectural Museum, originally prepared by Morimura-kumi between 1892 and 1907 to record commodities exported to the Morimura Brothers, the company's U.S. subsidiary in New York. An average of about 3,000 items are listed for each year invoiced, and about sixty percent of these are ceramic items. From the sixteen volumes of invoices, I selected two of the most detailed, including the No. 9 Invoice from the Morimura-kumi headquarters, and the No. 10 Invoice, from the company's Kōbe office, both from 1897. The former lists 3,504 items, 2,778 of which are ceramics. The No. 10 Invoice from Kōbe contains 1,274 pages listing 7,354 items, 4,534 of which are ceramics. My research focuses on these ceramic items.

- 972 photos from Morimura-kumi's 1906–08 "Design Books"

Eighty volumes of "Design Books" containing designs used by the company during the Meiji period are preserved in the Noritake archives. I photographed 972 of the finest, most detailed designs from the years 1906 through 1908.

Limitations and Key Assumptions

My research does not cover all the Japanese porcelains exported from

1897 to 1909, and is limited to those known by their entries in my copies of Export Invoices No. 9 and No. 10, or shown among the 972 photos of designs appearing in the 1906–08 "Design Books".

Further, it must be noted that the sixteen volumes of Export Invoices preserved today may not cover all Morimura-kumi invoices from 1892 to 1907, since there may have been lost volumes and/or omissions.

Research Methodologies

- Focused on the lives and styles of major ceramics painters employed by Morimura-kumi.
- Categorized the contents of the 1897 Export Invoices, including itemization by painter, potter, shape, and technique.
- Classified the 972 photos taken of the 1906–08 Design Books by painter, flower type, and shapes used.

Aims of the thesis

Analysis of the above items will reveal what items were exported by Morimura-kumi between 1897 and 1910, which in turn will provide practical concrete data useful for identifying and summarizing the transitions undergone by Japanese export porcelains during the Meiji period.

Early in the Meiji period, sometsuke (blue and white) porcelain items were entered with pride in various international exhibitions. As this style eventually lost popularity, however, Japan and her craftsmen were forced to choose a different path, one that in the end led to the industrialised

overglazed ceramic items produced through the end of the Meiji period. The facts and details surrounding this important transition have only recently been described in a limited number of exhibition catalogues, and I hope that my thesis will contribute to the growing body of research on the history of export porcelain during the Meiji period.

Increased production of items intended solely to meet growing export demands led to the adoption of labour-saving measures and less attention to new technologies. Nonetheless, the techniques and skills demonstrated by Meiji-period craftsmen were truly ingenious(to the extent that modern industry would have difficulty reproducing them), and the designs depicted on Meiji-period export porcelains are imbued with an immense sense of artistry that remains prized and valued even today.

The artisans who created "Old Noritake" left no stone unturned in their quest to upgrade Japanese painting traditions and techniques, with efforts that included the adoption of techniques like "moriage" and gradation and the study and copying of those Western artistic and craft technologies deemed useful. Study of this quest will provide an insight into what may be considered an important and formative transitional period in the history of Japanese ceramics. My thesis will focus on the changes undergone by Seto porcelain during the Meiji period, and will also address the possible reasons underlying the current reappraisal of its artistry.

CHAPTER 1: EXPORT PORCELAIN BEFORE MORIMURA-KUMI

Before turning to a discussion of Old Noritake, it is necessary to provide a brief summary of pre-Meiji Seto porcelains in general, offered to clarify their important contributions to the subsequent development of Japanese export porcelains during the modern era.

1) Seto ware and the Meiji Restoration

i) The emergence of Seto ware

Seto is a city located in northwest Aichi prefecture, a region known through the end of the Edo period as "Owari". This area was well known for its ceramics, as was its neighbour to the south, Mino (now southern Gifu prefecture). The name Owari (Seto) first appeared in connection with ceramics in *Nihon Kōki*[5] in the ninth century:

> Three craftsmen from Yamada in Owari, including Otomaro, were highly valued as potters...[6]

In the *Japanese-Portuguese Dictionary,* published in 1603, there is a description:

Sometsuke to wa, sunawachi, Ye no aru chawan, sara [A piece of sometsuke, that is, a picture-decorated ceramic bowl or plate] (ソメツケ（染付）とは　即ち、 絵のある茶碗、皿.).

"Ye" (絵), meaning "picture", is the key word here. We can assume that the picture in question was one consciously composed and painted with a brush, instead of one incised into the surface or randomly achieved during

---

[5] "Nihon Kōki" was a historical document written in 841 by Fujiwara Otsugu concerning the period from Enryaku 11 (792) to Tenchō 10 (833).
[6] 5th, Jan, Kōnin 6 (815).

the production process. Another historical document that mentions Seto ware is a report called *Genna Travel Diary.*[7] A chapter titled "Dinner at the Tea House" mentions "...the salted entrails of trepang on a Seto sometsuke plate...".[8] "Seto" obviously refers to the production location, but identifying the specific location depends upon how "Seto" is interpreted. In the broadest sense, it can be understood to refer to "*setomono*", a general term that referred to products from both the Seto and Mino kilns and covering all ceramic products under the control of the Owari province. In a narrower sense, it could refer specifically to a piece make at the Seto kilns of Owari.

Setsuyōkikan [*Setsuyō Dictionary*][9] published in 1821, offers the following description mentioning setomono:

> "The Seto, Owari region has long pioneered the production of ceramics, and is known to have produced large numbers of both high– and low-quality pieces".

This suggests that ceramics in general may have been referred to as "setomono".

Research by the National Institute of the Japanese Language has determined that Japanese offers three different words as general designations for "ceramics": *yakimono, setomono* and *karatsumono.* This research included a study in which people were shown pictures of items like bowls, cups, dishes and saké flasks and then asked what general term they would use for "the items moulded with clay and fired in kilns" shown in the

---

[7] "*Genna Onariki*" describes an official visit on 13 February, 1623 by second shogun Tokugawa Hidetada (1579-1632) to the Owari branch of the Tokugawa family.
[8] "Ohikimo, Konowata Seto-sometsuke no sara ni".
[9] Funakoshi Eiichirō. *Naniwa Sōsho.* Volume 3. 1926, p 26. (Originally it was based on *Setsuyōkikan* published in 1821. "*Setsuyōkikan*" was based on "*Setsuyōshū*", a Japanese dictionary published in Muromachi period).

pictures.[10] Starting in the western part of Japan and moving east, people responded that they would be more likely to refer to such items as "setomono", "karatsumono" or "yakimono", in this order. In other words, in the western part of Japan (comprised of the Chūgoku and Shikoku regions and a portion of Kyushu) about sixty percent of people use the word setomono (with thirty percent using the word karatsumono). In modern usage, setomono encompasses all ceramics and porcelains, while karatsumono usually refers to non-porcelain types of ceramics such as earthenware. Setomono as a general term for ceramics has been accepted ever since the *Guidelines for General Japanese Language Education* were instituted in primary schools in Akita prefecture in 1899. Thus, the word setomono has been used in Japanese as a general term for ceramics since the mid-Edo period, and even today remains a common designation for both ceramics and porcelain.

ii) *Shinsei-Yaki* (Underglazed Blue Porcelain)

According to the Kasugai District Stipend Report of 1672, the total number of families living in the village of Seto was forty-five. Among these, twenty operated potteries utilizing a total of twelve kilns.

When porcelain production began in Seto in the early 1800s, blue-and-white designs had already existed for some time as part of the region's traditional pottery repertoire. The new Seto porcelain that began to be produced from around 1801 was referred to as "*shinsei-yaki*" (新製焼, "new" pottery) to distinguish it. In turn, Seto's traditional pottery came to be called "*hongyō-yaki*" (本業焼,traditional pottery), to distinguish it from

---

[10] Sawaki Mikie. *Mono to Kotoba-Nihon no hōgen chizu.* Tokyo: Chūkō shinsho. 1979, p 88.

the new style.

In 1801, sixteen potters were recognized as sometsuke potters. These included: Katō Tōzaemon, Kawamoto Jihei, Katō Kichiemon, Kumehachi, Chūji, Tomiemon, Tōhichi, Sōsuke, Jūkichi, Hikohichi, Naoemon, Tomizō, Uhei, Yaemon, Kanroku, and Nihei. The Owari clan encouraged second and subsequent sons (in other words, those ineligible to inherit their families' businesses) to develop new pottery wares as a means of generating income for themselves and augmenting the incomes of their families. In 1803, the Owari clan recognized sometsuke as one of its official ceramics. This meant that when shinsei-yaki wares were sold to other regions, they included a wooden tag bearing the mark "Owari", authorized by the clan finance commissioner. Through this recognition, shinsei-yaki eventually gained footing equivalent to that of the traditional hongyō-yaki.

The components used in the manufacture of sometsuke were recorded in 1803 and 1804 in the notes of Kawamoto Jihei, one of the first sixteen recognized sometsuke potters mentioned above.

Notes from February 1803:
Doro [ball (frogeye) clay] — 1 *koku* [180.39 litres]
Chikura [granite or pegmatite][11] — 6 *to* [60% of 1 koku; 108 litres]
Ishi [feldspar] — *8 to* [80% of 1 koku; 144.4 litres]

Notes from February 1804:
Doro — 1 koku
Chikura — 6 *to* 5 *shō* [65% of 1 koku; 117.3 litres]
Ishi — *8 to* 5 shō [85% of 1 koku; 153.3 litres][12]

---

[11] *Chikura*: A type of iron oxide–rich air-slaked feldspar used from the late Edo period to produce porcelain in Seto and Mino. It was derived from air-slaked granite and used in clay or as an overglazing material by eliminating its quartz component. It is no longer used.
[12] Seto-shi-shi Hensan Iinkai. *Seto-shi-shi.* Volume 3,Publisher: Inoue Hiromichi (Seto City Mayor). 1967, p 272.

In 1804, twenty-eight sometsuke potters were newly recognized, followed by twelve more in 1811, eleven in 1812, two in 1818, ten in 1820, four in 1821, and eight in 1822 (five of the latter eight were from the village of Akatsu).

In 1814, good-quality chikura was discovered by Katō Tōzaemon in the village of Uehadagawa.

According to the "Report on Seto Village Agricultural Production & Industry" published in 1822, the total number of families in Seto was 420. Out of these, 157 operated potteries, including ninety-one producing shinsei-yaki in seventeen kilns and sixty-six producing hongyō-yaki in fourteen kilns[13].

iii) Seto Shinsei-yaki and Seto Blue-and-White

Let us consider the differences between the Shinsei-yaki and blue-and-white wares of Seto.

In the *Encyclopaedia of Japanese Ceramics*, Hattori Fumitaka defines "Seto shinsei" generally as those blue-and-white porcelains found among the pottery wares of Seto, and especially including those produced in the latter years of the Edo period. He also mentions that such wares were characteristically made from compound clays that included the so-called "frog-eye" clay, and brightly decorated using good-quality local *gosu* (azure) pigments ideal for reproducing refined scenery patterns and Southern Song–style pictures.[14]

---

[13] Report summarized from "Seto Yield and Stipend Report" and "Pottery Stipend Report in Seto" from 1801 to 1822, now archived in Seto City.
[14] Hattori Fumitaka. "Seto *Shinsei*" in *The Encyclopaedia of Japanese Ceramics*. Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten. 2002, p 776.

"Gosu" refers to a particular variety of azure pigment, and the "local gosu pigments" in this description refer to those produced in Seto or Mino (fig.1.1.). The first Seto gosu is said to have been extracted around 1665, but by 1666, the excavation of both it and the region's *"sobokai"* clay had been prohibited, mainly due to the fact that they were designated for use in the limited production of *Ofuke* ware in Nagoya Castle.[15] After some years, this prohibition was lifted through the permission of the village administrator in charge, particularly as the popularity of sometsuke began to grow. There remains no precise record of how much of these materials was mined during the Edo period, but the existence of wooden plates from 1811 and 1812 indicating the licensing of gosu excavation rights suggests that they were valued as a limited commodity and treated accordingly.

Currently, naturally occurring gosu in Seto is generally found approximately twenty metres below the surface, in the *"oniita"* stratum (a type of limonite found in Seto and Mino), [16] and must be extracted by hired excavators. Previously, it had also been found in certain sands and gravels, particularly those along the Yata River, but these supplies have long been exhausted and only those within the subsurface rock is available today. Modern gosu production in Seto continues under Mizuno Naoki, who operates a company that both extracts natural gosu and formulates cobalt-based chemical compound versions.[17] Further, the value of the natural gosu in creating Seto sometsuke (i.e. Seto shinsei) means that its existence must have served as a primary support for the development and

---

[15] Seto-shi-shi Hensan Iinkai, *Seto-shi-shi.* Volume 3, *Ceramics,* "Gosu" in chapter 4 on ingredients. Publisher: Inoue Hiromichi (Seto City Mayor). 1967, p 70.

[16] Limonite: The common name of ore of iron hydroxide. Comprised of 30% iron oxide and therefore used as a raw material from which iron may be extracted. *Oniita* is a thin, limonite-containing stratum, formerly common as cliff "eaves" in the mountains of Seto and Mino but now exhausted and rarely found today.

[17] Mizuno Naoki. *Gosu and Glazing. Tōjirō Journal,* No4. Tokyo: Futabasha. 1998, p 36.

growth of the Seto's porcelain industry.

Hattori concludes his description by remarking that the production of Seto shinsei was carried over into the Meiji period, eventually becoming a product manufactured in large quantities for export purposes. His phrase "carried over into the Meiji period" refers specifically to the technique of shinsei-yaki production and I agree with this assessment. Clearly, sometsuke appears on wares other than porcelain, and there are also other types of porcelain decorated using completely different techniques and materials, for example celadon ware. However, the term "Seto shinsei", when describing works produced in the late Edo period, does in fact refer to porcelains, and it is generally acknowledged to refer to pieces decorated in sometsuke.

iv) Porcelains from Seto Gifted to England's Queen Victoria

A sword rack[18] made in Seto around 1820, currently housed in London's Victoria & Albert Museum, is painted in underglazed cobalt with white moulded birds and flowering trees. The same museum has also been in possession, of a Seto tiered porcelain food box since 1865 (fig.1.2.) originally presented by the fourteenth Tokugawa shogun Tokugawa Iemochi (reigned 1858–66) to England's Queen Victoria (reigned 1837–1901). As a diplomatic gesture of respect, Iemochi presented the queen with a number of fine Japanese craft items. All of the twenty-one ceramic items (the tiered box among them) included in this offering were made of the same type of blue-and-white porcelain,[19] which at the time was being produced in large

---

[18] Height 13.5 inches; length 18.5 inches. Ref No 171-1877. Acquired in 1877.
[19] Faulkner,Rupert. *The Japanese Art Design*. London: Victoria and Albert Publications. 1986, p 184.

enough quantities in Seto to be identifiable as an early stage of export porcelain. The tiered box, a traditional domestic type of piece, actually shows a bit too much cobalt blue, since the ground, too, is filled with blue. The blue-and-white design itself is an auspicious one, although as Rupert Faulkner notes "the significance of the specific motif would have been entirely unrecognized by to the British of that time".[20]

The subsequent development of Seto's sometsuke production was not necessarily smooth or fast. For example, producers concentrating on export-oriented production to meet growing Western market demands gradually switched over to producing plain porcelains decorated with overglazing instead of underglazing, which in effect resulted in abandoning sometsuke. Further, during this transition period, porcelain producers also introduced other types of decoration, for example blue and white combined with *shōenji* (cochineal) and high-quality blue-ground designs like those in Iemochi's aforementioned royal gift. The fact that both shōenji and blue ground were often used in large exhibition items or important gift items suggests that porcelain producers in Seto did not turn to overglazed mass-produced items overnight, and that the transition was somewhat gradual.

v) Porcelain Production Turmoil in Early Meiji

Sometsuke had been produced in Arita since before the seventeenth century, including works imitating Western designs and those catering Western tastes. In *Japanese Export Porcelain*,[21] Oliver Impey introduces

---

[20] ibid.

[21] Impey, Oliver. *Arita Blue and White –Evolution and Development in the 17th century.* London:

pieces including European-style jars and jugs manufactured in Arita sometime during the early– to mid-seventeenth century, and verifies that these were indeed modelled after European designs. Orders for Japanese export porcelains were very intermittent until 1757, and after that ceased completely until the Meiji government re-opened the doors of the country to trade in 1868.

The massive social upheaval of the Meiji Restoration (1868) brought considerable turmoil to the Seto pottery world. As one document attests, in July 1869, unions of potters and village headsmen in Seto gathered to apply to the Eastern Nagoya District Office for relief aid:

> In Seto, there are about 295 homes and 800 people living at present. We have been mainly engaged in the production of pottery, but now we face great financial difficulties and wish to apply to receive relief....[22]

Fortunately, the poverty and disorder, while undoubtedly serious, turned out to be a temporary condition. Although the loss of the patronage of the Owari clan in particular resulted in a temporary decline in business, the Seto kilns soon rebounded, found new footing, and began to ascend to new heights of prosperity that in fact heralded the coming age of free trade. Japanese products were being exported abroad, but equally important was the fact that new technologies were being brought back to Japan from the West.

Unfortunately, yet another setback came with another economic downturn of a different cause. While a boom in ceramic production from 1880 through 1881 had led many potters to construct new factories and

---

Eastern Art. 2000, p 20.

[22] "*Onegai todoke*" dated July 1869. Archived in Seto City Centre.

increase the quality of their wares, this turned out to result in excessive competition and overproduction, subsequently decreasing the market price and leading to the mass-production of relatively inferior products. A report from the Kawamoto Masukichi Factory in 1883 noted the situation:

> Until 1882 our number of employees had remained around forty, but now it has dropped to twenty-seven. Although we have not wanted to let any of them go, the fact is that we face bankruptcy if we do not. Our profit for the year has been just seventy percent that of 1882 and just forty percent that of 1881.[23]

The recession lasted until around 1884 or 1885. While potters were beset by considerable hardship, the difficult circumstances did force them to reflect upon the viability of their business model and they gradually were able to discover new solutions to their problems. *Kōgyō Iken* (*Opinions on the Pottery Business*), an industry report published in 1884, identified six themes of consideration in which to improve pottery manufacturing:

1) Improve kiln construction, including means to economize fuel wood consumption
2) Improve clay quality
3) Adopt moulding techniques to ensure uniformity and reduce labour
4) Refine pottery surface purity and smoothness
5) Improve glazing quality
6) Focus on creating beautiful designs[24]

These recommendations were taken up by various potters belonging to either of two pottery unions established in 1883, one focusing on

---

[23] Report from *Shōkyō-nenpyō* in 1882 Volume 1, Ministry of Agriculture and Trade. pp 159-160.
[24] Naramoto Tatsuya. *Kindaitōgyo no setsuritsu.* Kyoto: Shibunkaku Shuppan. 1892, p 38.

earthenware (thirty-seven potters, directed by Katō Yūemon), the other focusing on porcelain (one hundred and thirteen potters, directed by Katō Mon'emon). In 1886 these two unions were combined as the single "Seto Ceramic Union", the first modern pottery union in Japan. Some of the primary regulations guiding this union and its membership were as follows:

- The union has been established to support the production of ceramics, and its directors shall be selected by election. (Article 3)
- Foreign ceramics exhibited in the union offices are intended for potters to study. (Article 4)
- Potters shall not imitate one another's original works. (Article 19)
- Employees working for each pottery are to be reported to the union. (Article 29)
- Potters breaking union regulations will be banned from production for a maximum of three years. (Article 44) [25]

Union potters seem to have adhered to these regulations fairly consistently, and the relationships among them grew closer as a result. High efficiency was maintained by continuing to operate as family businesses and avoiding the pitfalls of rapid growth. Many potters also endeavoured to simplify production by selling orders of semi-finished products to wholesalers and trading companies in Nagoya.

On 28th October 1891, just as the ill-effects of the aforementioned recession were being offset by the new activities of the potters' union, the Nōbi earthquake (magnitude 8.4) struck central Japan, subjecting the Mino and Owari districts to the brunt of the damage. The damage wrought on

---

[25] Mitsui Kōzō. *Gaisetsu Nihon Tōgyō Kindaishi.* Nagoya: Nihon Tōgyō Renmei. 1979. pp 466-467.

the area's pottery kilns was arguably greater than that which befell private homes. More significant, however, was that the damage or destruction of many of the older kilns in fact gave many Seto potteries an opportunity to change their firing practices. An interesting aside is to note that the damage sustained by the region's toilets increased demand for new ceramic models, providing new business opportunities.

The 1894 (No. 8) issue of *Dainihon Yōgyō Kyōkai Zasshi* [Journal of the Japan Ceramics Association] reports a number of relevant items regarding the state of the pottery industry in Seto at the time:

> Types of Seto ceramics include porcelains (primarily sometsuke), celadon, *ruri* (blue-ground) and white. Sometsuke and celadon are mainly produced as utensils and vases, ruri for planters and religious implements, and whites as Western-style tableware, dishes and vases.
> A majority of pieces are semi-finished and transported to Nagoya for overglazing.
> Number of Potteries: 262
> Business trends include a large proportion of export wares destined mainly for the United States, with a seven-to-three ratio between export and domestic products. Exports are influenced by the exchange rate of silver.
> Regarding marketing, products are first consolidated in Nagoya, and from there domestic items are shipped by train and ship to Tokyo, Yokohama, Kyoto and Osaka for further distribution nationwide. Export items are shipped to the port cities of Kōbe and Yokohama and exported by trading companies or sent overseas directly.[26]

Various efforts undertaken in the late 1800s to stimulate growth in the pottery industry included:

---

[26]Kashimura Zenpachi and Mutō Mie. *Seto tōjiki, Dainihon Yōgyō Kyōkai Zasshi.* No28, Dainihon Yogyō Kyōkai. 1894.

- The 1894 establishment of a Seto branch of the Five-Two (*Go-Ni*) Association, an industry promotion group proposed by the House of Peers member, Maeda Masana (1850–1921). The Japanese name, "Go-Ni", meaning "five-and-two", refers to the fact that the group initially dealt with five product categories including textiles, ceramics, copper wares, lacquer wares and paper products, then later added two more, "miscellaneous" and "carpets".
- The establishment of the Seto Ceramics School in October 1895.
- The establishment of *Seto Tōji Shōkō Kumiai* (Union of Seto Ceramic Producers and Traders) December 1899. The charter of this union focused on increasing exports, but among its other activities it established a clay warehouse (in collaboration with Morimura-kumi) and sponsored a design competition, efforts which were both well-received by the industry.

In the short time from 1900 to 1901, just after the Paris Exhibition[27], various reports were submitted, by those who had visited Europe and the exhibition, for publication by organizations like the Japan Art Association and the Japan Ceramic Society. In these, noted industry figures including ceramic painter Kawahara Noritatsu, Hirano Kōsuke (1871–1947) and

[27] This Paris Exhibition, *Exposition Universelle à Paris,* in 1900 was held from 15th April to 12th November 1900. It was the third world exhibition held in Paris which followed to the first in 1867. and second in 1878.

Hayashi Tadamasa (1853–1906) commented seriously on the development of the pottery business as a modern industry, noting its departure from the realm of craft to involvement in new areas such as glazing chemistry research and the development of innovative designs.

vi) Seto Potters and Their Activities

Modernization came gradually to Seto, getting into full swing starting around 1900 as better transportation networks were introduced, including the opening of the Chūō train line and the 1905 opening of the Seto Electric Railway running between Seto and Yata. In 1911 this latter was extended to Ōsone/Horikawa, with connections to the Chūō line, shortening the travel time between Seto and Nagoya and considerably simplifying transport logistics. Such improvements to the transportation network contributed greatly to the growth of Seto pottery.

The Seto kiln map in Appendix A attests to the prosperity of the town and region. The most prosperous districts included the following:

Minamishingai — The centre of town, including the main post office, a theatre, and other facilities. The northern part of this district is famous for prominent potters including Hakuundō (Katō Shūbei), Tōgyokuen (Katō Gosuke), and Senpōen (Itō Shirōzaemon)

Kitashingai — The next most prosperous district after Minamishingai, this area lying along the Seto River includes numerous shops and the homes and studios of potters like Kitōken (Kawamoto Masukichi) and Katō Mokuzaemon.

Gō — This western district was home to many potters producing larger items, for example Katō Mon'emon.

Dō — The "back yard" of the town, home to porcelain producers like Kawamoto Rikichi.

Appendix B shows a list of the main Seto potters active around 1905, including those working in both earthenware and porcelain. The names of major porcelain producers are shown in blue. The Seto and Mino potters who were the main producers listed in Morimura-kumi's 1897 Invoices include: Takashima Tokumatsu, Kawamoto Masukichi, Katō Shunkō, Katō Shūbei, Katō Gosuke (Seto), Nishiura Enji, Katō Jūkichi, Katō Mon'emon, and Katō Zenji. Others such as Kawamoto Hansuke, Katō Shigejū II, Kawamoto Sōkichi, and Katō Gosuke in Mino all played important roles in the production of blue-and-white wares and are listed elsewhere in the Morimura-kumi Export Invoices, although they are not included among the top ten.

The following section offers some details about the lives and works of some of these artists.

a) Takashima Tokumatsu I (1855–1902)

Takashima Tokumatsu I was born in the Kitashingai district as the eldest son of Katō Tōhichi. As a young man he studied ceramics in various regions, eventually returning to Seto in 1890 to take over his family's domestic Japanese and Western-style tableware manufacturing business. In

1893 his factory was co-opted by Morimura-kumi to manufacture products for the overseas markets. Tokumatsu I was a pioneer in artistic porcelain and his works were highly esteemed in the fine arts categories of national industrial exhibitions. (fig.1.3.)

b) Kawamoto Masukichi I (1831–1907) & Kawamoto Masukichi II (1852–1918)

Kawamoto Masukichi I (1831–1907) was one of the earliest Seto potters to find success with sometsuke painting and eventually became one of Morimura-kumi's main potters. In 1883, Morimura-kumi commissioned him to produce Western-style coffee cups, a historically important order that led eventually to the production of Japan's first six-person coffee set. Masukichi I's successor, Kawamoto Masukichi II (1852–1918), produced mainly blue-and-white porcelain and was the first manufacturer of export porcelain in Seto during the Meiji period. Masukichi II also contributed to improving production methods, for example by being among the first to introduce the use of plaster moulds after learning the required techniques from Katō Tomotarō and Kawamoto Hansuke in 1875.

c) Katō Shunkō (1881–1958)

Katō Shunkō, an ardent student of pottery techniques and traditions originating beyond Japan, worked assiduously to expand his business to become Seto's largest factory, providing Morimura-kumi with both clay and unfired pottery blanks. His porcelain works are noted for their thinness and beautiful shapes.

d) Katō Shūbei II (1848–1903)

Katō Shūbei II, known for export sometsuke pieces combining both Western and Japanese elements, in 1873 was appointed as the director in charge of procuring porcelain exhibits for the Vienna International Exhibition. In 1877 he inherited his father's kiln, where he produced blue-and-white porcelain under the name "Hakuundō" (白雲堂). In 1894, Shūbei II became the director of the Seto branch of the Five-Two Association. His preferred company status with Morimura-kumi led to a contract producing export dinner services, and in general focused his design efforts on the export market, including the 1897 establishment of the export-oriented "Pottery Trade Company"; his factory closed in 1922 shortly after his passing.

e) Katō Gosuke IV (1839–1905)

Seto's Katō Gosuke (五助) IV was an enthusiastic improver of clays, glazes and glazing techniques and designs, and his interest in a variety of approaches to pottery decoration embraced not only sometsuke but also shōenji and overglazing. He also pioneered the use of a moriage technique incorporating white gilding and subsequently contributed to the development of Noritake white moriage. The numerous exhibition awards he regularly garnered are a testament to his gifts as a potter and general expertise. As with Shūbei II, his works mixed Western forms with Japanese motifs. He was also one of the first to introduce Western tableware, visiting the Mitsui Group to show samples of coffee cups he had produced for export.

f) Nishiura Enji V (1856–1914)

The Nishiura family had been pottery merchants in Mino, but in 1885 changed to pottery production. At first they manufactured mainly blue-and-white porcelains, but later switched to glazing export pieces. Nishiura Enji V demonstrated his painting excellence particularly in *fukie*, or sprayed underglazing, typically featuring plants and flowers rendered in soft colours without outlining. A vase similar to that shown in exhibition catalogue "Beauty in the Japanese Modern Pottery"[28] signed "Nishiura", is currently housed in the Victoria and Albert Museum. In 1895 Nishiura Enji established Tajimi Trading & Co., Ltd, and later in 1889 opened a branch in Boston as well.

g) Katō Jūkichi IV (1847?–1906)

Jūkichi I came from a family that had operated a pottery business for four generations. In 1801 he was one of fourteen Seto pottery pioneers who turned from earthenware to new porcelain (shinsei-yaki) production. Those in the Jūkichi line were particularly skilled in the white moriage technique, but Jūkichi IV also distinguished himself by developing various kiln firing techniques using the name "Seiseien" (清々園). In Morimura's 1897 Export Invoice his name is the one most frequently associated with large plates (usually ovals measuring 1 shaku (30.3 cm) or larger). He also contributed significantly to the establishment of Nippon Tōki in 1904.

---

[28] *Fukie Takebu Kabin* (Vase with bamboo design, sprayed decoration by Enji Nishiura V) early 20th Century, private collection. Exhibition Catalogue "Beauty in the Japanese Modern Pottery" 1997 p 27.

h) Katō Mon'emon VI (1853–1911)

The family of Katō Mon'emon had produced pottery and porcelain for over seven generations in the Gō district of Seto under the operating names "Kanjōen" (環情園) and "Ikemon" (池紋). Mon'emon VI, particularly skilled in using iron and chrome to produce blue-and-white porcelain and celadon, also contributed greatly to kiln development, combining *ko-gama* (古窯, old-style kilns) with *maru-gama* (丸窯, round kilns) and creating the concept of *sute-ma* (捨て間, space). Initially he promoted his wares both domestically and internationally, but eventually in 1883 concluded an exclusive contract with Morimura-kumi, and in 1896 also established a company called "Aiji Limited Partnership".

i) Katō Zenji III (1848–1918)

The family of Katō Zenji III had produced pottery and porcelain under the name of "Sōbaitei" (早梅亭) in the Kitashingai district of Seto for over five generations, eventually switching to porcelain exclusively under Zenji II in 1846. Zenji III visited many of Japan's most renowned ceramic production areas including Mino, Tokoname, Shigaraki and Kyoto, then returned to inherit his family business in 1877. He developed the prototypes for flat, very thin picture frames, and was also noted for possessing the best plaque-manufacturing techniques among his contemporaries. These skills in working with thin porcelains were invaluable to Morimura-kumi.

j) Kawamoto Hansuke V (1831–1907) & Hansuke VI (1844–1905)

Kawamoto Hansuke VI came from a family line that had produced pottery for six generations under the names "Yamahan" (山半) and

"Shintōen" (真陶園). Hansuke I began making earthenware in 1770 and Hansuke II switched the kilns to porcelain production in 1804. Hansuke IV, taking over in 1822, concentrated on blue-and-white porcelains, followed by Hansuke V who developed gold-lacquered and export porcelains. Hansuke VI made further developments, but is also noted for his part in establishing the "Jikōsha" trading company with Kawamoto Masukichi.

k) Katō Shigejū II (1829–96)

The family kiln of Katō Shigejū in Kitashingai operated under the name "Seieiken" (清栄軒). Shigejū II was adopted into the Katō family and began working in the family porcelain manufacturing business sometime during the 1850s. In 1891, he was asked to provide his skills in the remaking of Katō Kiyosuke's porcelain tombstone, after which he restarted his kiln. He was famous for *fuseyaki,* or thin ceramic vessels fired upside-down to let them keep their shape in the kiln. While some of his works show simple blue-and-white scrolling motifs such as peonies, his "Four-legged table with flower-and-bird design, overglaze and gold" is a notable example of heavy gold overglazing. The Noritake Museum houses a similarly decorated plate showing a sparrow within a gold border pattern.

l) Kawamoto Sōkichi (flourished 1890 –Early 1900s)

Kawamoto Sōkichi, the second son of Kawamoto Heizaburō IV, entered the porcelain business in 1888 as the independent producer "Gensendō" (原泉堂). He became known for developing the *renzoku-gama,* or "continuous kiln", which featured a circular kiln on top of a traditional kiln to allow both

large and small items to be fired simultaneously, which was also useful for producing the large quantities of white clay materials needed for export porcelains. He further contributed to the development of the industry with innovative firing methods that halved firing times.

m) Katō Gosuke in Mino (1837–1915)

Katō Gosuke(五輔) (1837–1915), born in Mino (now Gifu Prefecture) as the first son of Katō Kawaemon, was the owner of the Ichinokura kiln. He studied pottery first at his family kiln, then under Nishiura Enji III (1806–84), and finally became independent around 1878 using the name "Seitōen" (清陶園). His delicate blue-and-white pieces featuring landscapes, birds and flowers eventually garnered several awards at the 1900 Paris International Exposition. Later he became strongly interested in improving ingredients and pigments, conducting research that contributed to the fashioning of delicate coffee cups and other successes.

2) Westernization and Exhibitions

i) Seto Sometsuke Porcelains in World Exhibitions

The sometsuke pieces exhibited at the various international exhibitions during the Meiji era were highly regarded, with those designs featuring realistic depictions of nature themes earning particular acclaim. At the 1876 Philadelphia International Exhibition, works by Kawamoto Masukichi I, Katō Gosuke IV and Kawamoto Hansuke VI were exhibited through the sponsorship of Nagoya's Iida Jūbei. Bureau reports from that exhibition indicate that most of these works were decorated in blue-and-white. Examples of overglazed Seto porcelain from Kiryū Kōshō Kaisha (a

government-sponsored company, discussed later) were occasionally included as well, but these tended to be the exception. The exhibition report states that, "Seto ware is traditionally painted in sometsuke and only rarely uses overglazing". An itemized list of pieces included in the exhibition shows five works by Kawamoto Masukichi I, including a table described as "very graceful", a Japanese screen noted for its "most magnificent deep-blue colouring", a "very beautiful" large pot, a painting of "grasses in a Japanese pattern", and a "large flower bowl". The accompanying general comments noted "decorative patterns of deep indigo over white" and "highly skilled decoration characterized by powerful strength in the brush strokes".[29]

Of greatest interest to World Exhibition exhibitors, including those potters from Seto, was whether or not their works had attracted attention, and if this would also be sufficient to warrant purchases by exhibition visitors. In addition to creating new customers and thus a certain amount of income, they knew that such interest would be helpful in bolstering the Japanese government's support for foreign trade expansion policies. Indeed, at the 1900 Paris Exhibition, in a bid to honour some of its native exhibitors, the Japanese government bestowed several prizes including a "Grand Prize" for Miyagawa Kōzan and several "Gold Prizes" for Kōransha, Fukagawa Chūji, Takemoto Shun'ichi, Inoue Ryōsai, and Kinkōzan Sōbei. Nonetheless, Kawahara Noritatsu (1844–1914, administrative officer for the Vienna World Exhibition and later one of Morimura-kumi's most important painters) criticized his country's showing in his Paris Exhibition report, writing, "It is unbelievable to have submitted works with such old-fashioned

---

[29] Tōkyō National Museum. *Report of Philadelphia Centennial World Exhibition 1876* edited by the Bureau of World Exhibition 1877. Reprinted Tokyo: Kokusho-kankōkai. 2002.

styles and patterns to such an exhibition for a new century".[30] This suggests those governmental accolades aside, the Japanese works did not overall attract as much attention as they might have.

ii) Dr. Gottfried Wagener and His Influence

It is important to note that at the time the attitudes of most Japanese wavered between maintaining traditional Japanese culture and embracing Westernization. Viewing this from the perspective of the study of Japanese ceramics history, we cannot ignore the influence of Dr. Gottfried Wagener (1831–92) whose efforts and activities during the Meiji period had a tremendous influence on the Japanese decorative arts, including the ceramics of Seto. Among Wagener's many contributions, perhaps the most significant is the fact that while he was in charge of with teaching the Japanese about Western technology, he was also steadfast in his belief that they should never forget their own culture.

Gottfried Wagener came to Japan in 1868 with the intention of helping to establish a soap factory in Nagasaki. In 1870, he was invited to a position with the Nabeshima Domain, and contributed his efforts to improving the ceramic kilns at the Arita ceramic manufactory. In 1872 he took a teaching position in the Sciences Department of Tōkyō Daigaku Nankō (now Tōkyō University). Also in 1872, he was an administrative officer for the Vienna World Exhibition in Austria, and thereafter became known for his contributions to a variety of domestic Japanese exhibitions as well. Starting around 1882 he took to producing ceramics of his own, at facilities such as

---

[30] Kawahara Noritatsu. *Pari- hakurankai Hōkoku* (*Report on Paris Exhibition in 1900).* Tokyo: Nippon-Bijutsu-kai hōkoku-jimukyoku. Volume 150. 1901, p 34.

the Edogawa Ceramic Factory, the Tōkyō Shokkō Gakkō (now Tōkyō Kōgyo Daigaku, or Tōkyō Institute of Technology) and others, working to improve the kilns and eventually training a great number of students.

Within Morimura-kumi, those with the strongest relationships to Wagener included the painter Kawahara Noritatsu, the first Research and Development Manager Asukai Kōtarō (1867–1927), and Asukai's successor, Ezoe Magoemon (1885—1964).[31]

A biography of Wagener by Dr. Kasai Shinzō (1873—1942) notes that his direct students included such individuals as Fujie Nagataka (1865–1915), Hirano Kōsuke (1871–1947), Asukai Kōtarō, Katō Tomotarō (1851–1916), Matsumura Hachijirō (1869–1937), [32] and Kawahara Noritatsu. It also mentions that he "had a significant hand in business, in the ceramic departments at various schools, at ceramics research laboratories, and among notable ceramics companies such as Nippon Tōki (Morimura-kumi) and the Matsumura Group"—associations all of which attest strongly to the depth and breadth of Wagener's involvement in the Japanese ceramics world.[33]

In the bureau reports from the first industrial exhibition,[34] Wagener

---

[31] Additionally, Wagener's memoirs published in 1938 mention the meritorious efforts of the following individuals related to Noritake: Morimura Ichizaemon; Iino Ippei, the third president of Nippon Tōki; Ishikawa Jirō, the developer of transfer paper technology; Iwata Tsunesaburō, a close friend of Ina Chōsaburō and eventually a member of Nippon Tōki; Ōkura Kazuchika, Magobei's eldest son, president of Nippon Tōki; Hino Atsushi, director of Ōkura Tōen when it was established and father of former Noritake president Hino Tetsuya; Nishiyama Tei, an engineer who transferred from Nippon Tōki to Tōyō Tōki upon the latter's establishment; Momoki Saburō, Ōkura Tōen president and third son of Kawahara Noritatsu; and Ayukawa Takeo, former Tōyō Tōki president.

[32] Matsumura Hachijirō (1869–1937). Born Nishimura Hachijirō, graduated Tōkyō Kōgyō Gakkō in 1892, and in 1893 changed his surname when he was adopted (according to Japanese custom) into the Matsumura family. Established Matsumura Pottery in 1896.

[33] Kasai Shinzō: Fourth president of Onoda Cement Co., Ltd (now part of Taiheiyo Cement Co., Ltd).

[34] Tanaka Yoshio and Hirayama Narinobu ed. *Ōkoku Hakurankai Sandō Kiyō* [Report on Wien World Exposition]. 1897, pp 11-12.

states, “If [Japanese] porcelain is used for such everyday items as tableware and tea sets, then among all ceramics it will be ranked the best”. Importantly, he also advised the Japanese against simply imitating Western styles in the manufacture of their porcelains, remarking that "efforts should be made to give play to unique national ways and means”. This sentiment, to avoid mere imitation in favour of ways and means unique to the country, occurs repeatedly throughout Wagener's writings thereafter. Reflecting Wagener's challenge, Seto potters found themselves in the awkward position of having to choose between maintaining tradition and pursuing Westernization, but most eventually realized that to survive they had to focus on Westernization in terms of both design and technique.

iii) Western Influences on Moulding and Kilns

a) Kilns

Throughout the Meiji era, potters endeavoured to improve kiln technology, including adding new holes for firing, linking pottery and bisque kilns, and introducing kilns fuelled by coal, gas, and coal-gas combinations.

In 1870, Gottfried Wagener oversaw the construction of the first square kiln in Arita. In 1874, Nōtomi Kaijirō (1844–1918) introduced a direct-transmitting circular cylinder type kiln. In 1882, at the request of the Ministry of Trade, Wagener began working on kiln improvement and built a Western-style kiln in Ogawa-machi, Ushigome, Tokyo, with the assistance of Katō Tomotarō. This kiln was a combination type heated by both wood and coal, and it was eventually taken over by Katō Tomotarō under the independent name “Yūgyokuen”.

In 1887 the Kyōto Ceramic Company established a Western-style

circular cylindrical kiln, and in 1896 the Kyōto Ceramic Laboratory established three coal-fired kilns.

In 1890, when Gottfried Wagener returned to Japan from Germany, he brought back useful data on the use of *Seger kegel,* or Seger cones,[35] to be used in kilns to monitor firing temperatures. The use of these was initially promoted by distributing them free of charge in Kyoto in 1898, and their introduction represented a first step in moving potters toward using more scientific measurements of temperature instead of the guesswork and intuition on which they had traditionally relied upon.

1895 saw the establishment of the Seto Municipal Ceramic School, first headed by Kitamura Yaichirō (1868–1926). Terauchi Shinichi (1843–1940), Hino Atsushi (1886–1947), and Katō Hajime (1900–1968) all taught there at various times. In 1901, coal kilns began to operate in Seto. In 1901, Aichi Prefecture began granting an annual subsidy of 800 yen to the Seto Ceramic Union for experiments with coal-fired kilns.

In 1902, under the supervision of Seto Ceramic School director Kuroda Masanori (?–1918), experiments with coal kilns were undertaken at the Seto Ceramic Laboratory, although these eventually proved unfruitful. Matsumura Hachijirō, adopted son of Matsumura Kyūsuke (1845–1912) and an export porcelain trader, pioneered "Matsumura-style" coal kilns, which have been in use ever since. By 1901, Morimura-kumi had already experimented with a coal-fired overglazing kiln. In 1904, Nippon Tōki built a German-style fire-bending two-story coal-fired kiln (fig.1.4.). In 1906, Seto potter Katō Gorobei built an improved coal-fired bisque kiln. This bisque

---

[35] Seger cones: Pyrometric cones used to determine the combined effect of temperature and time - called "heat work"- in the firing of ceramics. Since the invention of pyrometric cones were first invented and produced by Dr. Hermann Seger in 1886, other manufacturers have emerged and "Seger" cone has become a generic term.

kiln earned a favourable reputation, and another prominent Seto potter, Katō Gosuke, also influenced its further development. The efficiency of coal was said to be double that of wood.

b) Moulding

Japanese moulding differed from region to region and from kiln to kiln depending upon the prevalence of hand-shaping versus wheel-shaping, with the latter being the more common method. During the Meiji period, Western moulding techniques were introduced, wood and clay moulding techniques were improved, and bottom-up firing came into use.

Mizuhoya (Shimizu) Usaburō studied plaster moulding in 1867 when he visited Europe, and gave technical instruction on the subject to Takemoto Yōsai[36] in Tokyo the following year. Later, in 1874, Nōtomi Kaijirō[37] and other students who had been sent to the Paris International Exhibition returned to Japan and began studying the plaster moulding techniques taught at the Industrial Laboratory School that had been established by the Ministry of Home Affairs that same year. In 1875, Katō Tomotarō took this expertise to Seto and passed it on to Katō Gosuke and Kawamoto Masukichi. Such plaster production expertise had not yet found a foothold in Japan, so it failed to come into wider use at that time. By 1884, however, plaster was being successfully manufactured for medical applications. An excellent base material for plaster was discovered in 1901, and by 1910 plaster production had begun on a large scale. As for plaster moulding technology, Momoki

---

[36] Takemoto Yōsai: The Takemoto family had been a direct retainer of the shogun during the Edo period. Yōsai was appointed as Foreign Minister at the end of Edo period. His son was the well-known potter Takemoto Hayata (1848–92).

[37] Nōtomi Kaijirō (1844–1918): Ceramic researcher. Dispatched to Vienna World Exhibition in 1873. Learned Western ceramic techniques in Sèvres and Bohemia. Established Kanazawa Technical College in 1887, Toyama Technical College in 1894, Kagawa Technical College in 1898, and Saga Technical College in 1901.

Saburō,[38] who had been sent to the United States by the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce, achieved excellent results in experiments at Nippon Tōki in moulding technique based on *yon-dan-shiyō-hō,* a four-step method consisting of prototype, disposer, case and model, and the use of this technique soon spread throughout the country.

iv) Export of "Decorative Art" and the World Exhibitions

The first use of the term "*bijutsu*" (art) in Japan occurred in connection with the Vienna Exhibition of 1873. In an exhibition catalogue for this event, sent from the Exhibition Secretariat to the Meiji Government, Section 22 includes a description in German that reads: "*Darsßtellung der Wirksamkeit der Kunstgewerbe-Museen*". The Japanese translation offered, *"Bijutsu [Seiyō nite Ongaku, Gagaku, Zō wo tsukuru jutsu, Shigaku nado wo Bijutsu to iu] no Hakuranjo (museum) wo Kōsaku no tame ni Mochi uru Koto",* includes a parenthetical explanation of the first word, "bijutsu". In English this description might be translated as, "In Western countries, the techniques associated with music, painting, sculpture, poetry and other creative endeavours are referred to as "arts" and are represented in this way in museums and the like".

The terms "decorative arts", "applied arts" and "industrial arts" all existed as suitable English translations for the Japanese word "*kōgei*", and at that time the Japanese had no way of strictly differentiating between "bijutsu" and "*bijutsu kōgei*". One of the first examples of the use of the

---

[38] Momoki Saburō (1880–1940): Born in Fukagawa, Tokyo, the third son of Seto potter Kawahara Noritatsu and later adopted into the Momoki family. Joined Nippon Tōki (Morimura-kumi) in 1945 and became a director in 1831. Became general manager in Tōyō Tōki (a sister company of Morimura-kumi) after Ōkura Kazuchika (1875–1955). Father of Momoki Haruo, former president of Ōkura Tōen.

word *kōgei* in the Meiji era was in an Imperial rescript by the Meiji Emperor, delivered at the First National Exhibition in Ueno, Tokyo on 21 August 1878. The Emperor stated; "I was impressed by the excellence of the kōgei submitted to the exhibition and feel it important to promote such industry".[39] In this instance, kōgei seems to have had the meaning of "industry" or "technology" rather than "decorative art". However, as Japan advanced economically and socially, its industrial production shifted markedly from lighter to heavier kinds of production, and the concept of kōgei changed accordingly. As time passed, the German word *gewerbe*, in the sense of "craft", became the established word to indicate "the decorative arts".

Five national exhibitions were held between 1877 and 1903, the first, second and third in Tokyo, the fourth in Kyoto in 1895, and the fifth in Osaka in 1903. The first, held in 1877 in Tokyo's Ueno district, marked the opening of a new "*bijutsu-kan*", or "art museum". A year earlier, in 1876, the"*Kōbu-Bijutsu Gakkō*", or "School of Industrial Arts", had been founded. These were the first two official usages of the word bijutsu in Japan.

v) Domestic Exhibitions and Seto Porcelains

Ever since the First National Exhibition in 1877, Japanese companies had been using the prizes earned for their wares as advertising content, and it was in reference to these that the concept of the "*kōkoku*" (広告), "advertisement" came into use as a encompass term for the various kinds of promotional efforts (including *hōjo* (報條), *hikifuda*

---

[39] Imperial rescript delivered at First National Exhibition held in Tokyo,21 August 1978.
「...工芸ノ月ニ精巧ニ進ムヲ徴スヘシ而シテ有司勧奨ノ効モ亦小ナリトセス朕深ク之ヲ悦フ朕更ニ望ム人民ノ益々奮励シ産業ノ益々繁盛シ..[I was impressed by the excellence of the kōgei submitted to the exhibition and feel it important to promote such industry].

(引札), *kōjo* (口上) and *kōkoku* (弘告))—that had been used since the Edo period. The word kōkoku first appears in 1878 in "Domestic Affairs Notice No. 9", an official document regarding the national exhibition.[40] Since then, advertisements have increased in pace with the development of Japanese industry, and even their own design has come to be included within the realm of the arts as the field of "graphic design". Thus, the national exhibitions in Japan were as important as the various world exhibitions, not only for Japanese industry, but also for Japanese modern art and design.

The Seto potters who exhibited works in the aforementioned domestic national exhibitions included: Itō Shirōzaemon, Katō Kanesuke, Katō Kanshirō, Katō Kichibei, Katō Gosuke, Katō Shigejū, Katō Shūbei, Katō Zenjirō, Katō Senpachi, Katō Murasaburō, Katō Mokuzaemon, Katō Mon'emon, Kawamoto Hansuke and Kawamoto Masukichi. The list of items exhibited shows in general who from Seto exhibited what sorts of wares, but more importantly it reveals that among the total of 186 entries from Seto, those who submitted works more than four times numbered just fourteen. This low number suggests that many of the potters during the period were in the midst of dealing with other issues or difficulties and did not have the time or opportunity to participate.

---

[40] An advertisement placed in the packaging of goods". Matsuo Hidetoshi, "*Kōkoku torishimari ni tsuite*", Fukei, Vol.4, No5. 1937, pp 26-29.

Seto pottery works shown in the various national exhibitions are as follows:

The First National Exhibition, held in Ueno, Tokyo in 1878[41] — Exhibition judge Yamamoto Gorō reported, "Among the works from Seto, in general there is nothing of particular note compared with other products like those from Kutani and Arita. That said, the works of several potters including Katō Gosuke, Kawamoto Masukichi, Katō Mokuzaemon, Katō Shōzaburō and Kawamoto Hansuke do stand out as somewhat worthy of comment."

The Second National Exhibition, held in Ueno, Tokyo in 1881[42] — Judge Yamamoto Gorō commented, "Seto potteries have shown tremendous progress compared to their status in the first national exhibition, especially in the cases of Katō Kanshirō, Kawamoto Hansuke, and Katō Shigejū."

The Third National Exhibition, held in Ueno, Tokyo in 1890[43] — From the list of the items exhibited from Aichi and Gifu (formerly Mino), we can judge that the production of utensils in Gifu, with the exception of luxury or fancy wares and toys, was superior to that of Aichi. We can also see that this particular exhibition included the division of entries into industrial/production items and decorative art items. From Seto, the latter were represented by Katō Gosuke, Kawamoto Masukichi and Takashima Tokumatsu, all of whom received awards for their entries. On the other

---

[41] Report from the First Domestic Exhibition for ceramics lacquer ware and textiles. 1878, pp 18-24.
[42] Report from the Second Domestic Exhibition 1881, pp 39-69.
[43] Report from the Third Domestic Exhibition. 1890, p 161.

hand, the report for the exhibition also noted that with the exception of a coffee cup by Takashima Tokumatsu, a vase by Kawamoto Masukichi, and a piece of celadon by Katō Gosuke, most of the Seto works were utensil-type items and nothing special.

The Fourth National Exhibition, held in Okazaki, Kyoto in 1895[44] — The report for this exhibition (held despite the turmoil of the Russo-Japan War) offered favourable remarks on both a thin porcelain table by Katō Zenjirō and white porcelain by Kawamoto Hansuke. Among export items exhibited, many were found to be too thin and fragile, and in need of greater solidity.

The Fifth National Exhibition, held in Osaka in 1903[45] — This was the largest and longest-running domestic national exhibition, with Seto potters from the Seto Ceramic School, Aiji Gōshi Kaisha, Seei Gōshi Kaisha, and seventy-four other kilns all exhibiting. This time, however, none of the Seto participants submitted works to the decorative arts division, in which they had previously won prizes in the third and fourth exhibitions; this was clear evidence of a trend among Seto pottery producers to focus not on art but on industrialized items.

The concept of "art" properly emerged in Japan from around the time of the Vienna Exhibition in the Meiji period, when Seto potters were entering works in the decorative arts categories of the third and fourth national exhibitions and earning prizes in international exhibitions as well. It was

---

[44] Report from the Fourth Domestic Exhibition. 1895, p 18.
[45] Report from the Fifth Domestic Exhibition. 1904, p 10.

not long, however, before they would switch to more industrialized items as the focus of the region's pottery production and trade. But even among such industrialized items, there must have been some artistic technique transmitted by the Seto potters. Therefore, let us turn to the overglazing techniques used to decorate unfinished Seto pottery bodies in Nagoya, and study how this decoration evolved to a quality high enough to be suitable for international export.

3) Toward the Consolidation of Overglazing Painters

i) Tōkyō Hyōchien and Kawahara Noritatsu

The consolidation of Seto potters working for Morimura-kumi and the centralization in Nagoya, from 1897, of overglazing painting factories from around Japan under Morimura-kumi control contributed to the emergence during the Meiji era of highly regarded Westernized export porcelain. Among the painters working under the new consolidation, Kawahara Noritatsu was one of the most representatives.

Before discussing Kawahara's activities within Morimura-kumi, I will first give an overview of his life prior to his association with the company. Studying his career will offer insight into the ways in which ceramic painting in Japan developed from a traditional apprentice system to embrace intensive modern painting manufactories producing Western-style designs.

Kawahara Noritatsu (1844–1914) was born in 1844 in Koishikawa, Edo. As a youth he was called Gorō, but eventually in 1870 took the name

Noritatsu (fig.1.5.). In 1858, at the age of fifteen, he became the adopted son (and heir) to Kawahara Kōichirō. By 1870 he was living in Fukagawa, Tokyo and working at the Ministry of Ceremonies, then moved to the Ministry of Industrial Promotion in January of the following year. It was in that post that he, along with Dr. Gottfried Wagener, took up duties as an administrative officer for the Vienna World Exhibition, in charge of exhibition pieces. It was likely this which provided him his first real contact with Wagener. After the exhibition, because his office was within the Department of the Home Office, he took up responsibilities working with the nation's ceramics manufactories.

In July of 1873, after the Vienna Exhibition, Kawahara brought the porcelain painters from the potteries associated with his recently closed office to a new studio and production facility, which he called "Hyōchien" (瓢池園), located in Higashi Morishita-chō, Fukagawa-ku. The name Hyōchien literally means "gourd-pond garden" and was given by Kawahara's grandfather, Nobufuru, because the workshop and home were both in Morishita-chō Hyōtanbori ("*hyōtan*" being a word for gourd), and also because the premises contained a gourd-shaped pond.[46] The pottery had 87.1 square metres of floor space and 16 square metres of kiln area, with two glazing kilns 1 metre and 66 centimetres in diameter, respectively. As the base product on which to paint, the factory looked for wares from Seto, Arita, Kiyomizu, Awata and Satsuma, and began making a business of finishing products like flower vases and incense burners. This sort of work was the so-called "Tōkyō Painting", and Hyōchien was the largest such factory in the Tōkyō pottery painting industry.

---

[46] Kawahara Gorō. *Kahawara Noritatsu Shōden.* Fukuoka: Shitōsha.1929, p 8.

It is unknown today exactly what sort of relationship existed between Kawahara Noritatsu and Gottfried Wagener. There does exist a photo of the judges from various countries from the 1878 Paris Exhibition, in which the twenty-three year old (fig.1.6) Kawahara is shown with Wagener, and it is not difficult to imagine that they had some degree of interaction while working together as exhibition judges representing Japan.

Kawahara Noritatsu earned numerous awards in various national and international exhibitions, both under his own name and representing Hyōchien. Some of the more significant of these are listed in Appendix C.

Using the *Onchi Pictorial Record* (a design album, prepared for use at the exhibitions), let us compare Kawahara Noritatsu's works with those of Morimura Ichizaemon[47] and Seto pottery painter Kawamoto Masukichi. It was around 1884, less than a year after designs were presented for the Onchi Pictorial Record that Hyōchien began to do business with Morimura-kumi.

Morimura Ichitarō's design for a double-handled vase features a cotton rose and purple fencing, with an apricot tree shown lower down, all rendered in traditional Japanese colouring (fig. 1.7.). In contrast, a tall cup submitted by Kawahara Noritatsu is more modern than what is usually regarded as a "Hyōchien-like" design in its rendition of traditional images like water, flowers, and birds (fig.1.8.). Noritatsu uses bright colours like yellow and red on the belt and sky-blue for the background, although the patterns themselves are still traditional, including clematis arabesque for the belt and lower leaflet. Seto potter Kawamoto Masukichi II also entered pieces in the exhibition. Masukichi himself fashioned the porcelain bodies of

---

[47] Listed as "Ichitarō", the youth-name Morimura used before inheriting the name Ichizaemon VI in 1894.

these pieces, but their blue-and-white paintings of carp were drawn by the Kanō School painter, Fuwa Sodō (1832–1918). This picture is the same type as that on the award-winning piece number 467, entered in the 1877 First National Exhibition, described as a "Picture frame, white porcelain, carp painted in India ink; porcelain by Kawamoto Masukichi, decoration by Fuwa Sodō".

The early Meiji ceramic painters contemporary with Fuwa Sodō included Soga Tokumaru and Shimauchi Shinzan. These were followed in later years by Ōide Tōkō, Hirabayashi Tōkyu and Matsumoto Yoshinobu, most of who had some relationship with Hyōchien and sent their works to several national exhibitions under the Hyōchien name.

ii) The Prosperity of Tōkyō Hyōchien

Following the 1878 Paris Exhibition, Kawahara Noritatsu left his government position and moved to the town of Tomikawa in the Fukagawa Ward, where he built a new factory on the premises of a villa formerly owned by a *daimyō* (feudal lord) of the Tokugawa shogunate. This factory—which still included a garden with a large pond and numerous varieties of trees and flowers running riot in every season—had 148.5 square metres of floor space, a 26.4 square metre kiln area, and three overglazing kilns with inside diameters between 60 and 90 centimetres. Employing thirteen porcelain painters and five general staff, it prided its self on its advanced technological level, including the use of imported paints and oil-dissolving methods.

In addition to heading his factory, Noritatsu, also made considerable efforts as an educator. Commissioned by the Tōkyō Women's Vocational School, in 1885 he began applying himself particularly to the education of

the several women on his staff. In his later years, in an intensive seminar on porcelain painting and the industrial arts given at Tōkyō Higher Technical School (currently Tōkyō Institute of Technology), he emphasized the importance of sketching the kinds of life that could be viewed in the garden, undoubtedly influenced by the lush premises of the early Hyōchien.

In 1887 Noritatsu moved his factory to a new location in Hayashi-machi 2-chōme, Honjo Ward, to a facility with 90 square metres of floor space, 40 square metres of kiln area, and four overglazing kilns. The staff was increased accordingly to twenty-three male porcelain painters, five general staff, and seven women.

From around 1894, Hyōchien gradually shifted its course of production to daily-use items decorated with Western-style painted designs. Having grown considerably, the factory was able to place a 7×11.5–centimetre advertisement reading "A Happy New Year — Greetings from Hyōchien Proprietor Kawahara Noritatsu" in the 1 January 1894 issue of the *Ceramic Commerce Bulletin*. This same periodical in 1895 ran an article introducing Kawahara's significant efforts in establishing the Five-Two Association's Tōkyō Ceramic Division. The Hyōchien was also prosperous enough to expand its premises on at least one occasion. A map of Kōtō Ward in those days, found in a booklet titled *Hyōchien & Asahi Pottery — Modern Ceramic Industries in Fukagawa* (now preserved by the Fukagawa ward office), notes that Gottfried Wagener's Asahi Pottery and Kawahara Noritatsu's Hyōchien were adjacent (the present address is Morishita 3-10-11, Kōtō Ward). Further research by Satō Kazunobu, who planned the "Gottfried Wagener & the International Expositions" exhibition, has inferred that this map may contain some clerical errors regarding the actual size of the

factory lots. More importantly Satō also shows that Wagener's Asahi Pottery factory was in fact merged into Hyōchien in 1896 (a business deal not surprising given Wagener and Kawahara's undoubted mutual familiarity as the owners of adjacent factories).[48]

At the height of its prosperity, the Hyōchien facilities included two painting factories and two annexes totalling 400 square metres of floor space, 66 square metres of kiln area, one unglazed pottery kiln, one glazed pottery kiln and five overglazing kilns. The staff increased to fifty-four male porcelain painters, eight general workers, and thirteen female workers, making Hyōchien a powerful factory very much representative of the sphere of porcelain painting in Tokyo at the time.

iii) Designs of the Tōkyō Hyōchien

The oldest of Kawahara's Tōkyō Hyōchien–period works for which we can trace the production year is one described as "Vase, overglazed, quail and chrysanthemum design, gold" (fig. 1.9.), which bears the imprint "Meiji 9 [1876] July No. 478 Dai Nippon Tōkyo, Produced by Hyōchien". The production year and number suggest that this piece was likely to be one produced for the Philadelphia International Exhibition. The clay used is thought to have come from Awata in Kyoto. One of Noritatsu's stated intentions was to collect, learn from and attempt to reproduce the works of great past masters as a way of teaching himself to paint landscape designs featuring flowers, birds, hills and water, with the ultimate aim of improving the overall quality of his design capabilities. Knowing this, we can guess that he almost certainly designed this quail depiction based on some old

---

[48] Satō Kazunobu. *Gotto Furīto Waguneru to Bankoku-hakurankai* (*Gottfried Wagener and the International Exhibitions).* Seto: Aichi Prefectural Porcelain Museum. 2004, p 8.

masterpiece, although the specific work remains untraced. Another of his works with a similar imprint, described as "Vase, blue glazed with handles, gold painted quail" (fig. 1.10.) and dated "Meiji 11 [1878] January, No. 626", features a quail drawn by Izumi Baiitsu and was probably shown at the Paris International Exhibition in 1878. The quail depicted on the 1876 piece is rendered in finely detailed overglaze on Awata clay. While there is some resemblance in the eyes and beaks of both quails, there is not enough evidence to conclude that both were drawn by the same painter.

In the meantime, yet another Hyōchien work, described as "Porcelain with bamboo and samurai" (fig. 1.11.), bears the name of the painter, Satake Chiune, who worked at Hyōchien until 1881. In addition to flower-and-bird motifs, figure design was another Hyōchien specialty. A piece listed as "Jar with lid, celadon, samurai in cartouche and flowers on neck" (fig. 1.12.), signed Katō Sanpei III of Seto" (1846 – 1927),[49] features a samurai depicted in the window cartouche. Another further inscription, translated as "Nippon Yokohama Imura Kunju, Produced by Hyōchien" tells us that this piece was produced on a commission from the porcelain shop of Imura Hikojirō (1875-?), located in Yokohama Honmachi 2-chōme (now Honmachi, Naka-ku, Yokohama). Other figure designs feature the figures as the main motif, for example "Vase, overglazed, pair of samurai playing *go*[50] " (fig. 1.13.), the clay for which seems to have been procured from either Awata or Satsuma. The picture shows two samurai enjoying a game of *go* in the midst of a battle, one placing a stone on the board, the other

---

[49] Katō Sanpei III was born the second son of Sanpei II and succeeded to the family business upon the early death of his father. He is known to have produced mainly blue-and-white export porcelain at Kitashingai, Seto. Judging from his remaining works, he seems mostly to have produced pieces with bamboo basket designs finished in blue-and-white.

[50] *Go*: A Japanese strategy game played with flat black and white stones on a gridded board, said to be as complex as Western chess.

looking on, hands on his chin, as he considers his next move, both attended by a tea-serving page. The patterns at the bottom suggest the Satsuma style. In addition, there is also "Frame, hills and waters, black ink", a large porcelain plate about 60 by 38 centimetres, in which the motif is from a picture originally done in black Chinese ink (fig. 1.14.). At that time, black was a difficult colour to render on ceramics, and Noritatsu must have had particular difficulty reproducing the graduations of washed black typical in such black-and-white painting. Among artisans of the period, Katō Tomotarō from Seto was the most successful in using black on his works,[51] most famously in "Vase, underglazed, crow and persimmon" (fig.1-15.) and "Vase, underglazed, salmon". On the former, a bird drawn in underglazing is depicted resting on a persimmon tree with soft, ripe persimmons. The bird is painted in black, which as mentioned was a difficult colouring to use at that time, and the persimmons are painted in graduated brown, offering a beautiful contrast. The calyxes of the persimmons are rendered using impasto (thickly layered pigment) in brown and black, resulting in a certain three-dimensional effect. Noritatsu was not as skilful as Tomotarō, but he was at least successful in using black to render a traditional Chinese ink painting motif on his porcelain plate "Frame, hills and waters, Chinese ink". While the specific ink painting that inspired the design of this porcelain plate has not yet been discovered, there are other pieces for which the original models have already been clearly traced, for example the aforementioned "Porcelain with bamboo and samurai design" by Satake

---

[51] Katō Tomotarō took over the round, three-holed Western-style kiln designed by Gottfried Wagener, and named it *Yūgyokuen,* where he produced mainly underglazed (high-temperature) porcelains of high artistic quality. He is well known for having developed a unique shade of vermillion pigment called "*tōjukō*", and was also successful with such materials and techniques as white inlay and the use of kiln colouring to achieve colours like purple and yellow.

Chiune, and "Tile, overglazed, reed and heron" (fig. 1.16.) by Miyako Eiki,[52] based on a painting by Muromachi-era painter Sōami Shinsō (?–1525).

Reviewing the designs created by Tōkyō Hyōchien, we find that the motifs used were based overwhelmingly on the classic works of past, old-style painters. In this way, the Tōkyō Hyōchien painters took to heart Gottfried Wagener's advice to collect, learn from, and reproduce Japan's traditional designs, often even inviting painters to their studios to produce drawings and paintings as sample materials. Aside from having innate artistic talent and aesthetic sense, Kawahara was notable for this view stressing the importance of transmitting older Japanese traditions to subsequent generations.

iv) Kyōto Hyōchien & *Fukube* ware

The teachings of Gottfried Wagener that affected Kawahara Noritatsu so much emphasized valuing of Japan's own artistic traditions over blindly following the techniques and technologies of the West. Wagener himself was quite clear in his opinion that "to abandon the national art is like cutting down prosperous indigenous trees and planting strange and unknown seeds in their place". In speaking about Wagener's influence on subsequent generations, his student Dr. Kasai Shinzō has remarked that "Dr. Wagener always reminded his pupils that successful development in art and the art industries is always accomplished by following tradition, by boosting the advantages offered by one's own culture and avoiding sheer imitation of foreign arts and culture".[53]

---

[52] Miyako Eiki was awarded a prize for his porcelain work (a carp) in an 1895 national exhibition, and his address at the time was in the Honjo District of Tokyo.

[53] Kasai Shinzō. *Sensei no Kuntō ga kōsei ni oyoboshitaru Eikyō*: Waguneru-den. Tokyo: *Waguneru Sensei Kinen Jigyō-kai,* 1987, p 132.

Noritatsu's great success in operating, on behalf of Morimura-kumi, a porcelain painting factory specializing in Western designs suggests that he took Wagener's advice to heart, always endeavouring to make better use of Japan's own artistic traditions. His first efforts in this direction, done under the auspices of Hyōchien, included a flower vase about 30 centimetres high and decorated skilfully with an image of a noblewoman seated behind a bamboo screen, exhibited at the Philadelphia International Exhibition in 1875, as well as another vase, about 90 centimetres high, displayed at the Paris International Exhibition in 1878.

In 1906, having turned the management of Hyōchien over to his eldest son, Tarō, Noritatsu began producing pottery in Kyoto under a new brand name, "*Fukube ware*", which differed from what would come to be called the "Tōkyō-style" design of the Hyōchien products. One of Noritatsu's main reasons for moving to Kyoto had to do with the marriage of his second son Jirō, in 1900, to Hirose Tsuyaka, the eldest daughter of Kansai businessman and Upper House member Hirose Mitsumasa. Originally, Kyōto Hyōchien was situated in Sanjō Keage, with Kawahara handling the porcelain production and Hirose handling the business management. In 1909, the studios moved to Hichijō Ōmiya.

Around that time, Kawahara's health also began to fail, and he asked the Hirose family to assume management of the factory (fig.1.17.). That same year, Tarō's business efforts with Tōkyō Hyōchien failed and he ended up transferring ownership of the company to Nippon Tōki. A few years later, in 1914, Noritatsu passed away at the age of seventy-one. Accordingly, Kyōto Hyōchien's actual business lasted only about eight years in total.

Tōkyō Hyōchien under Tarō specialized in pottery for export abroad, but

Fukube ware, which included both earthenware and porcelain, was manufactured mostly for the domestic restaurant market. According to a study by Ōtsuki Rinko, Noritatsu's Fukube ware patterns were painted in the Kyōto style, but showed noticeable development through more versatile glazing, including a move away from traditional flower-and-bird designs that characterized the so-called Hyōchien style, or "Tōkyō painting". They involved numerous different kinds of glazes including chromite black, green, red, blue, pink, orange and so on.[54] It is not clear how much active interchange existed between the two Hyōchiens in Tokyo and Kyoto. A piece called "Coloured daffodil jug" (fig. 1.18.), still stored at the Hirose family's Kōseiin villa in Kyoto, bears the name "Miyako Eiki", revealing that this painter, who was successful at Tōkyō Hyōchien, visited Kyoto on at least one occasion.[55] Painters were not only invited from Tokyo, they also made active efforts to promote artistic relations with the art and pottery communities in Kyoto. In 1903, a society for the study of pottery, called "Yūtōen", was founded on the initiative of Nakazawa Iwata (1858–1943), the first principal of Kyōto Art Industry College (now Kyōto Art Industry & Fabric University) together with such young potters as Miyagawa Kōzan I (1842–1916), Kinkōzan Sōbei VII (1868–1927), Kyomizu Rokubei V (1875–1920), Itō Tōzan I (1846–1920), and also a number of designers including Asai Chū (1856–1907), Takeda Goichi (1872–1938), Fujie Nagataka (1865–1915), Kamisaka Sekka (1866–1942), and others. In fact, "Blue-and-white square pot with animal patterns", another piece now in the collection of Mitsumasa's Kōseiin villa, must have been designed based on patterns made by this society. The depth of Kawahara Noritatsu's

---

[54] Ōtsuki Rinko. *Kyōto Hyōchien no shosō.* Kindai Tōji Kenkyūkai.Volume 2 Spring, 2001, p23.
[55] Kyōto Art Society. *Kyōto Art Magazine.* Kyōto Art Society. 1914, p 34.

relationships with the staffs of the art museums in Kyoto is a topic for further study. It must be mentioned, however, that his obituary in the Kyōto edition of the Ōsaka Asahi Shinbun, dated 30 August 1916, describes him as "a leader in the Kyōto art and art industries with versatile tastes and talents". His memorial service was organized jointly by the Kyōto Exhibition Committee, of which he was a member, the Kyōto Art Society, of which he was a director, and Yutōen.[56] We can see from these facts that Kawahara played an active part in the Kyōto art industries even after his retirement from Tōkyō Hyōchien.

4) Other Modern Porcelain Producers in the Meiji Era

To conclude this chapter on the modern history of the Japanese export porcelain, a brief survey of Morimura's contemporaries in the export porcelain business may be useful, particularly since it will give insight into the reasons underlying the great increase in export porcelains from Seto.

i) Arita

By the nineteenth century, porcelain was beginning to be produced all over Japan, gradually causing the Hizen[57] region to lose its traditional position as the nation's porcelain manufacturing specialist. Throughout that century, porcelains emerging from districts like Seto and Mino considerably weakened the market share held by the Hizen manufacturers.

---

[56] Isemoto Ichirō. *Tōgyō shinkō no kakushin.* Tokyo. Gihōdō.1957, p 13.

[57] The region traditionally known as Hizen included Saga prefecture and a portion of Nagasaki prefecture. According to the administrative jurisdictions of the Edo period, the Saga side was occupied by the Saga clan, its branch clan and the Karatsu clan. Porcelains was produced in each jurisdiction except the territories of the Karatsu and Shimabara (Nagasaki) clans. Examples include the Imari ware (a general term covering Arita ware, Shida ware, Yoshida ware, etc) of the Saga clan, the Hirado ware of the Hirado clan, the Hasami ware of the Ōmura clan, and the Kameyama ware of Nagasaki.

By the end of the Tokugawa era, highly advanced porcelain manufacturing techniques had been developed in Seto, and the resulting products had started influencing the market share held by the traditionally higher-graded products from Hizen. These, combined with the highly decorative overglazed porcelain works of Kyōto and Sanda (Hyōgo) celadon, conspired to diminish the uniqueness of Hizen porcelain.

Also at that time, dissatisfaction was growing among merchants, who objected to the limitations imposed by Japan's long-held isolationist stance on international trade.

Kiln operators, too, were eager to expand business in "*aka-e*", or polychrome overglazed enamel painting, which had traditionally been monopolized by just sixteen families. As Japan's feudal system and its family clan organization were brought to the brink of collapse, merchants and kiln operators alike began demanding the abolishment of the various regulatory systems that previously had been imposed. Kōransha was established in 1875 through the combined efforts of Fukagawa Eizaemon VIII (1833–89), one of the merchants who had been calling to ease export regulations, and Fukaumi Kizō (Heizaemon), who was instrumental in voicing enthusiasm for innovations in technique and design. Fukagawa Chūji (1871–1934), second son of Fukagawa Eizaemon VIII, became independent and established the Fukagawa Porcelain Company in 1894. In 1911 the company enlarged its scale and was renamed Fukagawa Seiji Corporation which still exists today. Kōransha, like Fukagawa Seiji Corporation continued expanding and still exists as one of the most distinctive pottery and porcelain companies in Arita today.

Nonetheless, Hizen gradually fell behind Seto and Mino in its research

on hard-paste porcelain and other materials indispensable for Western-style tableware production, and also failed to develop and introduce new techniques. Because of these laggings, from around the middle of the Meiji era, Hizen's proportion of the country's total ceramic production began to dwindle.

ii) Kyoto and Kutani

In Kyoto, the ceramic industry received a severe blow when nearly half of the ceramic producers in the city went bankrupt in the wake of the economic confusion caused by the social upheaval of the Meiji Restoration (including in particular the decline of the tea ceremony, previously patronized by a privileged aristocracy). However, the so-called "Kyō-Satsuma" ware, which was similar to the gilded *kinran-de* [gold-painted wares] of Satsuma, began to be produced by Kinkōzan Sōbei VII of Awataguchi to meet rapidly growing export needs. Porcelain was mainly produced in Kiyomizu, where the main export products also included kinrande, made by Takahashi Dōhachi IV (1845–97), Seifū Yohei III (1851–1914) and others. Although these products broke convention with traditional Kyō wares, Kyō had already been gradually losing popularity in Western countries and that trend continued.

Kutani wares had been characterized by *gosai-de* [multi-colouration] and *ao-de* [blue] painting in the Ko-Kutani (old Kutani) style, but in the final days of the Tokugawa era, Kutani Shōza (1816–83) began producing kinran-de products with fine *aka-e-kinsai* [polychrome and gold]. These aka-e-kinsai products became very popular in the West as "Japan Kutani"

and soon took the entire Kutani region by storm. Many of them were exported through the efforts of trading merchants represented by Marunaka Magobei (1830–1910) and Watano Kichiji (1859–1934), particularly in the first half of the Meiji era. Regions noted for such production in those days included Enuma, Nōmi, and Kanazawa, each contributing its own great craftsmen. These included Takeuchi Ginshū (1831–1913) and Asai Ichimō (1836–1916) from Enuma Kutani, Kutani Shōza and Matsumoto Sahei (1851–1918) from Nōmi Kutani, and Utsumi Kichizō and Haruna Shigeharu (1848–1903) from Kanazawa Kutani. The systems for manufacturing ceramic products on an industrial scale were established during this period, as seen in the construction of a Kutani ware painting shop by Abe Ōmi (1841–1910) in 1869, and the establishment of Kutani Tōki Company in 1879. Nonetheless, Kyoto and Kutani, although supported by a certain amount of innovative development by traders enthusiastic to pursue business abroad, declined in their production of export products compared to Seto and Mino, primarily because their persistent pursuit of kinrande and gosai-de design prevented them from truly grasping the taste for European designs in the United States—an important market that was well on its way to becoming the world's primary consumer of Japanese export porcelains.

iii) Painting factories in Tokyo

Tōkyō Kingama [Tōkyō Muffle Kiln Co.] was established by the Meiji government in 1872 in Anshōin, Asakusa, Tokyo specifically for the production of porcelains to be submitted to the Vienna Exhibition the following year. Director Hattori Kyōho named both the factory and its

products "Tōkyō Kingama". The company's painting factory employed painters like Hattori Kyōho, Kishi Seppo, and Matsumoto Yoshinobu to decorate Seto and Arita white-body pottery. After the 1873 Vienna Exhibition, the factory was closed and its operations transferred to Kawahara Noritatsu's Hyōchien. Painting styles that involved overglazing on white-body pottery were known as "Tōkyō Painting", "Yokohama Painting", and "Nagoya Painting".

Kiryū Kōshō Kaisha was established during the 1873 International Exhibition in Vienna as a government-sponsored company charged with conducting porcelain exports at Kyōbashi in Tokyo. Japan's representation at international exhibitions, especially the major ones starting with the one in Vienna and culminating with the one in Paris in 1900, was part of and official government policy to "increase production and promote industry", which applied to all of the various industrial development measures being undertaken by the nation at that time. Unfortunately, Kiryū Kōshō Kaisha failed to maintain profitability, and the company ended up being supported financially supported by the government. These financial difficulties were never resolved, and the company was dissolved in the summer of 1891 when governmental support, originally based on the concept of a national art industry, switched gears to focus on promoting the export of mass-produced decorative objects.

The company mark registered with Tōkyō-fu(the Tōkyō metropolitan government) when Kiryū Kōshō Kaisha was first established actually read "Kiriukosho Guaishia", and an illustrated catalogue of Japanese art exhibits in Boston in 1883 gives it as "Kiriu Kosho Kuarsha of Tokio". In

1987 a book edited by Hida Toyojirō and published by Kyōto Shoin was titled *Kiritsu Kōshō Kaisha—The First Japanese Manufacturing and Trading Co.* Despite these alternative names, I have accepted the name "Kiryū Kōshō Kaisha", the one used in the catalogue for the 2004 exhibition "The Father of Modern Ceramics—Gottfried Wagener and the International Expositions", published by Aichi Prefectural Museum, and also listed in *Nihon Tōki Jiten* (*Japanese Ceramics Dictionary*) published in 2002 by Kadokawa Shoten. (The company designs will be discussed later).

5) The Relationship between Seto and Nagoya

i) The decline of sometsuke

As previously mentioned, sometsuke had been the mainstream in porcelain since the early 1800s. Early examples of such ceramics were decorated by normal painters who happened to be sojourning in Japan's various centres of pottery production, including Yamamoto Baiitsu(1783-1856), Izuhara Makoku(1778-1860),Kamei Hanji(?-1851) and Ōide Tōkō(1841-1905) of the Southern School, Okada (or Reizei. 1823-1856) Tamekiyo of the Tosa School, Okumura Gyokuran(1761-1828) of the Shijō School, and others such as Yokoi Kinkoku(1761-1832), the Kōya Hijiri,[58] and all those who painted under the supervision of these.

The fact that most of these painters worked originally on ordinary or silken paper meant that their technique relied not on drawing lines but rather on painting in a brushed-ink style on porcelain, rendering the resulting images relatively more realistic and more delicately shaded than

---

[58] *Kōya hijiri* 高野聖: Priests (usually low-ranking) who mixed Shingon creatively with Amidism as they roamed the countryside, where Buddhism was for the first time becoming a popular religion. They occasionally became hawkers or otherwise fell into dissolution.

they otherwise might have been. Such techniques were passed on by their pupils and eventually became characteristic of Seto sometsuke. Toward the mid-Meiji period, some potters began painting flowers and plants in a distorted manner, and produced pieces to fit the newly modified shapes, which were different from traditional designs that filled the entire space. So far, however, the aim of these designs has not been clearly determined, and gaining some insight into the aesthetics behind them may eventually shed light on some of the details of the history of design in Seto.

Colourful overglazing did not achieve any degree of popularity until the Meiji period, but from then on, as ceramics became a major export item in accordance with the Japanese government's policy for enhancing the wealth and military strength of the nation, the production of polychrome overglazed ceramics to fit the tastes of Western countries became inevitable. To meet this demand, instead of creating their own designs, a committee was formed to request pieces be overglazed with those Satsuma and Kutani designs preferred in the West, to be exported in collaboration with painting factories in Nagoya, Yokohama, and Tokyo. This system was quite efficient and convenient for mass-production, but more importantly it allowed ceramics design to focus on matching Western tastes. In the early stages, Seto presumably Seto took advantage of this collaboration with the overglazing factories, but gradually the overglazing factories began asserting design initiative.

ii) Production of Ceramic-Body Owari-*Shippō* [Cloisonné]

In considering the export ceramics of the early Meiji period, it is appropriate to include some discussion of shippō (cloisonné).[59]

---

[59] *Shippō* [cloisonné]: *Shippō* 七宝 originally refers to the "seven treasures of the Buddhist sutras: gold, silver, lapis lazuli, *shako* [scuilla] · agate, pearl and *maie* [red stone=ruby?].Cloissonné was

The district known as Shippō-chō in Owari, Aichi Prefecture, takes its name from this product, and is in fact one of the most representative producers of it in Japan. Shippō done on ceramic bodies involves a combination of the two decorative arts, cloisonné and ceramics, both of which were practiced in Owari. Conventionally shippō is made on a base of copper, but in Owari from the end of the Edo period through the beginning of Meiji it was executed on ceramics. Yoshioka Hōryō[60] attributes the founding of ceramic body shippō to Tsukamoto Kaisuke (1828–87).[61] Others, however, are of the opinion that it was founded by Yoshida Nagashige and Naoshige. The *Onchi Pictorial Record* contains entries on Nagashige's works submitted to the exhibitions,[62] including a teapot featuring flowers and plants, submitted through the Shippō Company, which won the Phoenix Prize in the First National Exhibition in 1877[63]. This piece received the following comment:

> "Since ceramic-body shippō cannot be produced in the West, large amounts of it have been exported, and he [Naoshige] displays tremendous creativity in this particular form".

Based on the above records, it is presumed that ceramic body shippō was developed by Tsukamoto Kaisuke at the end of Edo period, but was given very little attention and fell out of production until the Yoshidas again took

---

named after these seven treasures as it was thought to be reminiscent of the colourful beauty. The founder of Owari *shippō* is said to be Kaji Tsunekichi (1803–83).

[60]Yoshioka Hōryō. *Shippō-yaki shin-kigen no kaiso - Tsukamoto Kaisuke.*Taiyō No 24, 25. Tokyo: Heibonsha. 1876.

[61] Tsukamoto Kaisuke (1828–87): Born in Shippō-cho, Owari. In 1875 he worked as manager in a *shippō* factory operated by Ahrens and Co., Ltd. in Tokyo. There he met Dr. Gottfried Wagener and learned Western techniques including the use of chemical pigments, which enabled the production of beautiful polychrome shippō. Died in Tokyo in 1887.

[62] Nagashige exhibited shippō cake trays and also shippō tea bowls with a grape design in the Domestic Exhibition in Kyoto in 1879 and also in the Second Domestic Exhibition in 1881, a medium-sized porcelain body shippō tea canister, a small vase, and a large vase.

[63] Naoshige also exhibited a cake tray and *sake* bowls in the Nagoya Exhibition in 1878 through the Shippō Company, and a porcelain body shippō vase in the Second National Exhibition in 1881.

it up.

The complexity of producing shippō made it costly and thus limited to wealthy customers until the end of the Edo period. With the advent of foreign trade in the Meiji period, however, new customers were sought, namely in foreign markets.

It is said that the Nagoya ceramic trade began in 1872 when a certain French national, together with one Mr. Winkler, the general manager of Ahrens and Co, visited Iida Jūbei's shop in Denma-chō to purchase antiques, including some ceramic pieces.

One year earlier, in 1871, the area's *shippō* (cloisonné) business began with the establishment of the Shippō Company Ltd. by Nagoya trader Okaya Sōsuke and others following the advice of Aichi governor Iseki Moriyoshi and Ōmi (now Shiga prefecture) trader Muramatsu Hikohichi. Various other trading companies followed these, including those initiated by Takitō Manjirō in Chōja-machi in 1874, Matsumura Kyūsuke in Izumi-machi in 1876, and Hirako Tokuemon in 1878.

A certain amount of ceramic body shippō production during the years 1873 to 1885 is listed in a statistical table titled, "*Kōgeihin Ishō no Henkaku*" [*Design Innovations in the Decorative Arts*]. [64] This list shows that in 1874, ceramic-body shippō accounted for a large proportion of all shippō produced. Exports of ceramic body shippō increased during that time, especially from 1874 to 1877.

Judging from a list in the exhibition catalogue, shippō porcelain bodies were produced in Seto by Kawamoto Hansuke (V and VI), Kawamoto

---

[64] Nōshōmu-shō. *Kōgeihin Ishō no Henkaku.* Tokyo: Kokka-sha. 1900.

Masukichi I, Katō Mokuzaemon (1832–1900), Katō Shigejū (1829–96), and Katō Gosuke IX.[65] These representative Seto potters were producing both sometsuke and shippō bodies at the same time in early Meiji. The statistics surrounding them indicate that they did not limit themselves to sometsuke, but rather looked for more saleable items, which led them to take up the mass-production of overglazed wares.

From the fact that Iida Jūbei exhibited some 500 pieces of Seto ceramics at the Philadelphia Exhibition in 1876, it is clear that trading companies like Iida's purchased Seto ceramics and exported them. Their main items were Seto sometsuke porcelains as well as Owari (Nagoya) shippō, of which the major items were ceramic-body shippō. Thus, ceramic-body shippō from Shippō Company Ltd. and Kaiyō-sha by Matsumura Kyūsuke were exhibited at both the Philadelphia Exhibition in 1876 and the Paris Exhibition in 1878. Therefore, ceramic-body shippō and Seto ceramics were already major items for export from Nagoya (despite it not yet being a formal port city) by the early years of Meiji.

Around 1879, however, the demand for polychrome overglazed ceramics from Satsuma and Kutani surpassed that of ceramic-body shippō and sometsuke porcelain, and traders increasingly sought to obtain overglazed ceramics. For example, Shippō Company Ltd., originally established to produce shippō, increased its production of overglazed ceramics as well as its volume of trade. Kinran-gumi, the overglazing department within Shippō Company Ltd., commissioned overglazing to painters in Nagoya.

---

[65] Tōkyō National Museum. *Meiji Design no Tanjō (Report of Onchi Zuroku).* Tokyo: Kokusho-kankōkai, 1997, p 75.

This meant that a company whose main item was shippō came to place a major emphasis on its overglazing department. In 1880, Matsumura Kyūsuke established the first overglazing factory in Katasuginoki-machi in Nagoya, and in the same year, Takitō Manjirō established an overglazing kiln in a part of a shop producing polychrome porcelain copies of Kutani and Imari ware, expanding his business by expanding its polychrome porcelain painting and trading. In 1883, Takitō established an overglazing factory in Nagoya, believing that the growth of foreign trade would make the effort worthwhile. In this factory he produced overglazed items featuring Kutani style designs on Seto blank pottery bodies and trained painters in the Nagoya painting style. From that time onward, many overglazing factories were established in the northern part of Nagoya, supported by a large production of blank pottery bodies supplied from Seto, north of Nagoya, thereby firmly establishing what would become known as the Nagoya painting style.

Thus, the relationship between Seto and Nagoya was established not directly by the former supplying the body for overglazed items, but rather by the production of ceramic body shippō. In Nagoya, ceramic production shifted from ceramic body shippō to overglazed items and the former faded away. Since then, the relationship between Seto and Nagoya, based on the business of overglazing, gradually grew more intimate, a first and rare occurrence in Japan.

However, in 1885, ceramic-body shippō disappeared from both this list and from the exhibition catalogues published around the same time.

The potters who supplied shippō base ceramic bodies had also recently begun supplying ceramic bodies to the painting factories of Nagoya.

iii) From Seto to Nagoya

In 1881, Kawamoto Hideo and his father-in-law, Masukichi, established a trading company called "Jikōsha" in Gusoku-chō, Tokyo with the aim of exporting ceramics. They asked for cooperation from other companies including the Strong Company, Ahrens Trading Co., and Morimura-kumi. A branch office called Seto Jikōsha was also established in Seto—the first such company in the town, with shareholders including Kawamoto Hideo, Masukichi, Katō Kanshirō, Katō Gorō, Itō Shirōzaemon and Kawamoto Hansuke. However, wholesalers and overglazing companies wanting to acquire ceramics for export from Seto (for example J. Winkler (1851–1911) of Ahrens Co., who came from Tokyo to acquire Seto export porcelain through Iida Jūbei) also visited Seto, and as a result of this interest the relatively nearby city of Nagoya gradually gained ground as a centre of export trading business. (Nagoya Station in 1887 & 1906: fig. 1.19.)

In 1871, Takitō Manjirō (1847–1922) established Setomono Company, a trading firm specializing in exporting Seto porcelain. This company actually preceded Kiryū Kōshō Kaisha (discussed earlier). Meanwhile, Tashiro Company of Arita, which had export experience dating as far back as the late Edo period, was in contact with Seto in 1871, and around the middle of the Meiji period transferred its offices from Arita to Nagoya, closer to the vicinity of Seto.

A short while later, reports by the Japan Ceramic Society and magazines related to the ceramics industry began offering more and more information on the results of ceramics-related scientific studies. For example, Asukai Kōtarō (Morimura-kumi's first research and development manager) submitted an article to one of these on crystallized glazing for use on white

porcelain. On the design front, a variety of new ideas began to be explored by artists like Katō Tomotarō (1851–1916), whose vase depicting moulded corn with underglazed gradation earned the Grand Prize in the First Ceramic Exhibition in June 1900. The curves on Tomotarō's work showed a distinct Art Nouveau influence. In this way, the 1900 Paris Exhibition was something of an epoch-making event for Japanese ceramics, for it—and the First Ceramic Exhibition just a year later—marked a boundary after which modern Japanese ceramic works in the late Meiji split clearly into the three distinct orientations, namely "traditional", "industrialized", and artistic.

Starting around late 1894, production in Seto jumped suddenly, and then continued to increase gradually thereafter. The primary reason was an increase in exports and an annually increasing dependence on exports. Pottery centres embracing the principles of the overglazing factories and export traders also increased, most notably in the form of the subcontracted production of white body base pieces. Pottery techniques also modernized rapidly and mass-production spread, with engraved transfers taking the place of hand painting and moulding replacing hand-turning on the wheel. While these developments certainly had a revitalizing effect on Seto pottery, they also unfortunately stifled the creativity and originality of Seto's products. Kuroda Masayori, headmaster of the Seto Pottery School, commented as follows:

> In the past, the designs of Seto porcelains had been quite ingenious, including very graceful sometsuke. In pieces like those attributed to Katō Seikichi, Kawamoto Jihei and Katō Hansuke one can see clearly that these past painters were encouraged to work at a very high level and made every effort to do so. After Meiji, though, the quality worsened as production quantities were boosted. Many pieces are being produced using engraved transfer instead of hand painting, and the demand for skilful painters has decreased. If this keeps on, those

> once-prominent techniques will disappear gradually until there are no painters left, only sketchers.[66]

Meanwhile, at the World Exhibition in Paris in 1900, the majority of Japanese works, including those from Seto, went largely unappreciated. The secretariat's report stated, "The examples of Japanese decorative arts were regarded as lacking effort in terms of design and out of fashion". Perhaps as a result of such damning reviews, the following year, 1901, saw the establishment of the Dai-Nihon-Zuan-kai [Greater Japan Design Society] and the Nihon-Zuan-Kai [Japan Design Society], as well as a Department of Industrial Design within Tōkyō Technical College.

In Seto, potters began taking stock of their situation and worked to improve their works. In the words of the aforementioned Kuroda Masayori:

> Nowadays the increasing demand for design-related improvements has been rewarded with new efforts. The Fifth Domestic Exhibition hosted entries by many of Japan's various pottery centres, and many of these, including those from Seto, turned out to be very solid. In the winter of 1901 they began their Seto Ceramics Competition as a way of urging their craftsmen to create innovative designs and techniques. This has had a great effect on improving the painting techniques used to decorate porcelains, and the pieces exhibited by painters in the Competition today were quite satisfactory.[67]

Competitions sponsored by the Seto Tajimi Kōshō Dogyō Kumiai [Seto Ceramic Industry and Trading Union] were held twice a year from 1901 through 1919, with craftsmen from various pottery centres and students of the Seto Yogyō Gakkō[Seto Ceramics School] entering their works. In 1911,

---

[66] Kuroda Masanori. *Seto no Yōgyō. Dainihon Yōgyō Kyōkai Zasshi* No 171-211. Tokyo: Dainihon Yōgyō Kyōkai. 1905, p 32.
[67] ibid. p 53.

Hino Atsushi (1886–1947)[68] began teaching design at the Seto Ceramics School, and the movement became very active, culminating in 1913, when ten pieces from the Seto Ceramics School won prizes in the Agricultural and Industrial Exhibition.

The 1904 Aichi Ceramic Report offers the following record:

> Exclusive Operational Agreements — Potteries having exclusive agreements include sixteen with Morimura-kumi, six with Tashiro Co., five with Tsuzuki, and several others with Hirako, Hirose, and others on a small scale.
>
> Export Products — 10% are finished items, with the remainder being semi-finished.[69]

This report shows that most Seto potteries concluded exclusive agreements with the trading companies handling their wares, meaning that most export porcelain producers in Seto were financially under the control of those trading companies. The tremendous growth of the export porcelain business meant that most porcelain producers in Seto, with only few exceptions, could not help but become subordinate to the trading companies and Nagoya overglazing companies. Morimura-kumi was the most influential among these, and thus in subsequent chapters we shall explore how it established and developed relationships with Seto potters.

In 1914, about fifty artists and potters, led by Hino Atsushi, established the Seto Zuan Kenkyūkai [Seto Design Society], with offices within the Seto

---

[68] Hino Atsushi: (1886–1947). Born in Niigata. From 1911 through 1916 he taught in the Design Department of the Seto Ceramic School. He established Ōkura Tōen with Ōkura Magobei and his first son, Kazuchika, and became its first chairman in 1920. He also taught design at Tōkyō Technical College when it was established in 1922, and participated as judge in various exhibitions and competitions such including both agricultural and trade-and-industry exhibitions..

[69] Nagoya-shi-shi Hensan Iinkai. *Nagoyashi-shi. Kogyō-hen.* 1953. pp 286-287.

Tōji Kō-Shō Kumiai [Seto Ceramic Trade and Industry Union] and Katō Hajime acting as secretary. This society was very active in holding a variety of lectures and exhibition events, and it also submitted works to various external exhibitions. While the Seto Design Society eventually disbanded around 1922, from the time of Hino Atsushi's involvement Seto pottery and the circumstances surrounding its design were changing. In 1924, Tōkin-kai was established by Katō Hajime, Katō Seizan, Kawamoto Rekitei, Yano Tōtō, Katō Kyōichi and others. In 1929, young Seto potters established Tsuchi-no-Fūkeisha (Association of Young Potters) and the society changed its name to Sakutō-kai (Union of Pottery Craftsmen). Some societies, including Sakutō-Kai and Tōka-Kai, established in 1930, merged to form Seto Tōgei Kyōkai [Seto Ceramic Society], which continues to lead the present Seto pottery scene.

However, to date, the pottery movements that existed from the Taishō to early Shōwa periods remain largely unknown, and actual pieces are rarely discovered and studied. Although the Seto potters' sometsuke technique has been transmitted in both artistic and industrialized works, the relationship between the earlier pottery designs and industrial designs is unclear. Therefore, this thesis will now turn to examine industrial items produced by prominent Seto potters. The subject of the relationship between pottery and industrial items will be taken up after further research on Taishō and the periods that followed.

CHAPTER 2 EARLY DAYS OF MORIMURA-KUMI

1) Morimura-kumi in the Early Meiji Period

i) The founders of Morimura and the Morimura Family

The first ancestor of the Morimura family was Ichizaemon I, who was born in Morimura (森村, Mori Village, now Kikugawa City in Shizuoka Prefecture) in Enshū province in the early Edo period. (Family tree of Morimura: Appendix D-1)

The exact date on which Ichizaemon I moved from Morimura to the city of Edo has not been established. It is known that during the Edo period the village of Morimura was under the direct tenure ship of Inoue Suō no Kami Masanori. Under the patronage of Lord Inoue, Ichizaemon I eventually succeeded in forming business ties directly with Tanuma Okitsugu (1720–88), a member of tenth shogun Ieharu's Council of Elders.

Ichizaemon I died on 12 February 1791.

Ichizaemon II, whose original name was Chōjirō, was a nephew of Ichizaemon I, but he died at a relatively young age, leaving only a daughter and no male heir. Ichizaemon III was also adopted into the family through marriage to Ichizaemon II's widow Matsuko. Ichizaemon IV inherited the family name when he married Ichizaemon II's daughter Yoshi-jo.[70]

While the lives of Ichizaemon II and III are not well documented, it is known that Ichizaemon IV was born around 1798, and in the mid 1800s was granted permission to conduct business directly with the Tosa clan. Hirose Dennoshin, *Edo-rusui-yaku* (a substitute for the absent retainer) of the Tosa clan in Edo, introduced Yūzō, a young leather trader, to Ichizaemon IV, for

---

[70] WakamiyaUnosuke. *Morimura-ō Genkōroku.* Tokyo: Daimondo Shuppan. 1929, p 55.

consideration as a prospective husband for his only daughter, Matsuko. In 1839, less than three years after their marriage, their first son Ichitarō (Ichizaemon VI) was born. However, in 1844 Matsuko died at the young age of twenty-seven and the following year Ichizaemon IV died at the age of fifty-seven. That same year Yūzō inherited the name Ichizaemon V.

ii) Morimura's Relationship with the U.S. Mission

Developments starting in June 1853 brought about major changes in Japan's long-held "closed-door" isolationist policy. In a well-known historical incident, a fleet of four American warships under the command of Commodore Matthew C. Perry (1794–1858) sailed into Edo Bay with the goal of applying pressure on the Tokugawa government to open Japanese ports, closed for centuries, to the world and foreign trade. Warships from other countries began appearing off Japanese shores in other parts of the country, intensifying the pressure. These events rocked the government severely, and between June and September 1858, fear and panic forced Japan into a series of unequal treaties with the United States, the Netherlands, Russia, England, and France. As a result of this external pressure, the political and social stability that had been maintained in Japan for over 200 years began to collapse.

Diplomat Shinmi Masaoki (1822–69) went to the United States to ratify the Treaty of Amity and Commerce. From Morimura-kumi he ordered gifts[71] to be presented to U.S. President James Buchanan (1791–1868) and thirty

---

[71] These souvenirs were placed in lacquer ware chests. The chests were filled with items like *hanakanzashi* (ornamental hairpins), nishikie(wood block prints), *kushi* (ornamental combs), and *kōgai* (long ornamental hairpins). The company also prepared about eighty sets of formal clothes for the envoy. These included *jinbaori* (surcoats), *hakama* (loose-legged pleated trousers) *and jingasa* (camp hats) woven in red and gold for the parade, and *eboshi* (headgear) and *suō* (long jackets) for formal attendance.

other U.S. government officials. 1854 also saw the birth of Ichizaemon's half-brother, Toyo (1854–99). Ichizaemon V (Yūzō) died on 21 January 1885. In 1859 the Japanese Government opened the ports of Yokohama, Hakodate, and Nagasaki to foreign trade.

In order to exchange the instruments necessary for ratifying the new treaty, the Japanese government formed a mission of seventy-seven emissaries in October 1959, sending it to Washington, D.C. in 1860. The person ordered to arrange for the foreign currency required for the trip and the various gifts the mission would carry to the United States was Morimura Ichizaemon VI. (fig.2.1.)

At the time, one gold Japanese *bu* was exchanged for German silver coins of approximately 1 dollar in value, owing to their similar weight (7 *monme*, 2 *bu* = 27 g).[72] Given this position, Ichizaemon soon became aware of the fact that gold was remarkably undervalued in Japan compared to silver, particularly compared to its value in the United States. To that end, foreign merchants began travelling to Japan almost as soon as Japan's ports opened and transferred huge amounts of Japanese gold coin overseas. In 1859 alone, about 500,000 *ryō* worth of coinage was transferred beyond the national borders. Young Ichizaemon witnessed this drain of gold from Japan through foreign exchange and the resulting extremely large loss in monetary terms.

Ichizaemon made a request to Kuwana Noboru, a senior retainer in the Okudaira family branch of the Nakatsu Domain known for his progressive views. Kuwana introduced Ichizaemon to Fukuzawa Yukichi (1834–1901), a samurai from the same Nakatsu clan. Fukuzawa at that time had

---

[72] Before the Meiji Restoration, in Japan 100 German silver coins were exchanged for 311 one-*bu* gold coins.

established a school for Western studies within the Nakatsu clan's Edo offices and there was serving as a teacher despite his relative youth (he was just twenty-seven at the time). This school eventually evolved into Keiō University.

In the course of their discussions, Fukuzawa found that he and Ichizaemon shared the same concerns about currency exchange–related weaknesses within the Japanese economy. "It is quite true", he agreed, "that Japanese gold will continue to flow out of the country under the current exchange system, and foreign trade is the only path by which the nation will be able to recover that lost gold".[73]

One such foreign trading company, Morimura-kumi, was established in March 1876 at 4-chōme, Ginza, Tokyo (now 5-4 Chōme Ginza, Chūō Ward), with capital investment of 3,000 yen (the bulk of which was quickly applied to paying for Ichizaemon's brother Toyo to set out for New York to start a branch operation and U.S. base). (fig.2.2.)

iii) Ōkura Magobei and His Family

On 8 March 1843, Ōkura Magobei III (1843–1921) was born in Denma-chō Yotsuya, the second son of Ōkura Shirōbei II and his wife Sato. In 1863, Ōkura Shirōbei II's first son inherited his name and became Shirōbei III. Kazusaburō (second son of Shirōbei II) was adopted into the family of Ōkura Magobei II, uncle of Shirōbei II, and became Ōkura Magobei III. The details of the complicated Ōkura family tree are shown in Appendix D-2. In 1865, Magobei married Fuji, the younger sister of Ichizaemon VI and became independent from his brother Shirōbei III.

---

[73] Wakamiya Unosuke. *Morimura-ō Genkōroku.* Tokyo: Daiamondo Shuppan. 1929, p 51.

Magobei was a publisher of *nishikie* (coloured woodblock prints) [74] detailing a variety of Meiji period happenings, for example a triptych (ō*ban nishikie)*[75] titled "The Opening of Tōkyō-Shiodome Station" in 1872 by Hiroshige III (1842–94), and works by artist Shōsai Ikkei (Flourished in early Meiji) appearing two domestic nishikie exhibitions. [76] (fig.2.3.) Magobei's original shop was located in Kanda district of Tokyo and used "*kagiman*" () mark. Later it moved to 1 Chōme, Nihonbashi (now 4-1 Chōme, Nishi-shinbashi, Chūō Ward, Tokyo). As a nishikie publisher, Magobei was particularly well informed about important incidents and events occurring in Japan during the Meiji period, and his knowledge and good judgement about such things allowed him to offer practical advice that very effectively influenced the course of Morimura-kumi's business.

When Ōkura Magobei joined Morimura-kumi (of which he would eventually become vice-president) in 1876, his own publishing company had already begun to prosper. Entrusting the business to his wife and nephew-in-law, Yasugorō, he went off to help Ichizaemon VI at Morimura.

In an interview Magobei recalled:

> I went to Ichizaemon's shop in Ginza to help him for a few days a week. We wandered together between Shinbashi and Asakusa looking for things that might be good to export. We also travelled to Osaka and Kyoto and visited antique shops searching for decorative arts to export, for example lacquer ware, *netsuke* ornaments, *inrō* (pillboxes), small dishes, Imari porcelains, and *fukusa* (small crepe wrappers). [77]

Around 1876 Ichizaemon went to Yokohama to discover what decorative

---

[74] Until around 1878, he published under the name of "Yorozuya-Magobei" and "Man-mago"「萬孫」.
[75] Ōban nishikie: Large woodblock prints approximately 15X 10" (39X26cm).
[76] Nishikie Domestic Exhibition at Shōheizaka, 36 Views of Tōkyō, triptych o*ban nishikie* by Shōsai Ikkei in 1872.
[77] Interview with Ōkura Magobei、1905, at Morimura-kumi, reported in *Maruki no ishizue*, 1967 edited by Morimura Hōmeikai. p 63.

art items were being exported most successfully at the time. At first Morimura-kumi had opted for both lacquer ware and ceramics, but eventually turned solely to ceramics. In addition to the fact that lacquer ware exports to the United States amounted to only about one-tenth the amount of ceramics being sent abroad, Ichizaemon also realized that ceramics, unlike lacquer ware, tend to break more easily and would therefore provide greater potential for replacement orders. He believed that Western items such as coffee cups and plates would be in high demand and subsequently should be very profitable.[78]

Magobei said "It was only later that I realized the vast number of people whose principal food is rice and who therefore use rice bowls and other related table wares. As bowls and wares are developed, they will become cheaper and of better quality. Western potters and traders have often said as much, but for myself I only realised the important implications of this when I was already sixty years old".[79] Ichizaemon, in contrast, had understood such things even as a younger man. Around 1877, a vase purchased for three yen in Japan could be sold for thirty dollars in the United States.[80] Even though taxes and freight charges both cost nearly as much as the item itself, the profit was still considerable. Ichizaemon's shrewd business sense brought this to his attention early on, and the possibilities led him to put his faith strongly in the future of the ceramic business.

---

[78] Interview, 25th March 1905 at Nagoya Hotel in *Maruki no ishizue,* edited by Morimura Hōmeikai, 1967, p 150.
[79] Interview with Ōkura Magobei、1905, at Morimura-kumi, reported in *Maruki no ishizue*, 1967 edited by Morimura Hōmeikai. p 61.
[80] Morimura Ichizaemon. *Dokuritsu Jiei.* Reprinted in 1978 by Yūshōdō, Tokyo. p 68.

2) Business Expansion

i) Inroads into Foreign Markets

The Tokugawa government first allowed Japanese to travel overseas for study and business in May 1866. Ichizaemon invited his younger half-brother Toyo, still only thirteen years old and fifteen years his junior, to Toyo to talk with him about the future. He told him what he was thinking, especially how he wanted to start a trading business. Ichizaemon wanted Toyo to study and the two of them to then work together to realize Ichizaemon's dream. The central theme Ichizaemon emphasized was not personal profit or other gain; rather, he wanted to export goods from Japan as a way of returning back to Japan the gold that foreign traders had transferred overseas, thus benefiting the nation. He explained to Toyo the reason for his enthusiasm in wanting to become an exporter, and his general ideas about exporting. Toyo grew excited in listening to his brother, and expressed his agreement. He also decided on the spot to apply himself completely to the export business. Toyo entered Keiō University shortly after that and majored in English and business. (fig.2.4.)

On 10 March 1876, Toyo travelled to the United States as a government-funded trainee, together with Arai Ryōichirō (1855–1939), with whom he had matriculated at Keiō University in 1871, as well as Date Chūshichi (Mitsui Group), Suzuki Tōichi (Maruzen Trading), and Masuda Rinzō (Sayama Tea Trading). This group called itself the "Oceanic Group", after the ship "S.S. Oceanic" aboard which they had travelled to New York.

Toyo arrived in New York in May 1876. On the recommendation of Tomita Tetsunosuke (1835–1916), the first Japanese Consul General in New York, he spent June through September studying English and management

at the Eastman National Business College in Poughkeepsie, New York. He then took up residence with other Japanese nationals in the home of one Dr. Bronson at the address 549 East 51st Street. In September 1878, he opened Hinode Shōkai,[81] in association with Satō Momotarō[82] and Date Chūshichi, and began trading with his elder brother Ichizaemon back in Japan. One year after Morimura-kumi had established its branch at 238 Sixth Avenue, New York, the Japanese government-sponsored Kiryū Kōshō Kaisha also opened a New York branch, supported by important statesmen and businessmen such as Finance Minister Ōkuma Shigenobu (1838–1922). Other Japanese export trading companies such as Fusō Co., Ltd., Asahi Company, Naigai Kō-shō Co., Ltd., Bōeki Shōkai Ltd, and Mitsui & Co., Ltd gradually followed suit. Those supported by the government only, with the exception of Mitsui & Co., Ltd, eventually fell into bankruptcy due to irresponsible financial planning, but Morimura was able to advance its business steadily through its own independent efforts.

The path they had to tread, however, was not always smooth. On 13 July 1878, when Toyo came back to Japan on a short leave, he wrote to Arai Ryōichirō in New York:

> I tell you, Mr Arai, it is getting very hard to make money by Jap. business because as you know, in Japan there is not much necessary thing that we can export, except raw silk and I do not know even myself what kind of things is most saleable or what kind of thing to make.[83] [Sic]

---

[81] After this venture came to an end, the name Hinode Shōkai was retained in the firm's name for the first few years, but was finally dropped in 1881.

[82] Satō Momotarō: Born in 1853 in Sakura, Chiba. He was first son of Satō Takanaka, founder of Juntendō University. In 1867 he went to San Francisco at his own expense, then again in 1871 governmental support, in 1871. In 1876 he returned to Japan to work in the Ministry of Finance. That same year he started a tea export business sending products from Sayama, Chiba to the United States.

[83] Reischauer,Haru Matsukata. *Samurai and Silk-A Japanese and American Heritage.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1986, p 215.

The fact that Arai and Toyo corresponded in English is worthy of notice (the letter excerpt above being an unedited version). Morimura-kumi, together with Arai Ryōichirō and Sato Momotarō, were highly influential in promoting Japanese exports of ceramics, raw silk, and tea during the Meiji period.

In May 1879, Murai Yasukata (1854–1936) graduated from Keiō University. When Ichizaemon asked statesman Fukuzawa Yukichi to recommend someone skilled in accounting and English, Fukuzawa suggested Murai, who had studied with Ozaki Yukio (1858–1954) and Inukai Tsuyoshi (1855–1932), as a young businessmen. Murai travelled to New York in September 1879 on the merchant ship "City of Tōkyō" (along with General Ulysses S. Grant, who happened to be aboard the same ship returning from a trip to the Orient). Murai began working for Morimura Brothers immediately after arriving in New York in October. (fig.2.5.)

Ichizaemon visited New York from October 1880 through January 1881. In May 1881, Hinode Shōkai was renamed "Morimura Brothers Inc." and its offices were moved to 221 6th Avenue in Manhattan.

In 1880 Morimura-kumi rejected a governmental offer of support designed to promote industry. Since Ichizaemon was in New York at the time, Magobei decided to visit the Minister of Finance himself, and the fact that Ichizaemon trusted him to make this important decision on his own shows the nature of the relationship that existed between the two.

In 1881, Magobei published three volumes of wood block prints, *Bairei Hyakuchō Gafu* [Sketchbook of a Hundred Birds], by Kōno Bairei (1844–95). In 1883 he published five volumes of Barei's *Kōgyō Zushiki* [Industrial Designs]. Bairei had selected a variety of themes not limited to traditional

kachōga ("flower-and bird" painting), for the purpose in publishing the books was to satisfy a demand among artists seeking designs for ceramics, lacquer ware and textiles. *Hyakuchō Gafu* and *Kachō Gafu* (A Sketchbook of Flowers and Birds by Kōno Bairei) published in 1883 were intended for use at Morimura's export product painting factory. Copies of the books themselves were also exported and sold well in New York.

It was in 1882 that Morimura-kumi, which had begun as a general trading company, turned to focus on the ceramics business. This is verified by its actions in establishing direct business relationships with potteries in Seto, in changing its business model from retail to wholesale, and in its establishment of the Morimura Brothers in New York. (fig.2.6.) The new venture was not without difficulties, and there undoubtedly may have been some disharmony between Ichizaemon and Magobei along the way. Nonetheless, when it came to the ceramics business, Ichizaemon must have had complete trust in Magobei's aesthetic sense. He once remarked, "Ōkura [Magobei] was a genius when it came to the ceramics business and Morimura-kumi's expansion owes the most to his excellent design sense".[84]

ii) Expansion of Domestic Japanese Branches

a) The Tōkyō, Kōbe, Kyōto and Yokohama Offices

In 1876, when Morimura-kumi began, its Tōkyō headquarters were housed in a space shared with Morimura Tailors at the address Ginza 4-Chōme, including offices on part of the first floor and warehouse space on the ground floor. In 1879 the company relocated to Shinsakana-chō, and then moved again in 1885 to 30-9-Kobiki-chō (now Ginza 7-Chōme) to a 500

---

[84] Wakamiya Unosuke. *Morimura-ō Genkōroku.* Tokyo: Daiamondo Shuppan. 1929, p 125.

square meter space in a two-story brick building. The company's business then included purchasing unfinished ceramic bowls, saké bottles, vases, and plates from regions such as Osaka and Seto, and ordering its exclusive painting factories to finish these using techniques such as overglazing in polychrome enamels. The company also purchased wares such as Kyō-yaki, Awata-yaki, Satsuma-yaki, and Aizu-yaki directly from their respective production centres, as well as from wholesalers in Nagoya, and exported these from the port in Nagoya. It also handled exports of miscellaneous goods such as prints, toys, fans, lanterns, dolls, crepe papers, lacquer wares, ivories, bamboo blinds, folding screens, furniture, bronze goods, brass goods, braziers, small electric bulbs, and Hakone ware.

In January 1880, Morimura-kumi opened a Kōbe liaison office in Sakae-machi, then in November moved this to Sannomiya and upgraded its status to that of a fully functioning branch office. In 1890, the company also moved its Kyōto liaison office (fig.2.7.), which had been in Shirakawabashi Higashi, Sanjō since 1880, to a new building in Seikan-chō, upgrading it to full branch office status as well, and establishing an exclusive new Kyōto painting factory. The Yokohama liaison office was situated initially at Minami-Naka-dōri, but in 1914 a new storefront was opened when the office moved to Yamashita-chō to focus on promoting the company's export activities.

b) The Nagoya Branch Office

As Morimura-kumi gradually increased the proportion of ceramics among its items for export trade, the logistics of handling ceramics in Nagoya became increasingly important and business relationships with

potters and unfinished pottery suppliers expanded accordingly.

In 1892, the company established its Nagoya Branch at 48-2 chōme, Kajiya-chō (now around Marunouchi or Nishiki, Naka Ward). This branch was responsible for supplying unfinished ceramic bodies, as well as for inspecting and selecting finished and semi-finished products. The opening of the Nagoya Branch was a first in establishing the company that would become Nippon Tōki as an entity separate from Morimura-kumi. It was also a very important landmark in expanding the export of Japanese ceramics from Nagoya.

Morimura-kumi's Nagoya Branch traded in cloisonné (a Nagoya specialty), lacquer ware, fans, and ceramics. Although it was the latest of the Morimura-kumi branches to be established, the amount of export business handled in Nagoya increased tremendously compared to that of the Tōkyō, Kyōto or Kōbe branches, to the extent that eventually the Nagoya Branch began to function more as a headquarters in its own right.

At the time, Morimura-kumi bought finished ceramics from export wholesalers. They also ordered unfinished ceramic bodies to be fired in Seto based on samples sent from Morimura Brothers in New York. These in turn were sent to painting factories in Tokyo and Kyoto, as well as to the company's exclusive painting complex in Nagoya, and finally the resulting overglazed ceramics were exported to the United States.

Also in Nagoya, in 1883 the Union of Ceramic Painters was established. 1889 saw the founding to the Tashiro Company, and from around 1891 ceramic export wholesalers like Tashiro, Takitō, Tomomatsu and others gradually gathered in Nagoya. Eventually the city was home to more than thirty painting factories. Major exporters around 1897 included

Morimura-kumi, Kansai Trading, A. A. Vantine & Co. Inc, Winkler & Co, Mogi-Momoi Group, and others.

c) The first modern coffee cup

The term "Bishū clay", referring to porcelain clay appears frequently throughout the Morimura-kumi Invoices. "Bishū" was a traditional alternate name for Owari (now western Aichi prefecture), where there existed a trio of famous kilns including the Owari Seto Kiln, the Akatsu Kiln adjacent to Seto, and the Shinano Kiln. In 1854, deposits of "frog-eye" clay[85] were discovered in the village of Akatsu, and in 1875 more of the same, of particularly high quality, was found in the Aichi region of Yamaguchi (Seto city).

Morimura-kumi used Amakusa china stone as its base material, adding frog-eye clay to intensify cohesion, kaolin to achieve pure whiteness, and feldspar to enhance porcelainization. Plastic materials were comprised mainly of the combination of the above-mentioned ball, or frog-eye, clay with kaolin. Additionally, wax stone[86] and Seri cite (*kinu-unmo,* or silk mica), normally used in tiles and other hard ceramics, were occasionally employed. Much of the wax stone indigenous to Japan contains relatively little iron and other impurities, and Morimura-kumi took advantage of this by using the wax stone produced in Mitsuishi, Okayama. Japanese kaolin, however, is usually not pure enough to make porcelain, and moreover its high titanium content makes it lack the necessary pure whiteness. For this

---

[85] Frog-eye clay: Frog-eye clay (*gaerome*) takes its name from the abundance of quartz grains it contains, namely the way the larger of these (2-5 mm) glitter like the eyes of a frog on rainy days. Morimura- kumi typically mixed 10 parts silica, 25 parts stone dust, and 10 parts Amakusa china stone, with frog-eye clay accounting for the remaining 55%.

[86] Because of its low combustion contractility properties, wax stone is used as one of the main materials for fire-resistant products. In porcelain, it is utilized as a glaze material.

reason, Japan has always had to rely on high-quality imported kaolin and still does even today.

Morimura-kumi began dealing in unfinished ceramic bodies from Seto starting in 1882, when Murai Yasukata came back from New York to purchase pieces wholesale. The major supplier at the time was Katō Shunkō in Seto. But since the company wanted more clay and more ceramic bodies, Ōkura Magobei proposed the establishment of a system under which exclusive contracts would be developed with prominent Seto potters like Kawamoto Masukichi, Katō Shunkō and Takashima Tokumatsu, resulting in a steady supply of good quality ceramic bodies ideal for export.

The first export cups and saucers are believed to have appeared in 1858. These were ordered by Mitsui Gumi (Mitsui Company), which brought between seventy and eighty samples to Katō Kanesuke in Seto, who then enlisted the assistance of two other potters, Kawamoto Hansuke and Inoue Jirō. The company placed a second order in 1863.

By 1880 Ichizaemon, having visited the United States, had become fully convinced of the promising future of the export ceramics business. Toyo sent Ichizaemon samples of French-made coffee cups and a letter explaining how coffee cups played an essential role in daily life in the United States. He told Ichizaemon that coffee cups could be sold in large quantities, and requested that samples be produced in Japan and sent to him as soon as possible. The coffee cups that Toyo sent to Tokyo were unique in Japanese eyes, and most of the pottery craftsmen in Japan had no experience in producing such cups with handles. None were able to produce a satisfactory product. In all the samples they produced, the weight of the handle warped

the mouth of the cup.

Items sold during that period included sake bottles, tea bowls, small dishes, bowls and small vases, usually decorated in the styles of Kutani, Imari, Awata, and Kyoto. No Western-style porcelain items were being produced. Ichizaemon therefore asked Kinkōzan Sōbei VII, Tanzan Rikurō (1852–97), Taizan Yohei IX (1856–1922) and potters in Seto to try making coffee sets, but initially the effort was a failure.

Toyo was insistent: "If the Americans can produce coffee cups," he said, "then we Japanese must be able to do so as well, and we cannot accept your negative attitude".[87] Unfortunately, the problem was not merely one of attitude, for no matter how hard the potters tried, the soft clay they were using easily flew out of shape and the cups tended to become distorted during firing. The main reason for the latter turned out to be that no one had thought to arrange the cups upside-down in the kiln. Furthermore, most of the cups initially produced tended to be more like Japanese tea bowls to which handles had been added, and they were therefore still quite different from the Western coffee cups they were supposed to emulate. At last, around 1885, the Japanese potters managed to produce the first modern Japanese coffee cups, although at prohibitive prices. Both cups and saucers cost 1.25 yen apiece, to which an overglazing cost of 0.3 to 1 yen had to be added. Despite this increase, these were still able to fetch a high enough price in the United States to make the effort worthwhile.

Ichizaemon arrived to visit the successful New York office on 18 July 1889, and he and Toyo then travelled from New York to view the Paris Exhibition. Afterwards, they visited the de Havilland Porcelain Company in

---

[87] Interview, 27th April, 1904 *Maruki no ishizue,* edited by Morimura Hōmeikai 1967, p 142.

Limoges, as well as the Boulanger Company on the outskirts of Paris, then returned to Japan on 8 December 1889.

iii) "Highest Priority to American Directives"

When Toyo went to the United States in 1876, Ichizaemon impressed upon him the view that overseas trade would be the only way for Japan to enrich itself in the future. From that time on, requests and opinions were frequently sent back to Japan from Morimura Brothers in New York. The phrase "highest priority to American directives" (「米状神聖」) came into use, indicating that the greatest importance was to be attached to letters and requests arriving from the Morimura Brothers in New York. Ichizaemon remarked in 1905 that, "No letter was received from Toyo that did not contain some complaint or very difficult request". Isemoto Ichirō, a prominent figure in Morimura-kumi, confirms in his book:

"The 'highest priority to American directives' statement came from Toyo, and his expectation was that business letters from the United States were to be paid the most careful attention".[88]

I have yet to discover any resource detailing the actual first use of the phrase, but the concept seems to have taken root throughout Morimura-kumi by the end of the Meiji period, and the views of the company's operatives in the United States do indeed seem to have been given precedence over all else. This did not necessarily mean that the Japanese side was to be absolutely obedient to the New York branch; final decisions regarding sales activities remained firmly in the hands of Ichizaemon and Magobei. But when it came to design decisions in particular,

---

[88] Isemoto Ichirō. *Tōgyō shinkō no kakushin*. Tokyo; Gihōdō.1958, p 13.

the Japanese headquarters clearly understood the advantage of listening closely to the views of its New York office.

According to the New York Japanese History Association that existed in those days, Morimura-kumi was at that time making every effort to accommodate the tastes of the American market, including the frequent import and manufacture of new samples.[89] Further proof of this comes from the attitudes of those working on behalf of the company in America. Haru Matsukata Reischauer notes in her biography that it was Murai Yasukata, as well as his American wife and their children, who lent psychological support to Arai Ryōichirō and his family when they were still unaccustomed to life in New York. (Arai Ryōichirō was Haru's maternal grandfather and, like Morimura Toyo, was among the first group of government-supported overseas students.) Murai Yasukata served as Toyo's close assistant and his efforts contributed significantly to the development of Morimura Brothers. Haru writes in her description of Murai,

> He was told by Fukuzawa Yukichi to "burn his bridges and die in America". Murai followed this instruction wholeheartedly and settled down in the United States to become an American.[90]

This approach, involving strong efforts to settle in and meld into American society in all possible ways, became the foundation of the development of Morimura Brothers.

---

[89] Mizutani Shōzō. ed. *Nyūyōku Nihonjin Hattatsu-shi.* New York: *Nyūyōku* Nihonjin-kai . 1921, p 164.
[90] Reischauer, Haru Matsukata. *Samurai and Silk.* Camgridge: Harvard University Press. 1986, p 232.

iv) Morimura-kumi Turns from Retailing to Wholesaling

Murai Yasukata continued on with the company and eventually became a top executive of Morimura Brothers in New York. Toyo explained to Ichizaemon that while the United States did itself produce a limited amount of pottery, all of the nation's porcelain was being imported from Europe. Through discussions with Toyo and Murai, Ichizaemon became convinced that Morimura-kumi's most promising direction would be to export porcelain for sale in the United States.

After Ichizaemon returned to Tokyo, Toyo and Murai began discussing whether the future of the company would be best served by continuing to operate primarily as retailer or by switching to wholesaling. Toyo felt that the company should continue as a retailer for the time being since future business prospects were still unclear. Murai felt that switching to wholesaling would be the best way to expand the company's business. Neither would accede to the other's arguments, and Toyo finally decided to leave the decision up to Ichizaemon. He wrote to Ichizaemon in Tokyo to explain the situation, recounting both his own and Murai's opinions. In his response to Toyo, Ichizaemon said that since the aim of their business was not merely to earn a profit for Morimura-kumi but to export as much product volume as possible from Japan for the nation's overall benefit, the best policy would be to become a wholesaler. As a result of those discussions, Morimura-kumi changed is operational configuration around the end of 1882, turning wholesaling exclusively.

v) Life in America

Morimura-kumi's launch of operations in New York reinforced the

relationships among the families of Morimura, Arai, and Matsukata Kōjirō.[91] Matsukata married Kuki Yoshiko, a daughter of Viscount Kuki Takayoshi (1873–91)[92] in 1898 and studied for several years in the United States.

Arai Miyo (1891–1984), a daughter of Arai Ryōichirō, married Matsukata Shōkuma (1881–1969), ninth son of Matsukata Masayoshi (1835–1924), and Yoshiyuki, tenth son of Masayoshi, married Matsuko, the only daughter of Ichizaemon VI. Haru (1915–98), the daughter of Shōkuma and Miyo, became the wife of Edwin O. Reischauer (1910–90), the former American ambassador to Japan. In her autobiography she recalls relations with the Morimura family:

> I have vivid and happy recollections of our association with the Morimuras during my childhood. I especially remember the annual all-day parties at their residence at Takanawa in Tokyo, where there would be food stalls scattered about the garden, and musicians and sporting events would provide the entertainment.[93]

Ichizaemon moved to Takanawa around 1888, to a house in an aristocratic neighbourhood facing Shinagawa Station. The road leading away from the train station toward Yokohama was lined with the properties of Japan's Royal Family, including the palaces of the Royal Princes Kitashirakawa, Takeda and Asaka, the homes of Prince Mōri and Mitsubishi Group founder Baron Iwasaki. Ichizaemon himself was made a baron in 1913, so his

---

[91] Matsukata Kōjirō (1865–1950), Masayoshi's third son, was chairman of Kawasaki Shipyards and four times a representative in the House of Peers. During the years 1916 to 1918, while he was in Europe, he began collecting Western art, through his acquaintance with English painter Sir Frank Brangwyn (1867–1956). At the peak of his prosperity he possessed about 3,000 works, including major pieces by Rodin and paintings by Van Gogh, Toulouse-Lautrec, Delacroix and Gauguin. Matsukata married Kuki Yoshiko, a daughter of Viscount Kuki Takayoshi (1873–1891) in 1898 and studied for several years in the United States. Takayoshi discovered a clever boy Ryūichi (1850–1931) among the retainers of the Kuki family and recommended him as an adopted son. Later Ryūichi met Fukuzawa Yukichi and learned English at Keiō University.

[92] Kuki Takayoshi was the thirteenth and last feudal lord of the Sanda clan, Hyōgo.

[93] Reischauer, Haru Matsukata. *Samurai and Silk.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1986,p 197.

residence in the area was not unusual.

While the Morimura's property included some 19,800 square meters of land, the house itself was a very simple one occupying just 528 square metres. Throughout his life, Ichizaemon valued simplicity.

vi) *Yakubai* — Morimura-kumi's "Advance Order System"

Wake Matsutarō (1867–1909) joined Morimura Brothers in 1897 and became the first design department manager to implement a sales approach known as "y*akubai*", or "Advance Order System".[94] In 1898, Wake's successor, Tanaka Minoru, returned to Japan to meet with the managers of various potteries and painting factories in Nagoya to discuss this new system, the terms of which were as follows:

- Minimum order of $500
- Net discount on orders of $500 or more
- 3% discount on orders of $1,000 or more
- 5% discount on orders of $1,500 or more
- 7.5% discount on orders of $2,000 or more
- 10% discount on orders of $3,000 or more
- Delivery directly to the customer
- Delivery schedule: 3 to 4 months after receipt of advance order from wholesalers, or 6 to 8 months after a firm order from small companies
- Freight charges included in the sale price, with goods delivered directly to customers (F.O.B. Destination)

The Advance Order System won high regard as soon as it commenced in spring 1899, quickly attracting large orders from American and Canadian wholesalers and department stores. Even salesmen working in more remote areas brought back unexpectedly large orders. The first came from William

---

94 "*Sakigake*", Morimura News, Vol.26, 1910.

Bryce, a wholesaler in Toronto, Canada.

Usually for goods to be produced the following year, orders from the wholesalers were received in July and those from retailers in September, continuing until the following February or March. However, using the innovative Advance Order System, demand was high and Morimura Brothers had to close its order books after only two or three months.

vii) New Painting Factories Built in Nagoya

The 1899 establishment of an Advance Order Department within Morimura-kumi resulted that same year in Morimura Brothers taking in large orders from major companies like Woolworth's, with sales reaching 45 million dollars.

Throughout the 1890s, Magobei continued to develop his original private business, publishing art and design books via his Ōkura Publishing Company, and many of these were exported and marketed in the U.S. by Morimura Brothers. Some of the titles sold included: *Hokusai Kachō Gaku* [Flower & Bird Paintings by Hokusai III] (1891); *Kikuchi Yōsai Gafu* [Paintings by Yōsai by Kikuchi Yōsai] (1788–1878) (1891); and *Bairei Kiku Hyakushu* [One Hundred Chrysanthemums by Kōno Bairei] (1891 through 1896).

In 1893, Morimura-kumi purchased a new 1,874 square-metre tract of land at the address 6-1 Shimonokuchi and moved the company's Nagoya branch office to a new building there. In 1896, Saigō Hisakichi, a prominent painter, moved from Fushimi-chō to Shumoku-chō in Nagoya to build a new 132 square-metre painting factory. Morimura enlarged its premises to 12,095 square metres, including five buildings for painting and supplemental buildings for housing employees.

In 1894, Ichizaemon became Ichizaemon VI. That same year, Magobei's eldest son Ōkura Kazuchika, (1875–1955) graduated from Keiō University and joined Morimura-kumi through a position in Morimura Brothers in New York.

Starting in 1896, the painting factories used by Morimura-kumi began to be transferred to Nagoya, an ongoing consolidation that would be completed by 1899. This consolidation marked a turning point for the Seto ceramics industry, but it would also be an epoch-making moment in the history of Japanese exports porcelain, namely by heralding the demise of the traditional apprentice system by which pottery and other goods had always been manufactured. Receiving unglazed porcelains from Seto, Morimura-kumi was able to organize and allocate the finishing of these to various artists with whom the company had established contractual obligations. By 1899, with Nagoya having become the company's centre of production, a new era for modern export porcelain had begun.

The centralized system avoided the potential leakage of trade secrets and contributed to the establishment of a more modern, systematic painting system. In the early stages, however, the strongly entrenched apprenticeship system did tend to interfere with these modernization efforts. Each master artist had thirty to forty pupils working in his factory, each following the instructions given by his own master and earning from him a daily wage between half a yen and one yen. The Ishida Factory had the most extensive facilities, with fourteen overglazing kilns, and each of the others had four or five kilns apiece. These individual operators tended to be determined to pursue their own characteristic techniques, making it difficult for Morimura-kumi to unify all of its painting activities into a

single uniform unit.

Changes were taking place rapidly not only in the fields of glazing and colouring, but also in the production of the clay itself, notably in the increasing use of kaolin, which contained fewer impurities than conventional silica clay.

In 1897, Asukai Kōtarō (fig.2.8.) visited Stoke-on-Trent in England, as well as Karlsbad in Germany. At the former he was able to conduct studies at the Victoria Porcelain Factory, and in return the Rosenfeld family visited Japan to advise Morimura-kumi on how to further improve its white porcelain production. (fig.2.9.)

Around 1897, Morimura-kumi was still placing its orders for clay with factories in Seto. In 1901, the necessity of improving the crude clay forced the company to construct a materials storage facility in Seto, which was established it under the name "Seto Tokumei Kumiai". A map showing kilns operating in Seto, compiled in December 1910,[95] makes it clear that kilns supplying crude clay enjoyed considerable prosperity. Major potters, including those discussed in Chapter 1, played important roles in producing both Nippon overglazed items and blue underglazed exhibition items. Without production and supply by the Seto potteries, the establishment and later prosperity of Morimura-kumi would not have been possible.

viii) Nippon Tōki 3.3 Clay Becomes a Japanese Standard

In 1901, refining factories for clay materials were centred in Nagoya at Morimura's behest. Ōkura Magobei contributed two-thirds of the required investment, with Seto potters including Kawamoto Sōkichi, Katō Mon'emon,

---

[95] "Kiln Location Map of Seto in 1910, A supplement of Research Bulletin 11 of the Seto City History and Folk Museum, is in Appendix A.

Katō Shunkō, Katō Gosuke, Katō Shūbei, and Takashima Tokumatsu jointly contributing the remaining third.

In 1903, Magobei, Asukai, Ōkura Kazuchika, and Murai Yasukata travelled to England and visited the Rosenfeld family, with whose support they were able to visit Karlsbad (Karlovy Vary) in what was then Germany (fig.2.10.). Later, Asukai visited the Chemischen Laboratorium fur Tonindustrie, an industrial clay chemical laboratory in Berlin, and requested assistance in determining the right blend of raw materials to make clay for white porcelain. As a result, the best blend was found to be 54 parts of Amakusa china stone, 23 parts frog-eye clay, and 23 parts feldspar (fig.2.11.). This material eventually came to be called "Nippon Tōki 3.3 Clay" in Japan's domestic porcelain industry, and went on to become an accepted standard.

3) Noritake Marks & the "Invoices"

i) Noritake Marks in the Meiji Era

Josiah Wedgwood (1730–95) was one of the first English potters, in the mid-eighteenth century, to consistently mark his wares, a practice that soon spread throughout the industry. By the end of nineteenth century, one hundred and fifty years later, Morimura-kumi also began using its own identifying marks, and thereafter company marks on the bases of porcelain pieces became standard.[96] Before Japanese porcelain had earned its strong reputation in world exhibitions, large vases or bowls, which included the painter's name, were produced with government support. In 1904, however,

---

[96] The inclusion of marks on Japanese ceramics is believed to have started around the end of the Muromachi period, (c 1570s), with the marks of six potters selected by Oda Nobunaga (1582–1634). In Europe, Sèvres began including marks around 1753 and Meissen, distinguished by its "crossed swords" mark, is presumed to have started this practice somewhere between 1711 and 1720, although there is some argument about these dates). At these stages, both in Europe and Japan, such marks were used to identify a person or a kiln.

only ten percent of Seto's entire production was exported directly; the remaining ninety percent was sent to other companies for completion, meaning that most of the pieces ended up bearing no specific potter name, signature, or mark. This suggests that export porcelain from Seto in the late Meiji period was produced mainly for industrial purposes. After 1908, the names of Seto painters did not appear on the porcelain itself, although some are included in Morimura-kumi's Design Books. As with Morimura-kumi in 1891, the government-financed Kiryū Kōshō Kaisha began adding company marks in 1883, at the time of the Boston Exhibition (for which the company name appeared as "Kiriu Kosho Kuarsha of Tokio").[97] The marks of two privately run companies, the Izushi Porcelain Company of Hyōgo and Kōransha of Arita, appeared in 1899 and 1900, respectively. Although these marks were originally intended for porcelains bound for display at World Exhibitions, between 1890 and 1900 Japanese producers were beginning to recognize that such marks were also important for general business and promotional purposes.

To date, the oldest mark discovered on any piece of Old Noritake reads "Shōzan", the name of one of Morimura-kumi's major painters, stamped around 1885 (fig.2.12.). The number of marks created for use on the company's products from 1885 through to the present day totals more than 433. During the Meiji and Taishō eras (1868 to 1925), different marks were used even on the same kinds of products. Breaking down the variety of marks used, those for export greatly outnumber those for the domestic market, and those for the U.S. market account for the vast majority of export versions.

---

[97] From the illustration of the marks in *"Kiritsu Kōshō Kaisha"* edited by Hida Toyojirō. 1987, p 347.

During the Meiji period it was not yet legally required to identify the country of origin on commodities, even in the United States, so the names of individual artisans alone were usually used to mark the products they had fashioned. Afterwards, with the advance of labour separation in Noritake's factories, individual workers rarely came to be responsible for the entire process of creating any given piece, and the number of marks bearing the individual painter names dropped accordingly.

To date a total of thirty-nine kinds of marks representing the company are confirmed to have been used for both export and domestic sales during the period from 1891 to 1912 (Appendix E). Three of these in particular, described below, were stamped on porcelains bound for the United States.

a) Maple Leaf

Morimura-kumi's maple leaf mark was registered in Japan in 1908, however pieces bearing this mark have been dated as early as 1891, the year that the design was submitted for patent approval, making this one the first Noritake marks to comply with the McKinley Registration (discussed in Chapter Five-3-ii). The most well-known maple leaf mark is that showing a sketched maple tree. It has also been ascertained that a green maple leaf often indicated the use of first-grade clay, while a blue maple leaf indicated second-grade clay. That said, there are examples of "blue leaf" products made of first-grade clay, so it would not be accurate to identify the grade of the clay by the colour of the mark alone. Pieces bearing both the green and blue marks are occasionally found in Europe as well.

b) RC Nippon

Morimura-kumi's "RC Nippon" mark was used on products exported to the United States beginning in 1906. RC, registered in 1911, is the first mark to bear the legend "RC", which stands for" Royal Crockery". This mark was printed in both blue and green. Anther RC mark, also registered in 1911, and can be found with the "hand painted" in red and the reminder in green.

c) M-in-Wreath

Morimura-kumi's "M-in-Wreath" mark was registered for the U.S. market in 1911. The wreath is actually the Morimura family crest, printed upside down. The wreath symbolizes a hanging wisteria, and the "M" is for Morimura.

d) *Maruki*

The so-called "*maruki*" mark was one used on products exported to the United Kingdom. Noritake's founders took this name from the Japanese character "困" (read *"kon"*), which represents the "hardship" such as they expected to encounter in their trade with foreigners having different ways of thinking and customs. Moreover, the square "口" enclosing the "木" (read *"ki"* and meaning "tree") of the character has been replaced with a circle "○" (read "*maru*") resulting in "maru" + "*ki*" = "*maruki*", an ideographic representation of the company's hope that its business would go smoothly. The maruki mark in blue was registered in London in 1908, but its regular appearance on moriage wares and other pieces suggests that it was in fact the first Noritake mark to appear in Europe, probably from around the late 1890s. Noritake has acknowledged this possibility, noting that although this

mark was registered in Japan in 1906, it may have been used earlier. Such marks are found in four different colours including green, red and two shades of blue, although there is no evidence to suggest that these variations signified any particular difference in the wares. All were registered in London at the same time in 1908. There do exist a number of variations to this basic mark which may have some significance, evidenced by the fact that the green and red versions were re-registered in London in 1949.

ii) The Morimura "Invoices" from 1892 to 1906

In order to expand Morimura-kumi's business, Ichizaemon formulated a plan to concentrate on exporting porcelains. Unlike textiles and other products, ceramics are fragile, heavy, and vary widely in size and shape. Should loss or damage occur to a shipment during transit, subsequent negotiations for damage compensation would be based on the contents stated in the relevant invoices. Such invoices were therefore prepared with great care to ensure that they were precise and easy to understand.

In 1897, the total value of ceramics produced in Japan was ¥5,163,000, with Aichi and Seto being two of the most important producers. Of that ¥5,163,000, exports accounted for ¥1,819,000. Ceramics exported to the United States amounted to 34.4% of this, suggesting that by 1897 the U.S. was the most important export market for Japan's porcelain producers.

Extrapolations from the export invoices kept by Morimura-kumi will be one of the keys to my examination of Japanese decorative art exports in the Meiji era. The sixteen volumes of these export invoices still extant, dating from 1892 to 1907, are listed in Appendix F. Out of these, seven from 1892

to 1903 each cover a full year and were prepared by the company headquarters; one from 1909 is from the Nagoya branch; three from the period 1897 to 1901 are from Kobe; two from 1905 containing advance orders are from Kobe and Kyoto; two from 1896 and 1906 containing samples are from Kobe; and one from 1907 containing samples is from Kyoto.

The specific Invoice referred to in this thesis is Number 9, prepared by the Morimura-kumi headquarters to document commodities exported to the Morimura Brothers in New York in 1897. Invoice Number 10, prepared in Kobe in 1897, is also used as a supplementary document for comparison purposes. These Invoices provided not only the usual information on quantities ordered and shipped, prices and backlogs, but also in many cases the names of the potters. (Example of Invoice is in Appendix G)

iii) Details from the 1897 Number 9 Invoice

The Number 9 Invoice lists 3,509 items, among which 2,778 are porcelains (all household commodities). Of these, 2,300 items (82%) are table wares, with 369 coffee cups representing the largest single group among the tableware. The next largest groups include lidded vessels, plates, sugar/creamer sets, large bowls, handled pots, creamers, small plates, chocolate pots, and tea caddies. These top ten items, not including vases, make up eighty percent of the listed tableware.

This particular Invoice was prepared twenty-one years after the founding of the company in 1876, but the company still had to wait another sixteen years before a full dinner service for export was completed in 1913. This Invoice therefore documents a time when that project was

approximately half the way to completion, but the over eighty percent representation of related items shows that Morimura-kumi was already focusing mainly on tableware to the best of its ability.

From that same year, 1897, we also have the "Kōbe No. 10 Invoice", which contains containing 7,354 items, including a variety of decorative art items. 4,534 of these items are ceramics, including 947 vases, 505 coffee cups, 477 bowls with lids, 338 plates, 274 jugs, and 263 bowls. The total number of these porcelain items made up sixty percent of the 4,534 ceramic items on the list. This 1897 Invoice also records the painters' names, the colours, shapes, designs, gilding, and decorative techniques used. Of the total 4,534 ceramic items, 4,157 are illustrated. However, because the illustrations and design descriptions in the Number 9 Invoice are much clearer and easier to understand than those in the Number 10 invoice, the latter will be used as a supplement to the detailed discussion of the Number 9 Invoice which follows.

Appendix I list the names of the potters and painters appearing in the 1897 Invoices. Investigating the names mentioned in the Invoices reveals that many Seto potters at the time produced both fine quality exhibitions items and mass-produced items for everyday use. For exhibition they focused primarily on underglazed blue sometsuke featuring traditional Japanese landscapes and flower-and-bird designs, but with forms considerably influenced by Western style.

CHAPTER 3: MORIMURA GROUP PAINTERS

1) From Morimura-kumi to Nippon Tōki

i) Morimura's Embrace of Western Design

In *Design & Culture in the Twentieth Century*, Penny Sparke refers to the great influence of design decisions on the modern world, noting that it is typically the aesthetics of any given product that are the focus for both designer and customer.[98] Among all of its Japanese contemporaries in the ceramics market of the day, Morimura-kumi had the strongest understanding of the importance of design decisions.

Ichizaemon recognized that the first step to succeeding in the export porcelain business was to teach Western design methods to his painters and to produce Westernized coffee sets.

Between 1890 and 1891, Morimura pursued business with the painting factories of artisans like Kawahara Noritatsu, Sugimura Sakutarō, Fujimura Yohei and Adachi Seikichi in Tokyo, Ishida Satarō in Kyoto, and Saigō Hisakichi in Nagoya. During this period, Kawahara, Sugimura and Ishida often depicted gilded millet leaves and chrysanthemums on gradated yellow backgrounds. Fujimura's work was characterized by motifs like cherry blossoms in mist on gold backgrounds, whilst Adachi used dark red gradations and Saigō depicted *karako* (Chinese dolls) using low-quality gilding. However, adhering to such traditional patterns had its limitations, and efforts to generate Westernized designs were necessary to advance the business of exporting such products.

---

[98] Sparke,Penny. *Design & Culture in the Twenties Century.* London: Unwin Hyman. 1986, Introduction p XIII.

ii) Establishment of Nippon Tōki Ltd.

On 1 January 1904, Morimura-kumi was renamed "Nippon Tōki Gōmei Kaisha" (Nippon Tōki Ltd.), located at the address Noritake, Aza, Takaba village, Aichi Ward, Aichi Prefecture. (fig.3.1.) Ōkura Kazuchika became the first chairman at the age of twenty-nine.

October 1907 saw the emergence of difficult economic conditions in the United States. That same year, Japan launched an attempt to dominate and govern the Russian island of Sakhalin, and also established the South Manchuria Railway in eastern China. Prior to this, in 1905, Korea had became a Japanese protectorate and, in 1907, Itō Hirobumi (1841–1909), the Japanese resident general in Korea, had forced that country's King Kojong (1863–1907) to abdicate the throne and to sign the Korean-Japanese Convention of 1907, effectively giving Japan control of Korea's internal affairs. Despite these dark clouds, Morimura-kumi flourished in a way paralleled the course taken by modern Japanese art in general.

Entries from the diary of Ōkura Kazuchika, written around 1907, mention that the number of ceramic painters in those days was 896, with the Ishida factory having 230 workers, the Sugimura factory 194, the Saigō factory 141, and the Kawahara factory 97. This order is the same as that recorded by Ishida Satarō regarding the company's consolidation of painting operations in Shumoku-chō in 1894. In Kazuchika's diary, a factory called "Ishitama" appears in addition to the "Ishida" factory. In Japan, the surname "Ishitama" would be rather unusual, and given the frequency with which "Ishitama" appears in the Invoices from 1897 (and in the company's Design Books as well), it can be inferred that this factory was in some way

connected with Ishida. Since Kazuchika's diary makes no mention of such painting factories as Adachi, Ōta, and Iguchi, which played leading earlier on, we can assume that the ceramic painters from these factories worked with Morimura-kumi prior to the establishment of Nippon Tōki in 1904.

In addition to the most important porcelain painters, discussed in this chapter, the Invoices also list the names of potters like Miyagawa (Makuzu) Kōzan and Inoue Ryōsai I. This means that Morimura-kumi exported works produced by Miyagawa Kōzan and Inoue Ryōsai, as opposed to having them only execute painting on pre-manufactured pieces.

iii) Nippon Tōki Painters

In 1903, the four painting factories of Ishida, Saigō, Sugimura and Kawahara were merged into one company under the name "Kintō-gumi" (錦陶組). (fig.3.2.) This Kintō-gumi was renamed "Shintō-gumi" (真陶組) in March 1905, then dissolved in autumn of the same year and returned for a time to the original system of individual painting factories. Then, in January 1909, all of Morimura-kumi's exclusive contracted painting factories were once again merged to form a general corporation under the name of *"Kinyō-gumi"* (錦窯組), which exclusively handled the company's painting business until it was merged with Nippon Tōki in October 1912 (fig.3.3.). Additionally, a Technical Art Department was established in 1909, funded by Ichizaemon and Magobei, and thereafter became responsible for implementing a painter training system. This Technical Art Department produced numerous alumni and students who won prizes in the Nitten [Japan Art Exhibition] and Nikaten [Second Society Exhibition].[99] The first

[99] Nitten and Nikaten: " (Nitten Exhibition)" is an abbreviation of Nihon Bijutsu Tenrankai (Japan Art Exhibition). After World War II, The Shin Bunten (Ministry of Education Art Exhibition)

teaching staff included Suzuki Shiranui (painting), Soga Toshio (head teacher and Japanese painting), Hata Utata and Miura Sekisai (Japanese painting), and Yoshida Masakazu (sculpture).

2) Morimura "Design Books" & Design Grades in the Design Books

i) *Gajō* ("Design Books")

Craftsmen in Seto and Nagoya did not usually keep design books, but, amazingly, about eighty volumes from the period 1908 through 1910 were discovered in the archives of the Noritake Company, despite the nearly total destruction that the surrounding city of Nagoya in World War II air raids. The *Gajō,* or Morimura "Design Books", extant today were created by the Design & Pattern Department of Morimura Brothers in New York. American sales staff calling on their customers throughout the United States showed such books to their customers and took orders for products based on them (part of the company's "to-order" sales system). They then used these books to place orders for the relevant designs to be painted by the company's porcelain painters back in Japan. Eighty volumes of Design Books containing two thousand Meiji-era pictures still reside in the Noritake company archives. 972 photos of the finest, most detailed designs from the period 1906–08 have been chosen as material evidence for this thesis. A book I edited, titled *Gajō—The Morimura Painters*, published by Noritake Co., Ltd in January 2005, will be used as another source. It contains Meiji-era Noritake designs, primarily taken from the 972 photos

---

changed its title to Nitten and continued until 1957, holding governmental (*kanten)* thirteen times, before reorganising as non-governmental exhibition. Nikaten is held by Nikakai (The Second Society). Nikakai is a non-governmental group of artists pursuing Western-style painting, established in 1914. In the Bunten Exhibitions of those days, the Japanese-style painting section was divided into two subsections, one for old styles and one for newer styles. Following this example, progressive members insisted that Western- style painting should also be divided into two subsections. When this idea was rejected, those pursuing new styles became independent from Bunten and founded this society.

but also including some additional designs as well.

The corporate organizational charts from that time list the following company sections as working with porcelain samples: "Foreign Country Sample Preservation", "In-House Sample In/Out Management", "Shop Sample Archiving", "Sample In/Out Management", and "Clay Sampling". The design books under study here appear to have belonged to the In-House Sample In/Out Management section.

ii) Encyclopaedia Picture Books & Tableau

Paintings appearing in the Noritake Design Books would today be described as "designs", but at the time they were referred to as "*shitae*" or "*zuan*". Sketches were used as the basic elements for producing these patterns. A large number of sketches had already been made available throughout the Edo period, and the considerably skilful sketching and drawing abilities of the Japanese, seen in encyclopaedic picture books and other similar books from the time, are also reflected in the Noritake Design Books of the Meiji period.

Shinsha Chōrui-zukan [Book of Realistically Illustrated Birds] by Watanabe Shikō (1683–1755) contains sixty-three different types of birds, and this work was imitated in later years by Maruyama Ōkyo (1733–95). Further, in 1881, Watanabe Seitei (1851–1918) published *Seitei Kachō Gafu* [Seitei's Book of Flower-and-Bird Paintings] and Kōno Bairei published *Hyakuchō Gafu* [One Hundred Bird Paintings by Bairei] for Ōkura Magobei Publishing. Such strong interest in nature and excellent painting skills among working artists have long kept the quality of Japanese art high.

What we know about the historical Japanese artistic concept that "pattern equals design picture" comes from Edo-era "*kosode hinagatabon*"

(小袖雛形本), or sample books detailing narrow-cuffed dress patterns. It is said that over 120 different kinds of these were published between about 1660 and 1810. Referring to one interesting aspect of these books, Kawakami Shigeki observes that "*kosode* [narrow-cuffed dresses] were designed as if they were pictures drawn on a canvas, thus allowing people to view them as a sheet of tableau".[100] He continues, "The patterns and colourings expressed there are packed with a type and degree of aesthetic richness appreciated by the people of those days". Rutherford Alcock (1809-97), the first British diplomatic representative in Japan, who arrived in Japan early in the Meiji period, remarked that Japanese decorative arts "exhibit throughout a peculiar grace and delicacy, both in design and execution, even in utensils for the common purposes of daily life".[101]

In the Meiji years, documented artistic designs increased in number as they were compiled according to the national policies of the Meiji government, which aimed to strengthen and enrich the country, increase production of artistic commodities, and reinforce industry. The *Onchi Pictorial Record*, for example, was compiled by the national exhibition office through the efforts of numerous product-picture clerks working over a period of eleven years starting in 1875.

In noticeable contrast to many of its contemporaries, Morimura-kumi declined the Japanese government's offer for assistance with overseas business expansion, and instead applied a more free-thinking, flexible approach as a private corporation, which allowed the company to work on creating designs in line with general tastes of the United States, its primary export market. Of course, overglaze painting on ceramic surfaces imposes

---

[100] Kawakami Shigeki. *Hana raku no Mōdo- kimono no jidai.* Special Exhibition Catalogue, Kyoto: Kyōto National Museum. 1999, p 10.
[101] Rutherford, Alcock. *Art and Art Industries in Japan.* London: Virtue and Co., Ltd 1968, p 15.

certain design restrictions depending on the shape of the piece, and as shown in the model books published in the Edo period, each painting was drawn as "a sheet of tableau" as described by Kawakami. Such model books give us many glimpses of how people lived in those days, and similarly the Design Books created by Morimura-kumi enable us to see what designs were in fashion at that time in the United States, as well as what technologies were available in Japan to reflect those fashions in painted ceramic works.

iii) "*Zuan*" (Patterns) vs. "*Dezain*" (Designs)

While many native Japanese speakers today associate the word *zuan* (図案, pattern) with the word *dezain* (デザイン, design), we should in fact consider more carefully how these words apply to the content of Morimura-kumi's design books. The English word "design" has a wide variety of meanings in Japanese, including zuan (図案, pattern), *ishō* (意匠, idea), *sekkei* (設計, design) and *kikaku* (企画, planning). In his book *Gendai Dezain-ron,* Fujita Haruhiko explains, "It can be inferred from the title of the book, *"Shōhin* (product) - *Ishō- Zuan",* edited by the Tōkyō Municipal Commerce & Industry Promotion Hall and published in 1881, that the Japanese word ishō represented design in the conceptual sense, while the word zuan referred to real designs actually drawn and given physical substance, a distinction between the two words that is nearly identical to that we make today."[102] If this is the case, then it follows that the "designs" appearing in the Morimura-kumi Design Books correspond to the Japanese word zuan. Not all uses of the word zuan equal the word "dezain", however.

---

[102]Fujita Haruhiko. *Gendai Dezain-ron.* Kyoto: Shōwadō 1999, p 34.

The Japanese word dezain was first used in Japan in the fashion industry after World War Two.[103] Izuhara Eiichi says in his book *Nihon no Dezain Undō* that the word dezain connotes characteristics of the masses and common people's culture, which is not the case with conventional, traditional words like zuan and ishō. "When it comes to dezain", he continues, "the word is defined as involving the following three properties:[104] (1) applies to products that find utility as part of everyday life; (2) shape is determined prior to manufacture; and (3) involve the pursuit of beauty and/or comfort".

The Morimura-kumi Design Books are important in that they give us a look at Meiji period designs that existed before the English word dezain (design), as referred to by Izuhara, entered the Japanese lexicon. In them we see that the Morimura's products do fit the above criteria for being relevant to the concept of design, for example:

- Many Old Noritake porcelains were everyday utility products such as table ware.
- The shapes of Old Noritake porcelains were created by the potters before the overglazing patterns that would decorate them were determined.
- Old Noritake porcelains offered a combination of aesthetic form and practical function.

iv) Design Grades

In the Morimura-kumi Design Books, alphabetical characters that seem to indicate the grade of each design are marked in rubber stamp or written by hand on most pages. These include: SXA, EXA, OXA, AA, A, B, C, and D (see Appendix J). SXA, EXA, and OXA seem to be shorthand for Special-Excellent-A, Excellent-A, and Ordinary-Excellent-A, respectively.

---

[103] Shimokawa Akifumi ed. *Shōwa /Heisei Seikatsu-shi-nenpyō.* Tokyo: Kawade Shobō Shinsha. 2001, p 192.
[104]Izuhara Eiichi. *Nihon no Dezain Undō* .Tokyo: Pelican Co., Ltd 1989, p 29.

In the absence of any Noritake records explaining these grades, however, I must guess and probably can safely assume that they compare the finishes associated with each design. Those containing an "X" (called the X grade) are higher than A, with the rest arranged in alphabetical order. Besides these, only a few examples of OOX, B 上 (best), and CC are found. OOX indicates a grade similar to other X grades, B 上 literally indicates the "best of B," and CC is almost the same as C. Of interest here is the fact that while these grades are listed on most pages, only about half of such grade-marked pages contain the names of specific porcelain painters. One possible reason for this may be that the unattributed designs were created but never actually went to the painting factory, for either of two possible reasons:

(1) The design itself was excellent, but the cost performance was low and no profit would result after time, expense, and materials costs associated with the painting and gold gilding were considered, thus forcing Morimura-kumi to abandon commercialization.

(2) The design was not of an acceptable level and was not considered worth the effort to sell as a product.

The former—that the design was excellent but too costly—can be seen from the fact that the majority of such designs bear grade stamps above X, SXA, and EXA. The elaborate designs I have selected for consideration here include total of eighty-seven pages marked with SXA and EXA designs bearing no painter name. On the other hand, thirty-nine pages marked with SXA and EXA do list such names. This means that only about half of the designs went to porcelain painters for production, however excellent they may have been.

Regarding the latter reason, the vast majority of the designs that lack

marketability are marked with C or D, indicating design grades too low for Morimura-kumi to sell them, and indeed most C and D designs are graphically simplistic and have little in the way of gold gilding compared to those X grade.

Many of the products with grades higher than A and bearing painter names are plates, followed by cups and saucers, vases, and pots. Among products with high grades but without painter names, vases are the most numerous, followed by plates and jugs. Vases bearing very high quality designs could have been produced, but typically they were avoided because of the relatively high cost involved. Since design plays a particularly vital role for plates, the company may have decided to sell even those designs for which cost was an issue. This is likely to have made plates the most numerous items among those products bearing the names of painters. The excellence of many vase designs is also readily apparent, even if these are not accompanied by painter names or such grade stamps as an X character. For the remainder of this discussion, I will consider those designs having associated with painter names, leaving those without painter names as a subject for future study.

v) Relationships between Porcelain Painters and Design Grades

Let me now consider the relationship between designs bearing painter names and the design quality grades introduced above. The names of painters associated with particular grades, ordered according to greatest number of listings, are as follows: Kawahara, Ishida, Saigō, Sugimura, Ōta, Ishitama, Ōtake, Iguchi, Adachi, Ōno, Ōtatsu, and Hirabayashi. Out of 132 pages, Kawahara has 27, Ishida 27, Saigō 22, and Sugimura 19, with these four painters accounting for about seventy-five percent of the listings.

Painters with designs graded higher than A (i.e. SXA, EXA, AA and A) include Kawahara (17 pages), Ishida (17), Saigō (20), and Sugimura (17). As far as these figures are concerned, Saigō (20) exceeds other painters in number, but Kawahara (17 pages) ranks first for the number of SXA and EXA grade designs, followed by Ishida (11), Saigō (9) and Sugimura (10, including 1 SXA).

Thus, my comparison of designs by painters associated with grade markers shows that Kawahara and Ishida are equal, with 27 pages each. In terms of the number of grades above A, Saigō (20) excels Ishida (17), but when evaluated with importance attached to those having higher grades like SXA and EXA, the painters contracted to do the highest-grades designs were, in order, Kawahara, Ishida, Saigō and Sugimura, which is proportional to the number of painter names with grade marks. In other words, it follows that painters receiving the greatest number of orders also received contracts for the highest-grade designs in the greatest numbers. This can be clearly seen from the fact that designs produced by Ōno, Ōtatsu or Hirabayashi, who seldom appear on high-grade pages, are marked with C or D together with their names.

My investigation so far of the relationship between grades and painters, as found in the Design Books, substantiates the existence of a hierarchy among Morimura-kumi painting factories, at least during the period 1906 through 1908 when these books were compiled. It is also clear that even excellent designs were not necessarily sent immediately to the painting factory, but rather were scrutinized regarding cost, which was regarded as the most important factor to consider prior to commercialization. That said, the Design Books content showing pictures of high-quality designs that

have remained unchanged since they were drawn will certainly prove useful as a reference in the study of the history of Japanese design, regardless of whether or not the designs shown were ever actually manufactured.

3) The Kawahara Factory and Its Designs

i) Kawahara Noritatsu moves from Tokyo to Nagoya

In the course of repeated test productions, a comparison of the best products from painting factories in Tokyo and Kyoto found the products from Tokyo to be better, and the Kawahara factory in Tokyo was thus selected as the first production site for Morimura-kumi's Western-style design efforts. In this section I will look at the important role played by Kawahara Noritatsu after he joined Morimura-kumi.

The Ōsaka Asahi Shinbun ran an article on 7 October 1898 mentioning Morimura-kumi's success, but later, in May 1899, ran another article criticizing its cheap production amidst generally active pottery markets. Further, the Kōbe Matashin Nippō, on 8 May 1899, reported a general slowdown in the Japanese export business despite booming American markets following the Spanish-American War, and mentioned that as export goods decreased in Japan, better quality products were taking the place of poor quality ones, and wages in industrial areas were also increasing. The Hyōchien factory of Kawahara Noritatsu had already begun doing business with Morimura-kumi a short time before commencing dealings with Kiryū Kōshō Kaisha in its initial stage of business.

The September 1899 issue of *Tōki Shōhō"* [Ceramic Journal] reported that Noritatsu, on behalf of Hyōchien, had been awarded the Second Progress Silver Prize in the "General Five-Two Fair of the Five Tōkai Prefectures" (chaired by Duke Sano Tsunetami). (The first Merit Prize was

given to Itō Tōzan). Among the other prize-winners we find the names of Katō Gosuke, Nishiura Enji, Katō Jūkichi, and Katō Shunkō, all actively involved with working for Morimura-kumi. Also, the exhibition judges for the "All-Tōkyō General Promotional Fair" included Miyagawa Kōzan, Kawahara Noritatsu, Miura Jōzan (1836–1903), and Kubo Seikichi. The first prize was given to Miyagawa Kōzan, the second to Katō Tomotarō and Katō Sukesaburō (1857–1908), and the third to Takemoto Yōsai and Miura Jōzan. Kawahara seems to have served only as a judge in this fair.

At the same time in this year, Kawahara's eldest son Tarō took the initiative to move the painting factory to Nagoya to bring it together with the other Morimura painters. The master of the factory, however, earnest in his mission to manufacture quality products, to the end opposed the relocation to Nagoya, and caused embarrassment among his colleagues by insisting that such a move was unacceptable because it would impair quality. He finally did give in, but only after strong solicitation. Noritatsu did not quite retire from all of his duties even after the relocation of the painting factory to Nagoya. In 1900, he visited France as an exhibition judge at the Paris International Exhibition. Upon his return to Japan, he commented in the *Chōya Shinbun,* dated 17 December 1903, that Japan would not be able to win in competition with European porcelain products if the Japanese continued to employ such conservative designs.

ii) Noritatsu's Instructions

In 1914, Kyōto Hyōchien closed its doors following Noritatsu's death. Noritatsu's eldest son Tarō took over Tōkyō Hyōchien, which was then extremely active as one of Morimura-kumi's Western-style painting factories, but in 1922 Tarō, too, passed away, aged just fifty-four. Because of

the expansion of the Japanese pottery industry, and also because of the intensification of painting fabrication, painting factories operating under the traditional Japanese apprentice system (which Kawahara's, too, had been) gradually disappeared. Despite Noritatsu's passing, his vision and his "instructions" to his successors, many based on the teachings of Gottfried Wagener, continued to be handed down. His third son, Saburō, continued to support Ōkura Magobei even after both Noritatsu and Ichizaemon had passed away, eventually being adopted into the Momoki family. Saburō was also instrumental in establishing Nippon Tōki, worked within Morimura-kumi—including stints with Nippon Glass, Tōyō Tōki and others—and finally became one of the most important figures in the Japanese pottery industry as the president of Ōkura Tōen. Noritatsu's fifth son, Gorō, published a book titled *Kahawara Noritatsu Shōden.* He described his view that the key to success for Japanese export pottery lay in the beauty of Japanese traditions themselves. Very much echoing the philosophy of Gottfried Wagener, he remarks:

> Japan, as an important exporter of porcelains to the United States, must, like Germany, rely upon European porcelains as examples, then improve the elements in these and work to build practical sales approaches. That said, it is also true that if we always remember the original beauty inherent in our own Japanese traditions, then Japanese export porcelain will be ranked as first-rate.[105]

Gorō expressed his regret about the tendency of the day to ignore master-class painters. As an example, he mentions Takemoto Hayata (1848–92), whose glazes, including those on pieces shown in the Paris

---

[105]Kawahara Gorō. *Kahawara Noritatsu Shōden.* Fukuoka: Shitōsha.1929, p 28.

International Exhibition, never leaked or bled, an achievement which, in Gorō's view, placed his skills on a par with prominent pottery industry leader Miyagawa Kōzan. Gorō concludes his biography of Noritatsu with the prescription that it is important to acknowledge and believe in the aesthetic sense of such excellent potters, to respect the excellence of their workmanship, and to preserve attention to them and their achievements.[106] This is none other than the goal that Noritatsu strived always to achieve, that is to create a harmony between learning from Western technology and continuing to hand down the essence of Japanese art and aesthetics.

iii) The Kawahara Factory & Dresden-Style Motifs

Let us now consider what kinds of paintings and designs the Kawahara factory employed in its service to Morimura-kumi. In his article "The Kernels of Pottery Industry Development", Isemoto Ichirō relates that around 1890 and 1891, there was "a boom in designs featuring such motifs as millet heads and chrysanthemums in gold impasto on yellow-green flambé ground". The first Western-style design from Morimura-kumi was one titled "Plate with Western violets", created by Morimura Toyo, and the next was the well-known "Dresden style". Morimurakumi records from the time offer this description: "'Dresden style' refers to a design in which one symbolic large flower is painted within a group of smaller ones scattered within a gold frame, for example two or three small roses scattered around a large rose painted in the centre". Following Ōkura Magobei's visit to the Chicago International Exhibition in 1893, Morimura-kumi, like the Worcester Firm, used the word "Dresden" to denote such "splashed-flower"

---

[106] Ibid. pp 38-41.

patterns. In a drawing-exercise book from A.J. Wilkinson Co.,[107] where Clarice Cliff (1899–1972) later worked, the description "Dresden" appears next to a flower-circle pattern. Among the Morimura-kimi Invoices, those issued after 1897 contain many mentions of "Dresden" and "flower-splashing". By the end of the Meiji period, Morimura-kumi was clearly using these terms, "flower splashing" and "Dresden", to describe such designs. It may have been more correct to identify "Dresden" as a pattern with a flower placed in the centre and "flower splashing" as another kind of pattern made up entirely of scattered flowers. Nonetheless, it seems that the company had no clear discrimination regarding such usages, and both were commonly used to indicate a design of flowers splashed in the Western style. In fifteen (out of 2,681) items in the 1897 Invoice we find such descriptions as "Dresden painting" or "Overglazed cobalt blue, plain gold, arabesque, Western-style small flowers, Dresden pattern on rim". Ten of these list the painter as the Ishida Satarō factory in Kyoto, while the remaining five list the Sugimura Sakutarō factory in Tokyo. At least among the items mentioned in these Invoices, none of the so-called Dresden patterns originated from the Kawahara factory. In the Invoices for October of the same year, too, the names Ishida and Sugimura appear, but Dresden is not associated with the name Kawahara.

This leads us to wonder whether Kawahara had already stopped doing Dresden-style designs by that time. Regarding this, Ishida Satarō makes reference to the subject of painting for Morimura-kumi in those days in a chapter titled "Exclusive Factories" in a book he authored. Speaking about the period following the consolidation of painting factories in Nagoya in

---

[107] A. J. Wilkinson Ltd: Formerly Wilkinson and Hulme at the Royal Staffordshire Pottery, Stoke-On-Trent, from 1886—early 1990? At the age of seventeen, Cliff, Clarice (who became the famous "Bizarre Ware" designer) started work at Wilkinson.

1899, he mentions, "Morimura-kumi used to place large orders with the factories covering one year's worth of production as soon as the painting sample was shown to them. Then, we, the factories, started our own production of different designs using our own original techniques, although based on the same samples".[108] From this we can surmise that the Kawahara factory had at first been a centre of painting in the Dresden style starting from 1893, but by 1897 orders for pieces painted using the Dresden motif were being shared among all of the Morimura-kumi factories. Further, *Company History of Nippon Tōki* describes the Westernization of painting activities under Morimura-kumi as follows: "The Dresden designs by the Kawahara factory earned a favourable reputation in export markets, and the factory began receiving a rush of orders. The volume of these orders simply exceeded the capacity of the Kawahara factory, so other factories such as those of Sugimura, Ishida, and Saigō had to come on board to augment production".[109] As mentioned above, the existing Invoices issued in 1897 contain no references to Dresden designs by the Kawahara factory. It is most realistic to regard this not as a stoppage of Dresden production by the Kawahara factory, but rather simply that the production of Dresden pieces happened to have already been allotted to other factories in that instance.

iv) Western-style Painting at the Kawahara Factory

Out of 3,504 items for export listed in the 1897 Invoice, 2778, or eighty percent, are porcelains (Appendix K Table R-1). Among these, 2,490 list the name of the painter imprinted on the piece. Kawahara is listed as the

---

[108] Ishida Satarō. *Senzoku Kōjō no Jitsujō.: Nagoya Togyō no 100nen.* Nagoya: Nagoya Tōjiki Kaikan. 1987, p 93.
[109] Nippon Tōki. *Seventy Years of Nippon Tōki Company History.* published in 1974, p 56.

painting factory for 690 items, and the Sugimura Sakutarō factory is listed with 1,253 items. How did these painters go about meeting Morimura-kumi's move to adopt Western-style painting?

Ishida Satarō remarked that "everyone was enamoured with Western designs in those days", referring to the period following Morimura-kumi's consolidation of its painting operations in Nagoya.[110] When we count the number of painting descriptions mentioning "Western-style" (西洋風), the name "Kawahara" is associated with eighty-five percent of them, followed by Sugimura (62%), Saigō (52%), Iguchi (42%), Adachi (28%), and Fujimura (9%). Needless to say, any description including the word "Dresden" can be considered to imply a Western style.

Around 1897, as production activities gradually coalesced in Nagoya, painting in the Dresden style, as one of the chief motifs embraced by Morimura-kumi, was at first handled in large quantities by the Kawahara factory. Although orders for Dresden-style pieces were later distributed among a number of other factories, the Kawahara factory was still the company's most prolific Western-style design painter. A full check of the porcelain products and designs associated with the name Kawahara shows the most common (twenty-five items) is "Overglazed cobalt blue, plain gold, lace pattern, Western chrysanthemums and morning glories". Others included "Overglazed cobalt blue, plain gold, lace pattern, moriage, Western chrysanthemums and morning glories"; "Overglazed cobalt blue, cloud-shaped gold, lace pattern, Western chrysanthemums and morning glories"; "Overglazed cobalt blue, with belt, gold, lace pattern, Western chrysanthemum and morning glories with blue dot"; and "Overglazed cobalt

---

[110]Ishida Satarō. *Senzoku Kōjō no Jitsujō.: Nagoya Togyō no 100nen*. Nagoya: Nagoya Tōjiki kaikan. 1987, p 94.

blue, gold, chrysanthemums". Further, we find twenty items described as "pale brown ground and light green flowers with gold moriage". These descriptions reveal that one of the motifs most used by the Kawahara factory was "chrysanthemums and morning glories" in the Western style, often painted over cobalt blue, with lace patterns or blue beading added in gold moriage. Other flowers painted included lilacs, violets, thorns, poppies and button-blossom strands. There were also a very few figure designs. As far as we can tell from the Invoices, in 1897 the Kawahara factory did not receive any orders for Dresden style designs. Nonetheless, Kawahara was in reality the Morimura-kumi factory that was producing the greatest number of porcelains featuring Western designs.

Interestingly, the morning glory is rare as a motif among the flowers appearing in the Morimura-kumi Design Books, nor is it found at all in the existing design books from the Kawahara factory. As described in *A Short History of Kawahara Noritatsu*, Noritatsu loved *haikai* poetry, and among flowers specially enjoyed peonies and morning glories, particularly after moving to Kyoto Shirakawa. Two of his poetical works can be translated literally (that is, without retaining their poetic qualities) as follows:[111]

> Morning glories and morning clouds bring me happiness.[112]
>
> Drooping morning glories in the evening bring the approaching autumn to mind.[113]

Perhaps due to his fondness for morning glories, the Kawahara factory willingly painted morning glory patterns, just as shown in the Invoices from

---

111 Kawahara Gorō. *Kahawara Noritatsu Shōden*. Fukuoka: Shitōsha. 1930, p 60.
112 *"Asagao ni medeteya kyō no asagumori"* 朝顔のめでてや今日の朝曇
113 *"Asagaono shibomimoyarazu aki no kure"* 朝顔の凋みもやらず秋の暮

1897 through 1906. It was around 1907 that the Design Books were compiled. By that time, Noritatsu had already retired completely, and his eldest son Tarō was managing the Kawahara factory on his behalf, and consequently Noritatsu's morning glories went un-included.

v) Kawahara Factory Designs in the Design Books

Let us now examine what sorts of patterns Kawahara Noritatsu and his Kawahara Factory actually produced. Some of these, produced during the Tōkyō Hyōchien period, are designated as Hyōchien-manufactured. Regarding those made during the Kyōto Hyōchien period, research is now underway on such pieces as green tea cups bearing the gourd-shaped insignia with the name "Heian Hyōtei", tea cups and cookie bowls that were sold by the Mitsukoshi department store, and also about 600 or so pieces currently housed in Kyōto's Kōseiin, a villa owned by the Hirose family which was a joint investor in Kyōto Hyōchien.

Regrettably, very few porcelain products exported by Morimura-kumi bearing the names of the individual painters remain today, the only exception being some of the very early works. No Old Noritake works bearing the name Kawahara or Ishida have not been discovered, although some bearing the names Iguchi, Saigō, and Sugimura have come to light. This lack of signed pieces has limited my study to 972 photographs taken from the pages of just three out of fifty gilded-design albums containing hand-painted designs from the year 1897.

Within these most detailed three albums, there are twenty-four designs attributed to Kawahara, two of which feature black currants (fig. 3.4.a and 3.4.b.). The remaining twenty-two are of flowers, including ten featuring

roses. All of these rose designs contain large roses (fig.3.5.) represented particularly by large-blossomed red roses (fig. 3.6). In addition to the "single-rose" style of design representative of Meissen, there are other rose designs that combine the roses with daisies or chrysanthemums. All, however, are drawn realistically, and the systematic patterns found on later cups and saucers are in evidence. Flowers other than roses include pansies, camellias, and some unspecified others, but all are drawn in a natural manner as if sketched. Significantly, they are not drawn in the way Kawahara learned and used for drawing Japanese and Chinese paintings early in the Tōkyō Hyōchien period, but rather in a way more akin to Western Impressionist painting. The same is true of the black currant designs.

In all of the twenty-four designs bearing the name Kawahara, the rim, belt, neck and/or bottom is always gilded, and continuous imbricate wave patterns *(noshi)* as well as a wide range of other patterns are also used, including vines wrapping flowers, herring-bone patterning on the belt, and moriage on the rim, making many of them quite gorgeous and visually opulent. It would be too bold to conclude that the above constitute the whole body of Kawahara's design, since I did not select the designs with the name Kawahara from all currently existing Noritake's Meiji-era design books, but rather simply chose only from among the albums that seemed the most detailed. However, many of the remaining design books are more simplistic and few of them carry the names of painters, thus enabling me to safely say that the Kawahara factory had drawn such designs as were mentioned above for Morimura-kumi around 1907.

4) Ishida Satarō and the Kyōto Painting World

i) Ishida Satarō

We will now consider Ishida Satarō (1858–1942), who stands in contrast to Kawahara Noritatsu in representing Tōkyō porcelain painting, and who moved from Kyoto to join Morimura-kumi. (fig.3.7.)

Ishida was born in 1858 to parents who were Kiyomizu ware wholesalers. While training himself in the techniques of blue-and-white, he also studied drawing under Kōno Bairei (along with his contemporary, Takeuchi Seihō). In the book *Nagoya Togyō no 100nen* he remarks, "It was Takeuchi Seihō's great skill as a painter which inspired me to follow the road of painting myself".[114] Pupils studying under Kōno Bairei (1844–95) included Takeuchi Seihō (1864–1942), Taniguchi Kōkyō (1864–1915), Kikuchi Hōbun (1862–1918), Kawai Gyokudō (1873–1957), and Uemura Shōen (1875–1949). Among these, Seihō, Kōkyō, and Hōbun were all engaged in design pattern work for Takashimaya department store. Kōkyō boarded with Kiyomizu Rokubei IV (1848–1920), another pupil of Bairei, during the period 1889 to 1892, and moonlighted as a porcelain painter. Kōno Bairei also taught Kusube Ichinosuke, the father of ceramic artist Kusube Yaichi (1879–1984). It is difficult to know for certain how much Ishida actually studied under Bairei, and how intimate he may have been with Seihō and other pupils. At the very least, however, the experience would have made it possible for him to come in close contact with the works of the many different painters coming and going from Bairei's home.

Bairei referred to pupils like Satarō, whose families were otherwise involved in running ceramic or dyeing businesses, as "irregular pupils", and

---

114 Ishida Satarō. *Senzoku Kōjō no Jitsujō : Nagoya Togyō no 100nen.* Nagoya: Nagoya Tōjiki Kaikan. 1987, p 24.

seems to have had them come to his home for lessons about once a week. Edward Morse has described the situation among these irregular students as he saw it when he visited Bairei's school in 1882:[115] "Members of families working with pottery or other crafts, whose work requires them to study design and decoration, will practice at home, and some of them visit Bairei about once a week to have their pictures evaluated".[116] After learning to draw Japanese pictures, Satarō worked at the shop of Kanzan Denshichi.[117] Although it is unclear exactly when he began to work there, some evidence suggests that he was initially assigned to handle sometsuke, then later around 1877, still just nineteen years old, was allowed to work with pictorial overglazing.

ii) Ishida Satarō in Morimura-kumi

1879, Satarō went independent and started a business drawing overglazed pictures on Awata ware. Shortly thereafter he became one of Morimura-kumi's exclusive painting factories, and on a plot measuring 2,970 square metres he built five factory buildings employing over 200 workers engaged in the large-scale painting of dish wares. Having specialized initially in Japanese pictures in a style unique to Kyoto, he mentions in *Nagoya Togyō no 100nen* that Morimura-kumi's changing operational requirements gave him opportunities to invent a number of different methods for lustre, gold-gilded copper plating, and raised

---

[115]Morse, Edward Sylvester (1838–1925): Well known for his discovery of theŌmori Shell Mound in Tokyo, Morse was the first professor of zoology at the University of Tōkyō and began an extensive collection of Japanese art and crafts, especially ceramics.
[116]Morse, Edward Sylvester. *Nihon sono hi sono hi.* translated and edited by Ishikawa Kin'ichi. Tōyō Bunko, Tokyo: Heibonsha. 1970, p 89.
[117] Kanzan Denhichi (1821–90), Born in Seto. Opened a porcelain kiln in Kyomizu, Kyoto during the Keiō era. He was a pupil of Gottfried Wagener and also a pioneer in Kyoto in using Western-style overglazing techniques. His cup and saucer exhibited at the National Exhibition in Kyoto in 1873 was purchased by the Meiji Emperor and the following year he received an order for a dinner set from the Imperial Household.

colouring (*iromori*).[118]

There are four designs under the name Ishida Satarō in the Design Books and twenty under the name Ishida. Since no other Ishida apart from Satarō can be found in the Noritake Company records, we can assume them both to refer to the same person. Six references to "Ishitama" probably also refer to Ishida (as discussed in the previous chapter), bringing the total to thirty-six designs related to Ishida, which is largest number of designs from any single Meiji-era Noritake painter.

Ishida Yayoi, the wife of Satarō's grandson who still lives in the same home where Satarō lived, retains his drawing exercise books in a family storehouse.[119] These contain sketches of small animals, flowers, and plants (including snails, cranes, cats, turtles, mice, rabbits, pines, bamboos, plums, sunflowers, maples, and so on) (fig. 3.8.). In addition, in 1894, Satarō copied *Sansuiga*, a landscape-painting manual that was based on a sketchbook from China's Ming and Qing dynasties, evidence that both he and his pupils were influenced by so-called *Nanga* ("Southern-style") painting.

According to a Nippon Tōki organizational chart, Ishida is registered at the top of a painting factory list in 1907, and ranks third in terms of salary after chairman Ōkura Kazuchika and research and development manager Asukai Kōtarō, clear evidence that capable painting factories enjoyed considerable prominence and influence even within Morimura-kumi. Satarō's ranking is the same in 1908, but the disappearance of his name from 1909 suggests that he worked with Nippon Tōki only until 1908.

---

[118] Ishida Satarō. *Senzoku Kōjō no Jitsujō. : Nagoya Togyō no 100nen.* Nagoya: Nagoya Tōjiki Kaikan. 1987, p 45.
[119] Ishida Satarō had seven children (three daughters and four sons) and his youngest daughter had two sons and one daughter. Yayoi is the wife of the first son of Satarō's youngest daughter. The youngest daughter was once adopted out of the family, but later reappeared in the official Ishida family record.

iii) Ishida Factory Designs Appearing in the Design Books

Regarding Ishida Satarō's designs, a decorative and eye-catching example (fig.3.9) features a large pink rose surrounded by beading set against a golden background. In contrast, a raised design for a plate (fig. 3.10.) is simple but naturalistic. A considerable number of patterned designs can be found as well. Ishida also worked with Art Deco style designs (fig. 3.11.), designs incorporating jewelled decorations (fig. 3.12., fig. 3.13. and fig. 3.14.), and other novel designs such as modified roses with gold background gilding (fig. 3.15.) none of which would have been found on more conventional Japanese porcelains.

5) Saigō Hisakichi and Other Painters

i) Saigō Hisakichi & Shumoku-chō

Saigō Hisakichi was born on 10 March 1861 in Higashi-Kawaramachi in Nagoya, one of the sons of the Suga samurai family. In 1876 he was adopted into the Saigō family at the age of sixteen. From as early as 1871 he began learning to draw in the Japanese style from Washimi Shungaku, and by the age of twenty-four he was drawing original cloisonné pictures. From around that time he began taking orders for porcelain painting from shops like Morimoto and Tomomatsu, and in 1890 his work for the latter led to further orders from Morimura-kumi. Saigō refers to his activities at this time in an essay titled "Watashi no Gakō-reki":

> A vast majority of painting patterns involved birds-and-flower or mountains-and-river motifs, with the former used mostly for meat platters. The painting fee was 1.5 to 2 yen for a pair of 8 sun vases, and 3 to 4 yen for the larger 1-shaku [=30.3 cm] vases. Kutani-style painting seems to have been used for smaller porcelains pieces, although I'm not entirely sure about this since as I did not work with such inexpensive articles. The painting cost for a dozen meat platters was approximately 1.5 yen, which was quite a good fee in those days.[120]

Although the Saigō factory was originally located in Fushimi-chō, it moved to Shumoku-chō around 1895 to coincide with Morimura-kumi's similar move to that district. Saigō Hisakichi's address in 1907 was Shumoku-chō 2-chōme 12-ban. Since painter Sugimura Sakutarō's address was 2-chōme 6-ban in the same town, and since the address of Soga Tokumaru, who had settled in Asakusa, Tokyo and worked with Hyōchien as a painter, was also nearby, we can surmise that many painters associated with Morimura-kumi were living in Shomoku-chō and its vicinity. Saigō ceased working with Morimura-kumi and closed his painting factory in 1909, so his name does not appear in the records after the change of Morimura-kumi to Nippon Tōki, but he remains an important Nagoya porcelain painter who supported Morimura-kumi throughout a significant part of the Meiji period.

ii) Saigō Hisakichi's Designs in the Design Books

Compared to Kawahara and Ishida, Saigō Hisakichi's designs tended to be softer and "calmer". His flower depictions include everything from pansies, roses and cherries to mustard blossoms, chrysanthemums and

---

[120] Saigō Hisahiki. *Watashino Gakōreki. Nagoya Togyō no 100nen.* Nagoya: Nagoya Tōjiki Kaikan 1987, p 43.

cosmos flowers (a relatively wide range given the number of his works), and his green and purple gradations are usually quite soft. His work (fig. 3.16.) is well balanced and gracefully finished, even despite its use of clear motifs like gold-gilded leaves and stems against black backgrounds with red rose blossoms. This is also true of fig. 3.17., which features edges coloured black and gold, with red and gold used in the centre (possibly to give the impression of traditional gold brocade), but which carries a certain softness in the flowers and cherry leaves that prevents the overall tone from being too extreme. A cake plate kept in the Noritake Museum, featuring a small chrysanthemum drawn in underglazing with gold gilding in the egg-brown gradation, is also Saigō's work, and includes his name inscribed on the back surface (figi.3.18.). Even in those days, Saigō seems to have preferred such soft colouring and designs. If Kawahara instead of Saigō had painted the plate in (fig. 3.19.), he would have drawn the flower larger, and if it had been Ishida, he would have accented the piece with beading. In contrast, Saigō's version renders the cosmos blossoms in a well-balanced arrangement that is as refined as many products produced today.

iii) Iguchi Shōzan

Iguchi Shōzan is counted as a porcelain painter among eight members of the Five-Two Association's Tōkyō Ceramic Department, listed from Kawahara Noritatsu down in the 1895 *Ceramic Commercial Bulletin*. The address of his residence and painting factory at that time is registered as "Kitateshima-gun Kanasugi-mura 147". This Kanasugi-mura (now known as Negishi) offered some of Tōkyō's best scenery and thus had served since the Edo period as something of a villa district, home to numerous writers and artists including prominent haiku poet Masaoka Shiki (1867–1902),

novelist Natsume Sōseki (1867–1916), and Asai Chū(1856–1907). The names Katō Tomotarō and Takemoto Hayata are also found among the members of the Five-two Association's Ceramic Department, and it is likely that Shōzan enjoyed strong friendships with these and other porcelain painters and artists through his business development activities at the Five-Two Association and in general through his location in the Kanasugi-mura(Kanasugi village) area.

iv) Sugimura Sakutarō

Sugimura Sakutarō's painting factory, which was called "Kochōen" (胡蝶園), was located in Hayashi-chō, Honjo Ward. The factory was twenty to thirty percent larger than the Kawahara factory and produced mainly thin porcelains referred to as *"hamamuki"* (Yokohama style) decorated primarily with flower-and-bird designs. Besides Sugimura's factory, the painting of the Imura Hikojirō Ceramic Company was also well known for similar "*hamaetsuke*" pieces. The Imura Company was established in 1875 in Honmachi, Yokohama, originally to trade in Satsuma ware and Western–style toilet fixtures. This initial business failed, however, and Imura turned to purchasing unglazed white porcelains from Seto and finishing them for export with overglazing to customer specifications. His pioneering business in Yokohama prospered under the name "Matsuishi-ya", and by around 1878 included four factories employing 200 workers and over thirty painters, including Ōba Toyo (or Ōba Hōsui, 1860–?), who would later work for the Makuzu Kōzan Factory. However, we should remember that among the seventeen ceramics producers exhibiting at the 1881 Kanagawa Prefectural Exhibition, those listed in the Yokohama traders' "Who's Who" numbered only three: Nōtomi Kaijiō of Edogawa Ceramic Company,

Kōransha from Arita, and Miyagawa Kōzan.[121] Other producers in Yokohama, including Imura's operation, Tashiro and Matsumura Kyūsuke Company, ran their factories alongside other business such as exporting. The Morimura-kumi worked with all of these companies as part of its business expansion.

Other members of the Five-Two Association Ceramic Department—among them Kawahara Noritatsu, Hanajima Hanjirō, Yoshino Seijirō, Watanabe Kichiya (Kawahara's real brother), and Hata Ken—established their factories in Honjo. Gottfried Wagener's Asahi ware factory was also in the same part of town, in the area formerly called "Gokenbori" (五間堀, referring to the former defensive moat there) during the Edo period. This waterway had served as an important transportation channel during the Edo period, and even during in the Meiji years it continued to play a vital role in helping potters transport large amounts of clay and pottery. Clay from Arita and Seto was first sent to Yokohama, where it was transferred onto a barge. The barge then travelled up the Sumida River via Gokenbori and Rokkenbori to be brought alongside the factory where it could be unloaded. Finished products for export were sent out to the port at Yokohama for shipment by reversing the course. Further, the manufacture of ceramics requires considerable water resources, but the groundwater in Fukagawa in those days was too salty to be usable. For this reason, the channel was also important for transporting water supplied by the Kanda River.

Katō Eiji, who has researched the environment and conditions surrounding ceramics production in both China and Japan, describes the

---

[121]Battie, David. *Concise Encyclopaedia of Porcelain.* London: Conran Octopus 1990, p 183.

Akatsu region in Seto City:

> There is a thick clay layer several metres below the surface of Akatsu Village. This layer is impermeable, and in addition to providing a source of raw clay materials, it also allows the water in a sand layer above it to be utilized, thereby making the region ideal for manufacturing ceramics.[122]

The areas around Gokenbori compare poorly with the Akatsu region in terms of the conditions ideal for locating ceramic industry, but they do provide the convenience of their water transport channels. Another reason why many factories were centred in Gokenbori, despite such drawbacks, was that the land there was relatively inexpensive. This was also part of the reason behind the efforts by firms like Morimura-kumi, Hyōchien, A.A. Vantine & Co. Inc., Imoto Store, and others to centralize ceramics production in Higashi-ku, Nagoya. During the Meiji period, many of these built facilities there, partly because of the district's convenience to Seto, but more importantly because of opportunities to purchase land in Shumoku-chō and Chikara-machi at low prices, made available mainly, as with Gokenbori in Tokyo, through the government sale of former samurai residences. Here we see a shift in the requirements for painting factories mainly involved in overglazing, particularly a move away from the need for plentiful wood sources, which had traditionally dictated the location of ceramic manufactories.

v) Fujimura Yohei (c.1830-1904), Adachi Seikichi, and Ōta Tokutarō

According to the 1895 *Ceramic Commercial Bulletin*, the address of Fujimura Yohei's painting factory was Asakusa-ku, Kojima-chō 14, Tokyo,

---

[122]Katō Eiji. *Nihon・Chūgoku no Tōjiki no Ritchi to Kankyō*. Tokyo: Kokin Shoin 1997,p 99.

and Adachi Seikichi's was Asakusa-ku, Kojima-chō 47, indicating that the two were adjacent to each other.

Painter Fuwa Sodō, mentioned earlier in connection with Hyōchien, excelled in detailed Satsuma ware-style drawings, mainly on vases, dishes and incense burners. While Sodō learned his painting techniques from former saké cup painter Uemura Uhei, he learned firing methods from Fujimura Yohei. Fujimura was a porcelain painter from Kutani in Kaga Prefecture who journeyed to Edo sometime between 1854 and 1859 to work on firing kilns. Years later he moved to Tokyo's Asakusa district and became a specially contracted porcelain painter for Morimura-kumi. Around 1899 he moved to Nagoya to join Morimura-kumi's consolidated painting factories, along with Kawahara Noritatsu and other painters, and his factory became one of the company's most representative painting operations.

Little is known about the careers of either Adachi Seikichi or Ōta Tokutarō. The former is mentioned in an article in the *Ceramic Commercial Bulletin* saying that he had joined the Five-Two Association's Ceramic Department No. 5. The careers of both of these porcelain painters warrant further study.

vi) The Works of Iguchi, Sugimura, Fujimura, Adachi, and Ōta

Iguchi Shōzan, Sugimura Sakutarō and Ōta Tokutarō were all porcelain painters who worked in Tokyo. They have in common with Kawahara both that they were working in Tokyo and that they pursued a similar Western style of painting instead of a traditional Japanese style. Let us examine examples of their respective works (including fig. 3.20a, and fig. 3.20b by Sugimura, fig. 3.21. by Iguchi, and fig. 3.22., by Adachi) to compare the way

each drew roses.

To start, all place the main flower *(haupt blume)* in the centre, and combine individual flower petals with the rose flower in a windmill pattern. The centre point is positioned at the bottom surface of the rose cup. Further, a dark shadow is applied to the root of one petal to distinguish it from the more forward petal. Although the rose may appear to be an easy flower to draw, it is in fact one of the most difficult. In these examples we see the ways in which it has been handled scrupulously and with a high level of technique, even given the patterned style.

It is evident that some painting factories were more influential than others. Iguchi, Adachi, and Ōta were not as influential as Kawahara or Ishida, so their works include fewer gold-gilded designs, and most of their designs are not as elaborate. Sugimura's name appeared the most frequently in the Invoices from 1897, even more frequently than Kawahara, but he seems to have lost vigour by 1907, when the Design Books were compiled. As might be expected of such an excellent painter, however, some of his works feature rather novel designs. In fig. 3.23. he seems to have preferred patterns of rose, gold, and dark colours, and his gold gilding is rich and luxurious. In fig. 3.23. he repeatedly applies white to the tips of the petals to give the impression of depth when coupled with the contrasting darker shadowed portions, a technique similar to that used by Kawahara in fig. 3.24. and fig. 3.24.. The roses drawn by Ishida and Saigō have fewer petals than those drawn by Kawahara, Sugimura, Iguchi, Adachi, and Ōta, and both emphasize the combination of the flowers with other elements like gold gilding and background colour.

CHAPTER 4: DESIGNS ASSOCIATED WITH OLD NORITAKE

1) The Relationships between Design Books Items and Actual Pieces

i) Ōkura Magobei's Views on Classical and Western-Style Designs

Originally, the Western-style designs used by Morimura-kumi were based on those found on porcelains that Ichizaemon and Magobei had brought back as samples from Europe and America. Around the same time, in 1884, Magobei used his publishing business to publish *Book of Classical Designs* (*Shinsen Kodai Moyō Kagami,* 新選古代模様鑑). In this we can see that while Magobei concerned himself with modern Western-style design through his efforts exporting porcelains through Morimura-kumi, he was also interested in exploring Japanese classical designs via his Ōkura Magobei Publishing Company, for example in books containing designs and sketches for use by various types of craftsmen.

In *Meiji・Taishō Zuanshū no Kenkyū,* scholar Hida Toyojirō lists a number of modern Japanese design books that refer back to classical designs, and among these he introduces *Shinsen Kodai Moyō Kagami* as the oldest design book of the modern era.[123] Hida also states that during the late Meiji period the phrase "classical design" was understood to include "developing design". The reason is that the "classical design" titled in earlier books had not satisfied the general public image of *"kodai"* (古代), or "classical ", and thus the meaning of "classical" as it applied to design was developed in later books. The book to which Hida refers may be the *Shinsen Kodai Moyō Kagami* published by Magobei. As Hida points out, Magobei's book featured mainly designs from items found in the Shōsōin, the de facto depository of many Japanese national treasures, and in the temple Hōryū-ji.

---

[123] Hida Toyojirō. *Meiji・Taishō Zuanshū no Kenkyū.* Tokyo: Kokusho-kankōkai 2004, p 63.

In contrast, *Nihon Kodai Moyō* (*Japan's Classical Designs*), published by Yamada-Unsōdō in Kyoto, includes designs from lacquer ware boxes by artists like Ogata Kōrin (1658–1716) and Hon'ami Kōetsu (1558–1637), created from the Momoyama through the early Edo period. However, Magobei's *Nihon Moyō Kagami* (日本模様鑑, *New Selection of Japanese Designs*) also included such designs as the surplice of Chinese monk Ingen (who came to Japan in 1654) and the riding harness of warlord Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1537–98). Therefore, by the time Magobei published his book in 1884, the meaning of "classical" vis-à-vis design was not limited to the strict historical sense of the word but included a wider range of designs, including some arguably more recent.

The fact that Magobei's book lists the exact source of each and every design included gives it considerable academic value. Further, it includes introductions penned by famous statesmen and scholars such as Fukuba Yoshishizu.[124]

In the books he published, Magobei was rather flexible in defining which designs could be considered "classical", and as Ichizaemon's business partner in Morimura-kumi, he had a channel to market these books both in Japan and through Morimura Brothers in New York.

The opportunity to switch from Japanese to Western-style designs on pottery shipped from Japan presented itself in 1893 when Ōkura Magobei visited the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago. The porcelains he saw on display were finished in beautiful colours and splendid patterns, in stark comparison to the poor quality of contemporary Japanese products. He realized that there would be no way to move forward unless American

---

[124] Fukuba Yoshishizu (1831–1907): Expert on ancient Japanese and *Kojiki* lecturer to the Meiji Emperor.

aesthetic tastes could be reflected carefully in the porcelain products exported from Japan. Sensing that it would be essential to start by referencing Western designs, he returned to Japan with a large selection of sample designs, finished pieces, and even brushes and pigments. Once home he immediately began making the rounds of those design shops collaborating exclusively with Morimura-kumi. Showing them these sample designs and materials, he requested each to come up with similar prototype designs, for example using Dresden-type flowering plants. The Japanese craftsmen proved fairly stubborn in their desire to stick with traditional designs, and initially showed little willingness to accommodate Magobei's wishes. His enthusiasm was so strong, however, that gradually they were persuaded and began producing porcelain with Western patterns. Magobei's intuition turned out to be correct; as soon as these new products reached Morimura Brothers in New York, new orders began to flood in.

While Morimura-kumi's Western-style designs earned the company a strong favourable reputation, Magobei realized the limitations of design alone. His ultimate view was that "nothing is more beautiful than nature", and in this context he occasionally referred to the Biblical verse, "But I tell you that not even King Solomon, with all his wealth, had clothes as beautiful as one of these flowers" (Matthew 6:29; Luke12:27). Magobei also said that the best sculpture is that which almost seems to move of its own accord, as if alive. Given this contention that design can never truly match the works of nature, Magobei considered the best possible design to be that which embraces nature but also adds some kind of "affective spirit". Works

that have achieved this, he said, are those that we admire as art.[125] What Noritake designs were successful in embracing nature and adding spirit in this way? To begin answering this question, let us examine some of the Old Noritake designs from the Meiji era and compare how these were depicted on actual pieces.

ii) The Significance of Comparing Designs with Items Actually Produced

Morimura-kumi had been focusing on exportable Westernized designs ever since Ichizaemon and Magobei first returned from the West with sample plates. One does wonder, however, in what ways the images of Western design built in the minds of the Morimura designers changed—through the process of making, overglazing, and inspecting the pottery—by the time the final products reached customers abroad. Although considering this question based on a limited number of designs and actual pieces may risk narrowing our view too much (especially since the total number of both designs and produced pieces is not recorded), such research can still offer important clues. If designs and those actual products resulting from them are similar, then it indicates some degree of consensus or common taste between the Morimura-kumi designers and their customers. Or, if the design and final product are different, then we can ask who made such changes, why they were made, and in what ways they affected the fundamental design. The following three reasons might be suggested to account for changes made to designs and reflected in final products:

---

[125] Matsumura Kaisuke. *Daiō-kunwa*. Tokyo: Dōkai Honbu. 1923, p 102.

- Potters could not produce the piece in question if they followed the original shapes depicted in the Design Books (or the shapes were considered too difficult to produce).
- The overglazing painters regarded the original design an unfit for application to porcelain.
- The sales department or administrative elements in the company required changes to be made to meet exportation needs.

Ōkuma Toshiyuki states that in the decorative arts after about 1900, designs featuring Western flowers and plants had begun to supplant those with more traditional Japanese flower-and-bird motifs, and he mentions designs by Nippon Tōki as a prime example.[126] It was around the same time that Morimura-kumi's Design Books were being compiled that Western designs were first being co-opted into the Japanese decorative arts. If there are gaps between the original designs and the final resulting pieces, it likely means that the Morimura-kumi designers did not fully understand the types of products that Ichizaemon and Magobei wanted to export. On the other hand, if most of the final products do match their original designs, then the designers did probably understand the company's intentions and produced results accordingly.

iii) Examples

Let us now examine some actual examples of designs and their corresponding finished products.

Examples showing accordance between design and finished product

Nearly Identical: Cabinet plate with large chrysanthemum on cobalt ground (fig. 4.1. design and actual piece). The overglazing (large

---

[126] Ōkuma Toshiyuki. *Yōran to shokuchū-shokubutsu wa kōgei-zuan to narietanoka?- Meiji/Taishō zuan-shū no kenkyū* .Tokyo: Kokusho-kankōkai 2004, p 85.

chrysanthemum), gilding (cloud pattern), and cobalt ground are considered to be almost identical in both the design and the actual plate. The design shows richer gilding over the ground colour near the rim, and the plate is also shown in yellow, but it is clear that the piece was produced in close accordance with the design. Apart from the orientation of the chrysanthemum, the design and actual plate match in terms of the rest of the flowers and the gliding on the rim.

Nearly Identical (bud pointing in opposite direction): Gilded plate with poppies in the centre on blue ground (fig. 4.2. design and actual piece)

Apart from the orientation of the bud, the design and actual plate match in terms of the rest of the flowers and the gliding on the rim, and the scalloped shape of the rim is also the same.

Nearly Identical (gilding shows some changes): Gilded pot with large rose as ground (fig. 4.3. design and actual piece)

The design and actual pot are in accordance in terms of shape, and while the overglazing and design seem the same at first glance, there are in fact some differences, for example the roses near the handles. The design shows a half-bloomed rose, but no rose is shown in that position on the actual pot, and instead more roses have been added near the bottom. The most important difference, however, is the gilding. The design shows the gilding on the upper and lower areas of the pot to be nearly the same in terms of space usage, but on the actual pot the bottom has considerably less gilding than the neck. The replacement of this gilding with dark green pigment may have been done to save gold. The design also shows the gilding

on the neck painted in a smaller curve, whereas the actual pot uses a large curve (again, probably to conserve gold). Unfortunately, the lid of the pot has been lost, making it impossible to compare it with that shown in the design.

Identical; similar designs in the Design Books: Nut sets with acuminate leaves and beading on green ground (fig. 3.13. design) (fig. 4.4.a: actual piece and fig.4.4b: similar design).

The large nut bowl is the same as the design. Looking only at the irregularly curved shape of the bowl it might be difficult to determine the purpose of this piece, but other small bowls of similar shape and design make it easier to understand that it must have been part of a nut set (from which one or more small bowls have been lost). There is also a vase with a similar design (fig. 4.4b). There is no evidence that this vase was actually ever produced, and even if it had been, its handles would have been too complicated for practical use. The design is nonetheless rather interesting.

Identical; similar designs in the Design Books: Vase with centred pink rose on blue ground (fig. 4.5.design and actual piece), product photo taken from *Ōrudo Noritake Meihinshū.*[127]

The Design Books show two types of handle that are the same as actual pieces, as well as a more complicated type of handle. The designs with two roses in the centre are the same as the actual piece, although the Design Books also show another one with three roses and more complicated handles. It is not known whether the version with the more complicated handles was

[127] Wakabayashi Tsuneko and Ōga Yumiko. *Ōrudo Noritake Meihinshū.* Tokyo: Heibonsha. 2001, p 100.

ever produced, but it is clear that once a basic design and shape had been created, several variations in terms of both overglazing and shape could then be developed.

Identical: Gilded jug with white large rose (fig. 4.6. design and actual piece), product photo taken from *Noritake Meihin-shū.*[128] Variations are also shown in fig.4.6.

Here we see a good example in which a basic design has been adapted to various shapes. The design consists of two main large white roses in a cartouche of yellow ground, with green ground all around and arabesque gilding. This same design has been found in twenty-eight variations to date, including those for vases, jugs, plates, bowls, cups and saucers, pots, and milk jars. Some of these shapes would have been too complicated to render as actual products, however, so it seems unlikely that all were ever actually produced. The existing jug has a relatively easy shape and would have been among the most likely to have seen actual production.

Examples of non-accordance between designs and finished products

Overglazed orchid changed to moriage: Jug with moriage orchid (fig. 4.7. design and actual piece)

The design shows overglazed orchids, but the actual piece renders one of these in prominent moriage situated at the centre of the jug, with some of the leaves coming from the bottom also done in moriage. To date, no such jug with all three orchids rendered in overglazing has been found (although

---

[128] Morikawa Takahiro.*Noritake Meihinshū.* Kyoto: Maria Shobō. 2003, p 106.

it may have been produced), but it seems likely that this all-overglazed version shown in the Design Books was the original from which the moriage type was subsequently developed.

iv) Cost and/or Value

Comparing designs with actual examples of Old Noritake allows us to identify changes in overglazing design (number of flowers), shapes (simpler), amount of gilding (less), as well as the addition of techniques like moriage. Although the number of comparisons of designs versus finished pieces considered here is extremely limited, the clear implication is that basic designs were made first and subsequently developed into variations, a phenomenon common in the decorative arts (porcelain included) of both the artistic and mass-produced industrial varieties. The fact that most of these changes represent simplifications is somewhat predictable given that Old Noritake was produced mainly for everyday use. Even with pieces intended more for decoration, such as vases, simplifying more complicated elements like handles for the sake of easier production was a logical step whenever a more complicated version would not necessarily increase value or quality. Simplifications of the overglazed designs typically involved minor changes that usually did not sacrifice overall balance.

Also, beyond such intentional changes, it often happened that several of Morimura-kumi's contracted painting factories simultaneously receiving orders for the same design simply ended up producing pieces with slightly different overglazing. The resulting differences among factories in producing these individual versions of the same designs are a topic for further study.

Cost and perceived value were important factors in design changes. Gold gilding was often reduced if the cost was estimated to be too high, for example, and value was sometimes increased by adding elements like moriage (e.g. in the case of the orchid jug) even though using overglazing alone would have saved cost and production effort. Such changes suggest that cost alone was not the only important consideration in arriving at final design decisions. The variation of shapes to accommodate a basic design (such as a large white rose) shows a dedication to flexibility in matching designs to various shapes, and the resulting pieces included many that Magobei considered more "artistic", in the sense of "embracing nature while adding affective spirit".

These changes and variations are easy enough to imagine and predict, but this comparison of designs in the Old Noritake Design Books with the actual finished pieces that resulted offers concrete proof that such an approach was in fact used in producing export porcelain during the Meiji era.

2) Roses in Japanese Art and Their Importance

As mentioned earlier in the discussion of painters, comparing how roses are depicted offers an effective means of discerning stylistic differences. The depiction of roses can also be used to continue examining the differences between designs in the Design Books and actual finished pieces. Of the 972 design examples I investigated, as many as 819 examples include floral designs, 397 of which were related to roses (Appendix K). From this we can infer that the rose was regarded as the most important motif in the

Morimura-kumi Design Books. This section discusses the evolution of rose designs on Japanese export porcelain in the Meiji era. Although rose motifs had been used since the ninth century and depicted in a variety of Japanese arts, the flower was rarely included within the traditional Japanese flower-and-bird design repertoire. In contrast, it was a highly regarded motif in Europe, especially on porcelains. When the Meiji government recognized the significance of learning from the West, rose designs (and in particular American tastes regarding roses) became important in export porcelain motifs.

i) *Kachōga* (Flower-and-Bird Painting)

"*Bara*", the Japanese word for rose, is thought to derive from *umara* or *ubara,* meaning "thorn". In Chinese the rose is called *sōbi* [129]. *Wamyōruijūshō*, a Japanese dictionary from the mid-Heian period, lists rose among 243 other plants. While in Europe roses have always been prized and studied botanically, the Japanese do not appear to have paid much attention to them as botanical specimens. The renowned French botanic artist, Pierre-Joseph Redouté, depicted 170 varieties and collected rose-related design books from around the world (including one from Japan from 1668, illustrated by Nakamura Tekisai). Within the Japanese arts, autumnal flowers like gentian and *susuki* (Japanese pampas grass) have traditionally been the most favoured, associated as they are with the Japanese empathy with the transience of nature, and wind-blown plants and flowers have also figured prominently.[130] The Japanese have also tended to prefer the clear,

---

[129] *sōbi*(薔薇 ch'iang-wei):Tsukamoto Yōtarō. *Hana no Bijutsu to Rekishi.* Kyoto: Kyōto Shoin.1998, p 170.
[130]Tsuji Nobuo. *Nihon Bijutsu no Mikata.* Volume 7 of Nihon *bijutsu no nagare.* Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten 1992, p 15.

distinctive look of flowers like the peony and hibiscus. This does not necessarily mean that roses have been viewed less favourably than other flowers in Japan, but simply that they have not been singled out as particularly special. Roses can in fact be seen in certain works, for example, in a ninth-century representational painting titled *Eiga Monogatari* (*A Tale of Flowering Fortunes*), and in *Kasuga Gongen Emaki* (*Kasuga Shrine Hand Scrolls*) dating from 1309. The artist Sesshū (1420–1506) depicted rose varieties like *kōshinbara* and *Rosa chinensis,* arranged together with other flowers, in his *Kachōzu Byōbu* [Screen Paintings of Flowers and Birds]. Other well known examples of works depicting roses include: *Kachōzu Byōbu*, a bird-and-flower screen painting by Hasegawa Tōhaku (now housed in Myōkaku Temple) and *Shōhekiga*, a door and screen painting done by the Kanō school for Nagoya Castle. Pupils of the Rimpa School, notably the brothers Ogata Kōrin (1658–1716) and Kenzan (1663–1743), also sometimes depicted roses, usually on screens. The Ashmolean Museum in Oxford also has in its collection a screen depicting roses, called *Flowers of Four Seasons*, by another pupil of the Rimpa School, Watanabe Shikō.

Kaishien Gaden,[131] the most renowned Nanga textbook, divides roses into three categories: wild roses (*Rosa multiflora*); *gekki* or *Maikai* (*Rosa odorata*), which was sometimes mistaken for sweet brier (*Rosa rugosa*); and the common rose (*Rosa chinensis*).

Japanese Nanga artists were significantly influenced by *Kaishien Gaden.* Well known Nanga painters including Yamamoto Baiitsu (1783–1856), Yokoi Kinkoku (1761–1833), Izuhara Makoku (?–1860), Kamei Hanji (?–1851), and Oide Tōkō (1841–1905) all visited Seto at one time or

---

[131] The first volume of *Kaishien Gaden* was published by Rigyō in 1679. Two more volumes followed in 1701.

another to consult on blue-and-white *sansuiga* (mountain-and-stream painting). *Kaishien Gaden* notes that in rose groups, although the bud, calyx, stamen, and corolla are similar, it is advisable to remember the differences in their colouring as they bloom. From the sketches of roses in *Kaishien Gaden,* it is clear that Nanga painters understood very well how to draw and paint the rose.

ii) The Influence of Kōno Bairei

Kōno Bairei (1844–95) selected the rose as the subject for one of his drawing exercises. These drawings feature a well-known style called *"mokottsu"* (without outline), which Seto porcelain painters have used from the Edo sometsuke period through to the present day. Nanga artists staying in Seto often depicted landscapes on porcelains using this mokottsu style, which is distinguished by fine repeated brush strokes that become visible with gradation.[132] Mokottsu is also called "*tsuketate*" because of the specific way the brush is handled. Other Nanga artists, and Seto potters influenced by them, frequently used the tsuketate brush rather than the *dami* brush (thick overglazing brush) used by the Arita potters.

In 1887 to 1888, Bairei depicted sixty different flower designs, including two featuring roses, on the wall of the powder room used by the Meiji Empress. These included both wild roses (*Rosa multiflora*) and the Cherokee roses (*Rosa laevigata*). Bairei had many pupils in both the fine and decorative arts, and the motifs he used and developed, including those involving roses, permeated Japanese art in the Meiji period. Ishida Satarō, one of Noritake's master porcelain painters, was a pupil of Kōno Bairei.

---

[132] Seto-shi-shi Hensan Iinkai. *Seto-shi-shi.* Volume No3 Seto City. 1968, p 319.

iii) Roses in the Decorative Arts

a) Roses on textiles

Tsukamoto Yōtarō has contended in his *Hana no Bijutsu to Rekishi* (*A History of the Art of the Flower*) that rose motifs do not occur in Noh costumes or in any of the Japanese decorative arts.[133] This statement, however, is not born out by the facts. According to Kawakami Shigeki,[134] the oldest rose designs in Japanese textiles seem to be those found on *bugaku* (court dancing and music) costumes from the Muromachi period. These bugaku costumes were prepared for *Issaikyōe,* a dance performed at the Amano Shrine on Mt. Kōya in 1454. There were five costumes for these dances, each depicting different flowers. The rose costume also included an arched bridge (fig. 4.8.).

In the Momoyama period, a kimono featuring a rose motif and snow-covered willow tree was woven for Kita-no-mandokoro, the wife of Toyotomi Hideyoshi (or possibly for one of her court ladies). Eventually the fabric from this kimono was refashioned into an *uchishiki* (Buddhist altar cloth). (fig. 4.9.)

In the Edo period, rose motifs were featured on a traditional variety of Noh costumes, called *chōken*, which featured a rather modern-seeming design of roses with hanging cherry blossoms and golden stripes. The rose is used exclusively for the *yūzen* pattern on the kimono.

---

[133] Tsukamoto Yōtarō. *Hana no Bijutsu to Rekishi.* Kyoto: Kyōto Shoin.1998, p 175.
[134] Kawakami Shigeki. *Kōya-san Amano yashiro no Bugaku Shōzoku-Kyōtoku 3nen Issai-kyōe Bugaku Shōzoku no Yōtobetsu kōsei nitsuite.* Kyōto National Museum Gakusō No 19940331. 1994, p 16.

b) Pre-Meiji roses on porcelains

Flowers depicted on Japanese porcelains mainly included the peony, cherry blossom, plum blossom, chrysanthemum, and hibiscus.[135] However, roses had been depicted even earlier in Nabeshima Domain, for example on a dish referred to as "*Iroe-tsurubara-mon zara*" and on an incense burner referred to as "*Iroe bara-zu*" (both late seventeenth century to mid eighteenth century) (fig. 4.10.). Another example of a rose design is featured on an Edo-period Imari plate,[136] shown in 2002 at the Tōkyō National Museum's *Edo to Momoyama no Tōji* (*Ceramics of the Edo and Momoyama Periods*) exhibition. The rose in this example is shown together with peonies.

C) Roses on Meiji Import Porcelains

Oka Yasumasa, curator of Kōbe City Museum, who has found imported porcelains from Britain, the Netherlands and Belgium, has concluded that large quantities of porcelain must have been imported between the Bunsei period (1818–30) and Meiji 5 (1872), and he also suggests that more foreign porcelain than was supposed to have been allowed must have been available in the Japanese market.[137] Shards of imported porcelain from the later Edo period have been found in Dejima and other places around Nagasaki, and as well at sites elsewhere in Japan. Excavation inventories from some of these list five plates decorated with a pattern called "wild rose", as well as a blue-and-white rose-patterned plate, a container, and a planter all made

---

[135] Minamoto Toyomune. *Nihon ni okeru Koppōyōhitsu-Nihon Bijutsu-shi Ronkyu.* Kyoto: Shibunaku Shuppan 1978b, p 56.
[136] Enamelled peony and rose design large plate, Edo period, private collection, in Catalogue of Exhibition "Ceramics of Edo and Momoyama"held in Tōkyō National Museum,2000.
[137]Oka Yasumasa. *Bakumatsu Meiji no yu'nyūjiki to Nihon tōji.* Lecture at Kindai Tōji Kenkyūkai, 1st June 2001, at Aichi Prefectural Museum.

between 1850-1860. (fig. 4.11.)

iv) Examples of roses on Meiji export porcelains

Plate with pheasant and cherry blossom design, by Kōransha, 1870

This large plate (diameter 90.2 cm) (fig. 4.12.) was made around 1870 and signed "Kajitomo". It shows a pair of pheasants depicted next to an imposing and sinuous cherry tree, together with flowers including peonies, morning glories, chrysanthemums, and roses.

Plate by Mārusu Company, late nineteenth century

Mārusu Company, owned by Katō Sukesaburō (1856–1908), was a leading trader and ceramics producer in Mino. It published *Nihon Tōki Shōhō,* a monthly pottery gazette, which covered all of the Japanese potteries being made during the Meiji period. The open latticework of the Mārusu plate (fig. 4.13.) is of superb quality. Each piece is hand-made and richly gilded. Such fine work suggests that the rose motif had finally become worthy of consideration as an appropriate theme for valuable items in Mino and Seto, the main export porcelain producers of the day.

Bowl with cherry blossom and rose design, by Chin Jukan XII (Fig.15), early twentieth century

This attractive bowl (fig. 4.14a.) demonstrates Chin Jukan's originality, particularly in its flowing all-over design, especially if compared with a pair of vases (fig. 4.14b.) shown at the Chicago Exhibition of 1893.

Incense burner with flower design, by Kinkōzan Sōbei VII,[138] late nineteenth century (fig. 4.15a.)

This is an example of Kyōto Satsuma earthenware. Unlike the original Satsuma, Kinkōzan's products have a white-bodied, enamelled finish, which is harder and has a thinner glaze and finer crackle than the Kagoshima type. Although the ground and rich gilding of this incense burner shows the representational style of Kinkōzan VII, the combination of chickens with roses looks modern compared to his other motifs of cranes with traditional plants like chrysanthemum, plum and, maple (fig. 4.15b.).

Incense burner with relief rose, by Inoue Ryōsai II, early twentieth century (fig. 4.16.)

Inoue Ryōsai I (1828–99), originally a Seto potter, opened kilns in Asakusa (now Taitō Ward, Tokyo) in 1866.[139] Ryōsai II (1854–1905) was the first-born son of well-known Seto potter Kawamoto Jihei, and took the name Ryōsai II in 1875. He attended the Paris Exhibition of 1900 as a representative of the Japanese government, which also afforded him an opportunity to visit the kilns at Sèvres. This incense burner is an example of the fine variety and sophisticated design that characterized his work, particularly compared to the earthenware of Ryōsai I.

Kiryū Kōshō Kaisha

Kiryū Kōshō Kaisha's designs undoubtedly aspired to promote the development of Japanese art as an industry, particularly in the way they preserved the traditional aspects of Japanese painting while removing

---

[138] The Kinkōzan family had operated one of the most highly regarded potteries in Awataguchi Kyoto since the mid-Edo period. Kinkōzan VII (1868–1927) was named Sōbei in 1884.
[139] His export earthenware known as Sumida pottery was made by *Kiryū Kōshō Kaisha*.

those not to Western taste.[140] The 1987 book *Kiryū Kōshō Kaisha—The First Japanese Manufacturing and Trading Co* contains 659 designs. Only five of these are rose motifs, including one out of thirty-seven vases featuring flower-and-bird designs.

3) Roses on Old Noritake

i) Rose Types Depicted on Modern Porcelain

From the eighteenth century to the present day, the Western rose depicted on European porcelain was the modern garden rose, which is quite different from Japanese wild roses. Modern garden roses can be divided into three varieties: bush, climbing, and shrub. The bush variety has been depicted on European porcelains since the eighteenth century.

Modern garden roses with five to ten petals are defined as "single", those with ten to twenty petals as "semi-double", and those with more than twenty petals as "fully double".[141] Among these, the "Hybrid Tea Rose" is the most famous.[142] Roses depicted on Japanese export porcelains since the Meiji period have reflected this. The examples of roses shown in the Morimura-kumi's Design Books, too, are all this modern Western type. The Noritake flower is very similar to the British rose with its semi-double flower, in contrast to the more classical "cabbage"-type Meissen-style rose, with its full double flower.

ii) Noritake Design Books and the flower species

Flower-related designs in the 1906–08 Design Books, including those

---

[140] Hida Toyojirō. *Meiji no Yushutsu Kōgyō-zuan.* (Kiritsu Kōshō Kaisha-The First Japanese Manufacturing and Trading Co). Kyoto: Kyōto Shoin. 1987, p 28.
[141] In addition to these types, the rosette, quarter rosette, and pom-pom type have also been seen.
[142] The first specimen of this type was called "La France", produced in France in 1867, and new varieties related to it followed successively. Today about seventy or eighty percent of modern roses are of the Hybrid Tea Rose variety.

using flowers as a single motif and those using flowers as part of a pattern, numbered 819 out of 972 designs. Of these 819 flower designs, 397 included roses, either as a major motif or as part of some other motif. Other flower motifs depict chrysanthemums, plum blossoms, cherry blossoms, orchids, lotuses, tulips, violets, forget-me-nots, irises, cosmos, pansies, puppies, crocuses, daisies, and morning glories. (Appendix K Table R-3) The remaining 292 flower designs are unidentified, but are divided into two main groups, one integrating various naturalistic aspects of Western flowers, the other using unknown flowers arranged as border patterns.

Cherry blossoms are used in traditional Japanese landscapes, while orchids, plum blossoms, irises, morning glories, lotuses and crocuses are used in "Japonism"-influenced designs. Apart from cherry and plum blossoms, most of the flowers depicted in the Design Books are Western. Even when depicted with roses, the number of designs featuring these other flowers amounts to less than forty. The other major flowers are the pansy, poppy, cosmos, and violet, but in total these are found with only a third of the rose designs. Thus we see the importance of the rose as a subject in Noritake export porcelains of the period.

iii) The Rose Motif on Miscellaneous Items

Roses on plates — Medium sized stylized roses with minimal gilding

Of the 397 rose designs in the Noritake Design Books, 183 are for plates (Appendix K, Table R-2). The patterned 119 are of roses and sixty-four are of the naturalistic type, including twenty-five rendered with a high degree of naturalism and finish.

Dividing the 183 plate designs by flower size we find the following:

fifty-nine are large, ninety-seven are medium, and twenty-seven are small (Appendix K, Table R-6). Of the 183 plates, 120 have a small amount of gilding. Among the 183 designs, six are highly naturalistic depictions with extravagant decoration, while four have a simple Art Deco border design with minimal gilding.

Roses on vases — Naturalistic, thickly gilded roses

Of the 397 rose-related items appearing in the Design Books, eighty-six are for vases (Appendix K, Table R-2). These include seventy-eight naturalistic flower designs, including fifteen that are highly finished, and eight stylized designs. Fifty-one designs are composed of large flowers (Appendix K, Table R-8). Clearly, naturalistic flower representations were preferable for vases, in contrast to the patterned flower designs favoured for plates. Vases also often featured gradation in the background. The piece shown in (fig. 4.17.) by Ishida, vase (fig. 4.18.) by Ishida has a more modified, decorative type of rose, including gilded leaves.

In addition to gradation, a variety of other techniques were used in decorating vases. Sometimes beading or thick gilding was applied, for example, even when flowers were being used as a background.

Roses on containers, jugs, and cups

In the Design Books, eighty-nine rose designs are featured on containers and twenty are on pots and jugs. In this chapter I categorize items other than plates, vases, pots, jugs, and cups and saucers as "containers". These include sugar pots, bowls, planters, and candle sticks. Roses arranged in patterns are more frequently depicted on containers

(fifty-two out of eighty-nine). In contrast, a naturalistic style is more often used on pots and jugs (fifteen out of twenty) six are of roses of an even finer quality. Although some of the pots and jugs shown are for practical use, naturalistic painting is used on some of the more costly items such as fine-quality vases. In general, thick gilding is usually applied on pots and jugs (sixteen out of twenty) and used for various decorative features including cartouches, banding, moriage, and background gradations. On vase by Ishida (fig. 4.19.), a cartouche, together with elaborate gilding and ornamentation, lends a rather heavy effect.

In contrast, the flowers on candlestick (fig. 3.12.) by Ishida are distributed in a delicate and orderly arrangement.

Yellow roses appear on some pots. Yellow roses were first recorded growing in Japan in the fifteenth century. Their earliest recorded appearance in Europe is from 1590, when they were introduced from either the Middle East or Asia. It was not until as late as 1837, however, that the modern yellow rose, originally the Persian *Rosa foetida persiana*, became familiar, largely as a result of the work of Joseph Pernet-Ducher (1858–1928). Yellow roses began to appear on European porcelain from around 1837. [143]

To date, only one design by Ishida featuring yellow roses (fig. 4.17.), has been discovered; all the rest are pink.

Rose pink is also the main colour in Noritake designs. Pink therefore appears to have been the most important and desirable colour for painting roses on porcelain in the Meiji period, despite the fact that the pink pigment used, called "*marron*", was (and still is) ten times more expensive than other

---

[143]Futakuchi Yoshio (Drawing), Suzuki Shōzō (Author). *Bara Gafu*. Tokyo:Heibonsha 1983, p 29.

pigments due to its being mixed with gold.

As with vases, medium and large roses are most frequently used for pots, jugs, and other containers (Appendix K Table R-10).

Roses on cups and saucers

Out of nineteen designs for cups and saucers, fifteen feature roses in patterned arrangements. In contrast, only five use naturalistic depictions, and none are done in a highly naturalistic style. The majority of designs feature medium-sized flowers, while seven show large flowers and just two show small flowers. In contrast, modern Noritake cups and saucers tend to feature small patterned roses, mainly on borders, and without stems.

iv) Rose Designs in the Morimura-kumi Export Invoices

Patterned types

Of the 397 designs featuring roses, 204 use patterned arrangements and 193 are of the naturalistic type, including fifty-one that are highly naturalistic (Table & Diagram R-11). The patterned and naturalistic depictions are thus almost equal in number. As noted earlier, the type of rose design used tended to reflect the purpose of the item.

The roses on plate (fig. 4.20) by Ishida are of a typical patterned type with a central bouquet and a border of flowers, an arrangement still popular today.

The design of plate (fig. 4.21.) by Ishida is more decorative than (fig.4.20.) and includes gilding.

The roses on plate (fig. 4.22.) by Ishida, on teapot (fig. 4.19.), and on cups (fig. 4. 23.) are placed within a kind of cartouche.

Plate (fig. 3.9.) by Ishida is the most extravagant of the patterned type. A bouquet of flowers is centrally placed within a decorative circle, with alternate bands of roses and a gilded design radiating out from the circle. The roses increase in size towards the rim. The blue Turkish-style stone beading increases its value.

Naturalistic types

Naturalistic roses, including highly naturalistic types, are featured in half of the designs. Although the plate design (fig. 4.24.) by Ishida is unfinished, the flowers are full and naturalistically depicted, and the background gradation suggests depth. From this, it is clear that the flowers were painted before the leaves. The painting sequence depends on the temperature at which the pigments will fuse. On paper, however, as in (fig. 4.24.), the background was painted first, followed by the flowers, and finally the leaves. In plate (fig. 4.17.) two roses are shown in outline only, but the colour scheme is clearly of red and yellow roses.

In late nineteenth-century Meissen, during the Jugendstil, or Art Nouveau, period, Eduard Julius Braunsdorf (1841–1922) created a technique of painting flowers known as "naturalistic flower painting", which as the name suggests involved a naturalistic style as well as the use of gradation and shading. (fig. 4.25.) Besides teaching at the Meissen painting school, Braunsdorf was also an accomplished impressionist painter. From the end of the nineteenth century to the beginning of the twentieth century, the Meissen painters were greatly influenced by Braunsdorf's "*naturalistische*" porcelain painting. Other porcelain producers in Germany were in turn influenced by the Meissen painting technique. It is not known

if the Japanese producers who went to the world exhibitions ever actually saw Meissen porcelain, but it is worth noting that the same painting technique was adopted in both Japan and Germany around nearly the same time.

Highly naturalistic types

Among naturalistic designs, highly naturalistic designs constitute about one-third of the total. Highly naturalistic designs require considerably more time and money to produce, and hence we find none at all for cups and saucers in the Design Books. In contrast, fifteen out of eighty-six rose designs for vases are highly naturalistic. The flowers on these are larger and often thickly gilded. Of twenty-five plate designs, only three featured medium sized roses. Other details such as leaves, stems, and background items are usually defined in great detail.

The major difference between Western and Old Noritake designs is in the background gradation. In Europe, especially in Germany, *naturalistische (naturalistic)* painting was reintroduced in the mid-nineteenth century, and stood in contrast to earlier patterning and repeating designs. Gradation and shadowing were not often used, however, mainly because of the European tendency to use brushes of a medium thickness, as opposed to the very thick brushes used by the Japanese ceramic painters to create depth and gradation.[144]

A special Noritake technique is called "*shironuki*" (lit. "White brought out"). This technique is used in particular for highlighting petals and involves removing areas of colour with oil. In contrast, European producers

---

144 Noritake Artist Club. *Chaina Painting*. Nagoya: Noritake Artist Club. 2003, pp 18-20. Schmidt-Ibach, Ulle. *Meissner Manier,* München: Studio für Porcellanmalerei und-gestaltung 1990, p 84.

such as Meissen create lighter areas by adding white. The shironuki method enables the petals to appear naturally thin and delicate. On the other hand, since over-use of this method can weaken the flower image, a combination of both techniques is more often used. This dual-technique approach is still taught today.

Decorative and highly decorative types

Nearly half of the 397 designs include decoration of some kind, and sixty-five of these have very fine decoration (Table R-12), much of it involving large amounts of gilding. Sometimes the rose even becomes more of a background design, to the point that gilding or other themes nearly take over the composition.

The roses in (fig. 4.26.) by Ishitama are of the background type, the flowers used as a background to enhance the gilded cartouche. The cartouche itself shows two women in a pastoral setting, one sitting on the grass, the other standing by her side. European porcelain producers had been using images of romantic scenes taken from fine art since the eighteenth century. Noritake produced many vases incorporating figures in pastoral settings. Imported transfer paper was sometimes used to apply the images, augmented by hand painting. The same design was used on a variety of different objects as well.

Another form of decoration comes from unusual or more complex shaping. Of 183 plates, 126 six are circular, forty-seven are circular but with crenate rims, three are oval, and seven are polygons ranging from triangles to decagons (Appendix K Table R-13). In the case of the circular

crenate designs, it is not certain whether the crenations occurred naturally in the porcelain or are a feature of the actual design. In any case, their curves are deeply pronounced and thickly gilded.

v) Roses with Moriage and Beading

Among the 397 designs, four have high-quality moriage designs, including two for vases, one for jugs, and one for other containers. The technique was not used for plates, cups, and saucers, however, as it was considered too fragile for practical daily use. The moriage clay requires both a certain hardness to enable it to stick to the body and at the same time enough softness to allow the shape to be moulded. Consequently, it often crackles during the post-firing cooling process. Morimura-kumi used this crackle to advantage, however, for example to depict the veins on leaves.

Decorating with moriage, gilding, and beading increased the value of objects (fig. 4.3.), by Ishida Satarō. Thick gilding and beading, applied by hand, are primary characteristics of early Meiji export porcelain. A total of fifteen beading designs are included in the Design Books. Among these, one is for coloured enamel, which was used as a form of "jewelling", and another is for white beading.

On sugar bowl (fig. 4.27.) by Ishida, white beading decorates the bottom half of the bowl and the edge of the lid. Gilding is used only on the handle and rim of the bowl, and on the handle of the lid. When rich moriage is used, only a small amount of gilding is applied. Thick gilding and rich moriage are rarely used together, since the result would be too elaborate and "busy".

Another beading variation is the jewelled type. Cups with large amounts of jewelled decoration have been found among European porcelains,

especially those from Sèvres. Although this coloured-jewelled type of beading influenced Noritake design, it was primarily used on more valuable items like vases and jugs.

vi) Roses in Post-Meiji Japanese Art

Roses were used as a motif in arts other than porcelain. Famous lacquer ware artist Kawanobe Itchō (1830–1910), for example, decorated a pair of lacquer panels with roses and banana leaves, a very innovative motif for a lacquer work compared with the traditional flower-and-bird designs used since the Muromachi period. (fig. 4.28.)

Kiyomizu Rokubei V (1875–1959), a pupil of Kōno Bairei, took the rose as a motif and used a new pink colour for overglazing, produced by mixing an original variety of clay with nickel. Nakazawa Iwata (1858–1943), first headmaster of the Kyōto Institute of Technology, gave this shade of pink a name that refers to the commemoration of the succession to the throne of the Taishō Emperor. (fig. 4.29.).

Currently, in Arita, major porcelain producer Kōransha offers twenty-one rose designs out of 100 selected patterns. These are divided into four groups: Rose Garden, Rose Shower, Blue Rose and English Rose. Kōransha's current rose designs tend to be more naturalistic than Noritake's. Noritake's style tends to rely on decorative patterning, while Kōransha follows a more traditional Japanese painting style originally adopted for pieces presented in world exhibitions.

Noritake currently has forty-five domestic tableware designs in continuous production, but only six involve roses (fig.4.30). Among the company's eighty-one designs for U.S.-bound export tableware, only eight

use roses. (fig. 4.31.)

4) Copying by Noritake

i) Worcester vases

A vase found sketched in Morimura-kumi's 1897 Invoice features a wide base and mouth coupled with a narrow waist emphasized by large, decorative handles.

Although the terms "vase", "flower bowl" and "pot" turn up frequently in the Invoices, there is no clear distinction between these objects. The terms "flower bowl", "flower vessel" or "pot" were never used to represent any particular flower bowl in the early days, although later these terms came to refer to water jars or decanters apparently used to hold flowers. There is no distinction in shape between a flower bowl and a vase, and a vessel with a wide mouth that swells in the middle is generally called a vase in Japan.

The shapes of vases described in Morimura's Invoices are based on the Greek narrow-necked amphora. In the history of European art, the Neo-Classical movement surged in popularity from the latter half of the eighteenth century through the early nineteenth century. In the porcelain industry, the copying of the affluent styles that had been handed down from ancient times began at the Sèvres kilns, and was soon followed by other major porcelain factories in Europe. The porcelain decorative patterns adopted from such classical designs included scrolling acanthuses, draperies, palmettos, and cherubs. Many of these patterns featured sumptuous painting and bands of gold with complex and formal framing. This use of gold, referred to as "*madori*", was borrowed unchanged in the creation of Old Noritake pots.

The Neo-Classical movement was followed by the "Empire" style, with a variety of designs being employed in porcelains. Among these was a jewelled decoration method of applying "jewels", or enamel droplets designed to imitate precious and semi-precious stones, to glazes, mosaic patterns and arabesques. Such jewelling was adopted by Noritake in the form of beading, and has often been applied to its pots or other expensive items.

In Greece, whimsical patterns depicting figures such as the gods at play were common. Following the Empire style, the European porcelain industry embraced a hierarchy of religious paintings, portraits, landscapes, and animal and plant paintings. This was followed by the Art Nouveau movement, which enabled the European art world to recover its freedom by allowing depictions of "lower" animals such as insects and frogs, influenced in fact by a newly rediscovered Japonism. It is ironic that at the same time that Japan's arts and crafts, those of Morimura-kumi included, were copying European styles, the European arts were being influenced by Japan to regain the freedom of the classical Greek age.

Japanese export vases in the Meiji period were designed to resemble European vases and were produced for decorative purposes rather than practical use, and consequently they were often gilded, as illustrated by Vase (fig. 4.18). In fact, while leakage and balance were initially the main concerns, design and shape gradually became more important.[145] Vases, more than other types of pieces, can be either more practical or more decorative (although some are both). The fact that the vase decorations in the Design Books consist primarily of large, naturalistic flowers suggests that the Noritake vases exported by Morimura-kumi tended to be more

---

[145] Takamura Toyochika (1934–1972) was a metal artist whose father was Kōun (1852–1934), a sculptor. His elder brother was Kōtarō (1883–1956), a sculptor and poet.

decorative than practical. (Appendix K Table R-7 and R-8)

The vase (fig. 3.15.) by Ishida is much more decorative than vase (fig 4.18) 4038-15. The overall design of the former is more assertive, and it also contrasts with Imari export porcelain, which also sometimes incorporated Western stylistic elements. The large pink flowers and leaves on vase (fig. 3.15.), edged by beading and surrounded by a gold background, were designed to appeal to American tastes.

The Worcester Firm established its original factory in 1751 in Worcester, United Kingdom. In 1862, Kerr & Binns and Worcester consolidated the three factories of Grainger, Hardley and Lock, which then grew to become the Royal Worcester we know today. Because Worcester exhibited a number of its works in international exhibitions, most notably in those held between 1837 and 1901, [146] Morimura-kumi at the time was likely to have been greatly influenced by its work. At the London Exposition of 1851, Worcester exhibited a pot bearing the prominently written name "Lea & Perrins Worcestershire Sauce". It then won the Grand Prix in the Melbourne Exposition in 1881, and subsequently gained even greater fame, first at the 1887 Manchester exposition (commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of Queen Victoria's succession to the throne) and at the Chicago World Exposition in 1893. Since then, it has proudly shown its works in exhibitions in London, Paris, Vienna, and Philadelphia.

At the time Ichizaemon and his associates visited Europe, Worcester enjoyed the services of such gifted porcelain painters as the Stinton family, Harry Davis,[147] and C.H.C. Baldwyn.[148] The landscapes drawn by John

---

[146] Frost, Harry and Cook, Wendy. *Royal Worcester Porcelain and Dyson Perrins Collection* Worcester: Dyson Perrins Museum, 1993 p 59.
[147] Harry' grandfather, Josiah, who worked with Worcester as a capable gilder, discovered Harry's talent. After only one year of training, he began to surpass others in his skill, and became a master painter in 1928.

Stinton Jr. are often hailed as the best European porcelain paintings of the twentieth century, including his well-known *Highland Cattle in Scotland.*[149] Among Baldwyn's works, a series titled *Flying Swans* are among the most well known.

ii) Noritake's Cattle Motifs & Worcester's Highland Cattle

The largest porcelain object in the Noritake Museum collection is a decorative vase (fig. 4.32.) featuring cattle, the maple leaf back stamp of which suggests that it was made between 1891 and 1892. A vase in the Wakabayashi collection (fig. 4.33.) is also a large-scale work with a Noritake cattle picture. Worcester's Highland Cattle picture, drawn in the early 1900s, and the cattle picture painted on the Noritake vase are closely related.

A pair of vases decorated by the Stintons in 1909 (fig. 4.34.) have been selected to analyse the degree of resemblance to the above-mentioned two cattle pictures. Although it is unknown which member of the Stinton family painted this particular pair of vases, it can be inferred from the choice of the cattle and the age of production that they were done by either John Jr. or his son Harry.[150] Although John Jr. had drawn ordinary cattle in his early days, around 1903 his interest turned more to Scottish Highland cattle,[151] often accompanied by compositions featuring old British castles and landscapes placed in the centre of the dish. He is known to have used the

---

[148] Baldwyn's own portrait is shown in Illus. 22. Jones,Ray. BA, *Worcester Porcelain 1751 – 1951* (Parkbarn 1993), p. 77, drawing 131.
[149] The eldest son of Stinton,John born in 1854, and died at the age of 102 in 1956.
[150] Although John Jr. had drawn ordinary cattle in his early days, around 1903 his interest turned more to Highland cattle, often accompanied with compositions featuring old British castles and landscapes placed in the centre of the dish. Harry trained in painting under his father John Jr. for many years, and thus his cattle drawings were much like his father's.
[151] The small beef cattle known as Highland Cattle are native to Scotland. They are covered with long, reddish-brown hair that gives them greater resistance to the cold, and they are said to share many characteristics with aurochs, the wild ox ancestors of European cattle that became extinct early in the seventeenth century.

Highland cattle motif for both his porcelain painting and his efforts with watercolours.

A most noticeable feature of the Highland cattle painted by John Jr. and his son Harry is that the legs of the animals are always hidden by either grass or water. The same feature can be seen in the watercolours shown in fig. 4.35., in which the lower part of each animal is hidden (although the age of the photos makes it difficult to confirm this clearly). The backgrounds of both pictures are landscapes characteristic of the Scottish Highlands. A watercolour shows grasses swaying in a strong wind. Despite several trees in the background of the watercolour, the picture gives the strong impression of a rather desolate landscape of the type likely to be found in that part of Scotland.

Now, let us examine the cattle paintings drawn on Old Noritake vases (fig. 4.32.) and (fig. 4.33.). Noritake's cattle paintings are drawn using a background landscape of lush Asian rice paddies, in sharp contrast to the desolate Highland landscape. However, the legs of the cattle in the paintings, like those of the Stinton's mentioned above, are hidden, and the landscaping at the water's edge is also quite similar.

Highland cattle are found only in Scotland, Australia and Canada, and cannot have been seen in Japan. Therefore, when drawing these animals and the surrounding weather and landscapes of Scotland, Morimura-kumi painters must have had to rely on their own imaginations, as stimulated by the samples brought back to Japan. This must have been extremely difficult work because their sources of information were sorely limited compared to what is available today, and because only a handful of samples would have been available for copying. It goes without saying that cattle other than

Highland cattle were also painted on European ceramic prints and tiles, but the designs of the Stinton family, in which cattle are arranged in an opposite-facing manner (called the "*ai*" format in Japanese) were the most popular in Europe and the United States. It is quite reasonable, therefore, to imagine that Morimura-kumi's painters modelled their porcelain pictures on these designs.

iii) Flying Swan Motifs by Baldwyn and Noritake

The book *Royal Worcester Porcelain* notes that the Japanese began copying Worcester around 1900, a particularly favourite subject being C.H. Baldwyn's Flying Swans.[152] The birds painted by both Baldwyn and Noritake artists are either whooper swans (*ōhakuchō* in Japanese) or the swans popularized by English engraver Thomas Bewick (1753–1858) (*kohakuchō, Cygnus columbianus*). Both of these species are found in both Europe and Japan, so they must have been much easier than the Highland cattle for the Noritake painters to draw. Besides Old Noritake, many Meiji period examples of Nippon export porcelain (mainly from Seto) featuring swan paintings seem to have been copied from Baldwyn's swan designs.

Charles Henry Clifford Baldwyn (1859–1943) was skilled at depicting birds, and tended to draw upon everyday life in developing subjects for his work. He often used a "BY" mark as his personal signature. Until 1900, Worcester did not allow even the best painters to affix their signatures to their works, but Baldwyn was an exception. Further, not only was he authorized to affix his signature, he was also allowed to exhibit his own

---

[152]Sandon,Henry. *Royal Worcester Porcelain from 1862 to the Present Day.* London: Barrie & Jenkins 1973, p 27.

watercolours at the Royal Academy Exhibition in 1887.[153] Worcester Company registered a version of Baldwyn's flying swans late in the 1800s as its official trademark. After its registration, they protected the specific design, by disallowing any changes to be made to it without permission, even by the company's own employees, who were instructed to faithfully follow the original pattern—including colouring—when painting the trademark. Worcester finally had to trademark this design and a number of others design to discourage copying. Later versions of the registered Baldwyn swan pattern could be printed in outline and filled in with colour. Some books on Worcester products make a point of describing and explaining this flying swan trademark, demonstrating the truly high popularity of this design.

To compare Baldwyn's swans motif Noritake's, I selected two Baldwyn vases, one produced in 1898 (fig. 4.36.) and the other in 1901 (fig. 4.37.). The Noritake items were a vase (fig. 4.38.), a planter (fig. 4.39.), and moriage-decorated pots (fig.4.40.), selected from pieces produced between 1891 and 1911 and currently exhibited in the Noritake Museum.

Regarding background colours, Baldwyn's vases tended to use light blue or sky blue, although the 1898 vase features a darker shade of blue merging into pink to suggest the glow of dawn. The Noritake Museum vases, on the other hand, are faithful copies of the Baldwyn swan images, apart from the fact that the birds are flying in the opposite direction. These use a beautiful variety of background colours, including one that is closer to a mint green than Baldwyn's blue. The moriage-decorated pieces include a number with backgrounds of gradated grey and yellow, whilst some even have a crimson

---

[153] Ibid. p 262.

sky suggestive of the glow of sunset.

Regarding the positioning and depiction of the swans, most of Baldwyn's swans stretch their necks to the right, flying from left to right. Their heads and wings are lifted upwards suggesting ascending flight. In addition, Baldwyn's paintings tend to be dense with swans, the spacing between them being quite narrow and thus resulting in more swans per piece than are found on the Noritake examples.

In contrast to Baldwyn's swans, most Noritake swans fly from right to left. There are some exceptions, however, for example in some of the moriage-decorated pieces, like the one with the blue ground, in which the swans face the opposite direction. They are more widely spaced and their wings are angled lower than those of Baldwyn's swans. The Noritake vases contain at least two swans, with the number increasing along with the vase size.

Next let us examine how reeds and other background water plants are depicted. In fact, a number of stylistic and technical similarities can be seen in the depiction of plants and grasses in both the Baldwyn and Noritake works. This is particularly evident in both the form and the use of gilding. Comparing the two designs as a whole shows that Noritake swan pictures seen on the planter paintings (fig. 4.39.) closely resemble the Baldwyn original. Their designs, however, differ considerably from each other in the moriage-decorated pieces. Baldwyn's design features reeds and other water grasses situated in the lower area as a landscape, with gilt flowers over it. In Noritake's moriage swan painting, on the other hand, the background is finished with gradated ground colour to emphasize the swan's white moriage effect, and a considerable number of designs have no water grass or

gilding background decoration at all.

Many Japanese works that copy Baldwyn's flying swan designs bear back stamps other than those of Old Noritake, for example the one in (fig. 4.41.), which bears a paulownia mark that identifies it as having non-Noritake origins. It appears that many Japanese porcelain producers throughout the Meiji period copied Worcester's flying swans, even as the company fought against such illegal use of its trademark.

The Noritake swans modelled on Baldwyn's flying swans, when exported to the United States, were interpreted to be geese instead of swans.[154]

iv) Noritake Birds Designs Influenced by Worcester

Most of swan and cattle designs by Worcester that influenced Noritake were rendered in a watercolour style and technique, and consequently Noritake animal designs, including those featuring birds, were also done in a similar style. Further, Noritake swan designs closely resembled those of Baldwyn, although they may not have been done in the watercolour style. Contemporary Meissen and Sèvres typically placed the subject on a white ground, as did most British kilns. Royal Worcester, however, placed its subjects on a ground of either gradated colour wash or scenery. Noritake's company history records that Ōkura Magobei returned from a trip to the West, including the 1893 Chicago Exhibition, with various porcelain plate samples. Unfortunately these sample plates no longer exist, and there is no

---

[154] In this connection, I queried Van Patten, Joan. F. the author of the book, *Flying Geese* (which contains photos of the birds in question.). Van Patten states that the Noritake swans were originally taken to be Canadian geese, a species of wild bird inhabiting the northwest part of the North American continent, although she could not say for certain when this mistaken appellation was first used. Another Noritake aficionado later discovered that the birds were swans and not geese, and ever since collectors have been attempting to correct the data. Nonetheless, in the United States they are still commonly referred to as geese.

description of which kilns' work they were. It seems highly likely, however, that they were Worcester porcelains, since this would have been consistent with the subsequent influence on Old Noritake. Further evidence includes the fact that it was around this time that Baldwyn (1859–1943) and the members of the Stinton family—specially John (1854–1956), James (1870–1961), and Harry (1883–1955)— were actively drawing for Worcester, which itself was exhibiting very actively in the various world exhibitions visited by the Morimura-kumi directors. It is unlikely that the company would have produced designs so similar to Baldwyn's swans unless such were among the samples brought back from the West. In addition to swans resembling those of Baldwyn, there are also examples of Old Noritake featuring a pheasant motif very similar to the work of William Powell, drawn for Worcester from 1900 through 1950.

v) Noritake and the works of Jean-François Millet

In addition to Worcester's cattle and swan paintings, Noritake also copied (or took inspiration for) designs from paintings from the United States and France. These included an eagle picture copied from *The Birds of America*, completed in 1838 by American naturalist John James Audubon (1785–1851), as well as works by painter Jean-François Millet (1814–75) including *The Sower* (1850), *The Gleaners* (1857) and *The Angelus* (1859). The versions of Millet's works differed widely, from those true to the original to those showing considerable variation in both composition and colour. Unlike the Baldwyn's light, airy swan paintings, Millet's works are more sober in subject matter and relatively dark in colour and tone. According to Butler Brothers advertisements of the time, however, this did

not prevent Noritake wares from featuring Millet's images regularly from 1907 through 1916.

There are some Old Noritake pieces, produced between 1911 and 1926, that depict a man sowing seeds under an apple tree. The model for this was American folk icon "Johnny Appleseed" (John Chapman,1774–1857), known for spreading apple cultivation on the frontier of the United States. The images of Johnny Appleseed and Millet's *The Sower* on Old Noritake are composed very similarly, and we are left to wonder whether the former was based on a particular picture of Johnny Appleseed or simply adapted from Millet's painting by replacing the subject. Various drawings of Johnny Appleseed have been found in picture books for children, but there are no paintings that bear such similarity to Millet's sower as those depicted in Old Noritake. Given that the American people cherished a certain nostalgia for the frontier period, it would not have been unusual for them to have empathized with the diligence of the farmers depicted by Millet, and by extension one can imagine American dealers or customers commissioning depictions of both Johnny Appleseed and works by Millet.

This in turn leads one to ask, of course, why were a French painter like Millet and his works so familiar to the American people? We can find the key to this in the Boston Museum, which houses the largest collection of Millet's works outside of France, a total 175 pieces.[155] This collection is based on that of Boston artist William Morris Hunt (1824–79), who was the first American collector of Millet's works. Hunt had lived in Barsion, Fontainebleau, and there studied fine art under Millet himself. He bought *The Sower* immediately after Millet exhibited it. Other American art

---

155 Nagoya· Boston Museum, *Exhibition Catalogue of Millet from Boston Museum(English)*, 2002.

enthusiasts, as well, bought Millet's works, which were undervalued in France at the time. Hunt's younger brother, Richard Morris Hunt (1827–95), was a prominent architect, known for building the Tribune Co. Building in New York, the Marshal Field Building in Chicago, and the Vanderbilt house in New York. After studying architecture in Geneva in 1843, he went to Paris to study fine arts at the École des Beaux-Arts and then worked on the construction of the new Louvre Palace, helping his master Hector Martin Lefuel (1810–80) in 1854. Americans were undoubtedly strongly influenced by the Hunt brothers, and Noritake designers in New York must also have been familiar with Millet's works, since they were so well-liked by New Yorkers and Bostonians.

It is worth considering why Morimura-kumi chose these works by Millet in particular. Reasons might include:

- The depiction of diligence and religious honesty appealed to Japanese sentiments.
- Millet's works enjoyed high popularity in the United States, the company's largest and most important market.
- Millet's well integrated preliminary sketches, which eliminated superfluous objects, facilitated alteration.

Taking Asai Chū's 1888 *Spring Ridge* (春畝) picture as an example, we find features in common with Millet's *The Sower* (1850). Japanese artists working in Western genres of painting at the time competed to go abroad and expressed their experiences and achievements after returning to Japan. Millet was indeed much appreciated by such Japanese painters. The influence of the Western painting world, combined with advice from Morimura Brothers in the United States, likely persuaded Morimura-kumi to copy Millet. Also, Ōkura Magobei's publishing business had published

many of novelist Natsume Sōseki's books (including the well-known *I Am a Cat* (*Wagahai wa Neko de Aru*). Natsume himself had copied Millet's *Girl of Goose-Keeper*, and had also commented that he found the prayer in Millet's *The Angelus* to indicate something profound and remote.

We can see that the Morimura-kumi in the Meiji era was deeply and significantly influenced by European design, particularly by the swan and other bird designs by England's Royal Worcester Company, and by the cattle motifs of Stinton and Baldwyn. Most of the works by the Stinton family, Baldwyn, and Harry Davis deserve recognition for their artistic merit and originality. Old Noritake products, on the other hand, were copies. Still, they did not merely imitate the paintings that inspired them, but also offered "added value" in the form of beading and gilding, which made repeated overall studies of the possibilities from various perspectives. Further, Old Noritake was able to offer good quality, attractively decorated porcelains with real value at prices that the middle classes could easily afford.

5) Meiji period Porcelain Painting Technologies

i) Gold Gilding

Studies by Geoffrey Godden, author of *Chamberlain-Worcester Porcelain*,[156] show that records from 1800 through 1820 indicate how costly it was to add gilding to their production of Worcester porcelains. On 22 July 1789, for example, a 'Royal Star' tea set was invoiced at £2 17s.0d. with an extra £2 14s. 0d. for Chamberlain's gilding.[157] Godden continues, "It is interesting to see that Chamberlain returned faulty pieces to Turner—one

---

[156] Godden, Geoffrey A. *Chamberlain-Worcester Porcelain 1788-1852.* Leicester: Magna Books. 1992, p 40.
[157] Ibid. p 58.

such selection (entered on 15 July 1790) appears under the heading "GOODS RETURNED NOT FIT FOR GILDING". As this suggests, gilding has been a very important matter for potteries around the world.

Noritake porcelains are decorated with what is referred to as "pure gold", that is gold containing a high percentage of actual gold instead of alloyed gold. This is dissolved in aqua regia and applied with a paintbrush over raised white clay areas and heated to a temperature of 800 degrees, thereby forming a gold membrane coating over the raised area. This coating has a matte texture when it is removed from the kiln, and is therefore polished with a mild abrasive such as agate bar or fine sand. The higher the gold content, the brighter and more durable the golden finish will be. Firing such pieces at too high a temperature prevents proper setting of the finish, breaking the gold down and changing the golden colour to pink or purple. Professional skill is also required to fire porcelain in such a way that the gold spreads completely and evenly across all of the surfaces where it is supposed to be. Such requirements to control the firing temperature so closely must have placed a great strain on Meiji period potters, who obviously had no recourse to the electronic and computer controls available today. Further, lowering the gold content or applying the gold too thinly in an attempt to reduce costs could result in products from which the gold coating would easily peel away due to normal wear and tear.

ii) Liquid Gold, Raised Gilding and Etching

a) Liquid gold

As industrialization took hold, the quality of the gilding materials used changed from a costly thick gold to a much less expensive liquid gold. The

use of liquid gold for porcelain was introduced to Japan via the Vienna Exhibition of 1874. This liquid gold, produced by fusing gold with aqua regia (a mixture of concentrated nitric and hydrochloric acids), was called "*suikin*" in Japan. The amount of liquid gold used on export pieces was 18,379 ounces in 1895 and 22,627 ounces in 1896. By the end of Meiji period, the amount of liquid gold that had been used in the major Japanese potteries totalled 126,808 ounces. Consumption by region for the major production areas was:[158]

- Nagoya: 75,000 ounces
- Tōno (West Owari): 25,000 ounces
- Seto: 9,146 ounces
- Satsuma: 8,000 ounces
- Kyoto: 3,192 ounces

As these figures suggest, Nagoya was the most important centre for gilding during the Meiji period. The liquid gold used was imported mainly from Britain and Germany and the increase in its importation may have been partly due to the shift in design away from traditional sometsuke toward European styles of decoration.

Liquid gold, which contains less gold than pure gold, is alloyed with other metals to brighten its golden hue. While its lustre is inferior to that of pure gold, the economy it offers makes it appropriate for use in less expensive, lower-end items. Despite this economic advantage, however, pieces finished with liquid gold seem to have required special care in production and handling. Meiji period painter Gotō Hansen remarked:

> I always struggled to find the best firing temperature, because liquid gold is absorbed if overheated, but peels off if not fired at a hot enough temperature.[159]

---

[158] Nihon Kin'eki Co., *Nihon Kin'eki 50nen-shi* . Nagoya: Nihon Kin'eki Co.1973,p 34.
[159]Gotō Hansen. *Himitsuhojii- Nagoya Togyō no 100nen.* Nagoya: Nagoya Tōjiki Kaikan. 1983, p

Most raw liquid gold was imported, but this supply was cut off during the turmoil of World War One. A period of intensive experimentation to develop substitutes began, and in 1920 a Nippon Tōki engineer named Ishikawa Jirō succeeded in developing a domestic Japanese version. This was brought to market the following year by Ochiai Hyōnosuke, and from then on Japan no longer needed to rely on foreign imports to satisfy the country's liquid gold requirements.

b) Gilding techniques — flat vs. raised

For gold gilding, two methods—transcription and hand drawing –are available, with the latter being further divided into flat painting and raised painting. In its export Invoices, Morimura-kumi refers to flat painting as "flat gold".

Gold gilding has an important place in the company Design Books issued in 1906 through 1908. For example, of the rose patterns that account for eighty percent of the flower designs in the 1907 book, only twenty out of 397 examples have no gold gilding (or at least none that is confirmable), while all of the rest are gilded in some way. Some Old Noritake porcelains produced in the early Meiji period (particularly vases, jugs, and pots) used a technique called "gold moriage painting", or raised gilding, in which gold is applied after raising the clay.

While gilding on traditional export porcelains such as Imari was mostly flat, during the Meiji period it became more raised, especially on export items. Vases and plates in the early Meiji period were luxuriously decorated with thick raised gilding. In the Design Books, about forty percent are

---

189.

thickly gilded, although gradually thickly gilded vases, jars and other items began decreasing in number as cheaper mass-produced items began to take precedence. For example, as lustre glazing came to be used in post-Meiji Art Deco designs, thick raised gilding eventually disappeared.

Nowadays, transcription by machine is used to gild inexpensive pieces, but manual techniques are still used to finish delicate, unevenly surfaced luxury-end pieces. Skilled human hands are still required to apply gold smoothly over the surfaces of fired porcelain, although machines tend to be used for uniform gold application. This mechanized process creates unevenness on the surface of the porcelain, and costly items require an additional levelling of the rim as part of the gilding process.

c) Etching

Etching by acid corrosion is called *"kusarashi"*, which literally means "to eat away". Although the areas subjected to the acid corrosion lose their gloss, a clear difference appears between those surfaces treated by gold gilding or colouring and those not treated. The English term corresponding to this type of etching is "acid gold", the 1873 invention of which is credited to Minton in England, which held a patent on the method.

iii) Moriage, Beading, Moulding & Tapestry

a) Moriage

Pieces featuring such splendid gold moriage painting seem to have decreased as time passed. Although there are five examples of Art Deco–style designs in the above mentioned Design Books, none use gold moriage, substituting flat gilding instead. Either a limited amount of gold gilding is used or no gold gilding is used, especially on items already

featuring richly executed white moriage. Very elaborate white moriage can be seen on four examples of the above 397, two of which are vases. One of the remaining two pieces is a jug, the other a flower vase. Since such moriage embellishment tends to be structurally fragile, however, it is not used on either plates or cups and saucers. Old Noritake porcelains take advantage of this drawback and use cracks caused in the firing process as the basis for creating patterns like leaf veins.[160] A piece from the Ishida painting factory (and also shown on the front cover of the book *Ōrudo Norritake no bi)* (fig.4.7.) shows such a representative moriage application. Further, many Meiji period Old Noritake porcelains feature a painting technique called "*itchin-moriage*". Named for the "*itchin*" tool used to execute, this was an extremely delicate and elaborate technique that was not offered by other ceramic producers.

b) Beading and Enamelling

Beading and enamelling are moriage techniques similar to gold moriage, in which fine grain-like swells are created over an entire surface, or sometimes over just a limited area, using the ittin painting technique. Both are also referred to as "jewelling" or "jewel finishing". Examples of Sèvres pottery often feature such techniques as gold-finishing, jewelled decoration, one-by-one finished jewelled decoration, and fog-gradated finishing. Some pieces use a pattern in which the beading is arranged so that single beaded points serve to represent such objects as flower petals or birds' eyes, a technique particularly characteristic of Japanese works.

Western beading is often used in conjunction with gold gilding, and

---

[160]Itani Yoshie. *Ōrudo Noritake no bi.* Tokyo:Tōyō Shuppan. 2001,p 73.

many pieces offer a luxurious look by integrating fine gold grains so that they look like jewels. Sèvres overwhelmingly excels in this technique, largely because the ongoing protection of successive royal family patronage enabled it to produce luxury items with little financial restriction.

Enamel is an opaque, glossy glass material often used in conjunction with beading. Enamelling, also called "jewel finishing" in Europe, is a colourful beading technique used among Old Noritake vases and jugs, though it is seldom seen on more practical everyday use items such as cups and plates.

c) Moulding

Moulding is a technique in which designs are carved on the inside of a plaster mould and filled with liquid clay as part of the process for forming the unfinished ceramic body. When the liquid clay is removed after thirty or forty minutes, a foundation about four or five millimetres thick is formed and that foundation is baked. The result is a patterned body, which is then finished with colouring.

Among ceramics exported from Japan in the Meiji period, some of the most excellent examples are found among those sent to the United States. The designs of many of these, depicting eagles, lions, deer, and other animals, were taken from books like *American Birds* and *American Mammals* by renowned animal painter and author John James Audubon. In June 2004, an exhibition titled "The Beauty of Early Noritake" was held at Sankeien Garden in Yokohama. The moulded items included well-known ones depicting Native Americans and horses (exported mainly to the U.S.

during the Meiji and Taishō eras), but there was also shown a large 35-centimetre moulded plaque depicting Lady Godiva holding the bridle of horse, her hair blowing in the wind (this piece was featured on the cover of the exhibition catalogue). (fig. 4.42.)

d) Tapestry

In the tapestry technique, cloth is applied to the soft foundation surface to imprint it with textile marks, and colours are painted onto this surface with a brush after firing. The vast majority of products employing this method were produced during the Meiji period, between 1891 and 1911, and many bear the maple leaf back stamp. There is also a technique called "coral", which is quite similar to cloisonné.[161] In this technique, swells (raised portions) are created outside a picture area using the aforementioned ittin tool, and coloured clay is then placed inside these swells. The piece fired in this state ends up with a sandy surface reminiscent of the texture of coral.

iv) Transcription, *Ai*, *Madori* and *Chūtai*

a) Transcription

The transcription method is used to produce large numbers of similar picture patterns by applying a transcription paper bearing a printed pattern to the unglazed or finished ceramic body. (fig.4.43. and similar type in fig. 4.44) This is an economical and simple method, and one that is still commonly used.

Looking back at the transcription technology available during the Meiji

[161] A raised bank is first created outside the painting using the itchin, and the inside of this bank is covered with coloured slip. Firing the porcelain makes its surface rough, hence the name "coral".

period, Nishimura Kōzaburō, who appears in the Morimura-kumi's Invoices, remarks in *Nagoya Togyō no 100nen:*

> I struggled to find the right method for doing transcription work, but I did not know how best to attach the transcription paper. At first I tried a combination of glue and gelatine, but this did not work well and eventually, through trial and error I selected gelatine only. The next problem was to understand at what temperature to remove the transcription paper, and through repeated testing I eventually found the temperature of tepid water to be the best.[162]

Noritake initially imported transcription papers directly from Germany or purchased them from trading firms. Around 1905, Oguri Itarō and Fukada Tōzaburō at Morimura-kumi began studying transcription paper fabrication, with engineers being dispatched to New York and France in search of the relevant knowledge and technology. Although it took until 1926 to establish a production system capable of making transcription papers equal in quality to overseas products, the production technology that did result left a significant impression on Japan's transcription print industry.

b) *Ai*, *madori*, and *chūtai*

Designs on porcelains can be arranged in several ways. Among those mentioned in the Invoices are "*ai*" (facing opposite), "*madori*" (in cartouche), and "*chūtai*" (belts). In the ai pattern, two large pictures are positioned on

---

[162]Nishimura Kōzaburō. *Rasutā no Yushutsu-Nagoya Togyō no 100nen.* Nagoya: Nagoya Tōjiki kaikan. 1987, p 189.

the front and back of the piece so that they face opposite each other. Another style involving the arrangement of several small flowers enclosed in various patterns is called "*madoe*", or "window picturing". When ai or madoe pictures are enclosed in bands of gold gilding, the resulting framed-picture effect is called *madori.* Many vases and other luxury pieces have hand-painted pictures of landscapes or portraits centrally positioned in the ai format, and these are often used in combination with the madoe window pictures.

Another format, c*hūtai,* is a method of extending a pattern around the porcelain like a belt or sash. Morimura-kumi studied European vases and ceramic block prints to learn how to arrange designs, then adapted these methods by enclosing the ai, madori, and chūtai effects in gold, jewelling, or enamel.

The ai and madoe arrangements on the vases produced from the Meiji through Taishō periods tend to be filled with portraits. Such pictures and patterns clearly based on the same transcription paper are found on many items produced by other Japanese porcelain producers and European kilns, so we can infer that such depictions were done, at least initially, by purchasing the transcription papers.

CHAPTER 5: OLD NORITAKE IN LATE-MEIJI AND POST-MEIJI TIMES

1) Ichizaemon, Magobei and Kazuchika in the Late Meiji Period

Before delving into my findings on later works associated with Morimura-kumi, let me briefly consider the spiritual lives of Ichizaemon and Magobei, insofar as this may have affected what their company sought to produce.

i) Ichizaemon's spiritual life

Japan's 250 year ban on Christianity ended in March 1873. Ichizaemon himself turned to Christianity in the early 1910s. Originally he had been a believer in the Shingon sect of Buddhist, and from around 1887 associated himself with a high-ranking priest called Unshō Risshi (Priest Unshō, 1827–1909) from one of the Shingon sect monasteries on Mount. Kōya.[163] With Priest Unshō's passing, however, Ichizaemon became disillusioned with what he perceived as the degeneration of Buddhism and its priests, and thus turned his faith toward Christianity instead. A year before his full conversion to Christianity, he wrote in an article:

> Regarding my reasons for converting from Buddhism to Christianity, I have in fact being studying the latter for several decades now, despite its having been prohibited by the government.[164]

Ichizaemon's first encounter with Christianity was in Yokohama around

---

[163] Priest Unshō was known for resisting the *"haibustu kishaku"* (an anti-Buddhist movement in the Meiji era that led to the destruction of many Buddhist temples) and protected many Buddhist icons. A number of distinguished *genrō* (senior statesmen in the Meiji era), including Yamagata Aritomo (1838–1922), Itō Hirobumi (1841–1909) and Ōkuma Shigenobu (1838–1922), were also devotees of Unshō. Unshō became an archbishop of the Ninnaji Temple in Kyoto in 1904.
[164] Morimura Ichizaemon. *Ware ha naze Kirisuto-kyōto ni narishika.* Tokyo: Jitsugyō no Tomo, 15th November, 1914.

1859, when he met Eugen Miller Van Reed (1835–73),[165] an American businessman.[166] Later, around 1882, he experienced a spiritual revelation when he met American missionary O.H. Gulick (1830–1923)[167] while travelling aboard the vessel *Belgic* on return to Japan from a business trip to the United States. By 1889, after returning from another trip to America and Europe, he began actively proclaiming and practicing his newfound Christian spiritual faith. Of this he wrote:

> During my return voyage, on board that ship, there emerged from within me a deep respect for Christianity, and from that moment forward I became a firm believer in a newfound Christian faith.[168]

On 7 June 1917, Ichizaemon was baptized at his home by Kōchi Yoshitarō (1865–?),[169] a man who was neither a pastor nor connected to any church, and who was in fact an ex-convict who had once been sentenced to an indefinite prison term.[170] Social worker Koshio Takatsune has surmised that Ichizaemon's decision to be baptized by someone like Kōchi Yoshitarō had to do with his spirit of independence and self-respect, and he seems to have felt that despite Kōchi's questionable background, the strength and

---

[165]Van Reed, Eugene Miller (1835–1873), American businessman and diplomat. In 1853 met Josef Hiko in San Francisco and came to Japan in 1859, first taking a post as secretariat of the American consulate in Kanagawa but resigning the following year. In 1863 he worked at the Yokohama Branch of Augustine & Heart Co., Ltd., but in 1865 returned to the United States, to Hawaii, to undergo medical care. In 1868, during the Aizu Civil War, Morimura Ichizaemon bought seven-shooter and ammunition from Van Reed and delivered them to Wakamatsu Castle by order of Itagaki Taisuke. In 1868, while in Hawaii, Van Reed was appointed to the post of Hawaiian Consulate General in Japan. He was known as international businessman in the early Meiji period, and later on as a diplomat who mediated the transit of 156 of the first Japanese immigrants to Hawaii.

[166] Tokuoka Takao. *Dorosī, Bungei Shunjū.* Tokyo: Bungei Shunjūsha. 1993, p 221.

[167]Gulick, Orramel Hinckley (1830–1923): American missionary. Born in Hawaii. Sent to Japan by the American Board in 1871 to disseminate Christianity, with missionary efforts in Kyoto, Niigata, Okayama and Kumamoto.

[168]Wakamiya Unosuke. *Morimura-ō gengō-roku.* Tokyo: Daiamondo Shuppan. 1929, p 225.

[169] Ichizamon's baptism by Kochi was recorded in the 7th June 1917 *Fukuin Shinpō*, and the 7th June 1917 *Seiketsuno Tomo.*

[170] Kōchi Yoshitarō(好地由太郎): Kōchi was convicted of murdering his landlady in 1890, at the age of 25, and he was sentenced to penal servitude for life. He escaped from prison, but was rearrested and sentenced to nine additional years. However, the illiterate Kōchi was influenced by Father Tomeoka Kōsuke (1864–1934), studying the Bible with him in prison, and eventually began teaching his belief in Christianity to other prisoners. His prison term was shortened and he was eventually released in 1904.

conviction of his Christian faith was convincing enough.[171] Others were more critical, for example Uchimura Kanzō (1861–1930), who expressed scepticism about the faith of a person who had come to embrace his faith while a convict in prison. Uchimura particularly objected to Kōchi's adoption of missionary activities so soon after his release.[172] On the other hand, Christian newspapers such as *Seiketsu no tomo* embraced Ichizemon's baptism by Kōchi in the following passage:

> While Kōchi Yoshitarō does not represent the usual orthodoxy, his faith is nevertheless characterized by sincerity and integrity. When well-known businessman Morimura Ichizaemon made the decision to be baptized, he immediately attracted the attention of numerous churches and missionaries. One wonders, were they as interested in his redemption as they were in possibly extracting from him some significant donation?[173]

In 1913, three years before his baptism, Ichizaemon wrote:

> If I choose in the future to be baptized, I will not belong to any church. I may not even be baptized or, even if I am, all the churches in the world including those in Japan together will be my church, for I would not be prejudiced toward any one among them.[174]

Ichizaemon's Christianity, although not directly related to the subject of export porcelain, is relevant because his piety was arguably at the core of his thought and relates significantly to his general resistance to authority. He himself noted that his anti-authoritarianism stemmed partly from an experience that occurred when he was a fourteen-year old trainee in a kimono shop. On one very cold and snowy day, on 31 December 1855, as he

---

[171]Koshio Takatsune. *Tengoku yori Jigokuhe*, Jindō, Volume 307..Dōkai Shuppan. 1931
[172]Uchimura Kanzō. "*Shutsugokusha no shinkō ni tsuite*" *Shūkan Asahi* (Asahi Weekly). Tokyo: Asahi Shinbun 1922 4th June.
[173] *Kyōkai kenbun shōwa* 1931, March 15th *Seiketeu no tomo.*
[174]Morimura Ichizaemon. *Ware ha naze Kirisuto-kyōto ni narishi ka. Jitsugyō no Tomo,* Tokyo: Jitsugyō no Nihon. 1914,p 83.

was hurrying back to the shop, tired and suffering from back pain, he was suddenly stopped by the procession of a daimyo at Sakuradamon and was forced to prostrate himself on the ground in obeisance to the passing lord.[175] That experience, apparently, left him with the beginnings of a distaste for authority. Other examples of anti-authoritarian resistance included his refusal to pay a ten percent "bribe" when ordering a blanket from the army in 1873 and, more significantly, his rejection of capital funding from the Meiji government when establishing Morimura Brothers in New York 1876.

ii) Ichizaemon's contribution to the Arts

In 1911, around the same time that Ichizaemon began to turn toward Christianity, he established a company night school for his employees, to teach general subjects such as Japanese, mathematics and English, and also an art school dedicated primarily to teaching porcelain painting, Western art, and traditional Japanese art and sculpture.(fig.5.1.) In the mid-Taishō period, the company also arranged to teach subjects geared specifically to the interests of its female employees, including kimono sewing, and, later on, needlework, flower arrangement and the tea ceremony.

Although Ichizaemon's contributions to art are not particularly well known, he was listed among the patrons of a group of young artists called the *"Bijutsu Ikueikai"* (Fund for Young Artists) in the 30 August 1894 edition of the *Tōkyō Nichinichi Shinbun* (*Tōkyō Daily News*).[176] In addition,

---

[175]Morimura Ichizaemon. An interview in "*Jiji hyōron*", January, 1911,p 28.
[176]Other patrons included were Okakura Tenshin (1862–1913), Masuda Takashi (1848–1938), manager of Mitsui Group, Magoshi Kyōhei (1844–1933) of Dainippon Beer Company, various representatives of the House of Peers, and Murayama Ryōhei (1850–1933), founder of Asahi Shinbun.News.

Ichizaemon supported Hara Bushō (1866–1912),[177] a portrait painter known for depicting famous Meiji statesmen. A portrait of Ichizaemon by Hara Bushō is exhibited in the main entrance of the Noritake Company today.

In the early Meiji period, modern Western style sculpture, or *sozō* (moulding), was introduced by Vincenzo Ragusa (1841–1928),[178] an Italian sculptor who had been hired as a foreign technical expert (*o-yatoi gaijin*).[179] In 1894 Ichizaemon commissioned a sculpture of himself from Okuma Ujihiro (1856–1934). Okuma had entered the Kōbu Bijutsu Gakkō when it opened in 1876 and it was there that he had learned Western moulding technique from Raguza. Ogura Sōjirō (1843–1913), another pupil of Raguza, began his career as Imperial sculptor to the Mito clan of the Tokugawa line. He is recognized as one of the first modern sculptors of the early Meiji period to have worked in marble. He, in turn, taught Shinkai Taketarō (1868–1927) and Kitamura Shikai (1872–1927). Ichizaemon also supported Kitamura Shikai, from whom he commissioned in 1915 portraits of himself and members of his family, including his second son Kaisaku and Kaisaku's wife Ume, a daughter of Viscount Inoue Masaru (1843–1910).

While Ichizaemon's Christian faith can be considered genuine, and his

---

[177] Hara Bushō was born in Okayama. Ichizamon supported him for sixteen years including building him an atelier in his home, which Hara used until his death. Hara painted portraits of prominent statesmen including Prince Ito Hirobumi, Prince Saionji Kinmochi (1849–1940), and Count Inoue Kaoru (1835–1915). Although Ichizemon offered Hara financial assistance, Hara saw himself as unworthy of such sponsorship and rejected it. In 1904, while staying in London, he went to the National Gallery, the Kensington Museum and several other museums. Falling ill after returning from Europe, he was subsequently unable to produce much work, including being unable to accept a commission to paint a portrait of the Meiji Emperor. However Hara did depict various members of the Morimura family, including Mrs. Morimura, Suma (first daughter), Toyo, and Hirose Jitsuei, a Morimura-kumi director. In May 1913, one year after Hara's death, Ichizaemon held a memorial exhibition for him in Tokyo, together with Masuda Takashi of Mitsui.

[178] Ragusa, Vincenzo (1841–1928) was an Italian sculptor who took first prize in an All Italian Artists Exhibition in 1872 and, in 1875, became the head of fifty sculptors in the employ of the Japanese government. He taught modern Western sculpture, and among his pupils were future masters such as Ōkuma Ujihiro, Fujita Bunzō, Kikuchi Chūtarō, Sano Akira and Kondō Yūtarō.

[179] Raguza taught at *Kōbu Bijutsu Gakkō* (School of Industrial & Art), which was Japan's first art school, established in 1876. Since the early Meiji period, many prominent people have had statues of themselves cast in bronze using the Western moulding technique, taught by Raguza.

contribution to the arts can be appreciated, his primary focus nonetheless was on his business activities, namely the development of Morimura-kumi. In a 1905 interview, he remarked,

> Morimura-kumi has no presidents. We are just members of the company and our master is international trade. This master is like a royal palanquin *(omikoshi)*, which, if we make every effort to carry properly, will bestow abundance of the nation of Japan.[180]

Ichizaemon was never prone to give himself over to extravagance, and he remained always interested in the welfare and education of his employees. (fig.5.1.) Further, while dealing on a daily basis with ceramics in his business, he never had any particular interest in collecting valuable ceramic or other antiques for himself. It is not that he had no interest in such things, but rather that he preferred to live a life grounded more in practical reality.

iii) Magobei's "Better than the Best" Concept

On 15 May 1919, Ōkura Magobei established Ōkura Tōen (Ōkura China Inc.), a company dedicated to manufacturing high quality porcelains, in Kamata, Tokyo. The motto of this new company was "Better than the best" (*"Yoki ga ue nimo yoki mono wo"*). Morimura-kumi, which on the whole remained profitable, owed much of its prosperity to Magobei's conceptualizations, not simply to the quality of the goods. He believed firmly in producing items that satisfied customer demands, and his influence in this permeated Morimura-kumi. Magobei's "better than the best" concept survived longest in Ōkura Tōen. Magobei fully recognized that

---

180 Morimura Hōmeikai. *Maruki no Ishizue*. Tokyo: Morimura Hōmeikai. 1987, p 6.

Morimura-kumi was entrenched in more mass-produced items, and he knew that if he wanted to produce porcelains of a quality superior to that produced by the best producers in France (Sèvres) and Italy (Ginoli),[181] he would have to use his own capital to do so. (fig.5.2.) To that end he purchased 42,900 square metres of land to construct a new factory at Kamata, Tokyo, and asked Hino Atsushi, a potter and the director of the Seto Ceramic School, to oversee the new company's design efforts. The factory, called Ōkura Tōen was built in 1920, with the kiln installed the following year. Unfortunately, Magobei had already passed away (on 17 December 1921, aged seventy nine) by the time the first kiln firing occurred in 1921.

iv) Magobei's contribution to the Design

Whenever Morimura-kumi produced a new design, other manufacturers were usually quick to copy it. But Magobei's genius was so extensive that he could produce new designs so continuously that other producers ultimately found it difficult to keep pace.

As Morimura-kumi grew as a company, it became impossible for Magobei to be involved in or personally inspect all aspects of design. Nonetheless, he did personally undertake a great number of important steps with great enthusiasm. They included:

---

181 Nihon Garasu, *Ōkura-ō tsuitō*, Tokyo: Nihon Garasu, 1955, p 35.

- In 1883, placing an order for the production of coffee cups, showing an example that had arrived from Toyo at Morimura Brothers in New York.
- In 1893 journeying to the Chicago World Exhibition to acquire new samples.
- In 1903, visiting Europe to research the production of white porcelain at Karlsbad.
- In 1905, dividing Morimura-kumi into Nippon Tōki (to handle ceramics production, with Ōkura Kazuchika as the first chairman) and Morimura Trading Co. (to handle sales).

Isemoto Ichirō has stated that Ōkura Magobei's artistic and aesthetic talents originated from his experience with his family's print shop business, and the resulting design expertise gave Morimura-kumi a certain superiority over other porcelain manufacturers. Isemoto also remarks that from the very beginning Magobei had always insisted on focusing solely on the ceramics business and consistently put all of his efforts into its development.[182]

Magobei himself reports that nobody among his colleagues supported him in the establishment of Nippon Tōki.[183] One wonders whether Ichizaemon was among the "colleagues" who did not approve, but so far no record has been discovered suggesting that Magobei was alone in insisting on ceramic production, or that Ichizaemon disagreed with such a business approach. All that the records reveal is that both Ichizaemon and Magobei, as well as the company directors, wanted the company to be a ceramics business, but among these it was most likely Magobei that demonstrated the most enthusiasm and energy for the endeavour.

Despite Magobei's "better than the best" motto, in its day-to-day

---

[182]Isemoto Ichirō. *Togyō shinkō no kakushin* Tokyo: Gihōdō. 1957, p 182.
[183]Matsumura Kaisuke. *Daiō-kunwa*. Tokyo: Dōkai Honbu. 1923, p 50.

business Morimura-kumi focused mainly on table wares for the American middle class, and not on expensive luxury items. Its top priority was to supply high-quality porcelain wares on a continuous basis, reinforced for example by the motto "Uniformity", advocated by second research and development manager Ezoe Magoemon. Indeed, uniformity was essential in increasing productivity, and it was this that led toward the establishment of coal overglazing kilns starting in 1901. As previously mentioned in the section on painter Sugimura Sakutarō, the location of pottery manufacturing during the Edo period was largely limited to areas where clay and firewood were in good supply, but later, as in the case of Morimura-kumi, the criteria came to have more to do with favourable logistics and cheaper manpower availability.

v) Ōkura Kazuchika—First Nippon Tōki Chairman

Kazuchika, Magobei's first son, became the first chairman of Nippon Tōki when it was established in Nagoya on 1 January 1904. A new factory and kiln were planned soon after the company' founding, and by 2 November 1904 these plans were completed under Kazuchika's supervision, despite the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese War in February. The first firing of the kiln came on 3 November. The kiln itself was a German model, which had been imported from Kerabedarf GmbH in Berlin, a company well known as a fine ceramics kiln producer specializing in tiles, sanitary ware, and table ware.

The factory was operated under the German production system. In 1905, two or three more factories with firing facilities were built, and by 1906 the number of kilns had increased to four. Other constructions included a

warehouse for coal, six boarding houses, and two residence buildings. In 1906, the kilns were used 102 times for firing, and the number of employees was increased to 1,246. New buildings were being constructed constantly, including an engine room with a 150-horsepower boiler, and individual manufactories for purifying clay, forming ceramic bodies, making plaster, pottery wheeling and moulding, chamotting (milling ball), *saggaring*, inspection and sorting, and a kiln factory for bisque and glaze firing.

It was at this facility that Morimura-kumi was the first in Japan to successfully fire a round kiln using coal. The first such was a two-story round kiln which bent the fire stream, with six firing holes, an arrangement that allowed it to operate very efficiently to equalize the temperature of the chambers using less coal. Unfortunately, inferior coal firing technology gave unsatisfactory results, placing the company in the red for five years after its establishment. Kazuchika wrote in his diary of a ¥171 deficit in 1904 per ¥100, ¥128 in 1905, ¥95 in 1906, ¥30 in 1907, ¥4 in 1908. In a bid to rescue the company's financial situation, he focused on producing pure white porcelain.

In 1908, Kazuchika introduced the idea of separating Nippon Tōki to allow it to focus on producing good quality ceramic bodies, while leaving Morimura-kumi to handle the overglazing and exporting of goods to New York. The resulting implementation of three different management structures, including Nippon Tōki (body production), the Kinyō Group (overglazing) and Morimura-kumi (exporting), proceeded smoothly. By 1912 Nippon Tōki was doing well enough to re-absorb the Kinyō Group, thereby assuming full responsibility for the whole process from body manufacture to overglazing. Nippon Tōki organized itself into various departments

including an administrative headquarters, a ceramic body department (for producing unfinished ceramic bodies), a warehousing department (for handling inspection, reserves, and business with private kilns in Seto), painting factories (handling overglazing and painting), and a sales department (handling domestic sales and transcription).

In 1922, with Kazuchika as chairman and under the supervision of Hino Atsushi, the company successfully produced a batch of pure white porcelain small dishes and thin, lidded bowls. In 1924, a year after the company had begun general sales, it received orders from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the palace of Japan's Crown Prince.

A full dinner service, supplied to the Japanese embassy in the United States, took a year to complete during the early Shōwa period, as did another prepared for the wedding of Princess Terunomiya, the first daughter of the Shōwa Emperor. The service consisted of 638 pieces, sufficient for 36 place settings, all with gilding and a ground of *ruri*, or royal blue.

Magobei's principles were passed on to his son, Kazuchika. When Kazuchika retired from his directorship in Morimura-kumi in the 1920s, he had a new home designed by the architects Kume Gonkurō and Bruno Taut (fig.5.3.). The latter was known for having introduced the world to the sophisticated beauty of the Katsura Palace in Kyoto. Of the two buildings in Japan designed solely by Taut, one of them was Kazuchika's home.

Kazuchika supported Katō Hajime (1900–68), one of the most prominent potters in Aichi. Katō had worked at the Gifu Municipal Ceramic Laboratory for fifteen years since 1926, and on the recommendation of Hino Atsushi he had moved his kilns to Hiyoshi, Yokohama with Kazuchika's

financial support. In 1952, Katō's *ōji kōsai* [yellow and red enamelled porcelain] was designated an intangible cultural asset [*mukei bunka zai*].

Compared to Ichizaemon, it would be easy to view Magobei as one who prized luxury, particularly given his prominent aesthetic sense and his "better than the best" motto. The facts, however, suggest otherwise. Magobei was also a Christian, a faith that started to coalesce when he began visiting the West and encountered the strong interplay between Christian faith and everyday life. He also realized that the most significant thing he could bequeath to his descendants would be not mere money but rather a prosperous business, and for this reason his aesthetic sense was mainly focused on developing ceramics as a business.

As Magobei's eldest son, Kazuchika inherited his father's thinking in this regard. Ezoe Magoemon, Morimura-kumi's second Research and Development manager, recalled that after Kazuchika's death his wife had commented, "My husband didn't know anything except business and in that way I feel rather sorry for him."[184] It is true, too, that within the company Kazuchika was characterized as "sober, with strong integrity".[185] Judging from such comments, it seems somewhat likely that while they did have well-developed aesthetic senses, the basic interests of both Magobei and Kazuchika fell consistently toward production.

2) Completion of a Full Dinner Service

i) The Road to a Successful Full Dinner Service

In 1909, Ezoe Magoemon, one of those educated by the ceramics pioneers trained under the supervision of Gottfried Wagener, joined

---

[184]Koide Tanehiko. *Ezoe Magoemon*. Nagoya: Bōekino Nihon sha. 1961, p 118.
[185] Ibid.

Morimura-kumi. Ezoe was born in 1885, the first son of Arita potter Hachizō (fig.5.4.). Having graduated from Arita Industrial High School in 1905, he relocated to Tokyo and studied at Tōkyō Industrial School (now Tōkyō Industrial University), where Gottfried Wagener was teaching Western porcelain design. He joined Morimura-kumi in 1910, just a year before Ōkura Kazuchika became chairman following his father's illness. In place of Asukai Kōtarō, Kazuchika instructed Ezoe on how to produce pure white porcelain, and in 1912 they travelled to Europe to conduct research. Ezoe's travel diary has recently been discovered. Leaving the port of Tsuruga in Fukui Prefecture on 21 July 1912, they travelled throughout the summer until 20 September 1912, with visits to the Victorian factory in Karlsbad and the Zegel Laboratory in Berlin in early August.

Kazuchika and Ezoe visited Chemisches Laboratorium Fur Tonindustrie (Chemical Laboratory for Clay Industry) in Berlin, where they met with one Dr. E. Cramer and requested that his staff analyze the porcelain bodies they had brought with them. This was done, and afterwards Dr. Cramer emphasized three points in particular about the samples: the raw materials should be more pure; the particles of the clay mixture should be finer; and the body mixture should be aged longer. These three points would later prove decisive in allowing Nippon Tōki to perfect its first porcelain dinner set.

On 16 August 1912, Nippon Tōki received a letter from Dr. H. Seger and Dr. E. Cramer of the Chemical Laboratory for Clay Industry recommending experiments on raw materials including Yamaguchi kaolin, Tokiguchi kaolin, Gotō soapstone, Amakusa clay, quartz, feldspar and limestone, with

the aim of better determining how to make pure white porcelain.[186] Dr. Cramer suggested carrying out a careful examination of the effects of each of these materials, as well as reducing the amount of Amakusa porcelain stone and extending trommel rotation time.

Ezoe continued research and experiments at the Zegel Laboratory in Berlin, where he was able to discuss his progress with Dr. Cramer. The latter offered the observation that the weakness of the body of the porcelain must be in the Amakusa porcelain stone, the concentration of which, as French and German porcelains demonstrate, should not exceed fifty percent. The solution would be to remove the impurities from the frog-eye clay. With this information, Ezoe concluded that he should add kaolin and reduce the percentage of Amakusa porcelain stone from fifty-four to eighteen percent. Furthermore, research conducted after his return to Japan led him to increase trommel[187] rotation time from eighteen to twenty-four hours.

In 1913, Morimura-kumi received Dr. Cramer's report stating that a mixture of forty parts Amakusa porcelain stone, thirty parts Yamaguchi frog-eye clay, seven parts Gotō soapstone, twenty parts Mitsuishi soap stone and three parts limestone would yield the best combination for the clay material. Likewise, the best glaze combination was found to be thirty-two parts Mitsuishi feldspar, twenty-five parts Norwegian feldspar, sixteen parts dolomite,[188] fifteen parts clay powder and six parts Karlsbad kaolin.

In November 1913, when the first pure white 8-sun dinner plate was produced, Ichizaemon received a barony. Over twenty years had passed since he had first set his sights on porcelain production, and ten years had

---

[186] Letter dated 16th August 1912 from Prof. Dr. H. Seger & E. Cramer G.m.b.H Chemisches Laboratorium für Tonindustrie-und Tonindstrie Zietung

[187] Trommel: In mining, a rotating cylindrical sieve or screen used for washing and sorting pieces of ore or coal.

[188] Dolomite is a double salt mineral made up of calcium carbonate and magnesium carbonate.

passed since Nippon Tōki had been established and commenced serious research into white porcelains.

Finally, in June 1914, a dinner set was produced using the best combination of materials. The decoration chosen for the first dinner set exported from Japan had the name "SEDAN" on it. (fig.5.5.) The first twenty sets were exported in 1914, and the first order from the United States arrived in 1915. Thereafter orders increased sharply, with 10,000 sets ordered in 1916, then 30,000 sets in 1917 and 40,000 sets in 1918. From this point, dinner sets became the company's primary export item.

Patterned, mass-produced items, some including patterns applied by transfer, were also exported, and items richly decorated with moriage, gilding and beading declined due to the simpler demands of mass production. Despite the establishment of the *Seto Zuan Kenkyūkai* (Seto Design Society) in 1914 by Hino Atsushi and Katō Hajime, ceramic production in Seto gradually divided into two groups, one focused on individual items produced by artists and artisans, the other turning out mass-produced factory products.

The outbreak of World War I in July 1914 caused a precipitous decline in exports of European porcelains to the United States. As a result, the demand shifted to Noritake and allowed to company to increase its production even more dramatically.

ii) Plate Sizes in the 1897 Invoice

In the 1920's, when Noritake products were being sold in the United States, it was usual for eight 27-cm dinner plates to be included in a standard set along with eight 21-cm salad plates. In time, the number of

plates in a dinner set was gradually reduced as such sets came to be used more by ordinary families, instead of more exclusively for larger, more lavish parties. Today, Noritake makes it a rule to provide twelve dinner plates in a full set of ninety-three pieces, eight in a set of fifty-five, and six in a set of forty-three. The items required in a dinner set have also varied depending on changes in customs and usage, but the key item that all dinner services have in common is the dinner plate. Appendix L details the sizes of the plates listed in the 1897 Invoice.

As mentioned earlier, the first full dinner service was exported in 1914, after the manufacture of 9 1/2-inch plates had been achieved. Yet the Invoice above, from much earlier, already lists plates of that diameter or larger, including five pieces of 1-shaku 2-sun (36.36 cm). The reason for this is that these large plates are not perfect circles, but rather ovals, rectangles, irregular circles, or smaller circle plates with larger floral or rosette pattern rims.

Until 1913, Japanese potters had been unable to produce perfectly circular plates in such larger dimensions because they had not paid sufficient attention to the requirements of the circle centre. They had been making them thick in centre, thereby causing them to droop. When they broke the large circular Limoges plates in order to examine them, they recognized that they were made thin in the centre in order to prevent such sagging. For this simple reason, the potters in Morimura-kumi had been unable to produce perfectly circular large plates until in 1913 they finally recognized this requirement and the technique to achieve it. To compensate, as suggested by the number of the larger plates listed in the Invoice, we see that they had been trying to make larger plates by avoiding perfect circles.

In fact, Japan had been exporting Imari porcelains of 1 shaku or larger from Arita to Europe even since seventeenth century. The pictures of the plates in the Invoice show that Morimura-kumi tried to produce larger plates not only for decorative purposes, but rather for use as part of a full dinner service.

iii) Larger Circular Plates in the Dinner Service and Their Designs

After the completion of the 8-sun (24.24 cm) dinner plate in 1913, the first 2,000 dinner services were exported in 1914. How did the size and design of these exports contribute to the development of dinner services?

The largest dinner plates in the Sears & Roebuck catalogue measured 8 inches in diameter and were produced by Havilland China in France, Alfred Meakin in England, or Dunn, Bennett & Co in England.

The description of a "23 Piece China Tea Set" appearing in a 1927 Sears & Roebuck Catalogue reads: "The decoration consists of a blue lustre band with a black line". A "Jap China 23 Pc. Tea Set" in a Butler Brothers[189] catalogue of August 1929 is described as "Double lustre 3 decorations (tan with blue bands, blue with tan bands, and iris with mother-of-pearl bands). Black inner line". (fig. 5.6.) This latter has been identified by Joan Van Patten as a Morimura-kumi piece.[190]

Another scenic design, "Tan & Cream Lustre" listed in "Old Ads Featuring Noritake China" in a December 1931 Butler Brothers catalogue is very like the designs listed in the 1927 Sears & Roebuck catalogue (fig.5.7). The design in Sears & Roebuck features trees by water with a mountain in the background.

---

[189] Butler Brothers Company was established by Butler, Edward (?–1905) in New York, as a distributor of English ceramics, in the late nineteenth century.
[190] Van Patten, Joan F. *Noritake*. Kentucky: Collector Books, 1984,p 43.

An advertisement reading "Colourful Scenic Pattern in Hand Painted Imported Noritake China" in the Larkin[191] Catalogue #104, Fall/Winter 1930 (fig. 5.8.), and another, "Popular Scenic Pattern Imported Noritake China" in their catalogue #111, Spring/Summer 1934 features a scenic design very similar to that illustrated in the 1927 Sears & Roebuck catalogue. In a Noritake dinner service from 1930, the largest size of cake plate is 9¾ inches, whilst one of the 1934 services features dinner plates with diameters of 9¾ inches. The 1927 Sears & Roebuck Catalogue shows cake plates measuring 9½ inches. Variations of the scenic design "Tree in Meadow" have been used since the end of the Meiji period. Morimura-kumi's 1908 Design Book includes a scenic design for a chocolate pot (fig. 5.9.). This is clearly a variation of the company's scenic "Tree in meadow" design, although houses, more trees, bushes, and a sharp ridge of mountains have been added. "Vase with gold, scenic design" from 1911-21 (H25.5 cm) (fig. 5.10.) shows a clear version of the Noritake "Tree in meadow" design"[192] whilst another vase, "Vase with gold jewels and scenic design" from 1911-21 (H27 cm) (fig. 5.11.) depicts similar trees but in reverse, although the mountains here are clearer than those on the other vase.

The Noritake Company selected this design for cover of its first official catalogue of "Early Noritake" published in 1996,[193] which indicates the company's recognition of it as representative designs of early Noritake. It can be assumed that the tableware featuring the scenic design in the 1927 Sears & Roebuck Catalogue was produced by Morimura-kumi (which by

---

[191] The Larkin Co: Established the Buffalo Pottery in 1901 to produce Larkin products and premiums. Larkin established a relationship with Noritake to produce porcelain for its catalogue sales Larkin was one of the largest distributors of Noritake porcelain.
[192] Ōga Yumiko. *Ōrudo Noritake to Nihon no bi.* Tokyo:Heibonsha, 2002,p 78.
[193] Hida Toyojirō ed. *Early Noritake (titled in English).* Nagoya: Noritake Company Ltd. 1997, Cover page.

then had become Nippon Tōki).

In considering these catalogues of Sears & Roebuck, Larkin, and Butler Brothers, it is apparent that large dinner plates measuring more than 8 sun were included in dinner services by 1927.

iv) Cup & Saucer Weights

Because Japanese dining customs include holding tableware in one hand and chopsticks in the other, Japanese cups and plates are generally much lighter than in other countries. The average Japanese porcelain rice bowl weighs between 100 and 130 grams; the most popular 23-centimeter dinner plates weight about 460 grams, and cup-and-saucer sets weigh between 250 and 270 grams. In contrast, the most popular American dinner plates are 27 centimetres in diameter and weigh about 620 grams, while cup-and-saucer sets weigh between 300 and 350 grams, including 140-gram cups that are 20 grams heavier than their 120-gram Japanese counterparts.

As for Japanese traditional table wares, rice bowls from Arita and Seto weigh about 100 grams, with a total weight of about 155 grams including 50 grams of rice and a set of 5-gram chopsticks. In contrast, Western dining styles have an in-hand weight of only 170 grams for a typical knife and fork set.[194]

One may well wonder whether the weight of porcelain table wares has changed over the years, and also if it varies from country to country. To study this question, I assembled a collection of various cups with capacities around 100 millilitres (about half a full cup of coffee). One of these is a fragment of a 9-centimetre diameter by 8-centimeter high porcelain bowl

---

[194]Noritake Shokubunka Kenkyūkai. *Utsuwa Monogatari.* Nagoya:Chūnichi Shinbun. 2000, p 26.

excavated in Tengudani, Shirakawa in Arita, supposedly produced around 1643. This fragment is estimated to represent about one-fifth of the whole, and based on this the total estimated weight would be about 240 grams. Since typical modern Japanese coffee and teacups weigh only between 100 and 120 grams (rice bowls are about 100 grams), we can speculate that such early-period porcelain from Arita was heavier than modern varieties.

Regarding the weight of Old Noritake, another sample is a 75-gram cup produced around 1908 and exported to the United Kingdom (bearing the maruki mark), as well as an 85-gram cup produced around 1910 and exported to the United States (bearing the M-wreath mark). These examples are evidence that even before it successfully achieved an 8-sun dinner plate in 1913 and began exporting full dinner services to the United States in 1914, Noritake was already capable of producing lightweight cups.

Japanese manufacturers were not alone in making lightweight porcelain cups, however. A Royal Worcester Cup from 1913, decorated with a Stinton "Highland Cattle" pattern, weighs just 47 grams, and another example from 1920, depicting a pheasant, also by Stinton, is even lighter at 33 grams. We should remember, of course, that while Royal Worcester cups decorated by such prominent painters were produced either for display or practical use (depending on the piece, and in many cases it is not entirely clear), Old Noritake wares were exported mainly as practical utensils. Kilns in Kutani did in fact produce thin, highly translucent "egg shell" cups for export, similar to the Royal Worcester cups by Stinton, but at less than 40 grams on average these seem too fragile to have served as truly practical utensils.

The weights of porcelain cups for practical use produced in various

countries are as follows (ordered from lightest to heaviest):

Japan	Noritake, Fukagawa, Kōransha, Ōkura Tōen	100 grams (average)
France	Limoges (white)	100 grams
Denmark	Royal Copenhagen (Flora Danica)	110 grams
Germany	KPM Berlin (white)	115 grams
United Kingdom.	Royal Albert (Bone China)	125 grams
Germany	Meissen (Einzelblumen)	145 grams

This comparison shows that Japanese wares were the lightest and Meissen the heaviest. This does not mean, however, that Meissen—known by 1710 as one of the most advanced porcelain producers in Europe—was incapable of producing lighter porcelains; rather, the relative heaviness of the Meissen cups was likely not an indicator of low quality, but rather simply a matter of aesthetic preference.

v) *Chabudai* and the Westernisation of Japanese Food Culture

In a compilation of photographs taken by the foreigners from the late Edo to early Meiji periods,[195] there is a photo by Baron Von Stillfried[196] of a samurai taking a meal. He is seated, mostly unclothed, on the floor before a low, small individual-use table, in front of a valuable clock, chopsticks and

---

[195] *Bessatsu rekishi dokuhon· Ikokujin no mita Bakumatsu-Meiji JAPAN.* Tokyo: Jinbutsu Ōraisha. 2003, p 72.

[196] Baron Von Stillfried: Austrian photographer, born into a Bohemian baron family and came to Japan accompanying the Austrian Feet in 1869. In 1871, he established Stillfried Trading Co. and opened a photo studio at No. 59, Yokohama Settlement, which he operated until departing for Hong Kong in 1881. In 1877 he obtained all the negatives from the shop formerly owned by Beato, Felix ,who was well known for taking Japanese historical films. However, in 1878, Von Stillfried handed over Beato's property and management rights to his business partner, Andersen, Herman and within six months took a new position instructing mintage for the Mint Bureau.

rice bowl in hand, with a woman standing in attendance holding a raw Japanese white radish. The scene seems slightly strange in that it was not a typical representation of Japanese lifestyle at the time and so must have been staged by the photographer to represent his own image of Japanese dining customs. (Ironically, the scene is fairly representative of Japanese dining styles today.)

On the other hand, certain woodblock fan prints by Hiroshige, dated between 1847 and 1850, provide a good contrasting examples showing how Japanese table wares were actually used. One of these, introduced by Rupert Faulkner[197] and depicting Tōnosawa in Izu as "Six Designs from the Depictions of the Seven Hot Springs of Hakone", shows a woman holding a tray on which are placed a bowl of rice, a large bowl containing a main dish, a condiment bottle, and chopsticks. Another similar fan print depicts a similar set of items placed on the floor along with a sake bottle, a wooden box, and some saké cups.

Further, a book on table manners, published by Ōkura Magobei for the benefit of the ladies of the day, features a series of prints depicting tea cups, bowls, and pots placed on the floor, as well as some on trays in a more formal Japanese manner.

Orthodox Western cuisine was introduced in Japan primarily during the period spanning the late Edo to early Meiji eras. The first book prescribing Western table manners was written by Katayama Jun'osuke and published (using a pseudonym) by Fukuzawa Yukichi in 1867, just one year before the Meiji Restoration. This book notes, "In the West it is not uncommon for a large gathering to include as many as twenty or thirty guests".[198]

---

[197]Faulkner, Rupert. *Hiroshige Fan Prints.* London: V& A Publications. 2001, p 69.
[198]Asakura Haruhiko et al ed. *Jibutsu kigen jiten.* Tokyo: Tōkyōdō.2001, p 06.

The close relationships with Fukuzawa Yukichi enjoyed by Morimura Ichizaemon and Ōkura Magobei, as well as their attendance at the World Exhibitions, undoubtedly gave both entrepreneurs opportunities to partake of Western food; but in establishing Morimura-kumi they may have found it difficult to convey the relevant knowledge and images to the artisans in their employ, since most of these probably had no actual experience with Western dining tables and their wares.

Ichizaemon is known to have stated that Morimura-kumi's focus on ceramics had largely to do with the fact that ceramics' potential for breakage would ensure steady product turnover and a healthy business in re-orders. Nonetheless, it would be impossible to ignore the fact that Japanese society at the time was already demonstrating great flexibility in embracing all manner of foreign foods and other aspects of foreign culture.

Japanese traditional fine-cuisine researcher Kumakura Isao remarks in "*Nihon-ryōri bunka-shi—Kaiseki ryōri*" that one of the most prominent features of Japanese culinary culture has been its ongoing acceptance of influences from abroad.[199] He even goes so far to suggest that the rice cakes offered to the deities in Japanese Shintō shrines, which one would assume must be purely Japanese, were in fact clearly influenced by customs found in Tang Dynasty China. That said, while some foreign influences were embraced, others were denied, for example the custom, adopted by the aristocracy in both Europe and China, of dining around a central table. This dining style, known to the Japanese as "*daikyō ryōri*" (大饗料理) and once marginally adopted as a formal dining mode among aristocrats during the Heian period (794–1185), never took root or developed further among the

[199]Kumakura Isao. *Nihon-ryōri bunka-shi.* Tokyo: Jinbun Shoin 2002, p 10.

general populace. The use of spoons, too, was another custom that never became entrenched. The custom of eating directly from dishes led to the development of bowls shaped specifically to be easy to hold up to the mouth. Hot soup, for example, was (and still is) sipped directly from wooden bowls, the low heat conductivity of which made them easy to hold and obviated the need for spoons. Such customs of eating and drinking directly from bowls also led to the individualization of tableware. Bowls, dishes, and even tables themselves began evolving to forms geared toward personal use, and the use of large tables for dining faded out.

Traditionally the Japanese had been in the habit of taking meals on small individual tables, but the Meiji era saw the invention of low dining tables known as "*chabudai*". In 1891, the chabudai with folding legs was patented and became very fashionable throughout the country. Dining around a table together with other family members, sitting directly on the floor with no chair, was a groundbreaking new custom for the Japanese, and one that made it much easier for potters and pottery painters to visualize Western dining styles.

In 1892, the same year that Morimura-kumi opened its branch office in Nagoya, a café in that city began serving coffee in cups with spoons at the affordable price of fourteen *sen*. On 4 November 1893, the Yomiuri Shinbun advertised "healthy sandwiches" being served by a restaurant in Kanda, Tokyo (costing 4 *sen* 5 *rin* each). The Matsuya Coffee Company, the country's largest coffee bean wholesaler, was established in 1908 in Nagoya. Around the same time as the invention of the chabudai, the Japanese as a society were experiencing a great deal of contact with foreign foods, and it is clear that both entrepreneurs like Ichizaemon and Magobei and artisans in

general were keen to embrace such new experiences. This burgeoning cultural awareness must have made it easier for artisans working with Morimura-kumi to understand the production and painting of Western-style tableware, and such acceptance of Westernization undoubtedly contributed positively to the development of export porcelain.

3) The American Porcelain Market in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries

i) American lifestyles and tableware

The completion of the first coast-to-coast railroad in the United States promoted the advance of technology in general and improved available distribution channels. Newly affluent and having more abundant foodstuffs than ever, people's attention naturally turned to tableware. It was not long after the American Civil War that a new type of professional, the travelling salesman, began appearing in rural areas throughout the United States. With the advancement of the railroad, salesmen could visit outlying retail shops and farmers with bags full of catalogues to sell all sorts of goods, including porcelains. After sending in their orders to their company headquarters, they made arrangements to have the orders shipped by rail.

Morimura-kumi's salesmen also visited various regions to sell their products. It was also around this time that the increase in urban consumer populations necessitated larger stores that could offer a diversity of goods, an opportunity that eventually led to the creation of America's major department stores, which started operations in close proximity to the railroad stations.[200]

---

[200] It is said that Macy's transformed from a regular retail shop to a major New York department store around 1870.

Also, cabinets for storing and displaying porcelain wares first appeared in trade catalogues in the United States in the 1880s, and were in common use by 1900. Porcelain and silverware replaced taxidermy pieces as decoration in the dining room. The timing of this expansion of middle-class participation in formal dining coincides with the establishment of a custom of giving porcelain and silverware as wedding gifts. In New York, the porcelain and glass company Higgins & Seiter offered a catalogue for "those wishing to purchase 1/4 less than elsewhere" suggesting that "the best Wedding Present is something useful as well as ornamental, and of service to both contracting parties".[201] Books on table etiquette and style appeared at the beginning of 1900, one of the first examples being *Serving a Dinner* by a chef at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel, offered by Higgins & Seiter by mail order in 1903.

American porcelains at that time were, strictly speaking, soft porcelains.[202] Although they seemed to be hard, analysis shows that they contained ball clays[203] or bone ash. Because of this, the American potters of the day had to rely on imports for all or part of the raw clays they required, a situation that continued well into the early part of the twentieth century.

The owner of Higgins & Seiter advised Noritake that key points to observe in order to expand the porcelain business included regarding tableware as the most important item and recognizing American consumers'

---

[201] Home page from Higgins and Seiter:
http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.com/~mjhiggins/companies1.htm#seiter
[202] The term "soft porcelain" refers to British porcelains; French soft porcelains, Parisian porcelains or other porcelains produced using a special solvent other than feldspar. Conversely, the term "hard porcelain" refers to those produced by using a solvent made from feldspar or feldspathic stone mixed in with the raw clay of ordinary porcelain.
[203] Ball clay ("Kibushi"): A kind of clay containing kaolinite as its main component. This is drift clay produced after granite or other weathered materials are carried by flowing water and then deposited. In many cases, ball clay contains fragments of zinc carbide that look like wooden knots or balls, hence the name. It assumes a white colour after firing, and features highly plastic properties. While its chemical composition is virtually identical to that of frog-eye clay, ball clay is more plastic and more fire-resistant than frog-eye clay. It is frequently used in the making of kiln covers to be used when firing porcelains. Many Seto potters used ball clay produced in Shinano or Motoyama in the Seto region.

preference for pure white porcelains. Noritake took this advice and increased production to meet the demands of America's rapidly modernizing culinary culture.

ii) American Trade Protectionism and the Japanese Response

Morimura-kumi's pricing decisions, designed to account for high customs duties, are a good reference in considering the business conditions in the United States in the nineteenth century.

In the 25 May 1912 edition of the *Kōbe Yūshin Nippō* we find the headline "Export Ceramics," followed by an article with the line "...among the destinations for Japanese porcelains, the United States of America is the number one market, taking in sixty percent of all exports...", underscoring the importance of exports to the U.S. at that time. Just two months later, the *Ōsaka Mainichi Shinbun* ran a story mentioning a slump in domestic demand and expressing concern over the increasing use of flawed or poor ceramic products as exports. In October that same year, the *Ōsaka Jiji Shinpō* suggested that sluggishness in the ceramics trade had to do more with a more general slump in trade with America, caused mainly by domestic demand tapering off as the nation awaited the outcome of its presidential elections. But another reason for the gradual annual drop in U.S.-bound exports must also have been the increasing difficulty overseas products faced in remaining competitive in an American market influenced by the U.S. government's protectionist policies.

A year later, the *Ōsaka Mainichi Shinbun* ran the headline "Ceramics Industry In Crisis", accompanied by an article suggesting that in the future the U.S. would be aiming to become not an importer but rather an exporter

of ceramics, and that the Japanese export ceramics industry would do well to avoid misjudging this future trend on the part of its largest customer. The article also suggested some concrete solutions, including learning from the pricing moderation of Germany and from the high quality of English tableware, and making an urgent priority of improving firing methods.

While England, aiming to be "the factory of the world" ever since the Industrial Revolution, had been evolving away from its traditional of mercantilism to a policy embracing free trade, Russia and America stood in stark opposition to this as the world's two most major proponents of trade protectionism. In "*Amerika no tsūshō-seisaku*", Sasaki Takao remarks that while England's average import tariffs on manufactured goods were roughly 0% in both 1875 and 1913, Russia's ranged from 15% to 20% in 1875 and hit 84% in 1913, while America's were 44% in 1913 (tariffs for 1875 are unclear). Particularly after the Civil War (1861–65), American protectionist import policies regarding imports that competed with domestically manufactured products continued in a variety of forms.[204] Specifically, import duties began to rise with the Morrill Tariff of 1861 and such trade protectionism became even further entrenched with the McKinley Tariff Act of 1890 (which pushed the average tariff to 49.5%). The Wilson-Gorman Tariff Act of 1894 brought a slight drop, but in 1897 the Dingley Tariff Act returned tariffs to their previous high levels, and from then on strongly protectionist policies continued to dominate the nation's import situation. Imported manufactured glass items, for example, were taxed at the rate of 45% under the McKinley Tariff Act, and while this rate fluctuated somewhat over the years, by 1920 it had hit a record high of 60%. During that time, glass

---

[204] Sasaki Takao. *Amerika no tsūshō-seisaku.* Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten. 1997. 123.

imports from Europe naturally decreased steadily year by year, while the American glass industry flourished under careful protection. In addition to rising tariffs, so-called "invisible tariffs" (non-tariff barriers) were also part of American protectionism, including for example the McKinley Tariff Act's requirement that products imported from abroad bear "authentication of origin" marks.

Of course, some traders of the day were not necessarily inclined to bow so readily to such stipulations. There were, for example, Japanese exporters like tea purveyor Ōtani Kahei, who in 1898 went to America to negotiate a tariff on processed tea imports directly with President McKinley himself, and was rewarded for his efforts by its repeal.

Most traders, however, were ultimately compelled to comply with American trade regulations, tariff-related and otherwise. In the ceramics industry, for example, England's Wedgwood Company began adding the country name "ENGLAND" accompanying the Wedgwood logo, to accommodate the American demand for country-of-origin indicators on imported pieces.

Japanese porcelain makers for some reason initially chose the designation "Nippon" instead of "Japan" to mark the country of origin on their products. In 1918, however, the U.S. State Department issued further instructions requiring the country-of-origin mark to be "in legible English" and so it was changed to "Japan". Nonetheless, it took about three years for this requirement to become generally and fully heeded, so that even as late as 1921 many porcelain marked "Nippon" were still being exported from Japan.

In such ways we see foreign porcelain manufacturers, including those in

Japan, resisting American protectionism, while at the same time vying with one another to advance their products into the American market.

iii) Porcelains as Seen in American Mail-Order Catalogues

Let us now turn to examine how, amidst the strong protectionism of the American government, the American porcelain market developed from the eighteenth century on.

In the eighteenth century a lode of high-quality kaolin had already been discovered in the American state of South Carolina, and sometime between 1770 and 1773 Bonnin & Morris in Philadelphia had begun producing porcelains using Delaware porcelain clay mixed with other domestically produced materials. The components were similar to those used in England's Bow ware, and both the form and pricing of the resulting products were extremely similar to contemporary English wares. In 1816, however, a kiln established in New York began producing porcelains whose clays and glazes strongly resembled porcelains from France. It was at this point that the American porcelain industry began truly to develop, with W.E. Tucker being the first to jump into the business with the opening of a kiln in Philadelphia in 1827. The Tucker Company produced Victorian-style designs throughout the later 1830s, but even in these we can see the germination of a unique American nationalist style that would begin to emerge fully starting in the 1850s.

This design style, which distinctly celebrated America as a nation, reached its zenith at the Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia in 1876, the nation's 100th birthday. The United States Potters Association (USPA) viewed this exhibition as an ideal opportunity to introduce American-made porcelains to the world. Under its guidance, companies such as New York's

Green Point Company produced displays like a pair of vases with a distinctly unbalanced design featuring a relief of George Washington on the front, depictions of important American historical themes wrapping around the sides, and handles shaped like bison heads. Numerous other works portrayed important military leaders like General Ulysses S. Grant, various past U.S. presidents, and even baseball players. Unfortunately, such nationalistic works failed to earn much public appreciation, and ceramics specialists panned them as "offering little to see in the way of art" and "demonstrating the lack of artistry to be found in American pottery". At the post-exhibition auctions, the ceramic and craft pundits of the day, including as J.J. Jarvis (son of leading glass manufacturer Deming Jarvis), Edward Morse and Ernest Fenollosa, were more interested in purchasing European and Asian (largely Japanese) pieces. (Many of the latter eventually finding their way via donation into the Asian Collection at the Boston Museum of Fine Art).

Similarly, the American general public itself was also more interested in foreign products such as those from France, England, and Japan. The early 1880s brought into vogue the faintly lustrous surfaces of the thin soft-paste porcelain known as Belleek China, created to mimic foreign-made products such as the beige bone china of England's Royal Worcester Company and the similarly light-toned wares coming from the Sèvres kilns. In particular, products by the New Jersey–based Trenton Company were at the centre of this fashion.

It was just around that time that Macy's department store in New York began carrying ceramic and glass items, primarily imports, and it was not long before these came to represent a significant proportion of the store's

retail sales. Further, at the same time, the most popular tableware pattern sold by the general public–oriented Great Atlantic & Pacific Tea Company chain featured a European-style Moss Rose motif. Tiffany & Co., too, known for its handling of luxury products, began displaying ceramics on the first floor of its Union Square store, although most of these were imports such as Majorca flower pots and heavily gilded European demitasse sets.

Yet even amidst this American market flooded with European products, ceramics industrialist Jerome Jones was inclined to call the displays at the 1876 Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia "epoch-making", if for no other reason than they developed in the housewives who saw them a new preference for patterned table wares instead of the plain white ones to which they had been accustomed. Later, in 1882, the Jones, McDuffie, and Stratton (JMS) Company introduced female sales staff onto its previously male-dominated ceramics floor, and began to apply the customer need–related "intelligence" these women could gather from the store's female customers (for example, "to carry more Indian and Japanese products") on subsequent purchasing excursions to Europe and Asia[205].

Moving into the twentieth century, however, the situation began to turn around. Perhaps because of the gradually increasing effects of the U.S. domestic protectionism, the porcelains pages of Sears catalogues came to be dominated by American products. One such catalogue from 1902 offers a 100-piece American-made semi-porcelain dinner set for $4.98. While the second half of the same catalogue does include foreign imports, such as a similar 100-piece dinner set by Havilland for $19.95, the pricing and placement of these indicate clearly that Sears had shifted its major product

---

[205] Blaszczck, Regina Lee. *Imaging Consumers-Design and Innovation from Wedgwood to Corning.* Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press. 2000, p 47.

lines to focus on American-made products.

Further, a 1908 catalogue introduces American tableware with the words "We offer only the finest items," then continues:

> We offer our customers the best American porcelains made. We do not sell Ironstone or low-grade porcelain dinner sets. Our American dinner sets are made by the famous Homer Laughlin China Company, and are composed entirely of semi-vitreous porcelain and porcelain materials, which means ware made from the best imported clays, finely ground and mixed in such a manner as to make wares that are smooth, pure white, and guaranteed to last forever without cracking or discolouring.[206]

As we can see here, while the products themselves may have been American-made, the materials used to make them were still being imported. Further, catalogue pages devoted to porcelain storage and display cabinets increased sharply from around this time. Such cabinets, generally in the $10 to $30 dollar range, were typically made of oak and featured carved "cat's paw style" legs below, glass doors on the front, and decorative trim above. Dinner sets, along with such cabinets to hold them, quickly spread throughout America's middle class.

In 1913, Nippon Tōki exported its first dinner sets to the United States. The following year, in wake of the short supply of European exports caused by the outbreak of World War One, porcelains by Japanese ceramics and other Japanese manufacturers began to enjoy huge popularity.

After the war, amidst America's gradually growing self-confidence as a major power, the dinner set pages of a 1927 Sears catalogue show a distinct change in advertising format: the American tableware is still listed first,

---

206 Sears & Roebuck *Sears & Roebuck Catalogue.*(A Division of Crown Publishers Inc) 1908.

but in the following pages roughly equal space is given to introducing the various qualities of products from other countries including England, Germany and France, offering customers the freedom to choose based on their personal preference. Japanese tableware also appears. The price of a twenty-three piece Japanese tea set was $4.25, or roughly the same as similar American and English semi-porcelain and porcelain sets, although lower than the $6–7 for some of the luxury sets by Havilland and certain German manufacturers.

In Sears & Roebucks catalogues from 1927 we find, in addition to the above, dinner sets featuring azalea motifs and other patterns, and these are identified as Noritake porcelains. The catalogues of other major ceramics retailers, such as Butler Brothers, also offered Noritake porcelains. The implication is that by 1927, Japanese tableware, including Noritake, had permeated the American market and was already known among the citizenry alongside similar American and European products. It was the beginning of an era in which American consumers were finally free to select American, European, or Japanese tableware according to their own personal preferences.

4) Old Noritake in America in the Modern Era

i) The Staff of the New York Branch

In the United States, as soon as new designs for fancy and luxury goods were revealed, items currently on sale tended to go out fashion quickly and were consequently sold off at discount prices. This tendency was most obvious in the decorative arts including clothing, furniture, and tableware. Designers in Nippon Tōki therefore made every effort to produce innovative

designs using new colour combinations, shapes, and motifs.

Given the relative similarity of cultures and customs, European porcelain manufacturers had an easier time than their Japanese counterparts in visualizing American tastes in tableware. In contrast, the Japanese producers attempting to turn from a domestic to an export market, in order to compete with European producers, had a great deal more work to do in learning about Western culture, customs, fashion and lifestyles. Much of the pioneering work in this respect was done by Wake Matsutarō.

Wake's 1909 obituary in the *Noritake Company News* is as follows:

> Wake Matsutarō, chief designer of Morimura Brothers and a visitor to Europe since June 1909, has passed away due to a sickness of the lungs and has been laid to rest in Woodlawn Cemetery. While not well known in Japan, during his life he made business trips between Japan and the United States on more than thirty occasions over the course of thirty years, and through his activities contributed greatly to Japanese-American trade. Although poverty had deprived him of the opportunity for higher education, he studied diligently and was gifted in art, especially in design, and he used these skills to coordinate design and business. The success of Morimura Brothers in New York has owed much to his talents.[207]

By the time of Wake's death in 1909, Murai Yasukata had become Morimura Brothers' general manager, appointed to the post following the passing of Morimura Ichizaemon's younger brother Toyo. Other Japanese personnel included Ōkura Kazuchika, Hirose Jikkō, Tanaka Minoru, Nagai Gisaburō, Tanaka Kusutarō, and Yamamoto Shōjirō. The American personnel included a salesman named Van Basker, Chick (or Tick) Cahors,

---

[207] Morimura-kumi.*Sakigake.* Morimura Company News 1909 Vol. 224.

accountant Charles Coles, and a typist named Walker. Miyanaga Toranosuke became the second chief designer after Wake in 1907. Miyanaga had observed women strolling among the famous churches on Fifth Avenue each Easter Sunday, and realised that most of them wore the very latest fashions. He took particular note of the colours and patterns of their clothing and translated these into new ceramic designs. Due to the limitations of photography at that time and the difficulty of actually describing moriage, beading, gilding and colouring, each of these had to be painted by hand.

ii) Miyanaga & Other Design Staff

Miyanaga Toranosuke visited Japan on a number of occasions in 1920, 1925, 1926, 1927, and 1929. Other designers who worked with him included Charles Kaiser (fig.5.12.) and Cyril Leigh. The former had joined Morimura Brothers in December 1901. He was engaged as a salesman in New England around 1904, and eventually became a sales manager. Between 1920 and 1930 he both managed the Design Department and worked as a designer, mainly in the Art Deco style. He made business trips between Japan and New York practically every year from February 1919 to March 1931. Cyril Leigh was a British designer who had been appointed by Kaiser in September 1919. He also worked in the Art Deco style and visited Japan in March 1931.

Drawing inspiration from popular magazines such as *Harper's Bazaar, Ladies' Home Journal, Vogue,* and *Vanity Fair*, as well as from contemporary applied and fine art from England, France, Germany and Czechoslovakia, these and other designers created brightly coloured, boldly

designed giftware in the Art Deco style.

Until the 1920s, Noritake concentrated mainly on traditional European painting styles and Art Nouveau, and then later on Art Deco, which designers Kaiser and Leigh preferred. After this experimental period, however, the company's dinnerware design resumed in a more conventional style, typically featuring white centres framed by floral borders.

Around this time it was also recognized that the influence of climate on lifestyle and culture in turn influenced aesthetic tastes. Californian and other West Coast customers preferred brighter, more contemporary designs and patterns, whilst those living on the East Coast had a taste for more traditional European designs. It was for this reason that design staff from all branches assembled in New York to pool their observations and ideas. Until the 1970s, the Noritake Company employed around thirty-five designers, five of whom lived in the United States. Tsutsui Osamu, who was recruited as a designer by Noritake and sent to the United States in 1957, spent two years in both New York and Los Angeles and a further year in Chicago.

iii) American Ceramic Designs

The magazine *Keramic Studio* was founded in 1899 and published for over twenty-five years by ceramicist Adelaide Alsop Robineau (1865–1929) and her husband Samuel. Design examples representing over 120 American ceramic artists have been selected from volumes 8 through 22 and 24 through 29 and arranged by Carol Belanger Grafton in her book *Authentic Designs from the American Arts and Crafts Movement.*[208] (Rose motifs,

---

[208]Crafton,Carol Belager. *Authentic Designs from the American Arts and Crafts Movement*, Volume 8-22 and volume 24-29 selected from Keramic Studio. New York: Dover Publications. 1988, p 9.

incidentally, are featured in 15 out of 436 designs.) Grafton writes, "In the material from the earlier years, the characteristics of the Art Nouveau style are amply illustrated by the emphasis on sinuous line and movement, lyrically abstracted natural forms and a flowing repetition of stylized motifs".[209] One design example, for a cup and saucer by Kathryn E. Bard Cherry, is described as possessing "a rich, tapestry-like blend of colours reminiscent of French Nabis painting".[210] (fig. 5.13.)

Cherry's designs were from an earlier period, from the end of the 1800s through the beginning of the 1900s. However the rose designs in Grafton's book, including Cherry's, are much simpler than those depicted on traditional European porcelains like Braunsdorf's "naturalistische" roses for Meissen of the same period.

These factors indicate that there was a tendency in Noritake to make designs simpler, not only to accommodate mass-production needs, but also because of the influence of an American preference for simplicity.

iv) American Art Deco & Modernization

By the twentieth century, Americans were seeking their own original art and culture distinct from that of Europe. As far as the end of nineteenth century there had been a model of American culture, proposed by John Fiske, that held it to be comprised mainly of elements brought from Europe by "carriers of culture", including artists, writers, and musicians immigrating from the Old World, as well as natives returning to the U.S. after studying abroad. Thus American culture was regarded as an extension of Western European culture. However, as John A. Kouwenhoven remarks

---

[209] ibid.. p 22.
[210] From the bibliography of Cherry, Kathryn E. Bard by "Ask Art" of internet HP: http://www.askart.com/Biography.asp.

in *Made in America*, the skyscrapers of Manhattan represented, in Corbusier's brilliantly perceptive observation, a "climactic achievement of the vernacular tradition in America".[211] We can also see American original design in dinner set patterns such as "Harlequin" by Frederick Leed, produced in the 1930s, and "American Modern" by Russell Wright. These sets largely denied traditional European styles and were grounded instead in new designs underpinned by American economic, social, and cultural conditions.

Bevis Hillier also states in his book *Art Deco* that of all materials, ceramics were least well adapted to Art Deco, and also notes that Bernard Leach, one of the best potters of the period, never worked with Art Deco designs.[212] Hillier adds, "Leach and his pupils insisted on the William Morris (and Japanese) principle of 'truth to material'. It was absurd, they said, to force clay into hard, rectilinear shapes when the natural way of making a pot was to curve its walls between one's hands on a wheel".

The Leach school of thought aside, works from the 1920s through the 1940s by Clarice Cliff, well known as the first British ceramic designer to understand and satiate the public demand for brash, all-over colour, are often appreciated as a very British expression of the Art Deco style and were highly regarded.[213] If we focus on pottery by Clarice Cliff, the characteristic design of ceramics in the Art Deco period becomes very clear. Although it can be considered "absurd" (as Hillier put it) to force clay into hard, rectilinear shapes, the forms in Art Deco design are mainly hard, sharp and geometric compared to older styles such as Art Nouveau or

---

[211]Kouwenhoven, John A. *Made in America.* Massachusetts: Charles T. Brandford Co. 1948, p. 266.
[212]Hiller, Bevis. *Art Deco.* London:Studio Vista, 1968, pp 125-126.
[213]Griffin, Leonard. *Taking Tea With Clarice Cliff—Celebration of her Art Deco Teaware*" London: Pavilion. 1996, p 103.

Rococo, but even with such limitations, Clarice Cliff was able to depict vivid, colourful flowers and scenery. Such vivid and colourful Art Deco designs were in any case more often seen in the United States.

v) Noritake Art Deco

Design books with so-called "Art Deco" designs were kept by Noritake, another example of how Old Noritake designs ranged widely to meet diverse American tastes. The "International Exhibition for Modern Decorative and Industrial Art", held in Paris in 1925 under the auspices of the French government, made the existence of this style widely known to the public. Just a short time later, however, the United States became the centre of such decorative art, and with this shift the concept of Art Deco itself changed, too. Bevis Hillier has interpreted Art Deco as follows: "[Art Deco] aimed at putting a period to the obsolete and self-satisfied discrimination between artists and workers by making artists adept in applied art, and what is more, by making them meet the demands for mass production of designs".[214] Hillier's interpretation of the Art Deco movement parallels that of Izuhara Eiichi, introduced earlier, which states that "the form of a designed product is determined in advance of its manufacture, and the product is then sought as part of the process of looking to find beauty and comfort in utilitarian articles useful in everyday life". This adaptability to the demands of mass production, combined with the will to put an end to artistic self-satisfaction—or in other words the idea that "pre-determined form is a mark of modernity"—became an important vector in the course taken by Noritake after the Meiji period.

---

[214]Hiller, Bevis. *Art Deco.* London:Studio Vista, 1968, p 120.

Nippon Tōki began producing Art Deco items in 1922, but with the stock market crash of 24 October 1929 (known as "Black Thursday") and subsequent American Great Depression, the company was forced to withdraw its Art Deco line in 1931. Between 1929 and 1932, total trade worldwide dropped by about sixty-one percent.

This nearly ten-year production, however, did yield more than 900 Art Deco–influenced items. Morimura Brothers in New York sent Art Deco designs to Japan, where they were mass-produced and exported to the United States for sale in New York's department stores and souvenir shops.

Art Deco, with its French origins, was influenced by other movements including cubism and Fauvism, and Old Noritake Art Deco products were also influenced by African and Egyptian art, particularly the latter, which was often used in addition to geometric patterning. Early Noritake Art Deco items showed a strong French Art Deco influence, which was considered *chic* and elaborated upon in great variety. Later on, decoration was often applied using the transcription technique, which allowed the production of larger pieces. Noritake Art Deco pieces as a whole reflected American artistic styles popular at that time, for example Lustre ware. Noritake pieces exported to the United States up until 1921 were stamped with the "NIPPON" authentication of origin, but starting in 1922 this was changed to "JAPAN", and Art Deco porcelains were among the first to use the new mark.

Art Deco items for export were often much larger than those for the domestic Japanese market. Export items also were often carefully hand-painted, in contrast to domestic items produced using transcription to

save time and cost.

Noritake Art Deco pieces were designed in New York by designers like the aforementioned British designer Cyril Leigh. The main difference between these and previous Noritake designs was that the company's Art Deco pieces often used designs translated more or less directly from fashion design books onto porcelain, whereas previous designs had focused more on ideas borrowed from European porcelains. Noritake Art Deco was influenced most by the costume and theatre designs of designers like the Russian-born Erté (the name used by Romain de Tirtoff, 1892–1990) in particular (fig. 5.14.), as well as Jean Dupas, Georges Barbier, and Homer Conant. Nippon Tōki was able to reflect Erté's magnificent colour sense and Oriental design in its porcelains. The ladies depicted in the Art Deco style on Old Noritake pieces from the period give us an excellent view of the fashions and other aspects of "urban chic" of the day.

CHAPTER 6: LATER GENERATIONS

1) Nippon Tōki in the Modern Era

i) Tableware Production Suspended

In 1909 Nippon Tōki expanded its business to include the domestic Japanese market, gradually making inroads through contracts with department stores, hotels, and restaurants. The first order, from the Imperial Household Agency, came in November 1910, when the Crown Prince (the Taishō Emperor) visited a Morimura-kumi factory, touring the factory and questioning the painters working there directly. From then on the prince continued to order porcelain goods based on design samples delivered to the palace, and Morimura-kumi supplied dinnerware for the royal family through the Meijiya Company. Later, in November 1927, the Shōwa emperor also visited the Morimura-kumi factory.

In November 1911, the Japanese Navy, too, began ordering dinnerware from Morimura-kumi, including pieces intended for use at formal receptions on overseas cruises, replacing the English dinnerware that had been used until that point.

The First World War, which lasted from 1914 to 1918, generated a surge in demand for exports from Japan, and in the process brought about considerable development of the nation's shipping, heavy, industry, and chemical industries. From 1922, however, the country began experiencing a period of recession, part of the worldwide conditions created by the American Great Depression.

In April 1933, Nippon Tōki began carrying out its first major overhaul

of production facilities, the principal theme of which was to convert from round to tunnel type kilns. This conversion not only eliminated the problem of smoke and soot emissions through the gasification of coal, but also allowed continuous firing. Previously, the round kilns had to be shut down after each firing and the products removed, reducing production efficiency. This conversion to tunnel kilns was aimed at boosting high-volume production capacities.

The fifteen years from the Manchurian Incident of 1931 through to the end of the Pacific War in 1945 marked a period of severe trials and tribulations for Nippon Tōki. The company had expanded its export activities to markets in South America and China, and its business had improved steadily with no signs of slowing. The crisis in the international arena grew increasingly serious, however, and between the start of the Second World War in 1939 and the outbreak of the Pacific War in 1941, Nippon Tōki halted its exports to the United .States, its principal market, reduced its production of porcelain, and was forced to convert its facilities to produce grinding wheels for use in the munitions industry.

In December 1941, the worst possible situation for Noritake developed after Japan attacked Pearl Harbour, embroiling America and Japan in the Pacific War. Morimura Brothers, in business in New York City for sixty-five years since 1876, was forced to close its doors, ending what had been a celebrated history. (fig.6.1.)

At the time it became clear that Morimura Brothers would have to close, the company had two Japanese and fifty American employees working under general manager Mizuno Tomohiko. (fig.6.2.) Preparing for the worst possible situation, Mizuno made arrangements for the early return

home of the two Japanese employees and their families. Envisioning that the company's assets might at some point be frozen, he also took careful steps to prevent the delayed payment of year-end bonuses and retirement allowances to the American employees.

As the war spread through Asia, domestic industrial activities other than those supporting the production of goods for the military came increasingly under severe restrictions. Porcelain production was no exception. Around mid-1943, as the situation of the war turned against Japan, Nippon Tōki realized it had become hopeless to expect that the company would continue to be allotted the materials it needed to produce porcelain. Finally, in August 1943, the company halted its firing of porcelain bodies altogether, and in November it halted all design work on the porcelain bodies still in inventory. The forty-year history of Noritake China was thus temporarily halted until the war ended.

ii) End of the War

Going back a few years, Nippon Tōki had begun studying the manufacture of bone china in 1932, mainly as a means of reinforcing the superior position of the "Noritake" brand in international markets in the future. The company's aim was to manufacture products superior to those made in England, which was already far more advanced in that market. As part of this study it conducted numerous experiments related to the treatment and shaping of bone ash and glaze formulations, and also undertook firing tests. In 1935, after three years work, Nippon Tōki finally produced Japan's first bone china prototypes. Although the initial products were limited to flower vases and ornaments, the response from customers

was far greater than anticipated, and in 1938 the company manufactured and exported a large volume of bone china tea sets that also sold quite well. (fig. 6.3.)

Japan's increasingly worsening war situation brought about ongoing increases in the production of military supplies. In October 1943, the Army and the Navy both placed Nippon Tōki's factories under military supervision. In April 1944, the factories were designated munitions plants. The demand for grinding wheels, meanwhile, continued to grow. When the military ordered the company in 1944 to increase its production of grinding wheels still further, monthly production reached 800 tons. That figure was over three times the production capacity of the factory, and a large amount of capital was required in order to augment the facilities and achieve the production goal. To meet that need, the company doubled its capital to 7 million yen.

The U.S. air raids on the Japanese mainland that began in 1942 gradually intensified, and most of Japan's largest cities were reduced to rubble. Bombs also struck some of Nippon Tōki's manufacturing facilities. At the urging of the military, the company planned and carried out a move to relocate its manufacturing facilities to the countryside. Relocation began in 1944, but before most of the countryside manufacturing operations could get fully underway, the war ended.

iii) "Rose China" in the Occupied Japan period

During World War II, Morimura-kumi factories in Nagoya were seriously damaged. Overall employee numbers fell, although by how many is not clear since records of employment figures for the period 1935 to 1937

were lost in a major air raid on Nagoya. (fig. 6.4.)

When the war finally ended, bringing an eagerly awaited peace, Japan's economy was in a state of utter ruin, and companies of all kinds were obliged to scramble for business simply to survive. The immediate post-war period was extremely severe for Nippon Tōki. All assets of Morimura Brothers in New York remained frozen. Nippon Tōki and other subsidiary companies were obliged to steer independent courses, affected as well by the dissolution of the big financial conglomerates (*zaibatsu*) and the enforcement of the Deconcentration Act under the occupation policy. These changes forced the company to release the majority of its shareholders and break off relations with its subsidiaries one by one.

Immediately after the War, the United States 8th Army and the Allied Occupation Forces, who were aware of the fine quality of Nippon Tōki products, set up a procurement office to supply the needs for their Troop Housing and Dependents Housing programs. Nippon Tōki worked hard to meet the resulting demand, which was on a scale large enough to finance the rebuilding of its factories, and resumed producing ceramics with the assistance of various organizations[215] that helped it to obtain raw materials, fuel, liquid gold, packing materials, and other supplies. GHQ also offered Nippon Tōki a huge number of orders for financing and recovery purposes. "Occupied Japan" mark was stamped on Noritake China from end of the war to March 1946. (fig. 6.5.)

With such assistance Nippon Tōki recovered rapidly, increasing production and improving quality even more. Employee numbers rose from 1,657 in 1945 to 2,606 in 1946 and 3,198 in 1947. In 1946 and 1947, however,

---

[215]Organizations included the GHQ Industrial Division, the Aichi Prefectural Military Government, and the Tōkai regional QMC (Quarter Master Corps) of Tōkai Region.

the company was reluctant to supply the occupying U.S. military with items under the brand name of "Noritake", and called it "Rose China" instead. The reasoning behind this was that during the post-war period, particularly in the early years 1946 and 1947, a shortage of good raw materials, equipment, and skilled employees left Nippon Tōki unconfident of its ability to produce products of the same high pre-war quality, and it wanted to avoid marring the good reputation that the Noritake name had worked so hard to establish in pre-war America. The aforementioned procurement office understood this situation and accepted the products branded "Rose China" (fig.6.6) through 1948. Nippon Tōki president Saeki Ushirō stated at a board meeting in March 1946 that without recovering former brand quality, there could be no recovery of the brand name, and it was in this context that the company directors drafted the resolution temporarily to substitute the Rose China brand name.

Saeki's statement was simply a manifestation of the same basic stance that the company had taken since its founding, namely a commitment to producing products of the highest quality. The decision to postpone using the Noritake China brand name seems to have deeply moved many of the company's employees deeply, and aroused them a will to strive that much harder to return products to the previous level of quality. Through such great efforts, the company was able to overcome the various difficulties facing it, so that by April 1949 Noritake China once again appeared on the market.

iv) Noritake Co., Inc, Established in U.S.

Although Morimura Brothers had closed its doors in 1941, consumers in

the U.S. clearly remembered the Noritake China brand, and once the war had ended requests from the marketplace for Noritake porcelains grew increasingly strong. As foreign trade with the United States and other countries resumed starting in 1948, Nippon Tōki expanded extensively to the point that eventually stood as the largest porcelain manufacturer in the world. As mentioned earlier, during the Pacific War the company had been forced to concentrate on the manufacture of industrial-use grinding wheels. Once the war ended, however, it temporarily halted these operations to resume tableware production, but began manufacturing grinding wheels again in March 1946.

From 1948, Japanese industry steadily turned toward recovery, fuelled from 1950 by massive orders from the U.N. for special procurements needed to supply the Korean War. Nippon Tōki's grinding wheel business suddenly turned extremely brisk. Such special procurements ended when a truce signed in late July 1953 in effect ended the hostilities, but Japanese industry continued to develop, including increasing demand for the products of Nippon Tōki's grinding wheel division.

By 1954, when Nippon Tōki celebrated its fiftieth anniversary, Japan had already registered a surplus in its international balance of payments, and had built a strong economic foundation that subsequently supported a period of high-level growth that began in 1955. Almost in unison, Japanese industries began introducing foreign technologies into their operations, and also began reinforcing operations through heavy capital investment. Supported by the double-axis of an expanded scale of production and more rationalized operations, Japan's industry and economy developed rapidly.

v) From Nippon Tōki to Noritake Co., Ltd

In 1965, Nippon Tōki completed construction of the Miyoshi Dinner Ware Plant in eastern of Aichi Prefecture, equipping it with the most advanced manufacturing technology and processes available. The number of employees reached a peak of 5,650 in 1967, but thereafter these numbers declined, leaving just 1,415 employees as of 2003.

In February 1981, reflecting the diversification of its business, Nippon Tōki decided it would be appropriate to change its name to "Noritake Company Limited". This name was regarded as general enough to encompass all of the various businesses in which the company was involved. To reinforce a more unified corporate image and present Noritake as an international company, all domestic and overseas operations also changed their names at the same time to integrate the name "Noritake".

2) Service plates and the Prosperity of Noritake in the Modern Era

From 6 January through 26 December 2004, the Noritake Museum in Nagoya featured an exhibition titled *Service Plates* to mark the centenary of Morimura-kumi's becoming Nippon Tōki Gōmei Kaisha. Given the company's status as one of the world's largest and most important producers of fine porcelain, one might ask why, on such an auspicious occasion, it gave such prominence to the humble service plate, as opposed to some more pioneering product such as the dinner service.

In the years and decade since its founding, Nippon Tōki demonstrated tremendous growth as a major producer of porcelain tableware. Following World War Two, however, the profitability of the company's tableware production began to decline in the wake of new prosperity among emerging

ASEAN nations. Then, in 1964, the Tōkyō Olympics spurred a tremendous increase in demand once again for table wares, however, mainly to supply the growing numbers of new hotels and restaurants. This was followed by a second demand spike caused by the Ōsaka World Exhibition in 1970, which hotels and restaurants took as an opportunity to refurbish their dining rooms and table wares. Throughout these periods of growth, the service plate played a particularly important role in bringing Noritake to profitability again. Prior to these more modern successes, the service plate had roots even earlier in the company history, namely in the first pure white 8-sun plate that Morimura-kumi had striven so long and hard to produce since very early on in the company's history. Therefore, focusing on service plates offers a significant window through which to trace, from the beginning, the development of modern Noritake wares, and it is for this reason that they were selected as the theme of the Noritake Museum's aforementioned centenary exhibition.

i) The Emergence of the Service Plates in Europe

The service plate or, "*assiette de présentation*" as it is known in France, originated in Europe around the mid-eighteenth century. Such plates were generally circular, with a diameter of 27 to 30 centimetres. The service plate was the largest of all the plates for personal use. In addition to being part of a decorative scheme, it initially had two different usages: it could be positioned for the duration of the meal beneath all of the other dishes used being positioned under all the other dishes used throughout; alternatively, it could be taken away at the beginning of the meal, having served to keep the place clear of items such as napkins and name holders, enabling the

server to see more clearly where to place the first course.

An oil painting by the Austrian artist Martin Van Meytens (1695–1770)[216] depicts one of the largest and most luxurious banquets of eighteenth century Europe, held in preparation for the marriage of the Emperor Joseph II (1765–90) and Isabella of Parma in 1760. In this picture, each diner is seated before a plate, although it is unclear if these are *assiettes de présentation*. However, another painting[217] of the same subject, from the Meytens studio and painted four years later, depicts plates beneath beautifully arranged napkins, set between cutleries. It can therefore be assumed that in this instance the largest plates are service plates. This is further confirmed by the fact that the picture shows the scene before with no guests yet present, the chairs pulled neatly away from the table awaiting their arrival. (Interestingly, the plates are not porcelain but silver, prompting us to wonder when, exactly, the first porcelain service plates.)

The book *Versailles et les Tables Royales en Europe* illustrates a full dinner service from 1778 or 1779, sent to Empress Catherine II (Jekaterina II, 1729–96), although the pieces in question are of soft paste rather than hard paste porcelain.[218] From a photograph on page 241, showing pieces from the service formally arranged on a table, and from the list of these items on page 325, it can be seen that service plates are included.[219]

ii) Service Plates in the United States

From the mid-eighteenth century, a full dinner service in porcelain

---

[216]Van Meytens, Martin. "Banquet at Schönbrunn for the Marriage of the Emperor Joseph II and Isabella of Parma in 1760".
[217] Kunstchistorisches Museum 1764.
[218] Musée National Des Châteaux de Versailes et de Trianon 1993, p 241.
[219] ibid.. p 325.

became an essential commodity among the European aristocracy. However, looking at available graphic visual records we notice that, in the latter part of that century, the service plate is absent and the dinner plate is placed directly on the table. When and where did the service plate reappear?

At the beginning of the twentieth century, in the United States, cooking and the art of table setting was being taught in cookery schools and discussed in books such as Lucy Allen's popular *Table Service,* first published in 1915.[220] A diagram in this book of a complete place setting (with the caption reading, "Table-setting diagrams put everything in its proper place") includes a large plate which is labelled "Service plate", on which are placed, in ascending tiers, a small plate, a doily, and a glass for fruit. (fig. 6.7.)

In the United States, the dinner service initially stood as a symbol of wealth. By the 1880s the middle-class American hostess was expected to possess the equipment to serve a formal meal, even if it was used only once or twice a year.[221] The fascination with American nationalistic symbols persisted until the time of the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia in 1876. However, American porcelain, unfortunately, was somewhat overshadowed in the Exposition by the lavish praise bestowed on ceramics from Japan, France and England.[222] If one compares two plates used in the White House, a dinner plate (fig. 6.8.) designed in 1892 by First Lady Caroline Scott Harrison and her porcelain-painting instructor Putzki,[223] and one produced in 1981 during the Reagan presidential period,

---

[220]Allen, Lucy. *Luncheon Cover, Table Service.* Boston: Little Brown. 1915,p 39. First published in 1915 and remaining in print until 1949, having been reprinted thirty-five times.
[221] Venable, Charles L. *China and Glass in America 1880-1980.* Dallas: Dallas Museum of Art. 2000, p 19.
[222]Battie, David. *Concise Encyclopaedia of Porcelain.* London: Conran Octopus. 1990, p 183.
[223] Plate from Harrison White House service, 1892, Caroline Scott Harrison and Paul Putzki, designers; Tressemanes & Vogt, Limoges, France maker: Dulin & Martin Company, Washington, D.C. diam. 9½ in.

commissioned from Fitz & Floyd[224] (fig. 6.9.), it is clear how design became more sophisticated.

Fitz & Floyd, the producers of the 1981 plate, became renowned for their high quality "mix-and-match" porcelain in the 1970s and 1980s. In his book *China and Glass in America 1880–1980*, Charles Venable discusses the reappearance of service plates and their popularity, which peaked in the 1970s. He connects the popularity of service plates in the twentieth century with the enterprise of Fitz & Floyd Company. Robert Floyd's invention of mix-and-match evolved out of his enthusiasm for traditional Japanese table settings, in which a variety of different shapes and patterns of dishes are combined to give an elegant and cohesive effect. [225] Robert Floyd maintained an apartment in Nagoya, and he and his staff visited Japan two to three times in a year for about six weeks at a time.[226] The mix-and-match concept results mix-and-match was a visual feast of dishes in which the tableware design could change with every course, particularly the service plate and dinner plate.

iii) Service Plates in Japan

In Japan, service plates are called "*sabisu zara*" (サーヴィス皿, service plates), *sho pureto* (ショープレート, show plates), *purezenteishon zara* (プレゼンテーション皿, presentation plates), or *ichi zara* (位置皿, place-indicator plates). Imperial formal dinners for state guests are currently served on Western-style dinner services. Service plates used in the Imperial Court are

---

224 Plate with Starburst pattern from the Reagan White House service 1981, Dale Hodges designer, Chūnichi Tōki Company, Nagoya, Japan, maker, Fitz and Floyd Dallas, importer diam. 10¼ inches.
225 Plate with *Damascene* pattern: 1982 Porcelain with printed, gilded and platinum decoration. Marked "DAMASCENE"/FITZ AND FLOYD. INC. Service plate with Grey Renaissance pattern, 1981 Porcelain with gilded decoration: diam. 12⅛in. (30.8cm) Marked "Grey Renaissance" in glaze FITZ AND FLOYD INC.
226 Venable, Charles L. *China and Glass in America 1880-1980* .Dallas: Dallas Museum of Art. 2000, p 252.

called "*kin-gin gomontsuki kazari-zara*" or "decorative-use plates"). The design of these includes the richly silver-and-gold–gilded Imperial mark of a double-layered, sixteen-petalled chrysanthemum in the centre. [227] "*Kazari-zara*" (decorative-use plate) usually refers to a decorative plate that can be hung on a wall, placed on furniture, or used to decorate an alcove in a room. Whilst all the other plates in the Imperial dinner service also feature this chrysanthemum design, most of these are line drawings only, whereas on the service plate, not only is the flower itself comparatively larger, the petals are filled in with rich gilding in gold or silver. It is customary in the Imperial Court to use Japanese words for the items in a Western-style dinner service, for example, a decanter is a "*mizugame*", a salt cellar or dish is a "*shioki*", and the service plate is a "*kazari zara*". This indicates that the service plate was a more recently established item in the dinner service, and not a traditional part of Japanese tableware.

iv) Development of Service Plates in Morimura-kumi

In what period, then, was the service plate first introduced in Japan? Appendix L lists plates larger than the basic 8-sun dinner plate appearing in Mormimura-kumi's 1897 Invoice. Of the 104 plates comprising the full dinner service, those over 9 sun were produced for decorative purposes or as serving dishes, rather than as service plates, and were not circular.

In the 1897 Invoice, the largest plates are described as "circular" and "large circular" (fig. 6.10.), however the latter are not necessarily larger than the former. Plates larger than 9 sun listed in this Invoice are divided into circular, oval, and rectangular/irregular. The purpose of these larger

---

227 Mainichi Shinbun. 1999, *Kyūchū no shokki*. Mainichi Shinbun, Tokyo, p 99.

plates was either for serving, for decoration, or as service plates (although clearly a rectangular shape would not have been suitable as a service plate). The designs on the service plates were concentrated around the outer edge, which is the part mainly visible on a table setting, rather than on the central part, which is usually hidden from view by the other plates and dishes placed on top.

v) Large Plates in the 1897 Invoice

Figure 6.10. 1: [10801 Porcelain large plate — Outer edge with vine leaves; Open work on rim; Small western rose design; 28.79 cm; Potter: Kashū (Katō Shūbei); Painter: Kawahara Noritatsu.

Figure 6.10 shows an item from the 1897 Invoice. The plate meets the specification for a "service plate", i.e. is a large circular plate with an elaborate Western design on the outer edge.

Other potters producing large plates listed in the 1897 Invoice were Katō Jūkichi, Takashima Tokumatsu (the most frequently occurring name in the 1897 Invoice and discussed in a previous chapter) and Takitō Manjirō. The 1897 Invoice describes the design for a large plate by the latter as [twisted rim; uneven salmon gradation with gilding; purple chrysanthemum; light (yellowish) green arabesque design]. Although Takitō was listed as the potter and Sugimura the painter, Takitō's colourful and luxurious painting style must have influenced Sugimura in some way, particularly in light of his traditional flower-and bird painting style. Takitō's name appears only once in the Invoice for large plates and rarely for other items. However, the appearance of his name in the Invoice

indicates some relationship between him and Morimura. Sugimura Sakutarō appears as a painter of larger plates in the 1897 Invoice.

vi) Examples of Other Large Plate Designs

A design for a number of other large plates, such as [Rimmed, Yellowish green base colour. Yellow gradation on the ground. Bi-colour flower design] (Item No 34235) featuring a traditional Japanese painting technique, whilst [Rimmed. Yellowish green base colour. Gradated ground. Lilac flower design] (Item No. 33872) features a flower that is recognizably Western.

[Red arabesque pattern design on rim. Flat gilding. Designed with large portrait in cartouche. Chrysanthemum and small scattered roses] (Item No. 35254)

[Yellowish green base colour. Arabesque design. Descending small flowers with lace design. Flat gilding] (Item No 35253)

"Portrait in cartouche" and "lace" are both Western features, whilst "chrysanthemum" and "descending small flowers" have been continuously used for centuries in traditional Japanese decorative arts such as ceramics, lacquer ware and textiles. Therefore, in 1897 Morimura-kumi was using a combination of traditional Japanese and European designs on Western-style plates. These designs are concentrated on the rim or edge of the plates rather than at the centre, which is quite different from those large decorative export plates having a conspicuous central design.

Through continued efforts to produce larger circular plates, the service plate came into being and soon became an important item in the full dinner service. This is still the case today. Thus, although the achievement of an

8-sun dinner plate was a primary focus, the production of even larger plates was also an important factor in the continuing success of Morimura-kumi.

The traditional European porcelain dinner service, with rich gilding and emblems, served not only as a means of showing hospitality and courtesy to the guest, but also as a symbol of the wealth and status of a family. However, political and social change in Europe brought a decline in patronage by the aristocracy,[228] and by the end of the nineteenth century, the service plate as a symbol of the family had declined and the dinner plate had come to be placed directly on the table.

During the early part of the twentieth century, the service plate reappeared in the United States. Here, too, it served initially as a symbol of family wealth. However, as table settings became more sophisticated and the quality of dinner services improved, there were also some interesting changes in the design, influenced, for example, by the mix-and-match trend. Penny Sparke has pointed out that in understanding many of the changes in the meaning of modern design, it is important to grasp the importance of "modifications," for example in the modern example of the Sony Walkman, the miniature tape-cassette player which encouraged a new attitude towards such solitary activities as jogging and travelling on the underground.[229]

Morimura-kumi has been producing service plates since the beginning of the twentieth century. Their popularity, however, owes much to the Japanese traditional table setting. The inclusion of the service plate in the dinner service today unites two aspects of design: the traditional uniform design of European tableware, and the Japanese concept of

---

[228]Devis, Jan. *European Porcelain*. London: Peerage Books. 1982, p 38.
[229]Sparke, Penny. *An Introduction to Design and Culture in the Twenties Century*. London, Uniwin Hyman. 1986, Introduction and p 8.

mix-and-match. In this way, Morimura-kumi's ambition to fuse Japanese and European design has been realized.

3) Old Noritake and Current Exhibitions

i) The Kottler Collection — The First Public Exhibition of Old Noritake

The Kottler Collection owned by and named for the late Dr. Howard Kottler (1930–89), travelled around the United States in 1982 as part of the Noritake Art Deco Exhibition. This exhibition did much to make the public aware of the value of Old Noritake.

Artist Howard Kottler began teaching ceramics history at Washington University around 1964, and at the same time began to collect Art Deco works. During a visit to New York he was shown by a friend in Brooklyn some Noritake Art Deco items, and thereafter he began collecting Noritake porcelains himself. From then until 1976 he collected a wide range of pieces, over 500 in total, all precious porcelains. In 1981, he offered an enthusiastic presentation on Noritake porcelains at an International Ceramic Art Symposium held in New York, which both corrected the mistaken impression that he had been most influenced by Bernard Leach (it is true that Leach-style slip wares were among his early works) and attracted the attention of numerous young researchers. In fact, Kottler remarked upon the expressiveness of Noritake works, and cited them as a greater influence.

According to the catalogue's introduction, Kottler began to build his collection of Noritake ware, focusing on the two decades (1921–41) prior to the closing of Morimura Brothers' New York offices. The catalogue describes the objects in Kottler's collection thus: "...unusual artefacts, hybrids

manufactured in the Orient for the American market. The Art Deco objects are especially unusual; they are the result of an ingenious plan involving international designers living in New York to create designs for ceramics to be produced in Nagoya and exported back to the U.S.".[230]

Two of Kottler's own representative works, "Blue Balls" (Fig. 6.11.) and "Super Ball", the side surface curves of which P. Failing has criticized for their resemblance to *raku* tea bowls, are in fact most likely to have been more influenced by Art Deco–style Noritake, particularly in terms of their colouring aesthetic. The Art Deco Noritake milk vessel titled "Geometrics" (part of Kottler's collection) uses multiple bright colours such as blue, black, red, yellow, white, light brown, and green, and in his own works Kottler often used similar shades of blue, red, yellow, and black to excellent effect. Further, his renditions of these colours are quite close to distinctly Japanese use of colourings such as the black and red of Japanese lacquered vessels and blues spanning the spectrum from lapis lazuli to sky blue. One wonders if Kottler's use of different red and black colours and curves on "Skyscraper Pot" (Fig. 6.12) and "Super Ball" can be attributed to the fact that he discovered the beauty of a uniquely Japanese applied artistry found in Japanese Art Deco works (including Noritake's) that differed in important ways from those of the United States.

In the Kottler Collection exhibition guide, early twentieth century modern art and design scholar Ronny Cohen remarks, "Noritake Art Deco designs wonderfully embody America's insatiable curiosity and strength found throughout the spirit of the 1920s, but at the same time are imbued with the elegance characteristic of Art Deco .... Noritake's Art Deco works

---

[230]Failing, Patricia. *Howard Kottler.* Seattle: University of Washington Press. 1995, p 88.

had always been with us as bold, strong, fresh first-class Art Deco pieces long before they became so much better known through this first Noritake exhibition".[231]

Kottler's Noritake Collection exhibition was noteworthy for the following reasons:

- It was the first public exhibition of Old Noritake.
- Kottler's "Noritake Art Deco" collection shows influences by contemporary American fashion and design, which brought changes that differed from porcelain designs influenced by Worcester and other European ceramics manufacturers.
- Kottler was himself a ceramic artist whose own work was influenced by Noritake's Art Deco style.

ii) Pottery artists in Seto Today

From end of the Meiji era and into the Taishō era, many Japanese ceramics producers attempted to bring remarkable innovations to their craft, including the creation of new designs influenced by Western aesthetic movements like Art Nouveau and Art Deco, and such remarkable influences also reached the kilns of Seto.

As mentioned earlier, the Seto Design Society was established in 1914 by Hino Atsushi and Katō Hajime, and other similar pottery societies such as the Sakutōkai and Shuntōkai followed suit. Eventually in 1936 these groups merged to form the Seto Pottery Association, which became well known for its pioneering efforts supported by the Seto region's wealth of quality materials, and subsequently enjoyed visits from well-known ceramic artists like Tomimoto Kenkichi (1886–1963) and Itaya Hazan (1872–1963) throughout the early Shōwa period. In 1946, the Oriental Decorative

---

[231]Cohen, Ronny. *Noritake and the International Art Deco Context- Noritake Art Deco Porcelains*. Washington; Museum of Art. 1982, p 29.

Pottery and Sculpture Institute was established, with Numata Ichiga (1872–1954) serving as its first director. In 1950 the Institute was visited by sculptor Isamu Noguchi (1904–88), who stayed to craft several pottery pieces. Today the remarkable activity among Seto potters continues, even earning numerous awards including prizes in the Japan Fine Art Exhibition, the Dentō Kōgei Prize (Japan Traditional Art Prize), and the Asahi Pottery Prize. The Seto kilns are particularly known for their sometsuke, which even today is considered superior to that of any other region.

In 2003, contemporary masterpieces of pottery representing Aichi prefecture were exhibited in a show titled "*Seto no Waza to Bi*" ("Masterpieces of Seto"). These pieces were by Katō Hajime, who bore the honorary title "*Ningen Kokuhō*" ("Living National Treasure") for his polychrome porcelains, as well as seven potters designated as "intangible cultural assets" by Aichi Prefecture and six potters designated as "intangible cultural assets" by Seto City. Representing blue-and-white ware, two potters nominated by Aichi Prefecture include Yamada Ryōji (1896–1958), whose work is known for its *sometsuke kakitsukega* (overglaze-fired blue-and-white), Kawamoto Rekitei (1894–1975), known for his sometsuke porcelains, and Katō Yasuhiko (1930–present), known for his "Seto sometsuke" technique. These three potters are regarded as among the best sometsuke potters in Japan. Yamada and Kawamoto were born during the Meiji period, and they were representative of the prominent Seto sometsuke and white ceramic body techniques handed down since the Edo period and indispensable for sometsuke finishing—techniques which became a backbone that would support the breakthroughs made by Morimura-kumi in manufacturing in export porcelain.

iii) Current Old Noritake Exhibitions

In 2003, an exhibition titled "Ceramic Design in Japan" was held at the Aichi Prefectural Ceramic Museum. In the introduction to the catalogue for this exhibition, ceramic designer and museum curator Miura Isamu writes, "It is natural to think that the development of Japan's ceramic industry was made possible by a variety of historical and cultural developments combined with the conditions surrounding the country's industrial economic infrastructure, and we follow in the footsteps of those predecessors"[232]. Miura concludes that the aggressive actions taken to promote industry during the last days of the Edo period were of great importance in stimulating the emergence of new technologies, production techniques and logistical processes, and also contributed significantly to Japan's adoption of foreign trade and the cultural shift caused by the embrace of Western scientific and logical thinking in the Meiji era. These changes are exactly what Morimura Ichizaemon had originally hoped to achieve.

Miyata Masatoshi, another curator at the Aichi Prefectural Ceramic Museum, writes in the epilogue of the catalogue, "'Industrial design' was a twentieth-century development in which the needs of real life were embraced head-on. In contrast, 'craft design' was characterized more by a romanticism that regarded aesthetic sense as an important consideration. Realism and romanticism are like the two wheels of a bicycle in that both have been important parts of the fundamental sense imbued into the forms of our modern life and culture".[233] This way of framing the issue is not only

---

[232]Miura Isamu. *Nihon no sangyō-kōgei to Tōjiki dezain no Hattatsu.* Aichi Prefectural Museum. 2003, p 6.
[233] Miyata Masatoshi. *Chūbu no Tōjiki dezain no nagare to sono haikei.* Aichi Prefectural Museum. 2003, p 35.

of interest to designers, but is in fact a principle that must be acknowledged and used by all modern ceramic industry producers. In this light, the Meiji artisans must be highly regarded both for their great skill and for the systems they created in order to achieve such success in their industry.

In Aichi, Old Noritake has been exhibited since 2003 in several public museums, complementing exhibitions of the Seto region's other traditional and contemporary Seto works. Various private collections of Old Noritake have been shown in galleries and department stores mainly in Nagoya and other cities, but the exhibition of Old Noritake wares in public museums suggests strongly that such pieces are now being truly regarded as "art".

A significant joint exhibition titled "The Beauty of Old Noritake", held in four different museums in Seto from 19 April to 22 June 2003, showed ninety-two pieces of Old Noritake. The four venues included the Seto City Cultural Centre, the Seto City Folk Historical Material Museum, the Seto Ceramic & Glass Art Centre, and the South Building of the Aichi Prefectural Ceramic Museum (through 31 August). Items verified from the early Meiji period included such pieces as a 30-centimetre flower-and-butterfly design pitcher with yellow ground and gold, signed by both the potter Katō Shunkō and Hyōchien as the overglazing factory, and a variety of Art Deco pieces including a sugar shaker and a lustre bowl with a red and white flower design. Further, an opening-day lecture on 19 April 2003 at the Seto City Cultural Centre titled "The Charm of Old Noritake" was a great success, with over 250 in attendance, so many that the original sixty-person capacity room that had been booked for the event surprisingly proved entirely insufficient.

While the Old Noritake Exhibition was being held in the South Building

of the Aichi Prefectural Ceramic Museum, the Main Building was hosting another exhibit titled "Pottery and Japanese Modernization—The 100 Years of Noritake China". This exhibit included a history of the Noritake group as it originated with Morimura-kumi and Morimura Brothers Inc. in New York, and also featured representatives of modern ceramic companies including TŌTŌ LTD (tiles and bathroom porcelains), NGK Insulators, Ltd., BGK Spark Plug Co., Ltd., Ōkura Art China, KCM Corporation, and INAX Corporation (tiles and bathroom porcelains). The diversity of this exhibition suggests that products as different as Old Noritake and modern industrial ceramics can all be considered to have stemmed from common origins in the traditional potteries of Seto and Aichi.

In June 2004, an exhibition titled "The Beauty of Early Noritake" was held at Sankeien Garden in Yokohama to celebrate the 150th anniversary of the opening of the port of Yokohama, with sponsors including the city of Yokohama, the American embassy in Japan, and the British Council. Sankeien Garden is one of the most notable places in Yokohama, formerly owned by a wealthy silk trader named Hara Sankei, who was well known as an art aficionado and supporter of many artists including Yasuda Yukihiko and Maeda Seison. This exhibition of 192 pieces of Old Noritake included pieces from the marvellous private collection of a Chinese businessman that had never been shown before. Among the most attractive items were a 34-centimeter plate depicting a white parrot and pinecones in moriage (similar to a plate in the Noritake Museum); a set of large 61.5-centimeter urns depicting swans on cobalt ground with rich gilding; and large 61-centimeter vases with beautifully rendered roses, also richly gilded. These larger items in particular remind us the prosperity of the Port of

Yokohama at the time, with its exports of large quantities of Japanese decorative arts.

The 2005 World Exhibition Aichi was being held from 25 March to 25 September 2005 in the cities of Seto and Toyota and the town of Nagakute. The region of hills to the southeast of Seto city in Aichi Prefecture, where this Exhibition took place, has long been known as an important centre of pottery production. This long history and tradition, including a huge quantity of stockpile high quality clays and other materials, as well as advanced technology, creativity and high aesthetics, has once again brought Seto pottery to new fruition.

The potteries of Seto have developed along with Japanese culture and aesthetics, with well-known examples including wares like *ko-seto* (the only glazed pottery from the medieval period), *ki-seto, shino* and *oribe* (developed along with the tea ceremony), and sometsuke. Over the centuries these ceramics have all contributed in their own ways to establishing the Seto region in a strong, unique position in the history of Japanese ceramics. An exhibition titled "Seto's Finest Ceramics" has also been held as part of 2005's World Exposition Aichi. This exhibit featured a total of 134 pieces spanning the eons from a seventh-century Sanage earthenware vessel to a porcelain vase created by Kawamoto Tarō in 2004. Compared to previous Seto exhibitions in 1995 and 1992, this 2005 exhibition focused more closely on the porcelains of the Meiji period. Two examples of Old Noritake, manufactured under the name of Nippon Tōki were exhibited along with other Meiji-era pieces produced by prominent Seto potters.

The success of these exhibitions in Yokohama and Aichi suggests that the popularity of Old Noritake has expanded from Seto and Aichi to

Japan as a whole, and that Old Noritake has come to be regarded as one of the most representative modern Japanese export porcelains.

CONCLUSION

The aim of this thesis has been to show the important role played by the export porcelains of Seto during the Meiji era in the evolution of the modern porcelain industry, a role which has until now been largely overlooked. In comparing the modern export porcelain of Seto with traditional pottery, we can see that it has a long history and has been well researched in many fields. To date, however, the study of modern Seto porcelain has focused mainly on kiln names, histories, relationships among potters, pottery techniques, and products submitted to important international and domestic exhibitions.

Modern Japanese export porcelain emerged gradually, first appearing in domestic and world exhibitions, then turning to meet the demands of Western markets through the increasing adoption of overglazed enameled versions. As part of this transition, traditional blue-and-white wares, still sought for the domestic market, were also gradually replaced by lower-priced versions. The Seto pottery industry thus depended to an extraordinary degree on exporting, reinforced by the region's particularly strong ties with the city of Nagoya as a locus of export porcelain production and sale.

Modern pottery artists such as Hino Atsushi, Katō Tōmōtarō or Katō Hajime were active during this period when export porcelain was in the process of becoming increasingly mass-produced and industrialized, and their activities throughout have been studied. Although the perception of modern export porcelain has begun to change, it has been—and largely still is—regarded less as "art" and more as an "industrial product". Until now, products like Old Noritake created by major companies have been given only limited attention in the field of art history, probably in part to avoid

what some might consider focusing undue subjective admiration on a particular private company (especially if that company remains in operation today). Nonetheless, it is also true that in this same field, the contributions of producers like Josiah Wedgwood and Meissen to British and European ceramics, respectively, have in fact been widely lauded, even though these remain private companies today. In a similar way, research on Morimura-kumi and Old Noritake is a study not merely of a particular company, but rather of a core player in the evolution of modern Japanese export porcelain, particularly as the company that has stood since the Meiji era as both the largest and the highest quality producer of the wares in question.

I have earlier mentioned the "Seto's Finest Ceramics" exhibition that was held as part of 2005's World Exposition Aichi from March through September 2005. Among the items to go on exhibit and listed in the exhibition catalogue will be two pieces of Old Noritake, along with descriptions of certain other Meiji-era items and some pieces by the potters who had a relationship with Noritake (listed in the catalogue's third chapter, titled "Seto Ceramics Travel Abroad, Meiji Period", pp 91–118). Potters both written about in this thesis and described in the catalogue include Kawamoto Masukichi, Katō Mon'emon, Katō Mokuzaemon, Katō Gosuke, Katō Zenji, Katō Shigejū, Kawamoto Hansuke, and Takashima Tokumatsu. Painters written about in my thesis and described in the Catalogue include Ōide Tōkō, Soga Tokumaru, and Ōshima Gajō. Potters written about in the catalogue and mentioned in the Noritake Export Invoices include Katō Kanshirō and Katō Yoroku. All of these Meiji-era potters and painters were

related in some way to Morimura-kumi, indicating both the deep relationship between that company and the Seto region as Japan's first and largest-scale porcelain exporter, and the importance of both in Japan's modern ceramics history.

After discussing the development of artistry in the production of ceramics in the Seto region, my thesis turns to examine how Morimura-kumi established prominence during the Meiji era. Among the most significant events is the 1867 establishment by Morimura-kumi of its Morimura Brothers trading company in New York, which served as an extremely important foothold in the company's bid to enter what it rightly perceived as a massive American market. Having astutely assessed the demands of American taste, designers like Wake Matsutarō decided to produce designs featuring popular European motifs. An Advance Order System allowed design samples to be presented to customers, who could then choose their desired products. Such samples became one of the company's most important sales and marketing tools. This innovative system, together with superior and well-researched designs by the designers in the New York Branch, contributed to increasing production of Noritake porcelains throughout the Meiji era. Hand-painted Noritake porcelain achieved a strong reputation for offering European designs in a less expensive product, and this was welcomed by the American middle classes. Wake's successor, Miyanaga Toranosuke, also made great efforts to research European porcelain design by visiting various European countries while at the same time making close observations of the specifics of American fashions and tastes.

Morimura-kumi's success in entering the U.S. market had to do with the company's ability to study European designs and apply added-value elements such as decorative gold gilding to what were essentially traditional Japanese designs. Equally important were the company's efforts to reduce costs, which helped to make its products more accessible to more consumers. And, as represented in the phrase "highest priority to American directives", market information from the United States was given the highest priority. The company grew to be one of the world's leading ceramic manufacturers by evaluating and acting upon the clues to American preferences and consumer requirements contained within that information.

Morimura-kumi's consolidation, in Nagoya of overglazing painting factories from all over Japan was as shrewd as it was revolutionary. This establishment of a modern, large-scale overglazing painting operating all but erased the traditional apprentice system that had previously been the norm, in the process giving the company a highly effective, extremely competitive new design system. The company history and other remaining records have helped to clarify to some degree the scale of these painting factory operations and the number of porcelain painters they employed. My research has also identified the existence of a painting factory hierarchy that loosely governed such aspects as the number of contracted designs and the number of orders distributed to each painter, with Kawahara Noritatsu receiving the highest number around 1907, followed by Ishida Satarō, Saigō Hisakichi, and Sugimura Sakutarō.

Two major painters, Ishida Satarō and Kawahara Noritatsu, operated two of the most successful of all the Morimura-kumi's Meiji-era painting factories. Satarō was born to a wholesale merchant of Kyōto Kiyomizu ware

and learned Japanese painting from master painter Kōno Bairei, having shown strong aptitude for painting even as a child. In contrast, Noritatsu was born into a samurai family and served as a foot-soldier under the fourteenth Tokugawa shogun, Iemochi. As such, these two painters were brought up under very different circumstances. Ishida Satarō left some works in the style of the Nanga school of Chinese painting, as well as some sketch books of natural life which he worked on at home in his spare time. In contrast, Kawahara, though not known for spending his spare hours on such things, did have a passion for the seventeen-syllable verses called *haikai* (even earning the rank of master under the pen name "Seikeian Tokushi II"). He was equally enthusiastic about educating painters, and urged them to nourish themselves by taking in artistic exhibitions. As a young man, Kawahara himself had loved to visit places like temples and shrines, or the kilns at Awata, whenever his journeys in the service of the shogun Iemochi left him time to spare in Kyoto. Even when confined in Tanaka castle following the Meiji Restoration, he spent time visiting the local potters who worked there producing porcelain in the style of Banko ware. In such ways he had made a point to learn all he could from those who had gone before him, and he encouraged his employees to do the same.

At present, there are thirty Japanese working in the Noritake Design Department, including twelve in Nagoya, ten in Tokyo and four in Kyushu, and in America, four Japanese working alongside two American designers. Those in Japan are also engaged in planning and marketing. Even today, as the United States continues to be a major customer, the designers working there are still playing an important role in the Noritake Company. In contrast, those designers and painters working during Morimura-kumi's

early years must have had vastly less information about Western lifestyles and design preferences. Given that the very existence of such overglazing painters in particular (not to mention their lives and designs) has rarely been considered, I have made a point of mentioning some of these, including Saigō Hisakichi, Iguchi Shōzan and Adachi Seikichi, and of describing their designs early on in my thesis, in as much as they have contributed significantly to modern ceramic history.

The modernization of Japanese export porcelain reflected an American desire for an earlier European style. The resulting designs did not yield so great a variety compared to that available today. Early on, during the Meiji era, roses on export porcelain were the primary symbol of Western modernity, but as America began seeking its own style, Noritake designs also changed so that motifs like roses eventually lost popularity. Focusing on such consumer design preferences was—and is—a crucial factor for any exporter.

In my analysis of Noritake designs I have focused mainly on rose designs and others that flourished during the Meiji era. My study of these compares designs with some of the actual pieces that resulted from them, an analytical technique rare in modern porcelain history because of the fact that in most cases the original designs have been destroyed or otherwise lost.

Once the importance of Morimura-kumi and its products (and designs) has been clarified, the essential next stage is to examine and evaluate the pieces in question, particularly by considering in what ways Old Noritake

can be regarded as "original" or "unique" and therefore eligible to be regarded as art. One dilemma in evaluating Old Noritake products as being "artistic" is the fact that the demands of mass production led to products increasingly underpinned by a drive to imbue products with ever-greater uniformity. This being the case, how are we to understand the artistic identity and distinction in originality of Old Noritake?

Penny Sparke states that design is characterized by a dual alliance between mass production and mass consumption, and that these two have determined the face of design in nearly every instance.[234] Old Noritake was produced at a precise interstice between production and mass consumption and its design was largely determined by this positioning. How is Old Noritake differentiated from the vast crowd of cheaper and less significant porcelains, and what has spurred its current re-evaluation?

The answer is that Old Noritake is "original" in many senses. It was, of course, influenced strongly by Western designs, and occasionally even copied them outright; but to these it also added new value, particularly through significant artistic traditions and techniques brought to the endeavor by both the company's potters in Seto and painters it had gathered from all over Japan. Underpinned by these traditions and techniques, Old Noritake's originality arose from a combination of "best quality", "high production numbers" and a degree of "superior uniformity" that other contemporary Japanese porcelain producers were never able to so continuously manifest. In other words, while Old Noritake was influenced by and copied Western designs, it was also supported by a strong Japanese craft tradition, which it was able to bring to bear and merge skillfully into

---

[234]Sparke, Penny. *Design and Culture in the Twentieth Century.* London: Unwin Hyman, 1986, Introduction xix.

American culture. In this way, Old Noritake represents neither mere imitation of European design nor a fawning to American vernacular tastes.

The export porcelains produced in Seto and overglazed by Morimura-kumi painting factories eventually found their way all over the world, earning strong regard for the potters and painters representing the craftsmen of the Meiji era. The fact that Old Noritake was able so effectively to adapt European designs for American consumers was the result of numerous factors including: the dedicated entrepreneurship of Morimura Ichizaemon; the well-honed aesthetic sensibilities of Ōkura Magobei; the well-founded technical capabilities and skills of Seto potters; the superior illustrative techniques of Morimura-kumi's chosen painters; and the company's ongoing dedication to base design activities solidly on relevant consumer tastes. These factors combined allowed Morimura-kumi to produce the highest quality export porcelain of the Meiji era. Although many other export porcelains have faded away, Old Noritake has remained, today revitalized, recognized for its artistic merits, and highly regarded.

In a "self-interview" in his book *Yohaku no bi*, well known Japanese porcelain artist Sakaida Kakiemon XIV (b. 1934), remarks, "The decorative arts in Japan can be of two different worlds, one involving creative activity by 'genuine' artists, the other founded upon collaborations among many people having diverse skills and talents."[235] His own art, he continues, is an example of the latter. Kakiemon porcelains have been produced for more than three hundred years by successive generations of potters inheriting the Kakiemon name, but in all generations they have been produced by the combined efforts of the many craftsmen working in the Kakiemon studio,

---

235 Sakaida Kakiemon XIV. *Yohaku no bi*. Tokyo: Shūeisha. 2004, p 240.

and not necessarily by a single individual. Old Noritake, that venerable porcelain of the Meiji era, was, like Kakiemon, produced through the combination of the discernment of company founders Morimura Ichizaemon and Ōkura Magobei, the insightful marketing ability of Morimura Brothers Inc in New York, the skilful selection of materials by Seto potters, and the successful design and painting techniques of painting factories in Nagoya. In this way, Old Noritake may be considered truly representative of the decorative arts of the Meiji era.

In *Nagoya Togyō no 100nen*, Kyōto-based painter Ishida Satarō is quoted as saying, "Over a short span of ten years I learned various techniques including gilding, the making of luster ware, and so forth. That I was able to achieve such things is largely thanks to Morimura Ichizaemon, who gave me so many opportunities to study new techniques required by the new samples they had collected from foreign countries".[236] It must have been this tireless effort on Morimura's part that convinced Ishida, a conservative painter born in Kyoto, to relocate his life and work to Nagoya to contract exclusively with Morimura-kumi. I will conclude this thesis by stating my belief that Morimura's remarkable enthusiasm for research and investigation was the source of the phenomenal growth and success of "Old Noritake" that enabled the company to root itself so firmly in the American market, with products that remain attractive even today, after more than 200 years. In so many ways the company has formed a bridge between the traditional and the modern and between the Eastern and Western porcelain worlds, and stands as an endeavor epitomizing the experimental and

---

236 Ishida Satarō. *Senzokukojō no jitsujō. Nagoya Togyō no 100nen*, Nagoya Tōjiki Kaikan.1987. p 46.

entrepreneurial spirit of the era.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

I list here only the writings that have been of use in the making of my thesis. The bibliography is by no means a complete record of all the works and sources I have consulted.

Asakura Haruhiko ed.朝倉治彦監修 *Jibutsu Kigen jiten.*事物起源事典 Tokyo: Tōkyōdō. 東京堂 2001.

Alcock, Rutherford. *Art and Art Industries in Japan.* London: Virtue and Co., Ltd. 1978.

Allen, Lucy G. *Table Service.* Reprint, Boston; Little Brown. 1915.

Barnard, Malcolm. *Art Design and Visual Culture.* London: Macmillan Press. 1998.

Battie, David. *Concise Encyclopaedia of Porcelain.* London: Conran Octopus. 1990

Bessatsu Rekishi Dokuhon. 別冊歴史読本 *Ikokujin no mita bakumatsu-Meiji JAPAN.* 異国人の見た幕末・明治 JAPAN Tokyo: Jinbutsu Ōraisha. 人物往来社 2003.

Blaszczyk, Regina Lee. *Imaging Consumers-Design and Innovation from Wedgwood to Corning.* Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press. 2000.

Cohen, Ronny. *Noritake and the International Art Deco Context- Noritake Art Deco Porcelains.* Washington: Museum of Art. 1982.

Crafton, Carol Belanger. *Authentic Designs from the American Arts and Crafts Movement,* Volume 8-22 and volume 24-29 selected from *Keramic Studio.* New York: Dover Publications. 1988.

Davis, Jan. *European Porcelain.* London: Peerage Books. 1982.

Doi Tadao ed. 土井忠生監修 *Japanese-Portuguese Dictionary—Japanese Translation Nagasaki Edition.* イエズス会編邦訳日葡辞書（長崎版） by Jesuits in Japan: Reprinted by Iwanami Shoten. Iwanami Shoten. 岩波書店 1980.

Failing, Patricia. *Howard Kottler.* Seattle: University of Washington Press. 1995.

Faulkner, Rupert. *The Japanese Art Design.* London: V & A Publications. 1986.

———*Hiroshige Fan Prints.* London: V & A Publications. 2001.

Frelinghuysen, Alice C. *American Porcelain 1770-1920.* New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art. 1989.

Frost, Harry and Cook, Wendy. *Royal Worcester Porcelain and Dyson Perrins Collection.* Worcester: Dyson Perrins Museum. 1993.

Fujita Haruhiko. 藤田治彦 *Gendai Dezain-ron.* 現代デザイン論 Kyoto:

Shōwadō. 昭和堂 1999.
Fukuzawa Yukichi. 福沢諭吉 *Seiyō Jijō- Fukuzawa Yukichi Chosaku-shū,* Volume 1.福沢諭吉著作集 第一巻 西洋事情 Tokyo: Keiō Gijuku Daigaku Shuppan-kai. 慶応義塾大学出版会 2002.
Funakoshi Eiichirō. 船越栄一郎 *Naniwa Sōsho.浪速*叢書 Osaka: Naniwa Sōsho Kankōkai. 浪速叢書刊行会 Volume 3. 1926.
Futakuchi Yoshio.二口善雄(Drawing) Suzuki Shōzō.鈴木省三(Author) *Bara Kafu.* ばら花譜 Tokyo: Heibonsha.平凡社 1983.
Geissler, Uwe. *Porzellan bemalen mit Uwe Geissler.* München: Georg Callwey GmbH. 2001.
Glanville, Philippa. *Elegant Eating.* London: V& A Publications. 1996.
Godden,Geoffrey A. *Chamberlain-Worcester Porcelain 1788-1852.* Leicester: Magna Books. 1982.
———*Staffordshire Porcelain.* London: Granada Publishing.1983.
Gotō Hansen. 後藤半仙 *Himitsuhoji-Nagoya Togyō no 100 nen.* 秘密保持—名古屋陶業の百年 Nagoya: Nagoya Tōjiki kaikan.名古屋陶磁会館 Interviewed in 1936, published in 1987 .
Griffin, Leonard. *Taking Tea with Clarice Cliff—Celebration of her Art Deco Tea ware.* London: Pavilion. 1996.
Hida Toyojirō. 樋田豊次郎 *Meiji no Yushutsu Kōgyō-zuan-Kiritsu Koshō Kaisha.* 明治の輸出工業図案—起立工商会社 Kyoto: Kyōto Shoin.京都書院 1987.
———*Early Noritake (titled in English).* Nagoya: Noritake Company Ltd. ノリタケ・カンパニーリミテド 1996.
———*Meiji・Taishō Zuan-shū no Kenkyū.* 明治・大正図案集の研究. Tokyo: Kokusho-kankōkai. 国書刊行会. 2004.
Hildyard, Robin. *European Ceramics.* London: V&A Museum.1999.
Hiller, Bevis. *Art Deco.* London: Studio Vista. 1968.
Higgins & Seiter Catalogue (Originally printed in 1899). Reprinted in *China and Cut Glass* (The American Historical Catalogue Collection). Princeton: The Pyne Press. 1971.
Hirota Takashi. 廣田孝 *Takeuchi Seihō-Kindai Nihonga no Genryū.* 竹内栖鳳—近代日本画の源流 Kyoto: Shibunkaku Shuppan.思文閣出版 2000.
Imoto Matsuzō.井元松蔵 *Nihon Yushutsu Tōjishi.* 日本輸出陶磁史 Nagoya: Nihon Yushutsu Tōji Hensan Iinkai. 日本輸出陶磁編纂委員会 1962.
Impey, Oliver. *Arita Blue and White –Evolution and Development in the 17th century.* London: Eastern Art. 2000.
———*Japanese Export Porcelain.* Amsterdam: Hotei Publishing. 2002.

Isemoto Ichirō. 伊勢本一郎. *Tōgyō shinkō no kakushin.* 陶業振興の核心 Tokyo: Gihōdō. 技報堂 1957.

Ishida Satarō. 石田佐太郎 *Senzoku-kōjō no Jitsujō.* 専属工場の実情:名古屋陶業の百年 *Nagoya Togyō no 100nen.* Nagoya: Nagoya Tōjiki Kaikan. (財) 名古屋陶磁器会館 1987.

Ishii Kendō.石井研堂 *Meiji Jibutsu Kigen.* 明治事物起原 Reprinted by Chikuma Gakugei bunko, Tokyo.ちくま学芸文庫.1944.

Itani Yoshie. 井谷善恵 *Ōrudo Noritake no bi.* オールドノリタケの美 Tokyo:Tōyō Shuppan.東洋出版. 2000.

———*Meijiki ni okeru yushutsu jiki no dezain ni tsuite.* 明治期における輸出磁器のデザインについて *Ishō-gakkai Kaishi* 意匠学会会誌 No44. 2004.

Iwata Yumiko. 岩田由美子 *Kōno Bairei: Kōno Bairei no Meijiki-bijutsu-kōgeikai ni okeru senkuteki gyōseki ni tsuite.* 幸野楳嶺-幸野楳嶺の明治期美術工芸界における先駆的業績について Kyoto: Unsōdō. 芸艸堂 1995.

Izuhara Eiichi. 出原栄一 *Nihon no Dezain Undō.* 日本のデザイン運動 Tokyo: Pericansha. ぺりかん社 1989.

Kasai Shinzō. 笠井信三 *Sensei no Kuntō ga kōsei ni oyoboshitaru Eikyō:* 先生の薫陶が後世に及ぼしたる影響 Tokyo:Waguneru Sensei Kinen Jigyō-kai.ワグネル先生記念事業会 1938.

Kashimura Zenpachi and Mutō Mie. 柏村善八・武藤三枝 *Seto Tōjiki.* 瀬戸陶磁器 Dainihon Yōgyō Kyōkai Zasshi. 大日本窯業協会雑誌 1894 No28. Dainihon Yōgyō Kyōkai. 大日本窯業協会

Katō Eiji. 加藤瑛二 *Nihon・Chūgoku no Tōjiki no Ritchi to Kankyō.* 日本・中国の陶磁器の立地と環境 Tokyo: Kokin Shoin. 古今書院 1997.

Kawahara Gorō. 河原五郎 *Kahawara Noritatsu-ō Shōden.* 河原徳立翁小伝 Fukuoka: Shitōsha. 1929.

Kawahara Noritatsu.河原徳立 *Pari-Hakurankai Hōkoku(Report on Paris Exhibition in 1900).* パリ博覧会報告 Tokyo:Nihon-bijutsu-kai hōkoku-jimukyoku. 日本美術会報告事務局 Volume 150, April.1901.

Kawakami Shigeki. 河上繁樹 *Hana raku no Mōdo- kimono no jidai.* 花洛のモード/着物の時代 Special Exhibition Catalogue, Kyoto: 京都国立博物館 Kyōto National Museum. 1999.

———*Kōya-san, Amano yashiro no bugaku shōzoku-Kyōtoku 3nen-Issai Kyōe bugaku shōzoku no yōto-betu kōsei ni tsuite.* 高野山天野社の舞楽装束-享徳三年一切経会舞楽装束の用途別構成について Articles in Kyōto National Museum. Gakusō. 学叢 (京都国立博物館) 16, 19940331. 1994.

Kimura Kazuhiko.木村一彦 *Ōrudo Noritake Korekutāzu Gaido(Old Noritake*

Collector's Guide). オールドノリタケコレクターズガイド Osaka:Tombo Shuppan.トンボ出版. 1999.

Koide Tanehiko.小出種彦 *Ezoe Magoemon.* 江副孫右衛門 Nagoya: Bōeki no Nihon-sha 貿易の日本社 1961.

Koshio Takatsune. 小塩高常 *Tengoku yori Jigoku he.* 天国より地獄へ Jindō. 人道 Volume 307. Tokyo: Dōkai Shuppan. 道会出版 1931.

Kouwenhoven, John A. *Made in America.* Massachusetts: Charles T. Brandford Co. 1948.

Kumakura Isao. 熊倉功夫 *Nihon-ryōri Bunka-shi.* 日本料理文化史 Tokyo: Jinbun Shoin. 人文書院 2002.

Kuroda Masanori. 黒田政憲 *Seto no Yōgyō.* 瀬戸の窯業. *Dai-nihon Yōgyō Kyōkai Zasshi.* Tokyo: Dainihon Yōgyō Kyōkai. 大日本窯業協会 1905.

Larkin Spring-Summer Catalogue No101. New York: Larkin Co. Inc., 1929.

Matsumura Kaisuke. 松村介石 *Daiō-kunwa.* 大翁訓話 Tokyo: Dōkai Shuppan.道会出版 1923.

Minamoto Toyomune. 源豊宗 *Nihon ni okeru Koppōyōhitsu-Nihon Bijutsu-shi Ronkyū.* Volume 1.日本における骨法用筆—日本美術史論究 第1巻 Kyoto: Shibunkaku Shuppan. 思文閣出版 1953.

Mitsui Kōzō. 三井弘三. *Gaisetsu Kindai Tōgyō-shi.* 概説近代陶業史 Tokyo: Nihon Tōgyō Renmei. 日本陶業連盟 1979.

Miura Isamu. 三浦勇 *Nihon no sangyō-kōgei to Tōjiki dezain no Hattatsu.* 日本の産業工芸と陶磁器デザインの発達 Exhibition Catalogue from "Ceramic Design in Japan". Aichi: Aichi Prefectural Museum. 愛知県陶磁資料館. 2000

Miyata Masatoshi. 宮田昌俊 *Chūbu no Tōjiki dezain no nagare to sono haikei.* 中部の陶磁器デザインの流れとその背景 Exhibition Catalogue from "Ceramic Design in Japan". Aichi: Aichi Prefectural Museum.愛知県陶磁資料館 2003.

Mizuno Naoki.水野直紀 *Gosu to Yūyaku.* 呉須と釉薬 Tōjirō Journal. 陶次郎 No4 Tokyo; Futabasha. 双葉社.1998.

Mizutani Shōzō edit. 水谷渉三 *Nyūyōku Nihonjin Hatten-shi.* 紐育日本人発展史 New York: Nyūyōku Nihonjin-kai. 紐育日本人会 1921.

Morikawa Takahiro. 森川崇洋 *Noritake Meihin-shū.* ノリタケ名品集 Kyoto: Maria Shobō.マリア書房 2003.

Morimura Brothers Inc. *Morimura Hyakunen-shi.* 森村百年史 Tokyo: Morimura Brothers.Inc. 森村商事株式会社 1976.

Morimura Hōmeikai. 森村豊明会 *Maruki no Ishizue.* マルキの礎. Morimura Hōmeikai. 森村豊明会 1904.

Morimura Ichizaemon. 森村市左衛門 *Dokuritsu-jiei.* 独立自営 Reprinted

in 1978 by Yushōdo. 雄松堂

——— *Ware wa naze Kirisuto-kyōto ni narishi ka.* 我は何故キリスト教徒になりしか. *Jitsugyō no tomo.* 実業の友 Tokyo:Jitsugyō no Nihon. 実業の日本 1914.

Morse, Edward Sylvester. *Nihon sono hi sono hi.* 日本その日その日 translated and edited by Ishikawa Kin'ichi.（編・訳）石川欣一 Tōyō Bunko. 東洋文庫 Tokyo:Heibonsha. 平凡社 1970.

Musée National Des Châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon. *Versailles et les Tables Royales en Europe.* Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux. 1993.

Nagoya- Boston Museum. 名古屋ボストン美術館 *Exhibition Catalogue of Millet from Boston Museum(Eglish Catalogue)*. 2002.

Nagoya-shi-shi Hensan Iinkai.名古屋市史編纂委員会 *Taishō-Shōwa Nagoya-shi-shi, Kōgyō-hen.*大正昭和名古屋市史工業編 Nagoya City. 1953.

Nakano Yasuhiro and Hattori Fumitaka. 仲野泰裕/服部文孝 Nakano: *Kindai Tōji-kenkyū no Shiten.* 近代陶磁研究の視点. Hattori: *Kindai Tōji-kenkyū no Gaiyō.* 近代陶磁研究の概要 *Kindai Tōji,* Volume 11. 近代陶磁 Seto : Kindai Tōji Kenkyūkai. 近代陶磁器研究会. 2000.

Naramoto Tatsuya. 奈良本辰也 *Kindaitōgyō no Setsuritsu.* 近代陶業の設立. Kyoto: Shibunkaku Shuppan. 思文閣出版 1892.

Narasaki Shōichi ed. 楢崎彰一監修 *Seto & Mino: Nihon no Tōji,* Volume 3. 瀬戸美濃-日本の陶磁 3 巻 Tokyo:Chūō Kōronsha. 中央公論社. 1989.

Nihon Garasu. 日本ガラス *Ōkura- ō tsuitō.* 大倉翁追悼 Tokyo: Nihon Garasu(Nihon Glass Co.) 日本ガラス株式会社 1955.

Nihon Kin'eki Co.日本金液. *Nihon kin'eki 50 nen-shi.* 日本金液 50 年史 Nagoya: Nihon Kin'eki.日本金液株式会社.1973.

Nishimura Kōsaburō. 西村興三郎 *Rasutā no Yushutsu-Nagoya Togyō no 100nen.* ラスターの輸出—名古屋陶業の百年 Nagoya: Nagoya Tōjiki Kaikan.（財）名古屋陶磁会館 1936.

Noritake Artist Club(named in English)ノリタケ・アーティスト・クラブ *Chaina Painting(China Painting).* チャイナ・ペインティング.(株) ノリタケ・アーティスト・クラブ Noritake Artist Club.1999.

Noritake Co. Ltd. *Nippon Tōki 70 nen-shi.* 日本陶器 70 年史 Tokyo: Noritake Company Ltd. 1974.(Also refered to English book "*Seventy Years of Nippon Tōki Company History).*

Noritake Shokubunka Kenkyūkai. ノリタケ食文化研究会 *Utsuwa Monogatari.* 器物語 Nagoya:Chūnichi Shinbunsha.中日新聞社 2000.

Nōshōmu-shō. *Kōgeihin Ishō no Henkaku.* 農商務省工芸品意匠之変革 Tokyo:Kokka-sha.国華社 1900.

Ōga Yumiko. 大賀由美子 *Ōrudo Noritake to Nihon no bi.* オールドノリタケと日本の美 Tokyo:Heibonsha. 平凡社 2002.

Ogi Kazuyoshi. 小木一良 *Shoki- Imari no Tōhen kanshō.* 初期伊万里の陶片鑑賞 Tokyo: Sōjusha Bijutsu Shuppan.創樹社美術出版 1992.

Ōhashi Kōji. 大橋康二 *Koimari no Mon'yō.* 古伊万里の文様 Tokyo:Rikōgakusha. 理工学社 1994.

Oka Yasumasa. 岡泰正 *Bakumatsu Meiji no yu'nyūjiki to Nihon tōji.* 幕末明治の輸入磁器と日本陶磁 Source: Lecture at Kindai Tōji Kenkyūkai, 1st June 2001, at Aichi Prefectural Museum.

Ōkuma Toshiyuki. 大熊敏之 *Yōran to Shokuchū-shokubutsu wa kōgei-zuan to narietanoka?-Meiji/Taishō zuan-shū no kenkyū.* 洋蘭と食虫植物は工芸図案となり得たのか一明治・大正図案集の研究 Tokyo: Kokusho-kankōkai.国書刊行会 2004.

Ōkura Tōen. *Ōkura Tōen 75 nen-fu.* 大倉陶園七十五年譜 Tokyo: Ōkura Tōen.大倉陶園株式会社 1995.

Ōtsuki Rinko. 大槻倫子 *Kyōto Hyōchien no shosō: Kindai Tōji.* 京都瓢池園の諸相-近代陶磁 Seto: Kindai Kokusai Tōji Kenkyūkai. 近代国際陶磁研究会.Volume 2 Spring 2001.

Pollard, Clare. *Master Potter of Meiji Japan.* Oxford Univeristy Press. 2002.

Reischauer, Haru Matsukata. *Samurai and Silk.* Cambridge: Belknap Harvard. 1986.

Saigō Hisakichi. 西郷久吉 *Watashi no gakō-reki.* 私の画工歴 *Nagoya Togyō no 100nen.* 名古屋陶業の百年 Nagoya:Nagoya Tōjiki Kaikan. (財)（財）名古屋陶磁器会館. 1987.

Sakaida Kakiemon. 酒井田柿右衛門 *Yohaku no bi.* 余白の美 Shūeisha.集英社 2004.

Sandon, Henry. *Royal Worcester Porcelain from 1862 to the Present Day.* London: Barrie & Jenkins.1973.

——— *Extract from the Diary of Henry Baldwyn, Royal Worcester Porcelain.* London: Barrie & Jenkins.1973.

Sano Masatatsu. 佐野政辰 *Seto mura tōjikigyō Keikyō: Dainihon Yōgyō Kyōkai Zasshi.* 瀬戸村陶磁器業景況 Tokyo: Dainihon Yogyō Kyōkai. 大日本窯業協会 1893, No8.

Sasaki Takao. 佐々木隆生 *Amerika no tsūshō-seisaku.*アメリカの通商政策 Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten.岩波書店 1997.

Satō Kazunobu. 佐藤一信 *Gotto Furīto Waguneru to Bankoku-hakurankai (Gottfried Wagener and the International Exhibitions).* ゴットフ

リートワグネルと万国博覧会 Seto: Aichi Prefectural Porcelain Museum.愛知県立陶磁資料館 2004.

Sawaki Mikie. 沢木幹栄 *Mono to Kotoba-Nihon no hōgen chizu.* 物とことば－日本の方言地図 Tokyo: Chūkō shinsho. 中公新書.1979.

Sears & Roebucks Catalogue 1897, 1902, 1908, 1927, Sears & Roebucks Co., New York.

Seto-shi-shi Hensan Iinkai. 瀬戸市史編纂委員会 *Seto-shi-shi.* 瀬戸市史 Volume No3. Seto City. 1968.

Seto Rekishi-Minzoku Shiryōkan.瀬戸市歴史民俗資料館 *Kindai Nihon Tōji no Hana.* 近代日本陶磁の華 Seto Folklore Museum. 1997.

Schmidt-Ibach,Ulle. Meissner *Manier.* München: Studio für Porcellanmalerei und-gestaltung. 1990.

Shimokawa Akifumi ed. 下川耿史編 Shōwa /Heisei Katei-shi Nenpyō. 昭和・平成家庭史年表 Tokyo:Kawade Shobō Shinsha. 河出書房新社. 2001.

Setomono Festa '98 Jikkō Iinkai. 瀬戸ものフェスタ実行委員会'98. *Seto Sometsuke no Reimei.* 瀬戸染付の黎明 Seto: Seto Folklore Museum. 瀬戸市歴史民俗資料館 1998.

Sontag, Hans. *Die Spracher der Blumen.* Berlin: Dornier Medienholding GmbH. 1995.

Spain, David. *Collecting Noritake A to Z.* Atglen: Schiffer Books. 1999.

Sparke, Penny. *Design & Culture in the Twentieth Century.* London: Unwin Hyman. 1986.

———*An Introduction to Design and Culture in the Twentieth Century.* London: Uniwin Hyman. 1986.

Sunawaga Yukio.砂川行雄 *Morimura Ichizaemon-Muyoku no Shōgai.* 森村市左衛門の無欲の生涯 Tokyo:Sōshisha.草思社 1998.

Takagi Noritoshi and Miyata Masatoshi. 高木典利・宮田昌俊 Takagi: *Meiji no Ōrudo Noritake wo egaita hitotachi.* 明治のオールドノリタケを描いた人達 Miyata:*Sakkon no Ōrudo Noritake Jijō.* 昨今のオールドノリタケ事情 –Exhibition Catalogue: *Ōrudo Noritake no bi-Yushutsu-toji Ryūsei no Rekishi.* オールドノリタケの美—輸出陶磁隆盛の歴史 Seto: Aichi Prefectural Museum. 愛知県陶磁資料館 2003.

Tanaka Yoshio and Hirayama Narinobu ed. 田中芳男・平山成信 *Ōkoku Hakurankai Sandō Kiyō.* 澳国博覧会賛同紀要 Ōkoku Hakurankai-jimukyoku(Secretariat of Vienna World Exposition). 澳国博覧会事務局 1873] 1897.

Terada Torahiko.寺田寅彦 -*Terada Torahiko Zenshū.* 寺田寅彦全集 1996. Original text from *Tōen.* 東炎 1934.Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten.岩波書

店 1996.

Tokuoka Takao. 徳岡孝夫 *Doroshī.* ドロシー Tokyo: Bungei-shunjūsha. 文芸春秋社.1993.

Tōkyō National Museum. 東京国立博物館 *Meiji Dezain no Tanjō (Report of Onchi Zuroku)* 明治デザインの誕生—調査研究報告書『温地図録』. Tokyo: Kokusho-kankōkai.国書刊行会 1997.

Tōkyō National Museum. 東京国立博物館 *Report of Philadelphia Centennial World Exhibition 1876 edited by the Bureau of World Exhibition* (English). Reprinted;: Kokusho-kankōkai 国書刊行会 2002.

Tsuji Nobuo. 辻唯雄 *Nihon bijutsu no mikata.*日本美術の見方 Volume 7 of *Nihon bijutsu no nagare.* Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten. 岩波書店 1982.

Tsukamoto Yōtarō. 塚本洋太郎 *Hana no Bijutsu to Rekishi.* 花の美術と歴史 Kyoto: Kyōto Shoin. 京都書院 1998.

Uchimura Kanzō.内村鑑三 *Shutsugokusha no shinkō ni tsuite.* 出獄者の信仰について Asahi Weekly. Tokyo: Asahi Shinbun. 朝日新聞.4 June 1922.

Van Patten, Joan F. *Nippon Porcelain Fifth series.* Paducah: New York: Collectors Books. 1998.

Venable, Charles L. *China and Glass in America 1880-1980.* Dallas: Dallas Museum of Art. 2000.

Wakabayashi Tsuneko and Ōga Yumiko. 若林経子・大賀由美子. *Ōrudo Noritake Meihin-shū.* オールドノリタケ名品集 Tokyo: Heibonsha.平凡社.2001.

Wakamiya Unosuke. 若宮卯之助 *Morimura-ō Genkō roku.* 森村翁言行録 Tokyo: Daiamondo Shuppan.ダイヤモンド出版 1929.

Washington State University Press. *Noritake Art Deco Porcelains.* Washington: Museum of Art. 1982.

Yamazaki Tsuyoshi ed.山崎剛監修 *Kyōto Hyōchien to Hirose ke.* 京都瓢池園と広瀬家 Niihama: Niihama-shi Hirose Rekishi Kinenkan. 新居浜市広瀬歴史記念館 1999.

Yoshioka Hōryō. 吉岡芳陵 *Shippō-yaki shin-kigen no Kaiso-Tsukamoto Kaisuke.* 七宝焼新起源の開祖-塚本貝助 Taiyō No 24, 25.Heibonsha. 太陽 平凡社. 1876.