Making their marks:
The significant roles and challenges for women in the first century of Sèvres

Abstract

This article considers the range of experiences of women employed at the Vincennes, later Sèvres manufactory during its first century. It recommends greater inclusivity in the manner in which museums identify the porcelain flowers that were integral to the financial viability of the manufactory's early years. The study also examines works by female painters Marie-Victoire Jaquotot, Pauline Knip, Marie-Adélaïde Ducluzeau and Pauline Laurent and the undervalued contributions of female employees retouching glaze, laying down prints, and burnishing. The essay evaluates the opportunities royal and imperial patronage afforded female painters and the negative impact of the political structure created by universal male suffrage in mid-nineteenth-century France. The article offers an alternative to the conventional approach to the study of marks and proposes expanding how mark-making practices are assigned value in the history of porcelain.

When King Louis XVIII (reigned 1814-24) visited Sèvres in Spring 1816, the manufactory commemorated the visit with a luncheon service, *The Art of Porcelain* (Fig.1). The tray and its view of *The Store at Sèvres on 25 June 1816* (Fig.2) were practical and metaphorical: the platter provided support for milk jugs, sugar bowl, cups and saucers, while the royal visit illustrated how artistic production and innovations were made possible by the patronage of the French crown.[1] From early in its history Sèvres had been dependent on the financial backing of royalty and in 1816 royal purchases and diplomatic gifts sustained the manufactory. The store appears carefully staged to highlight the types of vases then available, displayed before a wall of cases filled with figurative and smaller pieces. Two single-candle floor-standing candelabrum (*candélabre*) with porcelain plaques flank the composition and a large-scale Médici vase on a pedestal suggests the type of opulent object expected to command the king's attention.

Interestingly, the scene shows the king admiring none of those pieces. He appears with his back to the vase and Alexandre Brongniard, director of Sèvres from 1800 to 1847, behind his chair. Although surrounded by men, the king focuses his attention on a woman dressed in purple and white positioned with her back to the viewer, Marie-Victoire Jaquotot (1772-1855) (Fig.3). The king appears to speak directly to her as his right hand extends towards the work that captures his interest: Jaquotot's copy after a painting in the royal collection, Raphael's *La Belle Jardinière (Madonna and Child with Saint John the Baptist*) (Fig.4). This article takes the king's cue and investigates the experiences of Jaquotot and other women who were involved in creating works for Sèvres during approximately the first hundred years of its history. *The Store at Sèvres* is significant in part because it offers a reminder that women's contributions to the history of porcelain production still needs to be better recognized. The example of women employed by Sèvres is also important as it extends our understanding of the socio-economic experiences of women who sought to support themselves and their families with regular, paid work in the visual arts in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century France.

From 1801, Sèvres hired Jaquotot to paint numerous portraits and figural compositions because of her ability to create small-scaled replicas. Such work was highly valued partially because of concerns about preserving historical objects. Many feared invasive restoration practices and the impact of the passage of time. They regarded painted porcelain replicas as the most stable means of securing a "permanent" record before the original oil paintings on wood and canvas further deteriorated. When Jaquotot began *La Belle Jardinière* in 1814 she was painting on increasingly large surfaces, fulfilling Brongniard's desire to enlarge plates while avoiding warping.[2] Jaquotot's skill meant she was uniquely positioned to do this work and the dimensions of *La Belle Jardinière* (14 1/8 x 10 1/4", 36 x 26 cm) suggest it was the largest plate she had completed to date and exemplified the success of her technical experimentation. Jaquotot had an unusual level of expertise in the chemistry of porcelain painting for a woman of her era, but it is unlikely she had an opportunity to share her knowledge with the king. She probably did not explain to him how she fired "inventories," small test pieces (2 3/4 x 1 5/8", 7 x 4 cm) to ensure the success of expanding supports, or the challenges of the process she used, called "blind palette" because color blending remained obscure until after firing. Whatever they said, the king was impressed with her work and chose *La Belle Jardinière* for his collection. The same year, Jaquotot was appointed porcelain painter to the king. She received numerous royal commissions and later secured an annual pension.[3] Her new status likely helped attract students and added to her income for the next twenty years.[4]

Jaquotot's impressive career exemplified the success a woman could achieve while working for Sèvres. During the years she worked for the manufactory, however, Jaquotot was not treated as a typical female employee. She was very well paid, on a par with if not exceeding her male painter colleagues' earnings and, in an era when Sèvres' ateliers were closely monitored, Jaquotot worked in her own home-based studio and the pieces she created were transported to and from the manufactory.[5] Her earnings fluctuated depending upon the number of commissions she received and the director's perceptions of the quality of her work. She was not assigned an annual salary which meant she was neither guaranteed income nor limited by a salary ceiling. That Jaquotot was a working mother was something she had in common with many women Sèvres employed. Indeed the composition and details of *The Store at Sèvres* suggest metaphorically that Jaquotot inhabited a space within the institution that was defined by her gender. The girl and boy on either side of the left floor candelabrum are not coincidental details: Jaquotot was a single parent and appears before the king literally standing between her professional work and her domestic responsibilities (Fig.3).[6] In 1801, the year Jaquotot was divorced from Étienne-Charles Le Guay (1762-1846), a painter employed full-time by Sèvres, she started working for the manufactory as non-permanent personnel, meaning she was hired for specific timelines and had no assurance of continual work. She was not alone: in the first half of the nineteenth century, little more than 12% of Sevres' full-time employees were female.[7] Family connections, marital and filial, informed much of Sèvres hiring of women during its first century.[8] Thus, while *The Store at Sèvres* suggests the work of this one female was valued it also raises the question of how representative Jaquotot's experience was of the broader circumstances of female employees. To address the full range of women's experiences, from those in higher pay categories such as figure painting to less well remunerated positions including burnishing, Sèvres employees must be understood as

collaborative artist-workers whose interdependent creativity was necessary for the production of any one object.

From its formation at Vincennes in the mid-eighteenth century, female artist-workers were significant for the manufactory's creative output and finances as women sculpted and painted the porcelain flowers that were key to its early success (Figs. 5, 6 & 7).[9] They created white and naturalistically colored flowers and fashioned them into bouquets and arrangements for tables or mantels. The women drew inspiration from silk and fresh flowers as well as botanical engravings and as demand for their work increased from around 1741 through the 1750s, their number grew to as many as forty-five collaborating under Marie Henriette Gravant (*née* Mille, active 1745-c.1755) who served as their director for over a decade.[10] The women worked in a separate studio from the male employees who occupied the main building. Although they created on the margins of the institution's space, in the late 1740s sales of the women's flowers represented 80% of the company's revenues.[11] Not all of their names survive but employee records detail the identity of eight women who reported to Gravant. Five documented female sculptors were: Marie-Madeleine Boileau (*née* Pithou; active 1749-1804), Marguerite Grémont (*née* Viennot; active 1751/1754-1781), Julie Wagon (*née* Chenot, 1729-93; active 1751/54-93), and Mlle Barbillon cadette (born 1731; active 1750-59). Three identifiable female painters were: Marie-Louise Capelle (*née* Sorin, 1722-53; active 1749-63), Marie-Catherine Caton (*née* Payot, born 1732; active 1749-88), and Françoise Élizabeth Thévenet (*née* Henault, active 1741-46, 1757-60).[12] Like Gravant, many were married to male employees and, while single and widowed women were paid directly, married women's salaries were typically assigned to their husbands.[13] That practice changed and over time all women were paid directly, although female sculptors received as little as one third the pay of male sculptors. The examples of Grémont and Wagon also reveal salaries that did not increase over more than twenty years while most men received raises.[14] Given that pay equity continues to be an issue within institutions today, it likely comes as no surprise that women faced such challenges over two hundred years ago. However, since names survive for nine women involved in producing the important porcelain flowers, it is essential their identities be connected with extant works. The collection at the Belvedere recognized Gravant's leadership in a recent catalogue.[15] That practice must expand and include all of the women known to have worked with Gravant in order to reattribute works that to date are identified solely by male designers of flowerpots and mounts. A notable example is Dresden's celebrated *Bouquet of the Dauphine* that Maria Josepha of Saxony (1731-67) sent to her father Augustus III (Elector of Saxony, 1733-63; King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania, 1734-63) the year after she married the heir to France's throne.[16] The title of the work references its socially advantaged female patron. It is fundamental to cite the names of all creators who were likely involved, not only to recognize the full contribution of women to the history of visual and material culture, but also to interpret such objects accurately within the socio-historical context of their creation as well as their reception.

In order to better recognize female artist-workers within Sèvres' production from its origin through the mid-nineteenth century, it is also necessary to attend to the range of their roles and the degree to which women were consigned to the lowest paying positions. Glaze retouching, laying transfer drawings, and burnishing were areas specifically gendered

female. First in the sequence of production, retouchers (*retoucheuse de couverte*) ensured there were no irregularities after forms were dipped in a transparent glaze. A plate from the *Service of Industrial Arts* depicts the processes and captures the women's roles: a man dipped a plate into a glaze bath and passes it to a woman standing up from her chair (Fig.8).[17] While one brush denotes her role, glaze retouchers actually worked with two simultaneously: one of dry pig's hair to remove extra drops, and one of marten hair to cover areas missed in the initial process.[18] Although the women ensured quality control, the image of their production space suggests they kept to a pace determined by their male co-workers. In reality, objects dried for forty-eight hours and retouching required adhering to high standards, as the hunched position of the seated woman implies: she removes a blemish or fills an inconsistency. In the mid-nineteenth century, the ratio of workers in this area was one male glazer to four female retouchers, reinforcing how retouching required more time and care. However, the women's salaries were markedly lower. In 1852, the women were paid 540 and the man 860 francs per year.[19] For every franc (100 centimes) the man earned dipping, the women earned .63 centimes for retouching. Even working together in the same studio space and providing skills that were indispensable for the quality of Sèvres pieces, the female employees were disadvantaged and received wages that were less than two thirds that of their male co-workers.

The second role assigned to women was laying down transfer prints onto porcelain (*décalqueuse-poseuse*). Transfer printing created consistency for repeated motifs and a preparatory drawing for the *Service of Industrial Arts* illustrates how labour was subject to a gendered divide in the print studio (Fig.9). Men created and engraved designs and operated the press. They replaced ink with a mix of powdered gold, flux (*fondant*, a substance such as turpentine oil mixed with a metal to promote fusion) and lampblack (*noir fumée*, pigment made from soot) and placed the prints on the surface of water. A woman lifted each print and was responsible for dexterously laying it image-side facing the surface of the object. She ensured the impression transferred to the porcelain by rubbing with a felt roller. To enhance the decorative effect, she covered exposed flux with a brush dipped in powdered gold.[20] In the drawing, the central woman holds a brush and works on the final stage before the object was placed in a muffle kiln, suggested by the apparatus on the right. As with glazing, women were paid less for their work in the printing studio. In 1852 Sèvres employed two male printers with annual salaries of 1,200 and 1,800 francs. While the drawing presents two women at an earlier date, in the early 1850s Christine Taffin (*née* Regnier, 1837-60) was the sole *décalqueuse-poseuse* responsible for laying and rubbing as well as heightening. In 1852 Taffin received 800 francs, 44-66% of the annual salary of her male co-workers.[21]

The third area of expertise Sèvres defined as female was the work of burnishers (*brunisseuses*) who completed the final stage of the gilding process. A plate from the *Service of Industrial Arts* that depicts *Ground Color and Burnishing* captures the gendered divide that shaped this sphere of the creative process (Fig.10).[22] Visible through the arched doorway, four women burnish plates and vases. Their work followed the final firing, from which gilded areas emerged appearing dull. The women assessed the surface and determined the types of tools required depending upon the desired effect. For a "simple" burnishing on a flat surface (*brunissage à plat*) they used an agate, hematite or bloodstone

to enhance an object's brilliance. Women also worked raised surfaces (*brunissage à l'effet*) that ranged from rope-like relief decoration to the knob of a lid. For both, they had to deftly press down on the gold without removing any metal and achieve contrast with flat surfaces using the *sablé* technique, rubbing fine sand with linen to create a matte effect.

Although their work was crucial to the completion of Sèvres' objects, many *brunisseuses* were the institution's lowest paid employees. In 1852, Sèvres employed seven full-time burnishers whose annual salaries ranged from 500 to 660 francs. Their production was closely monitored and paid by the piece rather than for the time their work required. Likely because of the changing political circumstances between his *coup d'état* in December 1851 and Napoléon III re-establishing France as an empire the following year, and the exigency to change monograms on the government's table services, there was so much demand for their skill that eight additional *brunisseuses* had to be hired part time in fall 1852.[23] Women were the recognized experts in this area and often stayed in their positions for long periods but they received modest increases in wages. Among *brunisseuses*, Louise-Jeanne Noualhier (*née* Buteux, 1812-57) appears to have received a comparatively elevated salary of 660 francs but she had been employed for thirty-seven years. 500 francs was not simply a starting salary for Marguerite-Irma Duloquetis (*née* Rochon, active 1843-82) and Célestine Robert (later Célestine Queneulle, active 1853-89), who had been burnishers for eight and nine years respectively, as Alexandrine Céleste Bonnet (*née* Lefebvre, active 1820-53) received the same pay after thirty-two years. There was some recognition for Noualhier's leadership of the team, but that also meant that even after forty years she was not permitted to retire and access her pension in 1855 when she could have been eligible.[24] She was allowed to retire only four years later. Female burnishers contributed important skills and were integral to the team-work environment on which production of Sèvres' objects depended. Nonetheless, they received less than half the wage of male gilders, who earned from 1,320 to 2,100 francs. It is astonishing that even though female burnishers were skilled workers and so "valued" as to require delaying retirement, the best paid *brunisseuse* received less than the man hired to sweep the floors. The sweeper was an unskilled worker paid for his time who was not subject to microassessments of the quality or quantity of his work whose annual salary of 780 francs was nearly 20% more than the best paid *brunisseuse*.[25]

The three plates from the *Service of Industrial Arts* provide an understanding of the gendered spheres of production within the manufactory. While painters received higher wages, during the first half of the nineteenth century the experiences of Pauline Knip (*née* de Courcelles, 1781-1851) and Marie-Adélaïde Ducluzeau (*née* Durand, 1787-1849) reveal the challenges female painters faced and particularly how their circumstances were affected by the political bodies that governed Sèvres. Knip's correspondence with Director Brongniard offers a rare insight into a woman endeavoring to negotiate the terms of her contract. When Knip was offered a position as a permanent employee in 1818 she was already well recognized as a bird painter. By 1811 she had been appointed first natural history painter to Empress Marie Louise (reigned 1810-14) (Fig.11).[26] Because of Knip's work on two publications over a ten-year period, she was granted an apartment at the Sorbonne that was continued under King Louis XVIII. The conditions Brongniard set out would have required Knip to work exclusively for the manufactory, to put aside all other

work immediately, and to live in the Sèvres commune but receive neither housing nor a subsidy for accommodation. Knip responded that she was "sincerely interested" in working for Sèvres but could not reconcile the conditions with her existing commitments, nor the benefit of her apartment in the center of the capital. Knip was in an unusually advantageous position but even she was not able to arrange for her housing privilege to transfer to Sèvres.[27] Nonetheless, Brongniard was so eager to hire her he had already sent a list of birds and Knip completed her impressive work on the renowned *South American Bird Service* even though she did not agree to become a permanent employee (Fig.12).[28] Like Jaquotot, Knip worked in her own studio and royal patronage afforded a level of autonomy as she executed the eighty-four-piece dessert service between 1819 and 1821. Knip's talent continued to be recognized five years later when King Charles X (reigned 1824-1830) bought the service for the important porcelain collector Marie-Thérèse-Charlotte, duchesse d'Angoulême (1778-1851), his daughter-in-law and the only surviving daughter of King Louis XVI and Queen Marie Antoinette (both reigned 1774-1792).[29]

By contrast, the experiences of Ducluzeau reveal the vulnerable position of a female painter who signed a contract that bound her to the terms of full-time employment but that did not protect her from deplorable treatment by the institution's administrators. Ducluzeau is likely best-known today for the *Coupe of the Five Senses* that is featured prominently at the Sèvres museum (Fig.13). She painted this piece between 1823 and 1825, with its ten intriguing scenes that went beyond typical iconography and evoked, for example, hearing through noise, silence and pleasant sounds – high-quality work for which Ducluzeau received a ten percent bonus.[30] Over the following two decades, Ducluzeau's pay came to equal her male colleagues and in 1847 the work she produced was valued at twice the ceiling of her salary.[31] However in April 1848, in an effort to "reform" Sèvres and reduce costs, Ducluzeau was among the employees let go. That meant she also lost her housing, while her equally well paid male figurative painter colleagues retained their positions.[32] Following the revolution of February 1848, the Second Republic established what is still too-often referred to incorrectly as "universal suffrage," when in fact enfranchisement remained gendered and the biased language of "citizenship" that the government communicated to Sèvres administration through its letters determined how the manufactory treated employees. Ducluzeau was never paid for her work the previous year and, in November 1848, she advocated for her rights. For over three months she had been waiting for full payment on the amount owing to her and described her situation as dire, "I am at the end of my rope and in the greatest need of this money."[33] One of Ducluzeau's part-time female painter colleagues also wrote to request work since she had heard there were projects, but to no avail.[34] Skilled female glaze retouchers, transfer printers and burnishers continued to be disadvantaged in their low-pay positions while female painters were disenfranchised and their concerns ignored. Ducluzeau died in August 1849 during the cholera epidemic that struck Paris and the change in her employment and housing could well have been a factor. A portrait of Ducluzeau by her sister, donated to Sèvres by her daughter, offers a poignant record of a talented employee who painted the scenes of the *Coupe of the Five Senses* and whose life circumstances altered dramatically when gender-biased perspectives on democracy shaped France's political landscape (Fig.14).

When the Second Empire was established in December 1852, women were not granted the right to vote but imperial patronage meant professional opportunities improved for some of the women Sèvres employed. A notable example is Pauline Laurent (*née* Jullien, 1805-60), a painter hired as a temporary worker every year for the decade up to 1848 and as a full-time painter from 1853 through to her death in 1860. Laurent worked on vases and, like Jaquotot, executed replica plaques after historical paintings but it was particularly copies after portraits of Empress Eugénie (reigned 1853-70) that raised Laurent's profile and income (Fig.15). As a working mother, Laurent had been disappointed that Brongniard never hired her full time and that her opportunities disappeared in 1848.[35] However, between 1853 and 1856 she was commissioned to paint three copies of portraits of the empress and her pay, categorized in part as "extra work" rather than projected salary, meant that in 1854 Laurent received the second highest income of Sèvres' painters.[36] That year, the combined total of Laurent's salary and extra work was slightly more than the full-time salary Ducluzeau received before she was let go. It took seven years for a female employee to reach the same level of pay – a further five years to reach that of Jaquotot over three decades earlier – and the opportunities that brought about salary parity related primarily to Laurent's copies of imperial portraits.

Laurent's example would have inspired female porcelain painters who submitted works to Salon exhibitions and hoped to be hired by Sèvres. Between 1848 and the end of the Second Empire in 1870, the rate at which Salon juries accepted work by female artists did not increase significantly but the number submitting painted porcelains grew from less than 2% to more than 11.6% of women exhibiting in the painting category.[37] Women expressed renewed hope that porcelain painting could be a viable means of supporting themselves and even advocated for their cause with the man who oversaw the Salons. Rare surviving correspondence regarding painters Marie Leclerc and Alice Peignot (both active 1864-after 1870) reveal they sought support to exhibit porcelains they hoped would secure positions for themselves at Sèvres.[38] Leclerc and Peignot were both single and their fathers had died.

In an era when 25% of women in France were employed, primarily in domestic service, garment making and textiles, Sèvres looked like a beacon of opportunity for women who hoped to develop their artistic talents. There is no evidence pay disparities were justified on the basis women at Sèvres produced work of lesser quality. Rather, depending upon external political factors and the institution's internal leadership, the manufactory used gendered mechanisms to contain costs. While many female employees continued to experience inequities when their skills were not adequately rewarded, opportunities increased for some women during periods of royal and imperial patronage. Today it is imperative to better recognize the overall contributions of women and the range of ways they made their important marks during the first century of Sèvres' history.

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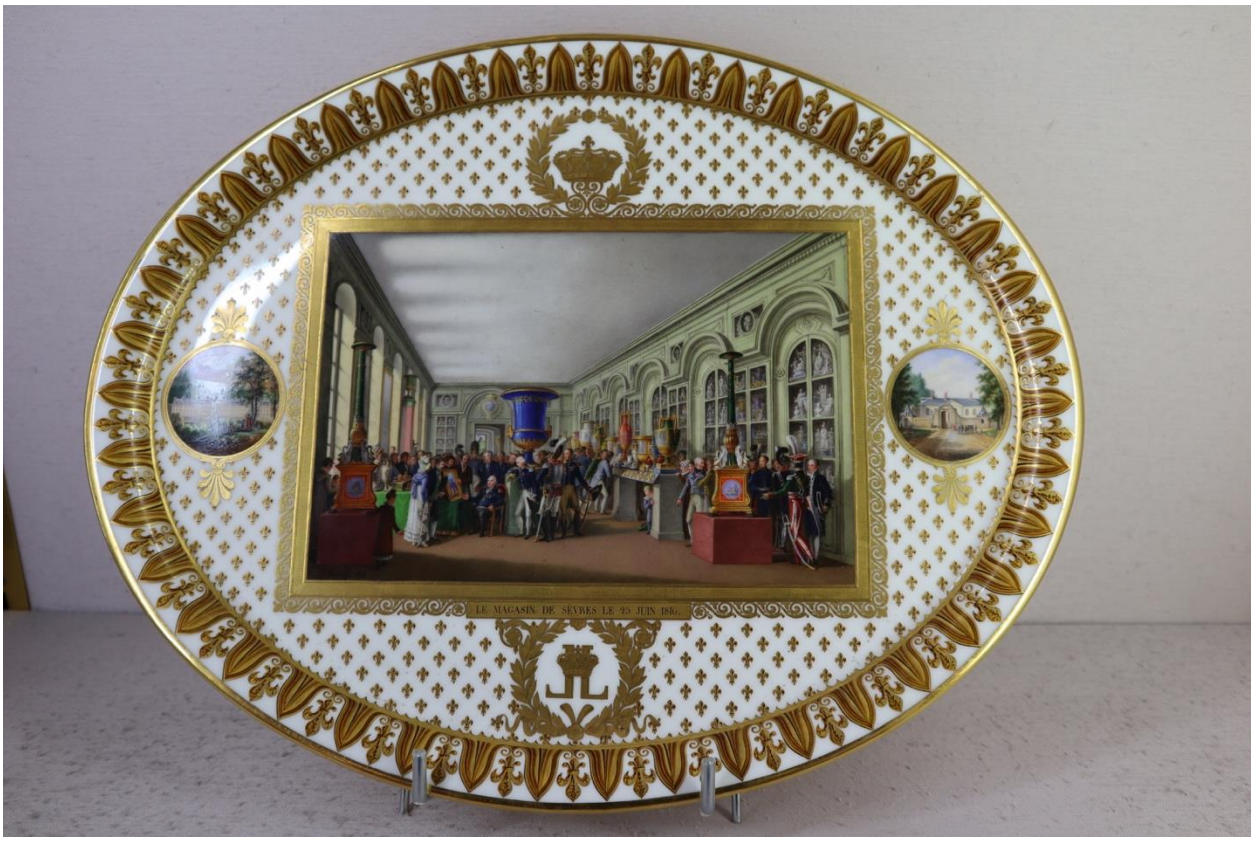

Figure 1 *Tray from the Déjeuner Service L'Art de la porcelain*, hard-paste porcelain, composition and figurative painting by Jean-Charles Develly (active 1813–1847), non-figurative painting by Pierre Huard (active 1811–1847), Sèvres manufactory, Sèvres, France, 1816, H. 1 1/32" (2.6 cm), L. 17 3/8" (43.7 cm), W. 13 9/16" (34.4 cm). France, Private Collection on deposit at Sèvres, musée national de Céramique. Photo: RMN/Art Resource.

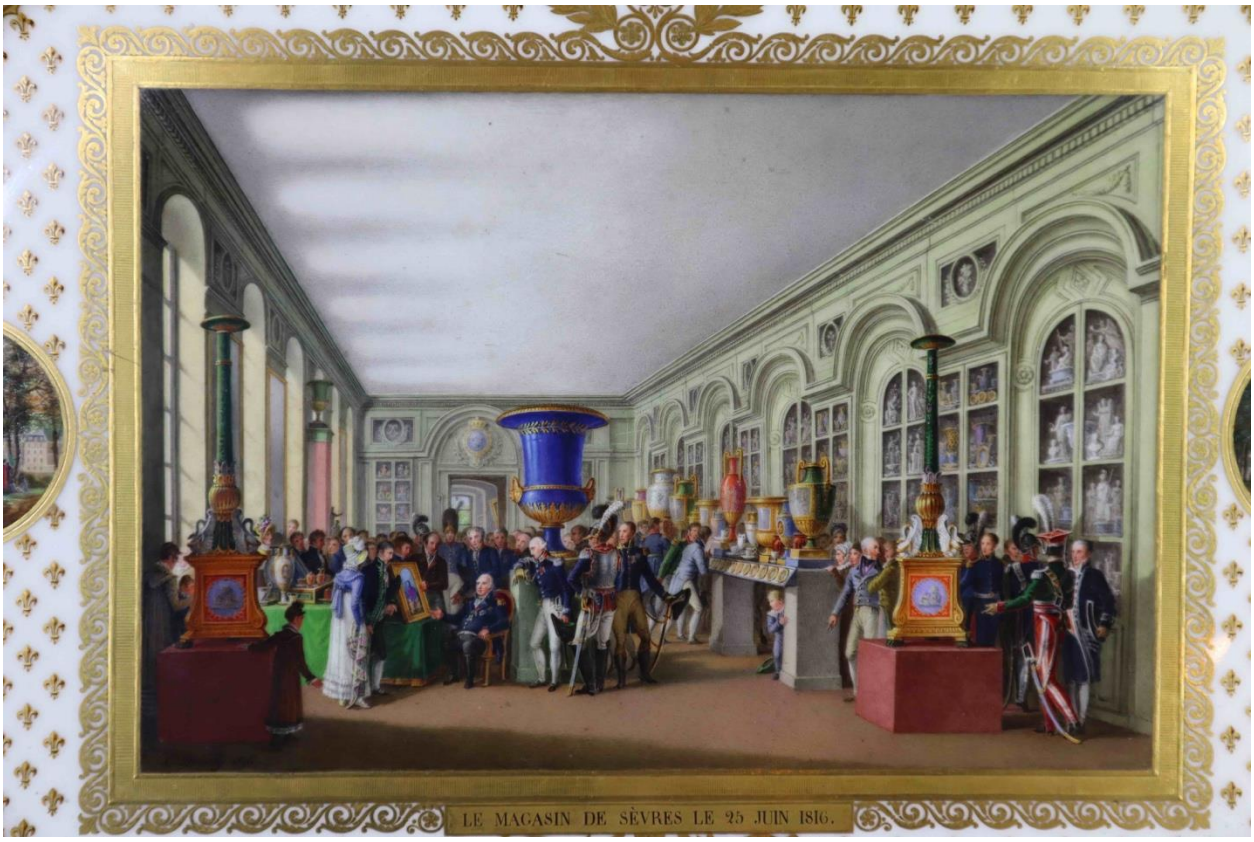

Figure 2 *Tray from the Déjeuner Service L'Art de la porcelain, detail*, hard-paste porcelain, composition and figurative painting by Jean-Charles Develly (active 1813–1847), Sèvres manufactory, Sèvres, France, 1816, H. 1 1/32" (2.6 cm), L. 17 3/8" (43.7 cm), W. 13 9/16" (34.4 cm). France, Private Collection on deposit at Sèvres, musée national de Céramique. Photo: RMN/Art Resource.

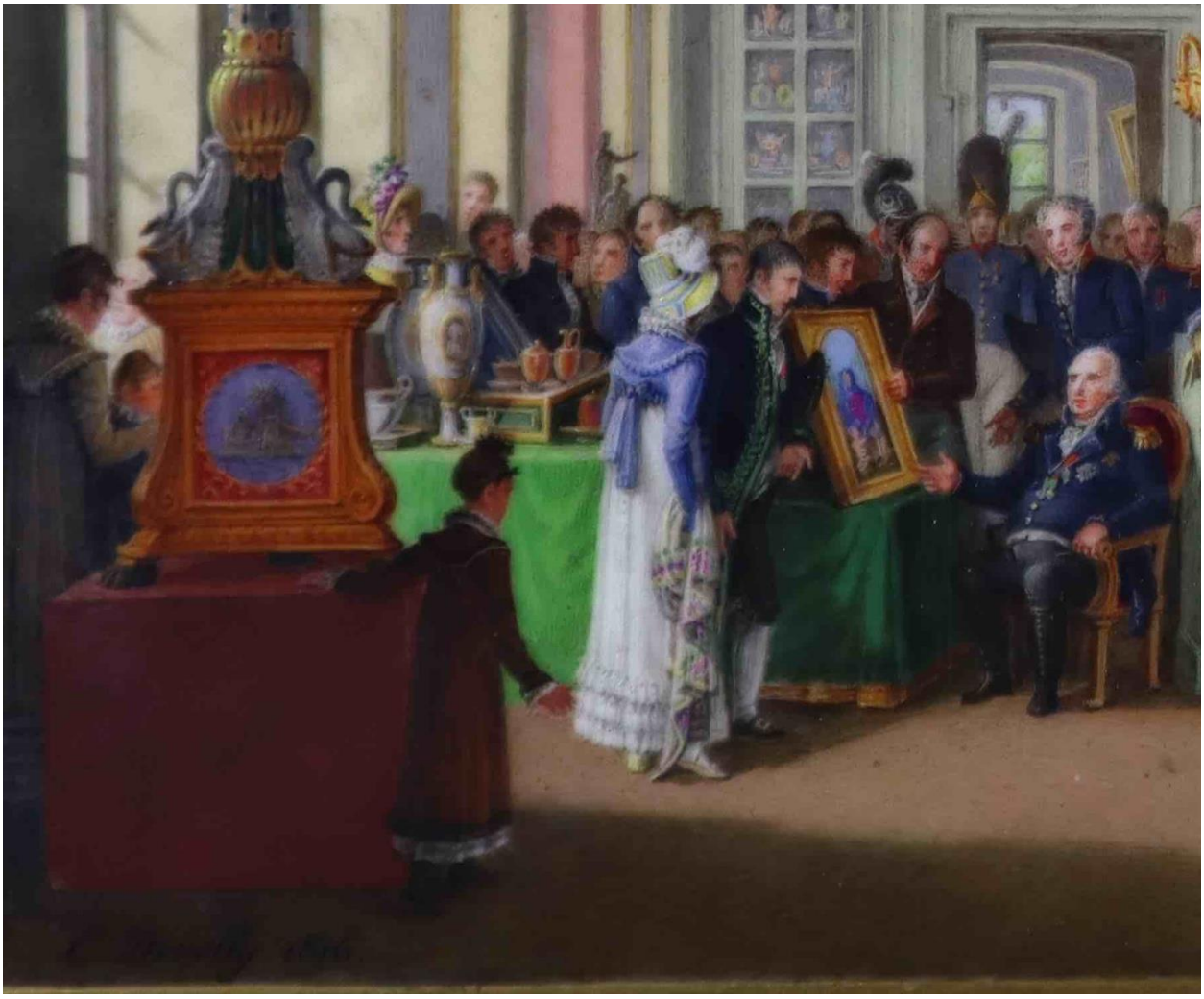

Figure 3 *Tray from the Déjeuner Service L'Art de la porcelain, detail*, hard-paste porcelain, composition and figurative painting by Jean-Charles Develly (active 1813–1847), Sèvres manufactory, Sèvres, France, 1816, H. 1 1/32" (2.6 cm), L. 17 3/8" (43.7 cm), W. 13 9/16" (34.4 cm). France, Private Collection on deposit at Sèvres, musée national de Céramique. Photo: RMN/Art Resource.

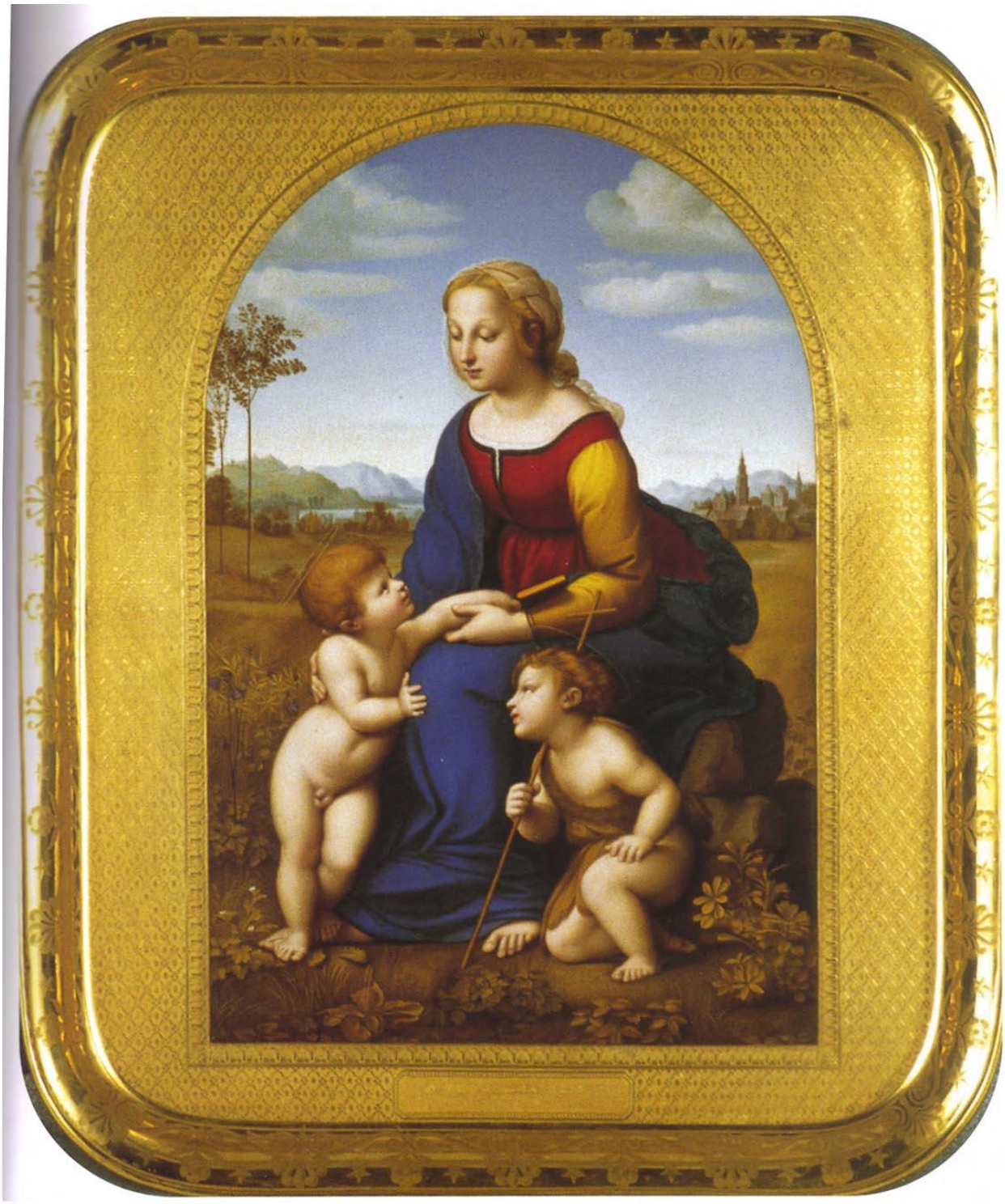

Figure 4 *Tray from the Déjeuner des Grands Peintres*, hard-paste porcelain, painting by Marie-Victoire Jaquotot (1772–1885), gilding by François-Antoine Boullemier aînée (active 1806–1838), burnishing by Charles-Christian-Marie Durosey (active 1800–1830), Sèvres manufactory, Sèvres, France, 1816, H. 14 3/16" (36 cm), W. 10 1/4" (26 cm). Sèvres, musée national de Céramique. Photo: RMN/Art Resource.

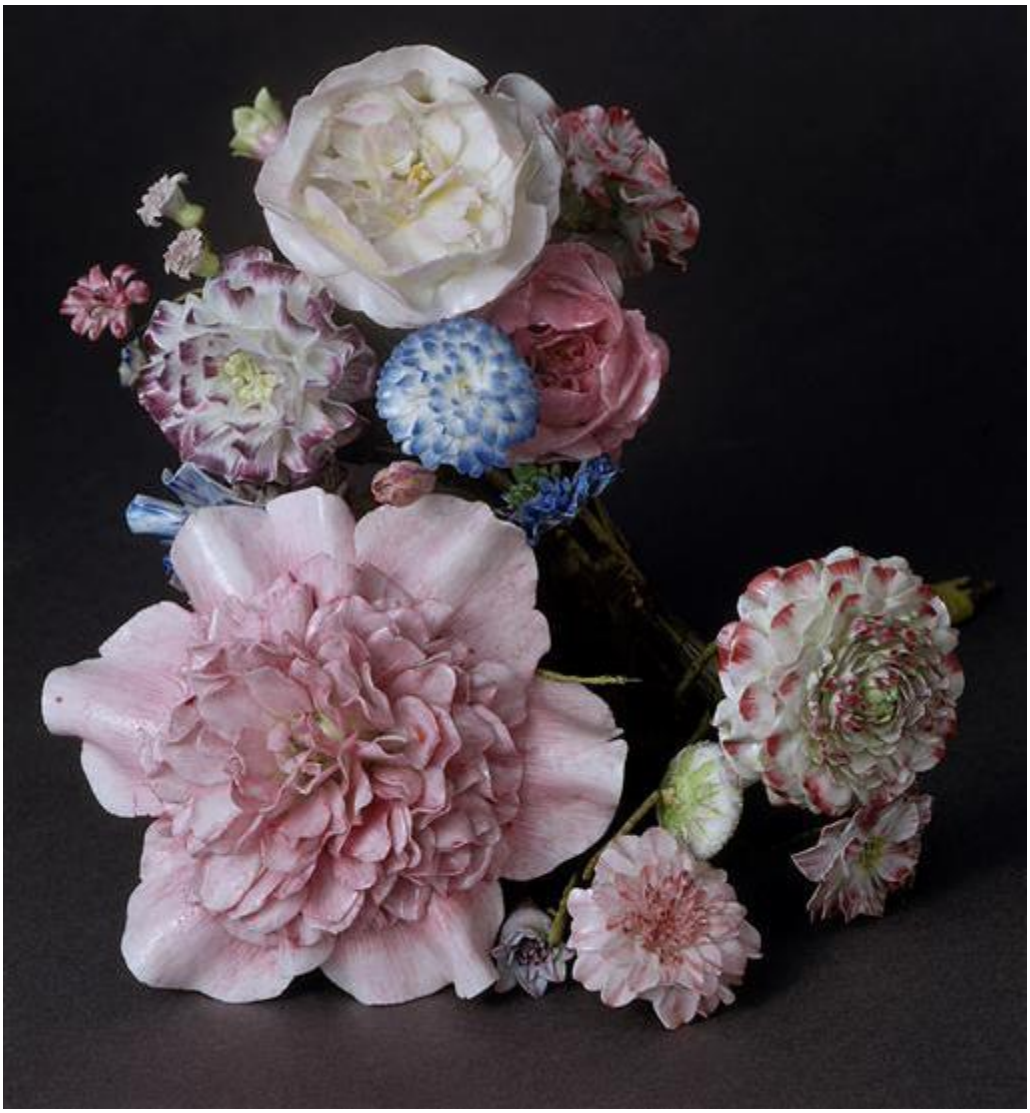

Figure 5 *Two flower bouquets*, soft-paste porcelain, flowers by studio of Marie Henriette Gravant (active 1745–c.1755): sculptors Mlle Barbillon cadette (active 1750–59), Marie-Madeleine Boileau (active 1749–1804), Marguerite Grémont (active 1751/54–81) and Julie Wagon (active 1751/54–93); painters Marie-Louis Capelle (active 1749–63), Marie-Catherine Caton (active 1749–88) and Françoise Élizabeth Thévenet (active 1741–46, 1757–60), Vincennes manufactory, Vincennes, France, c.1745-1756, dimensions not yet available. Sèvres, musée national de la céramique. Photo © RMN/Art Resource. Photograph by Martine Beck-Coppola

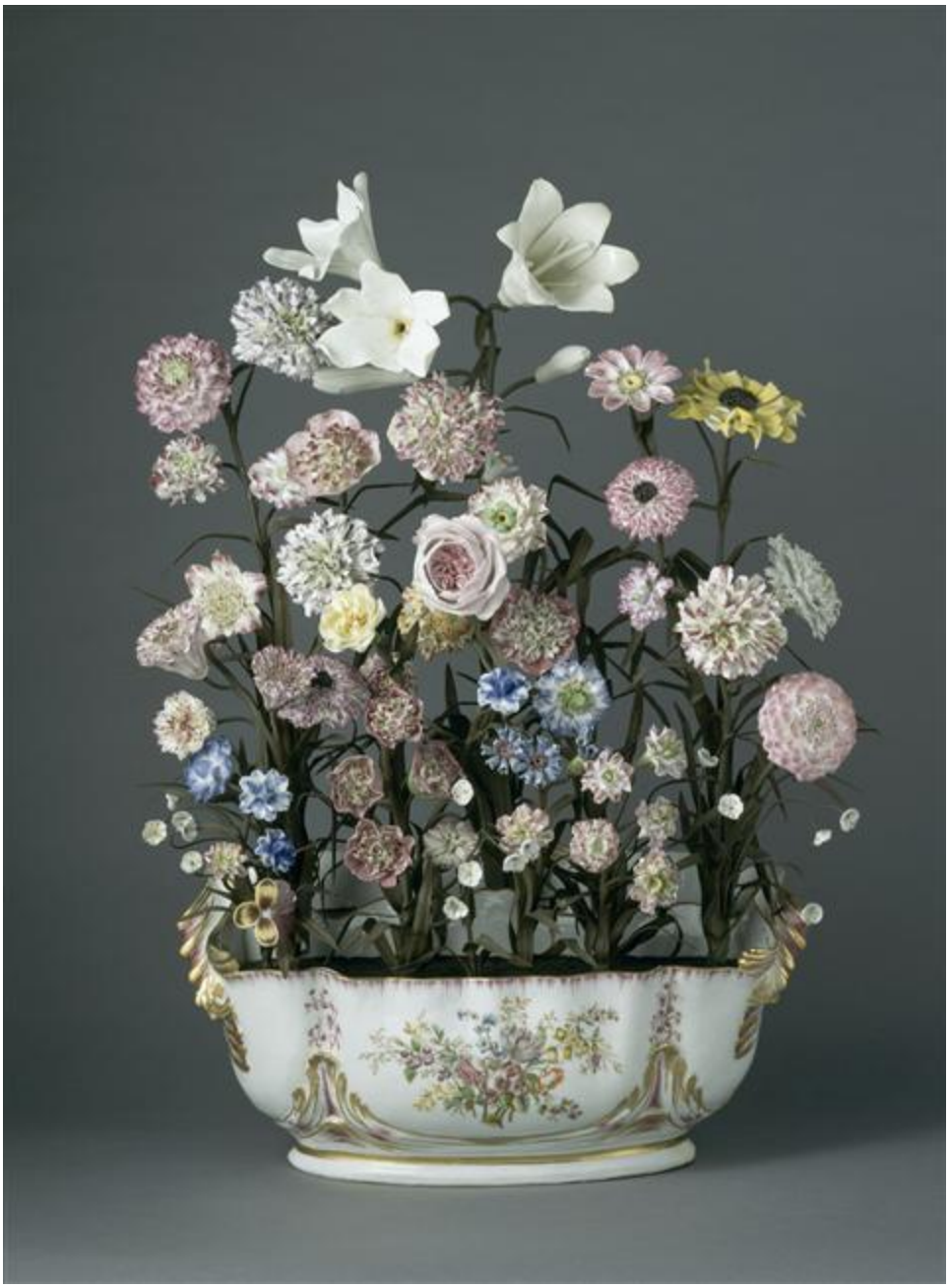

Figure 6 *Bouquet of flowers in a pot*, soft-paste porcelain, flowers by studio of Marie Henriette Gravant (active 1745–c.1755): sculptors Mlle Barbillon cadette (active 1750–59), Marie-Madeleine Boileau (active 1749–1804), Marguerite Grémont (active 1751/54–81) and Julie Wagon (active 1751/54–93); painters Marie-Louis Capelle (active 1749–63), Marie-Catherine Caton (active 1749–88) and Françoise Élizabeth Thévenet (active 1741–46, 1757–60), Vincennes manufactory, Vincennes, France, c.1750-1751, H. 22 1/16" (56 cm). Sèvres, musée national de la céramique. Photo © RMN/Art Resource. Photograph by Martine Beck-Coppola

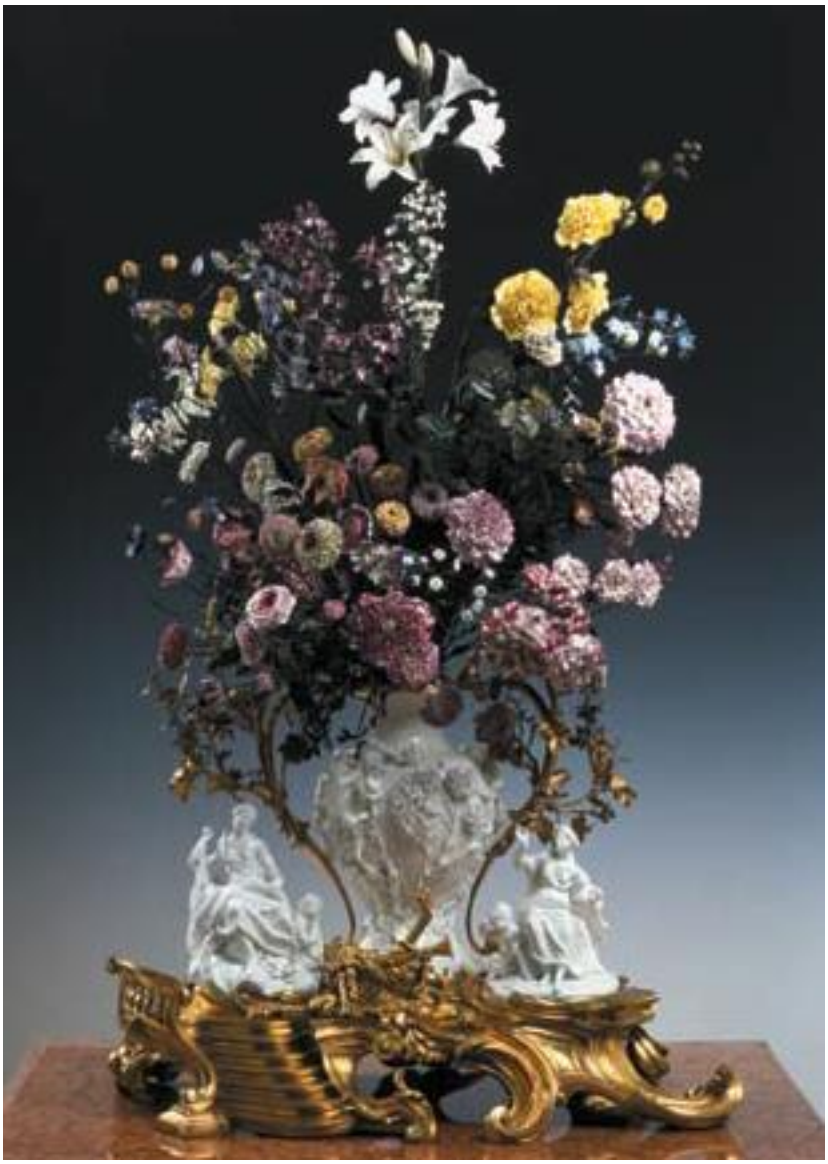

Figure 7 *Bouquet of the Dauphine*, soft-paste porcelain, flowers by studio of Marie Henriette Gravant (active 1745–c.1755): sculptors Mlle Barbillon cadette (active 1750–59), Marie-Madeleine Boileau (active 1749–1804), Marguerite Grémont (active 1751/54–81) and Julie Wagon (active 1751/54–93); painters Marie-Louis Capelle (active 1749–63), Marie-Catherine Caton (active 1749–88) and Françoise Élizabeth Thévenet (active 1741–46, 1757–60); model by Jean-Claude Duplessis (active 1748–1774), mount by Claude Le Boitteux (active 1747–1752), Vincennes manufactory, Vincennes, France, 1748, H. 41 5/16" (115 cm). Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen (Porzellansammlung). Photo: Courtesy of Staatliche Kunstsammlungen.

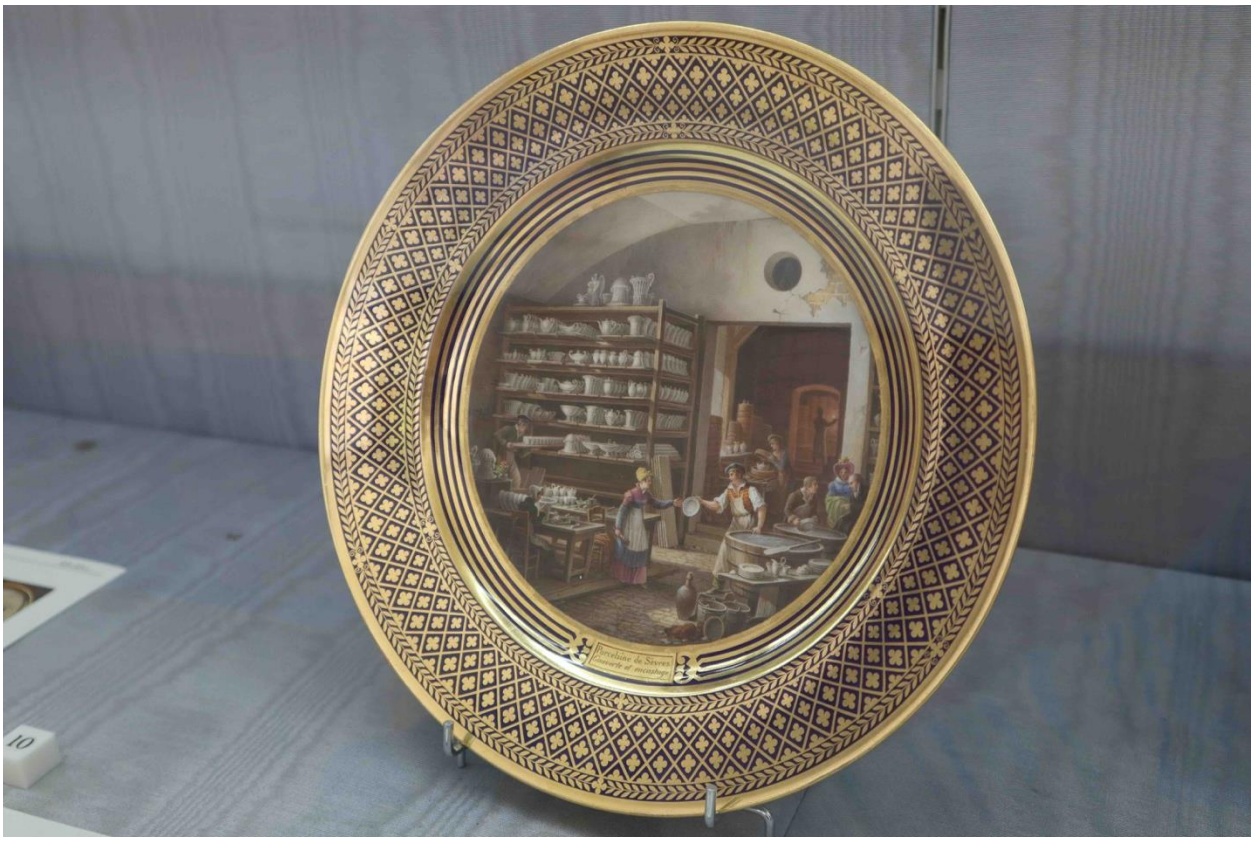

Figure 8 *Service of Industrial Arts, Glazing and Encasing*, hard-paste porcelain with colored enamel and gilding, composition and principal painted scene by Jean-Charles Develly (active 1813–1847), Sèvres manufactory, Sèvres, France, 1823, H. 11 13/16" (30 cm), W. 9 3/8" (23.8 cm). Sèvres, Musée national de la céramique. Photo: RMN/Art Resource.

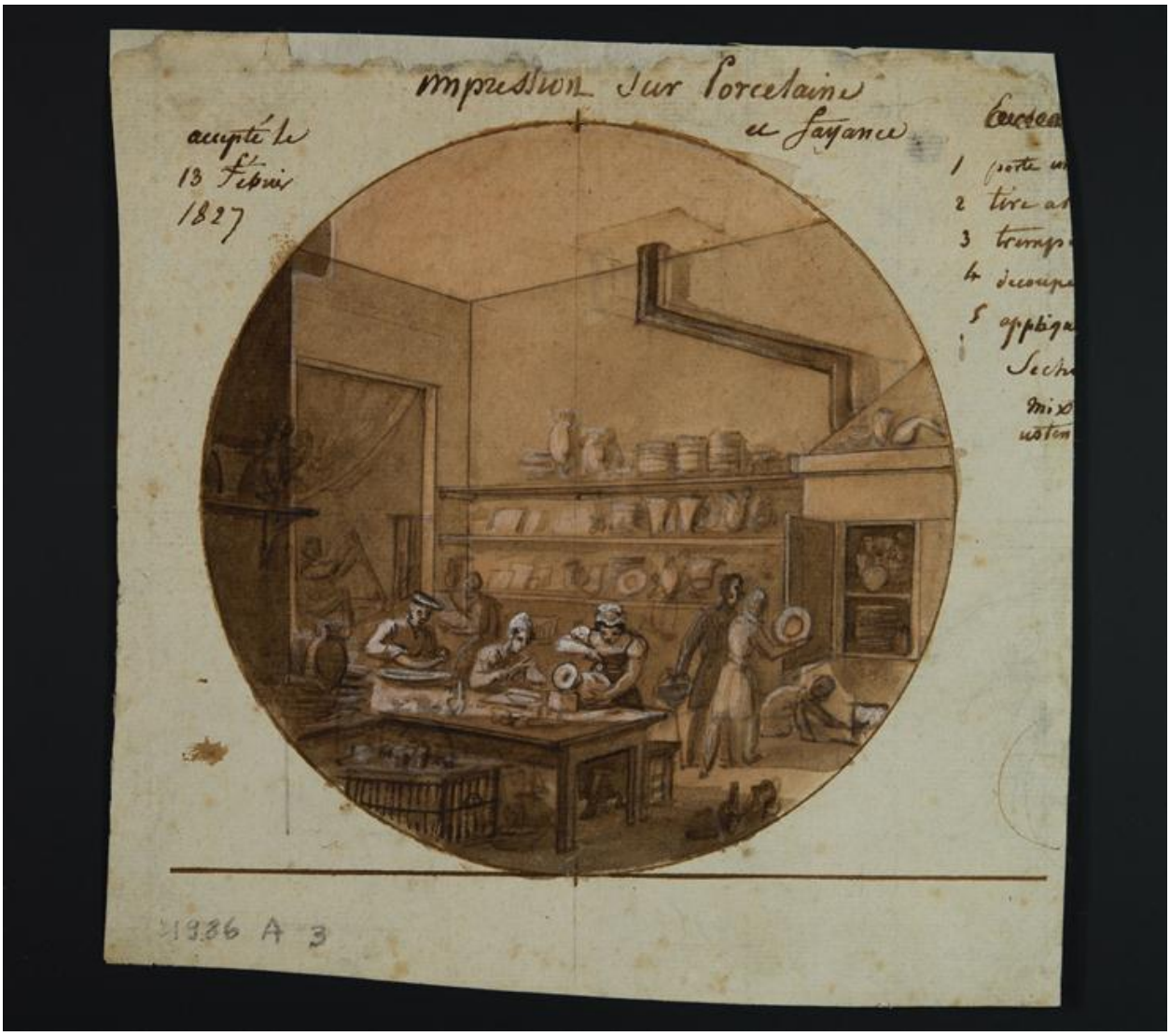

Figure 9 *Service of Industrial Arts, Decorative Element: Printing on Porcelain and Faïence*, Pen, graphite and wash drawing, Drawing by Jean-Charles Develly (active 1813–1847), 1827, H. 7 1/8" (18.2 cm) W. 7 1/16" (18 cm). Sèvres, Musée national de la céramique. Photo: RMN/Art Resource.

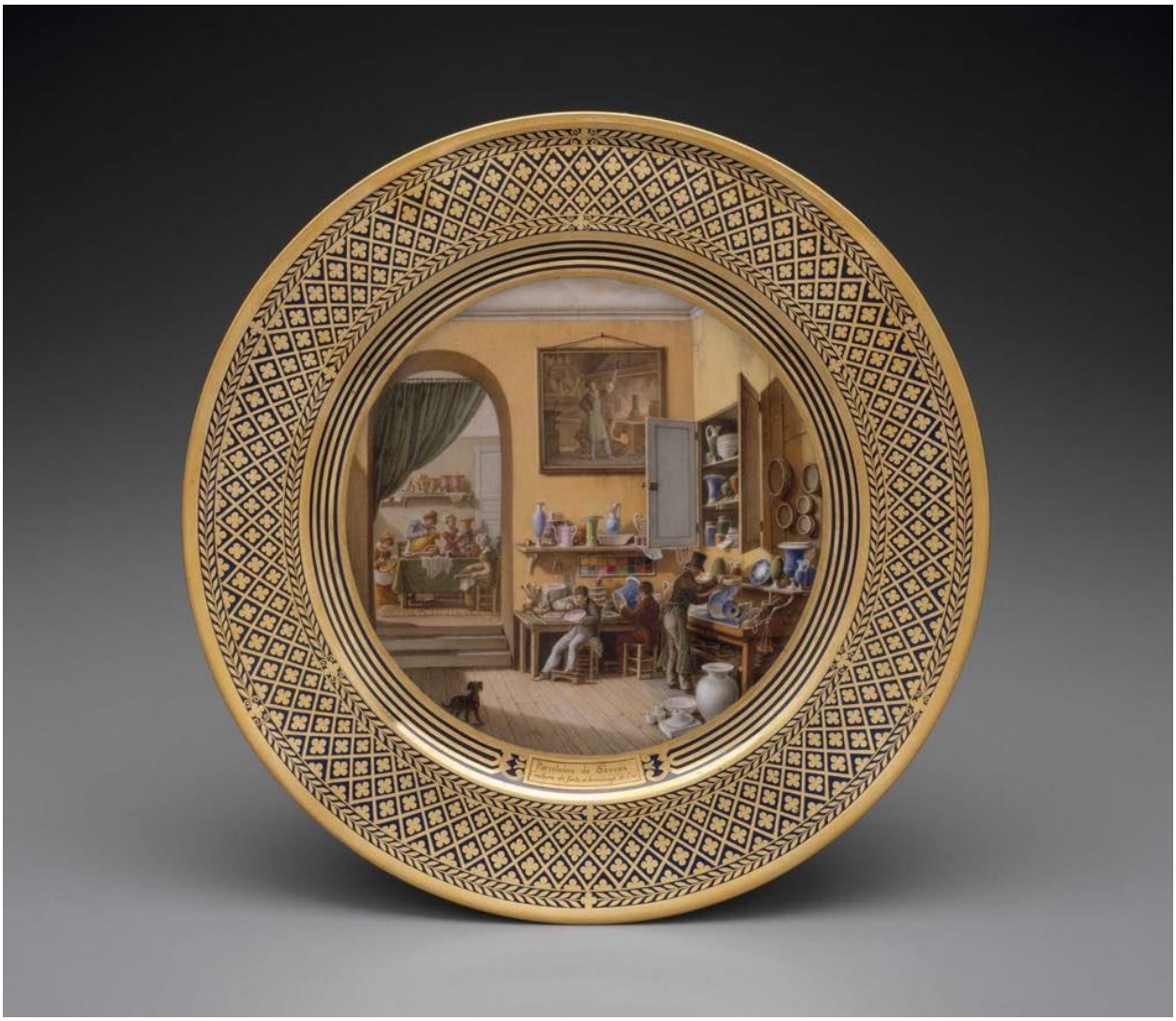

Figure 10 *Service of Industrial Arts, Ground Colour and Burnishing*, hard-paste porcelain with colored enamel and gilding, composition and principal painted scene by Jean-Charles Develly (active 1813–1847), Sèvres manufactory, Sèvres, France, 26 February-19 March 1823, Diam. 9 3/16”(23.4 cm). Boston, Museum of Fine Arts. Bequest of Forsyth Wickes—The Forsyth Wickes Collection. Photo: Courtesy of Boston Museum of Fine Arts.

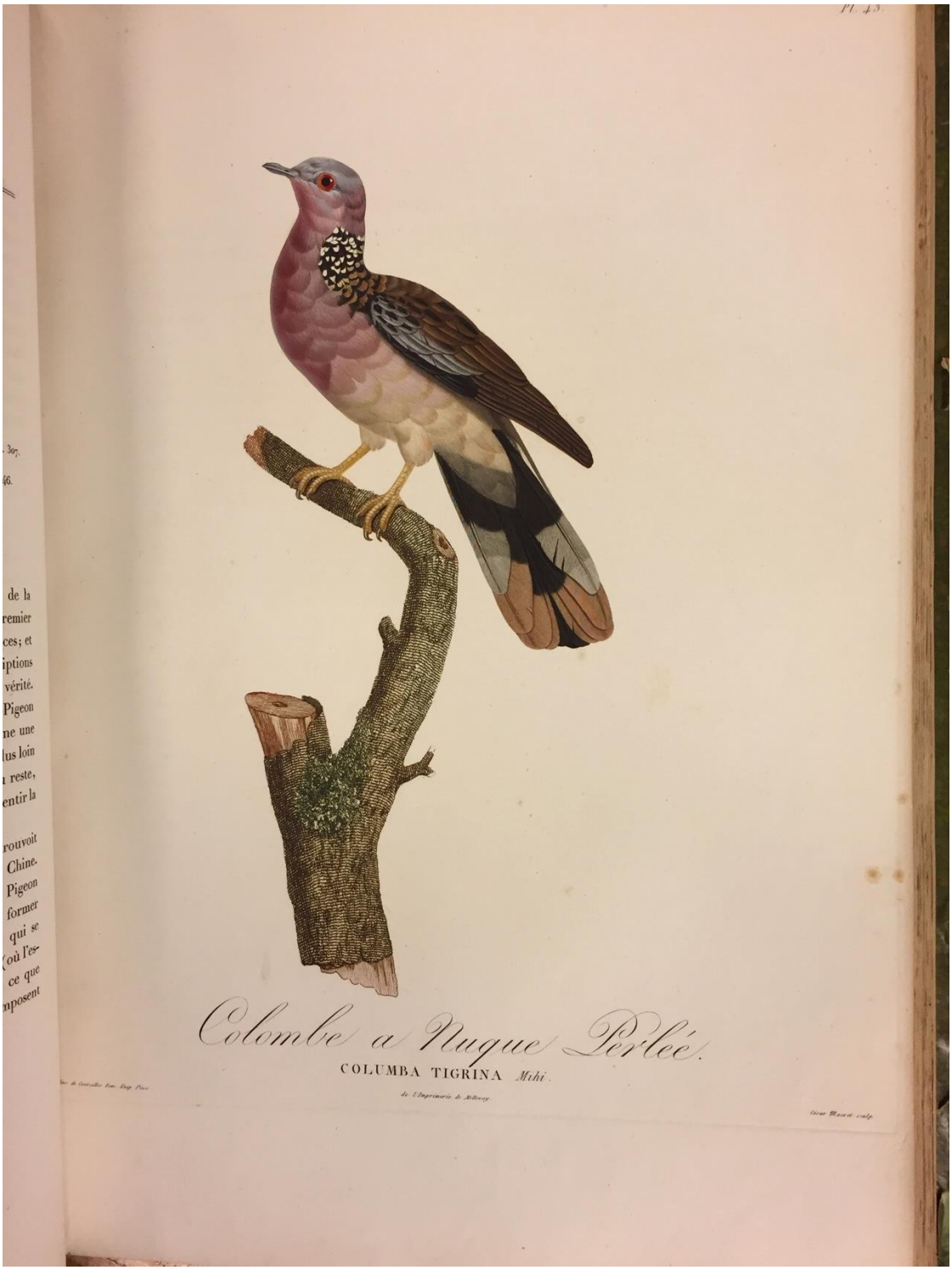

Figure 11 *Pigeon with pearl neck*, hand-colored engraving, Pauline Knip (1781–1851), 1808, dimensions not yet available. The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek. Photo: Courtesy of Koninklijke Bibliotheek.

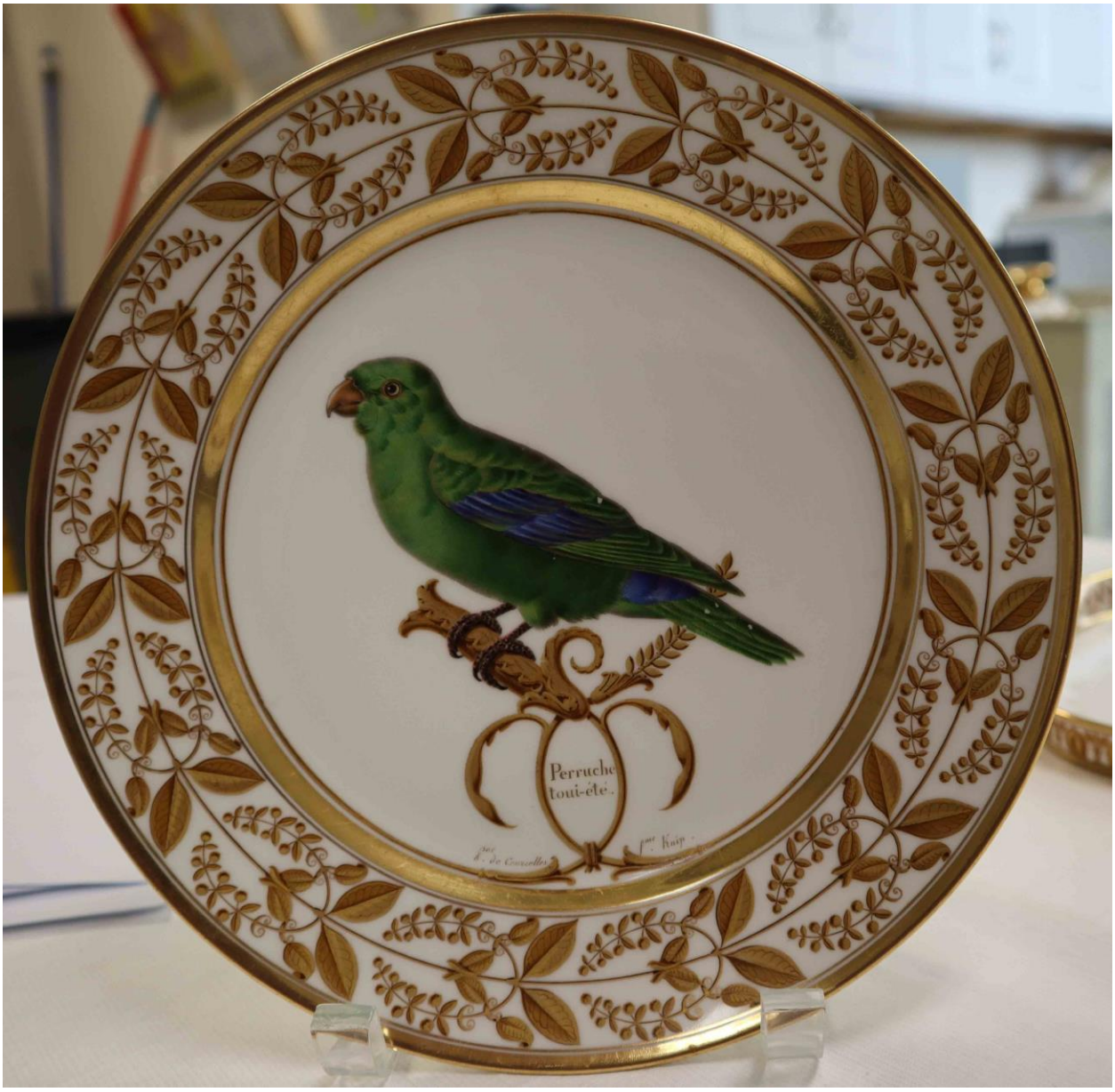

Figure 12 *Peruche Toui-été Plate, South American Bird Service*, hard-paste porcelain, painting by Pauline Knip (1781–1851), border design by Jean Charles François Leloi (1818–1844), gilding by Pierre Micaud (active 1792–1834) and Charles Durosey (active 1800–1830), Sèvres manufactory, Sèvres, France, 1819, Diam. 9 1/4" (23.5 cm). Sèvres. Washington D.C., Hillwood Museum and Gardens. Photo: Courtesy of Hillwood Museum.

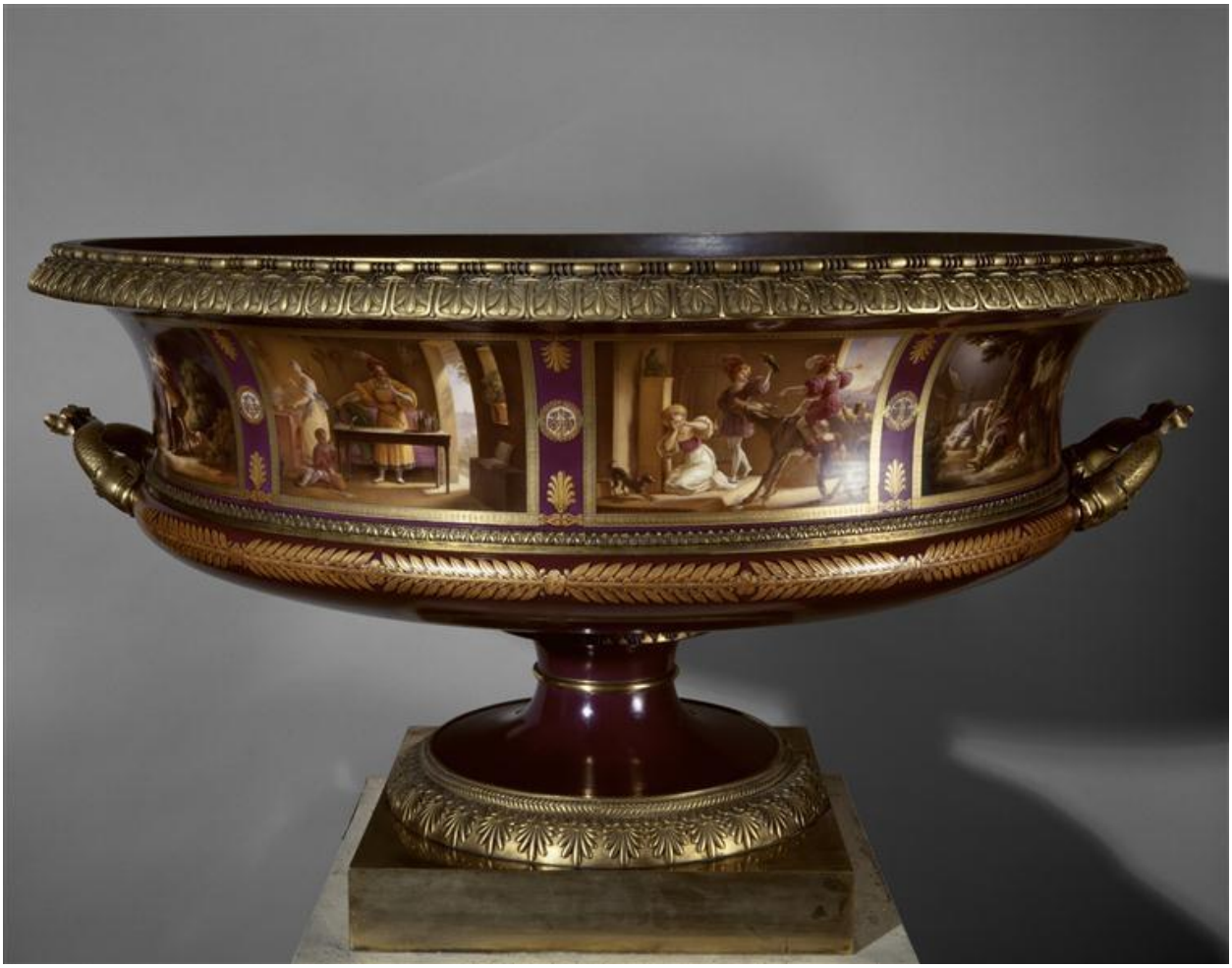

Figure 13 *Coupe of the Five Senses*, hard-paste porcelain with colored enamel and gilding, painting by Marie-Adélaïde Ducluzeau (1787–1849) after Alexandre-Evariste Fragonard (1805–1842), Sèvres manufactory, Sèvres, France, 1825, H. 21 5/8"(55 cm), D. 37 3/8"(95 cm). Sèvres. Sèvres, Musée national de la céramique. Photo: RMN/Art Resource.

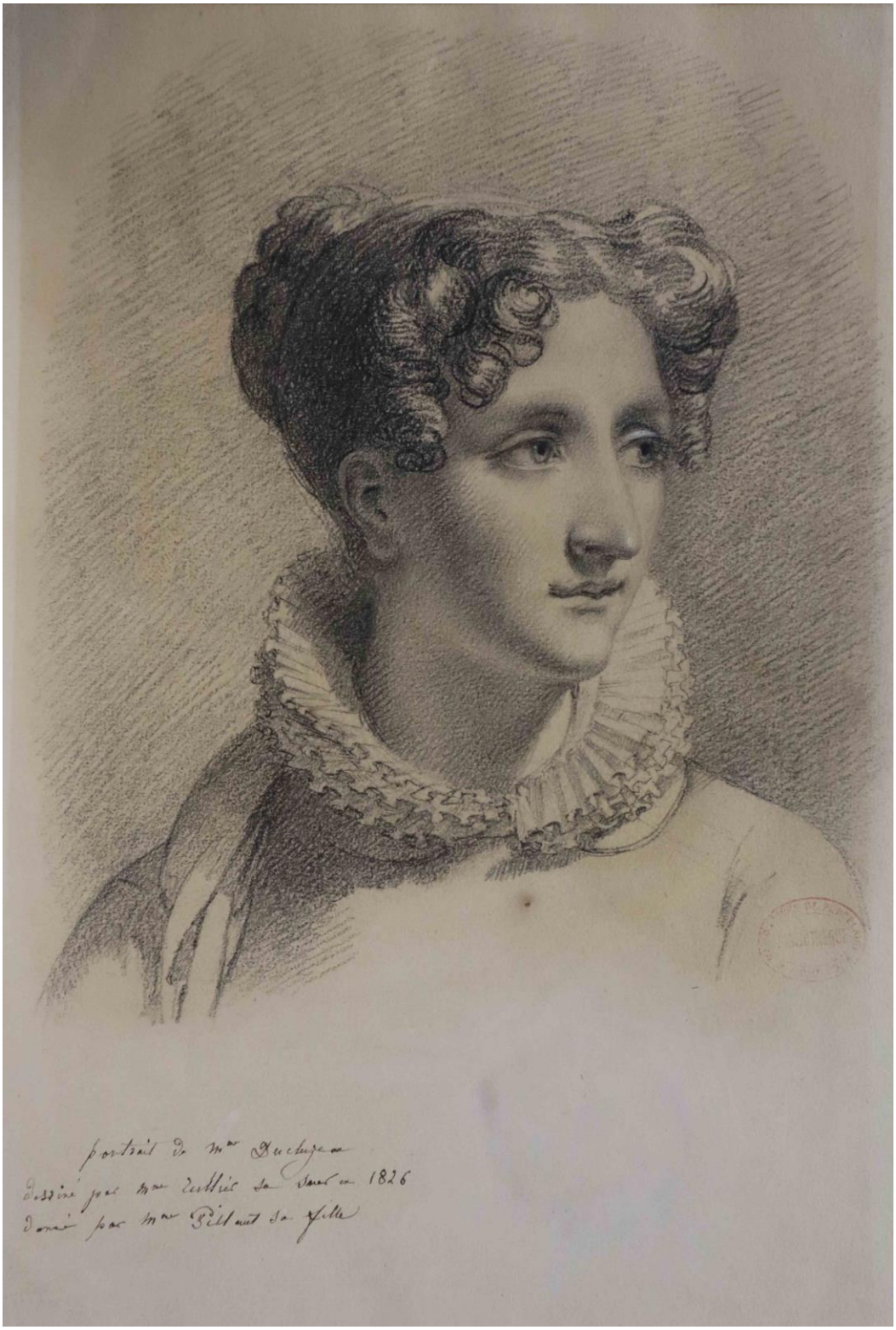

Figure 14 *Portrait of Marie-Adélaïde Ducluzeau*, pencil on paper, Mme Tullier (active 1820s), 1826, H. 9 7/16" (24 cm), W. 6 5/16" (16 cm). Sèvres, Musée national de la céramique. Photo: RMN/Art Resource.

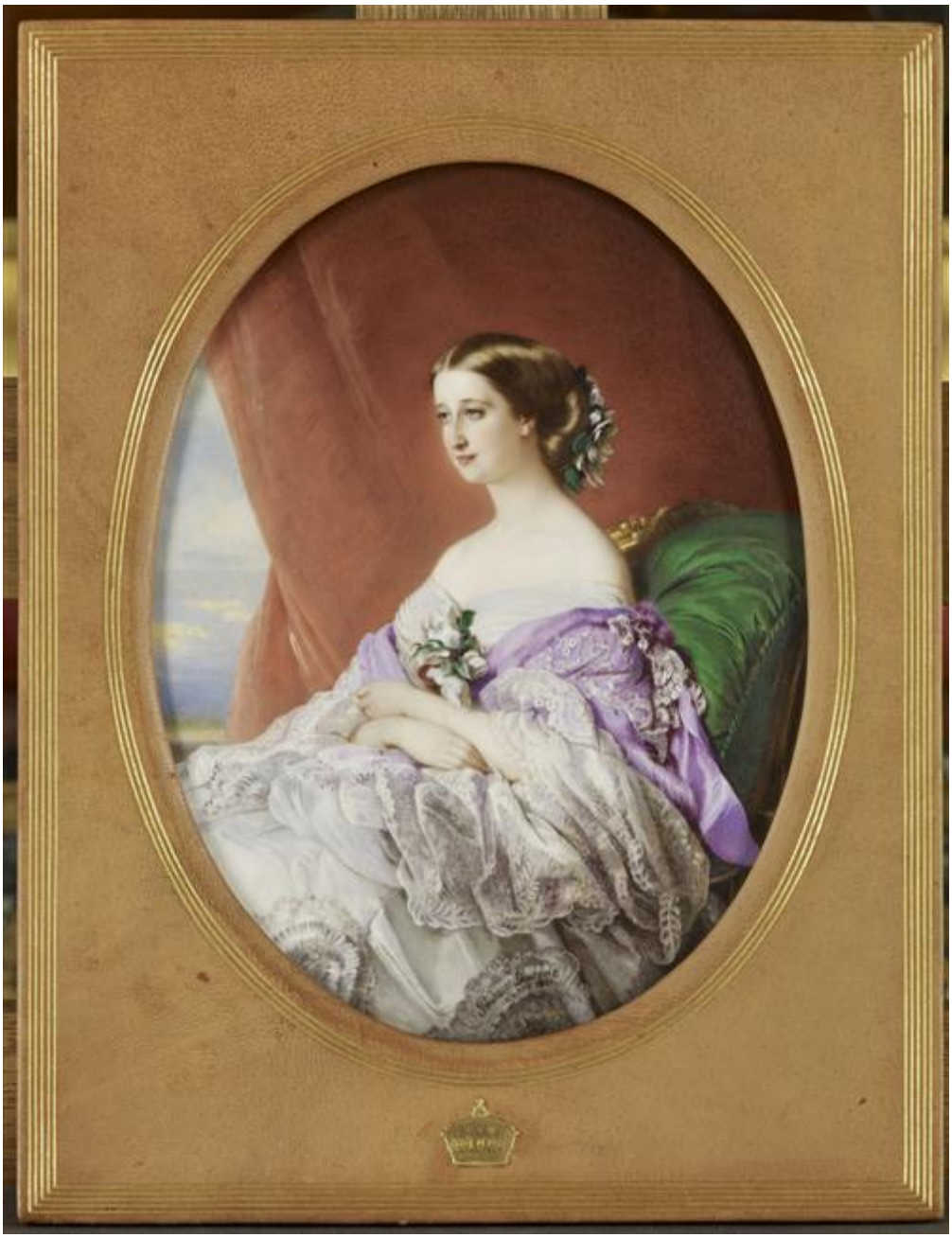

Figure 15. *Portrait of Empress Eugénie*, hard-paste porcelain, Pauline Laurent (1805–1860) after Franz Xaver Winterhalter (1805–1873) Sèvres manufactory, Sèvres, France, 1855, H. 10 5/8" (27 cm), W. 7 7/8" (20 cm). Compiègne, musée national du château de Compiègne. Photo: RMN/Art Resource.

All translations are the author's own.

[1] On Jean-Charles Develly's painting see Tamara Préaud, "Scenes for the Déjeuner 'L'Art de la porcelaine'", in *The Sèvres Porcelain Manufactory: Alexandre Brongniard and the Triumph of Art and Industry, 1800-1847* Derek E. Ostergaard et al. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997) 211-218.

[2] Anne Lajoix, *Marie-Victoire Jaquotot (1772-1855), peintre sur porcelaine* (Paris: Société de l'Histoire de l'Art français, 2006) 29, 34.

[3] Jaquotot said she was nominated as the king's porcelain painter in 1816, made first porcelain painter in 1828, and received a 1,000-franc pension from 1818. Sèvres cîté de la céramique (SCC), service des collections documentaires (scd), Ob 6, Personnel. I thank Denis Bernat for his support of my research in the archive and Camille Leprince, Sonia Banting and Coralie Cocino for facilitating my study of objects in Sèvres' collection. Jaquotot's letter to the king documents she held her position prior to 24 June 1817. Archives nationales (AN) O/3/1560. Between 1818 and 1836 Jaquotot also received 1,500 francs for each of 53 interchangeable miniature portraits for a snuffbox. Anne Lajoix,"Marie Victoire Jaquotot 1772-1885 et ses portraits pour la tabatière de Louis XVIII," *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de l'art français* (1990): 154-5, 165, 171.

[4] Lajoix identified some of Jaquotot's male and female students. Lajoix, *Jaquotot*, 13, 17, 20.

[5] Jaquotot received 16,000 francs for a copy of Gérard's *L'Amour*, 1821-1824. Thirty years later, select male painters received a salary of 4,000 and Pauline Laurent reached that level from April 1859. SCCscd Vj'31 (1824), fol.10; Vj'59 (1853), fol.5-6; Vj'60 (1854), fol.5, 108; Vj'65 (1859), fol.13. Brongniard reorganized work hours in 1807: 11 hours, April 1-15, and 6 ½ hours in December, with breaks. Until 1842 those working by the piece had to be present for a minimum of 8 ½ hours. Jaquotot was likely outside the rule because of her divorce. Christine Thomas, "Etude du personnel de la manufacture impériale puis royale de porcelaine de Sèvres 1808-1848 (status, salaires, avantages sociaux)," Maîtrise, Université de Paris VII-Jussieu, 1988, 61-65, 75-76.

[6] Jaquotot had two children with architect Jean-Bonaventure Comairas, Philippe (b.1803) and Clémentine-Zelmire (b.1805). Georges Grimmer, "Manuscrit avec ratures de 30 chapitres sur la vie et l'œuvre de Marie-Victoire Jaquotot," Unpublished manuscript, 1956. Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Institut national d'histoire de l'art, (unpaginated) 71, 76, 100.

[7] From 1808 to 1848 permanent employees were: 87.7% male, 12.3% female. Thomas "Etude" 82.

[8] On kinship see Laurie Dahlberg, "France between the Revolution, 1789-1848," in Ostergaard*, The Sèvres Porcelain Manufactory*, 17.

[9] On Vincennes' fusion of traditions see Tamara Préaud, "The Origins and History of Porcelain Flowers," *The French Porcelain Society* 1 (2003): 47-55.

[10] "Attellier de fleurs de Mad[e] Gravant, Chef/45 femmes et filles de tous âges." SCCscd Carton D.1, "Etat des commis, ouvriers, et manoeuvres employés à la manufacture de porcelaine de Vincennes, au 30 juillet 1749," folio 4. On the mythologizing role assigned to Gravant's husband see Antoine d'Albis, "Les premières années de la Manufacture de porcelaine de Vincennes," *Faenza* 70 n.5/6 (1984): 479-93.

[11] Tamara Préaud and Antoine d'Albis, *La Porcelaine de Vincennes* (Paris: Editions Adam Biro, 1991) 109.

[12] Georges LeChevallier-Chevignard, *La Manufacture de porcelaine de Sèvres, histoire, organisation* 2 vols. (Paris: Renouard, 1908)2: 126-141, 144-151; Marcelle Brunet and Tamara Préaud, *Sèvres, des origines à nos jours* (Fribourg: Office du Livre, 1978) 354-383; Carl Christian Dauterman, *Sèvres porcelain: Makers and Marks of the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1986), 35-139; Préaud and d'Albis, *Porcelaine de Vincennes*, 200-215; Isabelle Laurin et al, "Sèvres, Liste du personnel," unpublished manuscript, undated, SCCscd, reference. Sculptor Marie Marguerite Chanou (*née* Desgrains) was active after Gravant's time, from 1760-1798.

[13] "Peintres: Caton et sa f[e] 154, Capelle et sa f[e] 152/Couleurs: Bailly et sa f[e] 140, Boutin et sa f[e] 102/Répareurs: Grémont et sa f[e] 100/A la Couverte: Ve Barbillon 27, fille Barbillon 27;" and "Capelle et sa f[e] 182." "Etat des employés et ouvriers…Janvier 1759," folios 1, 3, 6, 8; and "Du 23 février 1760. Etat des employés," folio 8. SCCscd Carton D.1, liasse 1.

[14] In 1751 Grémont's 24-livres monthly salary was paid directly, then combined with her husband's (76). In 1751 Wagon's 24-livres monthly salary was paid directly, then combined with her husband's (60). Both women still received 24/month in 1765 and 1773. "Etat des employés…(Ancienne administration)," folio 9; "Etats des employés…1765," folio 4; "Etat des appointements…1773," folio 4. SCCscd Carton D.1 and liasse 1.

[15] Joanna Gwilt, *Vincennes and early Sèvres porcelain from the Belvedere collection* (London: V&A Publishing, 2014) 37.
[16] Julia Weber, "La porcelaine au service de la diplomatie: Les échanges de présents entre Dresde et Versailles," *Revue de la société des amis du musée nationale de céramique* 16 (2007): 56-58.
[17] On extant pieces see Derek A. Long, "The Sèvres 'Service des Arts Industriels': A Unique Record of Craft Industries in Paris, 1820-1836," *Tool and Trades History Society* 9 (1996): 28-52.
[18] On this process see Nicole Blondel and Tamara Préaud, *La manufacture nationale de Sèvres: Parcours du blanc à l'or* (Charenton: Flohic éditions, 1996) 86, 153.
[19] Exercise 1852/Personnel…de la Manufacture nationale de Sèvres, 3 June 1852 [Exercise 1852], AN F/21/683. As is it challenging to be certain of accuracy in converting currencies from historical periods to the present, specifically accounting for inflation and changes in the price of goods, I offer a further comparison for 1852, when the salary of a politician elected to the *corps législatif* (Legislative Body) was 7,500, plus an additional 3,000 francs from the politician's home town to assign to expenses. Theodore Zeldin, *The Political System of Napoleon III* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1971) 65.
[20] On the technical aspects of transfer-printing see Brunet and Préaud, *Sèvres: Des Origines à nos jours*, 19-20; Javier Lambán et al, *Sèvres 1740-2006* (Saragosa: Félix Arilla, 2006) 353-354. On its origins in England in the mid eighteenth century and its early history at Sèvres see Tamara Préaud, "Transfer-Printing Processes Used at Sèvres in the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries," *Studies in the Decorative Arts* 4 n.2 (Spring-Summer 1997): 85-96.
[21] Exercise 1852, AN F/21/683.
[22] Ennès overlooks the women. Pierre Ennès, "Four Plates from the Sèvres 'Service des arts industriels', (1820-1835)," *Journal of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* 2 (1990): 95.
[23] Exercise 1852, AN F/21/683 and SCCscd Vj'58 (1852), folios 72-108, 173-194.
[24] Henri-Victor Regnault to Minister of State, 24 April 1855. AN F/21/683.
[25] Exercise 1852, AN F/21/683.
[26] Knip painted 87 birds for C.J. Temminck, *Histoire naturelle Générale des pigeons* (Paris: Garnery, 1808); the volume at the Koninklijke Bibliotheek details her position and address. See also René Ronsil, "Madame Knip, née Pauline de Courcelles, et son œuvre ornithologique," *Journal of the Society for the Bibliography of Natural History* 2 n.4 (1957): 207-220; Marcel Brunet and Marvin C. Ross, "The Sèvres Service of South American Birds at Hillwood," *Art Quarterly* (1962): 196-208; and Benjamin Peronnet, "Pauline Knip," in *De Callot à Greuze: Dessins français des XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles des musées de Weimar* (Berlin: G+H Verlag, 2005) 274-275.
[27] Knip to Brongniard, 25 July and 22 September 1818; Brongniard to Knip 19 August 1818. SCCscd Ob3 Knip.
[28] Paredes proposed Knip and Brongniard went to the Muséum to select species together, however Knip wrote, "Samedi j'ai reçu à la manufacture la liste des oiseaux que vous avez bien voulu me faire copier." Liana Paredes, *Sèvres porcelain at Hillwood* (Washington D.C.: Hillwood Museum and Gardens, 1998) 50, 89. See also Anne Odom and Liana Paredes, *A Taste for Splendor: Russian Imperial and European Treasures from the Hillwood Museum* (Alexandria: Art Services International, 1998) 226-228; Oliver Fairclough, "An Ice-Cream Pail from the Sèvres Service 'Des oiseaux de l'amérique du sud'," *The French Porcelain Society Journal* 2 (2005) 133-145; Wittwer et al., *Refinement and Elegance*, 296. I thank Rebecca Tilles for her support of my research at Hillwood.
[29] Liana Paredes, *Sèvres Then and Now: Tradition and Innovation in Porcelain, 1750-2000* (London: D. Giles, 2009) 78, 81.
[30] Ducluzeau was paid 5,000 francs for this work as well as a 500-francs "prime" (10% bonus). SCCscd Vj'31 (1824) 220; Vj'32 (1825) 204, 204 verso.
[31] In 1847 Ducluzeau's salary was to be 5,000 francs. Her output was valued at 12,666. She was paid 6,012 and 6,654 was carried forward to 1848 when she was let go. SCCscd Vj'54 (1847) folios 7-8; Vj'55 (1848) folio 12.
[32] Ducluzeau worked at Sèvres for 29 years, 22 full-time. "République Française…22 April 1848," folio 2. Ducluzeau had apartment 11 (kitchen, dining room, living room, wardrobe, cellar). "Etats des logements…1 Janvier 1848," folio 2. "Etats…4 December 1848," folio 5. SCCscd Oa4 1846-60. For work assigned to Ducluzeau's male colleagues: SCCscd Vj'56 (1849), folios 6-7, 11-12.
[33] Ducluzeau to Ebelman, 4 November 1848, "Je réclame…ce qui m'est dû…depuis le mois d'août j'attends cet acquitement de compte, je suis à bout, et de la plus grand besoin de cet argent (I claim…what is due to me…since the month of August I have been waiting for payment of this account, I am at my end of my rope,

and in the greatest need of this money)." Sculptor Regnier received his payments. SCCscd Ob4 Ducluzeau; Ob10 Regnier.

[34] Adèle-Pélagie Weydinger to Ebelman, 17 August 1848. SCCscd T.15, L.9, D.12 1848.

[35] Laurent to Ebelman, 15 June 1848. SCCscd Ob7 Laurent.

[36] In 1854 Laurent received a salary of 3,600 francs and "travaux extraordinaires" for 5,150 total. Because Paul Roussel's salary was higher, 4,000, although he was assigned less additional work his total was greater, 5,310.79 francs. SCCscd Vj'60 (1854), folios 7, 108. On Laurent's other half-length copy see Brigitte Ducrot, *Musée nationale du château de Compiègne, Porcelaines et terres de Sèvres* (Paris: RMN, 1993) 304. The third was a full-length portrait. SCCscd Pb13, Account of Laurent's work 1 January 1853-31 December 1856.

[37] I analyzed the Salons 1848-1870. Increases were steady despite variations in exhibition size. Women exhibited 13.18% of paintings in 1848 and 14.59% in 1870. Overall, works by women grew from 11.97 to 12.44%.

[38] Leclerc asked for additional time to ship her work from Algeria: "J'ai l'espoir à cette époque de travaill[e]r pour Sèvres du-moins je le solliciterai…oserait-je faire appel à votre cœur et demander votre appui pour cette question de Sèvres? Si important pour moi! (I have hope of working for Sèvres, at least I will request it…dare I…ask for your support for this question of Sèvres? So important for me!)" Leclerc to Nieuwerkerke, received 23 March 1865. Peignot's mother asked for the jury to consider a broken work Alice would replace before the exhibition opened in order to "…d'éviter le tort irreparable que cet accident pourrait portait à ma fille pour son admission à la Manufacture Impériale de Sèvres. (…avoid the irreparable damage this accident could have for my daughter for her admission to the Imperial Manufactory of Sèvres)." Veuve Peignot to Nieuwerkerke, 29 March 1865. AN 20150042 (X Salon 1865).