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UMI
BATIK IN AMERICA: javaneSE to javanesque, 1893 TO 1937

Dissertation

Presented Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
School of The Ohio State University

By

Abby G. Lillethun, M.F. A.

* * * * *

The Ohio State University
2002

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ABSTRACT

This research examines the influence of the Javanese art of batik in American textile arts from 1893 to 1937 to recognize its presence, transformation, and meaning. The foundations of batik's entry, its entry, emergence, and spread are examined through publications, archival materials, and extant objects. Four elements are identified as re-expressions of Javanese batik in American textile arts: painting dye inside a wax outline, en forme printing of designs, the line quality of wax flowing from a canting, and crackle effects. The Dutch practice of batik was examined demonstrating linkage to the American Arts and Crafts movement. Batik textiles in the Dutch ethnographic collections were readily interpreted in the development of Nieuwe Kunst style. Dutch investigators in the 1890s were C. A. Lion Cachet, and H. Berlage and H. A. Baanders. Later, batik technique also appealed to the American Arts and Crafts movement since batik easily reflected Arts and Crafts tenets. Baanders' partnership with the Koloniale Museum led to the Haarlem batik technique, described by Theo. Neuhuys, in his introduction of batik technique to America in Keramic Studio in 1907. The role of the national infrastructure of Arts and Crafts and affiliations of people responding to the Arts and Crafts movement, are presented as the earliest mechanisms of the spread of batik and the basis of the breadth of its practice.
Examination of higher education textile programs, influenced by Arts and Crafts, revealed the critical role of Charles E. Pellew of Teachers College. The artist Marguerite Zorach's involvement in batik is expanded to examine two commercially produced textile designs. Pieter Mijer is examined through his education, immigration from the Netherlands in 1909, and career in commercial textile products for John Wanamaker Store, C. A. Frutchey, and in theatre design. Described in textile promotions as batik effects, or Javaneseque effects, the distinctive canting line of flowing liquid and crackle became new elements in American design vocabulary. Crackle, the signature element in American imitation batik, provided abstraction and thus related batik to emergent modernist styles in American textiles. The spread of the batik technique in America and the promotion of traditional Javanese batik are recognized as developments of divergent aspects of Orientalism. Appearing to be an elision of Javanese batik's formal elements, the popular spread of batik technique and interpretation of visual elements was an egalitarian expression that demonstrated appreciation of the Javanese batik art. However, traditional Javanese batik was linked to racist constructions of Javanese females as sources of exotic sensuality, seen in batik's first appearance in America in 1893 at the Java Village, Midway Plaisance, Chicago World's Columbian Exposition. Éva Gauthier's national vaudeville tour (1915 to 1916) of her modernist act "Songmotion" was publicized by newspapers linking Gauthier, Javanese women, and traditional batik to Moslem harems, which ensured the perception of exotic sensuality for traditional batik.
Dedicated to the weavers I met as a child in Bangkok

and to my parents,

Jim and Maxie Lillethun
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v
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viii
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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abstract</td>
<td>ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dedication</td>
<td>iv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acknowledgments</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vita</td>
<td>ix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of Figures</td>
<td>xiv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Chapters:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Introduction</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Statement of the Problem: Purpose and Objectives</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rationale</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Method</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interpretive Paradigm: Historical Method and Hermeneutics</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Research Materials</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. The Foundations for the Entry of Batik to America</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Javanese Batik Production</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>European Manufacture of Imitation Batik</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Display of Javanese Culture at Expositions and World's Fairs</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Modern Design Movement</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nieuwe Kunst and Batik</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Spread of Batik in Europe</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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## Conclusion .....................................................................................................................68

### 3. The Entry and Emergence of Batik in America ....................................................71

- **The Java Village at the World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893** .................................................................74
- **The First Commentary on Batik in American Publications: 1907**..........................79
  - Theo. Neuhuys ..................................................................................................81
  - Mable Tukey Priestman ..................................................................................84
- **Travel as a Conduit for Batik to American** ......................................................88
  - Augusta de Wit and *Java, Facts and Fancies* ................................................89
  - Minnie Frost Rands' Fascination ...................................................................91
  - Marguerite Thompson Zorach and Textile Design .........................................93
  - Pieter Mijer Beyond *Batiks and How to Make Them* ..................................105
- **Conclusion** .........................................................................................................117

### 4. The Spread of Batik in America ...........................................................................118

- **Éva Gauthier's Vaudeville Tour of America, 1915-1916** ..................................119
- **The Spread of Batik Technique Across America** ..............................................127
  - **Batik Enters Higher Education** ..................................................................128
  - **Batik Manuals and How-to-batik Literature** ..............................................132
  - **Arts and Crafts: The Batiks Artist's Supporting Infrastructure** ..................138
  - **Manufactured Batiks: Art into Industry** .....................................................141
    - Cheney Brothers and H.R. Mallinson & Co., Inc., and Imitation
      - **Batik by** .................................................................................................145
    - E. Varian Cockcroft's Illuminated Fabrics .....................................................151
- **Conclusion** .........................................................................................................154

### 5. The Transformations and Meaning of Batik In America .................................157
# LIST OF FIGURES

<p>| Figure A.1 | Detail from a map of the World in 1919-1938, of the region surrounding Java | 180 |
| Figure A.2 | An example of high quality traditional Javanese batik | 181 |
| Figure A.3 | Three Javanese canting | 182 |
| Figure C.1 | An example of a European donning local dress in Java | 189 |
| Figure C.2 | Detail of a sarong from Pelalongan, Java | 190 |
| Figure C.3 | Details of a sarong from Pelalongan, Java | 191 |
| Figure C.4 | A Javanese batik collected by Sir Thomas Raffles | 192 |
| Figure C.5 | English roller print and Swiss roller print | 193 |
| Figure C.6 | Two dancers from the East Indies | 194 |
| Figure C.7 | A lady from the East Indies | 195 |
| Figure C.8 | A young woman from the kampong Insulinde | 196 |
| Figure C.9 | A display of batik items from the Batikkunst | 197 |
| Figure C.10 | A three-panel batik folding screen | 198 |
| Figure C.11 | Batik fire screen of conventionalized design | 199 |
| Figure C.12 | Silk batik rug | 200 |
| Figure C.13 | Painting of Anna Muthesius by Fra Newberry | 201 |
| Figure C.14 | Batik rug by Marguerite Pangon | 202 |
| Figure C.15 | Batik textile by Marguerite Pangon | 203 |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C.16</td>
<td>Detail, illustration of a Marguerite Pagon ensemble</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.17</td>
<td>L’Inspiration et les idées</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.1</td>
<td>“Woman Painting Cloth (Catik)”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.2</td>
<td>Java Village residents wearing everyday dress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.3</td>
<td>“The Serimpis or Dancing Girls from the Court of the Sultan of Solo”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.4</td>
<td>“The Soedanese Dancing Girls”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.5</td>
<td>Illustrations from Mabel Tuke Priestman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.6</td>
<td>Tie-Dye by Ami Mali Hicks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.7</td>
<td>Jessie Tarbox Beals, “Ami Mali Hicks Studio”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.8</td>
<td>“Women dyeing sarong-cloth”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.9</td>
<td>Textile designs from the Second Annual Women’s Wear Textile Design Contest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.10</td>
<td>Marguerite Zorach, batik blouse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.11</td>
<td>“Two Prize Winning Designs”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.12</td>
<td>Arthur Crisp and Pieter Mijer, The Sorceress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.13</td>
<td>Pieter Mijer applying wax to cloth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.14</td>
<td>“Successive Stages in the Making of a Batik”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.15</td>
<td>“The Javanese number of the ‘Greenwich Village Follies’” in 1919</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E.1</td>
<td>Éva Gauthier, batik portrait by Ethel Wallace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E.2</td>
<td>“Éva Gauthier in the Javanese costumes”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E.3</td>
<td>“Studying Music in a Harem, That’s What Laurier’s Niece Did”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E.4</td>
<td>“Visiting the harem ladies in Java”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E.5</td>
<td>A Javanese woman wearing a kemben</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
| Figure E.6 | A Javanese woman wearing the ancient Javanese batik pattern *kawung* ........................................... 228 |
| Figure E.7 | "Miss Eva Gauthier Who Tells the Secrets of the Harem". 229 |
| Figure E.8 | Batik on silk crépe de chine by Mary C. Whitlock ............... 230 |
| Figure E.9 | Four batik dresses made by students of the University of Wisconsin ....................................................... 231 |
| Figure E.10 | "A dress of velvet Batik by Ethel Wallace" ................................. 232 |
| Figure E.11 | Blouse suggested for a batik project ........................................ 233 |
| Figure E.12 | Batik by Lois Fox Herr ......................................................... 234 |
| Figure E.13 | Marion Plummer Lester, "Landscape Near Alpine" .................. 235 |
| Figure E.14 | Textile print of flowers in a grid, Cheney Brothers ................ 236 |
| Figure E.15 | Textile print of tropical scenes of birds and foliage, Cheney Brothers .................................................. 237 |
| Figure E.16 | Textile print of a stag and plants in a grid, Cheney Brothers ...................................................................... 238 |
| Figure E.17 | Textile print a silhouette of a dancing couple, Cheney Brothers ................................................................. 239 |
| Figure E.18 | Two images of a textile print seen in Figure 4.17 ...................... 240 |
| Figure E.19 | Tiger Rose design printed on Indestructible Voile .................. 241 |
| Figure E.20 | Block-printed design on Indestructible Voile ............................. 242 |
| Figure E.21 | An imitation batik on Pussy Willow ........................................ 243 |
| Figure E.22 | Advertisement for the business of E. Varian Cockcroft ............ 244 |
| Figure E.23 | Illustration of E. Varian Cockcroft's textile printing innovation ........................................................................ 245 |
| Figure E.24 | "The Cockcroft (sic) illuminated blouse" ................................. 246 |
CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This study proposes that batik played a significant, yet unrecognized, role in the scope of Asian influences in American textiles and dress. Batik, a Southeast Asian textile decorating technique, became popular with American textile artists and the public from the closing years of the nineteenth century until 1937. Batik's salient presence in the fashionable textiles and craft worlds, in textile promotional literature, and in the artistic arena from 1907 to the 1930s, suggests that it became inculcated in American textile decoration techniques and was not merely a fad. The research will extend the understanding of Asian contributions and influences in American textile arts.

Batik is a method of patterning a textile using a resist. There are several resist processes for patterning textiles and batik is only one of these processes. Resist textile decoration includes ikat, a technique that can result in complex designs that requires sophisticated planning before weaving. In ikat designs the yarns are tied in predetermined sections with a dye resistant substance before the yarns are dyed. Tie-dye is another form of resist dyeing. Tie-dye uses tight compression and bundling of sections (sometimes very small sections) of woven
fabric to resist dye. Methods for stitched and folded and clamped resist patterns also exist. According to Mattiebelle Gittinger, batik has become a generic term for “a resist-dye process in which the resist, usually wax, is applied to the cloth surface; when dyed, patterns are reserved in the surface of the cloth. Sequences of waxing and dyeing result in multiple color patterns.”

Because of the highly intricate and refined designs achieved on Java where a wax resist is used, and because the word ‘batik’ which names the technique is Javanese, batik is often associated with that island (A.1: Map of the region surrounding Java).

However, the resist medium may be any paste-like substance that remains in or on the textile fibers during the dyeing process, yet is removable afterward. Mud, clay, rice paste, and wax are among the substances used as a resist medium in other parts of the world, including parts of Indonesia. Techniques for preparing the textile, applying the resist, and the process of dyeing to create colors, vary among cultures. The labor intensive and time-consuming hand-made process of batik and the other resist techniques, results in individually unique products that are valued for their craftmanship.

Traditional Javanese batik’s distinctive qualities have led to its high regard (Figure A. 2). Batik reached its pinnacle on the island Java in Indonesia where repeated applications of the wax resist in intricate patterns alternating with

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2 Rens Heringa, “The Historical Background of Batik in Java,” in Fabric of Enchantment: Batik from the North Coast of Java, eds. Rens Heringa and Harmen C. Veldhuisen (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum, 1996), 32, provides discussion of the derivation of the word 'batik.'
repeated dyeing in vegetable dyes, resulted in complex and colorful patterns.

Several aspects of the Javanese process contributed to its recognizable attributes.

One was the use of melted wax formulations for the resist, as mentioned above.

The melted liquid can be controlled to achieve fine lines and dots. Another factor in the achievement of the refined designs of Javanese batik was the development of the canting, a tool that provided for the rarified technique in combination with the use of wax (Figure A.3). Mattiebelle Gittinger described the canting:

This is a spouted copper or brass reservoir for holding small quantities of molten wax. A bamboo handle allows the tool to be held like a fountain pen, so that wax outlines can be drawn on the cloth surface. Spouts on the cup-like reservoir vary in size and style, permitting fine detail work, gross filling of areas, dots, or even parallel lines. The tool, unique to Javanese batik, allows the artist precise control in line and detail.3

The importation of machine woven English and Dutch cotton in the early nineteenth century allowed Javanese batik designs to reach even higher standards than previously attained. The smooth surface of the imported cloths made extremely smooth lines in the designs possible. In traditional Javanese batik wax is laid in a design on the surface of the cloth and then the design is also applied to the reverse side of the cloth. This process uses twice the labor of a one-sided application of resist, but it ensures that the design will be the same on both sides of the cloth. Javanese batik artisans strive to lay the wax on the surface of the cloth so that it may be scrapped off between dyeing steps, instead of requiring that the wax be boiled out of the fibers. However, boiling must often be

3 Mattiebelle Gittinger, Splendid Symbols: Textiles and Tradition in Indonesia (Washington, D.C.: Textile Museum, 1979), 117. The use of the word ‘tjanting’ may be observed in this research, as well as ‘tjap’ for the word cap. Tjanting and tjap have been replaced with canting and cap in most English language research on batik.
performed in any case. Batik cloth is deeply ingrained in the Indonesian culture and maintains popularity for traditional uses as well as for incorporation into local fashions.

Traditional Javanese batik is recognized and admired, both in Java and elsewhere, for qualities that are inherent in the process. Because the fabric is dyed instead of printed or painted, its decoration is in the yarns of the textile, rather than on the surface, and therefore the decoration is durable over the life of the textile. It is also admired due to the "enormous design possibilities and artistic freedom of the process due to the action of drawing with the canting.4 In traditional Javanese batik, only vegetable or natural dyes were used. This means that a limited color palette based on indigo for blues, and other local substances for browns, and reds, forms the basis for traditional designs. These colors could be mixed by overdyeing (putting one dye color over another); for example, purple may achieved by dyeing red over indigo, but this was not a common practice. However, black resulting from deep indigo and brown is part of the traditional color palette. A final aspect of the nature of traditional batik textiles to be considered for this study is the crackle that appears in batik designs. Crackle occurs as a result of dye depositing in the cracks that occur in the wax during the handling process. The dye in the cracks leaves fine lines in a web-like effect in the design. Crackle is not highly appreciated in traditional batik. In fact, traditional batik artisans adjust wax formulas to maintain pliable qualities in the wax and they keep the waxed cloths at relatively warm temperatures to avoid

cracks in the wax, something easily done in the equatorial climate. Paradoxically, crackle is also recognized as an element of the traditional batik process and thus serves as a mark of real batik.

Extant textiles found in first-century Egyptian tombs, batik-ed screens from eighth-century China, and resist textiles from pre-Columbian Peru provide the earliest known batik artifacts. However, batik's origin remains unknown. One theory holds that it developed in China or India and spread eastward to the Middle East and westward to Southeast Asia, while another holds that it developed on the island of Java and spread from there. The oldest Javanese representations of batik appear in the ancient Borobudur temple ruins (built between 760 and 830 AD) on carved figures whose patterned garments resemble traditional Javanese batik patterns.

Indonesian batiks were probably first seen publicly in America at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893 as performance costumes of the Javanese dancers and clothing of the residents of the Java Village on the Midway Plaisance. Mabel Tuke Priestman and Theo. Neuhuys, who I will introduce in this research, published the first American 'how-to batik' articles in

\[\text{\textsuperscript{5}}\text{Stuart Robinson, A History of Dyed Textiles (Cambridge, MA: The M.I.T. Press, 1969), 39, 50, explains that the earliest extant batiks are silk, from China, date to AD 710-94, and are housed in the Imperial Treasury in Nara, Japan.}\]


\[\text{\textsuperscript{7}}\text{Robinson, A History, 40; Dyrenforth, The Technique, 13; Roojen, Batik Design, 16-7.}\]
1907 in *The Craftsman* and *International Studio*. In 1917 and 1918, respectively, Cheney Brothers and H. R. Mallinson and Co., Inc., two American manufacturers of fashionable textiles, introduced imitation batiks. In 1919, Pieter Mijer (1881-1963) published the book *Batiks, and How To Make Them*, that was to receive its ninth printing in 1930. Commercial batik products included mass-market imitation batiks, artist-made department store gowns, grand murals, and interior decoration items such as lampshades. Artist-made batik objects such as pillows, textiles, pictorial wall hangings, and garments sold in boutiques. In the domestic sphere, batik was used to refurbish tired clothes and decorate new ones, to create simple pictures for living room walls and for functional home textile such as table runners and curtains.

Research acknowledging batik activity in America highlights four distinct areas: the training and employment of textile designers in the “Designed in America” campaign; batik made by fine artists; batik’s presence in the avant-garde community, especially in Greenwich Village; and batik’s presence in the Arts and Crafts movement. Lauren Whitley, concentrating on M.D.C. Crawford from 1916 to 1922, examined the Designed in America campaign, a loose affiliation of textile industrialists, entrepreneurs, museums, and *Women’s Wear*  


to inspire and train designers for the New York textile industry. This campaign included two textile design contests, the Women's Wear Annual Textile Design Contest and the Albert Blum Hand Decorated Fabric Contest. Batik figured prominently in each of them. Biographical research on Ruth Reeves (1892-1966), Marion Dorn (1899-1964), and Ilonka Karasz (1896-1981), American textile designers active in the period, described batik as an integral part of each of their early careers. Art historical research discussed the role of batik in the lives of Marguerite Zorach (1887-1968), Hugo Robus (1885-1964), and his wife Irene. Gillian Moss presented the work of the batik artist Lydia Bush-Brown (1887-1985).
whose associations with the Arts and Crafts movement have been noted.\textsuperscript{13} The Arts and Crafts magazine \textit{Craftsman} printed an article on batik by Charles E. Pellew in 1909. that Christa C. Mayer Thurman examined in her research on textiles presented in the \textit{Craftsman}.\textsuperscript{14} Nicola Shilliam examined the presence of batik in New York, its prominence in Greenwich Village, and its integration in the Designed in American campaign. Shilliam suggested that batik progressed from a bohemian or avant-garde project, became bourgeois as a commonplace in department stores, and then faded from popularity in the early 1920s.\textsuperscript{15}

Clearly, batik became integral to American textiles in the early twentieth century. However, many questions remain regarding the use of batik in textiles, especially in the context of the textile arts of the modern design movements. The Arts and Crafts and the modernist movements participated in shaping the meaning of batik. Brief definitions of the Arts and Crafts movement and the modern movement are provided as background.

The Arts and Crafts movement in America developed from the movement in England where John Ruskin (1819-1900) and William Morris (1834-1896) were important philosophical leaders and practitioners whose influence was felt

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{15} Shilliam, “From Bohemian to Bourgeois,” 258.
\end{itemize}
in America. The style of Arts and Crafts in England and Europe had obvious antecedents in the Art Nouveau style. American Arts and Crafts reformers were concerned with the improvement of public taste, the incorporation of art into daily life for all classes of people, the preservation of handicraft technologies, and the development of a simple, natural, and functional aesthetic.16 Across America, a body of loosely knit ideas sustained the Arts and Crafts style that was realized through a variety of influences, including Japonism. The movements' general ideology, practice, style, and design are apparent in its textiles: American Arts and Crafts textiles reflect the conceptual influences of utility, experimentation, and abstraction, and the use of design forms and ornament that reflect repose, strength, security, and comfort. The movements' objective of preserving traditional and indigenous techniques is apparent in the various regional emphases seen in American Arts and Crafts textiles. The regionalisms are based in the colonial heritage of the northeast, Native American heritage in the southwest, and craft or 'folk' heritage in the south.17

Modernism is "associated with the ideas of innovation, progress, and fashion, and counterposed to the ideas of antiquity, the classical, and tradition."18 The term 'modern' reflects a connection to the present as a moment within a process of constant change in industrialized society. Among the early

16 Dianne Ayers and others, American Arts and Crafts Textiles. (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc. 2002), provide the first comprehensive analysis of the sources, definitions, and ideologies surrounding the broad range of Arts and Crafts textiles.

17 Ibid., 33.

twentieth-century styles associated with the modern movement are Cubism and Futurism in fine art, and the Deutsche Werkbund and the Wiener Werkstätte design schools. The Wiener Werkstätte operated a textiles department that led to the school's strong influence on modernist textile design.

The conceptual program of modernism hinges on the notion of change. Its artists and decorative artists rejected tradition in the academic styles and training of the past. Yet, they also actively used traditional forms, such as folk art influences or elements from a native heritage, and absorbed new exposures to forms such as 'primitive' art. Pablo Picasso's (1881-1973) references to ancient Iberian sculptures and African masks in Les Demoiselles d'Avignon (1907, oil on canvas, 242 x 236 cm, The Museum of Modern Art) are widely recognized examples. The avant-garde throughout Europe and Russia used folk art as a source in the decorative arts. Paul Poiret exemplified the modern textile and fashion artist. He often used folk art motifs, establishing a studio named Martine to produce hand decorated textiles based on naive and folk inspirations, while presenting progressive and revolutionary fashions based on Oriental themes. Modernist textile design incorporated abstraction that evolved from native, primitive, and folk sources while also using technical developments in weaving, dyeing and finishing textiles that resulted in softer, more fluid textiles, and brighter colors.19

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Orientalism evolved as the scholarly pursuit of the arts and ideas of cultures outside of the Western canon. Its scope excluded indigenous North and South America and most of Africa, however parts of Moslem North Africa were in the Oriental realm as locations of Arabian culture. In the western practice of Orientalism not only were Oriental concepts, materials, and techniques studied, but also they were interpreted into new forms of expression and incorporated as subjects in existing forms. As a form of textile decoration that did not evolve in western European culture but was adopted into western practice in the late postcolonial era, batik is an orientalist practice. Therefore batik is a suitable subject for the study and examination of the operation of Orientalism in order to ascertain its manifestations and implications, particularly as reflected in textiles and dress.

Writing from a literary criticism perspective, Edward Said critiqued Orientalism as a hegemonic construct of the imperialist west that aims for cultural and economic control of the cultures and the people of the Oriental world. In this view of Orientalism, domination and distancing are tools that result in stereotyping of 'other' people and their cultures. Further, this Orientalism usurps the literary and artistic forms of other cultures in conscious and subconscious ways that aim at control and ownership of those cultures. Said's reshaped perspective on Orientalism has been widely used in literary criticism and applied to art and design studies. Jeni Allenby suggests that use of Oriental elements in Western fashion reflects an attitude of "Western superiority

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in relation to these lands, rather than as an attempt to understand local culture.”

There are those who disagree with Said's perspective that Orientalism is an imperialist yoke of economic and cultural slavery with no positive repercussions. One of the paradoxes of colonial and imperialist exploitation is the “inevitable familiarity” that led to accepting the colonized “as fellow human beings.” Nancy Perloff points out that Said's argument is binary in nature, and therefore is exactly what he dislikes in the operation of Orientalism: it cannot reflect the complexities of many voices, influences, or permutations. She argues that there are many perspectives in the operation of Orientalism and that rigorous research must be applied to reveal each instance and process. John M. MacKenzie also calls for rigorous historical research on Orientalism. He responds to those who see only malicious imperialist intent in Orientalism by explaining that imperialism and Orientalism “did not march in parallel”: the co-mingling of cultural forms has been ongoing through centuries and is not limited to the period of imperialism. Further, he notes that the use of materials or ideas from another culture, especially in the musical, visual, and graphic arts, provides exposure to, and therefore the potential for admiration and a sympathetic

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relationship with the source culture.\(^\text{24}\) Therefore, to see Orientalism as the strictly manipulative result of imperialism is flawed.\(^\text{25}\) Richard Martin and Harold Koda defend Orientalism in textiles and fashion from Said's indictment by invoking fashion's social function as a means of adjusting the individual and/or the group to social and cultural change. They explain that dress is "one of the art forms most susceptible to new knowledge and expanded horizons, it has accommodated a changing world."\(^\text{26}\) I extend this perspective to include textiles, a primary component of dress. With this research I respond to the calls of Perloff and MacKenzie for further focused research in the operation of Orientalism in order to understand its multiple dimensions. However, Said's perspective, that Orientalism is a theory of representation wherein the Oriental is formed in the context of the domination of the West, and the West sees itself or creates its identity by its differences from the "other" or the exotic, also pertains to this research. The need for research in the operation and dimensions of Orientalism in the field of textiles and dress, where to date, it is scant, is responded to here and demonstrates the divergent dimensions of Orientalism.


\(^{25}\) MacKenzie 1995, xv

Statement of the Problem: Purpose and Objectives

The purpose of this study is to understand the mechanisms of the absorption, transformation, and meaning of batik, a Southeast Asian textile technique, in American textile arts between 1893 and 1937. I carry out the objectives presented below in order to achieve this goal. The objectives are to determine the following as they relate to America from 1893 to 1937: the foundation for the entry of batik to America; the entry and emergence of batik in American; the spread of batik in American textile arts; and the transformation of batik textiles in American practice.

The foundation for the entry of batik to America: I survey activities in commerce, the decorative arts, and travel that laid the groundwork for the entry and transfer of batik into American practice from its outside sources. Therefore, I examine the foundations for the entry of batik into American practice from Java, focusing on the effects of Javanese contact with European culture that influenced batik. I survey the presence of batik at World's Fairs in Europe in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries where batik textiles were present in ethnographic displays and in decorative arts exhibitions. I examine the emergence and adoption of batik into Dutch artistic practice in *Nieuwe Kunst* and the spread of batik technique to the rest of Europe. The exhibition and promotion of batik in European decorative arts exhibitions, where European artists exhibited batik as a new artistic form is examined. Specific ateliers and prominent individuals are investigated in order to understand their role the transfer of batik to America.
The entry and emergence of batik in America: No single event or track of entry was batik's passage into America. Instead, there were several. There was sufficient activity in Europe, and travel by batik promoters and practitioners to Europe and Southeast Asia, for many points of transfer to occur. Both the traditional and the new forms of batik presented opportunities for the introduction and growth in awareness of batik to American observers.

The installation of the Java Village at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893 is examined to assess the content and perceptions the exhibit. The first presentations of batik in American publications are examined to provide evidence for a date for the awareness of batik in America and the agents of its introduction, Theo. Neuhuys and Mabel Tuke Priestman. Travel to Southeast Asia by Americans and the potential of direct transfer from Southeast Asia to America are examined through three individuals: Augusta de Wit's travel memoir of Java in 1906; Minnie Frost Rands' detailed report on batik in Java of 1923; and Marguerite Zorach's use of batik for textile design after a visit to Java 1912. The emigration of Pieter Mijer from the Netherlands is investigated to assess his position in the timeline of the entry of batik to America and to develop knowledge of his contributions beyond his book Batiks and How to Make Them in 1919.

The spread of batik in American textile arts: The spread of batik in America is first examined through Éva Gauthier's tour of the America vaudeville circuit in 1915 and 1916. She wore batik garments on this national tour and appeared with modern dancers. The character of Gauthier's publicity that used the exotic
appeal of the harem, and her stage image that was based on her experiences in a harem, are investigated to assess the American public's perception of batik from their local newspapers covering her tour.

Batik responded to the respective ideologies of Arts and Crafts and modernism: Arts and Crafts textiles had a strong foundation in heritage and use of indigenous forms and techniques, while modernism ardently sought new expressive forms and embraced change.\(^\text{27}\) These two movements and their respective agents, or promoters and practitioners, used batik exhibitions and promotional texts for adopting or appreciating batik to advance their ideologies and influence the public. The targets of these publications included an array of public segments that were involved in or interested in textile arts. Intended readers included intellectuals, textile industrialists, artists, interior decorators and their customers, fashion consumers, and homemakers. While it is assumed the interests of agents are tied to economic survival (e.g., the sale of an article to a publication, the sale of the batik garment) they are also intrinsically linked to ideological positions that color the promotional activities. Therefore, I investigate the extent and breadth of the promotion of batik and examine the key proponents and prominent practitioners, including Ami Mali Hicks, Charles E. Pellew, and Pieter Mijer, and their activities and affiliations. This also reveals the

practices and role of each in the spread of batik in America. Books and magazine publications on how-to-batik are analyzed to determine what was available to the American populace regarding technique. The role of higher education in the spread of batik is examined, using Columbia University Teachers College and the University of Wisconsin to establish the date of the presence of batik technique across America and the role of design education in its spread.

The marketing of imitation batik by America textile mills Cheney Brothers and H.R. Mallinson and Co., Inc., and the attributes of these American batiks are examined. An innovation in textile printing that arose from E. Varian Cockcroft's experience as a batik artist is presented. Cockcroft's idea is investigated to understand an ancillary influence of the presence of batik in American practice that exemplifies the potential effect of new exposures.

The transformations of batik in American practice: The final objective of this research is to assess the changes in batik technique in American practice from its sources in Java and the Netherlands and to analyze the meaning of batik, a new expression to Americans. Therefore, I analyze the visual elements of American batik that resulted from this process. I also analyze the role of Orientalism and exoticism, existing elements in American culture from 1983 to 1936, in the affinity for batik in America.

Rationale

This research contributes to the integration of Southeast Asian influences on American textiles and dress into the literature. While batik is only one
example of possible Southeast Asian influences, its presence as a textile decorating form and its associations with dressing in an exotic way, offer two perspectives on assessing its influences on the textile arts. The influences from Southeast Asia on the West should be recognized, analyzed, and interpreted in order to place the many influences from Southeast Asia in current fashion and decorative arts in context.

Method

**Interpretive Paradigm: Historical Method and Hermeneutics**

According to Gaye Tuchman a historical point of view is necessary for meaningful social research, and “historians tend to write narrative, not theory.” Writing history requires an empirical approach as opposed to a rationalistic one. The past is not an experiment with specific limited results, and therefore it cannot be controlled, nor be completely known. Yet, we can work to know and understand the past by recognizing its nature as a function of many forces: aesthetic, cultural, economic, political, philosophical, social, and technological. The historian’s task is to re-construct the past, in this case the development and spread of batik in American textile arts in the early twentieth century in order to lead to understanding its meaning, function, and position in American culture.

Written history is interpretive. David Hackett Fischer explains writing history as a “process of adductive reasoning in the simple sense of *adducing*”

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answers to specific questions, so that a satisfactory ‘fit’ is obtained.”29 Adduction is a combination of both inductive and abductive logic; inductive logic will “determine a value” and abductive logic “suggests that something may be.30”

Historical research asserts the logical conclusions, and proposes the likely context, influence, and importance, using an interpretive method based on reconstructions from the research material. Such interpretation of the past necessarily requires examination of the lives, actions, and practices of the past through its remains. Examination of historical remains, performed from the present, brings forth new or original insights to add to what is already known, through the historian’s interpretations. Thus, the writing of history filters through the sensibilities of the researcher-historian in the reconstruction and interpretive processes.

Hans-Georg Gadamer articulated the process of the hermeneutic circle as an interpretive approach appropriate to the texts of the past. The hermeneutic method relies on the constant and focused examination and re-examination of the ‘texts’ of the research question until the researcher is satisfied that a suitable interpretation is presented. Gadamer distinguishes between the philologists’ hermeneutics and that of a historian. While the philologist seeks to understand a text’s self-expressed meaning, such as in a religious text, the historian seeks both the true, or self-expressed meaning, and the hidden meaning, and uses several


30 Ibid., 16, references Charles Pierce (1931), *Collected Papers*, V: 142, 145, 170-72, for background on the development of Fischer’s concept of written history as adductive, a combination of inductive and abductive logic.
additional sources or historical remains. Thus, this research on batik includes an accessible body of cultural remains, such as extant textile artifacts, period published texts, and archival records in order to search for both self-expressed and hidden meaning. Following the examination and re-examination of the materials and texts, reflection and analysis was undertaken.

Gadamer states, "A historical hermeneutics that does not make the nature of the historical question the central thing, and does not inquire into a historian's motives in examining historical material, lacks its most important element." The hermeneutic approach requires at least a brief examination of the researcher's experience and perspectives to contextualize the question posed. The assumption in hermeneutics, and in the strategies explicated in this proposal, is that there must be a base of knowledge in the inquirer to provide the possibility of forming new knowledge. Therefore, I outline briefly elements of my experience that indicate my involvement in Southeast Asian textiles, design, dyeing, and historical research.

Two primary areas of experience, those of early travel and my early career, are important in my research motivations. I lived in Thailand as a child in the fifth and sixth grades. Many afternoons I slipped away to a small weaving and dressmaking shop where I sat with the silk weavers as they worked, and I eagerly explored the dressmakers' scrap pile. Since that time I have had an interest in handmade Southeast Asian textiles. I have extensive experience designing and

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32 Ibid., 339.
executing costumes for drama and dance, and executing costumes for other designers, in the academic and professional theatre. I have worked as a professional dyer. I have taken classes in surface decorating techniques including batik, other resist techniques, and embroidery. As a historian of textiles and dress, I am interested in the nexus of art and fashion and in the process of style change. These interests and life experiences led to this study on batik in American textile arts in the early twentieth century.

For the purpose of this study the following are the evaluative aspects for the research; coherence; comprehensiveness; addressing a problematic text; thoroughness; development of appropriate questions using adductive logic and application of those questions to materials and texts; completeness of cultural and historical perspective questions to examine the context; fruitfulness, that is, that it suggests further research. The validation of any research will be defined by its contact with the future as its interpretations are met by the further development of knowledge.

Research Materials

The entry of batik into American practice was examined using the literature on Dutch Nieuwe Kunst. The direct role of the Dutch in the early introduction of batik in America was examined from materials by Theo. Neuhuys found in Keramic Studio (1907) and materials concerning Pieter Mijer in Good Furniture Magazine and in the Stewart Culin Archive at the Brooklyn Museum of Art. Important exhibitions, articles, and artists from France and England were introduced via their publications that are available in the New York Public
Library, the Brooklyn Museum of Art Library, and the Watson Library at the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Published travel diaries and accounts such as those by Augusta de Wit and Minnie Frost Rands provide information on the level of awareness of batik and its uses in Java. In addition, Rands’ unpublished manuscript *Notes on Javanese Batik* in the Watson Library at the Metropolitan Museum of Art was examined.

The presence and influence of batik at several world’s fairs as part of Dutch colonial Javanese exhibitions has been presented in research on the Dutch *Nieuwe Kunst*. This literature is discussed in this study for context. The presence of batik in America at the 1893 Colombian World’s Fair as costumes worn by the Javanese dancers at the Java Village on the Midway Plaisance has not been analyzed, and provides a hinge point for this study. The Brooklyn Museum of Art holds a photographic program titled *The Javanese Theatre, Java Village, Midway Plaisance, World’s Colombian Exposition, Chicago, 1893*, Containing also a Short Description of Java, the People, Languages, Customs, Food, Products, etc. that contains images of the Javanese dancing troupes in their costumes. The New York Public Library holds a photographic book titled *Oriental and Occidental Northern and Southern Portrait Types of All Nations: A Collection of Photographs* that includes images of the residents of the Java Village in traditional batik clothing.

Travel to Southeast Asia by Americans is exemplified by examination of the artist Marguerite Thompson Zorach. She traveled from France to California in 1911-1912 via Java and was making batiks in New York in 1913. Her letters
from this trip to William Zorach, her future husband, are in the Library of Congress.

Tracing the spread of batik in America was achieved from a broad ranging examination of periodicals and books of the period. From these sources the proponents, practitioners, exhibitors of the Arts and Crafts and modernist movements, and their promotional programs were identified and examined. The process of gathering the information for examining the spread of batik and the meaning of batik occurred simultaneously. Over forty manuals or 'how-to' directions for batik appeared as books, book chapters, and magazine articles from 1907 to 1936 (see Appendix A: Chronological List of American and How-to-batik Literature, 1907-1936, Including Editions and Reprintings). These provide the basis for comparative study and analysis of the batik techniques offered to readers.

A series of descriptions of the periodical sources containing articles on batik follows. Each category of periodical is presented with a content or target emphasis. However there is no attempt to assign the publications to Arts and Crafts or to modernism unless it is very clear that the publication has an ideological position.

Developments in American batik were reported in many magazines that covered the arts and decorating. *Arts & Décoration, The International Studio, Town and Country, Country Life,* and *Good Furniture Magazine* published reviews and informational articles on batik. Art museum publications, such as The American Museum of Natural History's *The American Museum Journal* and
the, *The Brooklyn Museum Quarterly*, provided information on their respective collections and on each institution's involvement in the art-in-industry campaign that took place from approximately 1915 to 1932.

Trade periodicals revealed changes in commercial applications and inventions, as well as the extent of interest in batik and in its heritage from that quarter. The *American Silk Journal*, published by the American Silk Association provides promotional information on textile companies, industrial information on silk printing, fabric advertising campaigns, and informational articles on historic and ethnic textile decoration techniques for the industry. *Women's Wear*, the clothing and fashion industry newspaper published by E.W. Fairchild, is an important source of information on textile design and textile design contests, promotion of museum collections as design sources, touring exhibitions that included batik, and information on department stores and designers. *Women's Wear* employed Morris de Camp (M.D.C.) Crawford as Design Editor. From this position, he acted as the de facto leader for the Designed in America campaign that lasted from 1915 through 1927. In this campaign textile design contests, mentioned above, solicited textile designs from across the nation to stimulate American design through the use of museum artifacts as design sources. The objective was to free the American textile industry from its dependence on European sources. Crawford's personal motivation arose from his admiration of ancient Peruvian textiles, which made him aware of the rich design heritage of America that could be mined for an American aesthetic. Crawford supplemented his numerous articles in *Women's Wear* with pieces in other museum and art
magazines, such as *Asia*. These and his articles on batik in *Women’s Wear* were examined in order to analyze this important textile promoter’s attitude and influence on the promotion of batik.

Shelter and women’s magazines, such as *Good Housekeeping, House and Garden, The Ladies Home Journal, and Women’s Home Companion*, published articles on fashion, interior decorating, sewing, crafts, and dyeing. Many of the authors who published in these magazines also wrote books that inform this research. *The Craftsman, Keramic Studio* (later *Design, and then Creative Art*), targeted people with a specific taste for, or involvement in, the Arts and Crafts movement. These magazines provide a perspective that centers on home decoration, and on learning and applying crafts.

Fashion magazines were another source of information about the spread and adoption of batik. While shelter magazines depict the interests and concerns of the average American woman, *Vogue* gives insight to the fashionable upper class market. *Art–Goût–Beauté*, published by Albert, Godde, Beddin, Inc., purveyor of fine French textiles, also targeted the upscale fashionable woman and featured textile samples.

Archival materials provided additional information on the promoters, practitioners, and exhibitors of batik. The Culin Archival Collection at the Brooklyn Museum hold records related to the Designed in America campaign, including correspondence between Robert Stewart Culin (1858-1929), Curator of the Department of Ethnology at the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Science (now the Brooklyn Museum), from 1903 to 1929, and several of the textile artists
making batik in New York. The Culin Archive also includes exhibition catalogs, department store publications, and Culin's official correspondence regarding the Brooklyn Museum's collecting and loaning of Southeast Asian batik artifacts. The Smithsonian Institution's Archives of American Art contains selected exhibition catalogs and correspondence of important figures related to this research, including department store exhibitions. The Museum of the City of New York's Jessie Tarbox Beals' photographs of Greenwich Village artists and their environs, as well as additional archives of clippings and promotional material on Greenwich Village shops and personalities were examined.

The visual and aesthetic parameters of batik were developed from images in period publications and from extant garments and textiles. The how-to articles and book chapters provide the instructions and examples of batik presented to the reader that will lead to understanding the quality and characteristics of the products to be made. Extant American batik objects present the actual material for evaluation and analysis. Extant batik objects, especially clothing, that relate to this research are few. Those listed here are examined in this research. The San Diego Historical Society holds eight batik pieces, some created by female members of the Point Loma Theosophical Society. The Museum of the City of New York holds a batik dress that belonged to the playwright Harriet Ford. The University of Rhode Island Department of Textiles, Fashion Merchandising, and Design, holds two pieces by Miss Whitlock (1891-1977), Chairwoman of the URI department from 1951 to 1961 that were made while she was a student in the textiles program at Columbia University's Teachers College. The Ratti Textile
Center at the Metropolitan Museum of Art holds a set of three batik panels made for the Provincetown Players by Marguerite Zorach. The Smithsonian Institution's Museum of American History is the repository of seven textiles made by H.R. Mallinson and Sons, Inc. and donated by M.D.C. Crawford in 1919. This set includes at least three industrial batik samples. The Museum of American History also holds six textiles purchased from John Wanamaker in 1918 that include two batik samples and four tied and dyed resist samples. In the Smithsonian Institution American Art Museum a batik blouse by Marguerite Zorach served as an example for comparative analysis.

Two private collections provided batik objects for this research. Ms. Yvonne Paterson of Flourtown, Pennsylvania owns an imitation batik garment that belonged to Elsa Euland who lived in Greenwich Village in the 1910s. Dianne Ayers and Timothy Hansen of Oakland, California, provided an image of an Arts and Crafts batik from their collection.

The meaning of batik is examined from the sources described below. Batik's presence in the Javanese Pavilion on the Midway Plaisance at the 1893 Chicago World's Columbian Exposition marks batik's emergence in America as an ethnographic artifact and symbol of exoticism. (This program and its representations are discussed in the section on the entry of batik to America.) Éva Gauthier, who toured the popular Orpheum Circuit in 1915-16 singing atonal songs in a program, linked batik and modernism. Gauthier wore traditional batik garments on this tour. Her promotional material focused on her experiences in a Javanese harem. With the opportunity for salacious headlines, the media played
a role in supporting her exotic image. Her scrapbooks and her letters are in the New York Public Library, Music Division.

These several sources comprised the major evidence for the research. The amplitude and depth of the sources gave the researcher the opportunity to analyze batik from each of the areas of the objectives: the foundation for the entry of batik to America; the entry and emergence of batik in America; the spread of batik in American textile arts; and the transformation of batik textiles in American practice.
CHAPTER 2

THE FOUNDATIONS FOR THE ENTRY OF BATIK INTO AMERICA

No single event or track of entry can be confidently assigned as batik’s method of passage into America from Southeast Asia or Europe. This chapter investigates the foundations of several potential avenues of its transfer, in both commercial and artistic realms. There were many opportunities for American observers to become aware of batik through travel or reading publications. Both traditional and new expressions of batik were presented at world’s fairs and expositions, decorative arts exhibitions, and in shops in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As batik became absorbed into European arts, the new European batik artists received notice in periodicals targeting collectors and patrons, such as Studio International in English and Art et Décoration in French. In addition people traveled where batik could be observed, in its Javanese forms in Indonesia and in forms derived from the Dutch in Europe, and brought it to America.
To provide context for the activities in Europe, and to understand the complexity and process of change in batik production, salient aspects of batik history in Java after European contact are traced here. The early contact between European traders and the Javanese Islands, and the major developments in the batik industry in Java between 1599 and the mid-nineteenth century demonstrate the interest of western culture in batik. This interest is the basis for the entry of batik into European practice, which will prove to be critical in the adoption of batik in America. Two transformations in the manufacture of batik link to the European profile of batik. First, Javanese batik production developed from limited, private production into an entrepreneurial industry that produced for the domestic market and for inter-island trade goods. At nineteenth-century European expositions and fairs a large public observed both traditional batik and the new batik Belanda, a westernized style of Javanese batik that developed during the entrepreneurial changes of late-nineteenth-century batik production. Second, European textile manufacturers interpreted batik in the nineteenth century for export to the colonies.

Human exhibits at the large expositions and fairs of the late nineteenth century included Javanese villages. Therefore, the development, the function, and the meaning of these exhibits are briefly discussed. The salient exhibits of the Javanese and their batik art are examined to ascertain what the observers would have seen.

Exhibitions and artistic developments in Europe are fundamental to the process of batik’s entry into American practice. The emerging modern
movements in design provided an outlet for new inspirations and explorations. Colonial exhibitions created an interest in Javanese culture and in batik. The extensive ethnographic collections from Indonesia that reside in the Netherlands as a result of the colonial relationship of the two cultures, provided the stimulus for the two strands of culture to merge. A new decorative art expression emerged in batik, based on modern design and Indonesian tradition. The development in the Netherlands of *Nieuwe Kunst*, the Dutch form of the Art Nouveau style, and the development of batik in Dutch decorative arts is investigated through prominent batik ateliers and artists. The chapter closes with examination of the spread of batik across Europe from its center of development in the Netherlands through prominent exhibits and artists.

**Javanese Batik Production**

A Dutch account of 1599 mentions local fabrics in the area of Tuban, a port on the north coast of Java. However, one-sided wax resist fabrics from the Coromandel coast of India, and imported painted and block-printed cloths, were also present in sixteenth century Java and were an integral part of trade. Native Javanese batik textiles do not appear in the records of *De Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie* (VOC)(United East India Company) again until the mid-eighteenth century. In the interval, textiles imported from the coast of

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33 Heringa, “The Historical Background of Batik on Java,” in *Fabric of Enchantment*, 35.
34 Ibid, 34.
35 De Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie, commonly referred to as VOC, has often been referred to as the Dutch East India Company in the United States. It was established in
India continued to be important in inter-island trade. Records of the VOC, which operated with Dutch government sanctions and monopolistic agreements with the Indonesian Sultan of Mataram, indicate that cloths from India were the primary substance traded for spices from the Moluccas in eastern Indonesia. That the VOC does not mention Javanese batiks for approximately seventy-five years indicates only that the VOC was not using these textiles in trade.

Undoubtedly, native textiles were made and kept within the Javanese culture.

The Javanese use a complex cultural code regarding dress. The garment forms developed from traditional variations of draped lengths of cloth, the specific method of draping, and the patterns on the textiles work in concert to create meaning. Those in the culture (and some who are extremely familiar with it) are able to read the meaning communicated by the traditional forms of dress. Batik textiles are a critical part of this code. The decorative patterns, often relating specifically to the garment shape and draping method, infused the

1602 as a coalition of small traders with sanctions from the Dutch government, aiming to prevent other nations, such as England and Portugal, from trading in the south eastern Pacific region. The group went bankrupt in 1798.

36 The Court of Mataram controlled central Java from 1580-1749 when its rule was ended by the VOC. The result was two sultanates, one in Yogyakarta and one in Surakarta, in 1755. The Dutch administration had its headquarters in Batavia, now Jakarta. VOC officials controlled trade after 1755.

37 The code I refer to has largely disappeared from daily use in the urban sections of Indonesia. Clothing traditions are preserved in the Courts of Yogyakarta and Surakarta and in the performing arts where the costumes are integral to traditional stories.

clothing with meanings read from the batik designs (see Figure A.2). Because of their cultural role and time-consuming process, most Javanese batiks were not traded but remained in the hands of Javanese families.  In the early years of European contact, Javanese batik textiles were reserved for personal and ceremonial purposes; therefore the imported Indian fabrics supplemented the traditional ones, filling in for everyday textile use and for trade.

Even before the late eighteenth century Chinese and Arabs in Indonesia acted as middlemen between Javanese batik makers and the market for their goods. The batik artisans who used the canting to apply designs were women and men performed the dyeing processes. In this system a batik artisan, received partial payment for her labors in advance. From a local environment based on a bartering economy, prices were difficult for a Javanese woman to set with the more worldly traders who used a monetary system. Often batik artisans ended up in constant production for the middleman without noticeable profit.

In the late eighteenth century the Indian textile market suffered in the face of European hand-printed textiles. The prices of Indian textiles increased and the quality declined. The Javanese countered by increasing their own production of handmade batik. The increased production response from the traditional

39 Heringa, “The Historical Background,” 36. After observing old-fashioned batik production in a group of isolated villages near Tuban in 1977, Heringa concluded that, even in the late twentieth century, “Textiles that are made according to the traditional prescripts are rarely sold in the open market.”

40 Harmen C. Veldhuisen, Batik Belanda, 1840-1940: Dutch Influence in Batik from Java: History and Stories (Jakarta: Gaya Favorit, 1993), 28.

Javanese batik sector, which was primarily home or palace based, further stimulated the transformation of batik production into an entrepreneurial activity. Javanese batik textiles slowly shifted from their primary role as cultural signifiers. It had two roles: they began producing a commercial batik product that responded to orders from traders and maintained a form that expressed and sustained tradition.

A typical batik cloth made with a canting may require six months to complete. Applying melted wax to the surface of cloth with a cap is a slow and laborious task. To speed up the manufacturing process in order to meet production demand, new ways to apply the wax were sought. The tool to accomplish this, the cap, probably developed in the 1840s in a part of Java where repeat patterns were integral to the designs. The cap is a wood block with copper sheet metal set into the wood vertically in the pattern of the design. With this tool a man applies wax resist in sections to the textiles, instead of the hand drawn wax made by a women with a canting. For each design pattern another cap must stamp the mirror image in wax on the reverse side of the cloth. They are expensive and last for a limited number of applications, therefore only those establishments producing sufficient batiks were able to invest in them. Since

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42 Lengths of cloth are cut from the bolt, avoiding any fabric flaws. A typical large batik, for a shoulder cloth or a hip wrap, is 84-105 cm wide, depending on the fabric width. The length is between two and two and a half times the width, approximately 186-259 cm. The remaining fabric from between weaving flaws is used for domestic uses and for smaller garment items such as headscarves.

the introduction of the cap, batiks have been constituted from three means of applying the designs: *batik tulis*, completely executed with a canting; *batik cap*, completely executed with a cap; *kombinasi*, executed with a combination of canting and cap applied designs. However, *batik tulis*, the most prized, remains the choice of natives for ceremonial and special occasions due to its highly refined technique.

For centuries, people residing in Indonesia from cultures outside traditional Javanese culture, such as the Chinese, Islamic, and Europeans, also wore batik. The hot and humid climate of equatorial Indonesia motivated foreigners living there to adapt the local dress into their dress as a means of seeking physical comfort. Using the sarong helped Europeans adjust to the hot temperatures, as compared to wearing layers of skirts and petticoats or thick woolen trousers. Many European and Indo-European ladies wore batik sarongs at home, and as batik gathered skirts in formal settings, combined with blouses worn outside the skirt or sarong. European and Indo-European men often wore batik sarongs or pajama trousers at home and for many informal meetings, combined with a white cloth jacket (Figure C.1).

In the mid-nineteenth century another entrepreneurial group emerged that served the European, Indo-European, and Chinese markets in Indonesia.

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45 Veldhuisen, *Batik Belanda*, 26-7. Veldhuisen explains that the influence of the English and their sense of fashionable propriety led to the return of European women’s dress at formal events by 1840.
Batik workshops operated by women entrepreneurs from these middle-class communities produced batik Belanda, a new type of batik outside traditional cultural meanings. Some of these business owners were widows of Dutch officials who stayed in Indonesia living off government pensions from the Netherlands and some were younger women who preferred not to marry. Manufacturing batik for sale provided income and independence. The designs of the decorative elements filtered through a marketing sensibility directed at the entrepreneurs’ peers in the Indo-European, European, and Chinese communities of the region. To appeal to these customers batik Belanda entrepreneurs combined European decorative and floral patterns with Chinese and traditional Javanese motifs (Figures C.2 and C.3). Batik Belanda workshops produced batiks recognized for their high quality. They used primarily traditional techniques executed by Javanese artisans. However, since European designs were unfamiliar to the Javanese artisans, the entrepreneurs used penciled-in outlines and tracing patterns drawn on rice paper to transfer designs. New colors beyond the traditional tones of indigo, brown, and red, were introduced including green and purple. They also made batiks in serial production, especially for new


47 Ibid., 12. Veldhuisen explains that G.P. Rouffaer and Jasper, two Dutch writers on batik “believed that the Indo-European batik manufactureesses contributed important technical skills to the commercial production of batik...among the best produced, in terms of wax drawing and dyeing techniques.”

48 Ibid., 35-6,

49 Ibid., 39, 48, 114
With batik Belanda, these entrepreneurs created a new decorative genre in Javanese handmade batik that was actively manufactured until 1940.51

**European Manufacture of Imitation Batik**

One aspect of the commercial exploitation of batik textiles was their interpretation by European textile manufacturers using machine roller printing processes and block printing. Sir Thomas Raffles (1781-1826), the Lieutenant Governor of Java during English control (1811-1816), wrote the first detailed English description of batik in his book *History of Java*, published in 1817. Earlier, soon after arriving in Java, Raffles had sent batik samples back to England (Figure C.4).52 By 1813, English printed versions of batik were for sale in Batavia, Java, marking the English as the first Europeans to attempt to make imitation batik (Figure C.5). However, difficulties in achieving even an approximation of the distinctive qualities of the technique made the endeavor costly and difficult.

The English found that it was not so easy to produce batik imitations on a large scale owing to the high initial cost involved. Apart from the matching of the local vegetable dyes, the patterns on any one article were so diverse, and involved the making of so many interlocking large blocks or rollers, that the highly accurate level of printing required made the cost prohibitive. Where a perfect penetration of dye could not be achieved by one-side printing, then each side had to be printed with a matching print. Contours (and where required the crackled veining so beloved by the West) were printed by one set

50 Ibid., 45.
51 Ibid., 12, 40.
52 Raffles, *The History*, vol.1, 216-17.
of blocks or rollers to imitate the drawing by tjanting (sic), and the colours inserted with flat pad blocks or rollers, or by hand.  

The Dutch began making batik in 1835 using traditional methods. As the European colonial power in Indonesia, the Dutch had direct access to batik artisans, and thus, Indonesians were brought to Holland and taught batik to the Dutch. Factories sprouted in Leyden, Rotterdam, Haarlem, Helmand, and Apeldoorn. Some of the Javanese-trained Dutch then went to Indonesia to administrate the state-supervised batik industry in the colony.  

Asian textiles decorated with batik had become admired and ingrained in sectors of West Africa following early trade with Portuguese and Dutch ships bringing goods from India and Indonesia. With this additional potential market, other enterprising European textile manufactures seized the opportunity to develop machine-made batiks to sell in Asian and African colonies. By the 1840s, the Swiss developed an imitation batik based on block printing for export (Figure C.4). By the mid-nineteenth century, Prévinaire and Company of Belgium developed a system for faux-batik: first the fabric was roller printed to apply the wax resist, then it was dyed, followed by block printing to apply

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54 Ibid., 41.
additional colors and patterns. Trade in imitation batiks continues today from European mills to African and Asian markets.57

The English, Swiss, and Belgian processes were combinations of block printing and roller printing that attempted to approximate traditional batik appearance for consumers who expected evidence of a wax resist and a handmade appearance. These European processes used roller printing in two ways, either to apply a resist in order to prepare for a dyeing process or to print designs with color. Hand block printing followed the roller printing stages in both methods in order to provide the handmade look of Javanese batik.

This brief review of the history of batik demonstrates that the Javanese responded to economic shifts by increasing production of traditional batik and interacting with merchants from outside the archipelago to market their products. In the mid-nineteenth century emigrants to Indonesia and their offspring established batik businesses that responded to fashion and taste from other cultures. Finally, batik was adapted for industrial production for large markets that appreciated batik cloths. Thus, several transformations occurred in batik before the developments in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in the Netherlands.

Display of Javanese Culture at Expositions and World’s Fairs

The foundation of the profile of Javanese culture in Europe lies in the Javanese human exhibits and exhibition display cases of the expositions and world’s fairs of the late nineteenth century. These exhibits also assisted in the transfer of batik into western practice through the exhibition of batik process and products. People could admire and purchase batik, or they could merely see it and become aware of it as an exotic art. Therefore, the expositions in Europe with significant presentations of Javanese people and batik are examined to assess their role in the awareness and adoption of batik, preceded by a brief discussion of the development and function of human exhibits.

At the 1867 Paris Exposition Universelle Arabian cafes and cultural elements, such as a camel stable, represented France’s North African colonies, Tunisia and Algeria. These were the first human exhibitions of colonized peoples at a world’s fair. Human exhibits would not lose their appeal for many years: the final large imperialistic human exhibition occurred at the 1931 Paris Exposition Internationale Coloniale (International Colonial Exposition) in the Parc de Vincennes. In the interim, human exhibits transformed from small tableaux vivants, into major sections of world’s fairs with villages, bazaars, and streets with shops, food concessions, outdoor stages, and theatres. The purposes of the human exhibits were varied, however they consistently reinforced the hegemonic status of imperial powers including supporting exhibits of colonial trade and
commerce based on resources, industries, and talents found in the colonies. Through their shaping to support Social Darwinism human exhibits also educated the public about the development of man. Unfortunate developments from the infusion of Social Darwinism into the human exhibits include the use of phrenology as 'proof' of the correctness of Social Darwinism and promotion of eugenics. Human exhibits also served as entertainment at the fairs, not only through the presentations by the native inhabitants of traditional ceremonies and performing arts, but from their very basis as presentations of people placed before the public for observation. Although today we recognize these exhibits exploited the people and cultures displayed in them, at the time few of the people “who visited these exhibits intellectualized what they saw in order to fully comprehend the exploitative nature of the enterprise.”

The 1889 Paris Exposition Universelle marks the point when native people were no longer brought in as service personnel, such as tea servers at English pavilions, or as working craftsmen like those from China, Japan, and Arabia at


59 It was not until 1877, when the curators of the Jardin d'Acclimatation began bringing natives from the French colonies to complement their exhibits of plants and animals that human exhibits became infused with the tenets of Social Darwinism’s linear progress of man. However, Franz Boas’ (1858-1942) theory of cultural relativity rejected Social Darwinism. His radical position explained that differences in cultures and humans arose from the context of each group. Therefore humanity developed without hierarchy in multiple cultures. Boas’ *The Mind of Primitive Man* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1911) would slowly help affect the dismantling of racial stereotypes. As anthropology abandoned the linear paradigm, racism received criticism, and imperialism met social and economic conflagrations and critique, human exhibits were no longer suitable educational examples or entertainment and fortunately they fell out of favor.

60 Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral*, 84.
the 1876 Philadelphia Exposition: native people were installed in village exhibits “simply to be looked at” by the public. As explained previously, they served as examples of human evolution, while instilling and confirming belief in the superiority of Western morals, technology, culture, and economics. The native villages were based on family groups, bringing a ring of authenticity to the exhibitions. However, these villages were not authentic. The perceived authenticity of the villages was a manipulated construction. Different tribes or cultures within a colony were presented as a cohesive colonized group within one village, yet often they could not communicate with each other. These people also endured cultural assaults: in shaping their daily lives for public observation, many indigenous people were required to perform ceremonial rites at specific times in intervals and frequencies that were not ‘authentic’ and were in fact inappropriate and uncomfortable in traditional cultures. Clearly the human exhibits stand as examples of racism on the part of western cultures. Their legacies and ramifications are treated in depth by other authors, however, an introduction to their general function and purpose, provides background for the following examination of the Javanese exhibits.

61 Ibid., 86.

Both the government of the Netherlands and private enterprises sponsored exhibits that exploited Java and its people. In the exhibits promoting the natural resources, industrial potential, and indigenous crafts, industries, and arts of the Indonesian archipelago, Java always figured prominently. The exotic Javanese villages with buildings of bamboo and grass, crafts, arts, performing arts, and batik dressed natives captured public attention wherever they appeared. The women making batik, the batik costumed puppet-marionettes, the traditionally costumed dancers, and the music, were especially popular.

The 1883 *Internationale, Koloniale en Uitvoerhandel-Tentoonstelling* (International Colonial and Export Exposition) held in Amsterdam was the first international colonial exhibition. Twenty-eight countries participated and over a million people attended. The primary goal was to provide the Netherlands a showcase for its vast empire. The batik display included batik Belanda from the workshop of Mrs. Van Oosterom. The Indonesian archipelago exhibition took up a large section of the grounds. There was a water buffalo stable and each major island was represented by an indigenous building and its native people. One village section featured Batavia, Java. The people wore traditional garments, including batik and their traditional marionette-style puppets wore batik costumes. The performing arts of Java took focus through the *kampung*

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63 Indonesian commodities important in world trade at this time included coffee, sugar, quinine, indigo, tobacco, opium, cocoa, and spices. Many of these continue to be part of Indonesia’s profile in the world economy.

64 Veldhuisen, *Batik Belanda*, 53.

65 Batavia was the name the Dutch gave to the capital of Java while they occupied it. It is now Jakarta, Indonesia.
(native) orchestra and its accompaniment for traditional dances and puppetry programs. Figure C.6 shows two dancers in costume with bare arms and feet, wearing batik sarongs. Figure C.7 shows a Javanese lady wearing a jacket and shoes with a batik sarong. The women’s colorful sarongs with complex designs unfamiliar to the public were exotic. In addition, barefooted and bare-armed dancers would have been perceived as sensual and provocative.

The exhibit titled “Life in the Dutch Indies,” the Javanese village at the 1889 Paris Exposition Universelle was acknowledged as “impressive.” M. Bernard managed this privately sponsored exhibit. He selected the inhabitants of the village from four ethnicities within the East Indies: Javanese, Sundanese, Malays, and Batavians lived in twenty-two houses within the village. Ostensibly, Bernard’s seventeen years in the Dutch East Indies prepared him to act as the natives’ cultural interpreter. He recounted to a reporter:

...That man sitting running paint into a piece of cloth is from Java. That is how they paint their dress and napkins. Sometimes it is done with wax, sometimes with paint. It takes nineteen months to finish one robe...These are the dancing girls...they are lent by the emperor Solo, who has twenty-six at his court. I have telegraphed for three more. The jewelry they wear is real, and belongs to the emperor.

The phrase “how they paint their dress and napkins” indicates that Javanese villagers were making batik and we learn that the dancers, who will turn up at other world’s fairs, come from the Court of Solo. However, Bernard’s description of batik points either to his lack of attention to the details of making

66 Greenhalgh, Ephemeral, 89.

67 M. Bernard in “Paris and its Exhibition,” Pall Mall Gazette Extra No. 49, Friday, 26 July 1889, quoted in Greenhalgh, Ephemeral, 89.
batik or to adaptations made by the villagers. His description of “running paint” into the cloth probably refers to the application of colored wax with the canting. Hot wax flows out of the canting in a fashion that may easily be described as a running liquid. I interpret M. Bernard’s remarks to describe the application of slightly colored wax with a canting, which was done to indicate which wax to remove in a complex multi-colored batik. Thus his description fits the known process, except for the man as the artisan. The use of the canting to apply wax to cloth was women’s work, a strongly ingrained tradition. Men used the cap to apply block patterns of wax resist: it would be extremely unusual in 1889 for a Javanese man to apply wax resist with a canting. Although it is possible that Javanese men used the canting in the unnatural context of a human exhibit at a fair, it is doubtful.68 Bernard also exaggerates the time required to make a typical batik length of cloth by more than triple, extending the time from the normal six months to nineteen months. Perhaps this was a move to justify prices charged for batiks at the fair. The Netherlands government also displayed batiks at the 1889 Paris Exposition Universelle in the interior display of colonial products.69

Another important Dutch exhibition, the Nationale Tentoonstelling van Vrouwenarbeid (National Exhibition of Women’s Work) was held in The Hague,

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68 At this time I have not confirmed that Javanese artisans applied paint or dye color directly to cloth by “running paint,” that is applying dye through a device that would allow the dye to run on to the fabric in 1889. However, a method of stamping color directly onto a cloth with a copper stamp called batik capan already existed. Regarding coloring wax resist textiles, see Rens Heringa, “Appendix 3: Materials and Techniques,” in Fabric of Enchantment, eds. Rens Heringa and Harmen C. Veldhuisen, (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1996), 224-30, for a concise description of the batik process with photographs. Heringa explains that color is added to traditional batik by submersion dyeing or by rubbing a dye and mordant paste into the fibers.

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in 1898, the year of Queen Wilhelmina's coronation. Although it was not a world's fair, it did have a major Javanese exhibit. An Oost-Indie (East Indies) room, in the left wing of the Hall of Industry, held the exhibition of Javanese artifacts. They "were collected from the Indies archipelago and largely provided by (the wives of) excolonial administrative officials and military officers during their tour of duty," a collection from Javanese royalty, and pieces loaned by Raden Ajeng Kartini, a Dutch-educated Javanese woman.70 An exit from the main building led to the "kampong Insulinde" (Native Village) that used an impressive twenty percent of the land for the entire Exhibition. Indonesian food, a cocoa shop, a teahouse, ceremonies, music, and dancing entertained the largely Dutch public. Figure C.9 shows a young barefooted girl from the teashop wearing a batik sarong. Of course, "great interest was aroused by Indonesian women demonstrating batik."71

The 1900 Paris Exposition Universelle would put Javanese batik before a wider public than any previous exhibit. The 1883 Internationale, Koloniale en Uitvoerhandel-Tentoonstelling had only one million and the 1889 Paris

69 Veldhuisen, Batik Belanda, 52.


Exposition Universelle had an attendance of twenty-six million, but the 1900 exposition in Paris had an enormous attendance of forty-seven million people. The gardens of the Trocadéro held the Tour of the World, a huge installation of villages from both colonized and independent nations including Cambodia, Algeria, Siberia, China, Siam, and Japan. The Javanese village included a gamelan orchestra, the ever-popular dancers, the Javanese shadow puppets (wayang kulik), and the marionettes that also continued their popularity.72 Paul Moran (1888-1976) was only twelve when he attended the fair, but he remembered it well, recalling the “perfume of Javanese Dancing girls.”73 He also remembered his father taking him to see the famous demimondaine Cléo Mérode, who, “jealous of the Javanese dancing-girls, danced with gold serpents on her wrist and gold circlets round her hair, lost, somehow, in this Far East.”74

An impression published in Le Mercure described the Javanese dancers: “the music, flowing like water, animates these fluid (javanese) (sic) dances, these calm, chaste and tranquil dances; it has neither beginning nor end; one would say that it forms part of the unceasing movement of the universe. Similarly, the

72 Grever, “Reconstructing,” np., reports that the Javanese refused to come to the Paris 1900 Exposition Universelle. However, other reports such as Paul Morand’s, cited above, are to the contrary. See Phillippe Jullian, The Triumph of Art Nouveau: Paris Exhibition 1900, translated by Stephen Hardman (New York: Larousse & Co., Inc., 1974), 165. It is interesting to note that no one slept inside the gates of the fair and the villagers slept at accommodations off the site in the 16th arrondissement.

73 Paul Morand quoted in Jullian, The Triumph, 159.

74 Ibid., 198-99.
dancing—girls whirl and vibrate as if the force of gravitation were being accomplished through them."\textsuperscript{75}

The Netherlands government sponsored a major indoor exhibit at the 1900 Paris Exposition Universelle titled "La Section Des Indes Néerlandaises" (The Section of the Netherlands Indies) that included several examples of batik, both batik Belanda and traditional batik. The first two categories that included batik textile objects were in the class titled \textit{Industries Diverses} (Diverse Industries). Theatrical costumes, and a "complete assortment of marionettes" costumed in batik, were exhibited near typography, photography and musical instruments.\textsuperscript{76} Another sixty-three items of batik and embroidery appeared just before ivory and shell carving and examples of gold work. This textile group also showed spinning and textile manufacture. The sixty-three batik textiles "were made in Pekalongan in the indigenous manner by native women under the supervision of European ladies."\textsuperscript{77} These batik Belanda textiles made a counterpoint to the traditional batik on display in the next section: the batik Belanda textiles were items familiar to Europeans for domestic uses such as table runners and a piano keyboard cover, and as batik Belanda, they were decorated

\textsuperscript{75} Emile Verhaeren, quoted in Jullian, \textit{The Triumph} 171.

\textsuperscript{76} Exposition Universelle internationale de 1900 (Paris, France), \textit{Guide à travers la section des Indes Néerlandaises: Group XVII (Colonisation)} (La Haye: Thieme, 1900), 283-4. The class for these articles is "Instrument et Procédés Gédéraux des lettres, des Sciences et des Arts," and the subclass is "Matériel de l'art théatral."

\textsuperscript{77} Exposition Universelle internationale de 1900, \textit{Guide à travers}, 289-90. The class is "Industries Diverses" and the subclass is "Fils, tissus, vêtements, Broderies, Batiks. Matériel et méthode de fabrication," (Spinning, fabrics, clothing, embroidery, batik. Materials and manufacture), No. 235 is "Manufacture de Pékalongan," and the note reads: "Ces confections batiquées et brodées se font à Pékalongan à la façon indigène par des femmes du pays sous la surveillance de dames européennes."
in patterns, designs, and colors more familiar than those of traditional Javanese textiles. With this exhibit the batik Belanda industry held a niche at the fair seeking export trade, even as G.P. Rouffaer, the Dutch batik scholar, critiqued it for modifying the Javanese style.\textsuperscript{78}

"L’Industrie du ‘batiq’ à Java" (The Batik Industry in Java), the exhibition guide for the traditional Javanese textile exhibition by G.P. Rouffaer, describes batik technique and briefs the reader on the variety of indigenous batiks in the East Indies.\textsuperscript{79} (In contrast to Bernard’s description, Rouffaer points out that men do not use the canting but use the cap to print wax resist patterns.) The exhibit titled “Batiks (Indiennes Javanaises) de localités diverses” (Batiks [Javanese calicos] from diverse localities) was extensive and clearly was impressive for the variety, complexity, and detail on display. Two hundred seventy batik textiles and several tools were displayed: caps, stamped fabrics called Kaïns, sarongs, slendangs, and other clothing items of silk and cotton, including Court garments gilded with silver and gold, 175 samples of batik designs, and a head-covering shown in nine stages of waxing and dyeing.\textsuperscript{80} With this exhibit, in combination with the Javanese Village where batik was made, interested European’s could

\textsuperscript{78} G.P. Rouffaer, “L’Industrie du ‘Batiq’ a Java,” in Guide à travers la section des Indes Néerlandaises: Group XVII (Colonisation), Corp. author, Exposition Universelle internationale de 1900 (Paris, France), (La Haye: Thieme, 1900), 297. Rouffaer wrote “A Pékalongan ce sont plutôt des influences crûment européennes. Qui ont modifié et modifient toujours le caractère du style javanais; fait triste, que les amateurs intelligents ne sauraient trop regretter.”

\textsuperscript{79} Ibid, 292-98.

\textsuperscript{80} Exposition Universelle internationale de 1900, Guide à travers, 299-301. The section titled “Batiks (Indiennes Javanaises) de localités diverses” (Batiks [Javanese Calicoes] from diverse localities) includes No. 239-303.
grasp the batik process and its potential for design applications. While the exhibit confirmed the range of Javanese batik, there were other batik items on display at the 1900 Paris Exposition Universelle, in a new genre made by Dutch artists that would eventually affect decorative arts practice in the rest of Europe, England, and the Americas.

The Modern Design Movement

The Art Nouveau style emerged in Europe at the end of the nineteenth century and was subsiding by the mid-1910s. The design movement drew its ideological frame from the Arts and Crafts movement in England, its mood and subject matter from the Symbolists, and its strongest expression came in the decorative arts. Its key component was a “reconciliatory” essence that embraced eclecticism: “the assimilation, not elimination, of stimuli.” The stimuli included nature, historicism, folk or indigenous crafts, and the Orient. Natural forms such as leaves, stems, flowers, insects, and waves found constant expression in Art Nouveau leading to the label ‘The Cult of Nature.’ However, nature was not replicated or naturalistic, but distilled into conventionalized natural forms that become signatures of the style. The Orient played a critical role in the formal vocabulary. The arabesque and arch from Arabian culture, and asymmetry from the Japanese were fundamental to Art Nouveau. From the Symbolist movement Art Nouveau drew synaesthesia, or the expression of all the senses within an artwork: for example the expression of rhythm in visual art implied musical
effects, or swirling lines evoked the sound, movement, and sensation of the wind. A wide variety of expression fell under the umbrella of Symbolism due to its emphasis on individual artistic freedom and rejection of realism (and positivistic science). While Art Nouveau was not as varied in its expression as Symbolism, it adopted the notion that creativity is vested in individual genius. Art Nouveau also used subject matter that flowed from Symbolism's spiritual base in myth, the occult, and of human connections to nature.

Soon after the new century turned, Art Nouveau began to fade from the forefront. The historicism in Art Nouveau linked it to the nineteenth century, contributing to the perception that it was outmoded. The ideology of improving society for all people through design proved to be a paradox, as it was for Arts and Crafts. In the increasingly industrialized society, handmade products designed by artists remained the privilege of the wealthy. The use of unusual materials, arched shapes, and asymmetry further contributed to the high cost of Art Nouveau products. The movement's inability to reconcile ideology and production led to its fracture, as artists and designers allied themselves with perspectives that suited their objectives. Paul Greenhalgh argues that Art Nouveau evolved into the Modern movement, which maintained empathy for the populace and aimed to reform society but was anti-decoration, and Art Deco, which reshaped Art Nouveau's decorative impulse into a supra-luxurious style reflecting no social conscience.82 The legacies of Art Nouveau include a unified

82 Greenhalgh, "A Strange Death..." 429-36.

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vision of design based on the integration of building and interior design, the use of lighter colors in interiors, and promoting a trend toward “unconventional and well-balanced treatment of masses” as compared to its precursors.83

Nieuwe Kunst and Batik

Historicism and indigenous art (or folk-art) as sources for new expression led to identifiable nationalistic expressions of the Art Nouveau style across Europe. *Nieuwe Kunst*, the Dutch form of Art Nouveau, looked to the English model of Arts and Crafts more vigilantly than other national expressions of Art Nouveau. Thus, the preservation of traditional, folk arts, and crafts, the use of nature as the primary source of inspiration, and a belief that “the therapeutic influence of art would improve society” were strong tenets in the beginnings of Nieuwe Kunst.84 The movement’s rejection of historicism meant that it turned away from Dutch art history. Instead, the search for new expressions focused on indigenous forms from the Dutch colonial empire. This led to intensive exploration in the country’s ethnographic collections that were rich in objects from the East Indies. Elinoor Bergvelt dissects the Dutch avant-garde’s urge for a new style and the eventual evolution of Nieuwe Kunst. Observed in the “combination of a free design with a geometric structure,” Nieuwe Kunst developed into two internal styles: the elitist Amsterdam School that made luxurious and expensive works, and the rational version with a socialist agenda that embraced simplicity and structure and would develop into the De Stijl

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84 Bergvelt, “The Decorative Arts,” 80.
school.85 These two strands of Nieuwe Kunst parallel the general development of
Art Nouveau into Art Deco and the Modern movement described by Paul
Greenhalgh.

An important aspect of the transfer of batik into Western practice is the
interpretation of batik into Nieuwe Kunst.86 Using the ancient Javanese
technique satisfied precepts of Art Nouveau style: it served the ideological urge
to preserve traditional crafts and met the Oriental focus. It also supported the
nationalistic colonial identity of the Netherlands. Javanese batik’s flat design,
clearly delineated line, abstracted natural forms, and emphasis on rhythm
coincide with the conventionalized formal elements of Art Nouveau. Marianne
Carlano describes batik as the “vehicle” of several Dutch avant-garde artists in the
early development of Nieuwe Kunst in the 1890s. They “grappled with the new
artistic movements in Brussels and England and the theories behind them
primarily through this exotic medium that was a part of their national artistic
heritage.”87 The use of batik by Carel Adolph Lion Cachet (1864-1945), Gerrit W.
Dijsselhof (1866-1924), Joris Johannes Christiaan Lebeau (1878-1945),
Theodorus Wilhelmus Nieuwenhuis (1866-1951), and Jan Thorn-Prikker (1868-

85 Ibid., 79-109.

86 S. Tschudi Madsen, Art Nouveau (New York: World University Library, 1967)
discusses the origins of Art Nouveau. Chapters 5 and 8 include particular reference to
Nieuwe Kunst’s origins and influences, including those from Java. Dutch innovations in
the materials and uses of batik are noted. Marianne Carlano, “Wild and Waxy: Dutch
Art Nouveau Artistic Dress,” Art Journal 54, no. 1 (Spring 1995): 30-3, discusses the role
of batik in the Dutch avant-garde and includes artistic, or reform dress and batik.

1932), all leaders of the Nieuwe Kunst style, “testifies to the importance of batik as the nucleus of that movement.”

How did the Dutch artists begin working in batik? As mentioned previously, Javanese batik artists relocated to the Netherlands had instructed potential industrialists and artisans in batik in the nineteenth century. This led to the manufacture of batik in the Netherlands in approximately 1835. The craft could have spread to interested people during the intervening years, and thus been available to be picked up by the artists developing the new style in the late nineteenth century. Javanese exhibits that placed Javanese batik artisans before the public in the Netherlands, such as the 1883 Internationale, Koloniale en Uitvoerhandel-Tentoonstelling in Amsterdam, also acted as stimulants to the spread of batik. An interested artist could have observed Javanese batik artisans there.

The beginnings of artistic Dutch batik lie in the explorations of Lion Cachet when he accompanied his old teacher B.W. Wiernik to the Ethnografische Museum in 1890. He became intrigued by Javanese batik textiles and began experimenting immediately. He also visited the Koloniale Museum in Haarlem.

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88 Ibid., 32.
89 J.A. Loebèr, Jr., Das Batiken: Eine Blüte Indonesischen Kunstlebens (Oldenburg: Gerhart Stalling Verlag, 1926), 100, set 1836 as the inception date of batik practice for industrial production in the Netherlands, closely matching the date of 1835 discussed early in this chapter.
in 1893 to see the batiks there.\textsuperscript{91} Lion Cachet introduced his friend Dijsselhof to batik and together they experimented on cotton, silk and linen.\textsuperscript{92} Soon Lion Cachet developed batik methods on parchment and later applied them to many unique bookbinding commissions and to furniture.\textsuperscript{93} They continued to delve into new applications and dye formulas when, in the winter of 1899, they worked with architect and designer H. Berlage (1856-1934) in his laboratory where he was investigating batik.\textsuperscript{94} Lebeau also collaborated with three younger batik artists, Bertha Bake (1880-1957), Joris Johannes Christiaan Lebeau (1878-1945), and Theo. Neuhuys (1878-1921).

In the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries many workshops in Holland made batik. The identity and works of all of these studios is beyond the scope of this study. However, four studios stand out due to their profiles as commercial operations, their employment of significant Nieuwe Kunst artists or for other contributions to the spread of batik. In Amsterdam two businesses, 't Binnenhuis and Kunstwerkplaats, designed and made high quality interiors and decorative arts that incorporated batik. They drew their styles from the two perspectives of Nieuwe Kunst. Kunstwerkplaats, backed by the art dealers Van Wisselingh & Co., served wealthy clients, creating Amsterdam’s most expensive interiors and decorative items of the day. The atelier and shop 't Binnenhuis,

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item Ibid., 29.
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\end{footnotesize}
founded on a communal philosophy, strove to meet the ideal of service to the masses through good design. Another atelier and shop, 'Arts and Crafts,' operated by John Th. Uiterwijk, & Co., was located in The Hague and had a batik workshop in Apeldoorn. J.A. Loebèr, Jr. operated an atelier where several arts and crafts were practiced.

E.J. van Wisselingh & Co., founded in 1838, continues today as an establishment dealing art. The company opened the atelier Kunstwerkplaats in 1898 to design and execute fine furniture and interiors using the talents of Gerrit W. Dijssselhof, C.A. Lion Cachet, and T. W. Nieuwenhuis. Lion Cachet was the primary batik artist, although both Dijssselhof and Nieuwenhuis made or designed important batik works. Dijssselhof decorated the first interior with western-made batik in a commission that has become known as the Dijssselhof Room. Dijsselhof left E.J. van Wisselingh & Co. in 1903 to pursue painting, Cachet left in 1906, and Nieuwenhuis remained until the workshop closed in 1924. Furniture designed and made by the trio of artists won a Gold Medal for E.J. van Wisselingh & Co. at the 1902 Esposizione internazionale d'arte decorative.

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95 I choose to use "Arts and Crafts" for Uiterwijk's business throughout this study to distinguish the Dutch atelier from the Arts and Crafts movement.
97 Ibid., 17.
98 Madsen, Sources, 393. Dr. van Hoorn commissioned the room.
moderna (International Exposition of Modern Decorative Art) in Turin, Italy. Many of the chairs in the exhibit had batiked parchment backs.

The design atelier and gallery 't Binnenhuis opened in Amsterdam in 1900, formed from a group of artists and designers. H.P. Berlage, who had been investigating batik, was among the founding members and brought with him a strong socialist philosophy. Lebeau sold many of his works through 't Binnenhuis. Serving the public with affordable design proved financially untenable and the atelier closed in bankruptcy in 1936.

John Uiterwijk established “Arts and Crafts” in The Hague to design interiors and furniture in 1893. Johan Thorn-Prikker was the artist and held the position of artistic director from 1898 to 1900, and Christiaan Wegerif (1859-1920) was the architect. Thorn-Prikker “made batik screens, pillow covers, table cloths, and book covers for the gallery.” 99 Uiterwijk also opened Batikkunst (Batik Art) in Apeldoorn with the objective to make batik “on a large scale and as articles for sale,” such as “cushions, tea-cosies, sachets, handkerchiefs, ladies’ bags, and neckties” and “curtains, friezes, covers for every kind of furniture” in “warm varying colours, rich luxurious materials, from the plainest cotton up to the most magnificent velvet.” 100 “Arts and Crafts” received the assignment of the decoration of the Dutch pavilion at the 1900 Paris Exposition Universelle. Lebeau’s batiks decorated the pavilion, and may have been created with the

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99 Veldhuisen, Batik Belanda, 115.
assistance of Agathe Wegerif-Gravestein (1867-1944), as he worked with her that year in Apeldoorn.\textsuperscript{101}

By 1901, Agathe Wegerif-Gravestein was manager of Batikkunst with thirty female workers (Figure C.9).\textsuperscript{102} According to Rossana Bossaglia, Thorn-Prikker taught batik to Wegerif-Gravestein, however another report from Linda Parry indicates that Wegerif-Gravestein learned batik techniques in Java and then “adapted them to the artistic demands of her own day and country.”\textsuperscript{103} Agathe and her husband Chris Wegerif won an Award of Merit for a three-panel batik folding screen at the 1902 \textit{Esposizione internazionale d'arte decorativa moderna} in Turin.\textsuperscript{104} Wegerif-Gravestein was instrumental in the spread of batik through Europe because of her innovations, teaching, and entrepreneurial skills.\textsuperscript{105} She traveled to London, Berlin, Budapest, and to Vienna to promote batik and her studio.\textsuperscript{106} She developed and used techniques freely: the canting, stencils, and brushes used in painting were all part of her approaches to wax resist textile design. She is credited with developing batik on velvet. She used colors such as

\textsuperscript{103} Agathe Wegerif-Gravestein quoted from \textit{The Queen}, 20 (September 1902) in Parry, “The New Textiles,” 188, n 15.
\textsuperscript{104} Bossaglia, \textit{Torino}, 527.
\textsuperscript{105} Bossaglia, \textit{Torino}, 692; Loeber, Jr., \textit{Das Batiken}, 102.
\textsuperscript{106} Mabel Tuke Priestman, The Revival of a Primitive Form of Batik, \textit{Craftsman} 11, no.6 (March 1907): 790.
violet, orange, and flame, and worked in a variety of styles. Among her exhibits are the First International 'Studio' Exhibition in 1902, and the 5th Salon de la Société des Artistes Décorateurs in 1910, where she received praise for her work (Figure C.10).

J.A. Loebêr, Jr. operated a workshop for arts and crafts and became an author and teacher of batik. In 1926 he wrote about the Nieuwe Kunst batik artists in Das Batiken: Eine Blüte Indonesischen Kunstleben (Batik: The Blossom of Indonesian Art). He relates the story of H. P. Berlage's search for a new craft or art form when he found a new "proletarian art" in batik at the ethnographic museum. Once the art was 'discovered,' the search for the tools was completed in the Rijksmuseum where cantings were found to serve as prototypes for their own tools. Loebêr, Jr. also recounts that Thorn-Prikker made his own canting from sheet metal after one fashioned by a well-known goldsmith turned out to be too heavy. However, getting the tools was much easier than deciphering and then learning the craft. Apparently, the craft of batik had not transferred from the mid-nineteenth century textile industry to the artistic circle of the late nineteenth century and therefore the ethnographic museum experiments and artistic investigations to develop dyes and wax formulas were necessary. The profile of Dutch batik had reached a sufficient profile by 1904 that the German government recruited three batik experts to

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teach in their newly improved arts and crafts programs. Jules de Praetere of Belgium went to Dusseldorf, Johan Thorn-Prikker went to Krefeld, and J.A. Loebèr went to Elberfeld. ¹¹⁰

Chris Lebeau was to become the Dutch master of batik, recognized by other artists for “magnificent” work (Figure C.11 and C.12). ¹¹¹ His adherence to the traditional technique of the canting distinguished Lebeau from his peers, many of whom used brushes or stencils to apply wax resist. In 1900 Lebeau was in Apeldoorn working at the “Arts and Crafts” Batikkunst atelier for approximately six months but he left following a dispute with Agathe Wegerif-Gravestein concerning serial production of batik. ¹¹² He relocated to Haarlem and worked with the architect H. A. Baanders (1876-1953) on a large batik commission for ’t Binnenhuis. Baanders was already involved in investigating batik technique at the Koloniale Museum and Lebeau joined his research project. ¹¹³ The investigations of batik at the Koloniale Museum and the partnership with the laboratory of the Nederlandsche Handels Maatschappij (The Dutch Trading Society) proved to be “of irreplaceable importance” in examining

¹⁰⁹ Loebèr, Jr., Das Batiken, 101.

¹¹⁰ Thorn-Prikker taught at the Kunstgewerbeschule in Krefeld until 1910. Later he was a member of the Duetscher Werkbund. Loebèr, Jr. went on to write about batik, among his articles is J.A. Loebèr, Jr. “Batiks d’Elberfeld,” Art flamand et hollandais 10 (1908): 32-8, 60-9.

¹¹¹ Loebèr, Jr., Das Batiken, 102.

¹¹² Bossaglia, Torino, 1902, 655.

¹¹³ Ibid., 21; Bergvelt, “The Decorative Arts,” 91; Herman Hana, Batik, bedrukte stof, klein lederwerk (Rotterdam, W.L. & J. Brusse’s, 1925), 7.
the labor process of batik and other experiments in dyes and wax formulas.\textsuperscript{114} This first-hand investigation of traditional batik technique and close examination of Javanese textiles was probably instrumental in the development of Lebeau's refined technique. While in Haarlem he made pieces for t'Binnenhuis, both through Baander's and through his own commissions. Among his projects was a batik bookbinding for Louis Couperus' \textit{De Stille Kracht} (The Still Night) in 1900 that was executed by 'Arts and Crafts.'\textsuperscript{115} Most batik bookbindings were single commissions since traditional batiks are one-of-a-kind works, however, this unusual project was published in a limited run of a few hundred. Like his peers, Lebeau exhibited batiks at the 1902 Esposizione internazionale d'arte decorativa moderna. In 1904 and 1905 Lebeau received three solo exhibitions of his batiks in Utrecht, Amsterdam and The Hague.\textsuperscript{116} From 1904 to 1914 he taught at the \textit{Haarlem Kunstnijverheidsschool} (Haarlem School of Fine Arts).

The 1902 Esposizione internazionale d'arte decorativa moderna in Turin turned the corner for Art Nouveau. The pinnacle of the style appeared at the exposition, however Art Nouveau fell from favor quickly as taste shifted toward simpler, leaner, and more practical lines. Dutch batik artists had a notable presence at Turin. Thorn-Prikker and S. Jessurun de Mesquita (1868-1944) exhibited batik there in addition to the artists already mentioned above.

\textsuperscript{114} Veldhuisen, \textit{Batik Belanda}, 115.

Dutch artists adapted batik from the traditional flat textile materials of cotton and silk, to pile textiles such as rugs and velvet, to a new fiber in the flax of linen textiles, and to animal hides in parchment and leather. Leather and parchment techniques led to the use of batik in furniture inlays, wall installations, and bookbindings. They used traditional techniques such as drawing with the canting and prada, gilding of the cloth surface with silver or gold.\textsuperscript{117} They also developed new techniques with stencils and brushes. The expertise developed by the Dutch artists examined here, and others, and the incorporation of batik into art and design training in the Netherlands led to the spread of batik across Europe. Other countries recruited teachers from the Netherlands and students from other countries came to Holland to learn batik. The exhibitions of the artists' works and the press they received also assisted the spread of batik by notifying the public of a new and attractive decorative art. However, as the batik artist and historian Loeber, Jr. noted, England and America lagged behind the trend.\textsuperscript{118}

The Spread of Batik in Europe

Marianne Carlano suggests that Jan Toorop (1858-1928) was instrumental in the use of batik both as a decorative technique, and as a source for further artistic interpretations. He was born in Java to a half Chinese mother and a

\textsuperscript{116} Lebeau, \textit{Chris Lebeau}, 31.

\textsuperscript{117} Carlano, “Wild and Waxy,” 32, illustrates a shawl designed by Nieuwenhuis and gilded by Jan Mensing, ca. 1900, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

\textsuperscript{118} Loeber, Jr., \textit{Das Batiken}, 103.
Dutch father. Javanese batik textiles were undoubtedly familiar to him from his home life. In 1872 he went to the Netherlands and following art school he became a founding member of Les Vingts, the Symbolist exhibition group (1894). Living in Belgium where Henry van de Velde (1863-1957), the impresario of Art Nouveau, promoted dress reform probably pushed forward Toorop's interest in dress design. The reform dress movement, as expressed by the Dutch avant-garde, "created beautiful art to wear reflecting a unique blend of Symbolist and Indonesian sources."119 Toorop's art demonstrates his interest in women's dress. He illustrated several artistic or reform garments and in them, Marianne Carlano recognized his inspirations: "The patterns displayed on his stylized gowns, skirts, and blouses seem to relate to cotton or silks of Javanese origin."120

Batik found expression not only in art, decorative arts, domestic textiles, and furnishings, but as in Java, batik decorated clothing. In her informative research on the dress reform movement in Holland, Carin Schnitger observed that batik decoration on clothing was a viable option because it would be "as artistic but less time-consuming than embroidery."121 J.A. Loebër Jr., the Dutch batik artist who taught in Elberfeld, Germany, promoted batik not only for its expediency, but also on a psychological and emotional level. He suggested that

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119 Carlano, "Wild and Waxy, 33.
120 Ibid., 31.

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women decorating their clothing with batik would create a long continuous line in a decorative tradition from the ancient Javanese to the contemporary European women of 1908. 

The trend in batik for dress adornment found expression in the artistic circle beyond the Netherlands. Frau Anna Muthesius, active in seeking more rational dress for women, wore a dress with an all-over batik design, "an unheard-of material at that time for a European dress, but in line with her taste for unusual design in materials." Fra Newberry (1853-1946) the Headmaster of the Glasgow School of Art and his wife were friends with the Muthesiuases, and Fra Newberry painted a portrait of Frau Anna in the batik dress (Figure C.13). In 1904 it served as the cover illustration for Der Jugend, the journal that was to provide the name for Jugendstil, German Art Nouveau. However, batik was not completely unheard-of in Germany. In the early twentieth century the Berlin court found batik acceptable for evening dress (and a trend occurred in curtain designs "wherein the wax had been left in, or only partially removed, to give a

122 "Beschrijving der Teekeningen," Maandblad der Vereeniging Vakschool voor Verbetering van Vrouwen-en kinderkleeding, No. 1, 10e Jrg. (December 1908): 11-4. Loebèr, Jr.’s position is reflected in the notes to the illustrations. This journal is a dress reform publication that would have had a progressive reader.

123 Frau Anna Muthesius wrote Das Eigenkleid der Frau (1903); Margaret Swain, "Mrs. Newberry’s Dress, Costume, no 12. (1978): 68, fn 3, 73. I am indebted to Patricia Cunningham for bringing this article and the portrait of Frau Anna Muthesius my attention.

124 Hermann Muthesius (1861-1927), the German architect, wrote Das englische Haus: Entwicklun, Bedlingungen, Anlage, Aufbau, Einrichtung, und Innenraum (Berlin: E. Wasmuth, 1908-11).
stained glass effect.”) Batik spread to Austria as well: there is evidence of batik in the early days of textile production at the Wiener Werkstätte.

The long career of Marguerite Pangon (b-1882) who exhibited often and employed and trained many people in her Paris batik atelier, exemplifies the spread of batik in Europe. It is unclear if she saw the Turin exhibition and the Dutch batik art there (mentioned in her short biography) or if the art critic M. Durand-Greville, her uncle, led her to batik. Nonetheless, Pangon's knowledge of the Dutch artists' work led her to study batik in Haarlem in 1905. Although it is known that Lebeau taught in Haarlem, it is not clear that Pangon studied under him. She studied for three years, including observing the Javanese textiles in the Koloniale Museum where she “surprit leurs secrets” (divined their secrets). Thus, she is associated with the Haarlem school of batik art, as it came to be known. On her return to France she settled in Marseille. When an exhibit in 1910 buoyed her confidence, she moved to Paris to begin a business. By 1916, despite the First World War, she opened an atelier in Paris and established her

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125 Robinson, A History, 41.

126 Angela Völker and Ruperta Pichler, Textiles of the Wiener Werkstätte, 1910-1932 (London: Thames and Hudson, 1994), 34, mention that in spring of 1911 textile production at Wiener Werkstätte was limited to small products such as “cockades, hats, or shawls, using materials of one colour as well as embroidered or batik-printed fabrics...” I am indebted to Angela Völker for confirming in conversation with me that there was batik experimentation at the Wiener Werkstätte.


128 Ibid.

129 See N.7, Chapter 1. Neuhuys, “The Crafts: The Batik (part 1),” 21, refers to “Harlem (sic) Batiking” as associated with using the Koloniale Museum as the point of departure.
name making batik portieres, lampshades, scarves, and garments. By 1925 she employed fifty workers. A. de Monzie described the advantages of Pangon’s work over industrial prints: a brief production time of a few days as opposed to a few weeks, and the personalization offered to the customer in colorations and designs. Pangon made one-of-a-kind pieces and other items requiring a series, such as cushions. She created the designs in watercolor, presumably to size, and then traced the design onto another paper. Using the tracing, the design was transferred to fabric by pouncing.\textsuperscript{130} Pangon applied colors in the additive process, from light to dark, and she actively crumpled her fabrics to create crackle effects. Benzene removed the wax. The waxing and coloring steps were repeated as needed. She used aniline dyes and traditional vegetable dyes to achieve her colorings on velvet, panné, and other weaves. She also used batik on small rugs, as did Lebeau. (See Figure C.12 for a rug by Lebeau, and Figure C.14 for one by Pangon. Figure C.15 is a Pangon textile).\textsuperscript{131}

Pangon actively exhibited at the \textit{Salons de la société des artistes décorateurs} between 1912 and 1937.\textsuperscript{132} Gabriel Mourey, who praised the batik for batik study and the techniques developed in Haarlem; Dyrenforth, \textit{The Art of Batik}, 15, says Pangon was of the Haarlem School.

\textsuperscript{130} To pounce a design onto fabric, place the design sketch on the fabric and then trace over the design with a needle wheel. Dust the resulting small holes in the paper with charcoal or other fine non-permanent powder, and lightly rub. Remove the paper and the design appears as faint dotted lines on the fabric.

\textsuperscript{131} The details of Pangon’s technique are available in her manual on batik, Mme. Pangon, \textit{Leçons écrites sur le batik par Madame M. Pangon} (Paris: Lefranc, 1926). They are also discussed in Rambosson, \textit{Les batiks de Madame Pangon}, np.

fabrics of Pangon and Mlle. Maublant for revealing “the suppliance of imagination possessed” by French decorators, grandly welcomed the 1919 Salon, the first major decorative arts exhibition since World War I. Pangon also exhibited at the Salon d’Automne in 1921. At the seminal 1925 Exposition internationale des arts décoratifs et industriels modernes in Paris, Pangon succeeded in placing her works in eleven different venues, from the Boutique on Pont-Alexandre to furnishings, gowns and accessories in various displays and pavilions.

It remains unclear whether Pangon affected American batik practice. During the years of its emergence as an artistic pursuit in America, she was in Haarlem studying and therefore did not contribute to the adoption of batik in America. However, her active exhibition in Paris, the world’s art center in the early twentieth century, means that American artists interested in decorative art had the opportunity to see her works after 1916 when she opened her Paris atelier. American Vogue illustrated a Pangon ladies’ pyjama ensemble for teatime in 1920 (Figure C.16) and American visitors to Paris were encouraged by the Bonney sisters to stop by Pangon’s atelier to pick up “always stunning” batiks.

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134 The batiks of Pangon, Simonsen, and Mlle Vergne are described as “les féeries sur velours” (enchanted on velour) in Gaston Varenne, “Le Mobilier et l’Art décoratif,” *Art et Décoration* (December 1921): 192.

to offer as gifts. Her profile among fashionable ladies and at decorative arts exhibitions may have only served the luxury goods customer and failed to affect artistic practice. However, three of her works were included in the exhibit titled “A Selected Collection of Objects from the International Exposition of Modern Decorative and Industrial Art at Paris 1925” (Figure C.17). The organizers recognized her work to be of interest to Americans and in 1926 in Boston, New York, Cleveland, Detroit, Chicago, Minneapolis, St. Louis, Pittsburgh, and Philadelphia a broader American public than before saw Pangon’s work on the exhibition tour.

Conclusion

There were two domains for batik at the turn of the twentieth century, one in the Indonesian archipelago with its center in Java, and one in Europe with its center in the Netherlands. At different times in these two cultures batik developed similarly from a rarified artistic practice to decoration for household textiles. In Java batik was originally connected with traditional culture and was reserved for ritual and special uses. Slowly, contact with traders from outside the


Javanese culture prompted transformations in batik in order to meet the traders’ requirements. Among these transformations was the development of the cap to increase production speed. Eventually batik production in Java included entrepreneurial workshops in the mid-nineteenth century operated by Europeans and Indo-Europeans whose products responded to market forces. This new form, batik Belanda, was influenced by fashions for designs that derived from European sources. In 1900 at the Paris Exposition Universelle batik Belanda was exhibited in the form of household textiles. In Europe two forces based in the colonial relationship of Java and the Netherlands worked simultaneously to result in the flowering of batik in Dutch decorative arts. Exhibitions of batik textiles and batik artisans at expositions introduced the public to batik. In the human exhibitions of these expositions batik was created and worn, including as the costumes of the popular exotic Javanese dancers. Concurrent with the expositions, the development of the modern design movements, Arts and Crafts and Art Nouveau, met in the Netherlands in Nieuwe Kunst style. Nieuwe Kunst’s precepts prompted the search for traditional or indigenous sources for its expression and the ethnographic collections in the museums in the Netherlands served as the source for the artistic movement’s use of batik. Artists and architects of the Netherlands deciphered the batik process and eventually exhibited striking works of decorative art at European exhibitions. Lion Cachet is regarded as the initiator of the use of batik in Dutch decorative arts in 1890,

138 Dr. Charles R. Richards, the Director of the American Association of Museums, selected the items for the tour. See “Modern Decorative Art From Paris At the Metropolitan Museum of Art,” American Magazine of Art 17 (1926): 170-74.
Baanders as a consistent investigator in Haarlem, and Lebeau as his co-investigator who became a prominent batik artist and teacher based in the traditional technique. Applications of batik to parchment and leather, and pile textiles and carpets, and linen were developed. Entrepreneurial drive was also present in the Netherlands, especially in Agathe Wegerif-Gravestein who ran the Batikkunst workshop in Apeldoorn. She developed processes for serial production that used stencils and brushes to make pillows and tea cozies, functional household textile products. Batik entered the design schools and spread to the rest of Europe via exhibitions and training programs. Thus, batik met new transformations in the Netherlands, as it had in Java. In the Netherlands batik process developed from individual decorative art works to serial production, and from applications on cotton and silk, as in Java, to new material applications. As batik became known in yet another world, twentieth-century America, further transformations would occur.
CHAPTER 3

THE ENTRY AND EMERGENCE OF BATIK IN AMERICA

There was limited awareness of batik in America at the turn of the century. Only those Americans with a developed interest in the history of textiles or in Asian decorative arts would have known of batik. American museums were just beginning to collect Indonesian wax resist textiles. For example, Nicola Shilliam reported that Charles G. Loring and Denman W. Ross of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts “purchased five batiks from the Javanese Village” at the World’s Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893. In 1911, Ross returned to Boston from a trip to Indonesia with sixty-six additional batiks for the Museum, demonstrating that even at a refined and prestigious museum, batiks were not readily available for study or display until 1893. In light of the eventual popularity of batik in the 1910s and 1920s, this chapter examines the

139 Nicola J. Shilliam, “Boston and the Society of the Arts and Crafts: Textiles,” in Inspiring Reform: Boston’s Arts and Crafts Movement, edited by Gerald R. Ward (Wesley, MA: Davis Museum and Cultural Center, 1997), 114-15, I think correctly, asserts that batik “was virtually unknown in America before the early twentieth century.”

emergence of batik in America in order to understand the development of batik’s presence in America and why it became popular. Therefore, the tracks of the entry of batik, or the various ways that it entered cultural practice, are examined.

The first exhibition of Javanese people and traditional batik in America occurred at the Java Village on the Midway Plaisance at the 1893 World’s Columbian Exposition in Chicago. Approximately twenty-seven million people attended the exposition and many of them could have seen batik there. The exposure of batik at the World’s Columbian acted as a curtain raiser for batik in America. Therefore, the content and public reactions to the Java Village are examined.

Promotional articles on exhibits and trends in European decorative arts fed the awareness of batik, especially among well-to-do collectors of decorative arts. Knowledge of batik among the affluent, who traveled and otherwise had access to European trends, may have developed first from English, Dutch, French, and German publications. However, this investigation centers on the mechanisms of the spread and popularity of batik in America. Therefore, two English texts are examined to demonstrate the most accessible descriptions of batik from across the Atlantic Ocean for Americans.

In 1907 Theo. Neuhuys, a batik artist from the Netherlands, wrote a two-part article providing a link from Dutch practice to the American public. Mabel Tuke Priestman, an interior decoration and crafts author, wrote two articles that same year describing batik. She presented her homemade canting and introduced Agathe Wegerif-Gravestein of the Netherlands and Ami Mali Hicks,
an American textile artist. These first articles on batik in American publications are examined and placed in context for their contributions to the emergence and development of batik in America.

Travel between America and Asia and Europe are examined as potential points of batik's transfer. Americans traveling to Indonesia could observe batik fabrics and the process of making batik. The experiences of three women demonstrate the variety of ways exposure to batik was manifested. Augusta De Wit and Minnie Frost Rand, two authors, and Marguerite Zorach, an artist, each participated in the profile of batik in America and their contributions are examined here. While the possibility of a Javanese batik artist teaching an American batik in the United States must be considered, at this time no evidence of this direct transfer, during the period under investigation, has been discovered. Pieter Mijer, a Dutch emigrant to America, and the author of *Batiks and How to Make Them*, the most successful book on batik in the period, is investigated to provide context for his book and to discover his background and other activities in batik's spread.

Both the Arts and Crafts and modernist movements were instrumental in promoting batik and thus in its spread in America. Batik responded to the respective ideologies of the movements discussed in chapter 2: Arts and Crafts textiles had a strong foundation in heritage and use of indigenous forms and techniques; Modernism ardently sought new expressive forms and embraced change. Most of the articles discussed here emerge from the Arts and Crafts perspective, a position that coincides with the ideological sources of the
development of batik in the Netherlands from Nieuwe Kunst. Of the travelers presented here, only Marguerite Zorach demonstrated a modern approach to batik completely free of Arts and Crafts precepts and with the least regard for traditional techniques.

The Java Village at the World’s Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893

The Midway Plaisance at the 1893 Chicago World’s Columbian Exposition merged instructive functions with entertainment, a combination that was to influence subsequent fairs in the United States and Europe. The scientific thrust came from the Department of Ethnology and Archaeology, headed by Frederick Ward Putnam (1839-1915) of the Peabody Museum, which “gave the Midway an aura of scientific respectability.”141 Sol Bloom (1870-1949) installed the Midway exhibits under the rubric of the Division of Works with the objectives of entertaining the public and bringing money into the coffers of the Exposition. Thus, science propped up the reputation of the Midway and the entertainments, such as belly dancing by Little Egypt, brought in money. However, the juxtaposition of belly dancing, a Ferris wheel, hawkers, and more, served to demean the scientific status of the human exhibits, and more importantly, it demeaned the people in the exhibits. Putnam “was so eager to popularize anthropology that he acquiesced in the amalgamation of honky-tonk concessions and living ethnological displays on the Midway Plaisance.”142 The public’s

141 Rydell, All the Worlds’, 62.

142 Ibid., 64. See Frederick Ward Putnam, Oriental and Occidental, Northern and Southern Portrait Types of the Midway Plaisance: A Collection of Photographs of 74
experience of the Midway Plaisance involved more senses than the still and silent display cabinets in the buildings of the White City, the formal section of the exposition. The Midway’s strange mixture of sights, sounds, foods, and enticements brought what had never been available to experience before to millions of Americans, even if it was only as a voyeur.

Among the new experiences to be had was seeing the Java Village, sponsored by the Java Chicago Exhibition Syndicate. The Java Village drew approximately 670,000 in attendance, the third most popular exhibit of the Midway Plaisance after the German and Arab exhibits. A six-foot tall bamboo fence separated the Village from the clamor of the Midway. Its forty-six buildings included thirty-six houses, two theaters, a temple, and several concessions. The theatre entrance fee of twenty-five cents gave access to see “native bands, jugglers, snake charmers, dancers (male and female), and other characteristic entertainments.”

One observer, listening to the Javanese orchestra’s “sonorous notes” and reflecting on the vast difference between the rest of the Midway and the quieter Javanese settlement wrote, “To sit on the veranda of the Javan

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Individual Types of Various Nations From All parts of the World who Represented, in the Department of Ethnology, the Manners, Customs, Dress, Religions, Music, and Other Distinctive Traits and Peculiarities of Their Race: With Interesting and Instructive Descriptions Accompanying Each Portrait, Together with an Introduction, (St. Louis: N.D. Thompson Pub. Co., 1894). This large format souvenir book consisted of an introduction by Putnam and posed photographic portraits of the people of the Midway Plaisance with descriptive text accompanying each image.


coffee-house, and let the hour grow late—it was the only truly poetic thing offered by the World’s Columbian Exposition.”

It is probable that Indonesian batiks were first seen publicly in America at the Java Village on the Midway Plaisance. Unusual and exotic to the average American eye, the native textiles often received notice in the many guide and souvenir books of the fair. *The Time-Saver: A Book Which Names and Locates 5,000 Things at the World’s Fair that Visitors Should Not Fail to See* lists the Javanese attraction three times: one listing draws attention to the sarongs and silver work, another to the “native vehicles for transportation,” and the third to the two theatres of the attraction, where the Javanese orchestra played and accompanied the dancers, puppets and other performers. The program for the Javanese theatre, primarily a voice for the Java Chicago Exhibition Syndicate’s interest in developing trade with the Netherlands East Indies, gave a brief description of the religion, food, crafts, and agricultural products of the islands. It included a photograph of a woman applying wax with a canting (although the caption reads ‘catik’ instead of batik) and refers to the “nice lovable girls in their bright dresses” (see Figures D.1 and D.2). Batik’s repetitive, rhythmic patterns contrasted with the plain colored textiles worn by most Americans. The context of a Javanese village within an exposition meant that Javanese textiles appeared


146 Java Chicago Exhibition Syndicate, *The Javanese Theatre, Java Village, Midway Plaisance, World’s Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893: Containing also a Short Description of Java, the People, Languages, Customs, Food, Products, etc.* (Chicago: Java Chicago Exhibition Syndicate, 1893), n.p.
in a variety of ways, as functional textiles in the Java Village, as display items, and as items for sale:

Each of the huts has a portico in front, where women make silk and gold embroideries and filigree work, weave mats and baskets, and dye and stamp their cotton goods...The interiors are cheerful and clean, decorated with brightly colored cloths and divided usually by curtains. In the residence of the prince are richer cloths and embroideries than are seen in most of the others.147

The public was also encouraged to stop by the directors residences, such as G.J.L. de Bruyn's across the Midway's promenade, where they could see the famous Javanese jeweled daggers with gold sheaths, and the “costly and elegant fabrics” that included batiks, probably gilded ones, and embroidered textiles.148

The performers included eight female dancers, four from the Court of the Sultan of Solo in central Java, and four from Preanger, the home of many of the other performers, in the western part of Java. These dancing girls, who ranged in age from thirteen to eighteen years of age, helped draw the public to the Javanese exhibit.149 Ruth St. Denis (1877-1968) reflected on the impression in America of dance on the Midway (which would have included Little Egypt who belly danced, or did the 'hootchy kootchy,' as many called it at the time), "our national conception of Oriental dancing brought images of the Midway Plaisance at the Chicago Fair, which was not discussed in polite society."150 The reaction to Oriental dance as an impropriety, when directed toward Javanese dance, was

147 Bancroft, The Book of the Fair, 848.
148 Ibid., 849.
probably more a reaction to their costumes than a reaction to their movements. Their appearance would have shocked the average American observer. One description explains their appearance and demeanor:

with bare arms and shoulders, and feet, but with no unseemly exposure of person, their slender, lithe and delicately rounded forms are decked in embroidered silks and velvets, and with bracelets and necklaces of gold. The dances constitute a series of graceful poses, the movements almost confined to the portion of the body above the waist, and all having certain dramatic or symbolic significance. Although the dancing girls of Java are petted and indulged in every way that would turn the heads of most of their sex, they conduct themselves as befits maidens who are educated by the priesthood, belong to a religious order, and are of such birth and character as to be sought in marriage by nobles and princes.¹⁵¹

From the American Victorian perspective, aspects of their appearance would provoke scandalized reactions. The young Javanese women in colorful, gilded costumes revealed too much of their bodies’ structure and skin for Victorian strictures. Their exposed arms, their lack of corsetry, and their partially bare legs and bare feet were provocative (Figures D.3 and D.4). The photographs of the dancers in the theatre program show them wearing cotton stockings with no shoes. However, according to the description quoted above, they danced barefooted and bare legged, as they would have done at home. The batik sarongs that they wore for everyday dress covered their legs to the ankle, as did American ladies’ garments. However, their costumes of batik cloth draped through the legs in a bifurcated shape showed their legs as separate entities, a shocking sight in Victorian America in mixed company.

While the presence of batik at the World’s Columbian Exposition was a salient feature of the Java Village, the display of batik through sales, creation, and
use in costumes and in daily dress, did not create a popularity or general awareness in America. Yet, this display did provide an introduction that influenced the collection of Javanese batiks at the Boston Museum, where they would become available for study and display. The public who saw the Javanese dance and dancers came away with an image of the dancers as exotic and sensational. This impression was linked to their appearance constituted from an exposed body structure and a costume that was largely made of unfamiliar batik textiles.

Instead, popularity for batik would grow following a targeted introduction. In 1907 Theo. Neuhuys a Dutch batik artist, and Mabel Tuke Priestman, an American interior design and crafts author, wrote articles in Arts and Crafts and arts publications that reached people interested in decorative arts, textiles, and personal creativity. The increased travel opportunities for Americans meant that people saw batik in Java and Europe and on their return to America wrote of their experiences for others to read. One artist, Marguerite Zorach, began exploring batik and showing it in art galleries and in textile design contests as a result of her travels.

The First Commentary on Batik in American Publications: 1907

In September of 1901, the English edition of Studio International published an article that featured “Arts and Crafts” and the work of its studio run by Agathe Wegerif-Gravestein. Batik was welcomed as an “art capable of

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151 Bancroft, The Book of the Fair, 848.
exquisite and delicate color-effects of a kind hitherto almost unknown has within recent years attained considerable vogue in Holland and is likely to win recognition elsewhere.\textsuperscript{152} Such a welcome may have excited and enticed the reader to seek out the products from Batikkunst. A brief article in \textit{Current Literature} in 1907, another English publication that was probably read by some Americans, reported on “batikking’ as described by a writer in the Dutch magazine \textit{Elsevier’s Geillustreerd Maandschrift}.” The English recapitulation brought the reader an essential history of batik, noting that the art of the East Indian Archipelago, Java in particular, had been redeveloped in the Netherlands by Cachet and Dijsselhof, and practiced at a refined level by Lebeau. Lebeau’s batiks are described as having an “exquisite sense of beauty and harmony,” an “effect resembling exquisite mosaic,” a “marvelous beauty,” and looking “like finely cut films of some precious metal.” This praise of Lebeau is tempered by the drawbacks for the would-be collector. Dyes used in some products were fugitive to light and this evoked concern. Lebeau and his students’ works are not included in this criticism with their “magnificent combinations” of colors. In addition, the article noted that “endless patience and painstaking labor, as well as ingenuity and skill” required for batik resulted in costly products. Yet, “among the connoisseurs they are already much sought after.”\textsuperscript{153} These English articles provide notification of batik as practiced in the Netherlands. The tone of the \textit{Studio International} article suggests the publicity efforts on the part of Wegerif-


Gravestein were paying off. The articles do not lead the reader to know how to create batik, merely where to purchase it or what to look for in a purchase.

This new artistic expression from Europe eventually found hosts in America. Fueled by the promotion of Dutch batik in *Art et Décoration* in France and in *Studio International* in Britain, its presence at the 1902 Esposizione internazionale d’arte decorative moderna in Turin, and in the salons of La société des artists décorateurs in France, American publications recognized the emergence of batik in Europe. Several articles were published on the subject in 1907. *Keramic Studio, Craftsman*, and the American magazine *International Studio* introduced batik to their targeted yet diverse American audiences and launched it toward its eventual popularity.

*Theo. Neuhuys*

*Keramic Studio* originated in 1899 as a magazine for ceramic artists and enthusiasts with an Arts and Crafts frame of reference. Adelaide Alsop Robineau (1865-1929), the editor, occasionally included other decorative arts techniques in the magazine, a practice that increased as the china painting profession shrank.154 In “The Crafts,” a section of the magazine edited by Miss Emily Peacock of New York City, “The Batik,” a two-part article on batik by Theo. Neuhuys appeared in the summer of 1907.155

“The Batik” is illustrated with seven photographs of Dutch batik, all resembling works by Lebeau (Figure D.4). As a product of the Nieuwe Kunst

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154 In 1924, the magazine name was changed to *Design-Keramic Studio* and in 1930 to *Design*.
155 See Chapter 2, n. 97; Chapter 1, n. 7.
tradition, Neuhuys wrote from the Arts and Crafts perspective, a perfect fit for the magazine. He promoted handmade over factory made, expressed esteem for the artist-designer, and insisted that the unique quality of batik was the opportunity it provided for individuals to create and execute their own designs on textiles and leather. Neuhuys criticized the “badly dyed factory patterns” made in Holland for the past fifty years. Neuhuys’ devoted much of his two-part article to explaining how to make vat and alizarin dyes for textiles and providing techniques and dye formulas for leather batik. Batik, “a perfect combination of textile and color” and “a free, individual art,” was addressed primarily in terms of dyes by Neuhuys because their “durability and consequently their value” derives from the material used and the dye quality, which “must answer the high requirement of being perfectly proof against the influence of both light and air.”

True to Arts and Crafts ideals of respect for and the continuity of traditional forms, which would appeal to the Keramic Studio readers, Neuhuys admired the artistry of native Indonesian batiks. He credited The Art of Batikking in the East Indies, an illustrated book published in the late nineteenth century, with provoking interest in Javanese batik in the Netherlands. A program at the Division of Chemistry of the Koloniale Museum of Haarlem with

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157 Neuhuys is probably referring to G.P. Rouffaer, H.H. Juynboll, and J.C.E. Schmeltz, De batik-kunst in Nederlandsch-Indië en haar geschiedenis (Haarlem, Netherlands: H. Kleinmann, 1899). The text is presented in parallel columns of Dutch and German. It is illustrated with 100 plates, including images of people making batik, flat textiles, batik clothing, ancient carved images resembling batik patterns, and batik tools. The 1914

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the architect Baanders supported the ensuing artistic activity in batik, striving to provide dyes suitable for use in Holland. (It is presumed that the dyes from indigenous Javanese materials were not easily available in the Netherlands.) The investigation into batik materials resulted in the following guidelines for the quality of batik dyes:

1. They should be easily applicable.
2. It should be possible to apply them cold, the wax melting at a temperature of 60°C.
3. The color obtained should be sufficiently fast to be proof against injury caused by the removal of the wax by boiling or by petroleum-ether.
4. The colors should be non-fading.

The investigations at the Koloniale Museum in Haarlem also extended to wax resist formulas. Eventually the technique based on the research at the museum was called the “Harlem (sic) Batiking technique” or the Haarlem school. The parameters set forth above, indicating a stringent adherence to color fast dyes that also allowed for traditional wax application, and the use of a pliable wax resist to prevent too frequent crackle, constituted the basis of the Haarlem technique.

Probably due to the growing popularity of batik, and perhaps because it was the best reference on leather batik in English, Neuhuys' article was “Reprinted by request” twelve years later in December of 1919 and January of

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159 At this time parameters defining visual or formal elements of the Haarlem school have not come to light, however the images in “The Batik” reflect a Nieuwe Kunst aesthetic and Lebeau's refined use of the canting evident in Figures C.11 and C.12.
This article provided a direct connection from Dutch batik practice to a national American readership involved in craft production. Thus it may be assumed that Neuhuys influenced the spread of batik among Arts and Crafts adherents in the twelve years following the first publication in 1907 and beyond the second publication in 1919. “The Batik” gave insight into the potential of batik by showing images of high quality batik products with refined lines. It provided recipes for permanent dyes on textiles and leather and instructions for doing batik on leather.

Mabel Tuke Priestman

Mabel Tuke Priestman introduced and explained batik in *International Studio* (American edition), a magazine targeting collectors and aficionados of decorative and fine arts. Her objective was to stimulate Americans to master the art of batik: “There is no reason why this beautiful art should not be perfected by the people of our own land, and a description of the methods employed should be an incentive to craft workers to experiment in this direction.”

Priestman experimented with batik and describes a tool she made to approximate a canting, since, as she noted, “the making of batik is unknown as yet in America, these instruments cannot be obtained” (Figure D.5). Controlling the wax flow in a canting requires skill that she did not possess, therefore Priestman put a “long

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steel nail” in her homemade canting, “so as to drop down and fill the hole when moving the reservoir over the work. By the simple contrivance of string wrapped around the finger the nail can be raised or dropped to control the flow of wax.”\textsuperscript{162} Proving her ingenuity and drive to conquer canting control without years of practice, she developed her own tool based on her abilities and objectives. Priestman emphasizes that ability to draw is a prerequisite for batik technique.

It is not clear where Priestman learned batik technique. She writes as if she had seen Javanese women applying wax: “the ease and graceful swiftness with which the batik maker manages her instrument, moving it over the material in delicate curves, straight lines and subtle hatching, claim the admiration of the visitor.” It is also possible that she read a description of batik or spoke to someone who witnessed traditional batik making in America or Java. Perhaps she traveled to Europe and saw Javanese women making batik there, although it is doubtful. Rather, it is more probable that she traveled to London. She mentions the batiks in European exhibitions, noting that the Dutch had reached a high level of competence in batik and that “Owing to the demand being entirely beyond the output, batik decorations are very expensive.”\textsuperscript{163} Images from the Apeldoorn studio of Agathe Wegerif-Gravestein illustrate the article (see Figure C.9). Priestman’s promotion of Wegerif-Gravestein extends to all of her writing.

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\textsuperscript{162} Ibid., xc
\textsuperscript{163} Ibid., xci.

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on batik, in both her 1907 articles and her book *Handicrafts in the Home*.\(^{164}\) This consistency suggests the possibility that the two women met or that Wegerif-Gravestone met one of Priestman’s editors, and that Wegerif-Gravestone may have been the source of Priestman’s knowledge of batik.

In March 1907, Priestman published “The Revival of a Primitive Form of Batik” in the *Craftsman*, Gustav Stickley’s (1858-1942) Arts and Crafts magazine. This article’s primary thrust is resist dyeing techniques and it features tie-dye work of Ami Mali Hicks (1876-1955) (Figure D.6). Priestman calls it “tied batik work” and “Primitive Javanese batik.”\(^{165}\) However, in referring to it as batik, Priestman used ‘batik’ incorrectly. Batik specifically refers to wax resist and is originally and traditionally associated with drawing the wax with the canting.

Hicks, “a pioneer Batik worker in this country” uses vegetable dyes that are “extremely effective.”\(^{166}\) By bringing Hicks to the *Craftsman’s* readership, Priestman introduced a woman who would become an author on batik, interior decoration, and dyeing. Hicks operated a studio at 158 West Eleventh Street in

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Greenwich Village. Hicks was a subject in Jessie Tarbox Beals' Greenwich Village postcard series, made to sell to tourists during the burgeoning of Greenwich Village in the 1910s (Figure D.7). A founding member of the New York Society of Craftsmen, and an active board member, Hicks' dedication to the tenets of Arts and Crafts as a means of changing society sustained her approach to her work throughout her life.

Priestman closes the article profiling Wegerif-Gravestein who "practically supplies the European and English markets" for batik. Again, she advises that drawing skill is crucial to batik, but she also makes a suggestion that she may have received from Wegerif-Gravestein. For those who cannot draw, she suggests a stencil and a brush to apply the wax, or "the squirt used by the confectioners for ornamenting cakes and Easter eggs can be used for this purpose." Priestman never adheres to a concern for tradition or heritage, but seeks an expedient solution for a large audience, the uninitiated public who will have difficulty getting a canting. In Priestman's promotion of batik, innovation supplanted traditional technique.

167 158 West Eleventh Street is the address on the postcard made by Jessie Tarbox Beals in approximately 1918 and is also listed in the New York Society of Craftsmen, Yearbook, 1915/16. In the New York Society of Craftsmen, Yearbook, 1908/9 she listed 400 West 23rd Street. Who Was Who In America, Vol 5, 1969-1973 (Chicago: Marquis Who's Who, 1973), 332 lists Hicks' studio as 141 E. 17th St, NYC and her home as Berkeley Heights, New Jersey.

168 Ami Mali Hicks is listed as a textile worker and board member in New York Society of Craftsmen, Yearbook, 1908/9 and 1915/16. Other years were not available for confirmation. She is also listed in The National Directory of Workers in the Artistic Crafts 1906/7 (New York: National Society of Craftsmen, Arts Club Studios), 1906/07.
Travel as a Conduit for Batik to America

Travel by artists and writers ultimately led to publications and works of art that spread the knowledge of batik. Augusta de Wit’s *Java, Facts and Fancies* is the earliest American account of Java in a widely available form.169 Her text with pictures introduced Java as a languid and exotic island. Two articles on batik by Camilla Cantey Sams arose from her trip to Java and resulting knowledge of batik.170 However, her articles are not examined here, as they are overviews with few technical specifics. Instead, Minnie Frost Rands’ article “Batik” in 1923, the first comprehensive article on batik written by a person who spent an extended length of time in Java learning the batik art, is examined.171 Rands studied batik in Java for three years and her article provides a compelling and detailed account of batik process. Marguerite Thompson Zorach is now recognized as an important American modernist. After studying art in Europe for three years, she returned to America via Asia. She equipped herself with batik tools and used batik in art, personal clothing, and theatre scenic design. Here her textile design works are investigated to reveal new considerations in the extent of her batik and textile design efforts. Pieter Mijer immigrated to the United States from the Netherlands. He is recognized as the author of the popular batik book *Batiks and


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How to Make Them. Authorities of early twentieth century American textiles and acknowledge Mijer's well-known book and his collaborations with artists on batik murals. In this chapter Mijer's activities and background are expanded to demonstrate his involvement in batik yardage goods, tie-dye, and theatrical design.

Augusta de Wit and Java, Facts and Fancies

Augusta de Wit wrote a travel account of her trip to Java. Java, Facts and Fancies, published in 1906, depicts her impressions of Java, the natives, and the colonial culture. Unfortunately, the book does not discuss batik. However, among the 160 photographs in the book, batik is well represented. The images provide a visual frame of reference for the reader that positions batik as a signature element of Java. There are images of several people wearing batik, of dancers in costume, and of native women applying wax and dyeing batiks. Scattered through the book are four images of batik patterns.

Most of the photographs originate in the collections of the Leyden Ethnographical Museum and the Koloniale Museum in Haarlem. The images were not published with dates and therefore may predate 1906. Photographs made by or for ethnographers often bear little resemblance to the reality of the

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172 Mijer's name is spelled 'Myer,' 'Meyer' and 'Mijer' in magazine articles used in this research. Like Nicola J. Shilliam, I use Mijer, the spelling used for his book.

173 Wit, Java; Augusta de Wit also published fictional stories about the Javanese people, such as "A Native of Java," Yale Review 9 (1920): 844-56, and "Orpheus in a Javan Village," Asia 23, no. 5 (1923) 341-46+, 383-84
natives pictured because many ethnographic photographic images were staged.\textsuperscript{174} The information in such images must be read and interpreted carefully. This skeptical perspective towards photographic images was not common in the early twentieth century and a person reading \textit{Java, Facts and Fancies} probably saw the images and accepted them as true representations. "Women dyeing sarong-cloth" exemplifies the difficulties such images present (Figure D.7). In the image two Javanese women, looking off camera, hold batik cloths half-in and half-out of vessels. The woman on the right kneels by a wide, low, rectangular trough. The rectangular shape of the vessel proves effective in traditional batik dyeing to avoid cracking the wax. The fabric can lie almost flat, with only a few soft folds, to fit into the length and width of the rectangular vessel. The deep rounded vessel on the left of the image, situated on a stand with dry firewood at the base, is probably a kettle for boiling wax off the fabric after dyeing.\textsuperscript{175} Receptacles for the skimmed wax sit at the side, attesting to the actual purpose of the kettle. If the woman standing behind the kettle were working the fabric, it would be for wax removal, not for dyeing as the caption "Women dyeing sarong-cloth" indicates. However, if the wax removal process were under way, the fabric would be very hot. Since she is not using a stick to handle it, and there is one conveniently standing in the pot, she is probably merely posed for the image.


\textsuperscript{175} Vat dyes are oxygen reductions that do not require heat for the chemical reaction with the textile. The reaction occurs through oxidation. Heated vessels were used in Java to remove wax, not to dye fabric since heat melts wax.
any case, she is not dyeing the fabric. An awareness of batik may have been gained from reading this early American photographic book about Java, but such awareness was neither informed by text nor accurately portrayed by staged images.

Augusta De Wit remarked on the dress of the natives of Java and its adoption by the westerners living there, in a typically Victorian reaction. She found the native clothing attractive on the natives, but not completely suitable on westerners. Native dress on westerners, while it must be “utterly condemned from an artistic point of view, from a practical one it must be acquitted, and even commended.” Benefits of “cleanliness and decency, not to mention hygiene” of dressing in cool, cotton, washable garments when the temperature is 95°F in the shade, raised the status of native dress worn by westerners in Wit’s eyes. However, she never makes note of the remarkable batik textile designs.

Minnie Frost Rands’ Fascination

It was not until 1923 that a thorough and accurate article on batik appeared in an American periodical. For Minnie Frost Rands, who traveled to Java, batik had a fascination that “approached infinity.” Rands’ comprehensive article in Asia deftly describes the process, gives a brief history, explains the variety, scope, and the naming legends of the designs, and names the garments and their dimensions. Clearly, she worked closely with batik artisans and recognized the skill required to use the canting:
painting with a tjanting (sic) containing hot wax is far more difficult and slow than working with a brush or pencil. The first time I tried it, I met with dismal failure, to the ill-concealed amusement of the native batikers. I could not make three dots of the same size. The wax was too hot for the first one and too cool for the second one and the opening was stopped entirely for the third. Also, my hand trembled . . . 177

In Rands’ description the time-consuming process of batik production becomes clear. The ripening of finely woven English cotton in peanut or castor oil takes from six to forty days. The washed ‘ripe’ fabric is starched to hold the wax smoothly, ironed to attain a smooth surface, and folded to make creases in the goods for guidelines. The wax application on one side of the cloth and then the other, using up to seven different cantings and three wax recipes, may take twenty days for each of three waxings. The wax must be removed and new wax applied according to the design and color requirements. Rands noted “When one has to cover some fifty square feet with figures done in fine lines, scrolls, curlicues and pin dots, time is simply eaten up.” Should the design be equally complex for each of the three colorings (in middle Java, Rands’ location, the colors are limited to indigo, soga brown, and a cream tint) it may take up to eight weeks of time for wax application alone. To dye the indigo, which may take from three to twenty days, the cloth soaks in a vat of indigo and is dried between repeated soakings. For the soga dye the fabric soaks in soga and is shade dried three times a day for from one to eight days. Finally a cream tint is applied. Therefore, to complete batik in this system consumes up to five-and-a-half

176 Wit, Java, Facts and Fancies, 71. Augusta De Wit’s impression of the native dress and western use of it is on pages 70-1.

months. Rands appreciation of the artistry of Javanese batiks led her to compare them to a revered western decorative genre: “After three years of saturation in the batik atmosphere I feel myself in accord, so far as I am able to judge, with those who say that the patterns of the royal provinces of middle Java rival in magnificence the decorations of the Italian Renaissance.”178

Both Wit’s 1906 book and Rands’ 1923 article would have reached readers who had interest in Asia, Southeast Asia, or Java. Neither can be assumed to have drawn many new practitioners to batik in America, although they may have created an appreciation where it was not previously present. Both of these women had visited Java and returned to America to publish and present information on batik. Another other way that batik gained entry from travel was through creative batik works. The artist Marguerite Zorach’s involvement with batik provides an example of an individual who discovered, embraced, and used batik for her own creative ends.

Marguerite Thompson Zorach and Textile Design

Batik played a prominent part in the career of painter and textile artist Marguerite Thompson Zorach (1887-1968). Her painting’s selection for the Armory Show of 1913 and her role as a founding member of the Society of Independent Artists verifies her position as a member of the emerging modern movement in American fine art. In the 1920s her embroidered ‘tapestries’ brought her notice despite her later explanation that “I never learned to do

178 Ibid., 334.
embroidery or even to sew properly.”179 Marguerite also used her talents to make clothing for herself and her family. While writing of batik and Greenwich Village artists, one critic felt that she and her husband were “too well known to need special attention.”180 Her body of work in batik, though small, demonstrates a decidedly modern and original approach to the medium. Hazel Clark has argued that Marguerite Zorach’s focus on embroideries after 1917 led to her “contribution to American Modernism” being “ignored by most historians of the period.” Textile arts are often the least analyzed and studied elements of the career of an artist, especially when they arise from domestic responsibilities, as is often the case for women artists. However, “proper consideration of Marguerite Zorach’s significance as a Modernist must give full attention to her textiles as well.”181 It will be shown here that Marguerite Zorach’s involvement with batik and textile design using batik is greater than previously acknowledged.

Originally from Fresno, California, Marguerite Thompson spent the years from 1908 to 1911 in Paris, studying painting at the La Palette art school where she also met her future husband William Zorach. During her years of study she

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179 Marguerite Zorach, “A Painter Turns Craftsman,” Craft Horizons, February, 1945, 2 quoted in Hazel Clark, “The Textile Art of Marguerite Zorach,” Woman’s Art Journal 16, no. 1 (1995): 19. Although Zorach’s needle works are often called tapestries, they are properly called embroideries. Embroidery uses a needle and variety of stitches in threads or yarns to add a design to a base textile. A tapestry is woven on a loom and the design is created as part of the weaving process. A notable embroidery commission came from Mrs. Nathan J. Miller for a large bedspread as noted in “Modern Tapestry in Colored Wools, Vanity Fair, October 1922, in Zorach Family Papers, 1900-1987, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution (hereafter noted as AAA, SI).


traveled in France, Belgium, and Germany. With her Aunt Harriet Adelaide Harris, they returned to the United States via Asia. The trip aboard ship began in Venice with stops in Egypt, Palestine, Burma, Indonesia, China, and Japan, among others, and ended in San Francisco. Roberta Tarbell pointed out in *Marguerite Zorach: The Early Years, 1908-1920* that a trip through the Orient “was an unusual opportunity, not only for an American girl, but for most artists.”¹⁸² Marguerite wrote to William, who had relocated to his familial home in Cleveland, Ohio, expressing her awe of the East. From Penang, Malaysia, she complained of the heat, then, “Boy, Penang is so beautiful, I have seen no country like it yet. I remember how I felt in Ahmenahab (sic) that day I first saw the real East — I was helpless + at sea!”¹⁸³ Later Marguerite wrote to William describing a painting she had made while in India as “perfectly flat, no planes, distance, perspective, or anything.”¹⁸⁴ Shortly after she had made the painting in India, Marguerite would be in Indonesia and have the opportunity to recognize that those flat qualities, evident in her art, were present in traditional Javanese batik. However, it is not known with certainty if Marguerite saw western batiks


¹⁸³ Marguerite Thompson (Los Angeles) to William Zorach (Cleveland), February 14, 1912, Marguerite Thompson/William Zorach correspondence, 1911-1912, Box 1, Papers of William Zorach, 1887-1966, Library of Congress (hereafter called PWZ, LOC). Marguerite and William called each other ‘Boy’ and ‘Girl’ in these letters written during their courtship.

before departing from Europe or if she saw batiks while on the trip in Indonesia or another Southeast Asian country. Yet, memories of Tessim, the Zorach’s son, indicate that Marguerite’s interest in batik was sufficiently activated in Indonesia to motivate her to purchase batik tools to bring home. Tessim Zorach (1915-1995) explained, “I do not believe Marguerite studied batik with anyone. It was only after her return trip from Paris when she visited Indonesia that she became interested in the medium. She brought back with her the little wax cups (like tiny flower pots) used in applying the hot wax – these remained in our 10th Street Studio for years.” Shilliam aptly suggests that Marguerite “taught herself the technique from a manual.”

Marguerite was making batiks soon after settling in New York in 1912. In December of 1912 William and Marguerite married and moved to Fifty-fifth Street and Sixth Avenue. In 1913 they moved to Greenwich Village. They decorated their home with batik hangings and other self-made items. The

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185 Clark, “The Textile Art,” 19; Shilliam, “From Bohemian”, 255. I agree with Hazel Clark and Nicola J. Shilliam that Marguerite Zorach probably saw batiks in one or both of these locations, and the matter remains undetermined. However, Marguerite Zorach’s purchase of batik tools in Indonesia suggests that she was stimulated by actual batiks in Indonesia. Even if she sought the batik tools out because of seeing batiks first in Europe, it is probable that she saw batiks in Indonesia in the process of purchasing the tools.

186 Tessim Zorach, Letter dated April 17, 1992, in the Department of Textiles and Costumes, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, quoted in Shilliam, Emerging Identity, 43 fn 37. Her batik tools are housed in the Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

187 Shilliam, Emerging Identity, 36; Shilliam, “From Bohemian,” 255.

Greenwich Village apartment became known for the colorful and visually clamorous interior they created. As struggling artists they not only decorated with a flair brought about by the combination of poverty and their specific artistic talents, but to economize further “Marguerite created clothes for the family, including beautifully dyed silk batik blouses and dresses for herself. . . .”  

Expressing her ideas in batik extended beyond personal clothing and visual art pieces. Zorach also created scenery of batik. The Zorachs were founding members of the Provincetown Playhouse where they designed scenery from 1916 through 1921. Three batik panels now held by the Metropolitan Museum of Art were probably created for Winthrop Parkhurst’s play Getting Married in the 1919-20 New York season of the Provincetown Players.  

Marguerite Thompson Zorach exhibited batiks (including the three scenic panels after 1920) in galleries from 1913 through 1923 in Dayton and Cleveland, Ohio, New York, and Chicago.  

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190 Hoffman, Marguerite, 27. Page 27 illustrates a “beautifully dyed silk batik” blouse, page 36 illustrates “Batik Hanging,” one of the Getting Unmarried panels, and page 46 illustrates a dress fabric of batik on silk with motifs with radiant lines around a circular center motif.

191 Clark, “The Textile Art,” 21, explains Clark’s communications with Tessim Zorach leading to the conclusion that these three panels were the scenery for Getting Unmarried. The three batik hanging-panels by M. Zorach are in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art: #1976.252.1 (210.2 x 124.5 cm); #1976.252.2 (207.5 x 125.1 cm); and #1976.252.3 (209.5 x 125.1 cm), 1918-20, silk. Tessim Zorach suggested that these were the scenery for the play, as noted in Hoffmann, Marguerite and William, 21. The Met. Museum of Art also holds a batik table cover of flannel, #22.202, (28 x 28 in), [exhibited in the Modern Decorative Art Department of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1923, as noted in Zorach Family Papers, Archives of American Art (hereafter referred to as AAA, SI), Reel 59/1], and another silk hanging, #1984.550.2 (200 x 125.1 cm), 1917.
Following the birth of Dahlov, her second child, in 1917, Zorach almost completely shifted her artistic focus from batik and painting to embroidery, which she had begun as an artistic practice in 1913. She found the ease of stopping and starting embroidery conducive to her family responsibilities, especially watching her children.

Like many of her peers living in Greenwich Village, Marguerite Zorach participated in the Women's Wear and Albert Blum textile design contests co-sponsored by the Art Alliance of America, competing for cash prizes and the possibility of commercial textile design commissions. However, Marguerite's profile in these contests has remained largely unnoticed. Her paintings and her role as an American female modernist have received the greatest attention. In *Marguerite Zorach: The Early Years, 1908-1920* Roberta Tarbell provided the initial and most comprehensive work on Marguerite Zorach. While researching another project, Tarbell discovered Zorach's early works in a roll in the Smithsonian Institution. Tarbell developed Marguerite's biography up to 1920 in the first monograph, concentrating on her works and role in the New York fine art world. Tarbell's portrait of the young Marguerite includes reference to her

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192 In Zorach, *Marguerite*, 64-5: in 1913 “An Exhibition of Paintings, Watercolors, and Batiks by William and Marguerite Zorach, at the Cleveland Playhouse; in 1919 the Zorachs held a show “Paintings and Batiks by William and Marguerite Zorach” in their Tenth Street home and studio; in 1922 The Dayton Museum of Arts exhibited “William and Marguerite Zorach, Paintings, Watercolors, Embroideries and Batiks”; The Montross Gallery in New York City held an exhibit titled “Exhibition of Embroidered Tapestries by Marguerite Zorach,” in 1923. The program lists “Three Decorative Panels on Silk,” presumably the three batik panels for the play *Getting Married*. The Detroit Society of Arts and Crafts was also an exhibitor of this show. Kenneth M. Ellis, “Needlework Panels Are Revelation,” May 13, 1923, mentions that Marguerite Zorach’s show at the Milwaukee Art Institute included batiks, in Zorach Family Papers, AAA, SI, Reel 59/1.

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exploratory nature and endeavors in textile arts. Marilyn Friedman Hoffman examined the Zorach couple’s years from 1915 to 1918 focusing on cubist influences. These were years when Marguerite entered the textile design contests, although they are not discussed. However, Hoffman illustrates several batik pieces. Writing from a feminist perspective, Hazel Clark endeavored to overturn the obscurity of Marguerite’s textile art, with a focus on Zorach’s embroideries. Clark briefly sketches the Sunwise Turn, the New York bookshop operated by Madge Jennison and Mary Mowbury-Clark where many artists, including Marguerite, showed batiks. The use of linocuts for such items as birth announcements and playbills for the Provincetown Players is noted. Following a brief introduction of the couple’s work in linocuts Clark surmises Marguerite’s textile design as follows:

The linocuts may have resembled the textile prints that Marguerite created around the same time. According to Carl N. Schmalz Jr., “In October 1917 both Zorachs exhibited in a textile design contest initiated a year before by Women’s Wear; Marguerite won the third prize of one hundred dollars, and in addition was awarded a twenty-five dollar honorable mention.”

In the 1920s Marguerite produced a series of textile patterns for the Schwartzezenbach Silk Company (Collection of the Brooklyn Museum of Art).... It is unlikely that any of the textile designs were ever manufactured, but their existence further confirms Marguerite’s versatility.193

Nicola J. Shilliam, who has written most extensively on batik in America to date, examined Marguerite’s sources and sees Marguerite’s “study of authentic Javanese designs” in a jacket in the Museum of American Art.194 She also judges

193 Clark, “The Textile Art,” 21, refers to Clark’s ‘reminiscences’ from Tessim Zorach. It is unclear who Carl N. Schmalz Jr. is. Also, see N. 59 below.

194 Shilliam, “From Bohemian,” 255.
Marguerite to be "one of the most accomplished batik artists of the period." 195

Lauren Whitley noticed Marguerite Zorach's winning design of 1917 in her research on M.D.C. Crawford and the Designed in America campaign.

I highlight the process of creating the design. I argue that two textile designs discussed here were batik, not linocut and that Zorach stands out as a winner in the textile design contests and as a commercially produced textile designer, not merely a competitor. Her textile designs should receive analysis because she is one of the few participants in the contests and design who has any extant artifacts and because her work signifies a modernist approach.

As pointed out by Clark, in 1917 Marguerite Zorach won a cash award of $100 for third prize in the 1917 Women's Wear Annual Textile Design Contest (Figure D.9). However, a misprint in the list of winners released by the sponsors led to the impression that Marguerite won another $25 in the honorable mention category, which she did not. 196 B. Altman & Co. supported Women's Wear's efforts and donated money for the first prize in the contest. 197 As a winner,

196 "Exhibition of Prize Designs, American Silk Journal 36, no. 11 (November 1917): 40; M.D.C. Crawford, "Success of 'Women's Wear' Textile Design Contest Unparalleled in History of American Designing; Individual Artists Again Prove Creative Ability," Women's Wear, October, 18, 1917, 1; "Another Prize Winner," Women's Wear, 9 October 1917, 1, announced that in the honorable mention category the name Marguerite Zorach should have been Margaret Walsh.
Marguerite's design was among those produced by H.R. Mallinson & Co. and subsequently exhibited in the New York store windows of B. Altman & Co.

Batik was the most common medium of the textile design submissions in the *Women's Wear* contests and the Albert Blum Hand Decorated Fabric Competitions. While it is probable that Marguerite executed her textile design submissions in batik, it cannot be confirmed.\(^{198}\) However, comparison of a batik blouse by Marguerite and her winning textile design bring to light similarities in the motifs and line qualities that indicate that her textile design was batik (Figures D.9 and D.10).\(^{199}\) Both use bold, simple shapes abstracted from nature and amorphous spaces with internal motifs. Both use hatching lines and small circles, as dots and dots inside small circles. Both depict an arc of short, straight lines with circles on the tips of the lines (see the left sleeve of the blouse and the upper right section of the textile design). Finally, both designs reflect Marguerite's connection to nature. (When she and William settled in New York City, Marguerite stipulated that their summers must be spent in the country.) Many of the blouse motifs are based on elements of the seashore, such as shells and fish, while the textile design is based on garden motifs, such as flowers and seedpods. While the motifs alone do not confirm the use of the same technique, their similarities and the quality of the lines suggests they are both batik.

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\(^{198}\) The Smithsonian Museum of American Art holds a collection of Marguerite Zorach's textiles that have not been available for study during this research. I hope that availability of the collection to scholars (expected in Spring 2003) will amplify understanding of Marguerite Zorach's activities in batik and textile designs.

\(^{199}\) A batik blouse by Marguerite Zorach, (Accession number: 1968.87.19, L: 49.5 cm, cotton) is among the items in the Tessim Zorach Collection, National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.
Marguerite won another cash award of $150 for second place in dress silks in the 1918 Women’s Wear Annual Textile Design Contest. In March 1919 the Chicago department store, Marshall Field and Company, sponsored an exhibition of batik fabrics from the 1919 Albert Blum Hand Decorated Fabric Competition. Marguerite exhibited two pieces, a “Batik Green Ribbon” listed for $25.00 and “Batik Black and White” listed for $50.00. It is not known if her pieces sold.

In 1919 in House Beautiful, Crawford illustrated the three winners of the Women’s Wear contest from the previous fall. First prize went to Hazel Brunahm Slaughter and was produced by J. A. Migel, Inc. Second prize was won by Marguerite Zorach and was produced by Burton Brothers. The third prize winner was by Martha Rether and was produced by H.R. Mallinson & Co. In 1921, Marguerite’s textile design was featured in another Crawford article promoting the First International Silk Exposition, held at the Grand Central Palace (Figure D.11). The design, that I call “Vines of Blooms and Birds,” resembles Zorach’s other textile designs presented here (see Figures D.9 and D.10). One flower bud shape in “Vines of Blooms and Birds” closely resembles a bloom shape in the textile produced by H. R. Mallinson & Co. In Figure D.11 the


201 M.D.C. Crawford, Batik Catalog (Chicago: Marshall Field and Company, 1919). The Third Albert Blum Hand Decorated Fabric Contest exhibited January 16 – 31, 1919 at the Art Alliance of America in New York. The exhibit at Marshall Field ran the week of March 17, 1919. While Zorach’s inclusion in the exhibit suggests that she exhibited in the 1919 Albert Blum Hand Decorated Fabric Competition, it has not been confirmed since her name was not announced as a prizewinner.

upward pointing bee-like flower, the first one occurring as the second motif from the top left corner resembles the thistle-like shape with looping lines projecting to the right in Figure D.9. In addition, the use of light lines inside dark spaces resembles a treatment of abstract shapes used by Zorach in her batik cotton blouse (Figure D.10). While “Vines of Blooms and Birds” is a repeat design, as stipulated by the Women's Wear contests to make submissions suitable for commercial production, it was not made by a block or linoleum print. Instead, “Vines of Blooms and Birds” must be a batik or painted design that Marguerite made to suit a repeat format. This conclusion rests on the variation of the lines inside pairs of the same or similar motifs, the missing flower bloom (see Figure D.11, the center of the left side of the design where a downward bloom of three sections should occur but does not) in the repeat, and the differences in the birds with spread wings. A block printed design, due to the rigid block (of wood, linoleum, etc.) will have a consistent shape and line quality. The variation in a block print textile design lies in the registration process, colors selected and their application to the block, and the density of the color medium on the textile. A block print would not have the a wide variation of the line quality visible in “Vines of Blooms and Birds.” Motifs would be consistent in a block print, whereas the motifs in this design by Zorach, while of a type of motif (a bird or a bloom), they are each unique, as comparison of any two reveals. Therefore, I suggest that batik is the probable technique and that the design on the left is Zorach's based on what is known of Marguerite Zorach's practice: she made and

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exhibited batiks, batik was the most common from for contest submissions, and the motifs and techniques of the textile design resemble those in the batik blouse, known to be a batik, and in the 1917 contest winning design by Marguerite Zorach.

Marguerite Thompson Zorach exemplifies the complexity of discerning the early stages of the entry of batik into America. As far as is known she was not taught batik by anyone, yet she successfully used the technique to create art works and textile designs. It will probably never be determined with certainty how she began and developed her batik work. During her travels, she had the opportunity to see batiks in Europe and Southeast Asia. She traveled in Belgium, Germany, and France, where batik spread most rapidly due to proximity to the Netherlands (discussed in Chapter 2), and she visited Southeast Asia and Indonesia. She began making batik by 1913 when she and William exhibited batiks at the Cleveland Playhouse. All of the batik works discussed here were made from 1908 to 1920, the period that Roberta Tarbell has called Marguerite’s “most inventive” and “most prolific.” While it is not certain, it is possible that she put into practice observations of an Indonesian batik workshop that she would have seen in early 1912, and then improvised and made the technique her own. Given her presence in Indonesia and her purchase of batik tools there, Marguerite may have figured out the basics of batik from first hand observation, instead of from a manual as Shilliam suggested. Marguerite’s batik designs and

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204 See n. 47.
205 Zorach, Marguerite Zorach, 13.
technique depart from traditional Javanese batik and from Dutch traditions such as Lebeau's refined lines or Wegerif-Gravestein's stencils. Her motifs and techniques are personal, original, imbued with energy, and are consistently unrefined. Such a motivated, energetic, and aggressive pursuit and successful result, taking on an unfamiliar technique and making it her own as she had done with embroidery, is in line with Marguerite's approach to her art.

Pieter Mijer Beyond Batiks and How to Make Them

Pieter Mijer's importance in facilitating the spread and popularity of batik is unmistakable. His book *Batiks and How to Make Them* received nine editions from 1919 to 1931, marking it as the most used book exclusively on batik during the period under investigation. He was present in Greenwich Village during the eruption of batik among the avant-garde community, many of whom he probably assisted in learning batik. However, his contributions and activities beyond the book and his collaborations on hanging murals with other artists remain unexamined. Although Mijer collaborated on batik hanging murals with Arthur Crisp (1881-1961) (Figure D.12), C. Bertram Hartman (1882-1960), and Emile Weeckers, analysis of Mijer's batik murals is beyond the scope of this research on the entry and spread of batik practice in America. To amplify understanding of

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the motivations, influences, and talents that led to the book and its success, and to examine unrecognized aspects of his work in batik, I have examined Mijer's origins, training, and involvements beyond the murals and book. This has led to a greater understanding of his unique role in the entry and emergence of batik in America.

Although Mijer was born in the Netherlands (in 1881), his father was a tea planter in Java, so the family moved there. Later Mijer studied at the Dutch Agricultural College in Wageningen, The Netherlands. Louis Raemaekers (1869-1956), who was to become renowned for his cartoons and drawings of German brutality during World War I, was Mijer's drawing teacher. Following school, Mijer returned to Java for five years. At the age of twenty-three in 1904 he again returned to the Netherlands.208 Inspired by the ferment in the decorative arts environment, he apprenticed as a furniture maker in Hengelo, where he earned only two cents an hour.209 Soon he moved to London to try his hand there. Encouraged by reports of higher wages and more opportunity in the United States, he left London for New York in 1909. Unfortunately "his talents were absolutely buried in a large furniture factory" near Fifth Avenue.210 Edward F.
Caldwell (d-1914), a well-known lighting designer, befriended him. Mijer moved to Greenwich Village to be near Caldwell’s offices and to establish his own studio in an inexpensive environment. He found an upstairs space over a stable on Tenth Street where he made lacquered furniture, decorated with floral and Oriental motifs.211

When the date of Mijer’s arrival in the United States in 1909 is considered against the date of 1907, when the three batik technique articles previously discussed here appeared in American magazines, it is clear that Mijer did not introduce batik to America as once believed.212 In addition to the articles by Neuhuys and Priestman previously discussed, there were three more how-to publications on batik by 1911. That these articles appeared so close to or before Mijer was able to establish himself and receive recognition as a batik artist suggests that they aided the entry and spread of batik before any broad influence was felt from Mijer. First, in 1908 Charles Ernest Pellew began his series “Applications of Modern Dyestuffs to Arts and Crafts Work” in the Craftsman that included “Batik or the Wax Resist Process” in May, 1909.213 This series of articles formed the basis of Pellew’s dyeing book for laypersons, Dyes and

211 Pieter Mijer’s apartment and his furniture are featured in images in “Studio and Furniture,” 48-9, 52-3.


Dyeing, published in 1913. Pellew’s publications, teaching at Columbia University Teachers College, and membership and leadership in the National Society of Craftsmen combine into the profile of his critical role in the spread of batik in America. Second, in 1910 Mabel Tuke Priestman published her book Handicrafts in the Home with a chapter on batik, based on her 1907 article in International Studio. Third, in 1911, Mira Burr Edson’s “Modern Pattern by Means of the Batik: A New Mode of Textile Decoration” appeared in Arts & Décoration. Due to the appearance of six how-to-batik publications by four authors in five publications by 1911, long before Mijer established his presence in American batik, it is clear that his role lies in the spread and popularity of batik, not its introduction.

Mijer came to America with the intention to make and design furniture, which he did. However, his exposure and abilities met the already emergent batik environment and destiny set his career in textiles: Mijer’s success came as a batik artist and author. Although reported to have learned batik in Java, several elements demonstrate that Mijer learned batik in the Netherlands. Most critical is the consideration that he had the opportunity since he was in school in the Netherlands in the late 1890’s and returned there in 1904 to study furniture making at the age of twenty-three. He indicated in the preface to his book that

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214 Charles E. Pellew is listed in New York Society of Craftsmen, Yearbook, 1908/9 and 1915/16. Other years were not available for confirmation.


he knew Dutch and Javanese batik: “Having seen it done in Java, as well as in Holland, I have had an opportunity to compare the different ways of working, and by experimenting, have found many little helpful things which I gladly share with present and future workers.” Mijer was probably in the Netherlands receiving his schooling from approximately 1895 to 1899, during the burgeoning of batik there. Following his time in the Netherlands he went to Java from approximately 1899 to 1904, where he developed the “technical familiarity with the native Batik craftsmen of Java. . .” It is true that when his batik career took off in New York, Mijer used his Javanese experience as a promotional point. Undoubtedly, expertise deemed to derive from the native source in Java provided him with cachet. Mijer also demonstrated detailed familiarity with the reputations and work of Lebeau and Dijsselhof. He used three of Lebeau’s works to illustrate his book (see an example in Figure C.12). Mijer also pointed out that Lebeau used the rarified Javanese technique of creating a design completely from varying sizes and densities of dots. Regarding Dijsselhof, Mijer explained the artist’s use of a brush to apply wax. Such observations would have been difficult to develop from Java or New York, but easily gained in the Netherlands from observing the artists’ works and where access to discussions and publications were readily available in the artistic community.

217 “Batik in America,” 172.
219 Ibid.
220 Ibid., 26-8; “Batik in America,” 200.
221 Mijer, Batiks, 27-9.
Contributions of the female partner in the endeavors of a couple are
difficult to ascertain when the man attains a successful profile. In Mijer's case, a
woman named Mary, whom I presume to be his wife or partner, played a role in
his batik career. After his initial efforts in furniture, "in association with Mary
Myer [Mijer], the decorative possibilities of the ancient Javanese art were
adapted to American needs" by Mijer. Mary's heritage, described as
"Javanese-Puritanese and Chinese," an expected mix of ethnicities in Indonesia,
makes it probable that she knew at least the rudiments of batik. The execution
of the large and complex mural collaborations credited to artists and Pieter Mijer
probably benefited from Mary's assistance, although this may never be confirmed
beyond her partnership in Myers [Mijers] Studios. Their partnership received its
first prominent notice in the fall of 1914 when the Montross Gallery exhibited two
collaborations between the Myers [Mijers] Studios and the artist C. Bertram
Hartman, *Spring* and *A Tiger Lily*.224

Francis Gifford, another Greenwich Village resident, and Mary Myer
[Mijer] were important enough in the Greenwich Village coterie to be sketched in
the article "Who's' Who in New York's Bohemia." The acquaintance of the
Mijers' and Francis Gifford is evident from the use of the same photographs

222 "Batik in America," 172.

223 Sarah Addington, "Who's Who in New York's Bohemia," *New York Tribune*, 14 November 1915, iv. This source also reports that Mary Myer [Mijer] designed costumes for Pavlova. I am deducing that Pieter and Mary were a couple.

224 "Javanese Art Perfected in a New York Studio," *Town & Country* 69, November 1914, 31. Images of *Spring* and *A Tiger Lily* are reproduced in this brief article on the Myer [Mijer] Studios.

illustrating batik technique in Gifford’s 1918 batik article printed in the American Silk Journal and Color Trade Journal, and in Mijer’s book in 1919 (Figures D. 13 and D.14). Gifford makes a distinction, probably prompted by Mijer’s knowledge, between “so-called batik” and real batik. Gifford’s so-called batik is made by outlining in wax and then painting dye inside the wax resist lines with a brush. Mijer did not paint with dye, but used submersion dyeing. Mijer’s dislike for painted dye was threefold. He preferred the colorings resulting from overdyeing that occur in the traditional process. He disliked the light outlines that resulted from the outline and paint process. He also disapproved of the “uneven surface” inherent in large painted areas, where the dye has moved by capillary action and the end effect is not a smooth color field, as can be achieved by dipping in dye. However, Mijer did use a brush to apply wax inside large areas, a practice used by Dijsselhof and in the Wegerif-Gravestein workshop, (Figure D.13) but rarely used in Javanese practice.

Charles A. Frutchey, silk buyer at the department store John Wanamaker in New York, “discovered an artist in Greenwich Village who succeeded in reproducing these peculiar Batik designs. . . .” in 1914. He had found Pieter Mijer and the meeting resulted in a business relationship that lasted between


Mijer and the Frutcheys for approximately seven years.\textsuperscript{229} Mijer's projects for the Frutcheys ranged from a special batik commission for exhibition in the New York Wanamaker store, to batik and tie-dye fabric yardage at the independent store, Frutcheys's Silk Shop.

With an enthusiasm for silks and marketing, and for Mijer's talents, Charles A. Frutchey set about promoting them. To commemorate the New York City Shakespeare Tercentenary in 1916, Wanamaker commissioned Mijer to create a series titled the Shakespeare Silks, announced as valued at $2,000.\textsuperscript{230} Unfortunately, these batiks, with "craquele of the sheerest web and veining," have not been located, but they must have been a showpiece for Mijer and the Wanamaker silk department. The series consisted of twenty silk satin panels, each five-yards long, depicting the flowers from Shakespeare's plays and their accompanying quotes.\textsuperscript{231}

Lauren Whitley remarked on the efforts of Wanamaker, which in large part were from the actions of Charles A. Frutchey, that supported the Designed in America campaign: "Wanamakers was perhaps the first large commercial retailer to plumb" batik for its fabrics.\textsuperscript{232} The Wanamaker silk department was the first to show extensive yardage of batik and tie-dye in a department store. In March 1917 Charles A. Frutchey mounted an exhibit of tie-dye by Mijer. Even M.D.C.

\textsuperscript{229} At this time, I have documented Frutcheys selling Mijer textiles until 1921. See "Frutcheon Silk Shop," \textit{National Academy of Design 96th Annual Exhibition, March 5 to April 3rd, 1921} (New York: Douglas C. McMurtrie, 1921), n.p.

\textsuperscript{230} "Shakespeare Silks in Batik Effects," \textit{American Silk Journal} 35, no.5 (June 1916): 30.

\textsuperscript{231} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{232} Whitley, "Morris De Camp," 53.
Crawford called the tie-dye exhibit batik. Like Priestman in 1907, Crawford simply collapsed resist dyed textiles into batik, the name of the most popular form of resist dyeing in America. Crawford's ebullient remarks found the textiles “a really revolutionary development of the art of fabric designing in America.”

Perhaps this was florid praise in an effort to support Frutchey and Mijer for their dramatic display of yard goods reflecting initiative in textile design. Crawford used his platform at Women's Wear as Design Director to trumpet the use of ethnographic inspirations in textile design. In this case he pointed out that Wanamaker relied heavily on Paris as its fashion source and that the American designed textiles were a welcome departure from that pattern. He was especially enthusiastic about the large scale of the motifs. Up to thirty inches wide, they must have made a striking display, especially as compared to the normally petite motifs of the day.

By December of 1917, Charles A. Frutchey and Mijer expanded the offerings from silk and velvet yardage decorated with tie-dye and batik, to items that would appeal to a person on a more limited budget or as gifts. New offerings included "collar and cuff sets, dress panels, bag, and scarf and smock lengths, made up with a view to the Christmas market," and pictorial scarves such as a “group of nymphs dancing to the Pipes of Pan” that could also find use as decorations. Next, to further extend the offerings, Frutchey went to Japan,

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234 M.D.C. Crawford, "Batik Department to Be Permanent," Women’s Wear, 7 December 1917, 1, 14.
ostensibly because he was intrigued by the tie-dye technique of Japanese shibori, but probably to visit the Japanese silk suppliers to discuss basic business as well. In 1918, Frutchey mounted the “Silk Rotunda” in the store, promoting tie-dye from Japan, commercial imitation batiks, and Mijer’s batiks, tie-dye, and again exhibiting the Shakespeare Silks.235

In the summer of June 1919, W.J.R. Frutchey, who had been a silk buyer at Wanamaker, left the department store and opened Frutchey’s Silk Shop at 4 West Fortieth Street.236 Mijer sold his work there. An advertisement for the shop reads:

Batik and Tie-dye are ever prominent in the treasure trove of New York’s first retail silk shop. They are conspicuous because of unique beauty and perfection of workmanship. They are versatile in that they can be used in so many different ways.

233 Ibid., 1; Cheney Bros. announced their “mechanical imitation of the ancient Batik work” in M.D.C. Crawford, “To Market Imitation of Ancient Batik Work,” Women’s Wear, 2 February 1918, 1. “Wanamaker Shows Batik,” 9, describes Wanamaker’s new offerings, including the Oriental style print silks of “two large manufacturers.” The list of offerings includes “Batik satin crackle, plain colors only, $2.85; Batik pongee crackle, hand made, 12 color combinations, $3.” Six samples of textiles were purchased by the Smithsonian Institution from John Wanamaker, New York in March 1918, the same month Wanamaker was showing these Oriental style prints. Currently in the National Museum of American History, these textiles included four shibori samples. Accession number #T3902 is labeled “Japan.” Accession numbers #T3900, #T3901 and #T3899 are not labeled “Japan” and may be Pieter Mijer’s work. Accession numbers #T3903-Batik Satin Crackle, in blue and white, and #T3905-Batik Pongee Crackle, in brown and green may be the work of Pieter Mijer or Cheney Brothers. M.D.C. Crawford, “Textile Expert Eager to Meet Fabric Makers,” Women’s Wear, 20 January 1919, 1, announces the visit of F. L. Lewton, of the Smithsonian Institution, to New York to collect samples of the “original fabrics” made in American mills. In August 1919, seven samples of textiles made by H.R. Mallinson & Co., Inc. enter the Smithsonian Institution collections via M.D.C. Crawford. These textiles are also currently in the National Museum of American History, Accession numbers #T4141-#T4147. Three of these samples are described as “batik process” in the accession files.

Batik and Tie-dye, sold at Frutchey Silk Shop, are originated and made in the studio of Dorothy and Pieter Mijer. 237

Frutchey's Silk Shop, known for its lavish displays, and variety and quality in its offerings, must have experienced good sales for a while.238 In May 1921, Edgar Frutchey opened a Frutchey Silk Shop in Philadelphia, after leaving the employ of Gimbel's in Philadelphia. The New York Frutchey Silk Shop expanded in June 1921, its second year, to 2,500 square feet. However, it moved to smaller quarters in June 1923 at 574 Fifth Avenue, "in the heart of the fashionable dressmaking district."239

Dorothy Armstrong also collaborated with Mijer on theatre designs. In 1919 John Murray Anderson staged the first Greenwich Village Follies, produced at the Greenwich Village Theatre. The Follies were so successful that they moved uptown to a Broadway theatre and a decade of annual productions ensued. The shows, described by the original term 'revuesical' by their producers, incorporated song and dance numbers, show girl numbers, and comedy with a thin story line. The first production was set in Greenwich Village and used the character types of the bohemian community as its comic foils. One number, "In Java," with the song "My Little Javanese," used the popularity of batik in Greenwich Village as its starting point. The program reads "Javanese and Batik

237 "Frutchey Silk Shop," National Academy, np.
239 For the Philadelphia shop, see "A Philadelphia Frutchey," 45; for the expansion see "Expansion of the Frutchey Silk Shop," American Silk Journal 40, no.6 (June 1921): 52; for the move to Fifth Avenue see "Frutchey to Move Silk Shop," American Silk Journal 42, no.6 (June 1923): 56.
costumes and properties designed and executed by Pieter Myer [Mijer] and
Charles Ellis."240 A review said “...to return to the spectacles. ‘In Java,’ with Ada
Foreman, ‘red as a Rose,’ the costumes...cannot be over described. What taste,
what combinations of startling colors, what quite new ideas” (Figure D.12:
Javanese number in 1919 Greenwich Village Follies).241 In 1920 Armstrong
joined with Mijer and Armstrong and Myer [Mijer] Studio made several costumes
for the second edition of the Greenwich Village Follies. In 1921 they changed the
name to Armstrong and Myer [Mijer], Inc.242

The influence and contributions of Pieter Mijer to American textiles
extend beyond his batik manual to the presence of batik in commercial locations
outside Greenwich Village tourist shops, and eventually to work in commercial
textile printing. By the late 1920’s, Mijer left the free-lance artist’s life and
became director of the newly established Screen Print Division at the National
Silk Dyeing Company. Screen-printing was new and Mijer was involved in the
eyearly stages of its industrial applications for textile printing.243 His shift to
industrial textile production gave the textile printing industry a talent with a

240 “Programme, Greenwich Village Follies 1919,” Greenwich Village Follies Programs,
Library of the Performing Arts, New York City Public Library, hereafter referred to as
LPA, NYPL.

241 Clipping, Greenwich Village Follies Greenwich Village Theatre, December 1919,
Review Files, LPA, NYPL

242 See 1920 and 1921 Greenwich Village Follies programs, in Greenwich Village Follies
Programs, LPA, NYPL.

243 Blausen, “Textiles Designed,” 58; Pieter Mijer was the 1927 United States Outdoor
National Men’s Epee Champion and was an active swordsman until late in his life. A
photo of Mijer in his later years was posted at <http://www.westsidefencing.com>, #8,
(June 3, 2002). He died in 1963 at the age of eighty-two.
refined knowledge of the artistic application of dyes and gave Mijer financial stability.

Conclusion

This chapter has presented various ways that batik entered America, from the first exhibition in 1893 to the first sale in a department store in 1916. Batik obviously entered American practice from many sources. Travel played a crucial role. Javanese natives were brought to the United States to be on exhibit in 1893. Americans traveled to Europe where they could observe early Dutch batik in the 1890s and 1900s, and see Javanese exhibits at expositions. Americans traveled to Java where they could observe batik textiles and the creation of batik. Individuals immigrated, bringing their talents to bear in America. These entryways led to publications and works of art and design that helped to spread knowledge of batik, use of batik objects, and of the batik technique.

The Arts and Crafts movement served as a beachhead for batik. Publications within the movement’s perspective, the Craftsman and Keramic Studio, brought batik to wide, and probably the most receptive, audiences in terms of actually practicing batik. Arts magazines such as International Studio and Arts and Décoration brought batik to people interested in collecting, but also to practitioners.

By examining these entry paths, the dominance of Dutch influence was evident. The earliest articles found, those of 1907 by Theo. Neuhuys and Mabel Tuke Priestman, were based in Dutch batik. Neuhuys was a Dutch batik artist
and Priestman promoted Wegerif-Gravestein's work and methods. Later, Pieter Mijer, who arrived in America with intentions to make furniture, became the leading American batik artist and disseminator. In his Greenwich Village community, also living on Tenth Street, was the modernist Marguerite Zorach whose independent and individualistic batiks stand out for their abstraction of nature. In the following chapter, the fanning out of batik in American culture, in applications beyond fashion fabrics and art, to industrial applications, theatre, and in the broad base of Arts and Crafts across the nation, will show the depth and breadth of batik in America. The Dutch and Arts and Crafts influence will again be present, and new expressions and variations develop based in a modern approach.
CHAPTER 4

THE SPREAD OF BATIK IN AMERICA

The spread of batik across America occurred through several paths. Education, performances, advertising, and entrepreneurial drive all account for aspects of its spread. In this chapter the publicity campaign of the vaudeville tour of Éva Gauthier, who wore Javanese batiks, is examined to discover how knowledge of, and associated meanings for traditional batik spread in America in 1915 and 1916. The presence of batik in higher education programs is examined through the roles of Columbia University's Teachers College and the University of Wisconsin. Manuals and how-to literature are examined to show that batik spread to the Midwest and beyond with vigor. The roles of the organizations and publications of the Arts and Crafts movement are examined, demonstrating their benefit to its members and readership, and showing that batik was practiced on the West coast. Industrial developments for the mass market that provided
outlets for batik artists and textile designers are examined through the works of Coulton Waugh, Cheney Brothers, H.R. Mallinson & Company, E. Varian Cockcroft, and Phoenix Silk Manufacturing Company.

Éva Gauthier's Vaudeville Tour of America, 1915-1916

Éva Gauthier (1885-1958), a French Canadian singer known as the High Priestess of Modern Song, had a long career based in New York City. Music aficionados remember her as the avant-garde singer who introduced George Gershwin and his songs to the concert stage in 1923.¹ A committed modernist who explored Asian traditions and new music from western cultures, she was a leading avant-garde artist and champion of modern vocal music.² Gauthier was a beauty whose portrait was made by Robert Henri, John Singer Sargent, and Ethel Wallace, a batik artist (Figure E.1).³ To draw attention to her recitals she began wearing Javanese royal batik garments in 1914, a practice she continued in her concert appearances with Javanese themes until 1934 (Figure E.2). The

¹ A detailed presentation of Gauthier's music career is available in Nadia Turbide, "Biographical Study of Éva Gauthier (1885-1958): First French Canadian Singer of the Avant-garde" (Ph.D. diss., University of Montreal, 1986). The biographical details presented here draw on Turbide's thorough work. Éva Gauthier's November 2, 1923 concert titled "Recital of Ancient and Modern Music for Voice" is considered historic because it was George Gershwin's concert debut. The recital is noted for the presentation of classical opera and modern composer's works in the first half, and popular songs by Irving Berlin, Jerome Kern, and Walter Donaldson in the second half. Éva Gauthier's recital closed with George Gershwin accompanying her on piano for three of his songs.

² Churchill, The Improper Bohemians, 249.

presentation of her stage image and the publicity surrounding one six-month period in her American career are examined here.

Éva Gauthier arrived in San Francisco, October 2, 1914 following a four-year stay in Java. She had gone to Java from Europe to live with Frans Knoote, her husband, a Dutch importer and plantation owner. While living in Java, she performed for the European community and toured other islands and eastern Asia. She studied the indigenous music and began singing Javanese songs in recitals before leaving Java. The beginning of her American career took place in the highly competitive New York environment, made more so by the influx of musical artists who had left the turmoil of World War I in Europe. Gauthier needed something distinctive in order to claim a spot in the musical season: two of her New York associates, John Alden Carpenter (1876-1919) and Rudolf Schirmer (1859-1919), “suggested that she perform her Javanese repertoire wearing native batik dresses.”

Although she probably came to America with a collection of batik textiles from Java, she also “purchased a supply of cotton and silk batik from the Dutch representative of the East Indian Exhibit at the Panama Pacific International Exposition.” From these sources, she possessed enough batik to fashion an exotic image on her unusually petite four foot ten inch frame that would help her to capitalize on her Javanese sojourn. Nadia Turbide

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4 Turbide, “Biographical Study,” 150.

5 Ibid., 153, refers to a letter from E. de Kruyff to Gauthier, February 1, 1917, concerns Gauthier’s purchase of batiks. It is not clear that this 1917 letter refers to purchases concurrent with the Panama-Pacific International Exposition, open from February 20 to December 4, 1915. Efforts to confirm this letter were unsuccessful due to Turbide’s referencing system. Gauthier’s letters are in several collections in Canada and the United States and this letter was quoted without reference to a specific location.
interpreted the exotic appeal of Gauthier's new stage appearance: "... the combination of batik native costumes with her Javanese hairstyle, her diminutive size and authentic gestures, could very well induce her audience to believe that she was indeed of exotic origin."  

Exoticism provided Éva Gauthier with the cachet she needed. Her new appearance in batik garments helped Gauthier secure engagements through her first year in America (1914-1915) in New Jersey, and in New York cities. Her Javanese look also proved to be the theme of a tour she made of America. Encouraged by friends who had made vaudeville tours and had enjoyed the regular income that such a tour provided, Gauthier signed a vaudeville tour contract. She went on The Big Circuit, a tour to twenty-two cities in the Orpheum organization's vaudeville theatres. Martin Beck financed her act titled "Songmotion." The fifteen-minute act was performed before a set depicting a Javanese temple. Gauthier's interpretations of Javanese folk songs alternated with songs that were also interpreted in modern dance and Asian dance by Nila Devi (Blue Goddess) and a corps of four dancers. The pre-tour tryout at the Eighty-first Street Theatre on September 3, 1915, received a poor review in Variety, with the reviewer having a positive reaction to the costumes, but little else, saying "(t)he Scenery and wardrobe, attractive in their way, cannot be

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6 Ibid., 537.
7 Ibid., 150-57, 585.
8 Ibid., 157-58.
9 Nila Devi was an American woman who performed and taught exotic dance. She had been engaged in the Follies Bérgeres in Paris before touring with Gauthier. See the Robinson Locke Collection of Dramatic Scrapbooks, 1870-1920, LPA, NYPL.
expected to carry Gauthier and Devie (sic) through vaudeville. They need an act."\textsuperscript{10} The act’s tour began in Pittsburgh, then moved to Davenport, Iowa and ended six months later in March 1916, in Milwaukee, Wisconsin (Appendix F: Éva Gauthier’s Vaudeville Tour Schedule, 1915-1916).\textsuperscript{11}

Even before the Orpheum publicists began their campaign, Gauthier used her four years in Java as a springboard for publicity, not merely to fashion a visual image. She created stories about her study of Javanese music and adoption of batik dress that made for titillating headlines. It is difficult to know what is true, embellished, and complete fantasy in Gauthier’s publicity during this period. However, its veracity is not central to my argument that her appearance, performances, and publicity, combined to hinge avant-garde modernism and exoticism to batik cloth in the minds of the public exposed to her persona and press. The crucial consideration is the geographic scope of the tour and publicity and thus the breadth of the audience in the United States. The publicity campaign, which fanned out across the entire nation, was aimed at people interested in popular entertainments. It also spread awareness of batik cloth to the broad public during the same period of years that the batik technique was spreading across the country in the crafts and artistic communities.

\textsuperscript{10} In Éva Gauthier Scrapbooks: Clippings, Programs, Photographs, and Correspondence, Music Division, Library for the Performing Arts, New York Public Library, (Microfilm), hereafter referred to as EGS: CPPC, LPA, NYPL. The scrapbooks contain notes written by Gauthier and multiple copies of articles from various newspaper editions, provided to Gauthier by her clipping service.

\textsuperscript{11} Ibid.
Far from heralding Gauthier's voice, or the act in general, the publicity campaign presented an exotic fantasy of Gauthier's time in Java. Due to the exotic interest of her promotional packet, Éva Gauthier and the act received double page and whole page coverage in a Harem—That's What Laurier's Niece Did" (Figure E.3), “My Experiences in a Harem,” and “Lived in a Sultan’s Harem to Glean Java Folk Songs.” The glaring and provocative campaign claimed that her garments were gifts from the Sultan of Solo, given to her as a token when she left his harem where she had lived in order to study Javanese music. The texts also discussed Éva's personal experiences and recollections of the women of the seraglio.

This publicity campaign, seen across the United States in locations such as Sioux City, Iowa, New Orleans, Louisiana, and Lincoln, Nebraska, promoted associations of Javanese women and batik cloth with exoticism and sensuality. The exotic images of Javanese women dressed in their draped batik garments formed a central element of the publicity campaign that glared with the word ‘harem.’ From the perspective of the average American, a harem was viewed as morally abhorrent and sexually provocative. For them a harem was where the multiple wives of one man were sequestered in mystery, where other men did not tread. The women of the harem were believed to spend their time in idleness and languor, waiting to be called by their husband. With that as the mental backdrop, the headlines are clearly posed to excite and entice an audience. The publicity pages of “Visiting the Harem Ladies in Java,” pictured Javanese ladies in

12 Ibid.
traditional batik dress, described in the captions as wives and daughters of the Sultan of Java (Figure E.4). Two images used to illustrate the article are in the collection of the Royal Tropical Institute in Amsterdam, shown in Figures E.5 and E.6. Figure E.5 is a posed portrait of a Javanese woman who is described in “Visiting the Harem Ladies in Java” as the Sultan’s “favorite present wife.” She wears a kemben, a batik breast cloth.” Figure E.6 shows a young dancing girl described in the same article as “The Charming Little Princess, His Daughter,” wearing two ornately decorated fabrics. The large dotted cloth she wears is batik of the kawung pattern, “one of the principle ‘forbidden’ designs of the royal courts of Java.” The cloth that she holds in her arms and hands is a Gujarati silk patola, a very costly cloth made in a double ikat technique. Gauthier appears in an oval inset on the right wearing similar garments (Figure E.4). The headline “Miss Eva Gauthier Who Tells Secrets of Java’s Harem,” titillated readers with the expectation that Éva was aware of the “secrets” of the harem (Figure E.7). The audience was led to believe that Gauthier had acquired secret knowledge, thus she was alluring to both men and women who may have hoped to acquire some of her knowledge. These secrets were allusions to sex and diffuse projections of sexual encounters and pleasures without any specifics to support them. However, by calling on the imaginations and fantasies of the public, these allusions were used to sell tickets. Within the articles Gauthier sometimes explained that the women of the Sultan of Solo’s harem were free to come and go,

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14 Ibid., 50.
could earn an income and keep the money, and that they were not all his wives. Many were part of a collection of women that he gave as wives to deserving male subjects, as a form of reward. Even the text depicted a world where the role and treatment of Javanese women was prominently connected to their value as sexual objects.

In a review of the act in Memphis the only praise said that the “costumery is well worth seeing.” However, there was also a remark that recognized aspects of modernity in the performance, noting that the act was “out-futuring futurism – you know that the costumes and scenery mean something vast and deep and intellectual – but you don’t know exactly what.” The atonal Javanese music and modern dance were new concepts at this time and the reviewer believed that the act represented something unique and modern. Blending ancient Javanese culture, through Éva Gauthier’s batik clad appearance and her singing, with modern dance, American culture’s newest art form, created an indecipherable mélange. The performances themselves, where the elements were combined, were the source of the modern connotations of the unique combination. However, the predominant projection, or message, of Gauthier was of exoticism shaped by the publicity that blatantly traded on creating and supporting concepts of Javanese female sensuality. Batik, the cloth enveloping the bodies of Gauthier and the pictured Javanese women, was a dominant part of that message, and thus assumed these meanings.

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15 In Éva Gauthier Scrapbooks: CPPC, LPA, NYPL.
The vaudeville tour also received notice in an upscale fashion magazine, although the harem-based publicity was not used. An article in the November issue of *Vogue* described Gauthier's batik garments and the awe they inspired in Java:

The costumes which Madame Gauthier wears have a special significance, for they are robes which the Sultan's daughter wore and were given to Madame Gauthier as a mark of great favor. When her native servants saw these garments, they literally adored them, recognizing from the pattern and design that they had come from the household of the Sultan, and her maid invariably carried them to and from the wardrobe on her knees. These garments are in themselves very beautiful and are dyed in elaborate patterns by the famous batik process of the Javanese.¹⁶

Here, Gauthier's batik garments, emblematic of the Javanese royalty, instigate awe and admiration from servants. According to this description, the batik garments caused Gauthier's maid in Java to walk on her knees in a form of humble respect for the cloths, tokens of Javanese royalty. Such behavior signaled to the magazine reader that Javanese culture, with its strict hierarchy of royalty and servants, was extremely distant and different from the reader's American culture based in the concept of equality. Under no circumstances would an American expect to perform, or to receive, such an abject act in real life. However, the power of cloths to provoke such a reaction, could serve as a source of fantasy of power and control, especially in the exotic location of Java.

Gauthier's vaudeville tour of the act "Songmotion" was a channel that spread awareness of, and perhaps some interest in and appreciation for, Javanese culture, including batik. The accuracy of the representation of the culture has not been investigated here. Rather, the projection of batik cloth as a symbol of exotic
sensuality, due to its linkage to the women pictured as members of a Javanese harem was examined. As a result of the campaign, the public's awareness of batik was skewed toward connotations of exoticism and sensuality. Those who saw the performances also were exposed to a new form of modern avant-garde performance. Éva Gauthier’s presentation of herself in batik dress, and promoting her act based on experiences in a Javanese seraglio, reinforced connotations of sensuality inherent in western perceptions of a harem and linked them to batik. The vaudeville tour of Éva Gauthier did not spread the technique of batik, although some interest in the technique may have occurred as a result of seeing her in batik cloth. Americans were learning to create batik in school and from manuals. The paths for the spread of batik technique are investigated in the following sections.

The Spread of Batik Technique Across America

Evidence to demonstrate the spread of batik technique across America after 1907 emerges from several sources. Batik spread in higher education through its study as a dyeing method in home economics programs. The study of batik with Professor Charles Pellew (1863-1945) at Columbia University Teachers College, and the inclusion of batik in academic planning for textile programs as early as 1911, are presented. Examination of the geographic extent of manuals and how-to-batik articles that developed after 1907 demonstrate that the authors of the body of how-to literature came from locations around the country and that

16 “Music,” Vogue 48, no.9, November 1, 1915, 110.
the stream of output lasted into the 1930s. *Ladies Home Journal* and *Woman's Home Companion*, both shelter magazines directed at homemakers, published articles on dyeing that demonstrate two perspectives on batik technique. The influence of the Arts and Crafts movement is examined through the activities of key members of the National Society of Craftsmen, and through the presence of batik in communities far from New York, such as the Theosophical Society in San Diego, California.

**Batik Enters Higher Education**

Reactions to the Women's Exhibit, particularly Candace Wheeler's (1827-1923) exhibit, at the 1873 Philadelphia Centennial Exposition led to formalizing academic study of textile techniques and design at many of the nations universities. Teachers College at Columbia University developed such a program. With the eminent Arthur Dow on the faculty to formulate design education, and from the nexus of the Designed in America campaign in the New York textile industry, the training at Teachers College was the center for the dissemination of batik through trained teachers. Charles E. Pellew's role in the spread of batik in America was critical. He taught chemistry and dyeing at Teachers College. Not only was he actively teaching but his articles for *Craftsman* and his book from those articles, *Dyes and Dyeing*, provided detailed

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17 For a recent study of Candace Wheeler see Amelia Peck and Carol Irish, *Candace Wheeler: The Art and Enterprise of American Design, 1875-1900* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art and Yale University Press, 2001). Wheeler's interest was in design training and entrepreneurial endeavors for women, but her influence was felt in higher education. It is important to note that she developed discharge printing processes with Cheney Brothers in the 1880's, notably in her Swimming Carp and Nets-and-Bubbles designs. See Peck and Irish, 189-93.
instruction and histories of dyeing techniques by 1913 to a wide public. He and Charlotte Busck, a member of the National Society of Craftsmen investigated leather batik. Lydia Bush-Brown also said that Pellew taught her to create batik, but not at Teachers College. Miss Whitlock (1891-1977), who later became chairman of the textiles program at the University of Rhode Island (1951-1961), was another student at Teachers College. It is not clear that she studied with Pellew, however it is probable. Whitlock received her B.S., M.S., and doctoral course work at Teachers College before taking a position at the University of Illinois in 1923. She was probably at Teachers College between the years 1909 and 1922. In 1909 she would have been eighteen, an appropriate age to begin her college education. Even if she did not attend Teachers College until 1914 and proceeded straight through her degrees and doctoral course work, she would have been at Teachers College while Pellew was active there. Whitlock


21 This information on Miss Mary C. Whitlock is in the files of the Department of Textiles, Fashion Merchandising and Design, University of Rhode Island, and in the University of Rhode Island archives, URI Library.

129
gave two of her batiks from her college days at Teachers College to the Historic Costume and Textiles Collection of the University of Rhode Island. One is used here to demonstrate the technique taught at Teacher's College between 1909 and 1923. (Figure E.8). Whitlock's batik technique in the silk crêpe de chine scarf shows careful and precise use of the canting to make dots and practiced control of wax application to create lines of varying widths of the stylized leaves. The dyeing was accomplished in the additive process with three tones, cream, pale green-yellow, and a pale olive. No areas of outlining with wax and painting dye are evident. Whitlock also succeeded in making a project that did not have any crackle. The Whitlock scarf demonstrates continued adherence to traditional batik techniques at Teachers College into the 1920s.

The University of Wisconsin provides an example of the interest in batik that had taken hold far from the art center of New York. In 1911, in an analysis of the textile programs in the United States, Abby L. Marlatt of the University of Wisconsin included recommendations for textile subject matter. Under the heading of "Arts and Crafts Movement," she placed "Practice in dyeing" with four sections of study: one section on using one color of dye; a section on "tied design," or tie-dye; a section on "bleaching designs," or discharge dyeing; and "Batiek," or batik.22 The University of Wisconsin Textile Department was precocious, offering batik course work early in batik's dissemination in America as compared to other textiles and home economics departments, and it is notable that Marlatt included it in her recommendations to other programs in the nation.

130
Batik remained a part of the curriculum at the University of Wisconsin into the 1920s. Four batik dresses made by students at the University of Wisconsin in 1921 show *en forme* designs that reflect conventionalized motifs of the Arts and Crafts movement (Figure E.9). *En forme* designs are decorations located on the garment in relation to the form of the garment, as opposed to a print throughout the surface or a pattern in the structure of a textile. Traditionally and primarily associated with embroidery, *en forme* designs are planned and applied to the textile before the garment is cut out of the fabric. Although it is not possible to discern the exact technique used for the wax application, the use of crackle is especially visible in the two dresses on the right of the figure.

Higher education spread batik technique across America. Teachers College at Columbia University facilitated the spread of batik technique in America due to the combination of two elements. The school was the primary teacher-training center for teachers of all levels. The training of many teachers for the textile and design programs in higher education around the country, including the home economics programs in the federally established land grant institutions in each state, occurred at Teachers College in the early twentieth century. This dissemination of teachers probably brought batik to the nation's

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23 *En forme* designs are applied before a garment is cut from the cloth so that the grain of the textile is maintained during the application of the embellishment.

regions because Teachers College had an eminent batik practitioner on the faculty, Charles E. Pellett. The ambitious batik dresses from the University of Wisconsin (Figure E.9) provide evidence of the sophisticated design and batik techniques. This training at a major Midwestern state university in the 1920s, developed from the early incorporation of batik in the curriculum in 1911.

**Batik Manuals and How-to Literature**

At least forty discreet batik manuals and how-to articles appeared between 1907 and 1936. (See Appendix A: Chronological List of American Manuals and How-to-batik Literature, 1907-1936, Including Editions and Reprintings.) They explain batik technique in varying levels of complexity and simplicity, however Mijer and Pellett give the most comprehensive dye information. The body of how-to-batik literature demonstrates the geographic span of the practice of batik, the presence of batik in college and high school curricula, and the range of the connections between people taken to present the books and articles. In addition to the articles and books already presented, additional books and magazine articles are examined here to show the range of the quality of information on batik technique, the perspectives of information provided to readers and potential batik makers, and information on the locations in American batik practice. *Batik and Other Pattern Dyeing*, from 1920 emerges from an Arts and Crafts perspective, in Indiana. *First Lessons in Batik: A Handbook in Batik, Tie-Dyeing and All Pattern Dyeing*, published in 1921 developed from high school and higher education in design in the Chicago area. *How to Decorate Textiles* by published in 1927 and *Craft Work*, published in 1929, show the simplistic
instructions offered in the years more distant from the initial entry of batik to America. *The Rainbow Book* exemplifies the absolute simplicity of the instructions prepared for the Camp Fire Girls to learn color theory. “Dyeing for Yourself and Your Friends” in *Ladies’ Home Journal* and “Simple Batik” in *Woman’s Home Companion*, both published in 1920, demonstrate the differences between the perspectives of two writers in national shelter magazines.

Walter Davis Baker and Ida Strawn Baker of the Waldcroft Studios in Indianapolis, Indiana published *Batik and Other Pattern Dyeing* in 1920. Based in an Arts and Crafts perspective, the book gives a history of batik and provides line drawings of Javanese motifs suitable to copy and use in a batik project, thereby ensuring the reader/student a link to tradition. The Bakers recommend Pieter Mijer’s process of outlining the design in wax using a canting and then using a brush to fill in wax areas. They also refer their readers to Mijer for further detailed instructions. The work of elementary and high school students is featured in the photographs as well as the authors’, and small stage backdrops of batik.

Gertrude Clayton Lewis was an instructor at Lindbloom High School in Chicago. Her book, *First Lessons in Batik: A Handbook in Batik, Tie-Dyeing and All Pattern Dyeing*, resulted from a first draft by Mary C. Scovel of the

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26 Ibid., 60.
Normal Department at the Art Institute of Chicago. The book presents the widest geographical reach of any of the books on batik. It also is a valuable resource due to the many pictures of American batik works of the early twentieth century. Lewis's Chicago location allowed the book to feature activities in batik in the Chicago area. Albert Buell Lewis, Assistant Curator of the Department of Anthropology at the Field Museum was the historical consultant. His Javanese batik collection served for many of the photographs of Javanese batik that provided the reader with accurate representations of traditional textiles. His collection also served for drawings of motifs. Educators, whose students or their own work is represented, included Albert W. Heckman of Teachers College, Columbia University, Amy Swisher of Miami University, Oxford, Ohio, and Miss Rose Buhlig, who, like Lewis, worked at Lindblom High School. Works from the Design Department of the Art Institute of Chicago and by students of the Winnetka, Illinois high school students are also shown. The magazines Keramic Studio and Industrial Arts Magazine gave photographs to be reproduced. Many batik artists provided photographs for the book: Anna Tyrell of the Art Department of the Art Institute of Chicago; Helen Reed, who had been a participant in the Women's Wear and Albert Blum textile design contests in New York and who was associated with Van Dyck Studios; Caroline Kohl; Jean Paul Slusser (1886-1981), who was a Lieutenant in the army at the time, provided photographs of batik made by men in U.S. General Hospital, No.2, and his


134
mural and a textile design are also shown; 28 Mary Tannahill, who had participated in the Women’s Wear and Albert Blum textile design contests in New York, is represented by her dress shown at the American Museum of Natural History in 1919; Pieter Mijer and Arthur Crisp’s The Sorceress is reproduced (See Figure D.12), as is Spring, one of Mijer’s collaborations with C. Bertram Hartman; Noank Studio is represented by two photographs of garments; Ilonka Karasz, a graphic and textile designer and Academy Art Shop associate is represented by The Queen and The King; Winold Reiss, another associate of the Academy Art Shop, has a color reproduction in the book; Ethel Wallace is pictured in one of her batik velvet dresses (Figure E.10). This book gave its readers resources for research and inspiration based both on tradition and innovations. The many images of batiks works, by a wide variety of practitioners in an array of formats, from purses to murals, were made available to the books readers in 1920 and today. Further, it demonstrated the extent of activity in batik in the Chicago area.

Two books presented extremely simplistic directions for batik, with no background on the history of batik in Java or the Netherlands. How to Decorate Textiles by Zelda Branch was published in 1927. In 1929, Edna Cave’s book Craft Work gave directions for many craft projects, batik among them, reflecting her position as an instructor of reed basketry at the Philadelphia School of Occupational Therapy. In the batik section she tells the reader “(m)ost of the

artists' supply shops sell a prepared wax for batikking called 'batik' wax," indicating the ready availability of this crucial supply for batik work.29

The absorption of batik into the Camp Fire Girls Library of the Seven Crafts shows that batik had been fully adopted and transformed in one of its American functions: it had become a craft activity for girls. The title The Rainbow Book alludes to the Camp Fire Girls’ tenets based in nature and to the topic of dyeing as a process to teach color theory.30 Extremely simplified instructions using a canting and a brush to do the wax fill-in are provided. The book also covers making batik on paper, and tie-dye is diagrammed and explained.

In 1920 two magazine articles appeared in shelter magazines soon after the first printing of Mijer’s book. They demonstrate that a disparity in batik techniques was already present in popular press presentations of batik. “Dyeing for Yourself and Your Friends” in Ladies’ Home Journal aims at success for the novice dyer by insisting on simple designs and using silk textiles that are receptive to the commercially available acid dyes.31 Betty Bonner, the author, describes using wax and a brush, her recommended technique, and does not use the word batik until well into the article when she says, “If one wishes to obtain a

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batik effect—that indefinite, hair like, cobwebby line over the design—one cracks
the waxed surface in clear cold water before the fabric is dipped into the dye
bath.”32 There is no mention of Java or tradition or a canting in the text.
Outlining in wax and painting inside the lines is Betty Bonner’s preferred dye
process. Directions for batik on functional flat textiles, such as table runners, are
provided and simple tie-dye instructions are given. In “Simple Batik” in
*Woman’s Home Companion*, the author mentions the Javanese and Dutch
history of batik and briefly captures the ten years of American use of batik.
Rather than recommend simple designs, Helen Griggs recommends that a water
color of the design be done first, then transferred to brown paper in the
appropriate size, and pounced onto the fabric in order to have an accurate design
for the given project. Her wax formula of five parts beeswax to one part paraffin
aims to be flexible to prevent crackle. Like Betty Bonner, her wax technique uses
brushes, she mentions that painting with dye is an option, and she recommends
using silk fabric. However, Griggs invites the reader to apply batik to more
complex projects than Bonner, such as to decorate clothing, lamp shades,
curtains, and pillows (Figure E.11)33 Griggs recognizes that a person may want to
do more sophisticated batik and she refers the reader to Mijer’s book.

These books and articles, of good to poor quality in their ability to provide
directions that would result in a competent batik project, provide a picture of the
spread of batik in America. The Midwest, especially the Chicago area, was an

32 Ibid., 79.
33 Helen McLean Griggs, “Simple Batik,” *Woman’s Home Companion* 47, March 1920,
40, 143, 147.
active batik region, especially in the high schools and at the Art Institute of Chicago. The artists and studios of New York responded to Lewis and her publisher, Prang & Co., who had a New York office, with many examples of their works resulting in a book that presented images of the range of abilities in American batik in 1921. The eventual decline of batik manuals into simplistic formulas reflects the loss of connection to the Javanese traditions.

**Arts and Crafts: The Batik Artist’s Supporting Infrastructure**

A batik by Lois Fox Herr reflects Arts and Crafts values. Herr’s batik, an image of a woman reading a book (Figure E.12), is made in traditional batik technique on silk velvet, with spaces of color and no outline or overt crackle. The dress shows modeling through careful planning of the waxing and colors used.

The organizations and publications of the Arts and Crafts movement provided outlets for the work of those who sought the opportunity. The National Arts Club, founded in 1898 by Charles de Kay, was the parent organization of the National Society of Craftsmen, established in 1906. The National Society of Craftsmen had the following objectives:

A. To promote the creation and sale of products of the Arts and Crafts.

B. To maintain a Permanent Exhibition

C. To maintain a Bureau of Information for Craftsmen and Clients.34

In 1909 The National Arts Club held an exhibition of members works that featured works by Ami Mali Hicks that were “apparently batik.”35 Ami Mali

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34 *National Society of Craftsmen, 1908-1909.* (New York: National Society of Craftsmen, 1908-1909), n.p. The name of the New York Society of Craftsmen was also listed in the Union List of Serials for the entries of the National Society of Craftsmen.

138
Hicks and Charlotte Busck were members of the Board of Directors of the National Society of Craftsmen in 1908-09. Membership roles of the National Society of Craftsmen reflect members' names across the United States, from Fargo, North Dakota to Kentucky. The names of art and design experts in the roles include of Arthur W. Dow, Prof. Chas. E. Pellew, and Gustave Stickley.36

The Eighth Annual Exhibition of the National Society of Craftsmen (1915) included embroidery, weaving from Deerfield and Newcomb College, Italian cutwork and crocheted lace. However, the batiks received the highest praise in a review of the exhibit with, "(t)he textiles deserve not a paragraph but a chapter. These people are really helping us in making our clothes beautiful. The scarves dyed and stenciled by Ami Mali Hicks have decided beauty and freshness of treatment; and the dyed scarfs of Prof. Pellew and Mrs. Allison hold their usual high place."37

Ami Mali Hicks was aware of Dutch batik. In 1914 she wrote:

The modern Dutch batiks are technically very perfect but are not always pleasing from the designer's standpoint. They often fail from inharmonious color arrangements... Dutch silks and velvets are used for making all articles of wearing apparel and are used also for interior decoration.38

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37 Maude E. Woodruff, "The Eighth Annual Exhibition of the National Society of Craftsmen," Art and Progress 6, no.3, January 1915, 94.

38 Hicks, The Craft of Hand-Made Rugs, 230-31
It is not clear whether Hicks refers to the work of Dutch artists such as Lebeau, Cachet and others, or if she refers to Pieter Mijer. However it is probable that Mijer is her subject and target. She was necessarily aware of Mijer's work, since she would have seen him as a competitor. They had divergent views of what constituted good batik. In 1914, in her book The Craft of Hand-Made Rugs, Hicks describes the process of outlining with wax and painting dye inside the lines: “By the method of floating in acid dyes in silk, any number of colors may be produced in one design. This is a practical method for making pattern on lamp shades, scarves and gowns.”39 After giving detailed instructions for the process she describes the effect with appreciation, saying, “This reserves a white outline all around the spots of different color in the designs and also separates them from the background.”40 This is the light outline that Pieter Mijer disparaged. Perhaps the two were friendly competitors, or perhaps they simply had divergent aesthetics for batik. Hicks' preference for outlined designs on silk may have been due to her experience as a stage costume designer, where outlines to small shapes can be of benefit in the distance and intense light of the stage environment.41 Mijer adhered to tradition and made many murals that were created to be seen close up such as Hospitality made with Arthur Crisp that hung in the Hotel Dupont in Wilmington, Delaware.42

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For Pieter Mijer *Arts and Crafts Magazine* provided a targeted way to announce his work. His advertisement of 1912 reads: "Pieter Myer, Batiked Lamp Shades, Scarfs and Dresses, 771 Lexington Avenue, New York." On the same page Charlotte Busck advertised her leather batik and mentioned that the technique was developed with Pellew. It is worth noting that in his writing on batik Pellew remarked on *De Batik-kunst in Nederlandsch-Indië en haar gescheidenis*. It is also possible that he was aware of the articles by H. A. Baanders, the architect who made thorough investigations into formulas for dyes and resist mediums at the Koloniaal Museum in Haarlem at the turn of the century. Pellew probably deciphered Baanders' information on leather technique (which was also in Neuhuys 1907 articles in English) with Busck. In 1913 Charlotte Busck placed this full-page advertisement for her correspondence course in *Arts and Crafts Magazine*:

Textile Dyeing and the Batik Process
A Practical Correspondence Course which includes the Synthetic and the Natural Dyes in their Application to Silk, Cotton, Linen and Leather. Samples of the materials will be sent with each lesson.
2. Synthetic Dyes on Silk. VI, VIII.
3. Synthetic Dyes on Cotton and Linen. IX.
4. The Dyeing of Leather. X
Any difficulties or questions arising will be answered by supplementary

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44 Ibid.
letters. Price of course for individuals or clubs, $75.00.
Charlotte Busck, Eidenoissische Bank, Zurich Switzerland.46

Batik artists who lived in California demonstrate that batik technique was practiced in the far West in the early twentieth century. The Women's Exchange and Mart on Point Loma sold batiks, probably including the work of Marion Plummer Lester and Grace Betts. An accomplished ceramics decorator, Anna Maria Valentien (1862-1947), came from the Arts and Crafts tradition and made batiks after she moved to California.

In 1875 Helena Petrovna Blavatsky (1831—1891) and Henry Steel Olcott (1832-1907) founded the Theosophical Society, a society that calls on ancient religions of the East and West, rejects dogma, and centers on a belief in universal brotherhood. Still an operating philosophy, Theosophism was popular among avant-garde communities and attracted prominent citizens such as Thomas Alva Edison and Abner Doubleday. Katherine Tingley (1847-1929) established a Theosophical center in Point Loma, California, where a group attempted to live in a collective. Needing ways to earn a livelihood, the Women's Exchange and Mart was opened to provide a place where handicrafts, including batiks, were sold.47 Grace Betts and Marion Lester Plummer made batiks and probably sold them at the Women's Exchange and Mart. Marion Lester's pictorial batiks have a wistful, dreamy quality drawn from the symbolist style. In Landscape Near Alpine in

46 Charlotte Busck, "Textile Dyeing and The Batik Process," Arts and Crafts Magazine 5 (February 1913): n.p. Evidently Busck was not a permanent resident of the United States at this time and maintained banking and correspondence in Switzerland.

Figure E.13, an example of her work dated in the 1920s, she used wax resist to her advantage and did not use the outline technique, or a canting. The work appears to be accomplished with brush application of the wax.\footnote{48}

Anna Maria Valentien was a versatile artist who studied at the Cincinnati Art Academy. She worked at Rookwood Pottery in Ohio from 1884 to 1905 as a painter and decorator of ceramics. During the years 1899 and 1900 she and Albert Robert Valentien, her husband, studied in Europe. In 1907 they moved to California and founded Valentien Art Pottery.\footnote{49} While pottery was their main focus, the versatile Anna had many interests.\footnote{50} Her connection to Arts and Crafts probably accounts for her knowledge of batik through publications or acquaintances. In 1919 Anna Valentien exhibited batik opera bags and won first prize at the California State Fair held in Sacramento, California.\footnote{51}

\footnote{48}The San Diego Historical Society holds batiks by Betts, Lester and Plummer. One batik by Grace Betts: a tablecloth depicting the Egyptian Tarot, accession #79.17.18. Three Lester pieces: Landscape Near Alpine in Figure 4.12, accession # 82.27.8; Scene with Four Trees, accession #80.18.2; and Marion and Her Two Sisters, accession #82.27.7. Three batiks by Anna Valentien: a design of a butterfly, accession #82.36.8; an abstract in hot pink and orange, purple, and yellow, accession #na82.21; and a purse, accession #82.21.3.


\footnote{51}This information was provided to me by Denny Stone, Curator of Costumes and Textiles at the San Diego Historical Society who referred to notes made by Bruce Kammerling concerning a purse in the San Diego Historical Society, Textiles and Costume Collection mentioned in n. 46 above, accession #82.21.3.
Batik had obvious popularity in the Midwest, especially in the Chicago area, and was practiced in California. The network of organizations and publications of the Arts and Crafts movement helped artisans and artists show their work and promote it, which was the stated aim of the National Society of Craftsman with members all over the country. Ami Mali Hicks, Pieter Mijer, and Charles E. Pellew, the three most prominent figures in the spread of batik due to their publications, and teaching batik techniques to others, all used Arts and Crafts publications or were member of Arts and Crafts groups in order to show and promote their batiks. The apparent schism between Hicks and Mijer reflected the two techniques that had gained positions in American practice. Despite Mijer’s negative opinion of floating in dye, as Hicks called it, or painting dye in spaces outlined by a wax line, it was widely advocated and adopted, however not to the exclusion of traditional techniques.

Manufactured Batiks: Art into Industry

At least two American textile companies, Cheney Brothers and H.R. Mallinson & Co., began making imitation batik broad goods, establishing the industrial effort to bring the art of batik into the American textile industry in 1918. In addition, an entrepreneur named E. Varian Cockcroft (1881-1962) conceived of a printing innovation following her work making batik garments. The industrial applications of batik in American culture that arose from the efforts of these two textile companies and Cockcroft are examined to discover

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52 See n. 34.
how industrial applications may have been accomplished, and their significant visual attributes.

Cheney Brothers and H.R. Mallinson & Co., Inc. and Imitation Batik

Cheney Brothers prided themselves on their superior jacquard textiles based on sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth century European textiles from their South Manchester mill. Imitation batik was a departure from their normal market. H.R. Mallinson & Co. marketed their fashion fabrics aggressively using stars of the stage to draw attention to their new fabrics. Roshanara, an English woman raised in India who performed traditional dances of India, was a spokesperson for Mallinson during the sale of their batik fabrics. That these companies entered the textile market with imitation batiks is a testament to their support of the Designed in America initiative of Crawford, Women's Wear, the museums, and other industrialists. However, it is also an example of industry attempting to capitalize on a fashionable trend that emerged from the world of art and entrepreneurship. Without the possibility of commercial success, they would not have entered into the experimentation, production and marketing of such novel textile designs. The success of fashionable handmade products carried by Bonwit Teller and John Wanamaker, and those sold by independent batik makers in New York, especially in Greenwich Village, had encouraged Cheney and Mallinson to attempt to produce imitation batiks for the mass market.

Cheney Brothers participated in the Exhibition of Industrial Art in Textiles and Costumes at the American Museum of Natural History in November 1919 where they installed an exhibit of brocades on the theme of the history of silk production in America. They also exhibited their new collection of Ye Greenwich Village Prints designed by Coulton Waugh. Although these designs have been mentioned in other research, this is the first time that their appearance has been analyzed. The designs appeared in color plates in *Applied Art: A Collection of Designs Showing the Tendencies in American Industrial Art* in 1919. Crawford said that the designs “strike a definitely new note in decorative art.” Four designs from Cheney’s Ye Greenwich Village Prints line of imitation batiks are illustrated in Figures E.14, E.15, E.16, and E.17. Three of these designs use a visually dominant grid as one of their motifs. The stylized flowers set within a grid in Figure E.14 achieve a modern impression: the wavy lines and crackle effect of this design are reminiscent of handmade wax resist fabrics and the dominant grid evokes the Viennese school of design that was gaining appreciation in America. The two remaining designs set on a visible grid, Figures E.16 and E.17, are repeat offset designs of two images. The intensely active lines and the dense arrangement of contrasting open spaces and compact imagery are

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unusual in this period when small florals, foulards, stripes, and solids predominated. However as Schoeser and Rufey have noted there was a shift to smaller and more frequent yardage orders at this time. Therefore the opportunity for variety in small manufacturing runs may have allowed for more experimentation in design offerings.\textsuperscript{57} The crackle effect, visible in three designs, Figures E.14, E.16, and E.17, reflects American interest in the crackle effect. Crackle was not endorsed by experts in traditional batiks, or by the primary American teachers for American practitioners. Despite these strictures from the knowledgeable, crackle became popular with American interested in batik. It is not known if the Ye Greenwich Village Prints silks were successful for the Cheney Brothers. However, the design in Figure E.17 of the silhouette of a dancing couple at a costume ball off-set with an image of banners and lanterns, was used for capes made as bathing cover-ups in Palm Beach, Florida. Worn by socialites, the capes appeared in two consecutive seasons of \textit{Vogue} magazine in 1921 and 1922 (Figure E.18).\textsuperscript{58}

The announcement that Cheney had developed an “interesting mechanical imitation of the ancient Batik work” came in February of 1918.\textsuperscript{59} The John Wanamaker Store silk department began selling “Batik satin crackle, plain colors

\textsuperscript{56} Herbert E. Martini, editor, \textit{Applied Art: A Collection of Designs Showing the Tendencies of American Industrial Art} (New York: F.K. Ferenz, 1919), Plate 6, Plate 33.

\textsuperscript{57} Schoeser and Rufey, \textit{English and American Textiles}, 169.

\textsuperscript{58} “Society Enjoys Palm Beach In A Diversity of Ways,” \textit{Vogue}, April 1921, 62; “An Unusual Number of Socially Prominent Guests Have Added to a Season of Gaiety Amid the Tropical Beauty of Palm Beach,” \textit{Vogue}, April 1922, 57. I am thankful for the sharp eyes of Susan Hannel who spotted these fashions.
only, $2.85; Batik pongee crackle, hand made, 12 color combinations, $3.00” in March 1918. The Smithsonian Institution National Museum of American History holds seven silks purchased from John Wanamaker in 1918. Among those silks are “Batik Satin Crackle—a soft supple satin weave fabric showing Javanese batik work design reproduced in printed effect,” and “Batik Pongee Crackle—a silk fabric woven in the gum, of ‘singles’ [a single filament of silk that has not been degummed] showing a Javanese batik work design reproduced in an (sic) hand printed effect.” The accession notes for the textile samples reflect the same prices as the February 1918 Women’s Wear notice remarking on the new products. Examinations of the Smithsonian Institution’s textiles reveals a strong crackle effect: the only motif or pattern on these two textiles and is a dense field of thin lines. The satin textile is a light blue color with navy blue all-over crackle. The pongee is cream with all-over crackle of rust-brown and green. No repeat was discerned during examination of the samples, therefore at this time I conclude that the fabrics were not printed with a crackle design. Instead they were coated with a resist, the resist was manipulated to cause breaks in the resist surface, and then the textiles were dyed, resulting in the field of crackle. There are two primary possibilities for the origin of these textiles. One is that Cheney developed a mechanical process to apply an all-over wax and subsequent random crackling of the wax in their investigation of batik in 1918 and these are examples of that process. The other primary possibility is that these textiles were

handmade by Pieter Mijer. Although they do not resemble any of his published techniques and he did not endorse crackle as desirable, they were sold in the Wanamaker Silk Shop while he was making batiks for sale there. It is possible that he made such items in order to make money. These textiles warrant further investigation to discover their process and attribution.61

H.R. Mallinson & Co. also exhibited in the 1919 Exhibition of Industrial Art in Textiles and Costumes at the American Museum of Natural History, however their textiles were based on Peruvian motifs, not batik.62 The designer of these textiles is not named, however Martha Ryther, a contestant and winner in the Women's Wear and Albert Blum design contests, had been hired by Mallinson in 1918 to design silks for their line, and she may be the designer of Mallinson fashion silks after that date. Three of Mallinson's imitation batiks, given by M.D.C. Crawford, are also in the collection of the Smithsonian Institution National Museum of American History.63 Two of these are illustrated in Figures E.19 and E.20. Mallinson used a silk georgette fabric they named Indestructible Voile for these batik prints. Figure E.19 is "Tiger Rose," one of their designs advertised by Roshanara made up in dresses.64 Five colors were

61 See n. 92, Chapter 2 for accession numbers.
63 See n. 2, Chapter 3 for accession numbers.
64 A new fabric by Mallinson called Roshanara crépe was included in the following two articles: "A Three-in-One Costume of Batik and crêpe," American Silk Journal 37 no.4 (April 1918): 37; "An All-American Fashion Show," American Silk Journal 37, no. 9 (September 1918): 40. Djuna Chappell Barnes, "Roshanara, A Wraithlike Reincarnation of the Ancient East," New York Press, 14 June 1914, 5, is a promotional article on Roshanara; Roshanara's interest in textiles is made evident in Mlle. Roshanara, "Some of the Unused Resources of Textile Designing, Which are of the Greatest Practical Value
used in the print: a light green ground, flowers in white and tan, and crackle in purple and violet. This design was probably created entirely by printing. The crackle does not appear like a web, but instead is a repeat striated pattern across the width of the fabric. Figure E.20 is an en forme block print that imitates the application of a wax line with a canting. The neck of the garment is the oval area near the center without design motifs, the sleeves extend out to the sides of the neck area, and the front and back are at the top and bottom of the image. A third Mallinson Javanesque effect, as Mallinson called them, is in the private collection of Yvonne Paterson. Figure E.21 illustrates a detail of the print on their textile named Pussy Willow, a silk with an extremely soft hand. This textile was made into a caftan in approximately 1919-1920 and was worn by Elsa Euland, companion to Paterson’s aunt, who had lived in Greenwich Village. Ms. Paterson remembers that Elsa Euland’s closets were full of colorful and unusual clothes and that she liked bold colors and beautiful textiles. The base color is olive green and the print is cream, golden yellow, fuchsia, gray-blue, turquoise, brown and black. The stylized design is a collage of three versions of Chinese medallions, birds, butterflies, and floral, foliage and grid motifs. Lines that simulate the lines of a canting or crackle appear throughout, unifying the entire design.

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65 Deborah Saville discovered this private collection and introduced me to Ms. Yvonne Paterson. I examined the garment in Ms. Yvonne Paterson’s home with Deborah Saville and found the words “Mallinson’s Pussy Willow” in the selvedge, preserved due to the construction of the garment as a caftan.

66 “Modish Silks for Fall,” American Silk Journal 40, no.6 (1921): 45-6.
American imitation batiks, created for a domestic market that was largely unfamiliar with the tradition and history of batik, bear no resemblance to European imitation batiks for the Asian and African markets that used motifs specific to those target markets and required the appearance of the traditional technique. To Americans, batik was an exotic method of decorating textiles that was novel and artistic, and therefore in the mass market there was no necessity for Cheney or Mallinson to create designs that evoked known or traditional batik designs. Instead, both used crackle in their imitations of batik, a motif that had no meaning to Americans except as an abstract pattern that was the signature of batik.

E. Varian Cockcroft's Illuminated Fabrics

M.D.C. Crawford championed batik as a means for textile designers to flex their abilities beyond repeat designs. Many met the challenge in their handmade garments decorated with en forme designs. E. Varian Cockcroft met Crawford's challenge by developing a printing scheme that imitated the placement and effect of the fashionable batik hand-dyed designs.

Reputed to have exhibited art in Paris, E. Varian Cockcroft was considered a superior artist by C. Owen Lublin when he reviewed an exhibition of the New York Water Color Club in 1915. He admired "the strength which is E. Varian Cockroft's (sic)" whose work shows "rhythm as obtained by line and flat color" that she drew from Matisse (1869-1954) and Augustus John (1878-1961). Lubin had tired of the school of Arthur Dow with its conventionalized forms and
enjoyed Cockcroft’s “emotional quality which adds to its value and marks her as a nature-made painter, whose personality must be felt no matter what matter she may chose to impose on it.”

She chose to apply herself to batik. In 1917 and 1919 Cockcroft exhibited at the Shelton Looms Fashion Show. Her specialty in these shows was velvet batik eveningwear. She exhibited a trained evening gown of apricot velvet with a batik design in turquoise and wine, and a kimono sleeved full-length tea gown with a widely spaced design of flowers and leaves in batik. She turned her hand-decorated work from evening wear to blouses, a more accessible market, and advertised the result as “illuminated fabrics” in the spring of 1921 (Figure E.22).

In March 1921, the same month that her illuminated fabrics were advertised, Cockcroft announced a patent to print en forme designs in “Designs Print Conforming to Garment Style and Adaptable to All Fabrics”:

The idea is to print the fabric in such a shape that it can be sold by the yard or by the designs, and to have the decoration conform to the shape of the garment so that it indicates the cut and the way to make it up, indicating the back and the front section. The idea is not confined to batik designs, and woven and brocade effects may be employed as well as printing.

67 “Designs Print Conforming to Garment Styles and Adaptable to All Fabrics,” *Women's Wear*, 29 March 1921, 6, 34.


Cockcroft’s objective was to make the popular hand-decorated appearance more widely available. Figure E. 23 is the illustration she provided to the press to announce her search for a silk house to take on the project. The illustration shows how she envisioned a bolt of fabric treated with her idea.72

Soon Cockcroft had a partner. The announcement in American Silk Journal that the “Phoenix Silk Mfg. have gone in to the print novelties in their individual and exclusive line of printed blouse patterns, with anticipation that they will be popular with the trade” showed that Cockcroft had made a deal to produce her idea.73 Phoenix Silk Manufacturing Company, located in Paterson, New Jersey was “(d)aring, despised, and solitary” and “prospered, outlasting all but a few of its competitors. . . .”74 The low regard for this company was due to its practice of selling staple broad goods at extremely low prices that hurt their competitors while also “weaving novelties which might ‘catch’ and realize spectacular profits.”75 Thus it was that the Phoenix Silk Mfg. Co.’s business pattern of seeking hot novelties extended to E. Varian Cockcroft’s idea in 1921.

The “Cockcroft Illuminated Blouse” in Figure E.24 is the made-up product based on Cockcroft’s idea, printed by Oriental Silk Printing Company, on the Phoenix

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73 “A Spurt in Buying Silks,” American Silk Journal 41, no.1 (January 1922): 92
75 Ibid., 52.
Silk Manufacturing Company's satin checked taffeta. The novelty must have hit for a while. In June 1922 Cockcroft supported the Art Alliance's 6th Annual Albert Blum Hand Decorated Textile Contest, providing a $100 prize to Norman Levinson for the best design for a blouse. In 1923 Cockcroft was still advertising her illuminated fabrics.

Conclusion

In this chapter the spread of batik has been examined from several perspectives to demonstrate how knowledge of the existence of batik and the practice of batik techniques spread across the nation after 1907. The broad American public received exposure to traditional batik through the publicity campaign and performances of Eva Gautier's *Songmotion* vaudeville tour in 1915 and 1916. This tour and its publicity centered on Javanese harems, promoted association of traditional batik fabric with concepts of exoticism and sensuality. Batik was joined to modern concepts through the performances that combined modern dance and the batik clad Gautier singing atonal music. Batik technique spread across the nation by the early 1920s due to many processes. The infrastructure of the Arts and Crafts movement permeated the process, through publications of prominent practitioners Ami Mali Hicks, Pieter Mijer, and Charles E. Pellew. Connection to traditional Javanese batik was maintained

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77 "Art Alliance Exhibits," *American Silk Journal* 41, no.6 (June 1922): 54.

through the Arts and Crafts where tradition held an important role into the
1920s. Teachers College in New York facilitated the implementation of batik in
higher education textiles programs, in design schools, and in high schools. The
function of Teachers College to train teachers and the presence of the batik
authority Charles E. Pellew at Columbia University combined to provide a ripe
situation for young teachers-in-training to acquire batik technique. Students at
Teachers College could draw on Pellew’s dye chemistry and technical dyeing
knowledge, as well as observe Pellew’s batiks at Arts and Crafts exhibitions. The
University of Wisconsin’s incorporation of batik in its textiles curriculum and
recommendation of it to other programs in 1911 demonstrates that batik had a
presence outside New York before it was fashionable in New York. How-to-batik
literature in the form of books and magazine articles provided evidence of the
spread of batik technique in high schools in the early 1920s. They also
demonstrated that the popularly promoted form of batik technique used painting
dye inside a wax outline, contrary to the experts’ recommendations.

To capitalize on the popularity of handmade batik items in fashionable
dress, industrial applications of the visual concepts of batik were produced from
1918 through 1921. Cheney Brothers presented a line of silk fabrics named Ye
Greenwich Village Prints designed by Coulton Waugh in 1918 with printed
crackle of compact wiggling lines. Cheney may have also produced the all-over
web-like crackle in the samples from John Wanamaker in the Smithsonian
Institution. H. R. Mallinson created at several printed versions of batik. They
produced a block print that represented the use of a canting tool to apply wax.
Mallinson also made prints with crackle in the print designs. The Tiger Rose print had a striated crackle in two colors. Their Pussy Willow Chinese medallion design combined the impression of crackle randomness with the line quality of a canting, with a smooth line. Finally, E. Varian Cockcroft used the notion of *en forme* decoration on garments that she had used in her handmade batik work to develop a process for printing yardage. Her idea was to simulate the hand process of batik or other hand decoration by using *en forme* placement of printed motifs.
CHAPTER 5

THE TRANSFORMATION AND MEANING OF BATIK IN AMERICA

The purpose of this research was to gain a broad understanding of the absorption, transformation and meaning of batik, a technique for decorating textiles that reached its apex in Java, into American textile arts and design. The objectives were to examine the foundations, entry, emergence, spread, and transformations of batik in America. The following research activities structured the inquiry to meet the objectives: assess the mechanisms that influenced the adoption of batik across America, discover the depth and breadth of the adoption and awareness of batik in America in the early twentieth century, and examine and interpret the meaning of batik in America in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In this chapter the latter research activity, which codifies an influence from Javanese textile arts into the American design canon, is examined in the context of Orientalism. Southeast Asian influences in American fashion and textile arts merit analysis and codification in order to discern and evaluate their presence. The profound influences of China and Japan in American textile arts and fashion obscure those from Southeast Asia, which emerge later and are
less prominent.\textsuperscript{79} This research turned attention to the largely unrecognized Southeast Asian influences in the American design canon. A focused history and analysis of batik’s American absorption and recognition of batik’s influences and permutations allow the presence of resonances of batik in American design to be acknowledged and viewed in context. Four elements are identified as derivations or re-expressions in American design based on the source of Javanese batik: painting dye inside a wax outline, E. Varian Cockcroft’s \textit{en forme} printing innovation, the line quality of wax flowing from a canting, and crackle effects. A brief summary of the critical points of the research presented in the preceding chapters follows, and the discussion of the meaning of batik in America in the context of Orientalism concludes the research.

Transformation of Batik in America: Javanese to Javaneseque

This research explains the phenomenon of batik technique in America by examining the concurrent processes of dissemination and transformation. As a technique, batik requires involvement in attempting the process that can be expressed in a variety of levels of commitment to gaining expertise in the technique. The spread of the batik technique was egalitarian, since access to the

technique was widely available in public education in high schools, university textile departments, and in an array of manuals. Batik was also marketed in department stores, as shown in John Wanamaker Stores, and in the avant-garde community of Greenwich Village, as explained by Nicola Shilliam. Is these locations batik products were available to the elite communities of the economically privileged and to the avant-garde enclave. Batik art was also available, however this sector of batik production awaits further examination. Transformations in batik occurred as a result of the simultaneous process of its spread as a popular activity and its use as an artistic and avant-garde pursuit, which led to its appropriation for commercial textile products.

This research counters the previous emphasis on the avant-garde and New York's Greenwich Village residents as batik's earliest adopters. Instead the role of the existing national infrastructure of the Arts and Crafts and the affiliations of people responding to the Arts and Crafts movement, are suggested as the earliest conduit for the spread of batik practice in America. Further, the importance of design training in the textile programs of higher education in universities as an early mechanism of the spread of batik, again on a national level, was examined.

The process of absorption and adoption of batik into American practice was mediated by Dutch adaptations to batik from its Javanese source. A synthesis of the process of the discovery and development of batik in the Netherlands, previously unavailable to the reader of English, was presented here. The dimensions of the Dutch practice of batik and the individuals who influenced
the entry of batik to America, were examined demonstrating the linkage to the American Arts and Crafts movement.

The response in the Netherlands to the modern design movements, including Arts and Crafts from England and Art Nouveau from Belgium and France, developed in the Nieuwe Kunst style. Batik textiles met the Arts and Crafts tenets of commitment to handmade over industrial processes, maintenance of traditional crafts, and the elevation of ubiquitous objects through design. The use of sinuous lines, visual rhythm, flat conventionalized forms, and the refined aspects of the batik technique corresponded with the formal conventions of Art Nouveau. Explorations in the ethnographic collections of the Netherlands, which had been acquired through the nation's role as the primary colonial power in the East Indies, provided the resources for batik to be discovered and analyzed by artists and architects, notably Lion Cachet, Berlage and Baanders. Baanders' partnership in the 1890s with the Koloniale Museum in Haarlem led to dye and wax formulas that became the foundation of the Haarlem batik technique, described for Americans by Neuhuys in Keramic Studio in 1907. The Dutch artists' explorations in batik resulted in the establishment of several batik ateliers. The atelier with the most prominent profile in the emergence of batik in America, due to its promotion by Mabel Tuke Priestman, was the Batikkunst run by Agathe Wegerif-Gravestein in Apeldoorn. She was a prize-winning batik artist as well as an excellent promoter of the studio (and thus of the craft of batik), where a cadre of women made batik using new processes, including stencils, brushes, and serial production, and new dyes. Another
extension of Dutch batik to America occurred in 1926 when batiks by Marguerite Pangon of France were included in the exhibition titled “A Selected Collection of Objects from the International Exposition of Modern Decorative and Industrial Art at Paris 1925” toured major American cities. Pangon had studied batik in Haarlem and later operated a boutique and atelier in Paris noted in American travel publications.

The breadth and depth of the practice of batik in the United States was supported primarily by the infrastructure of the widely popular Arts and Crafts movement in its publications, and organizations and in education influenced by the movement. Publications such as Keramic Studio and the Craftsman published important and early batik technique articles in 1907 and 1909 respectively. Batik technique was introduced to the American public through Theo. Neuhuys’ articles in Keramic Studio and Mabel Tuke Priestman’s article in International Studio in 1907. Neuhuys, a Dutch batik artist, articulated aspects of a Haarlem school of batik: he emphasized the need for permanent dyes, provided formulas for dyes for textiles and leather, explained application to leather, and gave formulas for wax resist to minimize crackle. His articles were reprinted in 1919 and 1920, indicating the popularity batik had reached in those years. Priestman presented Agathe Wegerif-Gravestein and wrote of her own use of batik technique, including her improvised canting tool. Priestman also wrote in the Craftsman in 1907 featuring Ami Mali Hicks and Wegerif-Gravestein, where, in a mistake that was repeated by M.D.C. Crawford in 1919, Priestman called tie-dye batik. This
collapse of resist processes into the word batik by two of batik's promoters probably led to similar confusion among the public.

Arts and Crafts organizations, such as the National Society of Craftsmen, and publications such as *Arts and Crafts Magazine*, provided contact among batik practitioners and extended the opportunity to learn the technique to those with an interest. Readers could contact advertisers, such as Pieter Mijer, or Charlotte Busck, or they could learn batik techniques from the numerous how-to-batik publications. The presence of batik in California is also linked to the Arts and Crafts. Anna Valentien, an accomplished and versatile artist from Rookwood Pottery in Ohio moved to California in 1907 where she made batiks. Marion Lester's pictorial batiks from San Diego demonstrate the interpretation of batik into art without a canting and using a brush to paint both wax and dye.

This research demonstrated the role of textile programs in higher education in the spread and breadth of the practice of batik, and the early date of batiks presence in a higher education curriculum outside of New York. In higher education two programs stand out as prime contributors to the spread of batik technique in America. Teachers College at Columbia University employed Charles E. Pellew, who authored an article in *Craftsman* on batik in 1909 and published a book on hand dyeing processes in 1913. As a chemist he was eminently suited to work on dye and resist formulations with students at Teachers College. Pellew was aware of Dutch publications on batik, such as Rouffaer and used them as sources for his investigations, continuing the influence of the Dutch batik investigations in American practice. Pellew also
exhibited his batiks through his membership in the National Society of Craftsman. Teachers College prepared many textiles and design teachers to join the faculties of high schools, normal colleges, and universities across the country. It is probable that Pellew’s interest in batik and teaching of it in the textiles program at Teachers College were the primary influence that first that led to the incorporation of batik in secondary and higher education outside New York by 1911. The University of Wisconsin offered batik as a section of its curriculum in textiles, and Abby Marlatt from that faculty suggested it to other programs in 1911 in the *Journal of Home Economics*. The inclusion of batik in the textiles curriculum at the University of Wisconsin by 1911 preceded the fashionable popularity for batik in New York’s Greenwich Village of the mid-1910s. Batik continued in the curriculum, as is demonstrated by four batik dresses photographed in 1921 with at least two showing heavy use of crackle effect.

Travel served as a conduit for introducing batik to America. This is evident in all of the dimensions of batik’s American presence from introductions of traditional batik in images to commercial textile designs made in batik. Augusta de Wit’s travel memoir, *Java, Facts and Fancies*, written in 1906 that helped to familiarize its readers with batik through photographs provided to her by the Leyden Ethnographical Museum and the Koloniale Museum of Haarlem. In “Batik,” Minnie Frost Rands shared her enthusiasm for batik in 1923. Following three year of observation in Java, she provided the earliest American detailed analysis of batik in Java. Her account made clear the time and skill that traditional Javanese batik required, and demonstrated admiration for Javanese
artistry. These publications would have reached people who had an interest in Java specifically or Asia generally, not the broad public.

Among its several travel paths, batik made a unique entry in America via the travel of Marguerite Zorach. She had traveled home from Europe in 1911 and 1912 via Asia, including a stop in Java where she purchased traditional batik tools. Zorach’s textile art has received attention from Nicola Shilliam and Hazel Clark. These scholars discuss Zorach’s batiks but concentrate on her embroideries, which were more widely acclaimed and exhibited. However, Zorach created at least two textile designs that were commercially produced. H. R. Mallinson produced one and the other, named “Vines of Blooms and Birds” in this research and that appears in Figure D.11, which has not been previously examined, was produced by Burton Brothers. I contend that although Zorach could have used painting or linocut for her designs. Based on a comparison of the textile designs and a known batik garment, a blouse in the Smithsonian Institution, it is clear that she used batik. I suggest Zorach taught herself to batik following observation in Java and that she then brought her modern approach of expression to batik, a medium that suited her artistic style.

This research expanded understanding of Pieter Mijer, a known batik manual author, explained his education, his immigration, and established that Mary Myer [Mijer] and then Dorothy Armstrong were partners in his work. Pieter Mijer’s relationship with C.A. Frutchey was discovered and examined and showed the variety of his creative activities beyond mural collaborations, including tie-dye and batik yardage. Mijer also designed costumes for the
Greenwich Village Follies, beginning in 1919, when the production included a song and show-girl number with chorus girls in Javanese costumes.

The prevailing perception that Pieter Mijer was the first to introduce batik, or that he was the primary instigator in its initial popular spread has been examined, demonstrating that his role was as an advocate, teacher, author, and entrepreneur. Mijer did not enter the United States until 1909 and did not emerge as a batik artist until 1912 when he advertised his batiks in Arts and Crafts Magazine (he first made furniture in America), while batik was already present in publications by 1907 and in higher education curricula by 1911, as discussed above. However, Mijer's roles as a popularizer, as a spokesman for traditional technique, and as a commercial entrepreneur were important in the spread of batik. Mijer's life had prepared him with the perfect blend of skills to become the most recognized American batik expert. As a younger and young man in Java he saw batiks. His interest in design while in the Netherlands and exposure to Dutch batik there made him uniquely suited to meet the already emerging interest in batik in America. Although he did not ally himself with Arts and Crafts as a member of organizations, his perspective, based in Javanese traditional Dutch Nieuwe Kunst, coincided with Arts and Crafts precepts. Mijer advocated planned designs, the use of the canting to apply wax, and painting with wax to fill in spaces. Clearly, although Mijer came to America after batik was introduced, his talents, and the cachet he had as a Dutchman who had lived in Java, supported an entrepreneurial artistic career dominated by batik that greatly
influenced the spread of batik after 1919, especially when his book *Batiks and How To Make Them* was first published.

Two approaches in the handmade craft of batik were developed from the techniques of Ami Mali Hicks and Pieter Mijer. Pieter Mijer's batik process was strongly linked to traditional Javanese techniques, or their visual representation: he did not advocate painting with dye inside an outline of wax nor did he advocate crackle. Ami Mali Hicks recommended wax outline and floating-in dye in order to achieve white outlines and to provide the opportunity for several colors instead of the muted tones that result from overdyeing. Although Hicks was an Arts and Crafts practitioner, she promoted a process aiming for an end result and did not work in the strictures of traditional process. American batik reflected two elements of traditional batik, transformed into new representations: the line of the application of wax with the canting and crackle that resulted from use of a wax resist were drawn from traditional batik processes. Even though many practitioners avoided crackle, as a mark of excellence in their batik technique crackle became a signature motif for American batik.

Developments in the dye industry must be considered as an influence in the popularity of both handmade and industrial imitations of batik. The commercial textile color palette was affected by the First World War while German dyes were not available. A dye famine in 1915 and 1916 and a generally limited palette from 1914 to 1917, may have influenced the popularity of hand colored and dyed garments in those years. However, by the time batik was being made commercially in 1918, the American dye industry had responded and more
colors were available in commercial textiles. Silk is the fiber for all of the industrial batiks discussed here, the result of an emphasis on silk in commercial production of fashionable clothing during the 1910s. Silk was not restricted for civilian uses during the war, as were wool and cotton. Further, because prints use less dye, an emphasis was placed on prints instead of yarn dyed textiles. This situation favored the development of batik prints because silk is receptive to dyes and new prints were needed for the market.

The visual characteristics of previously known imitation batik textiles at the Smithsonian Institution and several that were introduced in this research, including the Ye Greenwich Village Prints by Cheney and a Pussy Willow silk textile by H. R. Mallinson & Co., were analyzed. Crackle, a result of the decorative technique of batik, from the absorption of dye in the cracks or breaks in the wax resist, is evident as a printed motif in each of these textiles or designs, except the *en forme* textile of a blouse in the Smithsonian Institution. Instead, this textile reflects the flow of wax through a canting in a fluid line. Analysis of the commercial designs and textiles suggests that crackle became the primary visual attribute that indicated batik in American imitation batik production.

An artist who also made batik garments, E. Varian Cockcroft developed an innovation in textile printing based on *en forme* placement of designs on textile yardage. Her innovation, printing designs onto a bolt of fabric in the shape of the garment (to decorate the neckline of a blouse or the sleeve hem, for example), brought the impression of hand-decorated garments to many more people than

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167
could afford handmade batik products. This printing innovation demonstrates the type of development that can occur as the result of an exposure to process and awareness of technology: a new idea occurred from the meeting of experience in batik, a newly introduced technique, its fashionable uses in en forme placement on garments, and the possibilities in printing. Batik served as a stimulant to Cockcroft's innovation, although she was not trying to represent the technique itself.

The use of crackle as the signature element in imitation batik demonstrates the perception of this element as indicative of batik. Neither color values caused by overdying nor design elements or motifs were adopted as indicative of batik. The motifs, while available in books, were generally rejected in favor of more familiar motifs such as figurative and illustrative decorations and conventionalized designs reflecting Arts and Crafts or Art Nouveau forms. The distinctive canting line of flowing liquid and crackle were the new elements in the American design vocabulary, and were described in textile promotions as batik effects or as Javanese. As the more obvious and unique element of the technique, crackle became the more prominent of the two in industrial imitation batiks. Crackle also provided an abstract quality that related to the emerging modernist styles: crackle is hermetic in that it references nothing specific except

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for itself as an indication of the batik process and has no figurative or symbolic meaning.

The adoption of batik in America resulted in the elision of most Javanese elements of batik. Although the adoption process reflected the Arts and Crafts and modernist thrusts for the use of folk or primitive sources, there was little allegiance to traditional process. The adoption of batik for the decoration of women's clothing represents a response to the modern concept of the painted surface and the process of industrialization. In the handmade applications of batik, especially in the home, batik responded to the issue of the economy of time, personalized or individual expression, and the tradition of embellished women's clothing: a woman could decorate a garment in less time than the traditional needle arts such as embroidery, appliqué or lace inserts would require and still personalize the decoration as she could in embroidery, and to decorate clothing.82 Using home economics textbooks, Sally Buchanan Kinsey examined the Arts and Crafts movement's involvement in the reform dress movement. She explained that because "judicious use of ornament was sanctioned as an appropriate finishing touch the basic costume design needed to be a structure of simplicity, likened to a painter's - or embroiderer's - canvas."83 New integrations of trimming the flat areas of a garment enhanced the "architectural

82 See n.89 and 90 in Chapter 2, regarding Loeber's sugestion of this aspect of batik decoration in the Netherlands.

element of design.”84 This emphasis on the flat surface of the garment and ornament integrated with that surface, and the use of exotic and primitive elements in modern textile design, is echoed in Susan Hay’s research on the Tirrochi Dressmakers’ Shop in Providence, Rhode Island from 1915 to 1947. Hay explained the impetus in modernist French textile design, for example in textiles by Paul Poiret and Raoul Dufy. Flattened and abstracted shapes in intense colors, found as early as 1905, continued to develop from Orientalist motifs, Japanism, European folk art, Fauvism, and Cubism, predating the modernist textile designs of 1925.85 I suggest that batik as expressed in America incorporates these influences. Use of batik was an Orientalist practice that responded to the movement toward abstraction instead of the conventionalized motifs of the Arts and Crafts, and resulted in the emphasis on crackle, an abstract reference to the process of batik.

Orientalism and Batik in America

The spread of the batik technique in America and the promotion of traditional Javanese batik may be analyzed as developing from two aspects of Orientalism. The popular use of batik technique in America was an egalitarian one that endorsed the Javanese art of batik. However, the promotion of traditional Javanese batik was linked to a racist construction of exotic Javanese

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84 Ibid., 366.
females as sources of extreme sensuality. Therefore two perspectives on batik in
America are used here to understand the divergent dimensions of batik’s
presence in America from 1893 to 1937.

Costume historian Valerie Steele pointed out that the use of elements from
one culture by another such as the use of elements from Eastern cultures in
western forms is not entirely pernicious: “‘Exoticism’ (in an age of imperialism) is
not the only issue; also relevant is an openness to the formal vocabulary of other
cultures.” 86 John MacKenzie explained in his discussion of Orientalism in
western theatre that “artistic traditions cannot be maintained in aspic. Purity of
form and equality of transmission are themselves essentially dehistoricised
concepts. . . This process has to be understood and explained, not rejected as
somehow illegitimate because it generally omitted to cherish the plundered
culture and seek some form of equal exchange with it.” 87 MacKenzie specifically
addresses elements of Western theatre design derived from the Orient as
expressions of “excitement and admiration” for the Orient: elements of Javanese
and Balinese theatrical arts are noted in the work of the designers of the Ballets
Russes and in the French director Antonin Artaud’s “theatre of cruelty’s” distilled
and stylised forms of movement. MacKenzie holds that the Orient served “to
create a liberation in line and physical emphasis, a renaissance of colour and a

86 Valerie Steele, Paris Fashion: A Cultural History (New York: Oxford University
unity of concept that served to change the course of theatre design." I extend this positive perspective on Orientalism in theatrical design to the adoption and development of batik technique in America. The adoption, experimentation, and eventual codification of batik into batik effects or Javanese effects, was an expression of openness and appreciation for design elements derived from Javanese culture. The use of the expressiveness of the canting line, abstraction of crackle, and painting the surface of garments, was not a project of racism or stereotyping but a result of acceptance and appreciation.

The appeal of batik as exotic is also linked to the commercial culture of the United States of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that used promotions based in Orientalist displays to entice shoppers.

*Consuming Visions: Accumulation and Display of Goods in America, 1880-1920*, includes interpretations of the development of consumer culture in America that describe the popularity of Orientalist themes in the shopping arena. Jackson Lears demonstrated that exoticism was present in Victorian fashion and consumer culture: “By the 1850s, fashionable clothes were often surrounded with exotic attributes: the Turkish shawl, the Castilian cloak, the Echarpe Orientale. New York department store magnate A. T. Stewart chose oriental motifs for the interior of the store he built at Broadway and Tenth Street in 1863...”

William R. Leach described the transformation of American women’s

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88 Ibid., 198.

relationship to consumption from 1890 to 1925. He explains that “palatial” department stores enticed the shopper with pleasurable and exotic environs: a New York Wanamaker’s display of 1913 extravagantly evoked *The Thousand and One Nights*. Such department store displays marketed not only goods, but also, the experience of department store shopping as attached to Orientalist themes. The “new desires” for products were “projected into faraway lands.”

Department stores “attempted to transform the goods with transformative messages and associations the goods did not objectively possess” and many of these messages and associations were with other cultures and times. These examples clarify the shaping of the desire for new products and for shopping experiences that were exotic and unusual, and thus the appeal of the exotic across the nation that led to the acceptance of batik.

*Orientalism: Visions of the East in Western Dress* treats the continuity of cross-cultural contacts and the interplay of textile and fashion design from the East to the West. The authors Richard Martin and Harold Koda recognize that textiles and fashion, important channels of commerce and therefore of economic power, are implicated in Said’s negative views of Orientalism. However, as with the technique of batik, there are important influences from the Orient in Western dress defined by Martin and Koda that may be viewed from the perspective of acceptance and appreciation. The three primary influences from the East on Western dress defined by Martin and Koda are: emphasis on “the flat terrain of

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91 Ibid., 327.
cloth, the looping and wrapping of the garment, and the integrity of the untailored textile," which led to similar emphasis in Western dress and contributed to the trend away from shapes based on corsetry and structural supports; the banyan, or men's robe from India, and Chinese trousers, that influenced the ineluctable trend toward more comfortable and casual dress; and exposure to the variety of Eastern garments that led to the incorporation of alternatives in Western dress.\textsuperscript{92} The emphasis on the flat textile and its surface, previously discussed in relationship to modernist expressions in dress, found sources in Orientalist influences. As the textile surface increased in importance in the early twentieth century, western dress also became more emblematic of simple geometric shapes.\textsuperscript{93} For example, the simple column like shape of the fashion of the 1920s reflect the indigenous silhouette of Southeast Asia based on flat wrapped textiles.

American technology and taste differed from the Javanese, and the adoption of batik in America was mediated through Dutch expressions of batik. However, the Javanese craft of batik was embraced. This endorsement relied on the confluence of specific Javanese batik elements and modern stylistic expression: crackle was abstract and referenced process and the textile surface; the canting line also referred to process and a painted textile surface, but was not abstract; \textit{en forme} placement of printed designs referred to the painted surface

\textsuperscript{92} Martin and Koda, \textit{Orientalism}: textiles: 20; casual dress: 20-21, 38; variety: 38.

and the prominence of simple geometric shapes in garments, and the marketing of painted garment surfaces to the masses; and the floating-in of dye inside wax outlines also referred to painted surfaces.

John MacKenzie pointed out that the theatre is "a showcase for fabrics, textile design and crafts, which reaches a great climax in the early twentieth century."\(^9^4\) Eva Gauthier’s "Songmation" must be considered in this light. She toured America in late 1915 and early 1916 in her vaudeville act titled "Songmotion," that combined Gauthier’s singing of atonal Javanese songs with modern dance while she was dressed in batik. The mixture was unappreciated by many observers, however, the modernity of the combination was acknowledged. The publicity for Gauthier’s tour relied on sensationalism to entice an audience. Women, reported to be wives and daughters of the Sultan, were pictured in their batik garments under glaring headlines about Javanese harems. Further, Gauthier’s allure was assured through the notion that she had knowledge of the secrets of the harem. In her appearances she dressed in batiks, purported to have been gifts to her from the Sultan, and the publicity, linked the exotic sensuality of the American perception of the harem to the meaning of batik cloth.

The presentation and representation of Javanese women in batik cloth and the promotion and perception of allusions to exoticism from them, presents a process in American culture that reflects the negative implications of Orientalism as described by Said. The notion of the exotic other is based on spatial and cultural distance and is implicated in the promotional aspects of batik’s American


175
presence in this study. As a distant location with an extremely unfamiliar culture, Java was exotic to Americans in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century. As displayed in America at the 1893 Java Village in Chicago and in Éva Gauthier’s vaudeville publicity campaign, the culture of Java was primarily represented by women of the Moslem harems and courts wearing traditional Javanese batiks. The cultural distance between American and Javanese cultures was emphasized by each culture’s predominant religion: most Americans practiced a Judeo-Christian faith and most Javanese practiced the faith of Islam.

At the exhibition at the Java Village, batik was a key feature of the display. Visitors could observe batik process in detail, see it worn for daywear and performance, see it displayed in village buildings, and in the exhibition halls. The unusual tableau of women seated on the ground applying wax to cloth with a canting intrigued the public. Javanese dancers, clad in batik cloth and exposing their shoulders, arms, legs, and feet, danced in a new style of movement. Oriental dancing on the Midway was perceived as scandalous and this connotation linked the notion of exotic sensuality to the dancers’ batik attire. The process of constructed meaning and symbolic communication that forms the basis of theatrical costume design and indeed, the construction of daily appearances, linked the perceptions of sensual and mysterious exoticism in the Javanese women to their batik textiles. This occurred both by the observation of the unfamiliar Javanese dance at the Java Village and through the contrived publicity of Éva Gauthier. In these presentations, batik was associated with stereotyped perceptions of sensuality in exotic women from Java. While this did
not affect the practice of batik technique, it probably lent an impression of exoticism to one-of-a-kind items and to the commercial imitation batiks of Mallinson and Cheney.

Batik's presence entry, emergence, spread and transformations in America from 1893 to 1937 were multi-dimensional and do not accommodate a singular analytic perspective. As a popular practice batik spread through egalitarian processes. As an elitist product batik supported avant-garde artists. As a commercial product targeting the masses, batik reflected essential elements of its transformation and appreciation in America in relation to modern applications. As it had in Java from the sixteenth to the twentieth centuries, and in Europe in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the ancient Javanese art of batik found new audiences and expressions in America. In the process the influence of Javanese culture was spread to the textile arts of America.
APPENDICES
APPENDIX A

FIGURES FOR CHAPTER 1
Figure A.2: An example of high quality traditional Javanese batik. The design was completely crafted using a canting and very little crackle shows, both marks of its quality. The sawat motif of two wings associated with sexual drive, rests on garis mirin, or diagonal lines, that use parang rusak, the light colored wavy lines with dots, a design representing daggers that was once reserved for the rulers of Java. Reprinted from Peppin van Roojen, *Batik Design* (Singapore: Shambala, 1997), 40.
Figure A.3: Three Javanese canting. “Some canting have more than one spout to draw double lines that often delineate borers.” From the Koninklijk Instituut voor de Tropen, Amsterdam. Reprinted from Rens Heringa and Harmen C. Veldhuisen, Fabric of Enchantment: Batik from the North Coast of Java (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1996), 226.
APPENDIX B

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF AMERICAN AND HOW-TO-BATIK LITERATURE, 1907-1936, INCLUDING EDITIONS AND REPRINTINGS
CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF AMERICAN AND HOW-TO-BATIK LITERATURE, 1907-1936, INCLUDING EDITIONS AND REPRINTINGS

1907

1909

1910

1911

1913

1914
1918


"Batik, or Painting in Wax: Its Decorative Value." *Touchstone.* December 1918, 263.


1919


1920


Winold Reiss. "The Castle (Supplement)." *Keramic Studio.* May 1920, 16+.


185

1921


1923


1924


1925


1926


1927

1928


1929


1930


1931


1936

APPENDIX C

FIGURES FOR CHAPTER 2
Figure C.1: An example of a European donning local dress in Java: “This was said to be the favorite costume of Governor-General H.W. Daendels, who wore it not only in private but in the office as well.” Reprinted from Jaarboekje Warnasarie (1854), Koninklijk Instituut voor de Tropen, Amsterdam, in Rens Heringa and Harmen C. Veldhuisen, Fabric of Enchantment: Batik from the North Coast of Java (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1996), 53.
Figure C.2: Detail of a sarong from Pekalongan, Java, c. 1900, from the workshop of A.J.F. Jans, (42 x 87.5 in.). This image illustrates one example of the influence of European images utilized in batik Belanda. The large iris motifs and long leaves suggesting an Art Nouveau origin indicate the “Europeanized taste” of the wearer. Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Inger McCabe Elliot Collection, M.91.184.392. Reprinted from Rens Heringa and Harmen C. Veldhuisen, Fabric of Enchantment: Batik from the North Coast of Java (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1996), 121.
Figure C.3: Details of a sarong from Pekalongan, Java, c. 1890, from the workshop of Mevr. A. Simons. (42 x 86 in.) Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Inger McCabe Elliot Collection, M.91.184.280. The cupids, flowers, and birds are "drawn in European style." The cloth would have appealed to a young Indo-European woman. Reprinted from Rens Heringa and Harmen C. Veldhuisen, Fabric of Enchantment: Batik from the North Coast of Java (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1996), 122-23.
Figure C.4: A Javanese batik collected by Sir Thomas Raffles in approximately 1813 in Java and sent to England. Reprinted from Peppin van Roojen, *Batik Design* (Singapore: Shambala, 1997), 61.
Figure C.6: Two dancers from the East Indies at the 1883 Internationale, Koloniale en Uitvoerhandel-Tentoonstelling in Amsterdam, The Netherlands. They wear long shoulder wraps, and batik sarongs with bare feet. Photograph by F.D. van Rosmalen, Jr. Reprinted from “Portret: Tweedanseressen,” <http://www.leidenuniv.nl/nhda/esf/projects/project/fotomap.htm> (June 20, 2002).
Figure C.7: A lady from the East Indies at the 1883 Internationale, Koloniale en Uitvoerhandel-Tentoonstelling in Amsterdam, The Netherlands. She wears a batik sarong. Photograph by F.D. van Rosmalen, Jr. Reprinted from “Portret: Danseres Semanie 3,” <http://www.leidenuniv.nl/nhda/esf/projects/project/fotomap.htm> (June 20, 2002).
Figure C.8: A young woman from the kampong Insulinde Tea House at the 1898 Nationale Tentoonstelling van Vrouwenarbeid, The Hague, and The Netherlands. She wears a batik sarong. Reprinted from the International Information Centre Archives for the Women's Movement (IIAV), Digital Information Centre, Amsterdam, The Netherlands, <http://www.iiav.nl/nl/databases/dossiers/1898/oostindie_theehuisje.html> (June 1, 2002).
Figure C.10: A three-panel batik folding screen by Agathe Wegerif-Gravestein exhibited in the 5me Salon de la société des artistes décorateurs in 1910. Note the crackle lines in the pale field. Reprinted from "Le 5me de la société des artistes décorateurs," Art et Décoration 27, January-June 1910, 124.
Figure C.13: Painting of Anna Muthesius by Fra Newberry. The reform style dress is a blue and green batik. Reprinted from the cover, *Jugend*, no. 33 (1904).
Figure C.14: Batik rug by Marguerite Pangon. Reprinted from Marguerite Pangon, *Les batiks de Madame Pangon, présentés par A. de Monzie et Yvanhoé Rambosson* (Paris: Éditions d'art Charles Moreau, 1925), plate 17.
Figure C.16: Detail, illustration of a Marguerite Pango ensemble: "Cream velvet with a very deep pile has a batik pattern in soft wood browns. The trousers are cut in one with the top part, which serves as a vest. Such pyjamamas are seen in Paris at all the strictly informal hours of the day, especially at the very informal tea hour." Reprinted from *Vogue*, "The Parisienne has Beautified Pyjamas and leisurely Adopted Them," January 15, 1920, 29.
Figure C.17: L’Inspiration et les idées (Inspiration and Ideas), by Marguerite Pangon. Decorative velvet panel in white, blue, beige, gold, royal blue, green, violet, orange, black. Exhibited at the 1925 Paris exposition internationale des arts décoratifs et industriels modernes and in the 1926 Selected Collection of Objects from the International Exposition of Modern Decorative and Industrial Art at Paris 1925 that toured the United States. Reprinted from Marguerite FourRobert Pangon, Les batiks de Madame Pangon, présentés par A. de Monzie et Yvanhoé Rambosson (Paris: Éditions d’art Charles Moreau, 1925), plate 9.

205

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APPENDIX D

FIGURES FOR CHAPTER 3
Figure D.1: "Woman Painting Cloth (Catik)." Woman applying wax on a cloth. Note the western female silhouette in the upper left. Reprinted from *Java Chicago Syndicate, The Javanese Theatre, Java Village, Midway Plaisance, World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893* (Chicago: Java Chicago Exhibition Syndicate, 1893), n.p.
Figure D.3: "The Serimpis or Dancing Girls from the Court of the Sultan of Solo." They have added stockings to the traditional costume. Reprinted from *Java Chicago Exhibition Syndicate, The Javanese Theatre, Java Village, Midway Plaisance, World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893*, (Chicago: Java Chicago Exhibition Syndicate, 1893), n.p.
Figure D.4: "The Soendanese Dancing Girls." They have added stockings to their costumes. They wear batik bifurcated bottoms. Reprinted from *Java Chicago Exhibition Syndicate, The Javanese Theatre, Java Village, Midway Plaisance, World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893* (Chicago: Java Chicago Exhibition Syndicate), n.p.
Figure D.6: Tie-dye by Ami Mali Hicks, exhibited at the National Society of Craftsmen, N.Y., in 1907. Reprinted from Mabel Tuke Priestman, “The Revival of a Primitive Form of Batik,” *Craftsman* 11, no. 6 (March 1907), 785.
Figure D.7: Jessie Tarbox Beals, "Ami Mali Hicks Studio, 158 West 11th Street, Greenwich Village," c. 1918. No. 95.127.25. Reprinted with the permission of the Museum of the City of New York.
Figure D.8: "Women dyeing sarong-cloth." Haarlem Coloniale Museum. Two women holding batik cloths, probably a posed image. Reprinted from Augusta de Wit, Java, Facts and Fancies (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Co., 1906), 255.

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Figure D.10: Marguerite Zorach, batik blouse, fabric: cotton, L: 49.5 cm., Smithsonian American Art Museum, Accession Number 1968.87.19. Gift from the Collection of Tessim Zorach. Reprinted with the permission of the Smithsonian Institution American Art Museum.
Figure D.11: “Two prize winning designs: A batik by Hazel Slaughter and a textile by Marguerite Zorach.” The textile on the left is by Marguerite Zorach and is titled *Vines of Blooms and Birds* in this research. The textile on the right is by Hazel Slaughter. Reproduced from M.D.C. Crawford, “Modern Silks,” *Arts & Decoration* 14, February 1921, 279.
Figure D.15: "The Javanese number of the 'Greenwich Village Follies' proves that the costumes are lavish, the girls pretty, and the scenery in excellent taste." Pieter Mijer and Charles Ellis design and executed the props and costumes for this number in the 1919 Greenwich Village Follies. Reprinted from "Greenwich Village has its 'Follies,'" *Theatre Magazine*, September 1919, 153.
APPENDIX E

FIGURES FOR CHAPTER 4
Figure E.4: “Visiting the Harem Ladies in Java.” Item from Éva Gauthier vaudeville tour publicity, 1915-1916. Reprinted from newspaper clipping from Éva Gauthier Scrapbooks: Clippings, Programs, Photographs, and Correspondence, Music Division, Library for the Performing Arts, New York Public Library, (Microfilm).
Figure E.5: A Javanese woman wearing a kemben, batik breast wrap. This image was used in the Éva Gauthier publicity campaign in "Visiting the Harem Ladies in Java," seen in Figure 4.3. Collection of the Royal Tropical Institute, The Netherlands. Reprinted from Peppin van Roojen, Batik Design (Singapore: Shambala, 1997), 34.
Figure E.6: A Javanese woman wearing the ancient Javanese batik pattern kawung and a valuable Indian patola double ikat that is held out by her arms and hands. This image was used in the Éva Gauthier publicity campaign in "Visiting the Harem Ladies in Java," seen in Figure 4.3. Collection of the Royal Tropical Institute, The Netherlands. Reprinted from Peppin van Roojen, Batik Design (Singapore: Shambala, 1997), 51.
Figure E.7: "Miss Eva Gauthier Who Tells the Secrets of the Java's Harem." Item from Éva Gauthier vaudeville tour publicity, 1915-1916. Reprinted from newspaper clipping from Éva Gauthier Scrapbooks: Clippings, Programs, Photographs, and Correspondence, Music Division, Library for the Performing Arts, New York Public Library, (Microfilm).
Figure E.8: Batik on silk crêpe de chine, by Mary C. Whitlock, made while a student at Columbia University, pre-1925. 21 x 15 inches. Historic Textiles and Costume Collection, Department of Textiles, Fashion Merchandising and Design, University of Rhode Island, accession #66.23.08. Printed with the permission of the Department of Textiles, Fashion Merchandising and Design, University of Rhode Island.
Figure E.11: Blouse suggested for a batik project in Woman's Home Companion in 1920. “Blue crêpe de chine bordered in violet and green, with flower design in yellow, orange, violet, and green.” Reprinted from Helen McLean Griggs, “Simple Batik,” Woman’s Home Companion 47, March 1920, 40.
Figure E.12: Batik by Lois Fox Herr, c. 1918, 36 x 18 inches, silk velvet. Collection of Timothy Hansen and Dianne Ayers. Reprinted with the permission of Timothy Hansen and Dianne Ayers.
Figure E.13: Marion Plummer Lester, "Landscape Near Alpine," wax resist on silk, 15 x 1.5 inches. Yellow gold trees, pale blue sky, dusty rose, caramel, burnt orange hills, dark sepia ground. The San Diego Historical Society, accession #82.27.8.
Figure E.18: Two images of a textile print seen in Figure 4.13, worn in West Palm Beach. Left: “Mrs. F. Ashton de Peyster, of Southampton and Bernardsville, foiled the scorching rays of the Palm Beach sun by covering her conservative bathing suit with a unique cape.” Reprinted from “An Unusual Number of Socially Prominent Guests Have Added to a Season of Gaiety Amid the Tropical Beauty of Palm Beach,” Vogue, April 1922, 57. Right: “A picturesque figure was Mrs. Norman de R. Whitehouse, wrapped in a batik bathing-cape, capped in a bandana, and framed in a large beach parasol.” Reprinted from “Society Enjoys Palm Beach In A Diversity of Ways,” Vogue, April 1921, 62.
Figure E.20: Block-printed design on Indestructible Voile, silk georgette, H.R. Mallinson & Company, Inc., 1919. The design imitates the appearance of the line of wax applied by a canting tool. Collection of the Smithsonian Institution National Museum of American History, accession #T4144. Pale green ground, white en forme design in the shape of a blouse. The center is the location of the neck opening, the sleeves extend to the sides of the neck and the front and back are at the top and bottom. Printed with the permission of the Smithsonian Institution National Museum of American History.
COCKCROFT STUDIOS
"ILLUMINATED FABRICS"

THE REAL ORIGINATORS AND LEADERS IN THE ART OF

BATIK

AS APPLIED TO

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Figure E.23: Illustration of E. Varian Cockcroft’s textile printing innovation. “Idea Patented by E.V. Cockcroft for Printing Garment Decoration on Fabrics in Bolt. Fig. 1, the Silk Printed in Piece. Fig. 2, Design for Front and Back of Blouse. Fig. 3, Suggests the Made-Up Fabric.” Reprinted from “Designs Print Conforming to Garment Styles and Adaptable to All Fabrics,” Women’s Wear, 29 March 1921, 6.
Figure E.24: "The Cockcroft (sic) illuminated blouse, which has a design printed on the running yard of Phoenix satin checked taffeta by the Oriental Silk Printing Co., is marked for sewing and may be made ready to wear in half an hour. Model by courtesy of the Phoenix Silk Mfg. Co." Reprinted from "The Cockcroft (sic) Illuminated Blouse," *American Silk Journal* 41, no.2 (February 1922): 75.
APPENDIX F

ÉVA GAUTHIER VAUDEVILLE TOUR SCHEDULE, 1915-1916
### ÉVA GAUTHIER VAUDEVILLE TOUR SCHEDULE, 1915-1916

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dates, week of</th>
<th>City</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1915</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pre-tour try-out:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 3</td>
<td>New York</td>
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<tr>
<td>?</td>
<td>Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 3</td>
<td>Davenport, Iowa</td>
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<tr>
<td>October (3 days)</td>
<td>Sioux City, Iowa</td>
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<tr>
<td>October 10</td>
<td>Omaha, Nebraska</td>
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<tr>
<td>October 17</td>
<td>St. Louis, Missouri</td>
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<tr>
<td>October 25-31</td>
<td>Memphis, Tennessee</td>
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<tr>
<td>November 1-8</td>
<td>New Orleans, Louisiana</td>
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<tr>
<td>November 14-21</td>
<td>Minneapolis, Minnesota</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 4-11</td>
<td>Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 12-19</td>
<td>Seattle, Washington</td>
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<tr>
<td>December 27-29</td>
<td>Portland, Oregon</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>1916</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 1-6 or 9-16</td>
<td>San Francisco, California</td>
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<tr>
<td>January 22</td>
<td>Stockton, California</td>
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<tr>
<td>January 24</td>
<td>Sacramento, California</td>
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<tr>
<td>January, 29</td>
<td>Fresno, California</td>
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<tr>
<td>January 31</td>
<td>Los Angeles, California</td>
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<tr>
<td>February 6 and 15</td>
<td>Salt Lake City, Utah</td>
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<tr>
<td>February 20</td>
<td>Denver, Colorado</td>
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<tr>
<td>February 23</td>
<td>Colorado Springs, Colorado</td>
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<tr>
<td>February 27</td>
<td>Lincoln, Nebraska</td>
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<tr>
<td>March 12</td>
<td>Chicago, Illinois</td>
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<tr>
<td>March 15</td>
<td>Kansas City, Missouri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 20</td>
<td>Milwaukee, Wisconsin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This schedule is taken primarily from the newspaper clippings in Éva Gaughier Scrapbooks: Clippings, Programs, Photographs, Correspondence, New York Public Library, Division of the Performing Arts (Microfilm). These scrapbooks include Gaughier's handwritten working schedule, and revisions as well as newspaper articles clipped from the local newspapers where she appeared. When dates could not be ascertained from these sources additional dates were found in Turbide, "Biographical Study," 585.
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251

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255


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257
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262


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265


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266


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267

