



<https://theses.gla.ac.uk/>

Theses Digitisation:

<https://www.gla.ac.uk/myglasgow/research/enlighten/theses/digitisation/>

This is a digitised version of the original print thesis.

Copyright and moral rights for this work are retained by the author

A copy can be downloaded for personal non-commercial research or study, without prior permission or charge

This work cannot be reproduced or quoted extensively from without first obtaining permission in writing from the author

The content must not be changed in any way or sold commercially in any format or medium without the formal permission of the author

When referring to this work, full bibliographic details including the author, title, awarding institution and date of the thesis must be given

Enlighten: Theses

<https://theses.gla.ac.uk/>
research-enlighten@glasgow.ac.uk

Dunmore Pottery:
The Art of the Art Pottery Business

By
Kristin Jurgens

A Thesis

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements

for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

(History of Art)

Volume 1 of 2

UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW

June 2007

Copyright © Kristin K. Jurgens 2007

ProQuest Number: 10392404

All rights reserved

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.



ProQuest 10392404

Published by ProQuest LLC (2017). Copyright of the Dissertation is held by the Author.

All rights reserved.

This work is protected against unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code
Microform Edition © ProQuest LLC.

ProQuest LLC.
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106 – 1346

GLASGOW
UNIVERSITY
LIBRARY:

This thesis examines Dunmore Pottery in relation to contemporary art trends and social and economic conditions and the role Peter Gardner, the Pottery's third owner, played in developing and marketing its wares. The history of ceramics and its literature is principally situated in the realm of collectors. Pottery has routinely been discussed and catalogued through the wares themselves without contextualisation given through relevant economic, social, or art history research methodologies. This thesis, through examining at Dunmore Pottery as both a business and artistic enterprise, addresses these deficiencies and analyses how trade and industry, art and handicraft, and the Victorians' desire for a collective as well as individual identity merged and shaped the nineteenth century ceramic industry. Research covering Dunmore wares, period journals and guides, and recent sociology and business theories, produced three themes of inquiry: the Pottery's historical and artistic context, the Pottery as a business, and the ceramic wares themselves and how they were used. Peter Gardner was the catalyst for the artistic and marketing alterations that transformed the Pottery into Scotland's most prolific Art pottery while still maintaining its utilitarian and commercial pottery roots. By not strictly adhering to any one artistic style or production method, Gardner produced wares that catered to consumers' perceived needs and desires up and down the socio-economic scale. The Pottery's diverse output enabled an expansive advertising and marketing strategy which included printed advertisements, museum donations, primary and secondary sales outlets, encouragement of a tourist trade, and exhibiting at local and international exhibitions. These exhibitions, along with art journals and home decorating guides, influenced the production of Dunmore's ceramic forms and glazes whilst they increased demand for artistic ceramics. This thesis challenges Dunmore's classification as an Art pottery while it explores the economic and social factors that encouraged its categorisation.

To Mom and Andrea,
the best of the Jurgens Girls,
for their encouragement and support

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

George Dalglish, National Museums of Scotland
Falkirk Museum Services
Magnus Gislason
Glasgow Museums
Elizabeth Hancock
Henry Kelly
Hans Ranholm
Scottish Pottery Society
Sterling Smith Museum and Art Gallery
University of Glasgow Archives
Carol Whitaker, Huntley House Museums
Christina Williams

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	1
1 FROM FARM POTTERY TO ART POTTERY: THE EVOLUTION OF DUNMORE	10
1.1 Dunmore Pottery To 1870: An Early Farm Pottery.....	10
1.2 1870-1890: Peter Gardner, Master Potter	18
1.2.1 Artistic Changes: Clays And Glazes.....	22
1.2.2 1878 Donation to Glasgow Museum	33
1.2.3 Later Polychrome Glazes	35
1.2.4 Later Monochrome Glazes.....	37
1.3 Dunmore Pottery: 1890-1912.....	41
2 TO BE OR NOT TO BE: DUNMORE AND THE ART POTTERY INDUSTRY	49
2.1 The Arts and Crafts Movement.....	49
2.2 The Aesthetic Influence	65
2.3 Management Styles of Art Potteries	70
3 RAGMAN AND ROYALTY: DUNMORE'S ADVERTISING AND MARKETING	74
3.1 Branding and Printed Advertisements	74
3.1.1 A Visit To Dunmore	80
3.2 Patronage.....	85
3.3 Donations	89
3.4 Travel	91
3.5 Sales Outlets.....	100
3.5.1 The Showroom.....	100
3.5.2 Dunmore Depots	103
3.5.3 Department Stores.....	107
3.5.4 Bazaars	120
3.5.5 Peddlers.....	124
4 FROM INVERNESS TO EDINBURGH AND BEYOND: DUNMORE AND EXHIBITIONS	127
4.1 The Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition, 1876	127
4.2 Highland and Agricultural Shows.....	146
4.3 1886 Edinburgh International Exhibition of Industry, Science and Art	153
4.4 1886 Glasgow Industrial Exhibition	158
4.5 1886 Colonial and Indian Exhibition, London.....	159
4.6 1888 Glasgow Exhibition of Industry, Science and Art	162
5 A DOLPHIN IN THE DINING ROOM: DUNMORE IN THE HOME	166
5.1 The Hall.....	168
5.2 The Feminine Rooms	171
5.2.1 The Drawing room	171
5.2.2 The Morning Room.....	185
5.2.3 The Conservatory	185
5.3 The Masculine Rooms	190
5.3.1 The Dining Room.....	192
5.3.2 The Smoking Room	205
CONCLUSION.....	212
APPENDIX A. 1841 TO 1901 CENSUS REPORTS FOR DUNMORE POTTERY..	218

APPENDIX B. DUNMORE GLAZES..... 221
APPENDIX C. TIME LINE OF ART POTTERIES 226
APPENDIX D. HARRISON'S GLAZE RECIPES 227
BIBLIOGRAPHY 229

1. Survey Map from the 1912 Sale of Dunmore Park Estate.	11	1
2. Butter Crock	11	1
3. Dunmore Salt Bucket.	13	2
4. Utilitarian Salt Bucket.	14	2
5. Caledonian Pottery Waverly Salt Bucket.	14	2
6. Dunmore Bank.	15	3
7. Frederick Walker.	17	3
8. Scottish Central Railway	23	4
9. Pottery shard found on the Dunmore Pottery site during a 2001 excavation.	24	4
10. Dunmore Monteith Bowl.	24	5
11. Begonia Leaf Shape Plate.	25	5
12. Dunmore Plant Stand with Fleur de Lys.	26	6
13. Dunmore Lekythos.	33	6
14. Dunmore Musical Cherub Roundel.	34	6
15. Dunmore Eastern Pedestal Vase with Two Loop Handles.	34	7
16. Minton Eastern Pedestal Vase with Two Loop Handles.	34	7
17. Dunmore Leaf Shape Wall Pocket.	34	8
18. Dunmore Large Composite Tree Form Vase with Springing	35	8
19. Dunmore Dimple Vase.	36	9
20. Dunmore Egg Shaped Plant Pot with Saucer.	36	9
21. Dunmore Candlestick with Lathe Turned Bands.	37	10
22. Dunmore Satyr Head Ashet	37	10
23. Dunmore Pierced Elephant Figurine.	39	10
24. Dunmore Cupped Hands Figurine.	39	11
25. Dunmore Pottery House.	47	11
26. Large Bowl Planter with Fluted Lip.	52	11
27. Dunmore Worker's West Cottages, 1976.	53	12
28. Worcester Parian Pigeon	57	12
29. Dunmore Pigeon.	57	12
30. Moulded Teapot With Top Handle and Shaped Spout on Daisy Stand.	57	13
31. Dunmore Jug.	58	13
32. Dunmore Egg Vase with False Ring Handles.	58	13
33. Dunmore Vase with Pinched Base and Clay Loop Handles.	62	14
34. Dunmore Creamer.	62	14
35. Burmantoft dimple vase	63	14
36. Dunmore dimple vase.	63	14
37. Dunmore Putti and Goat Plaque.	64	15
38. Dunmore Trumpet Vase with Loop Handles.	65	15
39. Drawing-Room Cheffonier from Charles Eastlake's Hints on Household Taste.	67	16
40. 'A Comfortable Corner'	67	16
41. Panelled Persian Style Vase.	68	17
42. Dunmore Lyrebird Plaque.	68	17
43. The Peacock Room, 1892.	69	18
44. Linthorpe Ewer.	69	18
45. Worcester Royal Porcelain Company enamelled Iznik Vase.	69	19
46. Dunmore Vase with Long Slender Neck.	70	19
47. Burmantoft Vase with Long Slender Neck.	70	19

48. Linthorpe Vase with Long Slender Neck.	70	20
49. Martinware Bird.	72	20
50. Advertisement from Officiale Hand Boke of Ye Strivelin.	76	21
51. Linthorpe Advertisement.	76	22
52. Cover of A Visit to Dunmore, circa 1888.	80	23
53. Drawings from the A Visit to Dunmore.	84	24
54. Martin-ware Grotesque Owl.	84	24
55. Example of donated Dunmore piece.	89	25
56. Dunmore Basket.	89	25
57. Dunmore advertisement in the Falkirk Herald, 3 March 1905.	92	25
58. "From Dunmore" teapot.	94	26
59. Soutar Johnie figurine.	95	26
60. Tam O'Shanter figurine.	95	26
61. Bust of Robert Burns.	95	27
62. Midland Railway Poster, October 1904.	95	27
63. The Drawing Room, Balmoral Castle.	95	28
64. Celtic Knot Vase.	96	28
65. Silver Mounted Dunmore Teapot.	101	29
66. Painted Dunmore Vase.	102	29
67. Interior of Dunmore Showroom.	102	30
68. Dunmore Promotional Cup.	106	30
69. Dunmore Dimple Vase.	112	31
70. Illustration of Burmantoft Swan Vase.	112	31
71. Illustration of Burmantoft Dimple Vase.	112	31
72. Dunmore Swan Vase.	112	31
73. Glass swan salt cellar.	113	32
74. Dunmore Toad.	113	32
75. Illustration of Burmantoft Toad.	113	32
76. Hindley and Sons Advertisement in the 1876 Art Journal Advertiser.	117	33
77. A Fancy Bazaar at the Wellington Barracks.	122	33
78. Street Peddler	124	34
79. Main Avenue, Philadelphia Exhibition.	130	34
80. Floor plan for a segment of the British Section.	130	35
81. Dunmore Teapot.	131	36
82. Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition Medal.	132	36
83. Palissy ware.	134	37
84. Dunmore Renaissance jug in Palissy style.	134	37
85. Watcombe ceramics displayed at the 1876 Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition.	135	38
86. Watcombe ceramics displayed at the 1878 Paris International Exhibition.	135	39
87. One of a pair of Dunmore Candlesticks.	135	40
88. Dunmore Ewer.	135	40
89. Dunmore Urn.	135	41
90. Dunmore Vase.	135	41
91. Daniell and Son's display at the Philadelphia Exhibition.	136	42
92. Dunmore Classical style wall plaque.	137	42
93. Dunmore Classical Urn.	137	43
94. Brown-Westhead, Moore & Co's display at the Philadelphia Exhibition.	137	43
95. Dunmore garden seat.	138	44

96. Doulton Fire mantle at the Philadelphia Exhibition.	139	44
97. Satsuma ware.	141	45
98. Dunmore Oriental wall plaques.	141	45
99. Dunmore monkey.	142	46
100. Meissen monkey.	142	46
101. Japanese dwelling at the Philadelphia Exhibition.	142	47
102. Japanese Bazaar at the Philadelphia Exhibition	142	47
103. Chinese Ceramics at the Philadelphia Exhibition.	143	48
104. Dunmore Globular Vase.	143	48
105. Advertisement for Dunmore Pottery. <i>Scotsman</i> , 28 July 1874.	147	49
106. Green Dunmore cheese stand.	151	49
107. Majolica Alloa cheese stand.	151	49
108. The Edinburgh Exhibition.	153	49
109. Old Edinburgh.	154	50
110. Colonial House at the Philadelphia Exhibition.	154	50
111. Dunmore plate, exhibition piece for the Edinburgh International Exhibition.	157	51
112. Dunmore Stall at the 1886 Edinburgh Exhibition.	157	51
113. Dunmore Pedestal.	157	52
114. Dunmore Queens Vase.	158	52
115. Exhibition Plate for the Glasgow 1886 Industrial Exhibition.	159	53
116. Sketch of Dunmore Pottery at the 1886 Glasgow Industrial Exhibition.	159	53
117. View of Main Avenue West, 1888 Glasgow International Exhibition.	162	54
118. Bexton Croft.	167	55
119. Dunmore Vase.	174	55
120. Dunmore Queens Vase.	174	56
121. My Lady's Chamber by Walter Crane.	175	56
122. Dunmore Classical Inspired Chamberstick.	175	57
123. Dunmore Puppy Figurine.	175	57
124. Angle Feet Bowl.	176	57
125. Dunmore Folded Basket.	176	58
126. Hanging Cabinet	177	58
127. Standing Cabinet.	177	58
128. Dunmore Two Handled Eastern Vase.	177	59
129. Dunmore Eastern Vase with Bell Shaped Neck.	177	59
130. Eastlake Mantel.	178	60
131. An Ordinary Mantel.	178	60
132. Dunmore Moon Flask.	178	61
133. Tyntesfield Drawing Room.	178	61
134. Dunmore Vase with Snake Handles.	178	62
135. Minton Urn.	179	62
136. Tam O'Shanter and Souter Johnie Flatback.	179	63
137. Dunmore Painted Crackle Glaze Vase.	181	63
138. Dunmore Teapot with Flower Shaped Stand.	182	63
139. Linthorpe Teapot.	182	64
140. Watcombe Teapot.	182	64
141. Dunmore Teapot.	183	64
142. Door from the drawing room, Dunmore Pottery House.	183	65
143. Prince of Wales at a country house party at Tranby Croft, York 1890.	186	65

144. Garden party at Pamflete, Devon.	187	66
145. Winter garden at Moulton Paddocks, Suffolk.	188	66
146. Dunmore Flower Pot with Fern Detail.	189	67
147. Gnomes in the garden at Lamport Hall, 1890.	190	67
148. Dunmore Pig Figurine.	190	68
149. Dunmore Grotesque Frog.	190	68
150. Dunmore Frog Planter.	190	69
151. Sideboard.	193	69
152. Dining Room in the Jacobean Style.	193	70
153. Dunmore Pilgrim Flask.	194	70
154. Dining à la française.	195	71
155. Dining à la russe.	196	71
156. Dunmore Bread Bowl.	197	72
157. Victorian Majolica Bread Bowl.	198	72
158. Dunmore Tureen.	199	72
159. Dunmore Cruet Set with Sterling Silver Mounts.	200	73
160. Dunmore Dolphin Tazza.	202	73
161. Design For Minton's Dolphin Trinket Stand, circa 1852.	202	74
162. Dunmore Tree Tazzas with Bamboo Spill Vase.	203	74
163. Dunmore Maple Leaf Plate	204	75
164. Dunmore Leaf Bowl.	204	75
165. Heal and Son Advertisement.	205	75
166. Georgian era spittoon.	207	76
167. Pub with spittoons in Cantons, Cambridge Circus, 1899.	208	76
168. Wine bar with spittoons on Coventry Street in Leicester 1895.	208	77
169. Dunmore spittoon.	208	77
170. Texas capitol building Rockingham spittoon.	209	78
171. Dunmore tobacco jar.	209	78

INTRODUCTION

Dunmore Pottery began as a small utilitarian pottery in Stirlingshire during the late eighteenth century. By the end of the nineteenth century, it was Scotland's most prolific and popular Art pottery producer. Its changes in ownership, marketing and production in the nineteenth century have previously been undocumented and unexamined by the academic community. This may have more to do with the ceramic history field than Dunmore itself. As an academic field of study, ceramic history is problematic. It is a complex concoction of history, sociology, anthropology, design history, economics, and technology—each with their own methodologies, aims and objectives. Additionally, to a large extent, it has attracted study by those outside of academia—primarily from the collector and museum arena. This disjointed approach to ceramic study in general has left it incomplete and lacking a unifying context.

By researching Dunmore Pottery, ceramic history is seen to be more than a footnote in local history or the domain of antique collectors and is relevant to broader social, economic, and art historical studies. Dunmore Pottery's growth and development exemplify how large national trends including aristocratic patronage and the Arts and Crafts Movement were interpreted and manifested in Scotland. Although promoting and marketing itself as a thoroughly Scottish industry, Dunmore competed with larger and more heavily financed English potteries, often copying their designs and participating at the same exhibitions. Dunmore was unique to Scotland's pottery industry both in size and artistic philosophy. As part commercial, part Art pottery, Dunmore hovered between art and industry, relevant from both an economic and artistic perspective. Understanding the benefits and drawbacks of Dunmore's dual roles and identities would be equally germane to similar decorative arts industries.

In regards to Art and Victorian pottery, most articles are published in antique and ceramic society journals—outside the academic community. A search for 'Art

Pottery' in the Art Index produced 215 results, of which only nine are written in academic journals while 'Victorian ceramics' gave eleven results all from lifestyle magazines. These articles, written to identify objects for collectors, commonly neglect the wider social and economic contexts in which the ceramics were made. For example, Hillery Wade's 'Christopher Dresser and the Linthorpe Pottery' in *Antique Collector* (February 1984), while including some historical background of the Pottery, predominately focuses on the ceramics designed by Dresser from a collector's point of view. The dearth of academic writings on ceramic history is just one indicator of the lack of a scholarly or intellectual presence in ceramic study.

Like articles, books on ceramic history have primarily been motivated by the antique and collectors' trade or as part of local history studies. Paul Atterbury and Maureen Batkin's *The Dictionary of Minton* (1990), Geoffrey Godden's *An Illustrated Encyclopaedia of British Pottery and Porcelain* (1966), and Victoria Bergesen's *Encyclopaedia of British Art Pottery: 1870-1920* (1991) are essentially reference books for ceramic collectors. Geoff Bailey in *Local Ceramics: A Potted History of Ceramics in the Falkirk District* (2002) and Patrick McVeigh in *Scottish East Coast Potteries* (1979) approach ceramic history from a geographical context and concentrate on the wares themselves and the local conditions which fostered the industries. As a subfield of ceramic history, Art pottery has been treated equally superficially with little analysis of the field as a whole or within the social and economic contexts of the period. Most publications, such as E. Lloyd Thomas's *Victorian Art Pottery* (1974) and John A. Bartlett's *British Ceramic Art: 1870-1940* (1993) give a short introduction to the Art pottery movement and then brief descriptions of the larger Art pottery factories. This pottery by pottery approach fails to recognise wider trends in the ceramic industry or the cross germination of ideas between the workshops. These types of object centred writings give little contextual information on the historic economic framework, the

stimulus for their production or their intended usage. They lead one to the conclusion that ceramics were created in a vacuum without the benefit of outside influences or social and economic pressures. By focusing only on the wares, potteries have been separated from their identity as factories and as businesses responding to wider trends.

Dunmore Pottery itself has been problematic. There are no company archives or contemporary photographic evidence. Although it has a strong collector's market, research on the topic is scarce. Graeme Cruickshank's *A Visit to Dunmore Pottery: A Contemporary Account* (2002) has been the only published piece solely dedicated to the pottery. Regardless that Cruickshank's research strictly focuses on the Pottery's promotional pamphlet *A Visit to Dunmore*, the booklet has been invaluable to this research as it brought to light many new primary sources regarding Dunmore at local and international exhibitions including two sketches of its displays. Given Cruickshank's narrow scope, there were many areas he did not cover in his work such as Dunmore's marketing and advertising strategies.

Given the lack of a comprehensive analysis of Art pottery in general and Dunmore in particular, the capacity and possibilities of research were vast. However, the nature of the subject, lack of primary materials in the form of company records or archives, and time constraints set the parameters of this thesis. The thesis does not intend to be a definitive history of Dunmore Pottery, but rather an analysis of how the historical, economic, and cultural contexts of the period impacted the Pottery's artistic development and marketing strategies. Artistic Movements and the psychological and social needs of nineteenth century consumers were the stimuli for Dunmore's artistic changes, but it was Gardner's ability to interpret these often vague ideas into ceramic form.

Aims and Objects

The foremost aim of this research is to substantially improve the knowledge base regarding Dunmore Pottery by giving, as thorough as possible, a history of the pottery and an anthology of its wares within the social and economic contexts of the period. Through an examination of the period's guiding artistic and business principles, this thesis seeks to re-evaluate Dunmore's classification as an Art pottery and to assess Peter Gardner's contribution to the Pottery's development and economic stability. Secondly, it seeks to provide a comprehensive interdisciplinary research model for future ceramic study. Current ceramic history research fails to acknowledge the scope of the subject or to the extent it crosses academic disciplines and special interests. In *Imagining Consumers: Design and Innovation from Wedgwood to Corning* (2000), Regina Lee Blasczyk approaches the subject from the consumption and the economic history perspective without regards to the artistic theories that determined ceramics manufacture. While other writers such as Peter Davis and Robert Rankine in *Wemyss Ware: a Decorative Scottish Pottery* (1986) and Gerard Quail in *The Cumnock Pottery* (1993) cater to the collector market and use the history of the pottery to facilitate an appreciation of the pottery wares. The thesis aims to unify the diverse approaches to ceramic study that has often resulted in a narrow understanding to the subject. Through a systematic deconstruction of a Pottery's history, artistic styles, business model, and its social and economic contexts, a more complete understanding of the Pottery and its wares is obtained. Following the three point research paradigm used in this thesis, where Dunmore is analysed through its historical and social contexts, its wares, and as a business concern, the interplay and intersection between art, society, and economics can be realised.

Research Methods

The ceramic pieces in this thesis have been gathered from a variety of collections and auction house salesrooms. The combined Dunmore collections of the Stirling Smith Museum and Art Gallery, Falkirk Museum Services, Glasgow Museums, and the Huntley House Museum offer a truly representative group of the pottery and form the core of thesis' object analysis. Each piece in the collections, where museum staffs' time and conditions allowed, was measured and categorised by clay body, glaze, pottery mark, and type. This information was catalogued in Microsoft Access in the Dunmore Database found in printed and disk form in Volume Two of the thesis. The database provided a quick reference to Dunmore's forms and glazes and allowed for easy comparisons between the pottery. Although the database gives a sound and informative basis for Dunmore study with a large and good quality range of pieces, the vast quantity of Dunmore shapes and styles precludes it from being a complete list. Once developed, the Dunmore Database permitted comparisons with other appropriate and applicable pottery. As Dunmore was a diverse pottery producing both commercial and Art pottery wares, comparable ceramics were examined across the breadth of the nineteenth century ceramic industry.

Given the lack of company or Gardner family papers, other potteries were used to contextualise the Pottery and to identify ceramic industry trends that Dunmore followed. To come to terms with Dunmore as an example of a nineteenth century industry, modern marketing and economic theories have been applied in the absence of a contemporary historic paradigm. These theories have been used to help explain how Dunmore as a business created a brand identity and marketing strategy which assisted in the bridging of its commercial and Art pottery wares. Every attempt has been made to see Dunmore Pottery wares as artefacts that reflect the culture in which they were produced. As a result, research was conducted out with the general scope of ceramic

study. Current theories on consumerism, sociology, and historic interiors were used to contextualise the pieces and assess how they were used.

The Structure of the Study

With the purpose to make the study as accessible and coherent as possible, the thesis has been divided into two volumes. The first volume contains five chapters subdivided into three sections: 1. Dunmore and its historical, economic and artistic contexts 2. Dunmore as a business and 3. The pottery wares and how they were used. The subdivision allowed for Dunmore to be analysed from the three different perspectives which when seen together show the Pottery in a more complete and comprehensive manner than most of the current discourse in ceramic history. Following the chapters in Volume One, the appendices and bibliography have been included. Volume Two contains all figures referenced throughout the chapters as well as the Dunmore Database.

Section One is divided into two chapters. The first chapter presents information on the evolution and history of Dunmore Pottery and offers an introduction to the Pottery and its wares. It will be shown that through three generations of the Gardner family, the Pottery continually developed in response to the needs of the market. Peter Gardner, the Pottery's third owner, will be considered in regards to the importation of white English clays and Dunmore's progression to Art pottery. The Earl and Countess of Dunmore will be discussed in relation to their support and how it was perceived in the community as well as in relation to their help in securing Royal patronage. This chapter intends to give the economic and historical framework for the more analytical and contextual chapters that follow.

In chapter two, Art pottery and its adherence to the Arts and Crafts and Aesthetic Movements' artistic and social principles will be discussed in relation to

Dunmore's organization and production. Using key texts, Dunmore will be analysed through the theoretical, social and intellectual philosophies set down by the prominent art critics and designers of the period including John Ruskin and William Morris. Though interested in Art pottery from a marketing and design source standpoint, it will be shown that Dunmore picked and chose which Art pottery tenets it would follow based on the Pottery's economic realities of the period. Other Art potteries and ceramists are considered to put Dunmore's loose interpretation of Art pottery within the larger framework of the Movement. Through its physical environment, scale of production, and traditional handcraft roots, Dunmore had in many ways a more legitimate claim to be classified as an 'Arts and Crafts' and 'Art Pottery' than the purpose built ceramic workshops of the period. However, it will be demonstrated that Dunmore never fully adhered to or accepted many of their salient doctrines. In this chapter, Dunmore will be shown to be straddling the divide between the commercial and Art pottery industries.

The second section moves away from the artistic and historical contexts of the period and looks at Dunmore in relation to its marketing and advertising structures. In chapter three, Gardner's multi-strand approach to advertising and selling his wares will be analysed. This chapter aims to decipher how Gardner branded his wares and how successful he was at creating a cohesive, though diverse, marketing strategy. It will be demonstrated that Dunmore's unique blend of Art and commercial pottery gave it considerable scope for marketing its wares through diverse sales outlets and to a heterogeneous customer base up and down the socio-economic spectrum. Gardner's use of printed advertisements will be evaluated through their wording, imagery and placement in select publications. The promotional pamphlet, *A Visit to Dunmore*, will be shown to have incorporated many of Gardner's promotional objectives—linking the

pottery to the Arts and Crafts Movement, advancing an aristocratic connection and image, encouraging a tourist trade, and endorsing the sale of the ware through bazaars.

Chapter four focuses on Dunmore's participation in local and international exhibitions, its most visible and aggressive marketing strategy. It will be demonstrated that the Pottery's evolution and success was in part based on the workshop's continued involvement in the period's many fairs and expositions. The Highland and Agricultural fairs of the mid-1870s will be shown to have been Gardner's platform for unveiling his 'new' pottery industry and his success there to have encouraged him to exhibit at larger, more competitive exhibitions including the 1876 Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition and the 1886 and 1888 Edinburgh and Glasgow exhibitions. This chapter aims to show that Gardner's encounters with other British as well as foreign pottery manufacturers at these exhibitions impacted his development of his pottery forms. The international exhibitions gave Gardner an opportunity to assess his wares in an overall ceramic industry framework and source new designs from potteries he viewed as successful. As a consequence of the nationalistic nature of the international exhibitions, Gardner will be seen to have created a Scottish identity for Dunmore through its advertisements, sales staff, and wares. Smaller, local exhibitions will be discussed in relation to how Dunmore was perceived throughout Britain. Where applicable, Dunmore pieces which were created for specific exhibitions have been included and analysed.

The last section of the thesis, chapter five, focuses on the pottery wares themselves. By looking at how they were used in the home, through a room by room approach, Dunmore is seen to be producing wares that followed the Victorian conventions of engendered spaces and perceptions of fashion and taste. Dunmore ware will be analysed in regards to the period's preconceived notions of the home and its contents as a status symbol and reflection of one's self-image. The nineteenth century's social and domestic rituals will be shown to have influenced Dunmore's production of

forms and glazes. Decorating guides will be used to illustrate how popular concepts of fashion filtered down through the socio-economic levels and affected the production of Dunmore's wares as well as its consumption.

The limitations to this study are numerous. The nature of Dunmore Pottery and its lack of contemporary written and photographic accounts meant that its interpretation and analysis had to be based on similar potteries. As a result, many liberties have been taken with contextualising the ware. As there were no similar size or type of potteries operating in Scotland, comparisons have needed to come from the English ceramic industry which implies their industries evolved at the same rate, had the same economic parameters and benefited from the same design influences, but this was not always the case. Access to the Murray family archives was haphazard at best and permission was not received to view all the papers. Although letters and estate valuations were accessible, the estate inventories which might shed some light on sources for some of Gardner's designs were not permitted viewing. Dunmore's ad hoc production and glazing processes generated an endless number and types of wares. The Dunmore Database needs to be continued if the full breadth of the pottery is to be understood or for the possibility of dating pieces to be realised. However, the biggest limitation to this research was the dearth of academic writing on ceramic history and decorative arts in general. Although figure heads of artistic movements and the movements themselves are routinely studied, little has been written about the products themselves. Without this background, the comparisons and analysis that might have developed given a wider and more academic context have not been possible. Major academic theoretical shifts in regards to the nineteenth century ceramic industry or the emergence the company's archives, could call for Dunmore to be re-interpreted. Given the above limitations, this thesis is as comprehensive as contemporary conditions and research allow.

1 FROM FARM POTTERY TO ART POTTERY: THE EVOLUTION OF DUNMORE

Dunmore Pottery, situated along the Firth of Forth in Airth parish, was a small utilitarian country pottery in the eighteenth century which evolved in the Victorian era into a complex union of Art and commercial pottery. Its growth and shift in production was part of larger trends in Scottish industry and art manufacture. Although following national lines of development, Dunmore's artistic and financial growth was dependent on local factors such as the improved supply of raw materials, and the patronage of the Earl and Countess of Dunmore. The Pottery was a family business which passed down through three generations of the Gardner family before being sold in the early twentieth century. Each generation responded to economic and cultural changes by modifying the Pottery and its products to adjust to the period's economic conditions and suit the needs and tastes of a changing market. This chapter examines Dunmore's history and what was and who were responsible for its transformation from a local pottery which produced coarse utilitarian wares to a leading Art pottery. It focuses on and evaluates the Pottery's third owner, Peter Gardner, in regards to Dunmore's workforce and artistic output as well as the social and economic contexts of the period.

1.1 Dunmore Pottery To 1870: An Early Farm Pottery

Dunmore Pottery was established in the late eighteenth century on the Earl of Dunmore's Stirlingshire country estate. Although Peter Gardner was listed as a resident of Dunmore Park in 1771, the earliest known pottery manufacture dates to 1797 when Gardner was described as a 'farmer potter at Airth'.¹ Farmer potters, common during the medieval period and until the Industrial Revolution, were part-time potters who worked around the agricultural calendar. Their manufacture was centred on small scale

¹ *Measure of the Moss Plantations at Dunmore Park, 20 April 1773*. National Archives of Scotland. GD247/175/8. Robin Hill, *Dunmore Pottery* (Falkirk: Kippen Gallery, 1979).

workshops with miniature up draught kilns that produced goods for local consumption.² According to the 1797 *Statistical Account*, the farms located near Dunmore were small, usually not exceeding 20 to 30 acres, and rented at a rate of 10 firlots per acre, chiefly paid in meal and barley (although other crops such as beans and potatoes were also grown).³ The Dunmore estate during this time was relatively small. The grounds, originally known as Elphinstone and Elphinstone Tower, were purchased in 1754 by John Murray, the 4th Earl of Dunmore.⁴ When Peter Gardner was first listed as a farm potter, the estate consisted only of the tower and a few small surrounding farms. The estate continued to expand in the early nineteenth century and when Dunmore Park mansion, was completed in 1822 for the 5th Earl of Dunmore, it consisted of 14 farms, 14 grass parks, and a sandstone quarry (Figure 1).⁵ The enlargement of the lands and construction of a country house increased the need for utilitarian ceramics and created the conditions required to sustain a working pottery.

Dunmore Pottery was ideally located on the estate with nearby transportation along the Firth of Forth and clay fields with a low alumina, high iron composition which gave the pottery a rich red body.⁶ The Pottery most likely used the natural resources located on the Dunmore estate in its production: minerals for glazes and coal to fire the kiln.⁷ Although no known ceramics from this early period exist, ceramics produced by other country potters, such as the earthenware butter jar (Figure 2), can be

² Richard Carlton, 'The Origins and Survival of Littlethorpe Potteries in the Context of British Country Pottery Making', *Interpreting Ceramics*, 4 (2003), p. 12; Arnold Fleming, *Scottish Pottery* (Glasgow: MacLhose and Jackson, 1923), p. 2.

³ Firlots were a dry measurement used in Scotland to denote $\frac{1}{4}$ a boll. Bolls varied depending on locality and weight of the grain but generally were the equivalent of 6 bushels. For more information on the land and social conditions of Airth at the end of the eighteenth century see *The Statistical Account of Scotland, 1791-1799, LX*, ed. by Donald Witherington and Ian Grant, (East Ardsley: EP Publishing, 1977), pp. 486-495.

⁴ Brian Watters, 'Dunmore Pottery', *Calatria* (Journal of the Falkirk Local History Society), 15 (2001), article's p. 1. Elphinstone Tower is now in complete disrepair. Local agencies, historical associations and developers are currently submitting proposals for restoration.

⁵ *Stirlingshire: An Inventory of Ancient Monuments* (Edinburgh: Royal Commission of the Ancient Monuments of Scotland, 1964).

⁶ Fleming, p. 47.

⁷ The iron and alluvial deposits that gave the clay its red body could also have been used as a base for the Pottery's red and brown glazes.

used to illustrate the type of wares Peter Gardner likely produced during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The jar's unsophisticated form and glaze could be easily produced in the pre-Industrial pottery workshops throughout Britain. Like the butter jar, Peter Gardner's ceramics were focused on functional goods for the surrounding community.

Despite archival research, there is not much known about the early pottery production at Dunmore during the sixty years of production under its first two owners, Peter and John Gardner.⁸ Peter Gardner had two sons, William (1785-1863) and John (1801-1866), who each became local potters. William purchased the lease to Alloa Pottery, located across the Firth of Forth from Dunmore, in 1819 and John assisted his father, eventually taking over Dunmore Pottery in 1826.⁹ The 1841 census lists John Gardner as age 40 and potter at Dunmore along with six other potters, four of whom resided at the Pottery itself and one each at Dunmore Moss and Airth Shore. According to the census reports, the area immediately surrounding the Pottery including Airth and St. Ninians had less than two thousand inhabitants. Given the number of skilled potters, Dunmore was producing a quantity of wares that would have exceeded what was needed for the local market. The 1841 census report also testifies to the fact that as a result of the scarcity of suitable Scottish clays, pottery was not one of the country's traditional industries and skilled labour as well as tools and supplies had to be imported from England.¹⁰ This is seen by the fact that only two of Dunmore's potters at this time, John Gardner and David Roy, are known to have been born in Scotland.¹¹

⁸ No references to the Pottery were found in local papers, city or national archives or the 1797 or 1845 Statistical Accounts. There are no documented pieces in the collections of the National Museum of Scotland, Falkirk Museum Service, Stirling Smith Museum, Edinburgh or Glasgow Museums. The only evidence comes from an inventory of the Pottery following the death of John Gardner, census records, and two dated pieces of Dunmore ware.

⁹ Geoff Bailey, *Local Ceramics: A Potted History of Ceramics in the Falkirk District* (Falkirk: Falkirk Council, Museum Services, 2002), p. 7.

¹⁰ Walter Cyril Wallis, 'Scottish Pottery', *Apollo*, 49 (1949), pp. 70-72; C. Baldwin Brown, 'Home Industries in the Scottish Highlands and Islands', *The Economic Journal*, 25 (1915), p. 291.

¹¹ *1841 Census: Airth Parish, Stirlingshire*. The 1841 Census was the first national census and offers the first clear depiction of the size of Dunmore and a synopsis of the pottery's workforce. The census report

There are only two documented pieces of Dunmore pottery that exist from John Gardner's period of ownership, one of which is an incised slip decorated salt bucket. In times before refrigeration, salt was important for the preservation of meat and fish and it was a staple in the nineteenth century home. During the late eighteenth century when earthenware use became more common, salt buckets (also known as salt pigs) were created to replace wooden salt containers that had previously been used.¹² Salt buckets varied in size and could hold up to four gallons of salt.¹³ Unlike most kitchen crockery which tended to be salt glazed stoneware, salt buckets were usually made of unglazed earthenware which helped keep the salt dry.¹⁴

Dunmore's salt bucket (Figure 3) has a simple shape and naive decoration which suggests it was intended for everyday use, however, this was in fact a special piece. While it followed the standard salt pig form with a wide mouth and small knob on top for lifting, its decoration was distinctive. The slip-glazed bucket was incised with 'No handcraft can compare. We make our potts of what we potters are, Dunmore 1846', a ship, and a tree. The motto was common on eighteenth century pottery and alludes to the Christian belief that man was created by God from the earth and therefore, the pottery craft was more divine than other handicrafts.¹⁵ The phrase can also be seen as a declaration by the potter that the pottery and the potter were inseparable. The potter was the pottery he produced, thus, the pottery was part of the potter. This statement was at the heart of the Arts and Crafts Movement promoted by William Morris, Walter Crane, and the Century Guild thirty years later.¹⁶ Cunnock Pottery in Ayrshire, Scotland and Watcombe Pottery in Devon, England also produced similar

included name and number in each household, location of household, and occupation, age, and birthplace of each household member. Potters from the 1841-1901 Airth Census Records are listed in Appendix A.

¹² Fleming, p. 21; Peter C. D. Brears, *The Collector's Book of English Country Pottery* (London: David and Charles, 1974), pp. 152-155.

¹³ Fleming, p. 20.

¹⁴ Brears, p. 153.

¹⁵ *Home Book of Quotations* (London: Greenwich House, 1984).

¹⁶ The Arts and Crafts Movement and its philosophy is discussed thoroughly in Elizabeth Anscombe, *Arts and Crafts Style* (London: Phaidon, 1996).

motto wares incised with homilies and country sayings during the second half of the nineteenth century. Unlike Dunmore Pottery, Cunnock and Watcombe potteries were sophisticated companies looking back on traditional pottery and reinterpreting the designs and mottos for the larger mass market. Dunmore was still operating as a country pottery and its inscription was placed on a traditional, unsophisticated utilitarian shape. It was not reinterpreting a pottery tradition, but following its normal production methods. The salt bucket's other decorative elements, the tree and the boat, are not typical of salt bucket decoration. This piece could have been either created to commemorate an event such as a boat race or more probably made for someone who worked in trade or the shipping industry.

Salt buckets typically fall into two categories: simple wheel thrown wares and more decorative moulded pieces. The thrown pieces (Figure 4) were often plain earthenware with a slip decorated exterior, and an unglazed interior. Pieces like these were produced locally throughout Britain as need demanded and were usually unmarked, the shape and style of the bucket changing little throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The Caledonian Pottery salt bucket (Figure 5) made in the mid-nineteenth century is characteristic of the more ornamental moulded pieces which were factory marked and sometimes decorated with natural elements and human figures. This piece's fragile details, based on characters from Robert Burns's *Waverly*, suggest the item was more decorative than utilitarian. The Dunmore bucket is aesthetically positioned somewhere between these two pieces. It was marked 'Dunmore' and featured extensive sgraffito decoration, neither of which was common on rustic red earthenware. Yet, it did not reach the decorative exuberance of the *Waverly* salt bucket. Dunmore managed to be decorative and yet still functional, which became a theme in the company's later productions. Since salt buckets were routinely used, and the salt

frequently corroded the ware, it is significant that the Dunmore salt bucket has survived in good condition. This suggests it was considered special and was well cared for.

The only other known surviving Dunmore piece produced under John Gardner is a redware bank with slip incised sgraffito decoration (Figure 6). Like the salt bucket, the bank's redware body has been covered in a lighter coloured slip. Around the sides of the bank, 'L. Hodge, Dunmore 1848', a tree and a house are incised. The bank was wheel thrown with the top being pinched closed and three different sized apertures for various sized coins have been cut into the sides. Although the bank was used (there is some flaking where coins have chipped the edges of the slots), it too has been cared for carefully. Money has been removed without significant damage to the bank which suggests that like the salt bucket, the piece was seen as having value, that it was in some way special.

The salt bucket and bank are the earliest known pieces of Dunmore and the only pieces that can be placed during the period of John Gardner as head potter. In *Scottish East Coast Potteries*, Patrick McVeigh contends that at this time Dunmore was producing decorative pieces in white slip.¹⁷ As of yet, no Dunmore white slip decorative pieces have been documented. As John Gardner managed the pottery from 1826 until the 1860s and given the size of Dunmore's workforce and kilns, thousands of pieces would have been produced during this period. As decorative ceramics survive better than utilitarian ceramics, if Dunmore had been producing decorative white slip pieces it is likely one would have been located. Although no known white slip or purely decorative pieces have survived, other evidence exists that Dunmore Pottery had expanded greatly under John Gardner. The 1841 Census for Airth listed Dunmore as having seven potters, one of which was employed as a 'finisher', proving that by this

¹⁷ McVeigh, p. 147. McVeigh does not list a reference for this information and I have found no other reference to Dunmore producing white slip ware. Alloa Pottery was producing white ware at this time and McVeigh may have concluded that as both Alloa and Dunmore were owned by Gardners, they would have been producing similar wares.

time, the ceramics were more decorative than common utilitarian wares.¹⁸ By the 1861 census, the pottery had grown to nine potters, four of whom were listed as journeymen, suggesting that Dunmore was operating along traditional guild lines.¹⁹ The overall development of Scotland's ceramic industry and its training of its own workforce through the guild system can be seen in that compared with the 1841 census where most of Dunmore's workforce was English, by 1861 all but two potters were born in Scotland. The 1861 census lists throwers and turners by occupation, but no mould makers. The employment of a pottery turner indicates that by the 1860s the pots were being lathe turned to create more refined and finished wares. An interesting aspect of Dunmore's workforce is that it was predominately male; only one female, Mary Gray, is listed as being employed at the works. Traditionally, women worked, at reduced rates, as wheel turners and clay ballers for the higher paid potters.²⁰ Dunmore did not have this division of labour based on sex and instead hired men as general labourers to do the work usually delegated to women. The number and types of potters listed in the census establishes that Dunmore had expanded beyond producing small quantities for the local utilitarian market into a larger business with more trading outlets.

The inventory of John Gardner's estate on his death in 1866 gives further insight into the company's growth and ceramic output during his management. There were several china merchants listed as having 'book debts' to the deceased.²¹ These include a merchant each in Dunblane, Edinburgh, Blairgowrie, Airdrie, Greenock, Belfast, and Dublin and four merchants in Aberdeen. At this time, Edinburgh had up to

¹⁸ *1841 Census: Airth Parish, Stirlingshire*, Division 6, p. 1.

¹⁹ Establishing a pottery guild system in Scotland was important to the development and growth of the ceramic industry. Where most of the Dunmore potters were born outside of Scotland in the 1841 census, most potters from the 1861 census were born in Scotland. The pottery guild system allowed Scotland to train its own workers and helped to develop its own pottery style.

²⁰ G.W. Elliot, *Some Descriptions of Pottery Making and Working Conditions* (Stafford: George Street Press, 1976), pp. 15-16.

²¹ *Stirling Sheriff Court Records*, SC 67/36/52, pp. 587-592. John Gardner died in 1866, but the official inventory was not completed until February 1867.

16 potteries in the vicinity and Greenock and Aberdeen each had a local pottery.²² It seems improbable that china merchants would have imported rustic crockery as transportation costs would have made it more expensive than locally produced goods; therefore, it can be inferred that Dunmore was making more refined and decorative wares by this period. Despite Dunmore's artistic development, two entries in the inventory suggest the Pottery was still making utilitarian ceramics. 'A. McAllister Fishmonger' and 'Cath. Dalziell Fishmonger' were listed as having debts of £10 15d and £3 17d respectively, which raises the question of why two fishmongers were in debt to the Pottery. The implication is that in 1866, Dunmore was still producing large quantities of utilitarian ware that fishmongers would have found useful. Frederick Walker's *A Fishmonger Shop* (1874) (Figure 7) shows the types of ceramics that nineteenth century fishmongers used included earthenware containers for salt seen to the left in the painting and large containers for water seen under the table at the lower right-hand corner. From the evidence contained in John Gardner's 1867 estate inventory, it is likely Dunmore Pottery was in a transition period: making utilitarian wares while slowly introducing new techniques, such as lathe turning, for the newer decorative pieces. The shift from a utilitarian to decorative pottery may have been a result of industrial manufacturing techniques such as jiggering, jolleying, and slip moulding popularised in the mid to late nineteenth century.²³ By the mid-nineteenth century, large ceramic factories in Glasgow, Bo'ness, and Prestonpans were producing copious amounts of cups, dishes, and other serviceable pieces for the home and colonial market.²⁴ The large scale production of utilitarian ceramics brought about by the Industrial Revolution possibly meant these goods could be made cheaper in a factory system as opposed to a small local workshop. By diversifying the types of wares

²² Iain Paul, *The Scottish Tradition in Pottery* (Edinburgh: Saltire Society, 1948), p. 1.

²³ Marilyn Karmson and Joan Stacke, *Majolica: A Complete History and Illustrated Survey* (New York: Abrams, 1989), pp. 198-199.

²⁴ Graeme Cruickshank, *Scottish Pottery* (Haverfordwest, Dyfed: Thomas, 1987), pp. 8-12.

produced and developing decorative pieces, John Gardner was ensuring Dunmore's survival and setting the stage for future changes at the Pottery.

For part of John Gardner's tenure at Dunmore, he was in direct competition with his brother William Gardner at Alloa Pottery located directly across the Firth of Forth from Dunmore.²⁵ Alloa Pottery opened in the 1790s, and like Dunmore, produced utilitarian wares from the local clay.²⁶ William changed Alloa Pottery's production to focus its manufacture on white ware with majolica and Rockingham glazes.²⁷ Although Alloa Pottery was artistically successful, it was not financially stable. William went bankrupt and the pottery was placed up for sale with an advertisement in the *Alloa Advertiser* on 26th April 1856.²⁸ He moved back to Dunmore and is listed in the 1861 Airth census as a 'pauper' living at the Pottery. Alloa Pottery's forms and glazes had similarities to Dunmore pieces of the 1870s and 1880s. It is feasible that while living at Dunmore, William was taking some part at the Pottery in an informal and ad hoc way, for example sharing glaze and clay recipes. From his work at Alloa, William would have had the knowledge and experience in creating more artistic and decorative pieces, such as the type that would have been sold through the china merchants listed in the 1866 inventory. William's presence at Dunmore may have been one of the key factors of the Pottery's expansion into more decorative wares.

1.2 1870-1890: Peter Gardner, Master Potter

Dunmore Pottery was financially healthy and had a moderately diverse production when Peter Gardner, John's son, inherited the Pottery on John's death in 1866. From the time he gained control of Dunmore at age 30, Peter took a hands on

²⁵ Small boats ferried across the Forth from South Alloa, Dunmore, and Airth to Alva and Alloa on the opposite shore. According to *Statistical Accounts*, the boats were in operation from the late 1700s until the twentieth century.

²⁶ Fleming, p. 204.

²⁷ Fleming, p. 204.

²⁸ The pottery experienced earlier credit problems in 1840 which were eventually settled for 2/6d to the pound 'on the surety of Peter Gray, Writer in Alloa Joseph Bailey, Stoneware Merchant in Edinburgh and John Gardner, potter at Dunmore'. A complete account of the 1840 credit problems and the pottery's eventual sale in 1856 can be read in James A. S. Spreull, and Robert Rankine, *Alloa pottery, c1783 to 1907* (Alloa: Clackmannan District Libraries, 1993).

role at the Pottery, acting not only as owner and commercial entrepreneur, but also as master potter in charge of all production and head of artistic development. Peter inherited the pottery at a time of great changes artistically, socially, and economically in Britain and his ability to identify with and respond to these changes was a key to Dunmore Pottery's success.

When Peter Gardner inherited Dunmore in 1866, the benefits of the Industrial Revolution were beginning to be felt in Scotland. The Industrial Revolution changed industry from small workshops to large manufacturing centres.²⁹ Steam and coal powered engines not only redefined the manufacturing process by removing skilled labour and replacing it with mechanical methods, but also helped source raw materials. Steam engines were employed to pump water from mine tunnels which allowed the pits to be dug deeper to find new coal deposits. Improvements in coal mining technology helped Scotland double its coal output in four years to 15 million tons by 1871.³⁰ Overall, Britain's coal production soared from 225 million tons in 1870 to 287 million tons in 1900.³¹ As a direct result, coal prices fell, helping to fuel the Industrial Revolution. As Dunmore Pottery used coal to fire its kilns, a lower fuel cost would have contributed to the workshop's economic viability. According to contemporary maps and written accounts, the Dunmore Park estate contained a working colliery.³² No records exist as to whether Gardner purchased Dunmore's coal directly from the estate; however, it was likely the best source, as he would only have had to pay for the coal itself and not transportation costs. It is also possible that the Earl and Countess of Dunmore offered Gardner special rates on the coal in order to help an estate business.

²⁹ John F. MacCarthy *Scotland in the Nineteenth Century*, British History in Perspective Series (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998), p. 56.

³⁰ MacCarthy, p. 55.

³¹ J. F. C. Harrison, *Late Victorian Britain: 1875-1901* (London: Routledge 1991), p. 16.

³² *Particulars of the Magnificent Residential Estate of Dunmore*, catalogue for the 1892 sale of Dunmore Park estate.

Advances in technology and cheaper coal led to a boom in the general manufacturing market. As cheap Australian imports of grain and meat flooded the market, the employment in agriculture decreased from 30% in 1851 to 19% in 1881 which shifted Scotland from an agriculturally to an industrially based economy.³³ While agricultural jobs decreased, employment in retail and industry expanded. The movement of people from rural areas and agriculture to the urban and industrial centres caused a population and building boom in British cities. By 1901, 40% of towns had populations of over one hundred thousand, twelve cities had populations of over two hundred thousand while towns such as Coatbridge had population densities as high as New York.³⁴ The Industrial Revolution was the catalyst for the growth of the Victorian middle class. The expansion in industry and commerce created an increasing demand for clerks, shop assistants and site managers while the growth in population required more doctors and civil servants.³⁵ A professional class emerged that required goods to reflect their status in society. The Victorian middle class's purchasing power was quite substantial given the period's economics. In real terms, incomes increased 140% between 1801 and 1901 while prices fell 40% between 1874 and 1896.³⁶ The burgeoning middle class and their purchasing power were important to the artistic development and economic viability of Dunmore Pottery.

The new middle class wanted to create a world removed from the cramped conditions of the city's labouring class, a world that reflected a self-image of morality, cleanliness, and tasteful refinement. In an effort to emulate the upper classes and to separate themselves from the poverty of the labourers, they bought and furnished houses

³³ MacCarthy, p. 86. W. W. Knox, *Industrial Nation: Work, Culture, and Society in Scotland 1800-Present*. (Edinburgh University Press, 1999) p. 85.

³⁴ David Hey, *How Our Ancestors Lived* (Surrey: Public Record Office, 2002), pp. 13-14. MacCarthy, p. 63.

³⁵ W.J. Reader, *Life in Victorian England* (London: Batsford, 1964), pp. 93 and 126; Hey, 12.

³⁶ John Benson, *The Rise of Consumer Society in Britain, 1890-1980* (London: Longman Press, 1994), p. 12; Helen Merrell Lynd, *England in the 1880s* (London: Oxford University Press, 1945), p. 49.

in the cities' expanding suburbs.³⁷ In 1856, six million out of a total of 40 million pounds spent in Britain was used to finance the construction of housing.³⁸ The middle class identity was focused around the home—where it was located, how it was decorated, and how many servants one could afford.³⁹ The home was considered a sanctuary where men could leave the troublesome drudgery of the factory or business behind.⁴⁰ Peter Gardner capitalised on the need to create an identity through consumption, based on the middle class's beliefs and standards of home, taste, and refinement, and adapted Dunmore Pottery to these ideals.⁴¹

To appeal to a wider variety of tastes and consumers' perceived ideas of fashion and taste, thereby capturing a larger market share, Gardner designed wares that fitted within most ceramic styles of the period including Classical Revival and Art pottery. Art pottery, one of the defining changes in the late nineteenth century ceramic industry, emerged out of the theoretical and artistic principles laid out by the Arts and Crafts and Aesthetic Movements.⁴² The term 'Art pottery' was used in the Victorian era to denote pottery made in small workshops as opposed to large manufacturing operations. It was pottery that was deliberately creative or artistic and reflected the period's intellectual approach to design.⁴³ Art pottery rejected the mass production techniques of mould casting and transfer printing that had become standard in Victorian ceramic manufacture. Instead, it focused on handmade wares inspired by traditional British as well as Far and Near Eastern ceramic forms. Art pottery regularly employed striking, bright glazes to emphasize the wares' simple shapes. It is important to note that these ceramics were labelled Art pottery, as opposed to 'Art porcelain' or 'Art

³⁷ Janet and Peter Phillips, *Victorians at Home and Away* (London: Croom Helm, 1978), p. 9.

³⁸ Roderick Floud, *The People and the British Economy 1830-191* (Oxford University Press, 1997), p. 58.

³⁹ Kitt Wedd, *The Victorian Society Book of the Victorian House* (London: Aurum Press, 2002), p. 38.

⁴⁰ Asa Briggs, *In Search of Victorian Values: Aspects of Nineteenth Century Thought and Society* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), p. 22.

⁴¹ These concepts are further developed in Chapter Five.

⁴² These theoretical and artistic principles and their relevance to Dunmore Pottery is the focus of Chapter 2.

⁴³ Hugh Wakefield, *Victorian Pottery* (London: Jenkins, 1962), p. 152.

china' as the Art pottery movement was based on the artistic use of ordinary earthenware to make aesthetically pleasing everyday objects.⁴⁴ Art pottery was highly popular during the period and well-known designers such as William De Morgan and Christopher Dresser opened Art pottery workshops.

1.2.1 Artistic Changes: Clays And Glazes

In order to make Art pottery, Peter Gardner introduced white clays from Devon and Cornwall to supplement the local red clays.⁴⁵ The fine white body of the imported clays allowed a more artistic use of colour and specialized glaze effects, but these would come at an economic cost. Harvesting Cornish clay was an expensive and labour intensive process. In 1879, a ceramics industry journal described the clay as 'almost always covered with a thick layer of stones, sand, or impure and discoloured clay.'⁴⁶ Before it could be used, the clay had to be cleaned and prepared in a process which resulted in eight tons of spoilage for one ton of clay.⁴⁷ Technical advancements in the harvesting and preparation of the clay, along with the expansion of canal and railroad networks, made the clays more affordable and supplies more reliable.⁴⁸ Gardner was not exceptional in importing these clays, Della Robbia and other Art potteries were likewise supplementing their local clays with those from Cornwall and Devon.⁴⁹ The refined Devon and Cornish clays were an important aspect of the late nineteenth century British pottery industry and their growth and use can be seen in *The Pottery and Glass Trades Journal* which in 1879 featured a series on the clays and describing their production and

⁴⁴ E. Lloyd Thomas, *Victorian Art Pottery* (London: Guildart, 1974), p. 8.

⁴⁵ Fleming, p. 201.

⁴⁶ 'Cornish China Clay', *Pottery and Glass Trades Journal*, 2 no 3 (March 1879), p. 30.

⁴⁷ Floud, p. 129.

⁴⁸ The continual fall in the price of Cornish and Devon clays were charted in a special section in each issue of the *Pottery Gazette* in much the same way as today's stock market reports.

⁴⁹ Victoria Bergesen, *Encyclopedia of British Art Pottery 1870 -1920* (London: Barrie and Jenkins, 1991), pp. 20, 74, and 267.

artistic uses.⁵⁰ The clays were in such demand that 117 china works were established in Cornwall and 8 in Devonshire employing over 1600 workers.⁵¹

The Scottish railway's extensive network assisted Gardner in the evolution of his pottery wares. Larbert Station, located less than two miles from Dunmore, was serviced by the Caledonian Railway and had a direct link with Glasgow (Figure 8). The railway, fully operational by 1848, enabled Gardner to import white ball clay from Devon and Cornwall quicker and more economically than overland by wagon.⁵² Clay could have either travelled the entire distance by train or possibly initially by sea to Glasgow and then by rail to Dunmore. Besides providing a vital link for the import of raw materials, the railway offered a straightforward and cost effective means to export the finished goods to outlets across Britain as well as to bring customers to the pottery works.

By importing the white English clays, Peter Gardner made an important business and artistic decision. The expense of the new white clay compared with that of the red clay harvested in the clay field adjacent to Dunmore, along with its transportation, would greatly increase the Pottery's operational expenses and put it at a disadvantage to potteries located closer to the clay source. In the short term, it would have been easier and financially prudent to continue to produce redware than to risk economic failure with the imported clays. However, by importing these clays, Peter Gardner could shift the focus of Dunmore's production from utilitarian to finer, more artistic wares and expand his market considerably. Yet in order to be successful, Gardner had to create pottery superior to that of other potteries in order to justify the higher selling price

⁵⁰ *The Pottery and Glass Trades Journal* was a publication directed at the professional ceramic trade. The journal gave current prices for raw materials, critiques of contemporary potteries, and technical and artistic information.

⁵¹ 'Cornish China Clay', *Pottery and Glass Trades Journal*, 2 no 3 (March 1879), p. 30.

⁵² Jack Simmons, 'Railways, Hotels, and Tourism in Great Britain', *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 19 (1984), 201-222, (p. 201).

required to cover the increased production and transportation costs. It was a gamble that paid off both financially and artistically for Dunmore Pottery.

The new clays allowed Dunmore to experiment with distinctive and artistic glazes. Although there is no known date for Peter Gardner beginning to import English white clay, he would have known of its artistic properties since his uncle William imported it to Alloa in the 1840s. The earliest reference of Dunmore under Peter Gardner comes from the 1874 Inverness Highland and Agricultural Show where the *Edinburgh Courant* wrote that Dunmore was exhibiting wares 'in a revival of the old Rockingham manufacture.'⁵³ Rockingham, a rich, glassy brown manganese based glaze developed in England at the beginning of the nineteenth century, took its name from the Rockingham Pottery near Rotherham who used it for glazing tea, coffee, and chocolate wares.⁵⁴ The glaze was durable, had a strong and robust colour and was used in both utilitarian and decorative pottery pieces.⁵⁵ Dunmore manufactured tableware, vases, figurines, tiles, and spittoons with the Rockingham glaze over both red and white clay bodies. Figure 9 shows a Dunmore pottery shard with a Rockingham glaze over a red clay body which was uncovered in a 2001 archaeological excavation of the Dunmore Pottery site. The glaze is rich and dark with a great warmth and depth of colour. The Dunmore Monteith bowl in Figure 10 illustrates the use of the Rockingham glaze over a white clay body. Over a white body, the glaze appears lighter and less robust. From the press's description of Dunmore as simply 'Rockingham', it is impossible to tell if the pottery was importing white clays by 1874.

Though the Rockingham glaze may seem dark, dull and uninspired, Victorians favoured the glaze and considered it highly fashionable.⁵⁶ In terms of Dunmore's production in later years, the Rockingham glaze was one of the Pottery's most

⁵³ Untitled article, *Edinburgh Courant*, 29 July 1874.

⁵⁴ Wakefield, p. 154.

⁵⁵ Graeme Cruickshank, *A Visit to Dunmore: A Contemporary Account* (Stirling: Stirling Smith Museum, 2002), p. 23.

⁵⁶ Wakefield, pp. 93-94.

unimaginative and least artistic glazes. In *A Visit to Dunmore: A Contemporary Account*, Graeme Cruickshank suggests the Rockingham glaze described at the 1874 Highland and Agricultural Show was not a Rockingham glaze at all, but a variation of Dunmore's majolica glaze. In Dunmore's production, majolica refers to the Pottery's brown, tan, and green running or spotted glazes. If this was the case, as Dunmore majolica glaze only appears on white clay bodies, it would suggest the pottery was at that time importing white clays. Cruickshank bases his argument on the *Courant's* description of the ware as having 'a peculiar polish and very beautiful appearance.' Dunmore's majolica glazed ceramics were often dark and the dark greens and browns frequently blended together such as the glaze used on the leaf dish in Figure 11. Cruickshank argues that the writer, who was not an expert on ceramics, mistakenly described darkly glazed majolica ware as Rockingham. This could in fact be the case; however, the varying tones and colours of the majolica glaze are aesthetically different to that of a Rockingham glaze. Rockingham glaze was a common and well-known glaze in the Victorian period and it appears in advertisements for various potteries and in descriptions of ceramics in contemporary magazines and journals.⁵⁷ Likewise, majolica glazes were also well-known at the time and were advertised and produced by Minton and Wedgwood Potteries.⁵⁸ Therefore, even if the author was not an expert in ceramics, he would have likely known and understood the term Rockingham and not have confused it with majolica. The writer's use of 'peculiar polish' and 'beautiful appearance' could be a reference to the glassiness and high refraction of Dunmore's Rockingham glaze. Unless a contemporary photograph or a more detailed account of Dunmore's early pieces is located, it is impossible to determine what type of glazes or clays the Pottery used for the wares it exhibited at the 1874 Highland and Agricultural Show.

⁵⁷ Alloa Advertisement, *China and Glass Trades Review*, 1 July 1879, p. 243; 'Sydney International Exhibition', *Pottery Gazette*, 1 January 1880, p. 21.

⁵⁸ Karmson, pp. 26 and 70.

According to the *Edinburgh Courant*, Dunmore displayed fruit dishes, garden seats, flower stands, figurines and tea-sets at the 1874 Highland and Agricultural Show. Dunmore's flower stands and figurines were mould cast, a relatively new technique at Dunmore. The newness of these forms was picked up on the 4th of July by the *Stirling Journal & Advertiser* with the article 'A New Industry-Dunmore' in which the reporter stated 'The new industry inaugurated by Lord Dunmore never came within our observation until now.' According to census reports, Dunmore had been making the new moulded ceramics as early as 1871 when James Campbell was listed as mould-maker and presser. For at least three years prior to the 1874 Highland and Agriculture Show, Gardner had developed Dunmore's range of products from solely wheel thrown goods to a mixture of utilitarian and more decorative moulded wares, yet he had been unable make this known to the wider community.

A closer look at the types of wares sold in 1874 illustrates the rapid development in Dunmore's production. Dunmore plant stands, as well as the garden seats, were large wares moulded in pieces attached together with slip. The green, red, and tan glazed stand with a fleur de lys pattern in Figure 12 demonstrates the changes in scale and manufacturing processes which occurred at Dunmore during this time. The large moulded stand bears little resemblance to the red earthenware bank and salt bucket of the 1840s. The more substantial the piece, the more likely it was to crack, explode or be damaged in the firing process. From the *Courant's* product list, Dunmore was producing sizable pieces, establishing that by the early 1870s Dunmore Pottery workers were skilled in the firing and moulding processes required to produce large ceramic wares. The quality of the wares was high enough to catch the eye of His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh who had 'become a large purchaser of the ware'.⁵⁹

⁵⁹ Untitled article, *Stirling Journal & Advertiser*, 4 August 1874. The Duke of Edinburgh, Prince Alfred, was a collector of Art pottery and glass and Dunmore's first royal patron. Prince Alfred was a personal friend of the Earl of Dunmore and correspondence between the two, with Alfred addressing the Earl of Dunmore as 'Dearest Charlie', is housed at the National Archives of Scotland, RH4/195/4. He became the

Dunmore's press from the 1874 Highland and Agriculture Show is important in that it confirms that Charles Adolphus and Gertrude Coke Murray, the 7th Earl and Countess of Dunmore had substantial influence in promoting the Pottery. In the *Stirling Journal and Advertiser's* article 'A New Industry-Dunmore', the writer described Dunmore as 'the new industry inaugurated by Lord Dunmore', which gives the impression that the Earl of Dunmore was somehow directly responsible for the changing of the Pottery from a redware utilitarian pottery to a producer of decorative ceramics. In the article, the Earl was given credit for almost the whole enterprise. 'Lord Dunmore has revived the old Rockingham manufacture[...] Lord Dunmore has beaten the old Rockingham out of the field.' In the article, Gardner's role at the Pottery was portrayed in subservient terms to that of Lord Dunmore with his position being described simply as the person who 'superintends the manufacture of the goods.'⁶⁰ It described the relationship between Gardner and Lord Dunmore as 'Lord Dunmore, with the assistance of Peter Gardiner [sic]'. Since the Gardner family had overseen the Pottery's operation for over seventy years, one must question why the Earl of Dunmore was getting the majority of the credit for Dunmore Pottery's new wares. The tone and wording of this article may suggest the Pottery was in part being financially supported and encouraged by the Murray family, to which Lord Dunmore belonged. The Earl of Dunmore did not have any pottery experience or training and the only way he could have 'inaugurated' or 'revived' a pottery was through financial resources or word of mouth promotion. Assuming that Gardner had the opportunity to influence the press coverage of the pottery in connection with the Show—and it is reasonable to assume that the information it was based on came directly from Gardner himself or from someone through whom he might encourage a version of the facts he found favourable—the prominent role in the 'revival' of the Pottery ascribed to the Earl could

Duke of Saxe-Coberg and Gotha in 1893 on the death of his uncle Ernst II. On Prince Alfred's death in 1900, his wife donated his glass and pottery collection to the Vesta Coberg.

⁶⁰ Untitled article, *The Stirling Journal & Advertiser*, 4 August 1874.

be interpreted as an early example of the emphasis on royal and noble patronage that was to become one of the most important themes of Dunmore's branding through advertising. As we shall see when examining the Pottery's much vaunted favouring by Queen Victoria, Gardner was not above exaggerating such illustrious connections.

Promoting local and estate industries and handcrafts was not unknown to the Murray family. Catherine Murray, the wife of the sixth Earl of Dunmore, was responsible for revitalising the tweed industry on the family's estate on Harris. Catherine Murray managed the family estates from the death of her husband in 1845 until her son, Charles Adolphus, became of age. In the mid 1840s, Harris Island was suffering complete economic failure. The island's once profitable kelp industry which had supplied Britain with alkaline ash for glass and soap making was plummeting and where a ton of kelp was valued at £20 in 1810 the price had fallen to £3 in 1834.⁶¹ The islanders were 'suffering under destitution' and starving as a result of a potato crop failure and not having the money to import food.⁶² The situation of the island's inhabitants was precarious as despite the fact they were starving, they were categorised as able bodied and therefore did not fit under the Poor Law Act nor could the Countess 'on the mere chance of life[...] of an infant heir' take out private loans to alleviate their suffering.⁶³ With no other recourse, the Countess looked to the Island and its handcrafts for ways to improve the inhabitants' situation. In 1846, she had Harris weavers reproduce the Dunmore tartan and encouraged her friends to do the same. As a result, the Harris tweed became fashionable in high society circles with London sales outlets.⁶⁴ Given this example, the Earl of Dunmore's encouragement of the Pottery and his

⁶¹ Malcolm Gray, 'The Kelp Industry in the High-Lands and Islands', *Economic History Review*, vol. 4, no 2 (1951), 197-2029, p.198.

⁶² Letters to Catherine Murray from Will Sitwell, Commissioner for the Tutor of the Earl of Dunmore 28 October 1846 and 29 December 1846. National Archives of Scotland AD 56/85/1 and 2.

⁶³ 'Harris Destitution', 28 December 1846. National Archives of Scotland AD 58/84/2.

⁶⁴ A complete account of the Harris Tweed industry can be found in Janet Hunter, *The Islanders and the Orb: The History of the Harris Tweed Industry, 1835-1995* (Stornoway: Acair, 2001).

subsequent credit in the press for Dunmore's wares at the 1874 Highland and Agricultural Show were part of a family pattern.

Dunmore Pottery returned to the Highland and Agricultural Show the following year with still more changes in the pottery's development. From the 1875 Highland and Agricultural Show newspaper articles, dates can be given to some Dunmore glazes. The 1874 articles describe a Rockingham type glaze. One year later on the 27th July, *The Scotsman* reports that 'In addition to the brown glazed ware which has become so fashionable, they have succeeded in securing fine tints of green and blue.' The introduction of these new colours would have a profound impact on the Pottery. As Dunmore did not use blue and green glazes on redware bodies, their listing in the *Scotsman* is not only significant in that it is the first documented reference to glazes other than Rockingham, but also in that it signifies the importation of the white clays.

At the 1875 Highland and Agricultural Show, reports on Dunmore Pottery again focused on the Earl of Dunmore's contribution to the Pottery. In the 27th August 1875 issue of the *Scotsman*, Dunmore Pottery was described as 'This manufacture was established by the Earl of Dunmore on his estate about eighteen months ago, and during the past year a great advance has been made in the quality of articles produced.' The article puts the date for 'new' Dunmore at the end of 1873, beginning of 1874, yet the census records indicate that the new ware was produced prior to this time. It is likely that the period between 1871 when Dunmore is first known to have employed moulders and 1874 when the Pottery was picked up by the press was a transitional period for the Pottery. As firing times and kiln stacking techniques would have changed with the shift from slip decorated red ware to glazed white ware, it was likely the Pottery was experimenting with and learning new glazing and moulding processes during this time. The press received from Dunmore's exhibition at the 1874 and 1875 Highland and Agricultural Shows indicates that Dunmore's new wares and transformation from

purely utilitarian to more decorative pottery was not known locally until the exhibitions. Whether this 'secret' was kept as a result of a series of unexceptional wares during the transition period or that Gardner and the Murray family were not yet savvy in marketing the pottery cannot be determined.

The emphasis on the Earl of Dunmore's role in the Pottery was unique to the 1874 and 1875 Highland and Agriculture shows. In all other articles, Post Office Directories, and entries in exhibition catalogues, Gardner was listed as owner and manufacturer, not the Earl of Dunmore. The early focus on the Murray family may have been part of the marketing strategy, recognition of money and time that the Murrays invested in the Pottery, or of the press currying favour of those with power and influence. The family were obviously an important resource for Gardner and most books that discuss Dunmore Pottery mention the support of the Earl and Countess.⁶⁵ Fleming describes the Countess of Dunmore as having taken 'a deep practical interest in this young potter's [Gardner's] operations, supplying him not merely with inspiration and encouragement but also with designs, even taking an active part in the business and supervising the production of the wares.'⁶⁶ Gardner himself acknowledged the assistance of the Murray family and that 'A great many of the Patterns have been furnished by the Earl and Countess and Dowager Countess of Dunmore.'⁶⁷ There have been suggestions that specifically the leaf plates and rustic vases and ornaments were designed by the Countess of Dunmore,⁶⁸ but there is no evidence to substantiate these attributions.

The Earl and Countess of Dunmore's contributions to and connections with Gardner and the Pottery are hard to quantify. Despite research into the national and Murray family archives, there are no references to the family and its association

⁶⁵ Cruikshank, p. 53; Fleming, pp. 201-202; Bailey, p. 7; G. Bernard Hughes, *English and Scottish Earthenware 1660-1860* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1960) p. 214.

⁶⁶ Fleming, p. 201.

⁶⁷ *A Visit to Dunmore*, p. 2.

⁶⁸ Hughes, p. 214.

with the Pottery. Gardner certainly gives the family credit for some of his success and given the family's involvement with the Harris tweed, they had experience working with and promoting craftsmen. Yet, the only documented involvement are the ambiguous newspaper articles and Gardner's statement the family provided designs. Questions remain as to which pieces they helped design and whether they additionally offered Gardner financial assistance to expand the pottery works. Although there is no direct evidence, with the family's connections and involvement in Far and Near Eastern politics and culture⁶⁹, they would have been a likely resource for Dunmore's Eastern inspired wares. Several other of the Pottery's designs, such as the plaques featuring classical allegories and myths, suggest a higher degree of education and classical learning than Gardner would have obtained and therefore may also be the product of the Murray's influence and participation at the Pottery. However, these forms and styles were regularly described and illustrated in the period's art and trade journals and so without direct proof, the Dunmore family's involvement with the factory can only be hypothesised.

What is known is that the Earl and Countess of Dunmore were very likely responsible for introducing the Pottery to the Prince of Wales (later King Edward VII), who became one of its most prominent patrons. The Earl and the Prince were childhood friends and in a letter to the Earl, the Prince wrote 'I am glad you had not forgotten the days you spent with me at Buckingham Palace, and I hope we shall be able to play there

⁶⁹ The Earl of Dunmore travelled extensively in the region and wrote about his experiences and his uncle, Lord Charles Augustus Murray served as the British ambassador to Persia in the 1850s.

again.⁷⁰ The friendship between the Earl and Prince resulted in the Prince visiting the estate a number of times.⁷¹ Fleming described one of the Prince's visits:

While staying with the Earl and Countess about the year 1871, King Edward VII, then Prince of Wales, paid a visit to the pottery, and thus gave it a further advertisement and caused 'Dunmore Ware' to become very fashionable in Royal and Society Circles, in every style and in all manners of shapes, sizes and colours.⁷²

In *A Visit to Dunmore: A Contemporary Account*, Cruickshank points out that 1871 would have been too early for the Prince to visit the pottery and take an active interest as the 'new' ware was first exhibited at the 1874 Highland and Agricultural Show. The press reports from the exhibition would have also mentioned the Prince of Wales as a patron, instead of or in addition to the Duke of Edinburgh. One confirmed visit was in 1876 when the Prince's stay was described as 'being of a private and friendly nature'.⁷³ Although there is no confirmed visit to the Pottery in the Prince's diary or newspaper accounts, given the Earl and Countess's involvement at Dunmore, it is probable that they took him to visit the site.⁷⁴

Dunmore followed its success at the Highland and Agricultural Shows with the 1876 Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition. The exhibition's *Official Catalogue of the British Section* lists 'Rockingham Teapots, Baskets, Vases, Tea Services, Jugs and Dessert Ware'⁷⁵ It is interesting that Gardner would choose to advertise Dunmore as Rockingham considering that by this time different glazes had been incorporated into

⁷⁰ Letter dated 29 November 1853. Held in Dunmore Monuments (Privately Held) Section 1, Box IV, item 59. The archives have several letters from Prince Edward, Princess Alexandra, and Queen Victoria that are all very familiar and affectionate in tone. Some are personal correspondence about family illness, births and deaths while others are more political and contain information on current affairs such as the telegram from the Prince to the Earl announcing Abraham Lincoln's assassination.

⁷¹ Cruickshank, *A Visit To Dunmore Pottery*, pp. 53-54. It was rumoured the constant visits of the Prince and the required entertainment and hospitality associated with the visits were partially responsible for the Earl of Dunmore's financial difficulties which eventually led to the sale of Dunmore Park estate in 1892.

⁷² Fleming, p. 201.

⁷³ Untitled article, *Stirling Journal and Advertiser*, 15 September 1876.

⁷⁴ Dunmore had exhibited at the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition that year. The Pottery's was successful at the show and sold out of its wares. As the Earl and Countess took an active interest in the Pottery and it was by this point a successful local industry, it is likely the Earl took the Prince there for a visit. A more complete analysis of the Prince of Wales' visit and its affect on the Pottery can be found in Chapter 3.

⁷⁵ *Philadelphia International Exhibition 1876 Official Catalogue of the British Section, Part I*. (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1876), p. 155.

the Pottery's production. The attention Dunmore received from its new glazes at the 1875 Highland and Agricultural Show might suggest that Gardner would choose to highlight these at the Philadelphia Exhibition. His focus on Rockingham may reflect the desirability of the Rockingham glaze during the Victorian period or indicate that he at this time still had insufficient confidence in the new glazes.

1.2.2 1878 Donation to Glasgow Museum

The first datable examples of Gardner using white clays and breaking away from Rockingham and slip glazes are from pieces donated in 1878 to the Glasgow Museum and the National Museum of Scotland.⁷⁶ The majority of these pieces, such as the Dunmore lekythos in Figure 13, were glazed in light blue and light and dark green monochrome glazes, most likely the same glazes described in the reports from the 1875 Highland and Agricultural Show. In relation to glazing, the most important of the donated pieces is a majolica leaf dish finished in tan, brown, and green, similar to that of Figure 11. The majolica effect was created using different glazes which had the same cone temperature so that they would simultaneously melt and blend together when fired.⁷⁷ The leaf dish demonstrates that in the first decade Peter Gardner managed Dunmore, the Pottery's glazes developed and grew in complexity from the early slipware and Rockingham glazes to bright and glassy polychrome and majolica glazes. Though the leaf dish glaze is more aesthetically interesting and required a more detailed knowledge of chemical compounds and firing temperatures, they are still not as technically advanced as Dunmore's running and flowing glazes produced during the 1880s.⁷⁸ From these examples, it is seen that Dunmore, though experimenting with and

⁷⁶ The donated wares, besides the dated salt bucket and bank, are the only pieces that have a specific production date and therefore allow an accurate analysis of Dunmore at the time.

⁷⁷ Cone is the pottery term for different temperature bands. Cone 1 is roughly 999 degrees Celsius. Lower fire glazes melt at temperatures lower than cone 1. High fired glazes, such as those used at Dunmore, fall between the Cone 6 to Cone 10 band (1222 to 1326 degrees). Frank Hamer, *The Potter's Dictionary of Materials and Techniques* (London: Pitman, 1975), p. 71-72.

⁷⁸ Descriptions of Dunmore's bright, glassy monochrome and polychrome glazes are first described in Archer, 'The Potteries of Scotland', *Art Journal*, 19 (1880), 156-161. Further glaze descriptions occur in

changing the pottery's glazes, had not reached the technical high point it would during the next decade.

The donated pieces, which included vases, plaques, figurines, and plates, indicate Dunmore was producing wares inspired from Classical design, the East, and nature. The musical cherub roundel (Figure 14) was characteristic of Dunmore's classically inspired pieces of the period. The plaque depicts five cherubs, each playing a different instrument or singing, and has been glazed in olive green with iridescent areas where the glaze pooled. The scene is fairly typical of ceramic interpretations of Classical designs and similar pieces were produced at other potteries including Minton and Wedgwood.⁷⁹ An example of Dunmore's Eastern inspired ceramics from the donation is the pedestal vase with clay faux loop handles based on Chinese bronze examples from the 13th and 14th centuries (Figure 15).⁸⁰ The form itself was popular and interpretations can be found in Linthorpe and Minton pottery.⁸¹ Minton's example, a higher quality finish than that of Dunmore, was covered in opaque monochrome glazes (some with iridescence) and trimmed in gold at the lip, base and handles (Figure 16). Dunmore's leaf shaped wall pocket (Figure 17) was different to the majority of the donated pieces in that it was not referencing historical, classical or Eastern imagery or designs, but interpreting objects found in the natural world. The glaze is the same as that used on the musical cherub wall plaque and differences in colour and depth resulted from how thick the glaze was applied and how deep were the moulded grooves. The thicker the glaze and deeper the design, the darker and more iridescent the glaze appeared. In this way, Dunmore could create different tonal variations using the same glaze.

A Visit to Dunmore (promotional pamphlet for Dunmore Pottery, circa 1888), and articles written for the 1888 Glasgow International Exhibition.

⁷⁹ For illustrations on Minton's classically styled pieces see Paul Atterbury and Maureen Batkin, *The Dictionary of Minton* (London: Antique Collector's Club), 1990.

⁸⁰ Rose Kerr, *Later Chinese Bronzes*, Victoria & Albert Museum Far Eastern Series (London: V & A Publications, 1990), pp 40-41.

⁸¹ Atterbury and Batkin, p. 145; Cyril Bracegirdle, 'Linthorpe: The Forgotten Pottery', *Country Life* (April 1971), 1022-1025 (p. 1024).

From a technical standpoint, the most important of the donated pieces was the large centre piece composed of a vase resting on a tree trunk with three amphorae attached with ropes, and three tube-like flower holders emerging from a base decorated with human figures (Figure 18). The piece is remarkable for its size, far larger than other donated pieces, and for its complex manufacturing and assembly processes. Each element (the top vase, tree stump, amphorae, tubes, human figures and base) had to be individually moulded and dried to a leather hard stage before being attached together.⁸² The rope's consistency in width indicates it was produced using a clay extruder. This piece demonstrates that by 1878, Dunmore's potters had improved their knowledge and technical skills and that the Pottery was financially stable enough to allow for investments in pottery machinery such as extruders.⁸³ The depth, complexity, and quality of the donated pieces do not warrant their listing as 'Illustrations of Rustic Pottery from Dunmore' in the Glasgow Museum catalogues. Their description as 'rustic' may have more to do with their composition of earthenware as opposed to china and Dunmore's simplistic use of glazes as opposed to the more common hand painted or transfer printed ware. From the pieces discussed above, Dunmore is proven to have substantially developed, both in form and glaze, since the 'new' Dunmore was unveiled at the 1874 Highland and Agricultural Show.⁸⁴

1.2.3 Later Polychrome Glazes

The range and quality of Gardner's glazes helped Dunmore gain attention and an artistic reputation. Arnold Fleming, who knew Gardner personally, described

⁸² Leather hard is a pottery term used to denote the stage in the drying process in which the clay is stiff enough to be handled without distortion yet soft enough to still be manipulated. By the time clay has reached the leather hard stage, nearly all the clay shrinkage has taken place so it is the ideal time for pots to be turned and handles added. Hamer, p. 178.

⁸³ Dunmore created a range of baskets woven from extruded clay. The pieces were unsophisticated, roughly made and finished in monochrome glazes. These woven wares often imitate the baskets used in the fishing industry along the Firth of Forth, which indicates designs were inspired from local traditions and handicraft industries as well as by more sophisticated sources.

⁸⁴ Gardner made a much smaller donation to the Royal Museum the following year. This donation does not have the breadth of glazes, nor the complexity and variety of designs as the Glasgow donation. Most pieces in this donation were small jugs and vases in a blue/green glaze.

him as 'at heart an artist, and to visit him was always a delight, as he was invariably in the middle of some wonderful scheme for decorating his ware.'⁸⁵ Gardner's 'schemes' included his complex flowing and running glazes and glazes which had artistic effects such as iridescence, speckling, spotting and marbling. These were described in the 1880 *Art Journal* as having 'soft broad splashes of mixed tints.'⁸⁶ To produce flowing glazes, contemporary sources suggest adding whiting, alum, lime and salamoniac to the glaze mixture.⁸⁷ Flowing glazes, new to Art pottery, were popular and used by other manufacturers including Linthorpe, Burnantofts, and Ault Potteries.⁸⁸ Dunmore's flowing glazes typically follow the pattern of having a bright, intense primary colour such as red or blue as the base colour and more muted streaks of yellow, white, green, or brown as seen in the dimple vase with a brown and dark and light blue flowing glaze (Figure 19). Other Dunmore flowing glazes used stronger pigments and emphasised tonal variations of a single colour. This type of flowing glaze was predominantly produced in various blue tones, although green examples have been noted. The Dunmore plant pot and saucer in Figure 20 exemplifies Dunmore's flowing glaze in variations of blue. The bright and light blues of the glaze are highlighted by areas of white where the clay body shows through. When compared to the muted colours of the dimple vase, the plant pot's colours have more depth and intensity. The growth in skills and knowledge of Dunmore's glazers can be seen through the differences in colour,

⁸⁵ Fleming, p. 202.

⁸⁶ Archer, 'The Potteries of Scotland', p. 156. Professor Archer gave a lecture as President of the Royal Scottish Society of the Arts and Director of the Edinburgh Museum of Science and Art which was reprinted on page 174 of the 1874 *Art Journal*. The lecture was on the importance of pottery, yet he did not mention any Scottish potteries, only English ones. It is interesting that while representing the RSSA and a Scottish Museum, Professor Archer chose to focus on English ceramics which raises questions on how Scottish pottery was perceived in Britain at that time. Yet six years later, he wrote a whole article on Scottish pottery for a national publication which suggests the quality of and interest in Scottish ceramics had improved.

⁸⁷ A. H. Church, 'Some Points of Contact Between the Scientific and Artistic Aspects of Pottery and Porcelain: Glazes Enamels, Iridescent and Metallic Lustres and Colouring Substances', *Journal of the Society of Arts* (31 December 1880), 95-98 (p. 96).

⁸⁸ Thomas, pp. 135-137, 117-121 and 123-124.

refraction, and complexity of the glazes on the dimple vase and plant pot compared with the pieces from the 1878 museum donation.

In Dunmore's production, speckling was the other main glaze effect and was added to most of the Pottery's monochrome coloured glazes. In some pieces such as the Dunmore blue glazed candlestick with lathe turned column and applied handle, the speckles are small and a darker shade of the base colour (Figure 21). While in other pieces such as the Dunmore moulded satyr head ashet in Figure 22, the speckles are larger and of a different colour than the base coat. These different glaze effects were created using the same chemical compound. When added to a glaze, ilmenite (iron titanium oxide) produces spotting and mottling, but when used in its granular state, speckles in the glaze are formed.⁸⁹ By understanding glazing properties and employing experienced and knowledgeable glazers, Gardner created several different glaze effects without having the cost outlay of purchasing more than one mineral compound.

1.2.4 Later Monochrome Glazes

Dunmore's complex flowing, speckled, and majolica glazes helped Dunmore gain a reputation for artistic wares, however, the Pottery's monochrome glazes were equally popular. *A Visit to Dunmore* lists the monochrome glazes as ranging from 'deep solid hues' of 'deep red, ultramarine blue, a lovely revival of an old fashioned tint [Rockingham], turquoise blue[...]sealing wax red[...]greens of all shades; and yellows, from primrose to orange.'⁹⁰ In *Scottish Pottery*, Arnold Fleming suggests Dunmore's first teapots, glazed in Mazarine blue were 'greatly admired'. Although no Mazarine teapots have yet been located, there is an abundance of Mazarine figures such as the Dunmore pierced elephant (Figure 23). Professor Church in an 1880

⁸⁹ James Chappell, *The Potter's Complete Book of Clay and Glaze* (New York: Watson-Guption, 1977), p. 409.

⁹⁰ *A Visit to Dunmore* describes one visitor's account of what he saw and did at Dunmore Pottery. This was in fact a promotional pamphlet produced by the Pottery and not an account written spontaneously by a visitor. Brian Watters has narrowed the production of *A Visit to Dunmore* to the late 1880s based on the mention of the Dowager Countess and Queen Victoria's purchase at the 1886 Edinburgh International Exhibition.

Journal of the Society of Arts article described blues as 'difficult to manage, both in hue, [and] depth,' for 'When the cobalt contains nickel, or manganese, or iron, very usual impurities, it is greatly injured; at least its hue becomes so modified towards grey, indigo, or purple, as to lose its distinguishing beauty.'⁹¹ Dunmore's intense, bright glazes have none of these qualities which suggests Gardner was purchasing high quality, uncontaminated ingredients for his glazes and that he and his workers had the knowledge and skills needed to create a strong and deep Mazarine glaze.

Dunmore's turquoise glaze was one of the Pottery's rarest and most expensive monochrome glazes to manufacture. Turquoise was produced using copper oxide which when compared with other colorants such as cobalt, is weak and requires more of the mineral to make a pure colour. The only technique that will create a true turquoise colour is to mix copper oxide with a high alkaline (boracic) base.⁹² Dunmore primarily used lead based glazes; consequently the production of the turquoise glaze would have created logistical and manufacturing problems. Alkaline glazes require different base ingredients than lead glazes which would have resulted in Gardner tying up larger amounts of money in raw materials. As a result of their different ingredients, alkaline glazes must be fired at a lower cone temperature than lead glazes.⁹³ The 1893 *Journal of the Society of Arts* recommended that:

'glazes should be fused to the highest degree of temperature which they will bear[...]The higher the temperature a glaze will stand, the greater the hardness; and the greater the hardness, the greater the power of refraction. The greater the refraction the greater the brilliancy of the light reflected back to the eye, and the greater the pleasure appreciated therefrom.'⁹⁴

⁹¹ Church, p. 97.

⁹² Chappell, p. 409. Glazes are categorized by their flux. There are three main types of glazes; lead, alkaline, and feldspathic.

⁹³ John Kenny, *Ceramic Design* (London: Pitman, 1964), pp. 190-193. The differences in firing temperatures and chemical composition between the turquoise alkaline glaze and Dunmore's lead glazes prohibited the use of turquoise in running and spotted glazes. Turquoise is Dunmore's only monochrome glaze colour not to be used in these ways.

⁹⁴ Wilton P. Rix, 'On Pottery Glazes: Their Classification and Decorative Value in Ceramic Design', *Journal of the Society of Arts* (17 February 1893), 295-307 (p. 298).

The glassiness and refractory of the majority of Dunmore's glazes suggest its pieces were fired at high cone temperatures. The alkaline turquoise glaze would have been difficult to fire at these temperatures without the glaze melting. To prevent this, Gardner could have fired the turquoise pieces separately or added a gum to help bind the glaze to the clay and then used saggars to protect the ware.⁹⁵ These saggars could not be reused for fear of transferring glaze from one piece to another. Either solution would have added extra expense to the production of turquoise pieces.

The translucency and light colour of the turquoise glaze required the purest, white clay. If inferior clays were used or the glaze was not made of the right proportions, the turquoise pieces would not have the desired clarity and brightness of colour. This was evidently a problem in the nineteenth century pottery industry as Wilton Rix complained in the 1893 *Journal of the Society of Arts*: 'If one examines a modern piece of English turquoise glaze, a very noticeable defect obtrudes itself on the eye at once. The colour is staring enough, strong enough[...]but muddy withal; you cannot look *into* it.'⁹⁶ As Dunmore's turquoise glaze did not have a 'muddy' appearance, Gardner is seen to have been able to supply the correct clay and quality of metal oxides. From the warnings and descriptions of glazes in contemporary journals, Dunmore is observed to have been producing higher quality glazes than several other factories of the period.

From the quantity of surviving examples, Dunmore likely produced only a limited number of pieces in the turquoise glaze. Other glazes, such as the majolica and yellow and green monochrome glazes are far more numerous among existing pieces today. Turquoise ware that has survived ranges from a large exhibition piece to small collectibles. Dunmore's cupped hands figurine (Figure 24) shows the clarity and richness of its turquoise glaze. Hands, which represented prayers and the concept of

⁹⁵ Kenny, p. 190.

⁹⁶ Rix, p. 298.

being in God's hands, were an important Victorian moral and religious image and this piece is in fact one of only two known Dunmore products with religious associations.⁹⁷ This raises questions on why Dunmore would produce such a piece as it does not fit in the Pottery's utilitarian tradition, or with the ethos of an Art Pottery. The inspiration for this piece may have come from Gardner himself who served as an elder in the local church, 'in the affairs of which he took a deep interest'.⁹⁸ Following his death, Mr. Hendry, the parish minister, stated 'he [Gardner] frequently lamented to me his inability to do more for the sake of the church.'⁹⁹ It is possible that Gardner produced pieces with religious imagery as part of his desire to help support and promote Christian ideals. Unlike the cupped hands, the majority of Dunmore's turquoise glazed pieces were based on British translations of Oriental shapes and forms which is not surprising as the glaze itself may have been inspired from glazes found in Jingdezhen wares from the Kangxi reign of the Chinese Qing dynasty.¹⁰⁰

Dunmore continued to grow physically and artistically throughout the 1880s. The 1881 census lists fourteen pottery workers including Gardner, compared to a mere nine workers in 1871. The growth in employees would have been related to an increase in the quantity of Dunmore's output, which confirms a higher demand for the wares. Throughout the 1880's, Gardner continued to aggressively market his wares through local, national, and international exhibitions including the 1886 Edinburgh and 1888 Glasgow International Exhibitions.¹⁰¹ On the Edinburgh International Exhibition, *The Scotsman* reported 'From Dunmore Pottery many splendid specimens of vases and other artistic work are shown, all in the shape of articles of general utility and beautiful

⁹⁷ Dunmore also produced a wall plaque of St. John, an example of which is in the National Museums of Scotland Collection, accession number 1995.4.

⁹⁸ 'Dunmore' (obituary of Peter Gardner), *Falkirk Herald*, 5 March 1902.

⁹⁹ 'Dunmore' (obituary of Peter Gardner), *Falkirk Herald*, 5 March 1902.

¹⁰⁰ Jingdezhen turquoise glazes broadly fall into three categories: crackle, robin egg streaked with copper red, and robin egg blue streaked with dark blue. All three of these types of glazes are represented in Dunmore pieces. Rose Kerr, *Chinese Ceramics: Porcelain of the Qing Dynasty 1644-1911*, Victoria & Albert Museum Far Eastern Series (London: V & A Publications, 1988), pp. 88; Nigel Wood, *Chinese Glazes: Their Origins, Chemistry and Recreation*, (London: A. and C. Black, 1999), pp. 119-129.

¹⁰¹ Dunmore's participation and marketing at these exhibitions are discussed in Chapter 4.

finish.¹⁰² The article shows that by the 1880s, Dunmore had achieved the delicate balance of being both an Art and utilitarian pottery.

Under Peter Gardner, the period between the 1870s and the 1880s was Dunmore's most prolific and most artistically developmental phase. The rustic utilitarian pottery gave way to classically inspired ware and refined Art pottery with smooth, clean lines and bright refractive glazes. Sources for pottery forms were diverse and Gardner gained inspiration from Greek and Roman imagery as well as from Near and Far Eastern ceramic designs. With the new wares at the end of the 1880s, Dunmore was competing with much larger and more heavily financed English Art potteries such as Doulton and Linthorpe. Through novel designs and the support of the Earl and Countess of Dunmore, Gardner expanded the popularity of Dunmore Pottery by participating in local and international exhibitions and following an organized marketing strategy.

1.3 Dunmore Pottery: 1890-1912

Dunmore's popularity and growth would not last for long. By the end of the nineteenth century, Dunmore was undergoing drastic changes in its workforce. The 1891 census indicates a decrease in the number of Dunmore employees followed by a further, more drastic reduction by 1901. What was happening at Dunmore Pottery at this time is unclear. There are few references to the Pottery found in the local papers or in the National Archives. Dunmore stopped exhibiting at local and international exhibitions and the art and pottery trade journals remain silent on the decline at Dunmore Pottery. Information from the 1890s until it closes after World War I, is garnered mainly from the 1891 and 1901 census reports and from the 1892 and 1917 sale catalogues of the Dunmore Park estate.

¹⁰² Untitled article, *The Scotsman*, 25 May 1886.

Census records suggest the Pottery, though slowly scaling back, still produced large quantities of pottery. In the 1891 census, including Gardner, six potters, a pottery presser, a pottery packer, a labourer and a carter were listed as employed at Dunmore Pottery. This was down slightly from the 1881 census where nine potters and five labourers and workers were listed. Linthorpe, whose pottery was similar to Dunmore, closed in 1890 possibly indicating the styles of pottery produced at Linthorpe and Dunmore were becoming less popular or a general downturn in the national ceramic industry. By the end of the nineteenth century, ceramic style was shifting from Art pottery and its reliance on artistic theories and art movements to studio pottery which was more sculptural.¹⁰³ Dunmore could have absorbed some of the changes in taste as it had a more diverse output, producing both utilitarian and Art pottery, unlike Linthorpe which only produced Art wares.

The slow decline in the Pottery's production was matched by its decrease in advertising and sales outlets. The Post Office Directories no longer list Peter Gardner or his sales outlets in Glasgow or Edinburgh. The Pottery no longer exhibited at large International or local exhibitions and it instead relied on sales from secondary sources such as Adams and Son, a china merchant in Stirling.¹⁰⁴ The conditions at the Pottery were reflected in the conditions of the Dunmore Park estate in general. The Murray family was experiencing financial difficulties and the estate was put on the market in 1892 with the publication of the *Particulars of the Magnificent Residential Estate of Dunmore* by the Edinburgh Solicitors of Dundas and Wilson. In the catalogue, Dunmore Pottery was entered under 'Farms' in the appendices and Peter Gardner was

¹⁰³ Bergesen, p. 17.

¹⁰⁴ 'Dunmore Pottery', *Friends of the Smith Newsletter* (Autumn 1980), p. 5. The Stirling Smith Museum and Art Gallery has several pieces, including a children's teaset, that were donated directly from Adams and Son in the early 1900s. This donation is significant in that it shows how Dunmore was perceived during the early 1900s. The Pottery was still in operation and these pieces did not represent articles from a historic factory, but one that was currently in production. The donation suggests that even though the Pottery was in decline, locals believed the ware was special and of interest to an art gallery. Unlike Gardner's donation to the Glasgow and National Museums which were marketing and public relations exercises, this was a genuine gift by a local who saw Dunmore's long term social and artistic relevance in the community.

listed as tenant of the Pottery of 22 acres. With the Earl and Countess of Dunmore removing themselves from the Dunmore Park estate, Gardner lost two of his most influential patrons. As Dunmore Pottery was already in a state of decline, the loss of the connection to the Earl and Countess and their support would have been particularly difficult to absorb. The estate's new owner, Claud Hamilton, was a lawyer and likely had little experience or interest in art and estate philanthropy.¹⁰⁵

Gardner remained at Dunmore Pottery as a potter through the turn of the century. He had an entry in the 1900 *Pottery Gazette Diary Directory* as 'P. Gardner, Dunmore Pottery, Near Stirling, Scotland.'¹⁰⁶ The 1901 census lists Gardner, aged 64, still working as a potter; however, the workforce and Pottery had drastically changed. Two cottages on the Pottery site which previously had housed Dunmore workers were now rented by a road surface man and a saw miller and their families. John Wright, a retired potter, occupied another cottage. The census indicates that at this time only four people including Gardner were employed at Dunmore. Thomas Harrison was Gardner's only other potter and his daughters, Jane and Sarah Harrison, were listed as warehouse worker and potter's assistant respectively. This period shows a dramatic down turn in the scale and size of Dunmore Pottery. Compared to the 1891 census, Dunmore had lost four potters and a pottery presser. In real terms, the Pottery had lost 70% of its workforce, and therefore its productivity, since 1881.

The additional decrease in workers from 1891 to 1901 was likely a reflection of the changes in consumer tastes and changes in the pottery industry. Dunmore's most known and advertised pieces were those in the Arts and Crafts and Aesthetic styles which were now considered dated and not as fashionable. The demand for these types of pieces declined and Dunmore was unable to capture a different market. Dunmore's decline was indicative of the whole Art pottery industry at the turn of the century and

¹⁰⁵ "Let of Dunmore", *Falkirk Herald*, 30 August 1902.

¹⁰⁶ *The Pottery Gazette Diary Directory*, (Scott and Greenwood, 1900), p. 34.

there were more Art pottery closures at Alloa, De Morgan, and Martin Brothers Potteries and a decrease in production at Burmantofts.¹⁰⁷ The number and efficiency of the large ceramic firms made it impossible for Dunmore to compete and survive as a wholly utilitarian and commercial crockery manufacturer.

Dunmore Pottery's decline in the late 1800s and early 1900s resulted from a combination of the loss of the Murray family and their patronage, change in economics and consumer tastes from Victorian and Arts and Crafts pottery to studio pottery, as well as an aging and unwell Gardner. Each played a role in the deterioration of the Pottery and it is impossible to determine which caused the most damage to the factory or if the Pottery could have maintained its workforce if the changes did not occur at once. Despite these changing circumstances, Gardner continued at Dunmore until his death on 1st March 1902 at age 66. The obituary in the *Falkirk Herald* described Gardner as:

A genial, shrewd, active, and level-headed man, he succeeded in so extending the business Dunmore Pottery ware was soon known all over the country, and was regarded as the most superior of its class. Mr. Gardner took a great deal of pride in the kind of work produced at his pottery, and the articles manufactured embraced a variety of goods, some of which were extremely pretty and unique.¹⁰⁸

In August 1902, a 21 year lease of Dunmore Pottery was given to Gardner's cousin, R.B. Henderson by the executors of the proprietors of Dunmore Park.¹⁰⁹ According to the *Falkirk Herald* announcement of the change of lease, Henderson's intention was to 'keep on the workers formerly employed by Mr. Gardner in the business and also to introduce to a certain extent, machinery to replace hand labour and so enable him to compete more successfully with more up to date firms'¹¹⁰ The shift from man-made to

¹⁰⁷ See Appendix C. Burmantoft, like Dunmore, was able to remain in business longer than other Art potteries as it had a more varied output. Burmantofts's tiles, similar to Dunmore's utilitarian wares, created enough diversity in markets to outlive other Art potteries.

¹⁰⁸ 'Dunmore' (obituary of Peter Gardner), *Falkirk Herald*, 5 March 1902.

¹⁰⁹ 'Let of Dunmore Pottery', *Falkirk Herald*, 30 August 1902. A Robert Henderson is listed as a 'visitor' in the 1901 Census records for Dunmore Pottery.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

machine made items would have had little impact on Dunmore's workforce since there was only one trained potter working at the site. However, the introduction of machinery was a complete change to the Pottery's artistic and production principles. Under Gardner, the Pottery prided itself on hand-made goods with artistic finishes which became part of its identity and marketing strategy.¹¹¹ In addition, Dunmore participated in the journeyman and guild system, training potters to work in the traditional manner. The introduction of machines to replace hand labour suggests a turn in the ethos of the Pottery. Declaring machines were needed to compete effectively in the early 1900s indicates that the Pottery was no longer able to absorb costs involved with hand-made ceramics and that consumers were no longer willing to pay more for these objects.

Whether Henderson really did introduce machinery at Dunmore Pottery has not been documented. Henderson sold the pottery two years later in 1904 to Thomas Harrison, who was listed in Dunmore's 1881 and 1901 census reports.¹¹² Since the 1901 census recorded only Harrison and his daughters working at the Pottery, the business was likely only a family concern at this time. Harrison was born in England to a pottery family and correspondence between Harrison and a cousin at Canney Hill Pottery in Durham gives insight into which types of glazes he was using at Dunmore.¹¹³ In the letters, Harrison gives recipes for Rockingham, Mazreen [sic] Blue, jet black, green and blue majolica glazes.¹¹⁴ The recipes suggest these were glazes Harrison knew well, could recommend to a potter in his family, and used in his own pottery production. Glaze recipes were kept secret and Harrison reminds his cousin to 'keep those [recipes] to yours self [sic]' The types of glazes in Harrison's recipes were similar to the types of glazes used at Dunmore under Gardner. There has been a general consensus that the 'secrets' of Dunmore's glazes were lost with the Gardner's death. In an interview

¹¹¹ These ideas are more fully explained in Chapter 4.

¹¹² Harry Kelly, *Scottish Ceramics* (Atglen, PA: Schiffer, 1999), p. 82.

¹¹³ Kelly, p. 82.

¹¹⁴ The undated letters are housed at the Durham County Archives, reference numbers 12(A)-12A(9A), 13A-13A(16A) and 0A-20A(21A). Transcripts of the letters are given in Appendix D.

conducted by Kay Dickson in 1977 Elizabeth Boyd, grandniece of Peter Gardner, said Gardner left no notes or secrets. Boyd believed that when Harrison took over, he did not fully understand how Gardner made Dunmore pottery. This idea was further promoted when The *Falkirk Herald* printed an article dramatically entitled 'Pottery's secret lost with death of Peter Gardner' on 19th September 1980. However, Harrison worked for several years at the Pottery and would have learned the glazes he described to his cousin from Gardner. The glaze recipes call for at times over forty pounds of raw materials. It is unlikely that Gardner in his mid sixties and ill, lifted and mixed these ingredients by himself.¹¹⁵ Harrison, as the only other potter at Dunmore, would have helped with the glazes and learned their recipes.

Harrison remained at Dunmore until he died in 1912 after which his wife Christine continued to run the Pottery.¹¹⁶ By this time, the Pottery had stopped making fine Art pottery and concentrated on producing course white ware cups and saucers, selling in sets and half sets.¹¹⁷ John Hamilton, a local resident, remembered going to the pottery as a child after World War I to exchange rags for cups and saucers.¹¹⁸ Dunmore Pottery remained in the Harrison family up to at least 1917 where Harrison is listed in the Dunmore Park estate sale catalogue as having a lease for the pottery shop, kilns, two cottages, stable, barn, and the manager's house which were rented for £30 per year and the 'pottery field' for £45 until 1923.¹¹⁹ The lease of the 'pottery field' establishes that the local red clay continued to be used throughout Dunmore's existence. Dunmore Pottery closed shortly after the sale of the estate and had been demoted to a piggery by 1926.¹²⁰

¹¹⁵ In the obituary for Gardner in the 5 March 1902 *Falkirk Herald* (titled 'Dunmore'), the parish minister states 'from the time of my coming to Airth, Mr. Gardner was in failing health.'

¹¹⁶ Kelly, p. 82.

¹¹⁷ Waiters, article's p. 4.

¹¹⁸ Kay Dickson. From Notes made c. 1977. Interview with Mr. Hamilton.

¹¹⁹ 'Lot 3', *Sale of Dunmore Park Lands*, Sales Catalogue, 20 September 1917.

¹²⁰ Kay, interview with Hamilton.

The Dunmore Pottery house remained a home with the tiled showroom in situ until the 1970s (Figure 25). Oonagh Morrison visited the showroom in 1966 and subsequently wrote two articles on her experience. Morrison found the room ‘rapidly crumbling into disrepair[...]a poignantly evocative reminder of Dunmore’s erstwhile fame.’¹²¹ The room was eventually dismantled in 1976 and pieces were being individually sold on the open market. Robin Hill, curator of Huntley House Museum, recognised the pieces as Dunmore and negotiated with the property owners a complete purchase of the remaining tiles by Edinburgh City Museums.¹²² These pieces, which included a door, a fireplace, the tile dado and ceiling roundels, were purchased with the intention of recreating the showroom.¹²³ A strong gale collapsed Dunmore’s last kiln in January 1974 after which the owner razed the remaining bricks.¹²⁴ The kiln collapse was sadly ironic in that at the time of its destruction, the county council was considering a grant for its preservation.¹²⁵

The Dunmore Pottery house was purchased in the 1980s by Bill Mitchell who renovated the house and ran it as a hotel.¹²⁶ The house and lands changed hands again before being purchased by a developer who was granted permission to demolish the Pottery house in 2001, despite attempts to save it.¹²⁷ Before development on the site was completed, Graeme Cruickshank undertook a small archaeological survey the results of which have been deposited at the National Monuments Records of Scotland.¹²⁸ Today,

¹²¹ Oonagh Morrison. ‘Dunmore: An Old Pottery in the Carse of Stirling’, *Scotland’s Magazine* (August 1966), 42-43 (p. 43).

¹²² Authors conversation with Robin Hill, 8 September 2001.

¹²³ The grand plan to reconstruct the room was never completed. Now, almost thirty years after the original purchase, museum and staff priorities and finances have changed. The majority of the pieces from the tile room remain in storage with a few pieces on display on the second floor of the Huntley House Museum.

¹²⁴ Cruickshank, *A Visit to Dunmore Pottery*, p. 110.

¹²⁵ ‘Dunmore Pottery’ Typed sheet in the Dunmore Pottery File in the Glasgow Museum Archives.

¹²⁶ Cruickshank, *A Visit to Dunmore Pottery*, p. 59.

¹²⁷ Letter from Robin Hill to the author. 22 November 2001. The house was demolished the following year.

¹²⁸ National Monuments Records of Scotland, reference code NS 88NE44. The site was interesting in that it contained so little shards or evidence of the pottery industry. Small amounts of broken pottery, moulds, and kiln furniture were uncovered, but they give little insight as to the pottery itself.

the Pottery site is a housing development and the only remains of Dunmore Pottery are the wares themselves.

Dunmore's transformation during the second half of the nineteenth century was a by-product of local and national trends. The growth in the mid to late nineteenth century Scottish pottery industry as a whole allowed Dunmore to source trained potters and craftsmen from the local vicinity, as opposed to its previous reliance on emigrant English workers. Technological advances, falling coal prices and the development of the Scottish rail network provided the Pottery with cheaper raw materials and lower transportation costs. The inception of the Art pottery movement gave the works fresh influences and forms while the involvement of the Dunmore family gave the new pottery a voice in high society and the local press. Yet, it was Peter Gardner who was the driving force behind Dunmore's evolution. It was his unique approach to merge Art and utilitarian pottery production that prolonged Dunmore's survival in an age of mass produced ceramic wares. Gardner was responsible for Dunmore's fusion of modern British design, Eastern influences and country pottery traditions. He interpreted the whims of the market and produced ceramics that at times followed known trends and at other times set new trends. Gardner was a man of his time in much the same way Dunmore was a product of its time.

2 TO BE OR NOT TO BE: DUNMORE AND THE ART POTTERY INDUSTRY

The Art pottery movement was a defining feature of the late Victorian ceramic industry and a response to wider decorative art trends and criticisms. By the last three decades of the nineteenth century, there was a clear delineation between Art and commercial pottery.¹ As mentioned previously, Art pottery was pottery that was deliberately artistic and usually followed the stylistic guidelines set forth by either the Arts and Crafts or Aesthetic Movement. Despite both being placed under the 'Art pottery' umbrella, these movements had distinct philosophies that resulted in divergent wares. Although the 'Art pottery' genre was quite broad, the differences between the Movements resulted in most Art potteries focusing their production on either the Aesthetic or Arts and Crafts Style, rarely did they incorporate both. Peter Gardner took a different approach by incorporating both Arts and Crafts and Aesthetic Movement styles in his pottery production. Gardner's development of forms and glazes and the Pottery's subsequent success during the late nineteenth century relied on his understanding of the changing artistic trends and the shift in consumers' desire for more artistic pottery. By incorporating both Arts and Crafts and Aesthetic Movement styles into his pottery production, Gardner bridged both factions of the Art pottery movement.

2.1 The Arts and Crafts Movement

To some nineteenth century art critics, it appeared as if the Industrial Revolution and the effect it had on consumption had created a commercial and artistic crisis that left the decorative arts 'confused and undecided.'² As machines and technology changed the ornamentation process, decorative arts manufacturers began to equate decoration

¹ Elizabeth Aslin, *The Aesthetic Movement: Prelude to Art Nouveau*. (London: Elek Books Limited, 1969), p.131.

² John Ruskin, 'Modern Manufacture and Design', lecture given at Bradford in March 1859 published in *The Two Paths* (London: Everett, undated), p. 52. George Moore, *Confessions of a Young Man* (1886), 1939 edition, p. 104, cited in Bevis Hillier, *Pottery and Porcelain: 1700-1914* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1968), p. 242.

with design. The period's reliance on historical imagery, forms, and embellishments was in part based on the industrial production techniques, such as machine carving in furniture and slip and press moulding in ceramics, which resulted in more elaborate, but less expensive decoration. Historical forms and designs began to be blurred as Victorians re-interpreted period styles so that 'Classical', 'Gothic', and 'Renaissance' designs bore little resemblance to the originals.³ The problem was exacerbated by the relatively small number of art and design schools and a general absence of governing theories on what constituted good design.⁴ There was a consensus among certain art critics and artists that the decorative arts were in a 'state of anarchy and disorganisation, which makes a sweeping change necessary and certain.'⁵

It was these conditions that design reformers including John Ruskin, William Morris, Walter Crane, and Lewis F. Day, criticised in lectures and articles disseminated through books and journals such as the *Art Journal* and the *Journal for the Society of Arts*. Their theories on design and decorative art production formed the basis of the Arts and Crafts Movement which Crane described as 'a protest against the turning of men into machines, against artificial distinctions in art, and against making the immediate market value or possibility of profit the chief test of artistic merit.'⁶ He wanted 'a revival of the mediaeval spirit (though not the letter) in design: a return to simplicity, to rich and suggestive surface decoration, and simple constructive forms.'⁷ The Arts and Crafts Movement was a social movement as well as an artistic movement

³ Thomas, p. 5.

⁴ This would change by the end of the century when the South Kensington System of Art Schools was established. Art schools were set up across Britain 'to increase the means of industrial education and extend the influence of science and art upon productive industry.' For a summarized history of the South Kensington Museum and education system, see Bruce Robertson, 'The South Kensington Museum in Context: An Alternative History', *Museum and Society*, 2 no 1 (March 2004), pp. 1-14.

⁵ William Morris, 'The Lesser Arts', *Selected Writings* (London: Nonsuch, 1946), 496-516 (p. 501).

⁶ Walter Crane, 'Of the Revival of Design and Handicraft', in *Arts and Crafts Essays*, p. 13.

⁷ As quoted in Fiona MacCarthy, *A History of British Design 1830-1970* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1972), p. 23.

'inspired by a crisis of conscience.'⁸ It held that industrialization and mechanical processes had burdened the workforce with misery and degradation.⁹ When deconstructing the Arts and Crafts Movement and its philosophies, it becomes apparent that while Dunmore was influenced by its values, it did not incorporate all its principles.

One of the Movement's primary principles was that the decorative arts had become too reliant on machinery. Critics held that the designs were not created because they were good or artistic, but because they were easily made by machines. Designs were based on what could be done, rather than what should be done. As a result, it was believed the artistic nature of goods had diminished. For William Morris, the craftsman and his organic designs were the antithesis to bad design and machine made goods.¹⁰ Morris contended 'it is the allowing machines to be our masters and not our servants that so injures the beauty of life nowadays.'¹¹ Part of his objection to machinery and the industrialised system was that it regulated workers to a life of repetitive labour and that 'to compel a man to do day after day the same task, without any hope of escape or change, means nothing short of turning his life into a prison-torment.'¹² This may have been problematic in factories that were producing thousands of pieces in the same style and with the same decoration; however, in workshops of Dunmore's size, output and organizational style, workers would rarely be doing the same task repeatedly. At its peak in 1881, Dunmore employed twelve pottery workers including Gardner himself. Given the number and types of wares and glazes Dunmore produced and the staged process of ceramic manufacture (one piece of ceramic could go through more than seven stages of production), the workforce was not large enough to specialise to the

⁸ Elizabeth Cumming and Wendy Kaplan, *The Arts and Crafts Movement* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1992), p. 7.

⁹ Cumming and Kaplan, p. 8.

¹⁰ James A. Schmiechen, 'Reconsidering the Factory, Art-Labor, and the Schools of Design in Nineteenth Century Britain', *Design Issues*, 6 no 2 (Spring 1990) 58-69, p. 59.

¹¹ William Morris, 'How We Live and How We Might Live', *Selected Writings* (London: Nonsuch, 1946) 565-587 (p. 585).

¹² William Morris, 'Useful Work Versus Useless Toil', *Selected Writings* (London: Nonsuch, 1946), 603-623 (p. 617).

point where one potter did the same job everyday. As a consequence of Dunmore's size and production system and not as a result of a deliberate or calculated choice, Gardner is seen to be following this Arts and Crafts principle.

The Arts and Crafts Movement was firmly aligned with socialism and its egalitarian ideologies. Its supporters were as interested in the welfare of the workers as they were in the goods the workers produced and believed that the quality of the items manufactured reflected the quality of life of the workers. They wanted 'real art, the expression of man's happiness in his labour,—art an art made by the people, and for the people, as a happiness to the maker and the user.'¹³ According to Alan Crawford, this joy in labour equated with handwork which manifested in pieces having an appearance that demonstrated they were handmade such as irregular contours in pottery and hammer marks in metalwork.¹⁴ In Dunmore's production, the fingerprints and uneven forms which would have revealed the pieces as handmade were routinely eliminated by the lathe turning that finished many of the pottery wares. The pieces that do have handmade qualities are usually large items that would have been difficult to lathe turn, such as the yellow planter with fluted rim in Figure 26.

As part of the Arts and Crafts Movement's encouragement of handmade goods, it advocated the promotion of the handicrafts to art and of their practitioners to artists. The critics looked nostalgically to the past when the distinction between artist and craftsmen was non-existent and the decorative arts spoke of the people, not of their technology. Ruskin advised Britons to 'Get rid, then, at once of any idea of Decorative art being degraded or a separate kind of art. Its nature or essence is simply its being fitted for a definite place.'¹⁵ Arts and Crafts adherents believed that the separation of artists from craftsmen was partially responsible for the degeneration of the decorative

¹³ William Morris, 'The Art of the People', *Selected Writings* (London: Nonesuch, 1946), 517-537 (p. 533-534).

¹⁴ Alan Crawford, 'Ideas and Objects: The Arts and Crafts Movement in Britain', *Design Issues*, 13 no 1 (Spring 1997), 15-26 (p. 18).

¹⁵ Ruskin, 'Modern Manufacture and Design', *The Two Paths*, p.53.

arts. As the decorative arts moved away from art and entered the realm of industry, they had lost their aesthetic qualities and were languishing within the factory system. The only way to re-invigorate the decorative arts was to realign them with art. Morris believed the way to do this 'if it can be applied; the handicraftsman, left behind by the artists..., must come up with him, must work side by side with him.'¹⁶ By reclassifying craftsmen as artists, there was a general belief that not only would the aesthetics of the decorative arts improve, but also the working and economic conditions of the workers. As 'artists', craftsmen would receive better pay, have more prestige, and take more pride in and give more thought to their designs. Despite incorporating industrial techniques such as moulding at Dunmore, Gardner used the Movement's elevation of craftsmen to artists in its advertising and marketing campaigns. In *A Visit to Dunmore*, the manufacture of ceramics is described as being in the 'hand of the artist'.¹⁷ Gardner's use of the term 'artist' testifies that the Arts and Crafts Movement was successful in changing consumer perceptions of craftsmen and artists and that 'artist' produced wares were deemed so desirable as to be included in advertisements.

As part of Arts and Crafts Movement's improvements for workers and society, Morris promoted the necessity of 'decency of surroundings' which included a) good lodging, b) ample space, and c) general order and beauty.¹⁸ These ideas manifested in a paternalistic approach to employees and their housing. Large industrialists such as Lord Leverhulme of Lever Brothers Soap and George Cadbury or Cadbury Chocolate created model villages which incorporated housing, shopping, hospitals, and schools. Dunmore Pottery, with a smaller workforce and already situated on the Dunmore estate with a sponsored church and school, incorporated these ideas on a lesser scale.¹⁹ As evidenced by the 1841 census, Dunmore provided cottages for its workers (Figure 27).

¹⁶ Morris, 'The Lesser Arts', *Selected Writings*, p. 504.

¹⁷ *A Visit to Dunmore*, p. 6.

¹⁸ Morris, 'Art and Socialism', *Selected Writings*, p. 640.

¹⁹ 'Parish of Airth', *New Statistical Account of Scotland*, Vol. VIII (Edinburgh: Blackwell, 1845), (280-287), pp. 285-286.

When these cottages were full, Gardner opened his own home to the workers as seen in the 1871 census which lists three potters (William Roberts, George Nielson, and James McLean) as living in the farmhouse with Gardner. In this way, Gardner was participating in the period's paternalistic approach in industry but at a level that reflected the Pottery's physical size, workforce, and location.

In regard to 'decency of surroundings', Morris had idealistic expectations of working conditions and wanted factories situated 'amidst gardens as beautiful...as those of Alcinoüs.'²⁰ C. R. Ashbee took this further and stated 'The proper place for Arts and Crafts is in the country...away from the complex, artificial, and often destructive influence of machines and the great town.'²¹ Rural areas and their handicrafts were seen as untouched by the Industrial Revolution and were idealised for their rustic charm. This manifested in an interest in and a desire for artistic country wares. At the same time, the increased use of galvanised metal and later plastics for traditionally ceramic items made local country potting economically unsustainable.²² Many country potters, like Gardner, saw that it was no longer economically viable to solely rely on the production of utilitarian country goods. They responded to the Arts and Crafts interest in country potteries and changed over to Art pottery production. However, this did create a paradox. Country pottery was coveted as a result of its isolation from industry and design trends. By becoming part of the Art pottery establishment, the country potters were influenced by art critics and what they deemed as fashionable. Consequently, the idealised concept of country pottery and its design influences became corrupted.²³ Although Dunnore began as a country pottery, it had explored decorative and commercial ceramics outside of the country pottery traditions under John Gardner,

²⁰ William Morris, 'A Factory As It Might Be', *Selected Writings* (London: Nonsuch, 1946), 646-654 (p. 647). Alcinoüs, King of the Phaeacians on Corfu, appears in the Greek epic *Odyssey*, where he acts as Odysseus's (Ulysses) host. Homer's account of the gardens of Alcinoüs is one of the earliest textual descriptions of gardens.

²¹ Charles R. Ashbee. *Craftsmanship in Competitive Industry* (1908), quoted in John A. Bartlett, *British Ceramic Art: 1870-1940* (Atglen, PA: Schiffer, 1993), p 8.

²² Bergesen, p.15.

²³ Hillier, p. 108-109; Bergesen, p.15.

prior to the Arts and Crafts Movement. By the time the Movement had made country pottery desirable, Dunmore had already progressed out of the country pottery stage both in output and workforce. Given these facts, two things become clear. Although Dunmore was geographically in the country and removed from the city and what Ashbee labelled their 'artificial' and 'destructive' influences, it was not a country pottery in ethos or production. The vast quantity of Dunmore moulded Classical and ornamental wares proves that the Pottery was as much under the 'destructive' influences as it was under those of the Arts and Crafts.

According to Arts and Crafts adherents, the capitalist system was responsible for destructive designs, useless and gaudy items and the suppression of the workforce. They placed the blame firmly at the feet of the manufacturer and his greed and reliance on machinery. Morris complained 'Commerce has become of very great importance and Art of very little' and as a result 'the system has trampled down Art, and exalted Commerce into a sacred religion.'²⁴ The consequence was that not only 'useless things' were made, but also those that were 'destructive and poisonous' simply because they commanded a good price in the market.²⁵ Reformers believed that the improvement of the decorative arts was in the hands of the producers and manufacturers and that they must direct the workers and consumers to a more artistic appreciation of life and consumption. Morris argued:

The only real help for decorative arts must come from those who work in them; nor must they be led, they must lead. You whose hands make those things that should be works of art, you must be all artists, and good artists too, before the public at large can take real interest in such things.²⁶

Morris's ideas were unrealistic for potteries of Dunmore's size. With a relatively small output compared to the large, industrialised Staffordshire factories, Dunmore's influence on the wider ceramic and decorative arts market and its consumption was

²⁴ William Morris, 'Art and Socialism', *Selected Writings* (London: Nonsuch, 1946), 624-645 (p. 626).

²⁵ Morris, 'Art and Socialism', *Selected Writings*, p. 627.

²⁶ Morris, 'The Lesser Arts', *Selected Writings*, p. 503.

negligible. Given the economic realities of a small workshop and the ceramic industry in general, Gardner needed to produce wares for which there was already a strong demand and customer base. It is unlikely he took any interest in leading trends or manufacturing works of art, instead he focused on producing wares that were marketable to an established clientele and their concepts of beauty and art whether that be in the Classical or Art Pottery Style.

According to Arts and Crafts principles, good design was based on observing strict artistic and ethical principles. Above all, 'Have nothing in your houses that you do not know to be useful, or believe to be beautiful.'²⁷ This simple statement was in fact a significant declaration that utility and beauty could be combined, that everyday useful objects could be artistically made and it was these that should be purchased. It was also a denunciation of the period's conspicuous consumption and its result in disingenuous manufacture. It was a criticism of eclectic interiors brimming with ornaments and curios, collected and displayed with the sole intent to parade one's fashion and ability to partake of a consumer culture. Although Ruskin, like Morris, believed that the consumer should be enlightened to the principle of unity in function and beauty, he held it was the manufacturer who should direct the consumer through the quality of the goods he produced. He deemed:

It should be one of the first objectives of all manufacturers to produce stuffs not only beautiful and quaint in design, but also adapted for every-day service, and decorous in humble and secluded life. And you must remember always that your business as manufacturers, is to form the market, as much as to supply it...if, in jealous rivalry with neighbouring States, or with other producers, you try to attract attention by singularities, novelties, and gaudinesses—to make every design an advertisement., and pilfer every idea of a successful neighbour's, that you may insidiously imitate it, or pompously eclipse—no good design will ever be possible to you.²⁸

Although this statement was addressing the whole decorative arts industry, it applies acutely to the period's ceramic manufacture. The pottery industry was under constant

²⁷ William Morris, 'The Beauty of Life', *Selected Writings* (London: Nonsuch, 1946), 538-564 (p. 561).

²⁸ Ruskin, 'Modern Manufacture and Design', *The Two Paths*, pp.75-76.

strain to provide new and original designs. Crane complained that 'Novelties are demanded of him [the designer]—something entirely new and original—every season, but not too much.'²⁹ From Crane's statement it can be seen that regardless of the attempts to reform the market and consumer tastes, manufacturers were still responding to demand, rather than shaping it. Despite the Movement's best efforts, the ceramic industry continued to feed demand by stealing designs and imitating other factories' productions. This does not mean that original designs were not created; however, the filtration of designs through the ceramics industry typically worked from the top down. The large and well-known factories produced goods, both in the Art and commercial pottery genres that the smaller potteries copied. For example, Worcester produced a Parian pigeon (Figure 28) that Dunmore reinterpreted in earthenware (Figure 29). Although Dunmore did create several unique forms, it also had a strong tradition of copying designs. Gardner's continual replication of designs and large scale production of novelty pieces suggest that despite his interest in Dunmore becoming an Art pottery, he was not adverse to copying successful commercial designs.

To help ceramic designers create their own profitable wares, Morris gave five specific canons: 1. No article should be moulded if it can be made on the wheel or by hand 2. Pottery should not be lathe finished 3. Excess neatness is undesirable 4. Pottery should not be decorated with transfer printing 5. If you ask for these qualities, be prepared to pay more for pottery than you do now.³⁰ From this list, it becomes apparent that Gardner compromised several of Morris's tenets for both economic and artistic reasons. For example, while some of Dunmore's teawares are thrown, the teapot in Figure 30 has been moulded. Although the teapot's form is simple and it could easily have been wheel thrown, Gardner chose moulding as a cheaper production method for these wares which allowed the potters additional time to work on more artistic pieces.

²⁹ Crane, 'The Importance of the Applied Arts', p. 721.

³⁰ William Morris, *Pottery Gazette*, 1 March 1883, quoted in Thomas, p. 7-8.

As for lathe turning, Gardner applied this technique regularly as both a decorative device and as a finishing technique. When used as a decorative device, the turner removed bands of clay at varying depths. When glazed, the colour would be stronger in the deeper bands such as seen in the jug in Figure 31. These types of pieces are somewhat uncommon and at Dunmore lathe turning was more regularly used as a finishing technique to smooth the surface of the wares in preparation for artistic glazes such as in the Falkirk Museum egg vase with applied clay handles (Figure 32). From the Dunmore examples given, it is apparent that although Gardner made Art pottery, he did not strictly follow the rules laid out by Morris. He completely ignored the canons in his non Art pottery production, such as in the moulded teapot and made further concessions in his Art pottery line.

Some Art pottery producers, such as William De Morgan, believed in 'day to day originality' and that one should never make two pieces alike.³¹ This was not practical or economically feasible at Dunmore with its mixture of Art and non Art pottery. Gardner's diverse output which included moulded as well as one of a kind artistic wares was a response to the financial realities of the ceramic industry. Dunmore's choice of production was a reaction to the established consumer market and the period's prevailing tastes. Furthermore, as a designer, Gardner did not have the same name recognition as other ceramicists like De Morgan. Dunmore could not sustain trade on Gardner's name alone or command the same prices as pieces designed by well-known ceramicists. One off production methods were more expensive and time consuming and as a result, their sole production would not have been financially viable given Dunmore's circumstances.

The Art pottery industry boomed throughout the 1880s and 1890s and several large workshops were initiated by well-known artists and designers such as Conrad

³¹ Hillier, 258.

Dressler at Della Robbia Pottery (1893), Christopher Dresser at Linthorpe Pottery (1879), and De Morgan at De Morgan & Co. (1882). Unlike these firms, country and small scale potteries like Dunmore, had an authenticity in their Arts and Crafts wares.³² Their manufacturing techniques and production philosophies were frequently already aligned with the Movement's encouragement of historicism and craftsmanship. These workshops were rarely industrialised; therefore, their products were the work of the craftsman, not of the machine. Unlike in larger firms where owners, designers and managers were separated from the workers and production, in small workshops, designs grew organically on the shop floor with the assistance and direction of the owner who was usually a practicing craftsman. The unity of their workforce, where the owner worked alongside the employees, was commended by Morris as it 'abolished a class of men privileged to shirk their duties...thus forcing others to do the work which they refuse to do.'³³ With the owner working beside his employees, traditional workshops were more egalitarian than potteries where the design and manufacturing processes were separated. Small potteries such as Dunmore that transformed themselves into Art potteries had a legitimacy that larger, purpose built Art potteries such as Linthorpe lacked.

The paradox of the Arts and Crafts Movement was that despite its socialist promotion of artistic ware for all, their production methods meant that only the better off could afford them. Although Morris conceded that handcrafted wares produced by well paid artisans would cost more, he did not grasp they would become unaffordable to the masses. Instead of embracing industrial design and creating artistic and well designed objects for the modern factories, he grudgingly worked to make the Arts and Crafts' handmade wares stylish in the circles of prominent Britons. He bitterly concluded that:

³² Bergesen, pp. 15-16.

³³ Morris, 'Useful Work Versus Useless Toil', *Selected Writings*, pp. 610-611.

If you want to make your art success and flourish, you must make it the fashion[...]for they mean by it that I should spend one day over my work to two days in trying to convince rich, and supposed influential people, that they care very much for what they really do not care the least.³⁴

Although Morris implies that the wealthy and important people cared little for such industries, Gardner's experience at Dunmore contradicts this. The Earl and Countess of Dunmore promoted and took a hands on role at the Pottery, as well as with the Harris tweed industry. Though these examples are of nobility endorsing estate businesses, they are relevant given the nature of Arts and Crafts items. The encouragement of Arts and Crafts in the countryside and the small scale production of its wares meant that many of these workshops were located, like Dunmore, on or near estates of prominent individuals who could promote the crafts within their social circle. In the Scottish pottery industry, the Earl and Countess of Dumfries' support of Cumnock Pottery and the Wemyss family's support of Wemyss Ware are two good examples of local nobility promoting their area handicrafts.³⁵ Morris's complaints were more relevant to the Arts and Crafts socialist philosophies and newly founded businesses which imitated handicraft industries than to the traditional workshops already in existence.

Thorstein Veblen, a late nineteenth century American economist whose book *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (1899) researched consumption and cultural identity, had a more pragmatic understanding of the realities of the business and industrial world in relation to handmade items and the Arts and Crafts Movement. Like the Movement's promoters, he believed in the importance of good design for common objects which focused on simple forms and fitness for use.³⁶ Veblen, although influenced by Morris's socialism and art principles, could not completely embrace them at the expense of true economy. He abhorred the elitist elements of the Movement that denied machinery

³⁴ Morris, 'The Lesser Arts', *Selected Writings*, p. 503.

³⁵ Peter Davis and Robert Rankine, *Wemyss Ware: A Decorative Scottish Pottery* (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1986), pp. 17 and 23. Gerard Quail, *The Cumnock Pottery* (Darvel, Ayrshire: Ayrshire Archaeological and Natural History Society, 1993), p. 9.

³⁶ Ellen Mazur Thomson, 'Thorstein Veblen at the University of Chicago and the Socialization of Aesthetics', *Design Issues*, 15 no 1 (Spring 1999), 3-15 (p. 9).

could be used to create beautiful and artistic pieces at a fraction of the price of handmade goods. Veblen denounced the Movement as archaic and obsolete and rejected the notion that the value of its wares was not in their aesthetics or serviceability, but in the fact they were handmade.³⁷ For example, two sterling spoons, one handmade and one machine made, could have the same artistic and functional properties, yet once one spoon was discovered to be machine made, it lost 90% of its aesthetic value.³⁸ He denounced this practice and instead promoted the idea of economic aesthetics which embraced industrial techniques to create artistic wares for a larger and more economically diverse consumer base.³⁹ According to Veblen, good design was based on the design itself and its functional and artistic qualities, not on its production method.⁴⁰ As Gardner decided the production method based on what was most economically beneficial and whether the desired artistic effect was better achieved by hand or mechanical process, his approach to pottery design is seen to be more aligned with Veblen's principles than Morris's.

As a result of the Arts and Crafts Movement, the late nineteenth century ceramic industry opened up to new forms and influences with a tide of creativity. It gave Gardner a chance to break away from heavy and ornate forms and experiment with clean lines and minimal shapes. The Movement's emphasis on simplicity and handmade wares was ideal for incorporation at small pottery workshops such as Dunmore. Census records indicate Gardner employed only one moulder, the remainder of the Pottery's workforce was trained in wheel thrown ceramics. At Dunmore, the shift from utilitarian to Art pottery did not require a newly trained workforce or a change in production method, just the importation of finer clays and a modification in how glazes were used. Dunmore's costs associated with the changes were minimal

³⁷ Donald Bush, 'Thorstein Veblen Economic Aesthetic', *Leonardo*, 11 no 4 (Autumn 1978) 281-285 (p. 283).

³⁸ Bush, p. 283.

³⁹ Bush, p. 284.

⁴⁰ Thomson, pp.6-7.

compared with the costs of starting the new Art potteries which were springing up around Britain and they could be easily recouped in the higher prices charged for Art pottery wares. In this way, Dunmore had an economic advantage over the newer Art potteries.

The Dunmore Pottery Arts and Crafts style pieces were predominately made using the white Cornish clay bodies that allowed the glazes to show to their best advantage. Gardner's Arts and Crafts pieces were usually simple, yet elegant vases, planters and teawares finished with monochrome or running glazes. The vase in Figure 33 is a typical Dunmore piece inspired by the Arts and Crafts Movement. The vase's shape was easily reproduced on the wheel and the applied, unsophisticated handles give the piece a handmade feel. While most of the Arts and Crafts pieces were lathe finished to give them a perfectly smooth surface for the glaze, some of Dunmore's teawares were not lathed to create a more rustic appearance. The green and blue creamer in Figure 34 is one such example. The simple shape and imperfections in the clay and glaze would have appealed to someone favouring the Arts and Crafts Style.

Dunmore was one of several potteries experimenting with running glazes over smooth, finished bodies. Burmantofts Pottery located in Leeds, like Dunmore, started under utilitarian concepts. Burmantofts began as a brick and sanitary ware producer during the 1840s. In 1879, the Pottery employed a new manager, James Holroyd who, like Gardner at Dunmore, introduced new forms and glazes into the pottery.⁴¹ The new artistic forms were noticed one year later when it gained attention in the *Pottery Gazette* and was encouraged as there was 'plenty of room for the introducing of the cheaper kinds of art pottery.'⁴² In 1882, Burmantofts produced its first catalogue which included two pages of Art pottery.⁴³ This is significant as Burmantofts' conversion into an Art

⁴¹ *Burmantofts Pottery* (Leeds: Bradford Art Galleries and Museums and Leeds City Museums, 1983), p. 9.

⁴² 'Burmantofts', *Pottery Gazette and Glass Trades Review*, 1 August 1880, p. 498.

⁴³ *Burmantofts Pottery*, p. 10.

Pottery was similar to, though occurring several years after, Dunmore's transformation. By dedicating two pages of its first catalogue to Art Pottery, Burmantofts' was placing the same importance on its vases, plant stands, and jardinières as it did on its more well known architectural ceramics. From the examples of Dunmore's and Burmantofts growth, the early 1880s can be seen as a high point in business investment in Art Pottery and its popularity.⁴⁴

The products of Burmantofts Art Pottery bear a noticeable resemblance in both form and glaze to Dunmore Pottery. Figures 35 and 36 show similar Dunmore and Burmantofts dimple vases. Each vase relies on the changing green and blue hues of the glaze to give the piece its artistic character and both were potted using imported white clays. The accepted artistic qualities that denote the Burmantofts piece as a Burmantofts piece and the Dunmore piece as a Dunmore piece are the same. Both potteries were working to the same Arts and Crafts principles and design elements which led to similar forms and glazes. Artistically what was happening at Burmantofts in Leeds was happening at Dunmore in the Scottish countryside. Gardner and Holroyd would have been influenced by the same publications, such as the *Pottery and Glass Trades Journal* during the late 1870s and its replacement the *Pottery Gazette* from 1880 onwards. These journals were based at Stoke-on-Trent and offered technical and artistic advice to the ceramic manufacturing community, which often included promoting Arts and Crafts principles.⁴⁵ The journals had a considerable following as they were the only ceramic trade journals in Britain; Scotland did not have an equivalent. From the journals' articles which included rates for glazing chemicals in Scotland and a section on Scottish pottery, as well as Alloa Pottery advertisements, it can be inferred that the

⁴⁴ Appendix C contains a time line for the major British Art Potteries.

⁴⁵ An Artist, 'Art in Pottery', *Pottery Gazette*, 2 August 1880, pp. 487-488. 'Pottery Colours and Decoration', *Pottery Gazette and Glass Trades Review*, 1 November 1880, p.71. 'The Incongruities of Domestic Art', *China and Glass Trades Review*, 1 July 1879.

publications were as important to the Scottish ceramic trade as they were to the English trade.

As part of his work, Morris discussed and identified the use of different ceramic glaze finishes and their importance. He believed one should call 'special attention to that really most important side of art, the decoration of utilities by furnishing them with genuine artistic finish in place of trade finish.'⁴⁶ In his production, Gardner utilized both 'artistic' and 'trade finish' glazes. Despite marketing itself as an Art pottery, Dunmore continued to make pottery in a Classical Revival style with simple 'trade finishes' throughout the end of the nineteenth century. A typical Dunmore wall plaque such as that in Figure 37 featured a classical motif, such as a seraphim, cupid, or Bacchanalian theme and would be glazed in a monochrome lead glaze of green, blue, or in this case yellow.⁴⁷ These monochrome lead glazes were very stable and required no artistic interpretation or understanding. They could be mass-produced with the same results after each kiln firing. In this way, these types of wares could be classified as having a 'trade finish'. The mass-produced and 'trade finished' pieces were the livelihood of Dunmore Pottery. Dunmore was not the only Art pottery to produce items with a trade finish. For example, Burmantofts Art Pottery also produced pottery tiles and plaques with simple monochrome glazes.

Dunmore's Art pottery pieces capitalize on Morris's 'artistic finish' concept. The pieces required experience and artistic capabilities to create the rich and unique glazes. The glazer had to have the knowledge of how each colour, glaze and chemical compound would interact with each other to create the desired effect. In the

⁴⁶ William Morris, 'Preface', *Arts and Crafts Essays* (London: Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society, Rivington and Percival, 1893), p. vi.

⁴⁷ Blues, greens, and yellows were the predominate colours for Dunmore wall plaques. There is no evidence plaques were produced in the popular Dunmore glazes of burgundy or Rockingham brown. Some examples in turquoise and red have been found, but they are very rare. Dunmore finished plaques and tiles only in monochrome glazes, never majolica or spotted.

promotional pamphlet, *A Visit to Dunmore*, an unnamed visitor to Dunmore Pottery describes the glazing process:

Only an expert can tell what the result will be, the glaze bearing not the remotest resemblance to the hue it represents. For instance, a dash of pink paint [glaze] comes out white, and red green, and so on in a most uncanny way...Everything is unpremeditated and original. Some of these effects may never be repeated again; and some are so quaint and so striking as to command fancy prices from people who like to possess artistic things.⁴⁸

The trumpet vase with loop handles in Figure 38 is a Dunmore piece glazed with an 'artistic finish'. The blue and green glazes run together and blend with the brown base glaze. A different colour ratio of the glazes or their different placement would have created a completely different effect. These two glazes could have been utilized in various combinations to produce unique pieces. Compare this to the mass produced yellow lead glaze plaque and one can see what Morris meant by 'artistic' and 'trade' finishes and how Gardner was able to exploit both at Dunmore Pottery.

2.2 The Aesthetic Influence

Along with the Arts and Crafts Movement, the Aesthetic Movement would have important artistic implications for Dunmore Pottery and Art pottery in general. The Aesthetic Movement, an informal movement from the 1860s through the 1880s, was based on no historic tradition and held that art should have no moral tone or classical reference, which was completely at odds with the Classical Revival and with the Arts and Crafts Movement.⁴⁹ Instead of basing its designs on Western European artistic traditions, the Aesthetic Movement sought its inspiration from the Near and Far East. The Movement had its own set of symbols which included lilies, sunflowers, Japanese fans, and peacocks.⁵⁰ It was an exaggerated style that was steeped in exoticism. Japonisme (decorative arts and designs interpreted from Japanese fashions) was a

⁴⁸ *A Visit to Dunmore*, p. 8.

⁴⁹ Elizabeth Cameron, *Encyclopaedia of Pottery and Porcelain: The 19th and 20th Century* (London: Faber and Faber, 1986), p. 10.

⁵⁰ Michael Snodin and John Styles, *Design & The Decorative Arts: Britain 1500-1900* (London: V & A Publications, 2001), p. 368.

defining feature of the Aesthetic Movement. Despite having its own symbolic repertoire, the Movement took diverging forms which were unified by mood and atmosphere rather than clear artistic attributes.⁵¹ The Movement had its own set of sources both direct through journals such as the *Magazine of Art* and *House Beautiful* and indirectly through productions such as light operas and the writings of Oscar Wilde. In the printed media, Aesthetic ideals of taste and design were promoted through articles on Japanese and Moorish art which often featured illustrations and design details.⁵² On the popular front, the shop Liberty's of London promoted the Movement's designs through catalogues and displays.

The Aesthetic Movement emerged from the debate on whether things were beautiful in themselves or if they were seen to be beautiful by those with the training and education to recognise it.⁵³ If the latter were the case, then a set of standards and guidelines for beauty needed to be created and cultivated with the consequence that, like the Arts and Crafts Movement, there were self appointed leaders of the Movement.⁵⁴ Unlike the Arts and Crafts Movement where the majority of its leaders come from art critics and decorative art producers, the Aesthetic Movement was directed largely by writers and painters such as Oscar Wilde and James Abbott McNeill Whistler. In addition, where the Arts and Crafts Movement was united around social as well as artistic principles, the Aesthetic Movement had no moral or social agenda but instead was a way of life. It not only influenced the style of decorative arts, but also encompassed how one dressed and behaved and what one read. By the 1880s, 'aesthetic' had become the term to describe anything fashionable.⁵⁵

⁵¹ Aslin, p. 14.

⁵² 'The Japanese Art Exhibition', *Magazine of Art* (1888), 209-210; Lewis F. Day, 'Mere Ornament', *Art Journal* (1901), 18-22.

⁵³ Aslin, p. 14.

⁵⁴ Aslin, p. 14.

⁵⁵ Aslin, p. 13.

The Aesthetic Movement transformed the mundane to 'Art'. There was a rampant interest in art and it was a ubiquitous part of nineteenth century culture. Ruskin concluded: 'Everybody is talking about art, and writing about it, and more or less interested in it; everybody wants art.'⁵⁶ There was a trend for Art dress, Art furniture, Art glass, and Art pottery. It became such a phenomenon that by the mid seventies, the *London Trades Journal* listed 'Art Furniture Manufacturers' separate from furnishers and cabinet makers.⁵⁷ By claiming to produce 'Art', manufacturers offered an illusion of quality and prestige around the designer, producer, and consumer.⁵⁸ Lewis F. Day denounced the 'silly epithet "art" as a prefix' to household goods as it indicated 'not that the purveyor is an artist, but that he is anxious to be mistaken for one.'⁵⁹

Although the incorporation of Aesthetic Movement and Art furnishings into the home was based on artistic and intellectual principles, in reality it became a means to justify materialism.⁶⁰ In order to the newest and most fashionable Aesthetic clothing and decorative objects, consumers were encouraged to regularly purchase. Where the Arts and Crafts promoters condemned capitalism, the Aesthetic Movement revelled in it and consumption. Many of the new housing manuals and domestic guides and magazines, encouraged the use of Aesthetic Movement furnishings. Charles Eastlake's *Hints on Household Taste* and Loftie's *Art in the Home* Series featured etchings of Aesthetic interiors which helped to popularise the Movement (Figures 39 and 40). The new style and its promotion through home decoration guide books gave the burgeoning middle-class an acceptable, i.e. artistic, outlet for consumerism. By producing goods that fit

⁵⁶ John Ruskin, 'The Unity of Art', lecture given at Manchester 14 March 1859 published in *The Two Paths* (London: Everett, undated), p. 35.

⁵⁷ Aslin, p. 13.

⁵⁸ Stefan Muthesius, "'We Do Not Understand What Is Meant By a 'Company' Designing'": Design Versus Commerce in Late Nineteenth Century English Furnishing', *Journal of Design History*, 5 no 2 (1992), 113-119 (p.117).

⁵⁹ Lewis F. Day, *Magazine of Art*, 1886, p.195 quoted in Muthesius, p.115.

⁶⁰ Martha Crabill McClougherty, 'Household Art: Creating the Artistic Home, 1868-1893', *Winterthur Portfolio*, 18 no 1 (Spring, 1983), 1-26 (p. 12).

within the Aesthetic Movement framework and by incorporating its design motifs into his ceramic wares, Gardner was supplying products to a ready made market that in part advocated conspicuous consumption.

Gardner's pottery designs in the Aesthetic style relied heavily on Chinese and Near Eastern forms, and not the more popular Japonisme style. Chinese and Near Eastern forms followed simpler lines and shapes than their Japanese counterparts. The pieces were influenced more on simple surface detail as opposed to the painted figurative aspect of Japanese decorative design. As Dunmore focused on glazed not painted ceramics, it was more cost effective for the Pottery to concentrate on Chinese and Near Eastern ceramic forms. Gardner, instead of merely copying originals, looked at Near and Far Eastern designs and reinterpreted them to create mysterious, distant and exotic foreign forms. For example, the trumpet vase with loop handles (Figure 38) was based on original Islamic ceramics and similar pieces were illustrated and discussed in the *Journal of the Society of Arts* in 1874.⁶¹ Dunmore's Aesthetic moulded pieces, often detailed with sunflowers or Eastern patterns, were more elaborately shaped than the thrown pieces with their smooth lines and minimal surface detail; however, they still used the same striking glazes such as the Eastern inspired vase with a bulbous base, long tapering neck, and flared lip (Figure 41). This piece is a fusion of a Persian shape with a Chinese inspired crackled matte green glaze. To achieve this decorative effect, a glaze with a different firing and expansion temperature than the clay was used.⁶² To emphasize the crackle pattern, the glazer rubbed a colorant over the piece immediately after it was fired.⁶³ The delicate and porous nature of crackle ware dictated that such pieces were for decoration only and the glaze could not be used for utilitarian pieces.⁶⁴

⁶¹ 'Eastern Art and Its Influence on European Manufactures and Taste', *Journal of the Society of Arts* (6 February 1874), 211-221.

⁶² Chappell, p. 169.

⁶³ Kenny, p. 197.

⁶⁴ Chappell, p. 169.

In addition to imitating Eastern forms, Gardner incorporated the Aesthetic Movement's imagery as in the lyrebird plaque, which was hand-painted in cobalt wash (Figure 42). The lyrebird was appreciated for its conspicuously decorative tail feathers and in this context should be understood as a variation of the peacock theme, which was iconic to the Aesthetic movement. At the time, peacocks were seen to be 'so entirely decorative that they cannot fail to be appreciated.'⁶⁵ The popularity of peacocks as an Aesthetic symbol intensified after Whistler painted the Peacock Room for Frederick Leyland in 1876 (Figure 43). This example is Dunmore's only documented underglaze painted piece and is entirely aesthetically and technically different to other Dunmore ware. As there are no references in the census records and contemporary accounts to ceramic painters working at Dunmore, the artist and origins of the piece remain unknown.

The Dunmore Aesthetic Movement pieces are comparable to other Aesthetic pieces produced by rival Art potteries. Like Dunmore, other Art potteries were producing Eastern inspired wares with smooth lines and flat decoration, which relied on clean forms and rich glazes for their artistic qualities. The Linthorpe ewer with moulded handle in yellow glaze is typical of the Aesthetic wares produced at British Art potteries (Figure 44). Monochrome glazes and the sharp and angular form used in this piece were standard in Art pottery Aesthetic wares and similar examples can be found at Brethby and Ault potteries. These Art pottery pieces are different than the Eastern inspired pieces produced at the larger factories where ceramics with textured surfaces and polychrome glazes were made. In the 1880s, the Worcester Royal Porcelain Company produced a range of wares based on Persian forms. These ceramics, such as the cream and gilt Iznik inspired vase (Figure 45), were enamelled to

⁶⁵ Lucy Orrinsmith, *The Drawing Room: Its Decorations and Furniture*, Art in the Home Series (London: MacMillan, 1877), p. 121.

recreate the jewellery of the original Persian pieces.⁶⁶ This type of ware required extensive labour and expensive materials. The fretwork design would have been difficult to reproduce in the soft and non-vitreous earthenware body used by Art potteries. Art potteries, like Dunmore and Linthorpe, did not have the materials or workers with the technical skills to reproduce such detailed pieces, so they instead focused their production on simpler, more robust forms.

Based on the quantity of surviving examples, one of Dunmore's more commercially successful Aesthetic shapes was the long, thin neck vase form which has roots in both Chinese Qing Dynasty and Persian ceramics.⁶⁷ Several adaptations of this form appear in private and public Dunmore collections.⁶⁸ Figure 46 is unusual to most of these pieces in that it is made of 'agate ware', where red and white clay have been wedged together to create a marble effect.⁶⁹ This shape was popular with many Art potteries and Burmantofts (Figure 47) and Linthorpe (Figure 48) both have similar forms in their pottery production. Designers from these potteries would have been able to view originals in several museums or at a number of international exhibitions held throughout Britain during the second half of the nineteenth century. The originals, like the Art pottery interpretations, were glazed in glassy monochrome glazes.

2.3 Management Styles of Art Potteries

The Art pottery industry was as diverse as its Arts and Crafts and Aesthetic Movement productions. Given that the industry was a combination of transformed traditional country potteries and purpose built workshops, management styles and methods varied between manufacturers. However, most Art potteries were typically organized around one artist potter who either made the pots directly or supervised the

⁶⁶ Eric Knowles, *Victoriana* (London: Octopus Publishing, 2000), p. 67.

⁶⁷ Several examples are illustrated in Kerr, Rose, *Chinese Ceramics: Porcelain of the Qing Dynasty 1644-1911*, Victoria & Albert Museum Far Eastern Series (London: V & A Publications, 1986).

⁶⁸ Glasgow Museums, Stirling Smith Museum, and the Falkirk Museum Service all have similar pieces in their collections.

⁶⁹ Wedgwood introduced agate ware in the 1730s. G. Bernard Hughes, *English and Scottish Earthenware 1660-1860* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1960), p. 60.

pottery's artistic development.⁷⁰ The Martin brothers of Martinware Pottery organized their pottery following the former style, making the pots themselves. The reverse being Christopher Dresser at Linthorpe Pottery who designed the wares, but never produced them. Instead, Henry Booth, Linthorpe's master potter, interpreted and manufactured Dresser's designs.⁷¹ Peter Gardner at Dunmore was different in that he was a working potter making his own designs while he acted as the Pottery manager, directing the Pottery's output and the Pottery's employees. Gardner could act as both master potter and artistic supervisor as a result of Dunmore's small size (employing less than 14 workers at a time). As Art potteries were not usually financially stable or successful,⁷² Gardner's decision to act as both manager and working potter economically benefited Dunmore as it did not have to use additional resources on wages. During the Victorian period, pottery wages ranged from 24s to 30s a week for men in the higher branches of a large factory.⁷³ Considering the skill required to make Dunmore's clean lines and various glazes, it is probable Gardner was paying his employees similar wages.⁷⁴ Although the decision to act as manager and potter was economically beneficial, it may also have been based on the limited availability of Scotland's pottery workforce. When Peter Gardner took over the pottery in the late 1860s, Scotland's pottery industry was dependant on emigrant pottery workers, mainly from England.⁷⁵ By working as a potter, Gardner had to source one less employee.

The Art pottery industry was based on three working models determined by the pottery's size, financial backing and owner's background. Art potteries were either independent departments of larger factories, an individual artist or potter or small

⁷⁰ A. W. Coysh, *British Art Pottery, 1870-1940* (London: David and Charles, 1976), p. 7. Garth Clark, *The Potters Art: A Complete History of Pottery in Britain* (London: Phaidon, 1995), p. 107.

⁷¹ Clark, p. 108.

⁷² Thomas, p. 13.

⁷³ David Bremner, *Industries of Scotland: Industries of Scotland: Their Rise, Progress, and Present Condition* (Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1869), p. 398.

⁷⁴ Potters at Dunmore earned enough money to employ their own servants which were listed in the 1881 census.

⁷⁵ Fleming, p. 8.

private potteries.⁷⁶ Doulton and Co. began in 1815 as a stoneware pottery making decorative bottles and sewer pipes. In 1871, the company invested in a studio at Lambeth to make decorative Art pottery. The designers (including members of the Barlow family and Frank Butler) were taken directly from the local art school. Eleven years later, the company invested further at a pottery in Burslem.⁷⁷ The Lambeth and Burslem studios produced decorative stoneware vases, planters, and jugs featuring cobalt slip and incised decoration.⁷⁸ Lambeth and Burslem potteries were artistically independent of the other Doulton workshops, following the model of an autonomous department of a larger company.

The Martinware Pottery was a small pottery whose management model was that of a single (or in this case a family) artist. The Martin brothers (Edwin, Walter, Charles, and Robert) made distinct stonewares as a team, designing and decorating their own pieces. Like Doulton, Martinware is characterized by rich browns and cobalt blue slip with incised or moulded decoration. By keeping production and artistic control within the family, the Martin brothers and Martinware remained synonymous. The wares have a distinct look and texture unlike any other Art pottery (Figure 49). In some ways the pottery's isolation was beneficial: they found a unique niche in the market and its distinctive look became the pottery's trademark. In other ways this centralized manufacturing system was negative as Martinware never reaped the rewards of a diverse and changing workforce. Designs and forms were limited to the artistic and creative skills of the Martin brothers. Though influenced by outside factors and fashions in the Victorian ceramic industry, these inspirations and trends were funnelled, interpreted and executed only by the Martin brothers themselves and therefore the Pottery never benefited from a new skill set or from different interpretations of the recognised ceramic trends. By bringing in a varied workforce,

⁷⁶Clark, p. 106.

⁷⁷ Desmond Eyles, *The Doulton Lambeth Wares* (Shepton Beauchamp: Dennis, 2001), p. 6.

⁷⁸ Eyles, p. 6.

Dunmore avoided this stagnation and created a product that continued to change and develop both in form and glaze.

Dunmore followed the third model of a small independent business. The Pottery's management style and size of the factory allowed it to change and develop with society and consumer taste. Economic highs and lows would have been possible to adjust to by increasing or decreasing the workforce or altering the wares. Larger Art potteries could not as easily respond to changing demands, tastes, or economic practicalities. This was partially due to the fact they had larger amounts of money and time tied up in moulds and the designing process. They also had larger warehouses and more numerous sales outlets which would have needed to clear back stock before new designs could come out. In comparison to Dunmore, many of these larger factories had a shorter life span. Linthorpe Pottery was in production only ten years from 1879 through 1889. Burmantofts Pottery, who absorbed some of Linthorpe's potters opened in 1880 and closed in 1904.⁷⁹ Gardner's potting ability and instinct in altering the workforce and its production ensured Dunmore was more stable and financially viable than the larger potteries.

The growth of the Art pottery market as a result of the Arts and Crafts and Aesthetic Movements saw traditional shapes give way to a tide of artistic creativity. Art pottery gave Gardner a chance to break away from overly ornamented fashions and strict adherence to Classical historicism, and to experiment with new glazes and forms. Gardner incorporated the philosophies of the Arts and Crafts Movement and its rhetoric as and when it financially suited Dunmore Pottery. With a loose interpretation of what constituted Art pottery, Gardner created ceramics that bridged the lines between the period's aesthetic conventions and recognised styles. Although Dunmore made Art pottery wares, it is arguable that as an institution, it was not an Art Pottery.

⁷⁹ *Burmantofts Pottery*, p. 10.

The nineteenth century was the beginning of advertising and marketing in a form we recognize today. Changes in production as a result of the Industrial Revolution, population increase, growth in real wages, and shifting demographics to a younger society contributed to a robust Victorian economy.¹ Mass production, improvements in communication and transportation, as well as the growth of department and chain stores which retailed several similar lines, resulted in Victorians having an increase of choices in the marketplace. With more competition and savvy consumers who were interested in the image as much as the quality of a product, businesses saw the importance of branding their goods and understood careful and select advertising were strategic components of their overall marketing strategy. Dunmore was no exception and its marketing campaign can be divided into the following categories: branding through printed advertisements and the promotional pamphlet *A Visit to Dunmore*, emphasis on noble and royal patronage, encouragement of the tourist trade, the creation of distinct wares for different socio-economic groups, and the choice of retail outlets.

3.1 Branding and Printed Advertisements

Branding, though a modern concept, was clearly practiced in the Victorian period. Branding is the term used to describe what images and connotations are reflected in a product or product line. Gardner, despite the Pottery's utilitarian roots and the quantity of moulded ware produced, branded his pottery as an Art pottery, a categorization that remains today. Marc Gobé states 'Although product satisfaction certainly constitutes one important experimental component [of branding]-the stream of associations that occur during consumption (imagery, daydreams, emotions) are equally

¹ W. J. Reader, *Life in Victorian England* (London: Batsford, 1964), pp. 6, 98, 114 and 126.

important aspects of consumer behaviour.² Gardner played on these 'daydreams' and 'emotions' by promoting his pottery through various means and associations, shifting Dunmore's identity from 'royal' to 'rustic', depending on the image he was trying to create and to which market he was catering. At times Dunmore was foreign and exotic (as when it was imitating Oriental ware) or wholly Scottish (as when it was producing monteiths and Robert Burns busts.) Whichever image Dunmore was courting, it always managed to brand itself as an Art pottery thereby benefiting from the public's perceived understanding and connotations of that term.

Gardner may have had some advice on how to market. The late nineteenth century produced several guides to the principles and practices of advertising. In 1882, the aptly named Henry Sell published *The Philosophy of Advertising: Matters Worth Reading and Vitally Concerning Every Present and Future Advertiser*. The author was an owner of an advertising agency in London and despite the book's blatant coercion to use his firm, the book offers insight into nineteenth century advertising. According to Sell, 'A person is probably influenced to buy in proportion to the extent his mind has been impressed.'³ Gardner sought to impress potential customers through the Pottery's aristocratic links, its 'hand-made' and Art Pottery qualities as well as the variety of glazes and wares available.

After Gardner decided to brand Dunmore as a royal and rustic Art pottery, he set about marketing and advertising the Pottery in those terms. He varied his marketing campaign, focusing at different times on local and national publications, international exhibitions, the tourist trade, and factory shops and depots. The printed advertisements, placed mainly in local newspapers and guides, vary little throughout the Pottery's operational period. Most of the advertisements have four components: Dunmore's location, a list containing examples of available Dunmore ware, its suitability for

² Marc Gobé, *Emotional Branding* (Oxford: Windsor Press, 2001), p. 69.

³ Henry Sell, *The Philosophy of Advertising: Matters Worth Reading and Vitally Concerning Every Present and Future Advertiser* (London: Sells Advertising Offices, 1882), p. xi.

bazaars, and the name of an aristocratic patron. The exception is the full page advertisement taken out in the *Officiale Hand Boke of Ye Strivelin* in 1882 where Gardner has taken advantage of the size of the advertisement to include sketches of Dunmore pottery (Figure 50).⁴ Compare this advertisement with a full-page advertisement for Linthorpe Pottery the following year (Figure 51) and the differences become clear. The Linthorpe advertisement, though more personal in tone, is aesthetically less pleasing. Although both invite visitors to the pottery works, the prominence of Dunmore's invitation makes Linthorpe's invitation appear as a mere afterthought, suggesting Dunmore placed more emphasis on this type of trade than Linthorpe.

The advertisement's sketches were used to inform and persuade the reader. Sell gave the advice 'No bell can ring so loudly as a good advertisement. People will believe what they see rather than what they hear.'⁵ The sketches of Dunmore offered the potential customer a small and select visual introduction to the types of pottery the factory produced. During the Victorian period, a battle for style was going on between those who wanted to follow a classical style and those favouring a gothic style.⁶ A careful look at Dunmore's advertisement shows gothic writing and decorative elements, but classically inspired pottery. Whether intentional or not, the advertisement is subliminally sending messages that Dunmore would have something for everyone. Visually, the advertisement is embracing both gothic and classical elements, marketing to both and alienating none.

⁴ This was a guide book to the fancy fair at Smith Institute to raise money for an organ for Albert Hall.

⁵ Sell, p. xxv.

⁶ John Gloag, *Victorian Taste: Some Social Aspects of Architecture and Industrial Design, from 1820-1900* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1962), p. 8. Janet and Peter Phillips, *Victorians at Home and Away* (London: Croom Helm, 1978), pp. 44-46.

The outlay of capital to advertise was a somewhat risky approach. Advertising does not affect current, but future sales.⁷ It was not intended to induce a customer to make an immediate purchase, but to make consumers aware of a product and its characteristics which will then hopefully lead to a sale.⁸ Gardner was outlaying capital to purchase advertisement and exhibition space in an attempt to increase his market share. Today, advertising and marketing are ingrained in society and a fundamental component of the business and retail community, but it was less so in the nineteenth century ceramics industry. The *Pottery Gazette* printed an article titled 'The Secret to Advertising' which admonished its readers:

Some merchants use but very little judgment about advertising. So long as they have an 'ad' in some paper, paying for it, they think it is sufficient. and trust to luck for the consequences. They shut their eyes and discharge their gun in the air, and wait for the game to drop.⁹

Gardner, without any business training, intuitively advertised Dunmore Pottery, its showroom and depots, in local publications where they were likely to gain attention. He supplemented the local advertising with the advertisement in the *Pottery Gazette Directory*, read by retailers who were potential sales outlets. Sell believed: 'Advertisers in 'class' papers are always amply repaid, because the advertisement reaches those it is especially desirable to address, and who cannot be reached in an ordinary way.'¹⁰ Although this was good advice, and Art pottery is seen as belonging to the upper classes, Gardner did not advertise in 'class' papers, but focused on the local press. In fact, there is no evidence Gardner advertised directly to consumers outside the Stirling and Falkirk area. Instead he relied on retailers such as Hindley and Sons and Messrs. Mawson, Swan and Mason to advertise the pottery in other regions for him. Although Gardner found the right market for his advertisements and continually placed them

⁷ Neil Dorward, *The Pricing Decision: Economic Theory and Business Practice* (London: Harper and Row, 1987), p. 154.

⁸ Dorward, p. 154.

⁹ 'The Secret of Advertising', *Pottery Gazette*, 1 November 1880, p. 701.

¹⁰ Sell, p. xxvi.

throughout the existence of the pottery, this was apparently a problem in the pottery industry. *The Pottery Gazette*, complaining of firms who did not advertise, wrote:

They treat advertising as the improvident, shiftless fellows do their roofs. When the sun shines, they do not need patching; when it rains, they cannot patch them. When trade is fair, they see no need of advertising; and when trade is dull, they say they cannot afford to advertise. Moral: Repair a leaky roof when it is fair weather; and advertise in all seasons. Advertising pays all parties interested better than many other commercial investments.¹¹

Gardner would have agreed with this analogy. His advertising scheme was proved successful as Dunmore's production period extended longer than most other Art potteries.

Large manufacturers and stores had more disposable income than Gardner and could advertise on a much larger scale using new available technology. In 1875, one furniture company took advantage of the telegraph and contacted 5,000 homes informing the residents that 20,000 bedsteads were always available.¹² Dunmore did not have the capabilities for such a marketing campaign and relied on more prescriptive advertising by focusing on people's desire to acquire something 'different' yet within the Arts and Crafts model.

Part of a successful marketing strategy is understanding how a product is perceived in the open market. In *Culture and Consumption: New Approaches to the Symbolic Character of Consumer Goods and Activities*, Grant McCracken argues 'material culture carries messages' and people use 'inanimate objects to claim, to legitimate, and to compete for social standing.'¹³ Gardner understood this and created a product that, depending on the specific piece, reflected middle-class values and tastes or aristocratic fashion and sophistication. Dunmore, through the promotional pamphlet *A Visit to Dunmore* and newspaper advertisements, encouraged the ware to be seen as

¹¹ 'The Secret of Advertising' *Pottery Gazette*, 1 November 1880, p. 701.

¹² Matthew Sweet, *Inventing the Victorians* (London: Faber and Faber, 2001), p. 39.

¹³ Grant McCracken, *Culture and Consumption: New Approaches to the Symbolic Character of Consumer Goods and Activities* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988), p. 31.

'elegant' and 'artistic' and by purchasing Dunmore pieces, these qualities would transfer to the purchaser.

Between 1801 and 1901, the average British income in real terms increased by 140%.¹⁴ Standards of living increased and the new and burgeoning middle-class was looking for 'symbols of class status.'¹⁵ With the average middle-class family earning between £100-£300, there was not much left over to purchase luxury goods, making advertising a key to reaching these people.¹⁶ Gardner understood that 'product advertising needs needs'.¹⁷ Victorians were attached to the idea of high social standing and an environment of respectability. These abstract ideas and meanings were conferred to a person through their behaviour, their homes and its decoration. Like today, there were segments of society who were trying to appear better off, more wealthy, and cultured than they actually were.¹⁸ These would have been the types of customers Gardner's advertisements, with its links to the aristocracy and royalty as well as to the Arts and Crafts Movement, were trying to persuade.

Choosing how and where to advertise was problematic for Dunmore. Keith Diggle in *Arts Marketing* suggests, 'The aim of *arts* marketing is to bring an appropriate number of people, drawn from the widest possible range of social background, economic condition and age, into an appropriate form of contact with the artist...'¹⁹ Gardner had to decide how to market Dunmore to the largest possible audience. Sell advised:

If you have to advertise a very expensive specialty, your limit is reached when you acquaint the wealthy few with its existence. On the other hand, where you have goods which are for general use, you have a wider field,

¹⁴ John Benson, *The Rise of the Consumer Society in Britain, 1880-1980* (London: Longman, 1994), p. 12.

¹⁵ Goffman, 'Symbols of Class Status', *British Journal of Sociology*, 11 (1951), 294-304 (295).

¹⁶ Jane Lewis, *Women in England 1870-1980: Sexual Divisions and Social Change* (Sussex: Wheatsheaf, 1984), p. 81.

¹⁷ Keith Diggle, *Arts Marketing* (London: Rhinegold Publishing, 1994), p. 38.

¹⁸ Patricia Branca, *Silent Sisterhood: Middle-Class Women in the Victorian Home* (London: Croom Helm, 1975), p. 34.

¹⁹ Diggle, p. 25.

but with as well defined boundaries. This, then, is what proves the skill of the experienced Advertiser.

As Diggle suggested a hundred years later, Gardner attracted the largest possible social background by creating different types of wares ('specialty' and 'generic') for different groups and marketing to those different groups through different means. Gardner, without training, proved he was an 'experienced Advertiser'.

In order to be a profitable firm, Dunmore Pottery, like its competitors, had to devise a marketing strategy that would set it apart. Diggle suggests that there are four main points to arts marketing: produce, price, publicity and marketplace.²⁰ Although this is a modern approach to marketing arts, Gardner followed this pattern in marketing Dunmore Pottery in the nineteenth century. The produce (Dunmore ware) was high quality and had identifiable characteristics. It commanded 'fancy prices' and yet was also 'inexpensive'. Gardner publicized the Pottery locally, nationally, and internationally through various outlets. By way of these advertisements, Dunmore was able to create and maintain several different markets.

3.1.1 A Visit To Dunmore

Gardner's use of the traditional press and advertisements to market Dunmore was supplemented by a promotional pamphlet called *A Visit To Dunmore* in which an imaginary guest described his tour of the Pottery. The pamphlet itself is a marketing and branding exercise to place Dunmore firmly in the Art Pottery and Arts and Crafts Movements. *A Visit to Dunmore* is ten pages of self-promotion disguised as a small travel monologue. Through the pamphlet, several of Gardner's marketing strategies, i.e. the showroom, royal affiliation, encouragement of tourists, and the pottery's Arts and Crafts leanings, are cleverly integrated into the text.

A Visit To Dunmore was a skilful marketing strategy. The cover page begins the transparent advertising campaign with the addresses to place orders and to

²⁰ Ibid., p. 53.

the Pottery's Depots in Glasgow and Edinburgh (Figure 52). The first visual image is a drawing of the Lady Dunmore Bowl, immediately linking the Pottery to the local aristocracy. The second page develops this theme, 'A great many of the Patterns have been furnished by the Earl and Countess and Dowager Countess of Dunmore.'²¹ This statement helped separate Dunmore Pottery from other Art Potteries operating during the period. Linthorpe Pottery could claim Christopher Dresser as its designer, but had no aristocratic link. Burmantoft, Martin Brothers, Brethby and Elton Ware Potteries had neither famous nor aristocratic designers. Dunmore has set itself apart by not only being patroned by the aristocracy, but by also being partially designed by them.

A Visit To Dunmore, expanding on its illustrious support, states Dunmore 'has secured the distinguished patronage of Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen, and very many of the Nobility'. Queen Victoria made 'extensive purchases of Dunmore ware, the turquoise blue and light red and the new crackled ware being specially chosen by her.'²² It gave these pieces Royal approval and encouraged those people who wanted to emulate the Queen and aristocratic taste to purchase pieces in these glazes. The turquoise and crackle glazes were the most expensive to produce. By specifically mentioning these two glazes in relation to the Queen, Gardner was helping to create an artificial demand for the higher-priced Dunmore pieces.

A Visit to Dunmore's second promotional category is that of the tourist trade. The entire pamphlet describes one visitor's experience at the Pottery. The guest, like most travellers, started at Larbert Station and chronicles the visit, from the scenery ('the famous 'Woods of Dunmore'') to the actual workings of the pottery. According to the pamphlet, Gardner personally greeted the visitor before handing him over to the

²¹ *A Visit to Dunmore*, p. 2.

²² *A Visit to Dunmore*, p. 9.

foreman for a complete tour of the works.²³ The graphic and poetic details of the visit ('the potter and the woman work in the closest harmony', 'the metamorphosis of the clay', and 'the hand of the artist') encourage the reader to see a visit to the Pottery as a magical, thrilling and captivating experience. Throughout *A Visit to Dunmore*, the reader is encouraged to go to see the Pottery and experience the workings for themselves. Readers are warned of imitation Dunmore ware and advised to be sure they are purchasing the "'Real Dunmore' (Stamped)", suggesting a trip to the Pottery guarantees the authenticity of the ceramics.

The most obvious feature of *A Visit to Dunmore* is the incorporation of the Arts and Crafts principles into the text. The Arts and Crafts Movement included the romantic ideal of unifying the craftsman and the artist. It was against industrialism in the arts, mass produced decorative arts and the overabundance of surface decoration. In *The Scope of Total Architecture*, Walter Gropius said it was 'advertising mankind's enslavement to the machine by saving the mass product of the home from mechanical anarchy and by restoring them to purpose, sense and life...'²⁴ *A Visit to Dunmore* emphasizes the handcrafted quality of the pottery as the visitor follows the production of a teapot from the balling stage to the firing process.²⁵ The visitor watches the 'busy and skilful fingers' of the thrower and 'the hand of the artist' (the lathe turner). Focusing on the Arts and Crafts aspects of the pottery, the visitor expands on the simple tools and processes used in making Dunmore Pottery.

It was very curious to look at his essentially simple and rude contrivance, and to think that for thousands of years it has remained practically unaltered. Very much in its present form it is mentioned in the oldest of Books, it appears in Egyptian paintings, and the mild Hindoo [sic] at the

²³ Although it seems a personal touch, the likelihood that the foreman or Gardner himself would have shown a casual visitor around is small. From an economic stand point, Gardner would have made more money having a general labourer, and not himself or the foreman give the tour.

²⁴ Walter Gropius, *The New Architecture and the Bauhaus* (London: Faber, 1935), p. 54.

²⁵ Given the production techniques and properties of clay, it was impossible for the visitor to follow the production of a single teapot on a visit. Each section of the pot needed to be dried before they could be attached together and the pot required a biscuit firing before glazing. The narrative has been romanticized to create more interest in visiting the pottery and to more firmly place the pottery within the Arts and Crafts production model.

Colonial Exhibition uses similar contrivance to fashion his earthenware vessels.²⁶

By describing these processes and stating they have not changed in years, i.e. the Pottery has not taken advantage of mass-production techniques developed during the Industrial Revolution, the writer is positioning Dunmore within the Arts and Crafts Movement.

Many people who promoted Arts and Crafts ideas understood the romantic ideal of one potter working on one piece from start to finish was not realistic given the market and the specialized skills needed to fire a kiln or create artistic glaze finishes. Instead, these people promoted the 'movement towards a day when a piece of ornamental or useful pottery shall appear to be the result of a single act of conception; when the hands of the thrower, the turner, the decorator, and the fireman shall all appear to be governed by a single volition.'²⁷ According to the writer, Dunmore accomplished this as the turner and thrower 'work in the closest harmony.' The significant amount of detail and emphasis on the hand-crafted approach to pottery production at Dunmore was deliberate and Dunmore's most obvious attempt to brand itself as an Arts and Crafts pottery.

Considering *A Visit to Dunmore's* focus on the Arts and Crafts nature of the pottery and its hand-made qualities, it is worth noting the pieces chosen to illustrate the pamphlet are predominately the moulded wares which required less skills and finishing processes. This could be the result of Dunmore's knowledge of the market. According to Lewis F. Day 'the interests of art and trade are not always identical' and 'His (the producer's) prejudice is in favour of the saleable; his preference is for what sells best.'²⁸ Dunmore's most well-known and iconic pieces both in the nineteenth century and today are the grotesques and moulded pieces. Linthorpe, Burmantofts,

²⁶ *A Visit to Dunmore*, p. 4.

²⁷ Walter Armstrong, 'The Year's Advance in Art Manufactures: No. VI.-Stoneware, Fayence, Etc.', *Art Journal* (1883), 220-222 (p. 221).

²⁸ Lewis F. Day, 'Decorative Art-III', *Magazine of Art*, 1 (1880), 271-275 (p. 271).

Bretby, and Ault Potteries were all producing simple thrown vases, jugs, and bowls using running glazes which were almost identical to Dunmore's pieces. Excluding some examples such as the dragon vase, the owl and the Dunmore toad, Dunmore's moulded wares were unique to Dunmore. By focusing the text of the pamphlet on the Arts and Crafts qualities of the pottery and the illustrations on the mass-produced moulded ware, Gardner was able to differentiate his pottery on two levels. On one level, the pottery is being placed into the same category as Linthorpe, Burmantoft and the other Art Potteries and separating itself from the cheaper large scale factory produced wares. At the same time it was distinguishing itself from the other Art potteries by giving illustrations of pieces unique to the Pottery.

A Visit to Dunmore offers insight into the running and artistic production of Dunmore in the late 1880s. From the illustrations, the Queen's Vase, the Lady Dunmore Bowl, the Dunmore Toad, owl statues, ovoid bowls, melon bowls, and pieces inspired from Chinese designs were in production (Figure 53). The Martin Brothers were producing similar owls (Figure 54) by the early 1880s. In 1882, the *Magazine of Art* featured an article on Martin Ware and their grotesque birds in which it declared 'In these curious imaginings Martin-ware has a true specialty'. When comparing the Dunmore owl with that of the Martin Brothers, Dunmore comes short in artistic design and sculptural quality. Dunmore Pottery was unsuccessful in copying the imaginative and often bizarre features of Martin-ware partially as a result of the differences in the production processes. The Martin-ware pieces were individually sculpted as opposed to the Dunmore pieces which were moulded. Although the Dunmore pieces were not as sophisticated or original as the Martin-ware pieces, their inclusion in *A Visit to Dunmore* suggests the design was well known and Dunmore wished to compete with Martin-ware by imitating their designs.

Although *A Visit to Dunmore* gave vast amounts of in-depth information about the pottery and its wares to potential pottery buyers, it would have been costly to produce and questions arise on how and where it was distributed. The inclusion of the detailed step-by-step production process indicates it was not likely given out at the Pottery itself where visitors would have seen the creation process first hand. It is more probable the pamphlet was circulated at Dunmore Depots and in department stores that carried Dunmore Pottery where customers would see the ceramics removed from the craftsman and processes that created the ware.

A Visit to Dunmore linked the Pottery back to its Art Pottery roots and the Royal family itself. It was designed to help brand Dunmore as exclusive, desirable, fashionable and to set the Pottery apart from other mass produced and Art pottery that would have been sold along side it in retail establishments.

3.2 Patronage

The nineteenth century's growth in the middle-classes gave Dunmore a ready market for its wares. As the middle-class followed the fashions of the aristocracy and upper classes²⁹, ensuring the pottery was bought by the nobility and wealthy, helped ensure the middle-class would also take an interest. Gardner understood this premise and often promoted Dunmore through its patrons, whether a strong or tenuous link.

Aristocratic patronage had been used in marketing ceramics since the Industrial Revolution enabling large scale production and mass consumption. The marketing technique was employed by firms that produced high-end status goods as well as those that produced less costly wares. Manufacture nationale de Sèvres was one the first factories to successfully link their brand with aristocratic consumption. Louis XV began Sèvres as a royal concern in 1745 and gave the factory a twenty year monopoly on porcelain production and the use of gilding and some chemical compounds as well as

²⁹ Hey, p. 12.

the title “Royal Manufacturer of Porcelain”.³⁰ Sèvres porcelain ware was stamped with the King’s cipher and was gifted by the King to other royal households.³¹ The factory was purchased by Louis XV in 1759 and retained its royal support until the French Revolution. The marketing of Sèvres through its royal patronage began early with its “Royal Manufacturer” title, stamping the pieces with the King’s cipher, and the creation of the “Pompadour rose” design.³² Sèvres became an outlet and reflection of Royal taste and style and therefore desirable by those who wished to emulate the French court. Wedgwood, likewise was successful in marketing its ceramics through Royal patronage. Wedgwood patented creamware in 1763 which became favoured by Queen Charlotte, wife of George III. By 1766, Josiah Wedgwood was appointed “Potter to Her Majesty” and with the additional purchase of a setting by Catherine the Great of Russia, he changed the name of his creamware to “Queensware”.³³ Wedgwood continued to successfully promote the wares through royal patronage and the new “Queensware” found a ready and eager market. In a letter to Thomas Bentley in 1767, Wedgwood pointing out the value of Royal patronage wrote:

The demand for this sd. Creamcolour, Alias Queens Ware, alias, Ivory still increases - It is really amazing how rapidly the use of it has spread allmost over the whole Globe, & how universally it is liked.- How much of this general use, & estimation, is owing to the mode of its introduction - & how much to its real utility & beauty?³⁴

From the Sèvres and Wedgwood examples, it can be concluded that Gardner’s currying and use of royal and aristocratic patronage in Dunmore’s branding and marketing was

³⁰ Pierre Verlot, ‘Orders For Sèvres from the French Court’, *Burlington*, 96 (1954), 202-206 (p. 202).

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² *Ibid.* Madame de Pompadour was Louis XV’s official mistress from 1750 to her death in 1764.

³³ Gaye Blake Roberts, ‘Josiah Wedgwood & Innovation’, Wedgwood Museum, 2001.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

not a new technique, but a continuation of the industry's historically successful advertising strategy.

Unlike Svres and Wedgwood, Dunmore's use of patrons in its advertising was not static and changed through the Pottery's history sometimes with no apparent reason. Despite the fact that the Duke of Edinburgh, the Prince of Wales, and the Earl and Countess of Dunmore are known Dunmore patrons, the Pottery's early advertisements, such as for the 1880 Highland and Agriculture Show, do not individually list them, but instead refers to them as 'Royalty and Nobility'. The 1882 advertisement in the *Official Hank Boke of Ye Strivelin* prominently states 'patronised by H.R.H the Duke of Edinburgh'. The text of the advertisement mentions the Earl of Dunmore, as a location reference point, not as a patron. Three years later, in the *1885 Pottery Gazette Diary*, the Dunmore advertisement states it is 'UNDER THE PATRONAGE OF THE EARL OF DUNMORE'. It seems incongruous that in a regional publication, Gardner chose to focus the patronage in his advertising on a 'nationally' important Royal member and in a national publication focus on a more 'regionally' important member of nobility. There is no logical explanation for this change.

Despite the remodelling of the Pottery House for the Prince of Wales visit in 1876 and the decoration of the toilet with the Prince of Wales' feathers, Gardner does not list the Prince of Wales as a patron in any of his advertisements. This brings into question how active a patron was the Prince of Wales. As first in line to the throne, his 'seal of approval' would have carried more weight than that of the Earl of Dunmore or the Duke of Edinburgh. Contemporary evidence supports the Prince's visit to the Pottery, but if he had been an active patron, Gardner would have used his name in advertising. The Prince's visit was important to the Pottery, but his role as a 'patron' should be re-examined.

Queen Victoria was Dunmore Pottery's most important patron in advertising and marketing terms. In *A Visit to Dunmore*, the introduction boasts the Pottery has 'secured the distinguished patronage of her Most Gracious Majesty.' In the nineteenth century, the Queen's approval helped gain public attention and appreciation. Advertising Dunmore as being patroned by the Queen made the Pottery fashionable by those who followed the Cult of Victoria; however, it did not help the Pottery maintain its market share or sustain its growth. The Queen purchased Dunmore pottery in 1886 and *A Visit to Dunmore*, promoting the Queen's patronage, was published around 1888. Yet, the Pottery was already declining according to the 1891 census records.

Dunmore used the Queen's purchase, as well as the link with the Prince of Wales, to market itself throughout its production. These links, however, are tenuous at best. Graeme Cruickshank, in his research of the Royal Collections for *A Visit To Dunmore: A Contemporary Account* (2004), discovered Dunmore Pottery was not in the Royal inventories today, nor was it listed during the nineteenth century. The suggestion is the Queen purchased Dunmore Pottery for gifts and never intended them to be used in the Royal residences. Although the Pottery redecorated the showroom and created a special urinal and possibly other pieces for the Prince of Wales's visit in 1876, there is no evidence the Prince actually purchased any Dunmore ware. During the late nineteenth century there was a growth in the number of warrant holders. Under Queen Victoria, 8000 warrants were granted by the royal family, an eight fold increase from the previous reign.³⁵ To obtain a Royal Warrant, the business needs to be in sustained trade with the Warrant holder for a period of five years. The frequency with which the Royal family was mentioned in contemporary articles on Dunmore and in the Pottery's advertising suggests Gardner was actively cultivating a Royal link and association. If Dunmore enjoyed sustained patronage from the Royal family, it seems likely Gardner

³⁵ Tim Heald, *By Appointment: 150 Years of the Royal Warrant and Its Holders* (London: Queen Anne Press, 1989).

would have applied for a Royal Warrant. Given this did not happen and Dunmore's absence in the royal inventories, the Queen's purchases should be classified as a single event, not an example of sustained patronage. This did not deter Gardner from using this purchase as well as the Prince of Wales's visit to promote Dunmore as being specially chosen by the Royal family and fashionable within those circles.

Gardner used patronage as a cornerstone of his marketing campaign. If a pottery was seen as special enough for royalty and aristocracy, it became coveted by the average British citizen. It marked the pottery as elite, fashionable, and desirable. One hundred years after the Pottery closed, Gardner's success at linking the Pottery to these patrons is evident. The Lady Dunmore bowl and Queen's vase are two of the most collectable Dunmore pieces and despite the small role the Queen and the Prince of Wales played in relation to the Pottery, their names invariably come up in recent research, publications, and magazine articles.

3.3 Donations

Part of Gardner's marketing strategy was to create an air of exclusivity and permanence around Dunmore Pottery. To achieve this, he followed known and well used methods such as linking his pottery to the royalty and nobility and placing advertisements in local and national publications. In *A Visit to Dunmore*, the visitor links the pottery to ancient production methods and its patronage by the aristocracy. Gardner was trying to create the belief that Dunmore's beauty and handmade tradition was something to treasure and appreciate. The earliest example of Gardner attempting to create an aura of permanence around Dunmore is the 1878 donation of eighty-three pieces of Dunmore ware to the Glasgow Museum Corporation.³⁶

The donated pieces consisted predominately of small jugs and vases in mostly light blue and olive green glazes. Each piece from this donation is recorded in

³⁶ Glasgow Museum Corporation Catalogue entries.

the museum's catalogues as 'Illustrations of Rustic pottery from Dunmore, Peter Gardner, Dunmore Pottery, Airth Road Station.' The pieces vary in form and production technique and represent a snapshot of what types of glazes and wares Dunmore produced in 1878. The roped handled jug, with its very thin glaze and uninspired form, was typical of the donated pieces (Figure 55). The woven basket (Figure 56), although a more interesting and technically challenging form, is still lacking the sophistication of Dunmore ware in the 1880s. When compared with Dunmore's later pieces and glazes, this ware is of a lower quality, both technically and aesthetically, and as a result Dunmore should still be seen as being in a transition phase in 1878.

Gardner's gift to the Glasgow Museum Corporation did not generate publicity at the time, but it would ten years later. James Paton, then curator of Glasgow Museum, while writing on the Glasgow International Exhibition, stated Gardner 'had made a name to himself and to his ware which is well deserved. Dunmore pottery is an excellent example of what can be done by judicious taste to give really artistic decoration by inexpensive processes to a cheap material.'³⁷ Considering his unenthusiastic review of other Scottish pottery at the Exhibition, Paton's comment is more striking. Whether he appreciated Dunmore Pottery more than other Scottish pottery at the exhibition cannot be determined. Paton would not have criticized or unfavourably reviewed a pottery in which the Museum had such an extensive collection. The general public would have read Paton's review with an uncritical eye and his comments as a museum expert would have carried more weight than Gardner's paid advertisements.

A year after the Glasgow Museum donation, Gardner made a much smaller donation of Dunmore Pottery to the Royal Museum in Edinburgh. These pieces are similar in style and quality to the Glasgow donation. Although it appears Gardner did

³⁷ James Paton, 'Pottery and Glass---No II', *Glasgow Herald*, 26 July 1888, p. 9.

not receive the benefit from the press as he did after the Glasgow donation, he got the right to say that his wares were exhibited and held in the Royal Museum Collections. These gifts should be seen as Gardner finesse in marketing Dunmore Pottery and not as altruistic donations to museums. He did not donate pieces to either Falkirk or Stirling, the two towns closest to the Pottery and therefore of local significance. By donating these pieces to Scotland's two largest museums, Gardner was promoting the pottery as an art, something to collect and that was valuable, not only at the time but as pieces that were heirloom quality and of national importance.

Dunmore Pottery was not the only Arts and Crafts pottery to use museum donations as a marketing tool. The American company Rookwood Pottery used this technique as well. In 1883, Maria Nichols, owner of Rookwood, donated 13 pieces to the Museum of Fine Art in Boston and in 1906, Rookwood deposited more than two thousand pieces at the Cincinnati Art Museum.³⁸ From these examples, it can be concluded that donating wares to museums, while not common, was not unique and it could be a productive method of pottery promotion.

Gardner's success in marketing the pottery to the general public through museum donations is impossible to determine. The museums' sustained interest in the pottery is more apparent. The donations to the Glasgow and National Museums were the foundations of today's large Dunmore collections now held in both institutions. These museums, in fact, have previously jointly purchased a collection and divided the pieces between them.³⁹ Pieces of Dunmore Pottery are currently on display at the National Museum of Scotland in Edinburgh, helping to sustain current interest and appreciation for the pottery.

³⁸ Nancy Owen, 'Marketing Rookwood Pottery: Culture and Competition', *Studies in the Decorative Arts*, Spring/Summer 1997.

³⁹ Letters held in the Glasgow Museum Corporation's Dunmore Files.

3.4 Travel

Gardner's approach to marketing had several branches, with each branch feeding off of and reliant on the others. Patronage, museum donations, *A Visit to Dunmore* and Dunmore's newspaper advertisements worked in conjunction with each other to create a brand identity. With the development and expansion of the railway system, Gardner was able to add marketing to tourists as one of his marketing strategies.

The mid-nineteenth century was the heyday for development and construction of railways in Britain. Early railway systems were developed to transport heavy freight, particularly coal.⁴⁰ Although originally designed for industrial purposes, from the beginning passengers made up a significant percentage of the carried freight. Passenger carriage was so popular that it was not until 1852 that freight traffic exceeded passenger transport in Britain.⁴¹ Passengers flocked to the railways for several reasons: services were cheaper, more frequent, and quicker than other forms of transportation.⁴² With the extension of the railway lines and services, tourism in Britain became more affordable and feasible for middle-class Britons and overall more luxurious and accessible.

For Dunmore, tourism became a small, but important part of the marketing of the Pottery. Dunmore was positioned ideally for tourism. The factory was located between and had rail links to Glasgow and Edinburgh, Scotland's two largest cities. Although Dunmore itself was a small village, it was close to Larbert, Falkirk, and Stirling, each with its own rail station. Good transportation links gave Dunmore the opportunity to actively market itself as a tourist destination.

Dunmore directly advertised itself to tourists in the March 3, 1905 Falkirk Herald (Figure 57). The first two lines of the advert read 'DUNMORE POTTERY by LARBERT is always Open to Visitors.' By inspecting the punctuation of the advert,

⁴⁰ Jack Simmons, 'Railways, Hotels and Tourism in Great Britain 1839-1914', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 19 no 2 (1984), 201-222.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 201.

⁴² *Ibid.*

Dunmore's desire to attract tourists is revealed. By capitalizing Larbert (the pottery's closest train station), it can be inferred Dunmore was trying to attract rail passengers on their way to Glasgow, Edinburgh or Perth. Other capitalization stresses the Pottery is 'Open' to 'Visitors'. The term visitor would have been chosen specifically for its positive connotation. Travelling terminology was embedded with meaning in the mid to late nineteenth century, typically divided along socio-economic lines. The most common words to describe visitors were travellers, tourists, and trippers; each had their own meanings and connotations. A tripper referred to the working-class who took day trips, usually to the coast; tourists were the middle-class travellers who stayed for longer periods. The nineteenth century 'tourists' were often considered disruptive by the locals and unable to comprehend or intellectually or artistically appreciate what they saw and experienced.⁴³ The upper-class society who toured for extended periods of time, absorbing the local culture and art were classed as travellers. There was a 'moral superiority' surrounding 'travellers' in relation to 'tourists' and 'trippers'.⁴⁴ Dunmore's use of the term 'visitor' avoids any class or economic association, therefore marketing itself to several groups through the same public notice. The last two lines of the advertisement state, 'INSPECTION INVITED. TEA AND AERATED WATERS may be had.' Just as in the first two lines, the capitalization of these lines suggests their importance. Dunmore wanted visitors to come to the Pottery; visitors were not 'welcome', but 'invited' which conveys a desire for visitors to come, not just an acceptance. As Henry Sell advised, 'The public like to be asked for their custom, and they naturally go to the people who invite them.'⁴⁵ The tea and aerated waters (most likely served in Dunmore Pottery cups and tumblers) were a practical means of luring the rail passengers to the Pottery. Refreshments were not served on trains, but had to be

⁴³ John K. Walton, 'British Tourism Between Industrialization and Globalization' in *The Making of Modern Tourism* ed. by Hartmut Berghoff (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave, 2002), p. 113.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 114.

⁴⁵ Sell, p. xi.

packed beforehand by the passengers. Dunmore was encouraging rail passengers to stop at Larbert and visit the Pottery to take a break and refresh and replenish themselves. By serving refreshments at the Pottery, Dunmore was not only catering to the needs of the visitors, but also employing an often used sales strategy. Serving food and drinks keeps customers on the premises longer, giving them more time to make a purchase.

Tourists who wished to make a purchase had a large selection from which to choose. The Pottery created special slip decorated teapots and jugs incised with the words 'From Dunmore' (Figure 58). Critics at the time were unimpressed with the ceramic ware resulting from the tourist trade. Walter Crane complained, 'But, alas, the tourist comes by—a brisk manufacture for profit is started, toy models are made of such humble things for the drawing room table—and the charm is lost.'⁴⁶ From known pieces, Dunmore did create 'toy models' such as a variety of clay shoes and children's tea sets, but these pieces were made to the same quality as other Dunmore pieces and used the same glazes. Even the harshest critic upon examining these wares or the specially made tourist teapots and jugs would not claim Dunmore Pottery 'lost its charm'.

Gardner's marketing of Dunmore as a tourist destination benefited from the intense interest in Scotland during the mid to late nineteenth century. The interest in Scotland and all things Scottish had two fundamental roots: ideals of the romantic and the cult of Queen Victoria. Romanticism was a conceptual part of the nineteenth century psyche. At its core was historical reference and nature, two ideas that would have been appealing to a society in the grip of the Industrial Revolution. Scotland with its many castles, untouched and dramatic scenery, and language and traditions different from that of England, was a natural destination choice. At a time when literature

⁴⁶ Walter Crane, 'Design: In Two Parts—Part II', *Magazine of Art*, 16 (1893), 131-136, (p. 135).

affected and helped shape the everyday⁴⁷, the influence of Scottish writers Sir Walter Scott and Robert Burns should not be ignored. Travel posters for Scottish destinations featured quotations from Burns and Scott while the Glasgow and South Western Railways advertised Scotland as the 'Land o' Burns'.⁴⁸ The interest in these Scottish writers extended to the intelligencia and artistic circles as seen through a series of articles entitled 'Sir Walter Scott's Country' published in the 1887 *Art Journal*. Dunmore Pottery took this interest in Scottish writing and used it as inspiration for three known pieces of Dunmore Pottery: the figures of Soutar Johnie and Tam O'Shanter (Figures 59 and 60) and the bust of Robert Burns (Figure 61). These pieces would have appealed to the Scottish market where people were searching for their national identity as well as to the tourists who would have seen these pieces as 'something Scottish'. The romantic ideas of Scotland seen through the works of Burns and Scott were perpetuated in the advertisements of the travel industry. The Midland Railway poster (Figure 62), with its caricature of the cliché Scotsman, was different than most other Scottish travel posters that usually featured the landscape.

Through Queen Victoria's purchases at the Edinburgh International Exhibition, Dunmore was able to capitalize on links with royalty. In nineteenth century Britain, advertisers understood the influence of using the royal family in marketing a product through national identity.⁴⁹ In *A Visit to Dunmore*, Gardner reminds the public of those close links; however, by indirect means, Dunmore equally benefited from the Queen and the cult of Victoria. Queen Victoria was particularly fond of Scotland and first visited the country in 1842, returning twice before setting up Balmoral as her Scottish country house.⁵⁰ After the purchase of the property, the Queen made annual visits to Balmoral, travelling by train. The house had close associations with Prince

⁴⁷ Marion Lochhead, *The Victorian Household* (London: Murray, 1964), p. 5.

⁴⁸ Julia Wigg, *Bon Voyage! Travel Posters of the Edwardian Era* (London: HMSO, 1996), p. 9.

⁴⁹ Benson, p. 145.

⁵⁰ Simmons, p. 211.

Albert, who is credited with its artistic details, and after his death, Balmoral was considered by the Queen the 'dearest' of all the royal residences.⁵¹ The house itself has been described in both complimentary and uncomplimentary terms. The drawing room (Figure 63) seemed to attract the most attention. Lady August Bruce described it,

the carpets are Royal Stewart and green Hunting Stewart, the curtains...lined with red[...]and a few chintz with a thistle pattern, the chairs and sofas in the drawing room are Dress Stewart poplin. All highly characteristic and appropriate but not all equally flattering to the eye.⁵²

The *Art Journal* described the house as being 'furnished with the greatest simplicity.'⁵³

Like Lady Bruce, the article comments on the 'Scottishness' of Balmoral.

The prominence given to Scotch symbols in the furnishings of the Castle is an interesting proof of Her Majesty's high appreciation of everything national. Often has she expressed her admiration of the scenery of Scotland and of the chivalry and true-heartedness of the people. She has felt—'Nowhere beats the heart so warmly, As beneath the tartan plaid.'⁵⁴

From these two descriptions, it becomes apparent there was a cliché of what was 'Scottish' decoration and its appropriateness in Scottish home décor. Plaids, thistles, and as the *Art Journal* described 'Scotch symbols' were part of a constructed national identity. The 'Scotch symbols' Queen Victoria adopted for Balmoral, as well as the quiet lifestyle she adopted while there gave the monarchy a complete British dimension and created a 'sanitized version of Scottishness...—in the minds, at least, of Lowlanders and tourists.'⁵⁵ Dunmore took these known 'Scottish' symbols, reinterpreted them, and sold them to the British public. The Celtic knot vase (Figure 64) shows Gardner's ability to incorporate traditional Celtic imagery with the contemporary Art pottery's smooth lines and Eastern inspired shapes. Dunmore's quaich is a far more traditional interpretation of a Scottish cultural symbol.

⁵¹ Hugh MacMillian, 'Balmoral', *Art Journal* (1887), 216-220 (p. 216).

⁵² Diary of Lady Augusta Bruce 1855 quoted in Sheila MacKay, *Behind the Façade: Four Centuries of Scottish Interiors* (Edinburgh: Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historic Monuments of Scotland, HMSO, 1995), p. 96.

⁵³ MacMillian, p. 219.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Michael Lynch quoted in MacKay, p. 96.

The intense interest in Royalty, primarily focused on Queen Victoria, and the 'cult of Victoria' that resulted, made Scotland a popular tourist destination. The 'sentimental attachment' felt by Britons towards the Queen extended to the places and things she enjoyed.⁵⁶ When Queen Victoria found Brighton 'very indiscreet and troublesome', people followed her example and travelled to Scotland, the Lake District and Ireland instead.⁵⁷ As a result, Scotland became an up market tourist destination. In *The Eustace Diamonds* by Anthony Trollope, first published in 1873, Scotland is described:

They will meet an earl or at least a lord on every mountain. Of course, if you merely travel about from inn to inn, and neither have a moor of your own nor stay with any great friend, you don't quite enjoy the cream of it; but to go to Scotland in August, and stay there, perhaps, till the end of September, is about the most certain step you can take towards autumnal fashion.'

Queen Victoria set the fashion for travelling to Scotland and by the early 1860s travel companies began extensively promoting the Scottish tourist industry.⁵⁸ Special package holidays were offered as well as 'tourist tickets' which allowed travellers 28 days to get on and off the train anywhere in Scotland.⁵⁹ Fierce competition made rail prices continually fall so that one could travel to Scotland for as little as 1p a mile.⁶⁰ In 1869, night trains were running between London and Glasgow and by the end of the nineteenth century three rail routes from London to Scotland were operating, each running six to nine trains a day filled with tourists in the summer months.⁶¹ The royal family remained an integral part of marketing Scottish tourism, 'Royal route' summer

⁵⁶ Simmons, p. 211.

⁵⁷ J. A. R. Pimlott. *The Englishman's Holiday: A Social History* (Hassocks, Sussex: Harvester Press, 1977), p. 118.

⁵⁸ Simmons, p. 211. Although tour agencies were promoting Scotland prior to this, Thomas Cook was offering four annual tours between 1848 and 1863, aggressive and varied travel programmes were only offered after the Scottish companies broke their arrangements with Cook and began partnering with the English London and North Western Rail company. For more information see Simmons, and Katherine Jean Haldane 'Imagining Scotland: Tourist Images of Scotland 1770-1914' (unpublished PhD Dissertation, University of Virginia 1990).

⁵⁹ Haldane, p. 72.

⁶⁰ Pimlott, p. 93.

⁶¹ Haldane, p. 68.

tours of the Highlands were offered by the Royal Mail steamers of David MacBrayne Ltd.⁶²

The Scottish tourist industry growth was in part due to the Bank Holiday Act of 1871 which gave everyone set holidays during the year.⁶³ Prior to the Act, holidays were at the employers' discretion. With the institution of set holidays and the frequency of trains between Scotland and England, people from Northern England could easily travel to Scotland for short breaks, replacing the 'trippers' who went to the beach with 'trippers' who went to Scotland.

The increase in tourism and tourist related activities, led to a growth in publishing in the travel genre, particularly travel guides and travel diaries.⁶⁴ Some of the most popular guides for Scotland were Murray's Handbooks. These books were regularly updated and included information on railways, country houses, natural features, and points of interest. Dunmore's growth in popularity and as a point of interest for tourists can be traced through the Handbook's entries. In the 1875 edition of Murray's Handbook for Scotland, Dunmore was not mentioned. This seems natural as it was at the beginning of Gardner's transformation of Dunmore into an Art Pottery and prior to the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition where it gained notice. It remains absent from the 1883 Handbook and the 1894 Handbook (although Dunmore Park Estate, not the pottery, was mentioned). Dunmore Pottery's first found entry is in the 1903 Murray's Handbook for Scotland listed under:

Dunmore House...purchased by the late Claud H Hamilton, Esq, and his widow still resides there...Not far off is the Dunmore Pottery, widely celebrated for its well known ware.

The same entry is listed in the 1913 Murray's Handbook for Scotland, interesting considering the pottery was dieing out by this stage. The Dunmore Pottery entries in

⁶² Wigg, p. 10.

⁶³ Bill Cormack, *A History of Holidays, 1812-1990* (London: Routledge, 1998), p. 44.

⁶⁴ The Earl of Dunmore, Charles Adolphus Murray, published in this field with the two volume *The Pamirs: Being a Narrative of a Year's Expedition on Horseback and on Foot Through Kashmir, Western Tibet, Chinese Tartary, and Russian Central Asia* (London: Murray, 1893).

the Murray's Handbooks raise some questions on how well Gardner was marketing his pottery to tourists. From *A Visit to Dunmore* and surviving souvenir teapots, Dunmore was inviting visitors and acting as a tourist destination, yet it was unable to make it into one the most popular travel handbooks for Scotland until the beginning of the twentieth century.

Although there are no records to assess Dunmore's success as a tourist destination, there are some indicators that the Pottery received at least a steady flow of visitors. Gardner opened the showroom, recently redecorated for the Prince of Wales's visit, as a factory shop where 'the finished goods are exhibited, showing all the varieties, colourings, and designs of Dunmore Pottery.'⁶⁵ The census records remain unclear if Dunmore employed people specifically to work in the showroom, but there are some clues. The 1881 Airth Census lists Jane Campbell as a 'pottery worker'. Other workers, including women, are given job titles such as potter, pottery packer, labourer and potter's servant. Jane Campbell was neither a 'labourer' nor a skilled potter and the ambiguity of the title 'pottery worker' could suggest she was working in several areas within the pottery, one of those being in the showroom. The 1891 census includes the entry for Agnes Campbell (Jane's younger sister) which lists her occupation as Saleswoman residing at Dunmore Pottery. Although the entry does not clarify if she worked as a saleswoman at Dunmore Pottery, there are indications this may be the case. Dunmore Pottery was remote and nearby villages would have offered little opportunity for employment. Gardner's paternalistic approach to running the pottery (supplying housing for the potters and employing their family members) would support the theory Agnes Campbell was a saleswoman in the Dunmore Showroom. If Agnes did work at Dunmore, it suggests the Pottery in the early 1890s was receiving

⁶⁵ *A Visit to Dunmore*, p. 9.

enough visitors and tourists to warrant a designated saleswoman for the showroom as opposed to the ambiguous pottery worker of the previous decade.

Several questions remain unanswered regarding Dunmore and the tourist trade. Among them is an interesting statement from Mr. McCowan who was interviewed by Katherine Dickson in 1977 regarding his visits to the Pottery prior to the First World War. He remembered there being 'two villa type houses near the pottery which were built for Gardner's travellers'⁶⁶ These 'villa type houses' were most likely empty villas formerly occupied by the potters. According to census returns, the number of workers residing at the pottery decreased from 1881 to 1901. The 1891 census lists two empty houses on the Pottery grounds, most likely the two houses McCowan remembers being used for travellers. By turning empty houses into accommodation for visitors, Gardner was showing his marketing abilities and business acumen. Dunmore Pottery, removed from a large town, was isolated and there would have been few places for accommodation near the Pottery. The empty villas allowed guests a safe and convenient place to stay while visiting the Pottery as well as nearby country houses (including Dunmore Park Estate). Gardner turned an empty space into another money making venture and made Dunmore a self-contained tourist destination.

3.5 Sales Outlets

Dunmore Pottery was a prolific producer of ceramics and Art Pottery with a variety of sales outlets for its wares. Dunmore was sold through specialty shops, pottery depots, department and furnishing stores. At times, the same pottery was being distributed to different outlets while at other times, different outlets were selling wares specially designed for that market. Understanding and analyzing Dunmore's sales

⁶⁶ Kay Dickson. From Notes made c. 1977. Interview with Mr. McCowan.

outlets and the products sold within each place proves Gardner's understanding of the late nineteenth century marketplace.

3.5.1 The Showroom

Dunmore's most well-known sales outlet was the Dunmore Showroom. The tourist market provided a steady stream of visitors to the pottery and it made business sense for Gardner to turn the showroom decorated for the Prince of Wales's visit into a salesroom. The salesroom was Gardner's main outlet to exhibit the variety and range of Dunmore Pottery and he took a special interest in its display and decoration.

...he fitted up the entrance at his works a drawing -room, which was beautifully appointed with Dunmore pottery ware. His works were every summer visited by people far and near, whom he delighted to welcome. In no part of his premises was he more interested than in the drawing room referred to, and in it visitors viewed some of the finest productions of the potter's art⁶⁷

A *Visit to Dunmore* lists the pieces on display in the showroom at the time of its publication included the Lady Dunmore Bowl, the Queen's Vase, the Dunmore toad, and 'beautifully mottled tea sets, having the teapot and creamer mounted in silver (Figure 65); an oval dish containing a pin-cushion in which were stuck pins and brooches made of turquoise blue clay set in silver.'⁶⁸ During this research, no examples of Dunmore jewellery have been found and this citation is the only known reference to such pieces.⁶⁹ How much jewellery was made or who made the mounts remain unknown. It is interesting that an Art Pottery was producing such pieces and it could be that it was a secondary production made from the pottery damaged or broken during the firing process. The jewellery was not a major source of revenue, but a 'smart' marketing product. They would have been small, light-weight, and less likely to break, important qualities for tourists wishing to purchase something while visiting the pottery.

⁶⁷ 'Dunmore', *Falkirk Herald*, 3 March 1902.

⁶⁸ *A Visit to Dunmore*, p. 10.

⁶⁹ Dunmore was not unique in producing Jewellery set in silver. Jugtown Pottery, an Art pottery in Pinegrove, NC, to this day produces such pieces.

They could also be considered walking advertisements for the Pottery. People who inquired where the brooch was purchased would have been given a description of the Pottery works and the showroom.

In addition to finished pieces, the salesroom also sold unglazed bisque ware to 'ladies who wish to paint upon them.'⁷⁰ Ceramic painting had become a popular art form for professional painters as well as a hobby for Victorian women. Women's magazines as well as Art journals and magazines contained instructions and patterns for designs. So common was ceramic painting that Lewis Day commented:

It is worth noting that whilst the art of pottery painting has advanced in our time, the 'mystery' which for so long surrounded it has been dissipated. 'Over-glaze' and 'under-glaze,' 'biscuit' and 'barbottine' are no longer the secrets of the trade, but are open to the lady amateur.⁷¹

Messrs. Howell and James had annual exhibitions for amateur and professional china painters.⁷² China painting had become 'quite the rage' and the exhibitions were judged by the Royal Academy. In the 1879 exhibition, the Countess of Warwick won first prize in the amateur category followed by a Miss Edith Hall, proving ceramic painting was fashionable in several levels of society. There are several documented pieces of painted Dunmore ware (Figure 66). These pieces come from Scotland and no known painted Dunmore pieces have been found in England. This suggests the 'blank' wares were sold predominantly in the local area and in the store shop. This would make financial sense since most communities had a pottery in which blanks could be purchased for ceramic painting and transportation and packing costs would have made Dunmore blanks more expensive to English china painters than pottery made locally.

The salesroom was not just a place to purchase Dunmore pottery, but was also a showroom to display both the ordinary and the extraordinary Dunmore glazes and production techniques. The room itself was fitted with Dunmore tiles from floor to

⁷⁰ *A Visit to Dunmore*, p. 8.

⁷¹ Lewis F. Day, 'Victorian Progress in Applied Design', *Art Journal* (1887), 197.

⁷² 'The Exhibition of Paintings on China', *Magazine of Art* (1878-1879), 176-179 (p. 176).

ceiling (Figure 67). J. Arnold Fleming, who saw the room at the turn of the century, described it as 'Although a remarkable display of craftsmanship, I must confess that sitting in this room I was in constant dread lest some heavy portion of the ceiling might crack and fall down on my head.'⁷³ The interior of the showroom was covered in smooth tiles featuring different glazes in apparently random placement. Each tile represented one of Dunmore's glazes. Along the fireplace surround, the ceiling, and the door, moulded tiles and plaques either featuring classical motifs or nature subjects were placed. In the Victorian fashion of both sales rooms and home décor, the room would have been jumbled with various pieces of Dunmore ware to purchase. At the peak of the Pottery's popularity, the quantity of glazes and forms displayed in the salesroom would have been impressive. As late as 1967, the showroom still inspired and amazed visitors,

The walls glowed with brilliantly-coloured tiles in exquisite tones of crimson, yellow and blue, and each tile was delicately embossed with a pattern of animals, birds and fruit. The mantelpiece sported a frieze of clear turquoise depicting a classical harvest scene, and the door had finger-plates on which were moulded the heads of gods, goddesses and Roman emperors. Even the ceiling was decorated with plaque-type tiles showing Chinese relief designs.⁷⁴

The showroom was still intact until the late 1970s when the pottery house was run as the Dunmore Pottery Hotel and the adjoining pottery works were used as a caravan park. When the showroom began to be dismantled in 1975/76, Edinburgh City Museums purchased several interior wall and ceiling tiles as well as the pottery door and fireplace mantle with the hopes of recreating the showroom interior within a museum. Some of the tiles are currently on display in the Huntley House Museum.

3.5.2 Dunmore Depots

The salesroom at Dunmore Pottery allowed Gardner to display, price, and promote Dunmore as he wished; there was no interference or input from store managers

⁷³ J. Arnold Fleming, *Scottish Pottery* (Glasgow: Maclehose and Jackson, 1923), p. 204.

⁷⁴ Oonagh Morrison, 'Potter's Cottage', *Lady*, 23 November 1967, p. 813.

or window dressers nor competition from other pottery. At the showroom, Gardner directly controlled every business and marketing aspect. He extended these powers by opening Dunmore Depots in Stirling, Edinburgh and Glasgow, the three largest Scottish cities and centres of trade. Through the Dunmore Depots, Gardner could directly promote, advertise, and display the Pottery as he did in the showroom.

The first Dunmore Depot was in Stirling at Duncan's Glass and China Warehouse, 27 Port Street.⁷⁵ The Pottery is listed in Duncan's entry on page 132 in the 1882 *Stirling Directory* as the 'Celebrated Dunmore Pottery'. Later that year, the full page advertisement in the *Officiale Hank Boke of Ye Strivelin* showed the Depot had moved to the Arcade, Stirling and no mention is given to Duncan's Glass and China Warehouse, suggesting Gardner had made the depot independent of Duncan's.⁷⁶ The advertisement gives a brief description of the wares available: vases, tea sets, garden seats, leaves, and decorative ornaments. Although Art pottery was costly compared to mass produced ceramics, Dunmore's Art pottery was described as 'no less substantial than elegant, while they are inexpensive', while other sources describe the pottery as commanding 'fancy prices.'⁷⁷ This is the first known example of Dunmore describing itself as 'inexpensive.' Promoting the ware as inexpensive is an example of Gardner's understanding of the local market. The majority of people who bought the guide would have been middle-class locals shopping or volunteering at a bazaar and would have been more price conscience than Londoners shopping in a specialty store. Besides directly selling pottery, the Depot also acted as a showroom for Dunmore and orders could be taken. The types of orders are hinted at further in the text, 'Dunmore is admirably adapted for Stalls at Bazaars, Prizes for Flower and all other Popular Competitions, &c'. Gardner's understanding of business is shown by advertising

⁷⁵ For a more complete account of Dunmore's Depots, see Cruickshank, pp. 41-46.

⁷⁶ Cruickshank, p. 41.

⁷⁷ Untitled article, *Falkirk Herald*, 12 May 1888.

Dunmore as suitable for bazaars in a guide book to a bazaar, as those reading would have been people who organized and were interested in this activity.

The most prominent feature of the Depot advertisement was the 'D' in Dunmore which is decorated with various pieces of Dunmore ware. The pieces, mostly jugs, were predominately moulded wares as opposed to the smooth lines and simple forms of the Pottery's Art pottery vases. The pieces illustrated were those in the classical style as opposed to those influenced by Eastern design. There are two explanations for this emphasis. Either the Pottery was focusing on producing these types of wares in the early 1880s or Gardner was promoting this type of ware specifically to this market. Considering the majority of Art potteries were in the early stages of production (or not yet established), it is more likely Dunmore was manufacturing more of the classical than Oriental inspired wares and was promoting these pieces.

While Stirling was the closest city to Dunmore Pottery, it was neither the largest nor most important city in Scotland. To reach a broader market, Gardner opened depots in Glasgow and Edinburgh, though neither would survive into the 1890s. The Glasgow Depot first appears in the *Post Office Directory* in 1887 at 22A Renfield Street and again in the following year, but apparently closed by 1889 as the premises was then occupied by Bar-Lock Typewriter Co and by W.J. Richardson & Co.⁷⁸ The Glasgow Depot may have been part of Gardner's marketing strategy for the 1888 Glasgow International Exhibition at which he displayed. The depot would have been up and running before the Exhibition started, getting trade from the exhibition's workmen, and organizing itself for the large trade expected after the Exhibition opened. At most International Exhibitions, including Glasgow's, trading and selling displayed items was prohibited, and having a depot close-by would have been a strategic business decision.

⁷⁸ Cruickshank, p. 44.

Visitors to the Exhibition who were interested in purchasing Dunmore Pottery could be directed to the Depot to make their selection.

In Edinburgh, Gardner opened a depot in 1886 at either 32 or 34 Castle Street at the Royal Emporium.⁷⁹ The location for this depot, like the Glasgow depot, was strategically important for trading during the 1886 Edinburgh International Exhibition. The Castle Street location was close to the Exhibition grounds and therefore to the potential customers. For the Edinburgh Depot, Gardner created a small promotional cup which reads 'Dunmore Pottery/Depot Royal Emporium/34 Castle Street Edinr' (Figure 68).⁸⁰ These bowls were mass-produced using an inexpensive, thin yellow lead-based glaze. Blue and red bowls have also been noted. Questions arise as for what these cups were used and for whom were they made. These cups are unlike any other known Dunmore piece. Their small size means they are impractical to use, nor is it likely people would purchase them. They are not decorative, functional, or well made. If someone on a budget was looking for a small, inexpensive piece, Dunmore sold small moulded shoes, jugs, and children's tea sets. The promotional cups could have been part of Dunmore's overall advertising campaign at the 1886 Edinburgh International Exhibition. These could have been displayed at Dunmore's exhibition stall or handed out to interested parties as a type of calling or trade card, directing people to the depot. The problem with this piece intensifies with the production of a similar cup for the depot when it moved to 18A George Street in 1888, although this cup may also have been a promotional cup for the 1888 Glasgow International Exhibition.⁸¹ The Dunmore Depot remained at 18A George Street until 1890 and then no longer appears in the Post Office Directories.

⁷⁹ The uncertainty results from the Post Office Directory listing Dunmore at 32 Castle Street and the '34 Castle Street' moulded on the Dunmore promotional cup.

⁸⁰ During this research, no promotional cups for Glasgow or Stirling have been found.

⁸¹ 1888 Post Office Directory. There is no entry in the 1887 directory, suggesting the Depot was closed for a year either because they lost their premises or as a deliberate marketing strategy and reopening again in 1888 to benefit from the influx of tourists to Scotland for the Glasgow Exhibition.

Dunmore's depots remained open only for a few years during the late 1880s and their success at marketing the pottery remains debatable. The growth of department stores along with the growing competition in the Art pottery market (there were at least 11 other large producers by the late 1880s) may have made the small depot unviable. The closure of the depots follows the rise and growth of Dunmore itself. By the 1890s, the Pottery was slowly declining in size and output and therefore may not have required depots in Glasgow and Edinburgh.

3.5.3 Department Stores

Nineteenth century retailing can be broken down into three categories: direct sales to consumers through the workshop or factory stores, sales to secondary outlets such as merchants, shopkeepers, and department stores, or sales to wholesalers who would buy items in bulk and then resell them to secondary outlets. Wholesalers typically dealt with mass produced goods which offered large discounts for buying in bulk and then they could pass these savings on to smaller retailers who would benefit from the discounts and smaller minimum orders. As Dunmore did not mass-produce goods on an industrial scale, it is highly unlikely Dunmore sold to wholesalers and no evidence for this has yet been found. Dunmore instead concentrated on retailing directly through its depots and showroom and indirectly through the secondary retail outlets of specialty shops and department stores.

The major change in the late nineteenth century retailing of the decorative arts was the shift from small independent retailers to chains and department stores. Department stores were a product of the growing economy, the boom in house construction and advances in technology which led to the increase in mass-produced goods. They sold everything from china and jewellery to shoes. The department stores were a natural extension of the everything under one roof mentality of the International Exhibitions.

The nineteenth century department store catered to the middle and upper middle-class society. The romantic ideology of the Angel in the house and the prevalent stereo-typical roles of Mr. Breadwinner and Mrs. Consumer⁸² meant that shopping was the responsibility of women. Consumption was a part of the everyday life of the Victorian woman. In *All the World and Her Husband*, Maggie Andrews and Mary Talbot argue consumption is a sphere where femininity is performed. They contend shopping was part of a cycle where women who were in the home, went out of the home to purchase for the home.⁸³

Department stores marketed themselves directly to middle-class Britain, creating a friendly and inviting space for women. Department stores took away the trepidation of shopping that accompanied many nouveau riche and bourgeois women of the nineteenth century: goods were accessible, touchable and obviously priced.⁸⁴ The fear of asking for assistance and then finding goods out of a consumer's budget had disappeared. People could walk the entire store, touching, looking, gaining ideas for the decoration of their homes without interruption or pressure to make a purchase. They became a 'democracy of luxury.'⁸⁵

The importance of open pricing should not be underestimated. With the open pricing in department stores replacing the haggling and bartering of the markets, shopping became more comfortable and less aggressive. The stereotypical female characteristics of peaceful, calm, and home-centred were now the characteristics of commerce. Open pricing meant firms would know what their competitors were charging which in turn led to price wars, which had the overall effect of lowering

⁸² Victoria de Grazia, 'Establishing the Modern Consumer Household', in *The Sex of Things: Gender and Consumption in Historical Perspective* ed. by Victoria de Grazia and Ellen Furlough (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), pp. 151-154 (p. 152).

⁸³ Maggie Andres and Mary M. Talbot, 'Introduction', *All the World and Her Husband: Women in 19th Century Consumer Culture* (London: Cassell, 2000), p. 3.

⁸⁴ Bill Lancaster, *The Department Store: A Social History* (London: Leister University Press, 1995), p. 13.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

prices.⁸⁶ The impact on the prices of Art pottery has yet to be determined. The craftsmanship and time required to hand throw and decorate a pot compared with the mass produced moulded wares would have put a floor on how low prices could be brought down. As there was little room for price wars in Art pottery, the consumer would have instead been influenced by identification of the pottery, brand recognition as well as quality comparisons. In *A Visit to Dunmore* the writer stresses the handcrafted characteristics of the pottery, thereby ensuring the reader of the quality and individuality of the pottery and in return its price. Through this brochure, Dunmore was promoting its high standards and its brand recognition, important when department stores gave rise to price comparisons among the middle classes. As in marketing today, there was a belief that 'you get what you pay for.'⁸⁷

The marketing of the department stores to middle-class women incorporated the physical layout of the building, the activities which took place within the store and its general atmosphere. Department stores were a haven for 'convenience, comfort, and quality.'⁸⁸ By buying in bulk and offering credit options, department stores were able to reduce the costs of goods and make the unattainable attainable. Department stores competed with each other to create domestic and cultural havens for those women seeking the 'house beautiful'. They incorporated the activities and rituals associated with women's everyday lives and placed them within the confines of a retail establishment. Many department stores had tea rooms and writing desks, giving women an 'unofficial' residence to make house calls and entertain with friends. The department stores were marketing themselves specifically for this purpose. A Bainbridge & Co, Ltd advertisement begins:

A Convenient Rendezvous!

⁸⁶ James B. Jefferys, *Retail Trading In Britain 1880-1950*, *The Economic and Social Studies*, 13. (Cambridge: National Institute of Economic and Social Research, 1954), p. 38.

⁸⁷ Dorward, p. 129.

⁸⁸ Michael J. Winstanley, *The Shopkeepers World: 1930-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1983), p. 35.

We are pleased to find that many Ladies make our Warehouse a place of meeting in 'Town'. It is very central, and in any case a place of call, and it is big enough to be private!

Other department stores produced art exhibitions and had orchestras. H. Gordon Selfridge, founder of the Selfridges department store in London, said 'Imagination urges on'.⁸⁹ The department stores competed with each other to create more and more elaborate and 'cultured' spaces in an attempt to recreate known domestic and social paradigms to encourage women to come and socialize, view the merchandise, and hopefully make a purchase.

New ways of displaying merchandise and marketing techniques were first introduced in the Victorian department store. Stores would decorate themselves around themes, either seasonal like Japanese gardens or winter wonderlands or with foreign settings such as Egyptian temples, a Paris Salon, or one of the tales from *Thousand and One Nights*.⁹⁰ Dunmore's Oriental and Near Eastern inspired wares, as well as the simple thrown pieces, would have been easy to incorporate in these types of themed displays. Dunmore's many decorative lines and styles would have allowed at least some of it to be displayed and integrated into most decorative themes. Potteries with less range or that focused on only producing wares in one artistic style would not have had these capabilities.

Decorating around themes allowed the department store to use bold, eye-catching colours throughout the store. It created an often foreign (though British interpretation of 'foreign') yet comfortable atmosphere in which to shop. Despite decorating in themes, the home goods section traditionally created display problems.⁹¹ In 1874, Wylie and Lochhead of Glasgow had the idea to arrange the home furnishings

⁸⁹ H. Gordon Selfridge, *The Romance of Commerce*, quoted in William Leach, 'Transformations in a Culture of Consumption: Women and Department Stores, 1890-1925', *Journal of American History*, 71 no 2 (1984), 319-342 (p. 321).

⁹⁰ Leach, p. 321.

⁹¹ Lancaster, p. 53.

in mock flats created on the shop floor.⁹² This approach was copied by all the major department stores. Using this type of display, stores were able to create and promote specific looks or decorative styles. For a young newly married couple or someone confused and overwhelmed with the available choice in a department store, these carefully arranged displays guided the customer on what was fashionable, tasteful, and to what one should aspire. These mock flats and displays were designed to create desires and dreams, to transform the store into pictures and through this to sell 'culture' and 'class' to the people. The displays and decorations were designed to 'eliminate the store' and create a new reality.⁹³

Many of these displays would have featured Oriental motifs and Aesthetic style furnishings. They would have been arranged somewhat similar to the British firms who exhibited at the 1876 Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition. From photographic evidence, these firms displayed their goods in mock flats with the drawing room garnering the most displays. These mock rooms typically feature a fire place (necessary in the mid-Victorian period for light and warmth) as the centrepiece. On the mantle and around the room on hanging cabinets and whatnots, Art pottery was displayed. Although these firms were not displaying Dunmore pieces, the pottery displayed had similar shapes and glazes. These displays did not promote Dunmore specifically, but Art pottery and its style in general. Seeing these types of displays created consumer interest in Art pottery and the desire to purchase similar pieces. Although Dunmore did not directly benefit from all exhibition and department store displays, it indirectly benefited through the promotion of Art pottery and the Aesthetic and Arts and Crafts styles.

The scale of the department store, compared with that of the small specialist or local general store, guaranteed their success. The variety of goods, the special services,

⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 53.

⁹³ Leach, pp. 322 and 326.

and the array of entertainment available at department stores would have been intriguing and exciting to the exhibition minded Victorians. Emile Zola argued that the department store-the cathedral of consumption-had replaced the house of worship:

the department store tends to replace the church. It marches to the religion of the cash desk, of beauty, of coquetry, and fashion. [Women] go there to pass the hours as they used to go to church: an occupation, a place of enthusiasm where they struggle between their passion for clothes and the thrift of their husbands; in the end all the strain of life with the hereafter of beauty.⁹⁴

Liberty's of London was one such department store whose design and style became somewhat of a 'religion' in Victorian British society. Liberty's was one of the first stores to promote the Eastern influenced designs and the Aesthetic style. Liberty's began as a textile and soft furnishing shop before expanding into housewares, clothing, and personal and home accessories. The muted colours, use of medieval and Eastern patterns, and incorporated Aesthetic symbols such as the lily and peacock on merchandise sold through Liberty's became recognizable as The Liberty Style.

The store, like other department stores, displayed using mock flats and marketed through a mail order catalogue. There is no evidence Dunmore was sold through Liberty's, however, the 1887 Liberty's spring catalogue has Burmantoft Pottery pieces that are very similar to several Dunmore pieces. Liberty's was retailing the Burmantoft Dimple Vase (Figure 69) which corresponds to the Dunmore Dimple Vase (Figure 70). The Burmantoft vase retails for 2/6, and while there is no known Dunmore price list, the quality and size of the pieces are similar and therefore would likely have had a similar price. The Burmantoft vase was available to order in 'artistic colours...highly glazed and very effective'⁹⁵; the Dunmore vase is known to have been made in light green, blue, brown, majolica, and red.

⁹⁴ Quoted in Lancaster, p. 19.

⁹⁵ Liberty and Co. Porcelain Catalogue (1891) p. 26.

Liberty's also retailed a Burmantoft Swan-shaped flower holder 'for table decoration, in all shades and finely modeled and very effective' (Figure 71).⁹⁶ Dunmore, like many firms, was producing swan vases and table ornaments (Figures 72). The swan was a popular design element of the Victorian era. Victorians used flower and animal imagery to convey messages of love, status, or family associations. The swan, which mates for life, was used to communicate feelings of love and fidelity and was sold in pairs by Derby and Royal Worcester potteries.⁹⁷ Although the Burmantoft swan was sold individually, they may have been more frequently purchased as sets since a single swan implied death, mourning and lost love. The Dunmore swan is slightly smaller than the six inch Burmantofts swan. Although the shape itself is similar to the Burmantofts swan, the size is more characteristic of the glass swan salt cellars of the late nineteenth, early twentieth century (Figure 73). Dunmore's swan small size would have made it possible to be used either as a flower holder or salt cellar.

Dunmore's iconic three-legged toad (Figure 74) was also available in a Burmantoft piece advertised in the Liberty catalogue (Figure 75). These two pieces are identical and could have been made from the same mould. The Burmantoft example is listed as 'Burmantoft Grotesque Monsters, in varied colours, for use as plant or fern pots. 6 inches high. Price 5/-.'⁹⁸ In *A Visit to Dunmore*, the same piece is listed as 'Dunmore Toad'. The two pieces, given different names, reflect the different approaches the two potteries were taking in marketing their wares. Burmantoft is selling a 'grotesque'; Victorians were fascinated by the idea of the grotesque-both the traditional form of bizarre heads and animals used in ancient buildings, grottos and gardens and the idea of the monstrous and bizarre such as stuffed hummingbird earrings and beetle-wing jewellery. By identifying their piece as a 'grotesque monster',

⁹⁶ Ibid, p. 27.

⁹⁷ D.G. Rice, *English Porcelain Animals of the Nineteenth Century* (Woodbridge: Suffolk: Antique Collector's Club, 1989), p. 195.

⁹⁸ Liberty's, p. 27.

Burmantoft was promoting their piece as bizarre, abnormal, but beautiful in its deviance and malformation. Dunmore advertises its piece as simply a 'toad'. Although similar to a toad, anatomically with a tail, ears, humanoid nose, and three legs this piece is not a toad as the Western world knows it. Instead, Dunmore is linking its piece to an Chinese ceramic form found in two Chinese myths. The frog first appears in the legend of Xi Wang Mu who stole the Elixir of Immortality from her husband and fled to the moon where the gods transformed her into the three legged toad.⁹⁹ The three legged toad reappears in the story of Liu Hai a 10th century government official who possessed one that would escape and be lured back to its owner with gold coins.¹⁰⁰ Based on these myths, the three legged toad became a device used in Chinese design to represent greed, the unattainable, prosperity and wealth and was incorporated into jade carvings, snuff boxes, bronzes and ceramics throughout the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911). Chinese design was a popular source of decorative inspiration during the nineteenth century and Dunmore made many pieces based on Chinese design. The average shopper might not have known the story or myth behind the three-legged toad, but would have recognized it as something foreign, Eastern, and therefore desirable to them.

In the 1891 Liberty Porcelain Catalogue there are several Burmantoft pieces, as well as one Bretby Art Pottery piece, that are similar to Dunmore. Although Dunmore was not sold through Liberty's, the similarities to Burmantoft and Bretby pieces are obvious when seen together. Put in this context, Dunmore Pottery was creating pieces in the Liberty Style. Liberty catalogues were sent out across Britain, and where they were seen the items in them became in demand. Dunmore, i.e. Dunmore pieces in the Liberty Style, would have had 'second-hand' advertising through the Liberty Catalogue. Pieces similar to those in the catalogue would have been desirable to people, both in Scotland and England, who were trying to recreate Liberty Style interiors. Even though

⁹⁹ Pamela Logan, "Frog Fancies and Toadic Tales", *Silk Road*, April 1998, pp 4-6.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

Dunmore was not associated with Liberty's, it benefited from the Liberty catalogue and interest in the Liberty Style.

Not everyone was happy neither with the power department stores had over the consumer and artistic design nor with promoting themselves as purveyors of taste. Department stores, their advertising campaigns and the sales staff were not always admired by the leading promoters of the Arts and Crafts style. Retailing the arts, in general, caused some to question the role of Art and marketing. Walter Crane believed 'the supply and demand of the market artificially stimulated and controlled by the arts of the advertiser and salesman bidding against each other for the favour of the capricious and passing fashion, which too often takes the place of real love of Art in our days.'¹⁰¹

The department stores and large furnishing shops helped to create a national as opposed to regional taste. Large department stores were supplied with goods from every corner of Britain, as well as from the rest of the world. Chinese ceramics and Indian silks were displayed along side Paisley shawls, Irish linen, and Staffordshire pottery. The name of the retail establishment played as big a role in the marketing and desirability of the goods as the goods themselves. The large establishments and the global nature of the economy led to criticism of the nineteenth century retail system. Walter Crane complained, 'Thus it comes about that our cup and bowls, our tables and carpets, rather speak of the enterprise of the firm than the historic traditions of people of the skill of area of artisans and craftsmen.'¹⁰² This is certainly the case for Liberty's where it created its own recognizable style. When comparing the similarities of the Dunmore and Burmantofts toads, it is easy to understand Walter Crane's apprehension that the decorative arts were becoming homogenized. 'Under our system of centralized

¹⁰¹ Walter Crane, 'Of the Revival of Design and Handicraft: With Notes on the Work of the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society,' Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society, *Arts and Crafts Essays* (London: Rivington, and Percival, 1893).

¹⁰² Walter Crane, 'The Importance of the Applied Arts, and Their Relation to Common Life', *Journal of the Society of Arts* (3 June 1887), 717-723 (p. 722).

industrial production, local art and industry everywhere are being disposed, and local characteristics and varieties are being obliterated.¹⁰³

There is no direct evidence Dunmore retailed at any large department store. No factory records exist, nor have any photographs of department store interiors showing Dunmore Pottery been uncovered; however, there is indirect evidence Dunmore was producing large amounts of pottery wares suggesting they were being sold to large markets. In *A Visit to Dunmore*, a girl tells the visitor that she can make 288 spouts for teapots a day.¹⁰⁴ As these were Art pottery teapots as opposed to the cheaper strictly utilitarian teapots being mass produced in factories across Britain, 288 teapots is a substantial quantity. Dunmore would have had to have several large distributors (such as large department stores) to warrant producing this quantity. In addition, the 1881 census lists nine potters, two general pottery workers, and an Andrew McCowan, aged 54, as a pottery packer. Nine potters would have produced large quantities of wares—the thrown pieces were simple, easy shapes, the more intricate pieces were moulded. For Dunmore to employ a worker whose main responsibility was to pack the pottery suggests the majority of Dunmore ware was shipped to retail outlets and the quantity suggests they were large orders. In addition, other Art Potteries (Linthorpe, Burmantofts, Bretby, and Ault) were retailing in department stores; there is no reason Dunmore would have been different.

While no records from large department stores survive, there are records of Dunmore's other retail outlets, smaller department and furnishing stores and specialty shops. The two most well-known establishments were Charles Hindley and Sons of London and Messrs. Mawson, Swan & Morgan of Newcastle-on-Tyne. These two firms, though vastly different in merchandise and ethos, both promoted Dunmore Pottery to their clients.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ The girl is possibly Isabella Campbell who is listed in the 1871 census as a 'spout maker'.

Hindley and Sons was an upscale furnishing firm whose business focused on supplying the middle-class and gentry with good quality furniture and advice on matters of taste.¹⁰⁵ The shop was organized into different rooms such as the Chintz Room, Mahogany Room, Front Room and the Carpet Rooms. The antithesis of Liberty's, each room was overflowing with merchandise and the firm's success can be traced to a 'reliance on eclecticism' as there was no guiding artistic direction or adherence to a decorative style.¹⁰⁶ The large premises and variety of merchandise made Hindley & Sons an intermediate between the small specialty shop and the larger department store.

Hindley & Sons was a unique mixture of small workshop and larger furnishing store. The firm had a furniture workshop at the Oxford Street location as well as a production facility on Cavendish Street and another workshop on Bartholomew Close.¹⁰⁷ Clients could discuss their needs with a hierarchy of sales-staff and choose either ready or custom made furniture. Unlike Liberty's, customers were given a large selection of coverings and furniture could be made to order taking into consideration special needs of the client. The shop was a one-stop service for custom furnishing a home and they advised on everything from furniture to carpets to Art Pottery. Charles Albert Hindley modestly wrote '...we certainly have a name for good taste and straightforward dealing.'¹⁰⁸ The specialized nature of the firm and the ability to customize designs meant that only the middle-class and gentry could afford to shop here. It was specializing in the same market as the better known West End firms of Gillow & Co., Jackson and Graham, and Holland & Sons. These firms were all catering to the upper end of the market, those people who had new money, or lacked the confidence to furnish their homes without the gentle direction of knowledgeable sales

¹⁰⁵ Laura Microulis, 'Charles Hindley & Sons, London House Furnishers of the Nineteenth Century: A Paradigm of the Middle Range Market', *Studies of the Decorative Arts* (1998), 69-96 (p. 69).

¹⁰⁶ Microulis, 'Charles Hindley & Sons, London House Furnishers', p. 71.

¹⁰⁷ Microulis, 'Charles Hindley & Sons, London House Furnishers', p. 74.

¹⁰⁸ Letter from Charles Albert Hindley to Albert Daniel Hindley, 31 January 1887, Victoria and Albert Hindley Papers. Two boxes were given the museum to be held on permanent loan by the Hindley family in the 1970s.

staff.¹⁰⁹ The firm placed general advertisements in art and home journals of the period which catered to the upper and middle classes (Figure 76).

Hindley & Sons' approach to decorate the whole room and advise on all matters of taste meant that furnishings, textiles, and ceramics were equally important to the firm and its reputation as the furniture itself. In a printed advertisement, Hindley is proud to stock 'Art Pottery: Linthorpe, Dunmore, Japanese, & Vallourie in quaint and effective Shapes and Colours.'¹¹⁰ By listing Dunmore specifically in the advertisement, it suggests the Pottery was known by name and so fashionable that stocking Dunmore would attract customers to the shop. The other stocked pottery are useful comparisons for understanding Dunmore's market and artistic style. Christopher Dresser was the head designer for Linthorpe Pottery, and some of the Linthorpe pieces bear his mark. Dresser was a prolific writer (his articles often appear in the *Journal of the Society of the Arts*) and an outspoken and well-known promoter of the Arts and Crafts style. As a 'celebrity' designer, his pottery was considered some of the best Art Pottery. Vallourie Pottery, as discussed in Chapter One, was a well known French Art Pottery. Put within this context, listing Dunmore Pottery along side these two shows that to Hindley & Sons and their clientele, Dunmore was in the same category as the best known British and European Art Pottery of the period.

Hindley & Sons was an active trader until 1892 when it closed after failing to meet the competitive pricing of the East End firms and the resulting family disagreement over management and profit sharing.¹¹¹ The closure of Hindley & Sons was unfortunately during the same period as the beginning of Dunmore's decline. How much the firm's closure hurt the Pottery can not be determined, but considering the fierce competition from mass produced goods and a declining economy, losing an outlet

¹⁰⁹ Laura Microulis, 'The Furniture Drawings of Charles Hindley & Sons, 134 Oxford Street, London' *Furniture History* (2001), 67-89 (p. 72).

¹¹⁰ Hindley Papers, Victoria and Albert Museum.

¹¹¹ Microulis, *The Furniture Drawings of Charles Hindley & Sons*, p. 76.

that specialized in Art furnishings would have caused economic problems for the Pottery. Dunmore appears to have had difficulties finding new markets for its Art Pottery by the end of the century as tastes and the economy changed.

For Hindley & Sons it would seem a natural choice to trade in Dunmore Pottery; this cannot be said of Messrs. Mawson, Swan & Morgan, another of Dunmore's outlets. The firm started when Joseph Swan joined John Mawson in a chemist business during the 1850s. Swan, interested in electricity and light, developed the first light bulb in Britain and a collodion process for developing photographs. The partners began to produce photographs using Swan's process in 1856.¹¹² Ten years later, Mawson was killed in a nitroglycerin incident and Swan took Mawson's widow into partnership. The business expanded to become fine art dealers, publishers, booksellers, and printers growing to include branches in Bristol, Hull, and Windermere.¹¹³

Messrs. Mawson, Swan and Morgan were actively trading in the arts, particularly ceramics by 1880. On 1 December 1880, a writer in the *Pottery Gazette* describes the Stockton-on-Tees annual exhibition as a disappointment for 'not finding more exhibits in the pottery department.' One of the few bright spots was the Messrs. Mawson, Swan & Morgan display which showed 'some really pretty and rare specimens of Dunmore, French, German, Parisian and Japanese wares.' From the description, the display appears to have been a substantial pottery exhibit. This is likely the result of Swan's influence in the business and its shift from a chemist to a fine art dealer and publisher.¹¹⁴ Although today, Mawson, Swan & Morgan are known more for stationery and publishing, they were important traders of art in the late nineteenth century. The paintings, etchings, and prints sold varied from romantic landscapes to Pre-Raphaelite portraits. Swan was a patron of fine art and the firm was 'great

¹¹² Tyne and Wear Archives Service: Reference Code DT.MSM

¹¹³ Chris Morgan, grandson of Thomas Morgan, RootsWeb.com 1010461467

¹¹⁴ Swan was a man of diverse interests. He was an active member of the Newcastle Literary and Philosophical Society and gave lectures on art and scientific matters. Towards the end of his life, Swan opened an Art Gallery for the city.

collectors of china and works of art'.¹¹⁵ The firm's paintings and art should be compared with the furnishings of Hindley and Sons. Both firms were stocking Dunmore as a sideline to their main products, furniture and carpets in the case of Hindley and Sons and books and art in the case of Mawson, Swan & Morgan. Hindley and Sons focused on the practical (though aesthetically pleasing), utilitarian, and Mawson, Swan & Morgan on the purely artistic and luxury goods. The fact that Dunmore could be sold in both types of establishments is indicative of Dunmore's duality as an Art Pottery-part utilitarian and part fine art.

3.5.4 Bazaars

Department stores and specialty shops allowed the public to browse and view Dunmore in a predominately sophisticated and cultured atmosphere where customers were treated to stylish interiors, clever displays, and professional sales staff. While these were important to creating Dunmore's 'brand identity', they were not the only popular secondary retail outlets the Pottery used. According to Dunmore's advertisements, including the one printed in the 18th March 1905 Falkirk Herald, Dunmore Pottery was 'suitable for...bazaars.' Where street peddlers and hawkers were at the bottom of the retail system and department stores and specialty shops were at the top, bazaars straddled somewhere between the two. Bazaars and fancy fairs first entered mainstream British society in the 1850s.¹¹⁶ Much like today's charity shops, they were markets usually organized by women to raise money for charitable organizations. A bazaar could be an annual event or a one off extravaganza. They could be held indoor, outside in the open air or under a marquee, but they all typically sold an array of new and used household items and clothing.

The root of bazaars and fancy fairs was the importance of charity /philanthropy and of the home in nineteenth century British society. They were an

¹¹⁵ Untitled article, *Pottery Gazette*, 1 December 1880, p. 800.

¹¹⁶ Winstanley, p. 3.

extension of the romantic ideals of 'the Angel in the home' and of the 'Lady Bountiful'.¹¹⁷ In the nineteenth century, philanthropy was believed to be part of the 'caring, benevolent nature' of women and a natural extension of the separate spheres of influence.¹¹⁸ Women were expected to 'cultivate their character, mind and abilities for the benefit of those around them rather than for themselves.'¹¹⁹ Where previously philanthropy was focused on the lord and lady of the manor towards their tenants, by the mid-nineteenth century, philanthropy became more organized and centred around moral causes such as fallen women, the church, health issues, and soldiers and their families.¹²⁰

Until the 1870 and 1882 Married Woman's Property Acts, married women were not allowed to own their own money or land and all income and wages were the property of her husband.¹²¹ Middle and Upper class women were discouraged from doing any housework as it was seen as demeaning and were told instead to focus on the decoration and management of their homes.¹²² Women were routinely excluded from public leisure such as the library and sports and instead found their leisure focused around the home through making house calls, gardening and needlework.¹²³ Taking this into account, and the fact that only one out of ten women worked outside the home,¹²⁴ it

¹¹⁷ These two terms were used regularly in the popular press and lady's magazines of the late nineteenth century. The 'Angel in the House' describes the ideal wife who, by firm but benevolent guidance to the servants, gracious manners, artistic décor and frugal economy, created a haven from the industrial and harsh working environment for their husbands. The 'Lady Bountiful' was the woman who used her free time for philanthropy and gave to local charities. It came from the tradition of the Lady of the manor taking care of the estate's tenants. See Lewis, *Women in England 1870-1950* and Pamela Horn, *Ladies of the Manor: Wives and Daughters in Country House Society* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1997).

¹¹⁸ Katherine Gleadle, *British Women in the Nineteenth Century* (Houndsmill, Basingstoke: Palgrave Publishing, 1901), p. 65.

¹¹⁹ Horn, p. 3.

¹²⁰ Gleadle, p. 155.

¹²¹ Branca, p. 8.

¹²² Rosalind K. Marshall, *Virgins and Viragos: A History of Women in Scotland from 1080-1980* (London: Collins, 1983), p. 247.

¹²³ Janet Wolff, 'The Culture of Separate Spheres: The Role of Culture in the Nineteenth Century Public and Private Life', in *Culture of Capital: Art, Power and the Nineteenth Century Middle-Class* ed. by Janet Wolff and John Seed (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), p. 126.

¹²⁴ Paul Thompson, *The Edwardians: The Remaking of British Society* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1978), p. 77.

is understandable why women saw philanthropy as exciting, an escape from drudgery and the 'most obvious outlet for self expression.'¹²⁵

The charity bazaar fit the needs of nineteenth century women. Since middle class women were all but banned from housework and expected to create elaborately embroidered items for the house, there was an abundance of 'fancy work' that was left tucked away in drawers and workbaskets. Women, who had no direct control of the family finances, could donate their needlework to the bazaars instead of directly donating money. It was a mutually beneficial system where charities could raise money and women found a use for all their extra embroidery.¹²⁶ By combining fancy goods, philanthropy and home décor, bazaars became an acceptable vehicle by which women could work outside the home.

Bazaars required not only donations of fancy work, but also women to act as 'standers' and patrons.¹²⁷ To establish credibility, the patron needed to be someone of long term standing and position.¹²⁸ The most prestigious patron was Queen Victoria who not only guaranteed credibility to the cause but also ensured the attendance of the gentry, and high sales.¹²⁹ If the Queen was not available, other local or national dignitaries or gentry were eager to associate their name with many of the charity causes.

Bazaars carried other goods than just fancy work (Figure 77). Many women did not have the time or inclination to make goods for the sales. Instead, they would either donate items from their households or purchase goods specially to donate to the sale. Many businesses would sell items at a lower cost to be resold at bazaars.¹³⁰ The business would then benefit from the added exposure of their product or just generate

¹²⁵ F. K. Prochanska, *Women and Philanthropy in Nineteenth Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), pp. 5, 11 and 71.

¹²⁶ Marshall, p. 249.

¹²⁷ Prochanska, p. 65.

¹²⁸ McCracken, p. 32.

¹²⁹ Prochanska, p. 65

¹³⁰ Prochanska, p. 70.

good will.¹³¹ From Dunmore's many advertisements, it is apparent the Pottery was actively seeking sales outlets at bazaars. There is no evidence Dunmore discounted items to be resold at bazaars; however, given that Dunmore was already considered an expensive pottery at the time, it is probable Dunmore would have had to reduce the prices in order for the pottery to be affordable when resold at bazaars.

Large bazaars were often treated like the larger exhibitions previously discussed. Many would have their own press, which printed daily guides and bulletins listing that day's events.¹³² They had opening ceremonies complete with bands, choirs, and opening speeches. Bazaars were such an important aspect in the entertainment and charitable workings of society, Robert Louis Stevenson wrote *The Charity Bazaar: An Allegorical Dialogue* in 1871.

It can be argued that by participating in charity bazaars, Dunmore was adhering to the Arts and Crafts Movement and some of its socialist leanings. The philanthropic element of the bazaars along with the mixture of working, middle, and upper class people who attended the sales would have been attractive to an artist who held to the Arts and Crafts ideals as promoted by William Morris and Walter Crane. Morris said, 'I do not want art for a few, any more than education for a few, or freedom for a few.'¹³³ By participating in bazaars, Dunmore would have upheld this belief by exposing and therefore educating the masses on the principles of Art pottery while at the same time helping to 'free' people from the effects of poverty, ill-health or other charitable causes.

These motives may be too idealistic and naive. Gardner was a knowledgeable businessman and would have seen the long-term financial benefits of selling Dunmore through charity bazaars. Through this outlet, Dunmore was able to target both the middle and upper socio-economic groups at once. Where the upper-class customers

¹³¹ Prochanska, p. 70.

¹³² Prochanska, p. 62.

¹³³ William Morris, 'Lesser Arts' in *Hopes and Fears for Art* (London: Ellis and White, 1882; repr. Whitefish, MT: Kessinger, 2004), p. 19.

might shun the crowded department stores catering to the middle-class and the middle-class customers might avoid the intimidating sophistication of the up market specialty shops, the bazaar was a meeting ground for both groups. Like the larger exhibitions, Dunmore would have also gained name recognition and brand identity simply from the foot traffic and the detailed coverage large bazaars enjoyed in the local press. Similar to today's marketing and advertising, a successful business needed to get its name into the public arena. Bazaars insured Dunmore reached a varied and eclectic group of people, all potential purchasers of Dunmore pottery.

3.5.5 Peddlers

Firing ceramics is a delicate process. Despite the use of kiln furniture and saggars to separate pieces and protect them from the intense heat of the kiln, glazes run, pieces too thinly potted crack, pieces too thick explode, and kiln furniture can leave marks on the finished ware. Instead of destroying these seconds, Gardner would pass these to rag and bone men and peddlers.¹³⁴ These tradesmen would travel either door to door or set up small carts around the city, selling goods that were a lower quality than those sold in the department stores and specialty shops. Peddlers' carried tea sets, jugs, and vases, whose prices typically ranged from 5s to 15s (Figure 78).¹³⁵ The colloquial term 'rag and bone' men comes from the tradition of peddlers trading goods for rags and animal skins. One peddler described his business as:

A good tea-service we generally give...for a left-off suit of clothes, hat and boots—they must all be in a decent condition to be worth that. We give a sugar-basin for an old coat, and a runner for a pair of old Wellington boots. ...But there is nothing so saleable as a pair of old boots to us. There is always a market for old boots when there is not for old clothes. You can any day get a dinner out of old Wellingtons.¹³⁶

¹³⁴ Kay Dickson. From Notes made c. 1977. Interview with Mr. McCowan.

¹³⁵ Hamish Fraser, *The Coming of the Mass Market: 1850-1914* (London: Macmillan Press, 1981), p. 98.

¹³⁶ Quoted in Henry Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor: A Cyclopædia of the Condition and Earnings of Those That Will Work, Those That Cannot Work, and Those That Will Not Work* (London: Griffin and Bohn, 1861), p. 367.

The peddler or 'seconds' market would not have been a substantial source of income for Dunmore, nor would Gardner have wished to associate his pottery with this type of outlet. Art pottery was special, exclusive, and marketed to the upper middle classes. Despite its connotations of a lower end market and inferior quality, however, it made good business sense for Dunmore to trade in the 'seconds' market. Although the Arts and Crafts Movement promoted handmade crafts and the original and non-uniform character of these goods, pottery chipped, cracked, or damaged in the firing process would not have been acceptable, nor would it have fetched the higher prices of the undamaged pieces. Quality control is an important aspect in marketing goods even today. Dunmore prided itself on the quality of its pottery and invited visitors to inspect its wares.¹³⁷ With Linthorpe, Burmantofts, and Brethby Potteries all producing Art Pottery similar to Dunmore, Gardner would have had to maintain high quality standards to compete and not be seen as the lesser Art Pottery. From the evidence of Gardner courting Nobility and Royal patronage, Dunmore was marketing itself as a top-tier, high quality Art Pottery. It could not sell Dunmore seconds on the open market without damaging its brand, nor did it make financial sense to destroy the pottery seconds. Instead, Gardner sold the inferior pieces to the rag and bone men in the Stirlingshire area which would have had little impact on the national marketing of Dunmore. The local residents would have known Dunmore from its beginnings as a country pottery making coarse utilitarian wares and would not have been disappointed in the seconds, but would have been pleased to be able to afford the local Art of their region. By keeping the seconds within the local area, the more exclusive shops and wealthier customers in London and Newcastle would have remained unaware of these inferior pieces and their lower prices, thereby maintaining Dunmore's brand identity and Art Pottery image.

¹³⁷ Untitled article, *Falkirk Herald*, 18 March 1905.

Without formal training, Gardner understood the complexities of advertising and succeeded in promoting Dunmore through a multifaceted marketing strategy. He adapted printed advertisements to the publication's audience to gain the most benefit from his investment. In diversifying his sales outlets, Gardner assured Dunmore a varied consumer base that matched the Pottery's range of prices and forms. The mixture of secondary and primary outlets allowed large quantities of pottery to be sold while at the same time keeping Gardner in touch with consumers and their tastes. He did not confine Dunmore by strictly adhering to the standard Art pottery business model. By promoting to tourists and selling through peddlers, Dunmore not only opened up new markets but also recouped money on damaged wares. Advertising a combination of an Art and utilitarian pottery could have proved problematic without someone with Gardner's capacity to understand consumers' needs and desires. His ability to shift the pottery's image between an Art and utilitarian pottery ensured Dunmore had a diverse consumer base which protected it from dramatic shifts in the pottery market.

4 FROM INVERNESS TO EDINBURGH AND BEYOND: DUNMORE AND EXHIBITIONS

In its artistic output, economic structure, and how it marketed and advertised, Dunmore Pottery was a factory of its time. Gardner took advantage of new marketing techniques by exhibiting at various local and international exhibitions and shows. Dunmore's artistic development and long term sustainability was in part enabled by their participation in these events. In this chapter, Dunmore's involvement in the Highland and Agricultural Shows during the mid-1870s and its implications on the pottery's participation in further exhibitions will be examined. The Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition of 1876 will be shown to have significantly impacted on the Pottery's marketing and popularity, but more importantly to have greatly influenced the development of Dunmore's Aesthetic and Eastern styled wares. These new designs were exhibited at the Edinburgh and Glasgow International Exhibitions of 1886 and 1888, and will be examined to show that Dunmore Pottery had reached its artistic and marketing highpoint by the late 1880s. Dunmore's displays at the 1886 Colonial and Indian, and the Glasgow Industrial Exhibitions, though not as important to the Pottery's development and expanding market, will also be explored in relation to Dunmore's marketing strategy. Where they exist, specially created exhibition pieces will be discussed.

4.1 The Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition, 1876

The Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition would be a turning point in Dunmore's artistic development and marketing strategy. It was the largest exhibition of the period and attracted nearly 10 million visitors, including an average of one in five Americans.¹ For Dunmore, still a relatively small pottery despite its recent expansion, the Exhibition allowed its wares to be viewed and judged on an international level, but

¹ Max Donnelly, 'British Furniture at the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition, 1876', *Journal of Furniture History* (2001), 91-108 (p. 91).

more importantly it offered the Pottery the opportunity to identify current stylistic and artistic trends which were far removed from the Stirlingshire countryside.

The sheer size of the exhibition (the main hall was symbolically 1876 feet long and 464 feet wide) and its subsequent organization makes Dunmore's presence all the more interesting.² Preparations for the exhibition began in 1873: the acreage had been set aside and trees had been planted, the committees were formed, and each country's space had been allotted.³ By 1875, the Tsar of Russia and the King of Italy had appointed a commission while the Pope had promised to contribute two mosaics.⁴ Britain placed its section of the exhibition under the authority of the Lords of the Committee of Council on Education who appointed Philip Cunliffe-Owen as the Executive Commissioner.⁵ Owen had a mammoth task in front of him as Great Britain and its Asiatic possessions were given almost 100,000 feet of exhibition space compared with France and Germany, the two other great exhibiting countries, which were given 43,314 and 27,975 feet respectively.⁶ Excluding the United States, Britain had the largest exhibition space to organise.

Potential exhibitors were notified through art and trade journals as well as through their local Chamber of Commerce and/or mayor.⁷ Applications were made to the Council of Education who would review the submissions, assess their quality and allocate space. Applications were accepted through the end of April 1876 as to meet the May 1 deadline of the Philadelphia Centennial Committee. On the 30th of April 1875, the *Journal of the Society of the Arts* reported 'applications for space in the British Section of this exhibition are numerous, and of satisfactory character.' If applications were 'numerous and satisfactory', it is remarkable that Dunmore, on its first

² 'Contributions to the International Exhibition, Philadelphia', *Art Journal*, 15 (1876), 245-252 (p. 245).

³ 'The International Exhibition at Philadelphia in 1876', *Art Journal*, 12 (1873), 299.

⁴ 'The International Exhibition, Philadelphia, 1876', *Art Journal*, (1875), 27-28 (p. 27).

⁵ 'The Philadelphia Exhibition', *Journal of the Society of Arts*, 9 April 1875, p. 463.

⁶ 'Contributions to the International Exhibition, Philadelphia', *Art Journal*, 15 (1876), 309-315 (p. 311).

⁷ *Reports on the Philadelphia International Exhibition* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1877), p. XXV.

international exhibition application, could put together a submission which would be approved. It is likely that Dunmore benefited from the relatively small number of pottery exhibitors by having less competition for allotted space.

There were significant financial risks involved for Dunmore to exhibit at the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition. Unlike other countries, Britain did not offer financial assistance to its exhibitors. Although exhibition space was free, exhibitors were required to finance their own transportation and packaging materials.⁸ The Centennial Committee had strict guidelines for the transportation and organization of exhibit supplies, down to using screws not nails in the boxing of goods.⁹ Boxes were required to have the name of the exhibitor, allotment of space within the exhibition, total number of boxes labelled on the outside and a packing list inside each box. Exhibitors were obliged to pay for and organize transportation, receiving, unpacking, arranging, repacking and reshipping. The Centennial Committee insisted all goods be received by the Chief of the Bureau of Transportation who would supervise the unloading of goods along the site's internal rail network and the storage and return of packing boxing. For this 'convenience', exhibitors such as Dunmore were required to prepay these terminal charges.¹⁰ Charges for these services were based on weight: packages weighing 250 pounds or less were charged 1 dollar each, packages over 250 pounds were charged 40 cents per 100 pounds.¹¹ For Gardner, who only had his own personal resources to fund and organise the display, exhibiting at the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition would likely have been a financial drain.

In a move to encourage foreign exhibitors, the United States government relaxed duties and tariffs. The exhibition buildings were categorised as a 'bonded warehouse' and exhibitors were requested to consider their goods as 'bonded and

⁸ 'Philadelphia Exhibition', *Journal of the Society of Arts*, 9 April, 1975, p. 463.

⁹ 'Shipments of Goods to the Centennial Exhibition', *Journal of the Society of Arts*, 29 October 1875, 992-993 (p. 993).

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *Ibid.*

exempt from customs duties', though this did not apply to goods brought to the US to be sold during the Exhibition.¹² Besides reduced tariffs, Dunmore benefited from the support of shipping companies in which eight out of the ten carriers sailing between Britain and Philadelphia offered exhibitors discount rates for transporting their merchandise.¹³

Upon Dunmore's arrival, the merchandise was taken to the British Section within the eastern half of the main exhibition hall. The interior of the Main Hall was organized along the standard American street grid system with the northern and southern supporting columns designated by letters and the supporting eastern and western columns designated by numbers.¹⁴ The Hall was anchored by the four main exhibiting nations: Germany and the United States on the western end and France and Britain on the eastern end.¹⁵ The Hall's high ceilings, large walkways, and simple design allowed each country and exhibitor to decorate and advertise their section as they wanted (Figure 79). Although one visitor claimed it 'takes twenty-five years to see the Exhibition',¹⁶ the simplicity of the Main Hall's arrangement helped prevent visitors from becoming overwhelmed by the enormous size of the exhibition.

Dunmore's exhibition space measured approximately five feet by eight feet and was one of the smallest British contributions to the Exhibit. With its small dimensions, Dunmore's stall would have had problems gaining visitors' attention as it was positioned directly across from a large Doulton exhibition. Possibly more annoying to Gardner, Dunmore was positioned adjacent to Alloa Pottery and Glass, a main business rival and the only other Scottish pottery represented in Philadelphia (Figure 80). On a positive note, Dunmore benefited from its location as it was on a main

¹² 'The United States Exhibition of 1876', *Journal of the Society of Arts*, 30 May 1873, p. 547; 'Philadelphia Exhibition', *Journal of the Society of Arts*, 9 April 1875, p. 463.

¹³ *Reports on the Philadelphia International Exhibition*, p. 5.

¹⁴ 'The Philadelphia Exhibition' *Journal of the Society of Arts*, 23 June 1876, p. 782.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ Rains, Fanny L., *By Land and Ocean* (London: Low and Marston, 1878), p. 250.

walkway and would have seen heavy foot traffic from visitors heading towards the restaurant or lavatory.

Dunmore may have had trouble gaining visitor's attention by the nature of the products exhibited. While the other British potteries were exhibiting mostly decorative wares, Dunmore, showing its country pottery roots, exhibited primarily utilitarian wares. Within the *Official Catalogue of the British Section*, Dunmore is listed as:

Gardner, Peter, Dunmore Pottery, By Stirling, Scotland. Rockingham Teapots, Baskets, Vases, Tea Services, Jugs and Dessert Ware.¹⁷

Figure 81 shows a type of teapot Dunmore may have exhibited in Philadelphia. The teapot is glazed in rich fawns, browns, and greens. Although the Pottery produced over 200 teapots a day,¹⁸ the teapots were predominately finished using this majolica glaze. The jugs Dunmore exhibited at the exhibition were likely similar to the classically styled and rustic pieces donated to Glasgow Museums in 1878.

Dunmore's exhibit received little attention in America and Britain. There are no known photographs or etchings of the stall. The Pottery was also noticeably missing from the first *Official Catalogue*. Dunmore appears in the revised addition as '96a **Gardner, Peter, Dunmore Pottery**, by Stirling, Scotland—Rockingham teapots.' This brief entry leaves little doubt that Dunmore was exhibiting primarily utilitarian wares with a dark Rockingham type finish. A question remains why Dunmore is absent from the first *Official Catalogue*. Dunmore may have been a late entry and had not confirmed its place at the exhibition by the time the first edition went to press, which may also explain Dunmore's small exhibition area in comparison to other British ceramic entries.

¹⁷ *Philadelphia International Exhibition 1876 Official Catalogue of the British Section, Part I*. (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1876), p. 155.

¹⁸ *A Visit to Dunmore*, p. 7.

Dunmore's restricted display space, limited exhibition wares, and being absent in the first catalogue reduced the chance of a commercially successful exhibition. Compared with Doulton's 'Art Pottery[...]Fine Art Pottery Faience', Minton's enamelled tiles, and Daniell & Son's candelabra, jardinières, and ornamental vases, Dunmore must have appeared bland, rustic, and unimaginative. Other companies, British and foreign, displayed eye catching pieces in exciting shapes and unique forms. Dunmore's more simple shapes and glazes may have left the Pottery overlooked by visitors and exhibition judges. To make matters worse, Alloa Pottery was awarded a medal for 'good serviceable wares of rich and effective colours (Figure 82).'¹⁹ If one takes into account that Alloa and Dunmore wares were stylistically analogous, it must have been disheartening for Gardner to be defeated by Alloa, yet it may have encouraged Gardner to improve the quality and change the artistic development of Dunmore pottery.

The Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition, however, had some positive aspects for Dunmore Pottery, such as local newspaper coverage of their participation at the exhibition. The *Alloa Journal*, the only known paper to report on Dunmore's display, stated 'Dunmore people, not to say Alloa People, will be glad to learn that Mr. Gardner, whose productions have rendered Dunmore to be known throughout the whole globe, has already sold the whole of his pottery ware at the Exhibition...orders are pouring in.'²⁰ It is interesting that an Alloa newspaper would write on Dunmore Pottery and not Alloa Pottery and Glass. One explanation of this situation may be that the newspaper was having difficulties with Mr. Bailey, then owner of Alloa Pottery.²¹ If the motives behind the article were to undermine Alloa Pottery by promoting a rival local

¹⁹ *Philadelphia International Exhibition 1876 Official Catalogue of the British Section, Part III* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1876), p. 87.

²⁰ *Alloa Journal*, 8 July 1876.

²¹ Mr. Bailey brought a case against the *Alloa Journal* for slander. The paper described a woman as a 'notprops street pest' and added that she 'sells crockery' which Bailey believed was malicious to the pottery business. He won the case and claimed £500 in damages. A more complete report is given in (an untitled article in) the *Stirling Observer*, 7 July 1876.

pottery, then its accuracy needs to be questioned. First, exhibitors were not allowed to sell items that were displayed. Items they sold had to be from a separate stock. Given the size of the Dunmore display, it seems unlikely they had many extra pieces in Philadelphia. The cost of participating in the exhibition did not include hiring exhibition space which was free, but resulted mainly from the transporting of the goods. As any unsold merchandise had to be shipped back to Scotland, it is doubtful if Gardner would have sent a large quantity of goods intended for sale given the costs it would incur were they to remain unsold. If Dunmore had sold out by the beginning of July, just two months into the exhibition, it was possibly a reflection of the small quantity of pottery Gardner sent, rather than its popularity. The statement that orders were 'pouring in,' should also be treated with some scepticism. The pottery would have been relatively expensive for what it was. Unlike the exhibition goods, saleable goods were charged duty and excise taxes at a rate of 45%.²² Added to that transportation costs and labour, Dunmore would have likely been priced higher than similar American pieces. Given that there is no evidence in any other source of Dunmore trading in America, it is indicative that the *Alloa Journal* exaggerated Dunmore's success at the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition in order to belittle the management of Alloa Pottery. Of course, Gardner may have encouraged the *Alloa Journal* to believe that Dunmore had enjoyed significant commercial success.

If Dunmore did not benefit from the Philadelphia Exhibition financially, it did benefit artistically and stylistically. The Pottery had not exhibited on such a large scale or in the presence of large and more artistically developed potteries prior to this exhibition. From other exhibiting potteries, Gardner borrowed ideas for new shapes and glazes that would develop into the Art pottery for which Dunmore became known.

²² *International Exhibition of 1876, Philadelphia: Exhibitors' Commercial Guide* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1876), p. 29.

These influences would have come from other British and European potteries and from the Far and Near East courts.

Keeping with the scale of the Philadelphia exhibition, there were 592 ceramic exhibitors: 393 from foreign countries and 199 from the United States.²³ Given the number of exhibitors, the ceramic displays would have contained all types of clay bodies comprising porcelain, earthenware, and stoneware and of pottery finishes including glazed, painted, and enamelled pieces. They displayed 'a great variety of materials and glazes; majolica and Palissy wares'.²⁴ Palissy, a prominent 16th century French ceramicist known for unique forms and bright colours, was 'rediscovered' during the Victorian period.²⁵ Whether Gardner saw original Palissy wares at the South Kensington Museum or adaptations of these wares in Philadelphia or elsewhere, there is little doubt this was one of the influences for several of Dunmore's grotesques and classical pieces. By comparing a Palissy piece (Figure 83) with the Dunmore Renaissance style jug (Figure 84), one can see obvious similarities. Both are deeply moulded featuring classical motifs, often well-known beasts from Roman mythology. Dunmore's interpretation utilizes a monochrome glaze rather than the polychrome glaze of the Palissy piece, a result of Dunmore's mass production techniques as opposed to the hand made wares of Palissy.

The British ceramic section was 'most prominent, and was entitled to the first rank among European exhibitors.'²⁶ Of the British exhibitor's Gardner would be influenced by Watcombe Pottery of Devon, Daniell and Son, and T.C Brown-Westhead, Moore & Co. Each company's contributions varied, but they were all instrumental to the growth of forms and to a lesser extent glazes at Dunmore. These three businesses were some of the most photographed and discussed ceramic firms of the Philadelphia

²³ *Reports on the Philadelphia International Exhibition*, p. 43.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ Palissy produced lead glazed pottery at Saintes from 1542-62. His most well known pieces feature naturalistic subjects such as snakes, shells, lizards and leaves in mainly blue and yellow glazes.

²⁶ *Reports on the Philadelphia International Exhibition*, p. 53.

exhibition. If Gardner did not see these exhibits in person, he would have seen reproduced photographs and etchings of their wares as all three firms benefited from considerable attention of both the British and American press.²⁷

Watcombe Pottery, known for its motto wares, displayed a completely different type of pottery in Philadelphia. Watcombe's exhibition ware was predominately based on classical and Oriental forms, which was described in *The Official Catalogue* as 'terra cotta, pointed vases, and plaques, statuettes, etc.'²⁸ Watcombe was a relatively new pottery that made the best of the local Devon clays to produce pieces of 'excellent and uniform tone of colour.'²⁹ The *Art Journal* printed etchings of Watcombe's ceramics at both the Philadelphia and Paris International Exhibitions (Figures 85 and 86).³⁰ The Watcombe pottery displayed at these two exhibitions have noticeable similarities to later Dunmore ware. Dunmore would adapt these forms and in some cases produce exact copies, while in other cases slightly altering the style. If one compares the Watcombe column candlestick and the ewer directly to the right of it in the Philadelphia etching, with Dunmore pieces (Figures 87 and 88), it becomes evident there was a cross germination of ideas, or at the very least, they were sharing the same design influences. Comparing the smaller ceramics on the top shelf from the Paris exhibition to later Dunmore pieces (Figures 89 and 90), provides further evidence for this conclusion.

Although Watcombe and Dunmore Potteries have similar pieces, they were two distinct potteries with different growth patterns and stylistic developments. Where Dunmore began as a utilitarian pottery and transformed itself into an Art pottery,

²⁷ 'Contributions to the International Exhibition, Philadelphia', *Art Journal*, 15 (1876), pp. 185-188; 'In and About the Fair: A Mornings Stroll in the Main Building', *Scribers Monthly*, 12 issue 6, 1876, 889-896 (p. 895); 'Contributions to the International Exhibition, Philadelphia', *Art Journal* (1876), 309-315 (p. 309).

²⁸ *Official Catalogue of the International Exhibition of 1876* (Philadelphia: Centennial Catalogue, 1876), p. 142.

²⁹ *Reports on the Philadelphia International Exhibition*, p. 47.

³⁰ The 1878 Exposition Universelle was organized to celebrate the recovery of France after the 1870 Franco-Prussian War. It was the largest exhibition at that point, covering a total of 66 acres, the main building occupying 54 of those. Great Britain, Canada, Australia, and other British colonies occupied nearly one third of the space set aside for countries outside France. Dunmore was not one of the contributing British firms.

Watcombe made artistic pieces early in its production and moved later to more folk style wares. Dunmore's growth into an Art pottery and its departure from 'country wares' was the antithesis of Watcombe Pottery whose financial stability and popularity came from motto wares which developed after its success as an Art pottery. The style of ceramics Watcombe Pottery was following in the 1870s was the style Dunmore was making in the 1880s until it closed. Likewise, the style of ceramics Watcombe made from the late 1800s and early twentieth century was being produced at Dunmore in the early to mid nineteenth century.

The firm A.B. Daniell and Son of London were also an important style influence for Dunmore Pottery. The Daniell and Son display was one of the largest ceramic exhibits, occupying roughly a space 32 ft by 20 ft in the lower end of the British section. They showcased ceramics of 'every description[...]examples of 'Fine Art' Porcelain and Pottery, Ornamental Vases...Maiolica [sic] and other wares.'³¹ They displayed mostly large 'exhibition pieces' and not the smaller, simpler type wares shown by other potteries such as Watcombe (Figure 91). The company had many admirers and a reporter noted that at the court of Daniell 'a company of the covetous is always lingering and whereabouts you may see, at almost any hour of the day, that mingled look of despair and admiration which fine porcelain of a certain value is apt to call up to the faces of impecunious, art-loving women.'³² The *Art Journal* described the exhibit as 'a large and grand and varied show of porcelain and earthenware' which conveyed to America 'a means of knowing what England has done in that way.'³³

Daniell and Son displayed their wares in groups or themes with the glass cases containing items for the dining room, drawing room, and entrance hall. The group of ceramics in the centre of the display had everything one needed for the conservatory or garden: a large fish bowl, surrounded by two large exotic birds to place amongst the

³¹ *Official Catalog of the British Section, Part 1*, p. 155.

³² 'In And About the Fair', p. 895.

³³ 'Contributions to the International Exhibition, Philadelphia', *Art Journal* (1876) 309-315 (p. 309).

plants and garden stools of single and double drum design. By grouping and arranging the display by function and room, Daniell and Son was selling an interior design concept, an image presenting possibilities for the use of ceramics within the home. Although Dunmore also produced large goldfish bowls and garden seats, there is no evidence to suggest Gardner displayed the wares by room or in themes. Etchings from later exhibitions show Dunmore arranged wares plainly along shelves similar to that in the Watcombe etching. An element Dunmore incorporated from Daniell and Son and other potteries was the use of exaggerated classical details including swags, putti, acanthus leaves, and classical figures. As Dunmore developed stylistically, it incorporated classical motifs into its production. Along the edges of the Daniell cases, round wall plaques in the classical style are displayed. Dunmore's interpretations of classical plaques feature seraphim, and cupids, and Bacchanalian motifs can be seen in the blue wall plaque illustrating a musical scene (Figure 92). These plaques are more sophisticated than the majority of Dunmore classical pieces which were habitually stylistically heavy, cumbersome and lacking in finesse and understanding of genuine classical design and proportion. The large urn (Figure 93) is characteristic of Dunmore classical designs—the handles are too thick and bulky and the top and base are disproportionate compared with both ancient originals and other ceramic firms. Although Gardner was finding inspiration in the classical designs of other potteries, he was often less artistically successful at reproducing their forms.

Brown-Westhead, Moore and Company of Stoke-on-Trent may have also been influential to Dunmore's stylistic development. At the Philadelphia exhibition, the company occupied the same square footage as the adjacent Daniell and Son. However, unlike Daniell and Son, Brown-Westhead exhibited their goods in a haphazard way with garden seats displayed alongside sanitary wares. From photographs of the Brown-Westhead exhibit, it becomes apparent the pottery was heavily influenced by Oriental

design (Figure 94). The garden seats next to each pillar of the display are the same form as Dunmore's garden seat (Figure 95). This shape is rarer than the drum shaped garden seats displayed in Daniell and Son's. Original Chinese garden seats were made from metal drums and barrels and were later reproduced in ceramic form following the shape of the original metal design often incorporating faux clay studs.³⁴ The shape of Brown-Westhead's and Dunmore's garden seats is more architectural and has different surface details than the Chinese originals. Where Chinese garden seats were often painted in blue underglaze or in the famille rose pattern with simulated fret designs, the Brown-Westhead and Dunmore pieces rely purely on moulded decoration. Newspaper accounts from the Highland and Agricultural Shows prove that Dunmore was producing garden seats prior to the Philadelphia exhibition, though we do not know which form they took. The similarities between the Dunmore and Brown-Westhead pieces and the rarity of the form suggest there was an exchange of ideas between these two potteries.

The British ceramic displays at the Philadelphia exhibition received mixed reviews from both the art world and the British government. From the beginning, there were concerns about the quality and quantity of British ceramic exhibitors. Concerns started early in 1875 when the *Art Journal* stated 'ceramic ware will be but sparsely represented.'³⁵ These concerns were proven correct when the journal reported the following year 'If we except the very large and very beautiful contribution of Messrs. Doulton, and the very excellent works in terra-cotta of Watcombe, our manufacturers of Pottery are insufficiently represented.'³⁶ Minton and Doulton, two of the most well known British ceramic producers, had relatively small displays, approximately 250 and 450 square feet respectively, half the size of Brown-Westhead and A.B. Daniell and Son.

³⁴ Julian Thompson, 'Chinese Porcelain Garden Seats', *Antique Dealer and Collectors Guide*, June 1969, p. 96.

³⁵ 'The International Exhibition, Philadelphia, 1876', *Art Journal* (1875), 27-28 (p. 28).

³⁶ 'Contributions to the International Exhibition, Philadelphia', *Art Journal* (1876), 309-315 (p. 314).

A question arises why the large, well-known British ceramic producers had relatively small displays. The cost of transporting the goods and the high tariffs were certainly a factor as was the competing 1878 Paris Exhibition. Factoring in transportation, exhibiting in Paris was cheaper and logistically easier for British ceramic producers. Minton's and Doulton's displays at the Paris exhibition were larger and more fully representative than their Philadelphia displays.³⁷ In relation to Dunmore, these companies' smaller displays meant Dunmore's small space was not completely overshadowed by the larger, more established factories. It allowed Dunmore to exhibit on its own terms without being eclipsed by the sheer volume of the larger ceramic works. Given that Doulton and Minton were not willing to finance a large Philadelphia exhibition, it becomes increasingly difficult to explain how Dunmore, without the financial reserves of the larger factories, was able to afford to exhibit at the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition.

The ceramics Doulton sent to the exhibition would have an important role in promoting Art Pottery at home and abroad. While Dunmore's post Philadelphia forms were not stylistically similar to Doulton's, it benefited from the overall promotion of Art Pottery by the larger ceramic manufacturers. At the exhibition, Doulton displayed a large fireplace mantle and over mantle whose sole purpose was to display Art Pottery (Figure 96). One observer believed the 'Doulton work admirable in its suggested adaptation to the decoration of homes and firesides.'³⁸ Of the fireplace mantle she wrote, 'There is no special ornamentation save these exquisite bits of faience.'³⁹ Art pottery displayed throughout the house, particularly on the mantle, would become the hallmark of the Aesthetic and Arts and Crafts Movements. Displays such as these helped to create a market for Dunmore's later Art pottery wares.

³⁷ 'The Paris Universal Exhibition—III.', *Magazine of Art*, I (1878/79), pp. 66-69; 'The Paris Universal Exhibition—IV.', *Magazine of Art*, I (1878/79), pp. 97-100.

³⁸ 'In And About the Fair', p. 895.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

Although Dunmore continued to be inspired by British and European ceramics, the art of Japan and China were more influential in the Pottery's artistic growth and development following the Philadelphia Exhibition. Oriental influences had been popular in ceramics since the seventeenth century and the creation of delft pottery,⁴⁰ but it reached a new height in the second half of the nineteenth century. The interest in and desire for Oriental design began with the opening of Japan in 1856 after 250 years of isolation which had a 'major impact on the world—politically, economically and artistically.'⁴¹ During the 22 years between the opening of Japan and the Philadelphia Exhibition, there were small exhibitions of Japanese arts touring major cities such as London and Manchester.⁴² These were often set up by local art associations/societies and were usually the collection of one member. It is possible that Gardner viewed one of these shows; however he would not have seen the volume or quality of Japanese wares that was on exhibit at the Philadelphia Exhibition.

The Japanese court at the Philadelphia Exhibition occupied 16,566 square feet of exhibition space, more than Russia, Spain, Sweden and Belgium and twice as much as Italy.⁴³ The size of the Japanese section can be attributed to the Japanese government appropriating \$200,000 for the exhibition: \$100,000 for the commissioners to examine the industries and report, \$80,000 for the exhibition of articles, and \$20,000 for transportation.⁴⁴ Excluding the United States, Japan gave more money to the exhibition than any other country. The Japanese section was well-received for making 'prodigious efforts', 'improving on her Vienna experience', and the 'arrangement of her space.'⁴⁵

⁴⁰ Delft pottery is the name given to Dutch tin glazed earthenware from the seventeenth and eighteenth century. Delft pieces were primarily influenced from the Chinese ceramics Holland was trading in. Dutch delft ware can either be white with cobalt underglaze design or it may be polychrome in the Imari style.

⁴¹ Julia Mecch and Gabriel Wesiburg, *Japanisme Comes to America* (New York: Barmes, 2001).

⁴² 'The Japanese and Chinese Collection', *Art Journal*, 1 (1879), 37; 'Oriental Art', *Art Journal*, (1874), 13.

⁴³ 'Contributions to the International Exhibition, Philadelphia', *Art Journal*, (1876), 309-315 (p. 311).

⁴⁴ 'Philadelphia Exhibition', *Journal of the Society of Arts*, 19 March 1875, p. 399.

⁴⁵ 'Contributions to the International Exhibition, Philadelphia', *Art Journal*, 15 (1876), 361-370, (p. 370).

The Japanese exhibition, its associated press and the promotion of the Japanese style would have a profound impact on Dunmore Pottery. *Appleton's Journal of Literature, Science and Art* reported 'The collection of porcelain and pottery which most powerfully impresses the imagination[...]both from its pompous splendour and the multiplicity of articles is that of Japan.'⁴⁶ The Japanese ceramics were mostly Satsuma and Kiyoto wares, which were brightly glazed with over-glaze paintings of naturalistic scenes or human figures similar to those in Figure 97. On the surface, these pieces appear very different from Dunmore's products. Gardner did not make exact copies of Japanese wares, but instead adopted and altered several decorative motifs and glaze finishes. The Satsuma's 'reticulation of minute cracks which pervade the glaze'⁴⁷ may have been one of the inspirations for Dunmore's crackle glaze and the ceramic's naturalistic images and human depictions became the subjects of several Dunmore wall plaques, including two samurai warrior plaques in the Falkirk Museum collection (Figure 98).

The Japanese ceramics influenced Dunmore through its character, not through its actual forms. The Victorians' fascination with the grotesque is one reason for the popularity of Japanese design.⁴⁸ Japanese ivories, metalwork and ceramics often depicted animal and human representations of the grotesque. The Japanese wares at the exhibition were described as 'occasionally bizarre, at times almost grotesque.'⁴⁹ According to Lewis F. Day, 'The fresh Art of Japan was a revelation to all of us; and scarcely a designer but was inoculated more or less with the virus of desire to do likewise.'⁵⁰ After the exhibition, Dunmore introduced a new line of Oriental inspired figurines, moulded jugs and planters that were called Dunmore Ware Grotesque. These

⁴⁶ 'Ceramic Art at the Exhibition', *Appleton's Journal of Literature, Science, and Art: A Monthly Miscellany of Popular Literature*, 1 issue 1, (July 1876), pp.75-76.

⁴⁷ *Reports on the Philadelphia International Exhibition*, p. 45.

⁴⁸ Lewis F. Day, 'Grotesques', *Art Journal* (1885), 44-48.

⁴⁹ *Reports on the Philadelphia International Exhibition*, p. 46.

⁵⁰ Lewis F. Day, 'Victorian Progress in Applied Design', p. 195.

forms included reptiles, amphibians, dragons and primates. The Dunmore monkey figurine (Figure 99) shows not only Gardner's sense of humour, but also Oriental influences. In Japanese mythology monkeys protect against evil spirits and witchcraft. Monkeys have been reproduced in European ceramics since the seventeenth century and have tended to be caricatures of humans.⁵¹ The most famous example is the Meissen monkey band (Figure 100). When comparing these pieces, Dunmore's Oriental influences become more apparent. The Meissen monkey, standing erect and playing the musical instrument, has been elongated and dressed in formal European clothes. Compared to this monkey, Dunmore's example, though still dressed, has more natural proportions and posture. In this way, Gardner merged the European fashion for monkeys portrayed as humans with Eastern ideals of shape and form.

The Japanese display in the main hall was just one part of their overall contribution to the Philadelphia exhibition. Japan also built a traditional dwelling (Figure 101) and bazaar (Figure 102). Within the dwelling, there was a reconstruction of a Japanese domestic interior. Its simple shapes and clean lines would influence architecture, furniture and ceramic design for decades after the Exhibition.⁵² Within the bazaar, Japanese goods, including pottery, metalwork, and art was on view for visitors. These buildings and their surrounding gardens would inspire several manufacturers so that 'a characteristic bit of Japanese decoration work for the garden, is observable at every entrance of the [main] court.'⁵³

The British Commission on the Exhibition described the Japanese collections as of 'first rate value and may be acknowledged as the most important contribution to the Ceramic Department brought together by any one country.' The most defining feature of the Japanese ceramics was that they were purely 'Japanese' as a result of their 250

⁵¹ Rice, p. 186.

⁵² See Aslin, 'The Japanese Taste', in *The Aesthetic Movement*, pp. 79-96.

⁵³ 'In and About the Fair', p. 892. Japanese and Eastern influence in Dunmore ware designed for the garden is discussed in Chapter Five.

years of isolation and their art had not deteriorated as a consequence of being ‘improved’ by European influence.’⁵⁴ The same could not be said about the Chinese ceramics, another of Dunmore’s Oriental influences, which were condemned as ‘deteriorated...[living] upon a decaying tradition’ and that the ‘ungraceful forms and crude colouring of the works’ manifested from the need to supply ‘a foreign market at once ready and uncritical’.⁵⁵

The Chinese Gallery was located 450 feet to the right of the British exhibition hall. The ceramic collections were so vast that there was more than ‘could be fitly displayed in the allotted space.’⁵⁶ One visitor described the Chinese Section as:

Replete with curious bronzes, ivories, silks, porcelains and wood carvings. One of the things that immediately impresses itself upon us as we examine these treasures is the extent to which animal subjects are portrayed. Dragons, birds, and fishes are introduced into every material[...]sometimes with remarkable fidelity of life, and at other times with the exaggeration of humorous caricatures. I believe a Chinese artisan never comes to a corner in his work without a desire to turn it into a serpent or a dragon’s head with a yawning mouth and dilating nostrils.⁵⁷

Although the displays were crowded, they would have been of particular interest to Gardner in their subject matter and forms. The Chinese ceramics exhibited included both contemporary and ancient pieces which are remarkably similar to Dunmore’s Art pottery forms and shapes. In particular, the two vases on pedestals to the right and left in Figure 103 are similar to brown and tan Dunmore pieces in the Falkirk Museum Collection. Dunmore reproduced the globular vase at the bottom right in several variations (Figure 104). The original Chinese vase is decorated with a painted nature scene, however, Dunmore, who did not routinely employ ceramic painters, made their version with a crackle glaze. Crackle glaze, though used in Japanese ceramics, is most often associated with Chinese ceramics. By using the crackle glaze, Gardner was

⁵⁴ *Reports on the Philadelphia International Exhibition*, p. 44.

⁵⁵ *Reports on the Philadelphia International Exhibition*, pp. 46-47.

⁵⁶ *Reports on the Philadelphia International Exhibition*, p. 46.

⁵⁷ ‘At the Exhibition: A Few Curiosities’, *Appleton’s Journal of Literature, Science, and Art*, June 1876, p. 723.

evoking the Chinese associations in a more apparent manner. It was a sophisticated reference to China, not an exact duplication.

Although the existing photographs of the Chinese ceramics show highly elaborate decoration, there were pieces displayed with less surface detail in which the glaze was the only decoration. 'The colours[...]were occasionally very fine, especially the flowing or "splashed" items.'⁵⁸ From contemporary sources, there is no evidence Dunmore was using flowing glazes prior to the Philadelphia exhibition. As seen by the pieces in the museum donations, Gardner had developed new colours and glaze types including the flowing and splashed glazes inspired by Chinese glazes by 1878. It is highly probable that the inspiration for some of these glazes came from the Chinese section of the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition.

During the exhibit, the quality and success of the British exhibitors was debated. Through American eyes, the British and the French were the fashion leaders of the exhibition.⁵⁹ This is not surprising since American ceramic manufacture was in its relative infancy. New American clays, with different chemical compositions and properties than the known European clays, were being tried and experimented with. In addition to tin and lead glazes, American ceramics were also finished with brown and rust coloured alkaline glazes which created a rustic and primitive feel. The breadth of colour and form of European ceramics so enthralled one visitor that she wrote they 'vie with one another in the purity of their porcelain and pottery, in the variety of shape and decoration, and in the geometrical precision of the forms and the articles and the perfect regularity of the figures upon them.'⁶⁰ If the Americans were impressed by the British ceramics, the Britons certainly were not. The general feeling was that although they

⁵⁸ *Reports on the Philadelphia International Exhibition*, p. 47.

⁵⁹ Rodris Roth, 'The Colonial Revival and Centennial Furniture' *Art Quarterly*, 27 no 1 (1964), 57-81 (p. 59).

⁶⁰ 'Ceramic Art at the Exhibition', p. 76.

shall 'have more glory than of shame,' the 'old country has not done its best'.⁶¹ The Staffordshire potteries took the brunt of the criticism when they were described as 'bad taste was the rule.'⁶² Dunmore's genuine reception by the crowds can only be guessed at since contemporary sources remain silent. The evidence from the *Alloa Journal* suggests that although Dunmore did not win any awards it may have sold out of its wares.

For Dunmore that would be considered a success.

There are many questions still unanswered about Dunmore's participation in the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition. Why did Gardner decide to exhibit in the United States? If he desired to establish a foreign market, he was unsuccessful. His motivation may also have had to do with the rivalry between Dunmore and Alloa Potteries. There is no documentation on which Pottery decided to exhibit first. If Alloa was the first to submit an exhibition proposal, Gardner may have felt the need to exhibit in Philadelphia as well. There are also questions on how Gardner financed the exhibition. Although he was a land owner and the Pottery was relatively prosperous for its size and location, there is little evidence to suggest Dunmore could afford such a venture. It is possible the Earl and Countess of Dunmore assisted Gardner by supplying capital for the exhibition and transportation costs.

As it was said above, the Philadelphia Centennial did not give Dunmore the recognition and reputation for which it obviously strived. Except for the *Alloa Journal* article, Dunmore's participation at the exhibition was overlooked by both the British and American press. The *Art Journal*, completely neglecting Alloa, Watcombe, and Dunmore's contributions, misinformed its readers that Brown-Westhead and Brownfield were the 'only actual manufacturers which are contributors.'⁶³ Although the former three were relatively small factories at this time, they were still contributors and

⁶¹ 'Contributions to the International Exhibition, Philadelphia', *Art Journal*, 15 (1876), 309-315 (p. 313).

⁶² S. C. Hall, 'Art and Manufacture 1851-1877', *Art Journal* (1877), 101-104 (p. 103).

⁶³ 'Contributions to the International Exhibition, Philadelphia', p. 315.

it is interesting they were not originally recognised in the British press. Each pottery would transform their business, their artistic style, and their marketing strategies in the decades following the exhibition.⁶⁴ In Dunmore's case, as a consequence of Philadelphia, Gardner acclimatized ethnic themes along with Art Pottery concepts of simple forms and rich surface details and thus transformed the country pottery into a modern successful business.

4.2 Highland and Agricultural Shows

Dunmore's appearance at the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition was exceptional in the history of the brand as it had previously only exhibited at Highland and Agricultural Society fairs. The Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland was founded in 1784 in Edinburgh with the purpose of improving the Highlands and Islands and the conditions of their inhabitants. The society tried to regenerate agricultural communities by focusing not only on practical agricultural matters such as encouraging the construction of roads and bridges, advancing technology and improving the housing for hinds (ploughmen), but also on cultural matters such as the preservation of Gaelic, regional poetry and music and introducing new trades into the communities. The Highland and Agricultural Society's exhibitions were as diverse as its mission.⁶⁵

Dunmore Pottery first participated in Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland Show at Inverness in July of 1874. A typical Highland and Agricultural show included livestock competitions and displays of farm machinery and household goods. Dunmore Pottery did not exhibit independently but instead was represented at stand no 22 belonging to Mr. A Jenkinson, China Merchant who also held a showroom at 19 Princes Street, Edinburgh since 1872. An innocuous advertisement in the *Scotsman*

⁶⁴ Of these potteries, only Dunmore would flourish as an Art Pottery. Alloa continued to make pottery for several years before it ceased this production in 1907 to put all resources into making glass wares. See Spreull and Rankine. Watcombe Pottery continued to make ceramics until the second half of the twentieth century. The focus of the pottery however changed from Art Pottery to country motto wares with slip decoration.

⁶⁵ For more information on the early history of the Highland and Agricultural Society see Alexander Ramsey, *History of the Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland, With Notices of Anterior Societies for the Promotion of Agriculture in Scotland*, (Blackwood & Sons, 1879).

stated Jenkinson 'will exhibit table decorations & c'⁶⁶ (Figure 105). This small, non-descript advertisement belied the attention and promotion Dunmore Pottery gained from this display.

The *Edinburgh Courant* on July 29, 1874 was the first newspaper to report on Dunmore ware at the show. The article stated 'We may mention that yesterday the stand of Mr. Jenkinson[...] was largely frequented by ladies, who had the most attractive exhibition presented for their view[...] there is, however, another portion of it which possesses the characteristic of novelty. We refer to the exhibition of the Dunmore pottery ware.' Dunmore articles for sale included 'afternoon tea-sets, garden seats, fern stands, flower stands, fruit dishes, taper stands, figures, &c., of exquisite design.'⁶⁷ Prior to Gardner inheriting Dunmore in 1866, the pottery produced rough utilitarian wares and domestic crocks featuring slip and Rockingham glazes. From this inventory, one can see the growth of the pottery's output and shift in focus to a mixture of decorative and utilitarian wares.

The *Courant* article was quickly followed by an article in *The Scotsman* on the 30th July 1874. The article begins with 'A new industry has been inaugurated on the estate of the Earl of Dunmore, Stirlingshire-namely the manufacture of pottery.' According to parish and census records, Dunmore estate had had an active pottery for over 60 years and therefore could not be thought of as a 'new industry'. The description is an indication of the new types of wares being produced at the pottery, not of an actual new pottery.

The Stirling Journal and Advertiser, one of Dunmore's two 'local' papers, followed the *Courant* and *Scotsman* articles on the 4th August 1874. The article entitled 'A NEW INDUSTRY-DUNMORE,' described the pottery as Rockingham, yet special and differing from traditional Rockingham ware. This is further evidenced by: 'The

⁶⁶ Untitled article, *Scotsman*, 28 July 1874.

⁶⁷ Untitled article, *Edinburgh Courant*, 29 July 1874.

exhibition was striking, although it formed only part of the goods shown by Mr Jenkinson of Edinburgh. The Dunmore portion was under the charge of Mr Gardiner[...]his taste and judgement is beyond all question.' At the Highland Show, Gardner was in charge of the Dunmore section of Jenkinson's stall and it was likely his first attempt at exhibition arrangement and management, skills that he would utilize later at the Philadelphia Exhibition.⁶⁸

The Stirling Journal, clearly annoyed that Dunmore Pottery first received attention at Inverness in rival newspapers, wrote:

'It is curious, wonderfully curious, that we should have to go to Inverness to find out a new industry that is practiced at our own doors, under our own noses. Yet so it is. The new industry inaugurated by Lord Dunmore never came within our observation until now.'

This statement confirms the connection between Lord Dunmore and the Pottery but also questions Lord Dunmore's role and success as a patron and estate owner. The reporter goes further in blaming Lord Dunmore for the Pottery's relatively unknown status. 'Whether the fault is his lordship's or ours we shall not pretend to say. But the fact is nevertheless potent that a manufactory of articles in clay, and generally pottery ware, has been going on of which we in Stirlingshire knew nothing.' This confession suggests that, although Dunmore Pottery had been operating for years, it was lacking in the promotional publicity which would draw attention to its uniqueness and aristocratic affiliation.

The *Stirling Journal*, like the *Courant* and the *Scotsman*, focused on the patronage of the Duke of Edinburgh and the results of that patronage: 'His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh has become a large purchaser of the ware, other aristocratic families have done the same thing.' Unlike the other articles, The *Stirling Journal* lets readers know that Dunmore is not just for the wealthy. 'Let it be known that articles from this pottery can be obtained on easy terms by the meanest in the land.

⁶⁸ Cruickshank, pp. 22-23.

There is no reason why an old woman should infuse her tea in an old useless pot, when she can get a good and serviceable pot for little more than half the sum, and which will be the cheaper in the long run.⁶⁹ Although the form, glaze, and quality of the pottery changed under Gardner, in several ways he kept to the country pottery roots. He continued to produce wares which were affordable to the local farmers and shopkeepers while at the same time he explored the Art pottery market.

Several days after the Stirling article, the *Falkirk Herald* followed with an article on Dunmore Pottery stating that, 'the colour and shape of these vessels was so unusual as greatly to attract our attention; and we observe that they have had a similar effect on the visitors to the recent show of the Highland and Agricultural Society at Inverness.'⁷⁰ It was finally spread among the public that Dunmore was experimenting with fresh designs and new techniques. Every article commented on the unusual glazes (whether Rockingham or some other brown, glassy glaze) and shapes. The bright coloured glazes typical of 1880s Dunmore ware were not mentioned and it is safe to assume that they were not yet in production. Although these articles prove Dunmore had improved its wares, it had not become a true Art pottery by this period. The new Dunmore wares were not exhibited in Philadelphia two years later, instead Gardner concentrated on the more functional Rockingham pieces. Dunmore was already straddling the line between a utilitarian pottery and an Art pottery, a constant struggle for the pottery during the 1880s and 1890s.

Dunmore Pottery was represented again through A. Jenkinson at the 1875 Highland and Agriculture Industrial Exhibition. Unlike the previous year, the wares were not regarded as new or revolutionary and did not generate the same amount of publicity. However, the *Scotsman* described Mr. Jenkinson's exhibit: '...perhaps the most important part of the stand is that devoted to the exhibition of a new Scottish

⁶⁹ Untitled article, *Stirling Journal and Advertiser*, 4 August 1874.

⁷⁰ Untitled article, *Falkirk Herald*, 8 August 1874.

industry-the valerie pottery made at Dunmore.⁷¹ The reporter states that Dunmore 'was established...about eighteen months ago, and during the past year a great advance has been made in the quality of articles produced.' The eighteen months figure dates the 'new industry' to just prior to the 1874 exhibition, confirming Gardner was producing something quite different than what was produced under his father. The mid 1870s was a transitional period for Dunmore and full of artistic advances. The *Scotsman* article reports, 'In addition to the brown glazed ware which became so fashionable, they have succeeded in securing various fine tints of green and blue.' The items on display included 'rustic baskets for flowers, tea sets for garden parties, &c.' By expanding its range of glazes and shapes, Dunmore was transforming into a pottery with more artistic appeal both in Scotland and abroad.

Dunmore Pottery would return to the 1876 Highland and Agriculture Society Show in Aberdeen once more under the auspices of Jenkinson of Edinburgh, which spared Gardner the financial responsibility of exhibiting under his own name. This show was not important to Dunmore's further development as new ideas and influences Gardner gained in Philadelphia could not yet be put into practise. This would change however by the 1880 Highland and Agricultural Society Show in Kelso in which Gardner had his own display separate from Jenkinson. To promote the solo stall, Gardner placed an advertisement in the *Scotsman* on July 26, 1880 which read:

HIGHLAND AND AGRICULTURAL
SOCIETYS SHOW AT KELSO
STAND No. 49
DUNMORE POTTERY

Mr GARDNER will Exhibit a Large Assortment of the above
all of his Own Manufacturing and which has been so highly
positioned by the Scotsman, ROYALTY, and NOBILITY

⁷¹ Untitled article, *Scotsman*, 27 July 1875. The term valerie pottery refers to a type of French pottery made by Clément Massier at Vallauris, near Cannes. The pottery was known for its bright lead and tin glazes on Oriental and naturalistic forms.

A catalogue entry for the 1880 Highland and Agricultural Society Show illustrates how many new designs Gardner added after only showing tea, dinner, and dessert sets in Philadelphia. Just four years after the exhibition, Dunmore was producing vases, baskets, wall brackets, toilet sets, ornamental flower pots, garden seats, dessert sets, lamps, spittoons, kettles, medallions, candlesticks, leaf plates, and cheese stands. Many of these forms were influenced by the ceramics at the Philadelphia Exhibition while others were inspired by British ceramic trends. Though the two pieces differ in detail and in the amount and quality of ornamentation, the Dunmore iridescent green cheese stand displayed at the 1880 Highland and Agricultural Society Show (Figure 106) has very similar characteristics to the cheese stand designed by Alloa (Figure 107). Unlike Dunmore's plain example, Alloa applied leaf embellishments to the edge of the base as well as the top of the dome which have been glazed in monotone green to contrast with the majolica background. As the cheese stand was a new Dunmore form, it is evident that Dunmore continued to look for ideas, not only from foreign countries, but also from its local neighbours. Dunmore Pottery would return to its final Highland and Agricultural Society show the following year.

Through china merchants, Dunmore was exhibited at other small local exhibitions and gatherings in Scotland as well as in England. The evidence of Dunmore's reception at these exhibits is thin. However, a reporter covering the 1880 Stockton-on-Tees' Annual exhibition for the *Pottery Gazette* gives some insight into Dunmore's standing within the pottery industry. The reporter was:

disappointed in not finding more exhibits in the pottery department. Our oldest local makers, South Stockton and Middlesbrough potteries were not represented[...]. The exhibits of pottery, although limited to number, were excellent in quality. Messrs. Mawson, Swan & Morgan, Newcastle-on-Tyne showed some really pretty and rare specimens of Dunmore, French, German, Parisian, and Japanese wares.⁷²

⁷² Untitled article, *Pottery Gazette*, 1 December 1880, p. 800.

Two motifs stand out in this report. Dunmore Pottery was exhibited at a local exhibition when local potteries were excluded and Dunmore Pottery was considered 'rare' and in the same category as pottery from foreign countries with established pottery traditions and industries. This is a remarkable achievement considering it was only six years since Dunmore's 'new industry' developed and four years since the Philadelphia Exhibition. The types of wares Dunmore Pottery produced for the Highland and Agricultural Show of 1874 could not have held its own alongside Persian or Japanese wares. This gives a better understanding of Dunmore's progress within the British ceramic industry during the late 1870s and early 1880s. Although it would have taken time for Gardner to design and produce the new ceramic styles after the 1876 Philadelphia Exhibition, it can be assumed that these wares were immediately well received and accepted as it only took four years to establish English outlets and a national reputation.

Dunmore's exhibition successes were rooted in Gardner's experience at the Highland and Agricultural Society and local shows. It was in this arena that Gardner acquired his practical knowledge of marketing strategies, exhibition displays, and organizational detail. This experience enabled him to perform confidently at the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition. He developed a reputation for new and exciting pieces by first creating a local market for his new artistic wares then expanding it throughout Scotland and later England. In the days before the radio, television or internet, Gardner was able to get Dunmore Pottery into the public's awareness and imagination. From the Highland and Agricultural Shows, Gardner followed Dunmore's initial success to the Philadelphia Exhibition, but would not exhibit at another major international exhibition until the 1886 Edinburgh International Exhibition of Industry, Science and Art.

4.3 **1886 Edinburgh International Exhibition of Industry, Science and Art**
On May 6 dressed in Highland dress, Prince Albert Victor, the Duke of Clarence, opened the Edinburgh International Exhibition of Industry, Science and Art held in The Meadows at the base of Edinburgh Castle. The exhibition ran for almost six months and drew nearly three million visitors. This was the first large international exhibition held in Scotland and Edinburgh did its best to promote the city and British goods and manufacturers. The exhibition grounds were arranged so that the main entrance was through the Grand Hall with two rows of smaller exhibition buildings coming off its back (Figure 108). The main exhibition building consisted of a series of double courts arranged on the axis of the central corridor. The features of the grand hall included the 120 feet high central dome painted with the Zodiac signs, an orchestra stage, and a collection of statues around the entrance. The entire exhibition was lit by 3,200 electric lamps, the largest lighting scheme ever attempted in Scotland at the time.⁷³

Although the size and scale of the Edinburgh Exhibition did not compete with the Philadelphia Exhibition, it was truly international. Exhibitors included Turkish embroiders, Italian cabinet makers, and a string instrument maker from Prague. The exhibition contained over 20,000 displays divided into several classes each for agriculture, art and industry. Dunmore Pottery fell under Class II (Pottery, Glass, and Kindred Industries), Section 2 (Earthenware and Stoneware) and was exhibited in the Central Court at stall number 83. The official catalogue lists the Pottery as:

83 Gardner, Peter, Dunmore Pottery, via Stirling. Pottery consisting of Vases, Baskets, Brackets, Pots, Teapots, Tea Sets, Candlesticks, Medallions, Cheese Dishes, Bread and Fruit Plate, Garden Seats, Umbrella Stands, Pedestals, etc.⁷⁴

⁷³ J. K. Gillon, 'The Edinburgh International Exhibition', <http://members.fortunecity.com/gillonj/edinburghinternationalexhibition/> [accessed 15 October 2006].

⁷⁴ *Official Guide to the Edinburgh International Exhibition of Industry, Science and Art* (Edinburgh: T. and A. Constable, 1886), p. 47.

By comparing this entry with the 1880 Kelso Highland and Agricultural Society Show, the only new Dunmore forms introduced were pedestals and umbrella stands, which were actually modified garden seats. The new shapes were two of the largest wares Dunmore produced. As it is more difficult to get a 'good from kiln' large ceramic piece than a small piece as a result of shrinkage, cracks, and kiln explosions, the new shapes suggest continued improvements to Dunmore's clay and firing techniques. With only two new types of forms, it can be suggested that during the six years between the Kelso and Edinburgh exhibitions, Gardner was not focusing on developing new varieties of wares, but instead was likely engaged in the advancement of the glazes.

The Class II group had some familiar names for Gardner. Watcombe Pottery, a co-exhibitor at Philadelphia was located at stall 88. Watcombe was exhibiting Art Pottery and terra cotta plaques, but there was no mention of their popular motto wares. Watcombe's choice in displaying Art Pottery over the motto wares reflects the expectations of visitors to an international exhibition. The more common terra cotta did not have the same allure or create the same interest as artistic pottery. Jenkinson who first displayed Dunmore at the Highland and Agricultural Society Shows was exhibiting near Dunmore at stall 87. Interestingly, his entry indicates that he was then only trading in glass and had abandoned the ceramic trade.

In addition to the Main Hall, Gardner also had a display in the 'Old Edinburgh' section of the exhibition. Old Edinburgh was a reconstruction of sixteenth century Edinburgh buildings which had been demolished over the years (Figure 109). This was not a unique feature to the Edinburgh Exhibition. At the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition, the United States government constructed a Colonial Dwelling to highlight the changes and industrial and commercial growth of America (Figure 110). It was a celebration of the superiority of white man over a savage land, an insight into American history, a way of highlighting the industrial progress and a tribute to the civilisation

reaching its peak in the picture of America. The Edinburgh Old Town had entirely different motivations. Instead of the commemoration of modern life, the Old Town celebrated Edinburgh's past. The designs for Old Edinburgh were made by Sydney Mitchell who restored the City Cross for William Gladstone. The choice was made to reproduce only buildings no longer standing in order to enable visitors to discover the authentic remaining structures *in situ*. The buildings were complete with 'tiles, among whose chinks mosses and lichens have been cunningly planted, and some of the blackened woodwork seem to be veritable antiques removed from dismantled houses.'⁷⁵

The construction of Old Edinburgh grew out of an interest of Scottish antiquities that was centred in Edinburgh. The Scottish antiquities movement began with the foundation of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, organised by the 11th Earl of Buchan, David Stuart Erskine, in November 1780.⁷⁶ The society was formed to prevent the antiquities and monuments of Scotland's historic greatness from leaving the country, usually to end up in English country houses and museums. The society continued to collect and preserve Scotland's historic fabric until a museum was built in 1876 at a cost of £6,000. The original plan for the building included having it 'adorned with fragments of Renaissance Edinburgh that would have become available if their deranged plan to rebuild the entire Old Town had matured.'⁷⁷ Sir Walter Scott advocated the protection of Scottish antiquities and as a result 'Scotland has always been fortunate in the number and the enthusiasts [sic] of her antiquaries.'⁷⁸ The interest in Edinburgh antiquities reached its height following the construction of the museum, culminating with the publication one year later of *Edinburgh, Past and Present*, a

⁷⁵ 'Old Edinburgh', *Magazine of Art*, 1886, pp. 437-438.

⁷⁶ Charles McKean, *The Making of the Museum of Scotland* (Edinburgh: NMS Publishing, 2000), p. 6.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 4.

⁷⁸ 'Old Edinburgh', p. 437.

collection of papers featuring 150 illustrations which documented 'many of its landmarks, consecrated by time and history, [that] are fast departing.'⁷⁹

The construction of Old Edinburgh was at the height of the Edinburgh antiquarian movement. The design for Old Edinburgh contained a short high street, two closes, a market place and a reproduction of the Old Tolbooth. The ground floor of the buildings contained forty four shops and workshops, one being Dunmore Pottery. Old Edinburgh was popular with tourists and Edinburgh residents alike. A visitor describes its atmosphere as:

The eye takes in the stream of muslin or tweed-clad tourists, and perceives that the costume of the fair stall keepers reproduces rather the court-dress of the Sixteenth Century than the garb of the humbler classes of that time; while for the most part, their merchandise is obtrusively modern in character, and mackintosh-capes or indiarubber [sic] overshoes seem hardly in keeping with the tiled and timbered penthouse of an old Edinburgh 'booth.'⁸⁰

The rents in this area were higher than those in the main exhibition hall and cost £51 6s to lease. Besides a more aesthetically pleasing exhibition area, rent in the Old Edinburgh included the right to sell merchandise which was forbidden to exhibitors in the Main Hall under exhibition regulation 35.⁸¹ This caused conflict between exhibitors in the Main Hall (who were illegally selling their merchandise) and the Old Edinburgh traders. The licensed traders believed their rights were 'being infringed by exhibitors who only rented space.'⁸² As a result, the Exhibition executive posted notices throughout the exhibition reminding exhibitors of the regulations regarding trade. Gardner was luckier than most traders due to having a stall in the Main Hall and one in Old Edinburgh which entitled him to trade openly without the fear of infringing on the Exhibition's regulations.

⁷⁹ 'Art Publications', 16 *Art Journal* (1877), p. 95.

⁸⁰ 'Old Edinburgh', p. 438.

⁸¹ 'The Sale of Exhibition', *Scotsman*, 28 May 1886, p. 5.

⁸² *Ibid.*

For the Old Town, Gardner possibly chose to exhibit a combination of small novelty wares to be purchased as souvenirs and more interesting and elaborate 'exhibition pieces'. The Falkirk Museum collection contains a large Dunmore redware plate painted with a scene similar to Old Edinburgh and surrounded by a turquoise Dunmore frame (Figure 111). The buildings in the plate do not resemble any known building in the Old Edinburgh section. This is easily explained by the fact that Dunmore did not have a china painter amongst its staff and would have sent the plate to a professional painter. The artist may not have seen an image of Old Edinburgh or have been familiar with historic Edinburgh buildings, so instead a typical Renaissance scene was painted. The frame is made from the finest white imported clay and finished in the rare and expensive turquoise glaze. It is a one off piece with an antiquarian theme and is so unlike any other known Dunmore piece, the most likely explanation is that it is an exhibition piece.

Dunmore Pottery must have been one of the more popular and interesting displays at the exhibition. In *Sketches at the International Exhibition, Edinburgh, 1886*, a satirical account of the exhibition, the Dunmore Pottery stall is featured in one of the sketches (Figure 112). The sketch illustrates a saleswoman dressed in the Murray family tartan surrounded by Dunmore pottery, the most prominent piece being a large vase on a pedestal. The pedestal is likely to have been cast from the same mould as the pedestal in Figure 113. The caption beneath the sketch reads 'Something Scotch.' Dressing the attendant in the Murray tartan, the Earl of Dunmore's plaid, was Gardner's way of linking the pottery with the local aristocracy and paying respect to the family that offered him substantial support and patronage. To the exhibition's foreign visitors, the tartan dressed saleswoman conformed to their preconceived ideas of Scotland and her inhabitants. In this way, Gardner was not only selling souvenirs of the exhibition, but of Scotland as a brand.

The most important event of the 1886 Edinburgh International Exhibition for Dunmore Pottery was the official visit of Queen Victoria on August 18 and 19. During her visit, a small parade was organized and 20,000 people came to greet Her Royal Majesty. According to a Dunmore advertisement pamphlet, 'When the Queen visited the Edinburgh Exhibition she made extensive purchases of Dunmore ware, the turquoise blue and the light red and the new crackled ware being specially chosen by her.'⁸³ After this occasion, Dunmore Pottery named a piece the 'Queen's Vase' (Figure 114). The Queen's Vase is one of Dunmore's largest pieces and would have been one of their more expensive pieces to produce. *The Scotsman* confirms the Queen purchased Dunmore Pottery during her visit: 'Mr Gardner of Dunmore Pottery received orders through the Dean of Guild Gowans to proceed to Holyrood with specimens of his goods for Her Majesty to select from.'⁸⁴ There is no evidence that the Queen continued to purchase Dunmore pottery and Dunmore was never granted a royal warrant as other potteries were. It is probable that Queen Victoria purchased these as gifts for courtiers and therefore had no interest in continuing a business relationship with Dunmore Pottery. This, however, did not stop Gardner from capitalising on her temporary attraction in his advertising.

4.4 1886 Glasgow Industrial Exhibition

During the same year as the Edinburgh Exhibition, Dunmore Pottery also exhibited at the 1886 Glasgow Industrial Exhibition. This exhibition was not international, and was much smaller and less important than the competing Edinburgh International Exhibition. It is interesting that Gardner—even though he was clearly marketing his Pottery as an Art Pottery—chose to exhibit at an exhibition for industry, a concept an Art Pottery might well have wanted to avoid association with. His participation, however, was relatively insignificant from both artistic and advertising

⁸³ *A Visit to Dunmore*, p. 9.

⁸⁴ 'Miscellaneous', *Scotsman*, 20 August 1886.

perspectives. For this Exhibition, Dunmore created a special redware plate edged in a Greek key design (Figure 115). The centre medallion depicts the Glasgow Arms surrounded by 'Industrial Exhibition 1886/7'. Comparing the mass produced exhibition plate for this exhibition with the hand painted Edinburgh plate, provides an example of how Gardner saw the 1886 Glasgow Industrial Exhibition as less significant to his overall sales and advertising strategy. A contemporary sketch of Dunmore's Glasgow stand featured a youthful tartan clad saleswoman dancing around the pottery, flamboyantly pointing at the pottery with 'The Spirit of Pottery' written beneath the wares (Figure 116). Since Dunmore was classified as an Art pottery, this comment may refer to Dunmore following the 'spirit' of the Art pottery movement by keeping its forms simple, its glazes aesthetic, and creating pieces specifically for art purposes. The 1886 Glasgow Industrial Exhibition was overshadowed by the 1886 Edinburgh International Exhibition and it remains unclear how Gardner could benefit from exhibiting at this small exhibition.

4.5 1886 Colonial and Indian Exhibition, London

The year 1886 was an important year for Gardner's ambitious plan of seeking recognition at exhibitions. In addition to the Edinburgh and Glasgow exhibitions, Dunmore participated in The Colonial and Indian Exhibition in London. The seed for the exhibition was planted at the 1878 Paris Universal Exhibition when the Prince of Wales, President of the British Commission for the exhibition, became impressed by the quality and significance of the Indian Empire displays.⁸⁵ Queen Victoria issued a Royal Commission for the exhibition on the 10th November 1884 and plans were soon crystallised. The exhibition was designed to highlight the achievements of the British Empire by giving 'to the inhabitants of the British Isles, to foreigners and to one another

⁸⁵ Edward Cunliffe-Owen, 'The Colonial and Indian Exhibition', *Journal of the Society of Arts*, 4 March 1887, 372-383 (p. 373).

practical demonstration of the wealth and industrial development of the outlying portions of the British Empire.’⁸⁶

The Colonial Exhibition was a great propaganda machine for the British Monarchy which at that time was embroiled in controversy following the escapades of the Prince of Wales and other family members as well as the withdrawal of Queen Victoria from public life. The Prince of Wales took control over the planning and design of the Exhibition in much the same way his father, Prince Albert, did at the 1851 Crystal Palace Exhibition.⁸⁷ Lord Rosebery persuaded the Queen to use the exhibition for positive publicity namely by showing as much pageantry and ceremony as possible at the opening of the exhibition. She replied ‘With all the pomp you like as long as I don’t have to wear a low dress.’⁸⁸ She opened the Colonial and Indian Exhibition on May 5, escorted by the Prince of Wales and with the help of a walking stick she ventured through the exhibition.

The organization for the Colonial Exhibition was completely different from other exhibitions of that time. Despite its foreign flavour, it was not an international exhibition, but an imperial display. The *Official Guide* was unmistakable on this point: ‘The Exhibition is in no sense international. It is confined exclusively to our Colonial and Indian fellow subjects, both British and Foreign exhibitors are being excluded.’⁸⁹ The Exhibit, though titled Colonial and Indian, was more a British interpretation of the colonies’ arts and manufactures than an actual representation of indigenous culture. It was a showcase for the white settler as opposed to a celebration of a multicultural Colonial landscape.⁹⁰ The exhibits included a tiger hunt and paintings executed by

⁸⁶ Frank Cundall (ed.) *Reminiscences of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition* (London: Clowers, 1886), p. 2.

⁸⁷ Cunliffe-Owen, p. 373.

⁸⁸ Elizabeth Longford, *Victoria R. I.* (London: Pan Books, 1964), pp. 613-614.

⁸⁹ *Official Guide to the 1886 Colonial and Indian Exhibition* (London: Clowes, 1886), p. 5.

⁹⁰ Thomas Prasch, ‘The End of South Kensington: The Colonial and Indian Exhibition, London, 1886’ (Paper given at the annual Popular Culture Association conference in Atlanta, 12-15 April 2006), p. 3.

settler, not by native artists.⁹¹ Colonial artists and craftsmen labouring at the Exhibition produced works designed by British Orientalist art professionals who translated and interpreted the craftsmen's native artistic tradition into a Western adaptation.⁹²

Accounts that Dunmore exhibited at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition need to be questioned.⁹³ Dunmore would not have been allowed to officially display as it was Scottish and the Pottery is not listed in the Official Catalogue. However, many companies set up stalls and markets in the exhibition's vicinity and Dunmore's stall should be viewed in this framework.⁹⁴ Given the fusion of Western art principles with Eastern forms and craftsmanship, Dunmore was ideally placed for sales. The Pottery's Eastern-inspired shapes would have been stylistically and aesthetically congruent with the pseudo colonial arts of the exhibition. As the exhibition visitors were more interested in wares in the Eastern style as opposed to authentic products, Dunmore's ceramics were not incongruous to this marketplace.

Gardner's participation at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition cannot be viewed in the same context as the Philadelphia or Edinburgh exhibitions. This time he was not an active participant in the main hall, but rather a trader on the periphery. As Dunmore's stall was not in the actual exhibit hall, it was not tied to official rules which prevented the sale of exhibition goods. As a result, Dunmore's display was intended for immediate sales, not as a showcase for the pottery. As the Pottery had already reached the apex of its Eastern style and was excluded from the main showcase, the Colonial and Indian Exhibition had a negligible impact on the further development of Dunmore's forms and glazes.

⁹¹ *The Colonial and Indian Exhibition 1886 Art Journal* supplement, (London: Virtue, 1886), pp 19-28.

⁹² Prasch, p. 10.

⁹³ Watters, 4. Dunmore Pottery exhibit at Stirling Smith Museum, text panel 8.

⁹⁴ Prasch, p. 7.

4.6 1888 Glasgow Exhibition of Industry, Science and Art

The next and last exhibition in which Dunmore displayed was the 1888 Glasgow Exhibition of Industry, Science and Art. The Glasgow exhibition was held between May 8 and November 10, 1888 on 60 acres of Kelvingrove Park as a civic response to the 1886 Edinburgh International Exhibition. The exhibition's primary buildings included the Main Building, the Machinery Section, the Fairy Fountain, and Kelvingrove Mansion. Like Edinburgh, Glasgow rebuilt part of its past with the reconstruction of Bishop's Palace, a fifteenth century building originally located near Glasgow Cathedral.⁹⁵

Exhibitors had strict guidelines regulating how they displayed their merchandise. All signs and name boards must have been new and clean, either painted black or maroon with gold lettering. The displays could not exceed the following dimensions: showcases and partitions- 10 feet, counters-2 feet 6 inches, and platforms one foot above the floor. The exhibitors must mention if they needed wall space and must move in seven days prior to the opening of the exhibition. Rates were charged at 2s a square foot with a minimum charge of £2 10s of which 25% was required with the exhibitor's application. Exhibitors were obligated to price goods, but were prohibited from selling those on display. As an additional strict rule, the executive council introduced fines to exhibitors for unkempt or untidy maintenance of the exhibits.⁹⁶

For the Glasgow Exhibition, Dunmore was placed in Class XVII: Pottery and Glass and was positioned along the main avenue (Figure 117). Dunmore's entry in the Official Catalogue reads:

Gardner, P., Dunmore Pottery, by Larbert-Dunmore Pottery Vases-Afternoon Tea Sets, Garden Seats, Flower Pots, Dessert Plates, Leaves; Mantelpiece, Dining Room, Drawing Room, and Toilet Table Ornaments, Pedestals, Medallions, Lamps, Baskets for Flowers. etc.⁹⁷

⁹⁵ *The Glasgow Exhibition 1888, Art Journal supplement*, (July 1888), pp. 2-3.

⁹⁶ *International Exhibition Glasgow 1888: The Official Catalogue 2nd edition* (Edinburgh: T. and A. Constable, 1888), p. 1.

⁹⁷ *International Exhibition Glasgow 1888: The Official Catalogue*, p. 200.

There are few differences between this entry and the one for the Edinburgh exhibition, though mantle piece ornaments are mentioned for the first time; however, it is likely they were included in previous Dunmore exhibitions regardless of not being mentioned in official catalogue entries. As a result of the different train lines needed to reach the pottery from the two locations, the more updated change was introduced: 'by Larbert' replacing the Edinburgh entry 'via Stirling'. From Glasgow, a visitor to Dunmore would need to take the South Alloa branch of the Scottish Central Railway and disembark at Larbert, the closest and most easily accessible rail station.

The 1888 display was most likely similar in appearance to the 1886 exhibition sketches. Like at the Edinburgh International Exhibition and the Glasgow Industrial Exhibition, the Dunmore saleswomen were dressed in the Murray clan tartan. One reporter stated 'The Stand is in the charge of a young lady, in Highland dress of Murray tartan, Murray being the family name of Lord Dunmore, on whose property the pottery is situated.'⁹⁸

In the short term, the 1888 Glasgow International Exhibition was a success for Dunmore which received positive press coverage from its participation. The *Falkirk Herald* expanded on the types of Dunmore ware on exhibit: 'Here we have nick-nackets, many of which would probably have delighted the heart of Sir Walter Scott, a bust of whom stands on a table alongside one of Burns...objects of interest in this stand are many.'⁹⁹ The busts of Walter Scott and Burns added a 'Scottish' imagery and flavour to the display and corresponded to the constructed Scottish national identity. Pieces displayed were 'chiefly in dark shades', possibly a reference to the majolica, iridescent green, and mazarine blue Dunmore glazes. In part two of a three-part review of the ceramic and glass manufactures at the Glasgow Exhibition, James Paton, head curator of Glasgow's museum collections, offered opinions on the items displayed. Of

⁹⁸ 'Dunmore', *Falkirk Herald*, 12 May 1888.

⁹⁹ 'Dunmore', *Falkirk Herald*, 12 May 1888.

Dunmore, Paton wrote: 'Dunmore Pottery is an excellent example of what can be done by judicious taste to give really artistic decoration by inexpensive processes to a cheap material. The products of Dunmore Pottery come in price within the means of the humblest cottager.'¹⁰⁰ Although Dunmore Pottery had earned a good reputation and transformed from a domestic ware pottery to an Art pottery, the ceramics remained affordable to their original customers from the Highland and Agricultural Society Shows. The article continues:

The beauty of Dunmore ware arises, firstly, out of the endless variety of form, sometimes graceful and classical, sometimes bizarre and grotesque, into which it is moulded, and next equally due to the brilliant colours of the glazes of which Mr Gardner possesses the secret...It is a class of ware primarily suited for garden and conservatory decoration, but that original purpose has been modified and developed, so that not only stands, vases, and pots for the ornamentation of apartments are made, but ware for table use also forms a feature in the production of Dunmore.¹⁰¹

As head curator at Glasgow Museum, Paton's appreciation and praise of Dunmore's exhibit and products were encouraging and valuable. To the general public, Paton's admiration and positive opinion of Dunmore would have carried more weight than the average reporter's and it would have done much to advertise the Pottery's stall and wares and increase its reputation.

In the long term, Dunmore's success at the Glasgow International Exhibition should be questioned. The 1891 census shows a one third decrease in the number of potters from 1881 and this could indicate Dunmore was unable to maintain its success and sales following the exhibition. For some reason, whether changes in consumer tastes or the economy, Gardner was unable to sustain the success following the Glasgow Exhibition. The 1888 Glasgow exhibition would be the last time Dunmore would exhibit to an international audience.

When Dunmore first exhibited at the Inverness Highland and Agricultural Society Show in 1874, it would not have been possible to predict the path Dunmore

¹⁰⁰ Paton, p. 9.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

followed through the exhibitions. Other comparable potteries had greater financial backing than Dunmore to promote their wares and enlarge the business. Gardner expanded Dunmore through his own determination and confident decisions such as exhibiting at Philadelphia and other international exhibitions. By continuing to exhibit, Gardner was popularising Dunmore's name and wares on a wider scale, promoting its products beyond the local market and competing with some of Britain's most well-known potteries.

Each international exhibition captured the imagination of not only the visitors, but the exhibitors as well. Each exhibition displayed some of the best pottery examples from the best ceramic firms of the period. Dunmore's pottery evolved as a direct consequence of Gardner viewing other ceramic displays, both locally and at the international exhibitions. Without the knowledge of Eastern and classical ceramics gained through the Philadelphia Exhibition and popularised through the period's journals and magazines and smaller exhibitions, Dunmore might have continued to make solely utilitarian wares. The inspiration and knowledge gained from the exhibitions were the foundations on which Gardner was able to turn Dunmore Pottery into a successful and prolific Art pottery.

The previous chapters explain Dunmore as a business which effectively responded to artistic and economic trends. They do not examine the wares themselves or how they were used in relation to nineteenth century domestic patterns. Dunmore, in addition to being decorative, was designed in most cases to be utilised; therefore the placement of Dunmore within the home and its décor was dependent upon the function of the room as well as the socio-economic group of the occupant. To analyze Dunmore in its appropriate context, one needs to look at the roles of specific rooms within the house, as well as the social patterns of nineteenth century Britons.

Dunmore Pottery's development was not an anomaly in the ceramic market but a reaction to widely accepted contemporary art trends and how these trends manifested in the period's home interiors. Contrary to fine art, which can be displayed in most places, decorative arts need to consider the spatial and organisational characteristics of the place in which they will be placed. Observing Dunmore Pottery in relation to its placement within the home will provide a framework for the analysis of the evolution of the various pottery forms. It will also help explain the dilemma of Dunmore's status as an Art pottery though it maintained its utilitarian roots. This approach to studying and understanding pottery and the decorative arts through their use within the home was promoted by Walter Crane who believed that 'we shall find the true basis and controlling influences, which have been paramount in the development of decorative design, *in the form and character of the dwellings of man* [author's emphasis] and their accessories'¹

Being predominately classified and marketed as an Art pottery, Dunmore is known for its aesthetic pieces designed solely for the purpose of beautifying the home. However, these pieces, usually finely potted with artistic glazes to complement the

¹ Walter Crane, *The Bases of Design* (London: Bell, 1898), p. 3.

colours and themes in Victorian and Edwardian interiors, constituted only half of Dunmore's production. Although these artistic wares established Dunmore's reputation and constitute the core of private and public Dunmore collections today, the Pottery continued to produce utilitarian wares that while following artistic and aesthetic principles were mainly concerned with function and usage. These more utilitarian pieces occupied places in both the public and private spheres of Victorian and Edwardian interiors.

The separation of private and public domains is one of the defining elements of nineteenth century architecture and design and helped lay the foundation for the societal conventions governing Victorian society.² By way of contrast, in the eighteenth century, it was not uncommon to entertain and hold meetings in one's bedchamber. By the Victorian period however, changes in moral codes as well as a heightened sense of privacy mandated that people should only gather in public areas.³ Practically, this attitude was transferred in to a division of public and private spaces, with rules that moulded the awareness of what material artefacts and what social behaviour was appropriate in each space. The concept of what was or was not acceptable evolved from advances in technology and the sciences as well as from societal pressures.

A prominent position of the sciences as much as philosophical rationalism and empiricism heavily influenced moral and cultural principles of the time. Darwin's theory of evolution justified the British Empire and Industrial Revolution. It had social implications on manners and customs and led to an ideological divide between the 'civilised' and the 'heathens'. Other Victorian scientific interests, such as botany, incorporated ideas of the exotic and of escapism. As the Industrial Revolution

² Ralph Dutton, *The English Interior: 1500 to 1900* (London: Batsford, 1948); Judith Flanders, *The Victorian House: Domestic Life from Childbirth to Deathbed* (London: Harper Collins, 2003); Mark Girouard, *The Victorian Country House* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979).

³ Girouard, p. 16.

expanded, the cities' populations exploded resulting in poor housing, hygiene problems, and heavy industrial pollution which made the growing cities appear unnatural, dirty, and unhealthy. Gardens and conservatories offered the middle and upper classes an escape from the often depressing and man-made environment of the industrial city. Victorians' interest in hygiene issues led to scientific developments associated with disease prevention, and to technological developments such as indoor plumbing and changes in sewage and sanitation. Peter Gardner responded to these advancements by creating decorative and utilitarian wares that combined the artistic, scientific and social developments of the late nineteenth century.

5.1 The Hall

The interest in hygiene, nature, and exoticism as well as the changes in social patterns affected the style rooms were arranged and decorated. One of the most dramatic changes was observed within the entrance hall. Previously, the hall had been used as an open waiting area with few fixed furnishes and little character. By the inclusion of a fireplace and soft furnishings, the Victorian entrance hall was transformed from a cold and non-descript waiting room into a 'living hall' which became the favourite family room in the house by the 1870s.⁴ The typical hall was furnished and decorated with encaustic tiles (considered to be clean and hygienic), murals, tables and chairs.⁵ Although Dunmore did not make encaustic floor tiles, it produced other pieces designed specifically for use in the entrance hall. In *Hints on Household Taste*, Eastlake describes the arrangement of the hall to have a 'hall table...with a hat and umbrella stand to correspond.'⁶ Dunmore produced a compact Aesthetic Style umbrella stand featuring sunflowers over a woven background in vibrant monochrome glazes. Since

⁴ Michael Snodin and Maurice Howard, *Ornament: a Social History Since 1450* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), p. 129; Jill Franklin, *The Gentleman's Country House* (London: Routledge, 1981), p. 66.

⁵ Charles Eastlake, *Hints On Household Taste: The Classic Handbook of Victorian Interior Design* (New York: Dover Publications, 1879), pp. 41-70.

⁶ Eastlake, p. 64.

this piece would have been placed conveniently near the door to hold umbrellas and walking sticks, it was one of the first furnishings a guest encountered, hence it set the tone for the rest of the house. The umbrella stand was made in the same mould as the garden seat illustrated in Chapter 3, but excluding the clay slab that composed the seat. By using the same mould to make garden seats and umbrella stands, Gardner was showing an inventive way to save labour and material costs while producing two distinct pottery forms for two different rooms in the house.

As the hall acquired the style and predisposition of a sitting room, it increased in size and social importance.⁷ As a 'neutral' and unsegregated space, the hall developed into a meeting ground for men and women, family and guests.⁸ Where smaller houses made the hall the equivalent of an additional sitting room, larger homes transformed the hall into a Victorian space corresponding with the medieval Great Hall, where meetings for scientific or professional societies were often held.⁹ In medium size homes, the hall was used for serving tea to guests, and in homes without a designated billiard room it might also contain a games table.¹⁰ As the furniture and comforts moved into the hall to make it a more comfortable and usable space, so did decorative ceramics. The decoration of halls was a new idea and the furnishings and décor of the room were based on the principles for the arrangement and the furnishing of drawing rooms.

From photographic evidence, Dunmore was used as decoration in the hall of prominent Arts and Crafts homes. The hall of Bexton Croft, designed by Baillie Scott and described in the January 1895 issue of *Studio* as 'an ideal suburban house', contained the settle and inglenooks prerequisite in the Arts and Crafts home (Figure 118). Above the fire, various pieces of Art pottery were displayed, including two Dunmore grotesque toads. Baillie Scott, a well-known Arts and Crafts architect who

⁷ Franklin, pp. 70-74.

⁸ Franklin, pp. 70-74.

⁹ Franklin, p. 69.

¹⁰ Franklin, p. 73.

was regularly published in *The Studio* and *The Building News*, gained international recognition by winning the 1901 Haus eines Kunstfreundes (House For an Art Lover) competition sponsored by the German magazine *Zeitschrift für Innedekoration*.¹¹ Dunmore's use in a Baillie Scott house indicates that Dunmore was seen as a quality and artistic pottery and that it was used by influential designers and supporters of the Arts and Crafts Movement.

The hall was the physical as well as the stylistic entrance to the home. It was to give visitors a taste of the home's interior and a suggestion of what would emerge in the adjoining rooms. Walter Crane felt the hall

should be friendly; it should suggest welcome. At the same time it should not boast. It should be a sample of what is to be expected in the interior of the house, and it should be a fair sample; the bulk should come up to it. As much as possible it should prepare one for the effect of the rooms, and lead to that effect.¹²

Although the hall should introduce the interior and to some extent the overall stylistic theme of the home, there would be differences in each room's decoration. The décor of other rooms was decided partially on the room's function and whether it was considered a feminine or masculine space.¹³ While the hall was considered a 'neutral' zone, most other public areas were engendered and divided into feminine and masculine-orientated spaces. In *Country Houses*, Robert Kerr divides rooms into the following groups: 1. drawing room, conservatory, morning room (feminine) 2. dining room, smoking room, billiard room (masculine).¹⁴ The classification of male and female spaces was part of the Victorian attitudes towards chivalry and the protection of women from unsuitable

¹¹ Todd, p.36. Baillie Scott was a prominent Victorian architect and designer who became a member of the Arts and Crafts Society and collaborated with C. R. Ashbee on interiors. He designed homes and interiors for leading industrialists and members of the aristocracy including the Grand Duke of Hesse, the Crown Princess of Roumania and Theodor Buhler. In 1906, Scott published a collection of his designs in *Houses and Gardens: Art and Crafts Interiors* (London: Newnes, 1906; repr. Woodbridge Suffolk, Antique Collectors Club, 1995).

¹² Day, 'The Decoration of the Home', *Magazine of Art*, 2 (1881), 98-101 (p. 99).

¹³ Franklin; Robert Kerr, *Gentleman's House: How to Plan English Residences From the Parsonage to the Palace* (London: 1964), pp. 104-125.

¹⁴ Kerr, p. 9.

influences.¹⁵ The cultural consequence of this was that different rooms had to be attributed to each sex and thus became segregated domains in which women and men could reserve their traditional traits conceived of by the patriarchal approaches to femininity and masculinity. The differentiation between masculine and feminine spaces impacted on the décor and placement within the homes of the given rooms.

5.2 The Feminine Rooms

The drawing room, conservatory, and morning room were categorised as the feminine rooms in the Victorian house. They were places for women to engage in their daily routines of running the home and entertaining guests, as well as offering a refuge for personal recreation and relaxation. Where masculine rooms were designed to create a heavy and serious atmosphere, the feminine rooms were playful and light-hearted. Though the feminine rooms were decorated in eclectic styles reflecting the occupants' personal tastes, they shared a whimsical approach to design. Bright and rich colours, plain and embellished furnishings, and traditional and exotic themes met and mingled in there. These rooms gave Gardner the opportunity to experiment with a variety of colourful glazes and distinctive forms that fit their cheerful and light character.

5.2.1 The Drawing room

The drawing room, being the most 'emphatically female' space in the house, was the most public room and was used during the day to receive visitors and in the evening to retire to after dining.¹⁶ Orrinsmith reminds her readers that 'rooms are decorated and pictures hung, not only for our pleasure, but for the delectation of our friends and guests.'¹⁷ Given its public role, it was presented with the best furnishings

¹⁵ Girouard, p. 34.

¹⁶ Franklin, p. 43.

¹⁷ Orrinsmith, p. 6.

and the best view of the property.¹⁸ It was the room in 'which most interest centres and it is there that the taste of the house is looked for at its best'.¹⁹ Where the hall was designed to give a sample of how the house was decorated, the drawing room was the high point of the home's decoration. The room was designed not only as a functional space for entertaining and as a place for the day to day activities in a woman's life, but also as a statement on the financial resources and respectability of its owners. 'Fashion', whether inspired by a 'strong personality in the social or artistic circles, from some foreign influence...or the advent of some new decorative materials' was always influential in the drawing room.²⁰ As a result, the concept of the drawing room generated much interest from home owners, upholsters, design critics, and art manufacturers like Dunmore.

Gardner's ceramic wares were carefully designed to appeal to middle-class notions of masculine and feminine spaces and functioned as essential components in Victorian domestic rituals. As the centre for feminine work and entertaining, the drawing room was expected to have a graceful and fresh appearance. 'The character to be always aimed at in a drawing room is especial cheerfulness, refinement of elegance, and what is called lightness as opposed to massiveness.'²¹ These concepts were important in relation to which decorative themes were incorporated in Dunmore pieces marketed for use in the drawing room.

Contemporary sources give several suggestions on the decoration of the drawing room, each characterised by the belief that the room should be functional, elegant, and cheerful.²² It was the room in which 'good taste, both in decoration and furniture,

¹⁸ Franklin, p. 45.

¹⁹ William Scott Morton, 'Art in the Home-V: The Drawing Room', *Art Journal* (1897), 302-306 (p. 303).

²⁰ Morton, p. 305.

²¹ Kerr, p. 119.

²² R. W. Edis, *Decoration and Furniture of Town Houses* (London: Paul, 1881); Eastlake; A. V. Kirwan, *Host and Guest: A Book About Dinners, Wines, and Desserts* (London: Bell and Daldy, 1864); Orrinsmith.

should be apparent.²³ The amount of decorative objects found in the drawing room was one of the most distinctive elements of the Victorian period.²⁴ The importance of the drawing room's decoration is seen in the frequency with which it appears in journals and household guides such as Lucy Orrinsmith's *The Drawing Room*, part of the *Art in the Home Series*. The book is divided into eight chapters, each focusing on one aspect of room décor including furniture, windows, walls and ceilings. Journal articles and decorating guides like *The Drawing Room* set the criteria for beauty and the standards of workmanship ceramic manufacturers like Gardner needed to achieve to be successful in the unstable and overcrowded pottery market.

As the most public room of the house, the drawing room was the product of a subtle interplay between who the occupants actually were, what aspirations they had, and what image of themselves they hoped to convey.²⁵ Its decoration was dictated by complex ideological, cultural and social motives. An upper middle-class professional in the Victorian period earned an average of £800 per year while a lower middle-class worker earned on average £150 per year.²⁶ They were both expected to maintain a staff of servants, the number based on their annual income with wage bills running between £18-100 per annum.²⁷ Other home expenses included food, clothing, consumables, and rent (which Beeton suggested at 1/8 of the income). Taking these and other expenditures into account, many middle-class Britons were left with limited financial resources for decorating their homes. To preserve the outward appearance of prosperity during times of economic hardship, many chose to cut the food budget as opposed to other more publicly visible expenses such as servants and home furnishings.²⁸ To address the varying financial circumstances of the Victorian public, decorating guides

²³ Edis, p. 9.

²⁴ Thad Logan, *The Victorian Parlour* (London: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 7.

²⁵ Wendy Hitchmough, *The Arts and Crafts Home* (London: Pavilion Press, 2000), p. 9.

²⁶ Clive Edwards, 'Furnishing a Home at the Turn of the Century: The Use of Furnishing Estimates', *Journal of Design History*, 4 (1991), 233-239 (p. 233).

²⁷ Beeton, Isabella, *Beeton's Book of Household Management* (London: Beeton, 1861; repr. London: Chancellor Press, 1994), p. 8.

²⁸ de Grazia, p. 153.

and furnishing companies offered suggestions on drawing room furnishings which ranged in price from £9 6s 6d to £149 14s 6d.²⁹ Dunmore, trying to respond to the needs and aspirations of different economic groups, sold vases from 9d upwards and lamps from 15s upwards.³⁰ The differences in prices reflected the size and style as well as the craftsmanship of the pieces. A simple, small vase such as the burgundy and yellow example in Figure 119 was easy to make, required few raw materials, and would have been priced in the lower range of Dunmore ware. The Queen's vase with applied moulded handles was a more expensive piece to produce as it required a higher skill in craftsmanship and glazing (Figure 120). In this way Dunmore Pottery, like the furnishing firms, was offering the different socio-economic groups ceramic wares in varying styles and prices to fit their budgets and decorating needs.

Regardless of the socio-economic status of the owner, ceramics would be a key element in the decoration of the drawing room. As the centre of women's entertainment and domestic rituals, the room demanded a relatively wide range of ceramic ware. In *The Victorian Parlour* (2001), Thad Logan groups the objects in the drawing room under three categories with the following examples: the functional (candlesticks), the ornamental (figurines, plates, plants) and mixed (wall brackets, wall pockets, and flower vases). Though mainly decorative ceramics were used in the drawing room, Dunmore's duality of an Art and utilitarian pottery allowed the company to produce several ceramic forms for the room.

In the functional category, using Logan's example of candlesticks, it is seen Dunmore produced a variety of forms designed in different styles and price ranges. Although oil lamps were the primary source of lighting in the home, candlesticks were an essential component of the Victorian household.³¹ Orrinsmith recommends them as

²⁹ Edwards, p. 235.

³⁰ *Official Catalogue 1880 Kelso Highland and Agricultural Show*, pp. 29-30.

³¹ Elizabeth Drury and Philippa Lewis, *The Victorian Household Album* (London: Collins and Brown, 1995), p. 70.

'they are not much more costly than the latter (oils), give much less trouble, are more cleanly...' and that 'no light is so charming as that of many candles.'³² Dunmore produced several types of candle holders. The brown and green majolica column candlestick with two decorative bands previously illustrated is Dunmore's simplest candle holder design. The piece was mould cast in two sections where the seam can be seen running down the length of the column. These could be purchased in pairs to decorate the mantelpiece as shown in Walter Crane's painting *My Lady's Chamber* (Figure 121). Dunmore also produced more elaborate candlesticks such as the iridescent green chamberstick with tapered column, stylised triangular top and applied handle (Figure 122). The actual candle holder and handle were shaped to represent an ancient classical ewer. Although these features create an interesting and distinctive form, they were far from practical. The large handle and its distance from the body of the piece result in an uneven weight distribution making it difficult to carry, defining this piece as more ornamental than utilitarian.

Dunmore also produced several decorative and ornamental pieces including figurines, plates and plants - Logan's second classification. These pieces ranged from typically Victorian styled figurines and commemorative wall plaques to Eastern inspired elephants and Chinese plates. The blue ceramic puppy (Figure 123) was characteristic of Dunmore's numerous mass produced moulded figurines. Like most of the Pottery's figurines, it has been fired in a simple monochrome glaze, allowing the form and not its glaze to be the defining feature of the piece. Monochrome glazing was more straightforward and economical and lent itself well to these types of moulded wares. Dunmore's thicker polychrome glazes would have filled in and obscured the details. For these reasons, the Pottery's moulded decorative plates and wall plaques were also finished in thin monochrome glazes.

³² Orrinsmith, pp. 115-116.

Logan's third classification, items with mixed utilitarian and decorative functions such as vases, wall brackets and wall pockets, was Dunmore's principal production. The Pottery produced a wide range of vases, flower bowls, and baskets from small thrown pieces to larger, more complex ones that combined thrown and moulded elements such as the blue glazed bowl with angel legs (Figure 124). The decorative legs make this piece ornamental while its wide mouth and sturdy construction emphasised its functionality – it could be used as a plant pot or trinket bowl. When comparing this piece with the turquoise folded basket with applied twisted rope handles in Figure 125, the differences between pieces which are purely decorative and those which are utilitarian as well as decorative become clear. The shape of the folded basket prevents an obvious use. The form and utilitarian purpose of the piece are subservient to its decoration. In comparison, the decorative bowl remained utilitarian with its ornamentation subservient to its function.

Whether decorative or functional, the furnishings in the drawing room added to an overall decorative theme. Furniture and ornamental items had a symbiotic relationship to each other. The amount of decorative items and collectibles, such as pottery, was dependent on the amount of shelves and cabinet space in the room. Likewise, the amount and types of furniture were dependent on how the room was used and how many objects needed to be displayed. Pottery was an important component of home décor and was considered precious and treasured. Various occasional tables, cabinets, and shelves began to be scattered throughout the room to display pottery and glass collections. Orrinsmith believed pottery should be kept where it could be seen but not touched- 'for would it not one rather fracture a limb than break a friend's Old Persian or Chelsea, or Nankin?'³³ To help protect items, Orrinsmith and Eastlake suggested the use of cabinets and chiffoniers for display purposes. The illustrated

³³ Orrinsmith, p. 134.

examples of cabinets in Orrinsmith's book were 'brightened above and below by glowing beauties of china' in Eastern styles with similar shapes to Dunmore ware (Figures 126 and 127). The large vases on the corner cabinet are comparable to the large yellow Dunmore vase with two handles in Figure 128. Dunmore's more Eastern wares such as the green ovoid vase with the bell shaped neck (Figure 129) are similar to pieces displayed in the hanging cabinet. Through these furniture illustrations, Dunmore and other Art pottery firms benefited from the implication that these types of ceramics were fashionable and desirable in the drawing room.

Like cabinets, fire surrounds offered a place to display pottery collections. Without central heating and with limited lighting, the fire was the natural place to gather and as a result became the dominant feature of the drawing room. It should be the 'rally spot of the home, to collect around it...the prettiest treasures.'³⁴ The mantel had always been a place for the display of silver and porcelain, but by the Victorian period had become an exaggerated form. The plain Georgian mantel was replaced with ones purposely designed for display with built-in cabinets and shelves. Eastlake illustrated a mantel with four shelves designed specifically to display ceramic pieces of 'good design and skilful workmanship' (Figure 130).³⁵ Eastlake's example was lined with original Oriental and Eastern ceramics, but such fittings would have been equally adapted to display different types of Art pottery including Dunmore.

The Victorian fireplace and associated mantel was such a dominant and ubiquitous feature that Orrinsmith devoted a whole chapter to the mantel and its decoration. She illustrated five distinct mantels including an 'ordinary', a 'decorated' and an 'old fashioned', each ostensibly reliant on Art pottery for decoration. Although all Orrinsmith's designs were based on the Aesthetic Movement, she described and illustrated different pieces for different budgets. Orrinsmith's 'ordinary' two shelved

³⁴ Orrinsmith, p. 136.

³⁵ Eastlake, p. 135.

mantelpiece displaying a mixture of Eastern and Art pottery was the simplest model illustrated and was designed for the middle classes (Figure 131). The etchings demonstrated how ceramics could be employed to make the fireplace the room's focal point and would have influenced readers to imitate the illustrated interiors by purchasing similar pottery. Dunmore produced several ceramic wares that would have been used to display around the fireplace including pieces such as the crackle glaze moon flask on moulded base (Figure 132). The piece's shape, inspired by flasks from the Chinese Kangxi (1662-1722) and Qianlong (1736-1795) periods, would have appealed to someone decorating in the Aesthetic Style as illustrated by Orrinsmith and Eastlake. The size of the piece, large enough to be noticed yet small enough to fit on the shelf, made it appropriate for display on a mantelpiece.

Decorative tiles for the fire surround were the other type of ceramics used around the hearth. The only documented example of Dunmore tiles being used in this manner was in the Pottery's salesroom. Given Gardner's ability to alter forms for different uses, it is probable that Dunmore was selling tiles based on their wall plaques that would have fitted standard size fire surrounds.

The fire mantel was a place to exhibit ones tastes, interests, and collections and could be arranged in numerous styles. If the feature was decorated in a classical style, the ornaments would be sparse and symmetrically placed as shown in the drawing room fireplace at Tyntesfield, Somerset (Figure 133).³⁶ The mantel is decorated with two large classical style porcelain vases on each end and an urn in the centre. Dunmore's interpretations of classical urns included one with applied snake details which could be used to anchor the mantel like those at Tyntesfield (Figure 134). The urn was moulded in two sections with the snake detail being applied after the clay dried to the leather hard stage. To make the snake, the clay had to be wedged and shaped to the appropriate

³⁶ Logan, p. 115.

consistency and thickness to prevent it exploding or cracking in the firing process. Other Art potteries, such as Burmantofts and Linthorpe, did not make classical pieces with added ornamentation. Instead, these firms focused on moulded wares with simple classical outlines finished with interesting and complex Artistic glazes. Unlike Dunmore, who manufactured both two and three dimensional classical pieces, other Art potteries primarily produced only three dimensional jugs and vessels. They focused on classical shapes, not imagery and motifs as did Dunmore. Other non-art potteries incorporated classical imagery by either painting cartouches, applying transfer printing or through high or low relief. The pink Minton *pâte-sur-pâte* vase is typical of the more expensive hand painted classically styled pieces (Figure 135). The vase is decorated with a gilt Greek key design and several cartouches, each showing a different classical scene. Compared to this piece, Dunmore's classical urns were cheaper and easier to produce as they required no professional painters or guilders. Though both pieces use classical imagery, they are very different in construction and aesthetic feel and were created for different economic groups with different budgets and interiors.

In middle-class homes, portrait figures joined the vases, urns and candlesticks on the mantel. Portrait figures were popular throughout the nineteenth century and were mass produced by the 1850s. They embodied references to popular political, military, and literary figures, often painted in detail with a large palette of colours and finished in gilt. Since the portrait figures were used on the mantelpiece and could not be seen from behind, the pieces often had less decorated, flat backs. Dunmore's portrait figures are different compared to these productions as they did not use any painted or gilt details. For example, the Tam O'Shanter and Souter Johnnie figurines discussed previously have monochrome glaze. Unlike the Victorian Staffordshire figurine of Tam O'Shanter and Souter Johnnie in Figure 136, Dunmore's piece is three dimensional and can be viewed from all angles. Where the Staffordshire piece relied on the painted components

to define the elements of the composition, Dunmore used sharply moulded details to give facial expressions and clothing features. Though less colourful than the painted figures, Dunmore's were as decorative and given the number that have survived may be assumed to have been one of the Pottery's leading forms.

Although ceramics were fragile and were often shown where they could be seen and not touched, the vast amount of ceramics displayed and types of ware available allowed certain pieces to be exhibited outside of cabinets or on top of mantel pieces. Orrinsmith allowed 'Vases of large size and bold pattern and colour may advantageously stand aloft, on the top of bookcase, corner cupboard, or bracket, on single stands, or even on the floor in retired corners.'³⁷ These pieces needed to be large enough to create a dramatic effect when placed on display alone as opposed to in groupings in cabinets. As well as the pedestal and large yellow planter analysed above, other forms that could be classified as stand alone pieces include the blue moulded Greek style vase seen previously in Figure 90. The weight and size of the piece would prevent it from being damaged by occasional accidents. Pieces of this magnitude created problems in the firing process. It is unlikely Dunmore had saggars with these dimensions and as a result, it would have been unprotected in the kiln and could have been damaged by the kiln fires or by run off glaze from other pieces in the same firing. Evenly glazing a piece of this size also created problems in the manufacturing process. The costs associated with producing large pieces as well as the size itself suggests that while Orrinsmith's book was advising the middle-class, such sized pieces would have been primarily owned by the more wealthy with greater disposable income and space in the home.

Other ways to use ceramics in the room, as well as show ones knowledge and interest in the natural world, was to decorate with fresh plants and flowers for 'No

³⁷ Orrinsmith, pp. 137-138.

drawing-room is complete without floral decoration.³⁸ Flower embellishments, frequently conceived of complex arrangements, reached the height of popularity during the Victorian period and several books were published on the subject including Miss Maling's *Flowers and How to Arrange Them* (1862).³⁹ All Art potteries, including Dunmore, were producing large quantities of vases and planters to assist women's desire to arrange flowers. The types of vases produced varied little between the Art potteries. Dunmore, Linthorpe, Burmantoft and others were all manufacturing pieces with simple, clean lines and vibrant glazes. The simplicity of these pieces allowed the flowers to be displayed to their best advantage without detracting from or overbearing the arrangement.

Flowers could be displayed in large bunches or in single arrangements and Dunmore produced vases for both types of display. The Pottery produced substantial vases with wide bases and mouths for large arrangements of flowers including the large blue, simple thrown vase illustrated in chapter four and the green thrown vase with an over-glaze painted flower design (Figure 137). These pieces are comparatively heavy and have a good centre of balance needed to hold large bouquets of flowers. 'One single flower with sprays of green, in a cup or vase of good colour and shape, on a bracket by a chair, would give a tinge of homelike comfort to the dreariest room'⁴⁰ Dunmore designs for single flower arrangements were based predominately on Eastern and Near Eastern design.

The Victorian drawing room served as the centre of female entertainment. It was where the women would work on their needlework, receive morning calls and serve tea. Tea drinking equipment and vessels were part of the tea ritual and people's status

³⁸ Orrinsmith, p. 119.

³⁹ Paston-Williams, Sara, *The Art of Dining: A History of Cooking and Eating* (London: National Trust Enterprises, 1995), p. 326.

⁴⁰ Orrinsmith, p. 121.

was indicated in the quality of the china and pottery they used. In *Woman's Handiwork in Modern Homes*, Constance Cary Harrison described the variety of wares as:

There is no limit to the range of tea-tray collections: they embrace Davenport and Longwy, Crown Derby and Ming, Tokiyo and Dresden, Minton, Spode and Copeland, Sevres and Etruia. Cups and saucers of every age and family meet together in the symposia of today'⁴¹

The mixtures of styles allowed in the tea service enabled Dunmore to experiment with a variety of tea sets including plain thrown and slip decorated pieces, as well as novelty teapots moulded, for example, in the shape of a tortoise. The ovoid teapot with flower shaped stand was typical of the more utilitarian teapots produced at the Pottery (Figure 138). Like most of the tea wares, the pot was finished in majolica glaze with splashes of brown, yellow, green and tan. The form of the pot itself was not unique, but the glaze and shape of the stand are distinctive to Dunmore. Although the production of other Art potteries was mainly decorative, not utilitarian pieces, Linthorpe, Alloa, and Watcombe potteries each produced tea wares; Alloa winning an award for their Rockingham teapots at the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition. Unlike Dunmore, whose teapots were predominately based on 'rustic' shapes, other potteries were producing more artistic types of wares. One style of Linthorpe Pottery's teapots has a moulded swirl design, scrolled detail, a double knob finial and painted flower design (Figure 139). The teapot's artistic qualities result from the rich surface detail and ornamentation. Watcombe Pottery's teapot differs from both Dunmore's and Linthorpe's examples in that it used a more elegant and modest shape (Figure 140). It was simply glazed in two contrasting colours: yellow on the squat ovoid body and chocolate brown on the spout and handle. These three examples of Art pottery teapots show how different companies used different styles and techniques to form distinct wares by choosing to either focus on form, glazing and surface detail, or a combination of the two.

⁴¹ Constance Cary Harrison, *Woman's Handiwork in Modern Homes* (New York: Scriber, 1881).

The teapots produced at Dunmore varied in size, style, and surface ornamentation. After the pieces left the Pottery, they were sometimes altered and redecorated by craftsmen and amateur artists unaffiliated to Dunmore. An example of this is the greenish black glazed teapot with tree branch finial (Figure 141). A naturalistic scene of a bird on a tree branch has been etched into the thick glaze. Although the history of this piece is unknown, the teapot was likely decorated by Emanuel Lerche, who was employed at Alloa Glassworks (formerly the Alloa Pottery and Glassworks) and was one of several Bohemian engravers to emigrate to Scotland in the late nineteenth century.⁴² Engraving on pottery is rare and can only be done when the piece has been fired with a high silica glaze thick enough to act as a canvas for etching. The pottery would ideally have a monochrome glaze, like the teapot, to allow the detail of the engraving to be seen. If etched pottery was being sold through Dunmore or its outlets, the craftsmanship required to make this type of piece and its uniqueness would have been worthy of mention in the Pottery's advertising or in art journals. However, engraved pieces are not recalled in either of these sources which indicates this piece, as well as other examples of engraved Dunmore ware, was likely produced by individual engravers as demonstrations of their skill, rather than 'Dunmore' products.

Door furniture such as finger plates was another area in which Dunmore produced specialised wares for the drawing room. Finger plates were not only decorative, but could be easily cleaned and sanitised which was important to Victorians who embraced hygiene as a means to convey their elevation from the street masses. Dunmore finger plates were designed in the classical style such as the turquoise blue nymph plate seen *in situ* at the Dunmore Pottery house (Figure 142). The overall effect of brightly glazed fingerplates was condemned by some design critics such as

⁴² Lerche's engravings were primarily based on nature and examples of his glasswork typically include plants and nature scenes, scenes similar to that on the Dunmore teapot. Only three pieces of engraved Dunmore have been documented and all are in Lerche's style of engraving. Spreull and Rankine.

Orrinsmith who argued that fingerplates such as Dunmore's 'have but one recommendation—cleanliness; for their cold hard surface and colour, generally utterly at variance with other ornaments, make them startlingly unpleasant objects.'⁴³ Finger plates were popular home accessories and could be made in other mediums besides ceramic. *Hints on Household Tastes* illustrates two examples of finger plates which have been 'treated after an artistic fashion.'⁴⁴ These examples have been manufactured from brass sheets which have been ornamented with engraved and pierced patterns. Brass plates required polishing and maintenance unlike ceramic plates which were easily cleaned. It is not surprising that Dunmore produced this type of utilitarian ware, as their artistic technique and manufacturing process was identical to the production of their more artistic wall plaques and tiles, and therefore required few additional resources. Through the production of related items such as tiles, plaques, and finger plates, Dunmore is shown to be part utilitarian, part Art pottery but wholly an astute and responsive business.

The drawing room, its feminine attributes and often foreign flavour, allowed Dunmore Pottery to create brightly coloured artistic pieces in both decorative and utilitarian forms. Though many Dunmore pieces used in the drawing room could be displayed in other areas, their decorative qualities and vivid, vibrant colours complimented the light hearted atmosphere of the drawing room. The Victorians' interest in ceramic collections and their use in decorating a room gave Dunmore an important outlet for their wares. In the drawing room, Dunmore's decorative and artistic forms took precedence over their utilitarian wares as women sought to conform to the accepted aesthetic trends dictated by their social and economic standing.

⁴³ Orrinsmith, p. 142.

⁴⁴ Eastlake, p. 140.

5.2.2 The Morning Room

In larger houses, women were often given a morning room for receiving breakfast and reading. This room acted as an additional drawing room and was positioned facing south or southeast to catch the morning light.⁴⁵ The arrangement and furnishing of the morning room corresponded with that of the drawing room. The light-hearted atmosphere and eclectic mix of decorations prominent in the drawing room were copied and adapted for the morning room. The similarities between the rooms resulted in less than half of Victorian homes having both.⁴⁶ As the decoration of the two rooms was parallel, the Dunmore pieces which were appropriate for use in the drawing room were also appropriate for use in the morning room. Therefore, Dunmore could expand its placement in the home without increasing its financial obligations by developing new pottery forms and styles.

5.2.3 The Conservatory

The conservatory and by association the garden were the other main feminine spaces within the home. Like other feminine spaces, they were used as centres for entertainment. Since the Tudor hunting parties and outdoor banquets, open air entertaining has been a popular form of amusement and a constant feature in British upper-class society. The Victorians and Edwardians developed outdoor entertaining into an art form as a result of an increased interest in natural history and botany and improvements in industry and architectural design. The ability to formally entertain in a garden or conservatory symbolised one's social and financial status.

The nineteenth century saw an increased fascination with natural history, fuelling the desire for gardens and conservatories. New biological materials were considered curiosities and were collected by private individuals and displayed either in small planetariums or in conservatories. The desire to become more familiar with

⁴⁵ Franklin, p. 55.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

nature was not just a result of new discoveries in natural history, but also a reaction against the industrial revolution. As cities expanded, pollution, health, and population density became important issues, while the desire for the utopia of the countryside and nature grew. The rural environment and nature in general was seen as healthier and despite it being less 'civilized', it was regarded as more refined and even sublime. This attraction to nature and countryside instigated new artistic and cultural movements exemplified by the poetry of John Ruskin. For Ruskin the beautiful forms of nature were signs of divinity. He held that the impact of such an aesthetic experience was moral, engendering motivation to love and serve God. For Ruskin, urban dwellers, particularly the lower classes, were isolated from a proper perception of nature and, therefore, were devoid of a chance for a morally better life.⁴⁷ This post-Romantic approach to nature, still reverberating in the late nineteenth century, helped justify the Victorian fashion of keeping countryside lodgings for garden parties and other social events.

Paradoxically, the wealth generated by the Industrial Revolution financed the construction of between 1000 and 2000 country houses from 1835 to 1914, the largest growth in county houses of any period.⁴⁸ The rise in the number of country houses, along with the desire to socialize in the country away from the city's noise and pollution, contributed to the popularity of garden parties during the Victorian and Edwardian periods. The country house party was one of the focal points of nineteenth century society. Under the guise of a healthy retreat, guests mingled for social, business, and political reasons. Figure 143 is a photograph taken at a country house party attended by the Prince of Wales in York in 1890. From the formal dress and pose of the guests illustrated in the photograph, it is immediately clear that the Victorians enjoyed the countryside in a prescribed and ceremonial fashion. The garden party could

⁴⁷ John D. Rosenberg, *The Darkening Glass, A Portrait of Ruskin's Genius* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961).

⁴⁸ Franklin, p. 1.

have been either an event during an elaborate country house party or a smaller social function in its own right. Images of garden parties (Figure 144) show that these events were no less formal than the larger country house parties. The fashionably dressed participants are shown gathered around a table set with fine china and silverware, trappings of elegant indoor entertaining. The quality of the service, place settings, and food were comparable to parties held indoors, only the scenery and menu changed.

In *A Visit to Dunmore Pottery*, Graeme Cruickshank contends Dunmore was slighted in the contemporary press as only being fit for outdoor use and garden parties by the Duke of Edinburgh. This is not in accord with the Victorian garden party's stature as a fashionable and elegant form of entertainment by the British aristocracy. Organizing a proper garden party could take even more time and care in organizing and transporting the needed materials than a traditional indoor party. The same crystal and silverware that was used indoors was often used outdoors. The fact that a member of the royal family used Dunmore in formal outdoor entertaining suggests that Dunmore was seen as a quality and superior product. The point is not that Dunmore was only suitable for outdoor use, but that the Duke of Edinburgh purchased enough pieces and settings that it could be used for a large garden party. The main source of Dunmore's income was based on vases and decorative objects, not on place settings. The use of Dunmore in the Duke of Edinburgh's garden party is the only documented case of Dunmore functioning as complete utilitarian place settings as opposed to objects of art.

Like garden parties, conservatories and winter gardens offered Dunmore Pottery the opportunity to be used in a natural setting. The interest in the natural world coupled with the affordability of conservatories as a result of advancements in iron and glass technology meant that even members of the middle class were able to attach conservatories to their homes. By the late nineteenth century, a quarter of all homes had

conservatories.⁴⁹ C Jennings and Co of Bristol offered 'smart looking' conservatories for between £26 5s and £44, smaller lean to conservatories could be purchased for as little as £4 15s.⁵⁰ Large conservatories were classified as winter gardens and they could be considered garish and in poor taste. In Henry James's *The Spoils of Poynton* (1897) Mona, who was depicted as tasteless and vulgar, asks 'Why has she never had a winter garden thrown out? If I ever had a place of my own I mean to have one.' Fleda, the story's protagonist, is dismayed at the thought and visualizes 'something glazed and piped, on iron pillars, with untidy plants and cane sofas; a shiny excrescence on the noble face of Poynton.' The winter garden at Moulton Paddocks (Figure 145) typified the interior with caned seats and iron columns that horrified Fleda.

Although winter gardens may have offended the righteous upper classes, they were popular among the nouveau riche. A winter garden had to be fitted with garden seats, pedestals, flower pots and fountains. In response to this eclectic fashion, Dunmore and other ceramic manufacturers rushed to create new and innovative designs for conservatories and winter gardens based on current aesthetics and popular Oriental imagery. The stalls of ceramic retailers, Daniell and Son and Brown-Westhead, Moore, & Co. at the 1876 Philadelphia International Exhibition included several pieces designed to be used in the conservatory or winter garden (Figures 91 and 94). Daniell and Son displayed a large fish bowl and drum shaped ceramic garden seats, while Brown-Westhead, Moore, & Co. sold Chinese inspired garden seats. The prominence of these items in the displays indicates the importance and popularity of garden and conservatory furnishings in the late nineteenth century. As previously discussed in Chapter 4, Dunmore produced a garden seat (Figure 95) similar to the Brown-Westhead, Moore, & Co. garden seat as early as 1880 when it was sold at the Highland Show in Kelso for 15s. Conservatory furniture was primarily made from wicker, rattan, metal or

⁴⁹ Franklin, p. 63.

⁵⁰ Helen C. Long, *The Edwardian House: The Middle Class Home in Britain 1880-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993), p. 43.

ceramic to suit the room's high humidity level. By simulating wicker, Dunmore's garden seat was imitating a recognised conservatory material. The sunflower design incorporates the plant imagery of the conservatory as well as suggests an Aesthetic Movement influence.

The garden seat is Dunmore's best known decorative piece for the conservatory, but the company also produced large pedestals and urns featuring cherubs, festoons, and swags for the room. As a consequence of the Victorian fascination with the antique, Classical motifs were in demand and were applied widely in formal neoclassical gardens popularised in the 1830s.⁵¹ In the conservatory, plants were typically arranged in pots and not directly planted in the ground, hence Dunmore produced several decorative flower pots and planters in various shapes and sizes for this purpose. The applied fern detailed green pot (Figure 146) exemplifies Dunmore's ability to keep up with current decorating and recreational trends. Collecting, drying, and displaying ferns was a popular pastime in the late nineteenth century. 'Pteridomania' (fern collecting mania) became a drawing room craze.⁵² In 1869, Shirley Hibberd published the *Fern Garden* which went through eight reprints in 10 years. The popularity of fern collecting was seen in the decorative arts where glass, ceramic, and furnishing firms incorporated the fern motif in their design repertoire. Potteries were decorating wares with painted, incised, or applied fern designs with some using a more rustic technique of 'leaf resist' where fern fronds were placed in the clay and when fired, the leaf would burn away leaving an imprint behind.⁵³ By decorating the flower pot with ferns, Gardner showed his understanding and appreciation of the current trends and how they could be used to enhance and market Dunmore pottery.

⁵¹ Long, p. 42.

⁵² Flanders, p. 162. Fern collecting became popular with the invention of the Warden Case which allowed the specimens to be collected and displayed in a glazed case which kept out the harmful toxins and pollutants associated with coal and gas while maintaining high humidity. People who collected ferns would pay high prices for rare or unusual species. People in the countryside looking to make extra money as well as amateur botanists removed so many ferns that many species became endangered.

⁵³ Peter Boyd, 'Pteridomania: The Victorian Passion for Ferns', *Antique Collecting*, 28 (1993), 10-12 (p. 10).

On a less practical side, Dunmore Pottery produced 'grotesques' to be placed around the garden and conservatory to inject humour in the space. Garden gnomes first became fashionable in the 1840s when they were imported from Germany and were placed in hidden coves, often depicted doing garden work (Figure 147).⁵⁴ From that point onwards, gnomes and figurines were a popular feature in nineteenth century gardens and conservatories. Dunmore Pottery did not produce gnome figurines; instead the Pottery manufactured a series of grotesques to be placed amongst the plants. These grotesques, called gollywogs in Scotland, usually took the form of known animals such as frogs, pigs, dogs and monkeys. Some pieces, such as the Dunmore pig (Figure 148) and the grotesque frog (Figure 149) were used to add an element of surprise to the garden. Other pieces, such as the frog planters (Figure 150) were more utilitarian and were used as fern planters. Arnold Fleming described Peter Gardner as having a 'keen interest in his garden, and delighted in showing his guests the quaint grotesque pottery figures and coloured glazed hens and dogs peeping out from under the shrubs and flowers in all sorts of cunningly contrived nooks, and no one enjoyed the surprise and occasional start of the visitor at those unexpected appearances more than himself.'⁵⁵

The conservatory offered Dunmore a unique place for its designs. It was considered a partially outdoors and indoors space, a place that was at once cultured and yet exotic. It was the place for Dunmore to experiment with grotesques, to create wild and abnormal decorative pieces. It was also a place radiating practicality and functionality. Dunmore's dual status of a utilitarian and Art pottery made it an appropriate decorative choice for the conservatory.

5.3 The Masculine Rooms

⁵⁴ Long, p. 42.

⁵⁵ Fleming, pp. 202-203.

While the drawing room and conservatory were considered the female sections of the home, the dining, smoking, and billiard rooms were thought to be their male counterparts. These sections of the home were decorated with heavier and darker furnishings and furniture. Where the drawing room was decorated to be 'light and easily illuminated, delicate, and not too serious in its general tone'⁵⁶, the masculine areas of the home should be sombre and dark with solid furniture.⁵⁷ The decoration of the masculine areas was often inspired by Eastern and Oriental design and imagery such as in the smoking room in Cardiff Castle or in Whistler's Peacock Room. The shift in emphasis from the 'delicate' to the sombre was not only reflected in the walls, carpeting and furniture of the room, but also in its utilitarian and ornamental ceramic pieces. Where Dunmore created a wide range of glazes, including many bright monochrome and polychrome glazes, for the feminine areas of the house, the Pottery's production for the masculine areas of the house were glazed primarily in darker shades of brown, tan and green.

Like the feminine areas of the conservatory and drawing room, the masculine areas were public rooms used for entertaining family and guests. They contained aesthetically relevant items that attested to the occupant's social status. In the masculine areas, the formal entertaining was primarily practiced in the dining room. After dinner or in the evening, less formal entertaining was conducted in the smoking or billiard rooms. The distinction between formal and informal entertaining had implications on the types of ceramic wares used in each of the rooms and their style and design. Gardner embraced the differences in decoration of masculine and feminine rooms and the roles and functions of these rooms. Dunmore's production for the masculine areas of the home, like the rooms entire decorative scheme, was heavier and darker than the wares produced for the feminine spaces. An analysis of the masculine

⁵⁶ Day, 'The Decoration of the Home', p. 101.

⁵⁷ Franklin, p. 48-49.

rooms themselves, their roles in Victorian society, and the Dunmore ware associated with each room will show that the pottery used in these areas have symbolic meaning embodied in their glazes and design qualities. Their differences in designs and style reflect whether they were used in the more formal dining room or the less formal smoking and billiard rooms.

5.3.1 The Dining Room

The dining room was the most socially important of the masculine spaces and was the complement to the feminine drawing room. The drawing room was used for entertaining primarily during the day while the dining room was used for entertaining in the evening. The concept of dining and the separation of space was such a prevalent belief in Victorian society that even in smaller homes of the period, 'there ought always, if possible to be a separate room for meals.'⁵⁸ Kerr suggested decorating the room in a style which 'is always somewhat massive and simple (what is called heavy).'⁵⁹ The 'whole aspect of the room ought to be that of masculine importance.'⁶⁰ The dining room relied on its furnishings and interior decoration to create this feeling of 'masculine importance'. Like the drawing room, the public function of the dining room dictated the furnishings would have been relatively expensive and stylish.

The use of ceramics in the dining room was different to that of other public rooms in the Victorian house. It is the only room in which there was parity between utilitarian and decorative pottery, both in quantity and quality. Where the drawing rooms contained more purely decorative pieces and the conservatory more functional pieces, the dining room was the only room in the house where a balance was maintained. The formal and public functions of the dining room required the ceramics

⁵⁸ Clarence Cook, *The House Beautiful: Essays on Beds and Tables, Stools and Candlesticks* (New York: Scribner and Armstrong, 1878; repr. New York: North River Press, 1980).

⁵⁹ Kerr, p. 104.

⁶⁰ Kerr, p. 105.

used in the room, the tableware as well as the decorations, to be of the highest quality. Even the most utilitarian pieces had artistic and decorative finishes.

Dunmore produced several pieces of pottery, both decorative and utilitarian, exclusively for use in the dining room, including items for the table and sideboard. Other less room specific Dunmore pieces, such as vases and plaques, entered the dining room for aesthetic purposes, such as adding to the room's décor, or for practical reasons, when the owner's ceramic collection had become too large to be displayed in one room. Like in other areas of the home, Victorians installed furnishings and shelves in the dining room specifically to exhibit ceramic collections. Sideboards which had traditionally been used to show plate now revealed the family's ceramic collection with the plate coming out only on special occasions.⁶¹ Eastlake suggested 'a set of narrow shelves ranged at the back, and forming part of the dining-room sideboard, would be admirable for this purpose [displaying ceramics], and would certainly form a very picturesque feature in the room.'⁶² Eastlake's sideboard with added shelves for display illustrates how Victorians arranged ceramics in the dining room (Figure 151). His etching with a mixture of utilitarian, classical and Eastern inspired ceramics and glass was beneficial to Dunmore from a commercial point of view. With the freedom to display mixed styles of ceramics, consumers could choose ceramic pieces which suited their tastes and budgets.

The dining room decorated in the Jacobean taste illustrates how ceramics contributed to the overall dining room décor (Figure 152). On the sideboard, two substantial ceramic pieces anchor each end. For households who could not afford original antique Eastern ceramics such as those pictured, Dunmore created a similar

⁶¹ Paston-Williams, p. 322. The replacement of plate with ceramics coincided with the shift from oil and candle to gas lighting. Many of the period's writers including Eastlake, Beeton, Orrinsmith and Cook commented on the tarnishing effect of the gas. By replacing plate with expensive and collectible ceramics, the home's occupants could still display their wealth and status without having to worry about polishing silver. The replacement of the china back to the silver at special occasions, helped mark the event and separate it from the normal entertaining of dinner parties.

⁶² Eastlake, p. 135.

design exemplified by the blue Eastern inspired Pilgrim flask with applied handles (Figure 153). Instead of a circular design, the Dunmore flask's centre has been moulded in a quatrefoil shape. To recreate the intricate painted decoration found on originals, Dunmore moulded the geometric designs, floral motifs, and stylised female heads in high relief. The moulding process was cheaper and easier than painting and was cost-effective for potteries with a small workforce like Dunmore. From contemporary photographs and etchings in design manuals, the abundant display of ceramics was a prominent and acceptable feature in the Victorian dining room. Not all critics approved of this approach however, and Lewis F. Day urged people to remember that 'only such furniture as dining necessitate should be there; the sideboard should serve the purpose of a sideboard, not of a cabinet for curios.'⁶³

The act of dining itself was an important social ritual of the Victorian period. In an age where Darwinism and empiricist ideologies were ingrained in the public psyche, dining was seen as 'the privilege of civilization.'⁶⁴ It showed the superiority of culture over nature since 'Creatures of the inferior races eat and drink; man only dines.'⁶⁵ Giving and attending dinner parties were part of the Victorian social scene, presented with the trappings of sophistication that complied with accepted paradigms of cultured and genteel living. How a host presented dinner and the social customs around the meal were as important as what food was served. In *Nobody's Angels: Middle Class Women and Domestic Ideology in Victorian Culture*, Elizabeth Langland argues that dinner was more important than just a meal, that it staged the status of the host and his guests.⁶⁶ The number of dinner guests varied but should be 'not less than the graces, nor more than the muses.'⁶⁷ For those with newly acquired money, entertaining, in particular hosting

⁶³ Day, 'The Decoration of the Home', p. 100.

⁶⁴ Beeton, p. 905.

⁶⁵ Beeton, p. 905.

⁶⁶ Elizabeth Langland, *Nobody's Angels: Middle Class Women and Domestic Ideology in Victorian Culture* (London: Cornell University Press, 1995), p. 40.

⁶⁷ Kirwan, p. 79.

dinner parties, was a 'public relations exercise'.⁶⁸ The dining room became the theatre and the table the stage.

The 'public relations exercise' began with cultivation of the accepted customs and patterns of contemporary dining. Britain had traditionally looked to the continent in matters of etiquette and culture. From the late 1600s, when Charles II instituted French customs, British dinners had been served à la française.⁶⁹ For this style of dining, all dishes and courses were placed on the table with the diners helping and serving themselves. Servants were there to lay out dishes, plates, and cutlery and distribute wine and condiments, but generally remained as separate as possible from the diners.⁷⁰ The table looked different from what was regarded in Britain as a traditional layout and new ceramic forms entered the British dining room. Covered dishes, tureens, and condiments, inspired by French dining manners, were introduced to the table.⁷¹ Mary Ellen Best's *The Dining Room* (1838; Bridgeman Art Library) illustrates the arrangement for dining à la française where the dishes were placed close to the diners for easy serving, though the host and hostess still served the soup and fish courses as well as carved meat (Figure 154).⁷² With everything displayed on the table at once, it was necessary to have matching plates, serving dishes, and platters. Dunmore product listings from Highland and Agriculture Shows and International exhibitions do not list dinner sets for sale and it is unlikely that Dunmore was used in the dining room at this time. Its entrance onto the dining room table was delayed until dinners began to be served in the à la russe as opposed to the à la française style.

⁶⁸ Paston-Williams, p. 313.

⁶⁹ Ann Eatwell, 'À la Française to à la Russe, 1690-1930', *Elegant Eating: Four Hundred Years of Dining in Style*, ed. by Philippa Glanville and Hilary Young (London: V & A Publications, 2002), 48-51 (p. 48).

⁷⁰ Eatwell, p. 48.

⁷¹ Eatwell, p. 49.

⁷² Eatwell, p. 48.

Dining à la russe began in the second half of the nineteenth century as a more formal and sophisticated way to dine than à la française.⁷³ In this method of dining, food was distributed individually to each diner by servants. The table was laid out for the first course before the diners were seated; subsequent dinner courses and their plates, bowls, and saucers were brought out by the servants. Flowers, fruits, and desserts were the only items that remained on the table throughout the meal (Figure 155).⁷⁴ By removing the food from the dinner table, more space was available for decorative items such as epergnes, vases, and figurines. From catalogue listings, advertisements and ware produced, Dunmore is shown to have understood these changing dining and social patterns. Subsequently, more sales outlets and markets were opened to the Pottery.

Dressing the table for dinner was in itself an art form which generated its own set of dedicated guidebooks and chapters within more general housekeeping manuals. The cultured image of dinner dictated that it should always be formally set and decorated. Whether the dinner was for the mistress of the home, the family, or for guests the table would be set with a tablecloth and table settings with the 'same cleanliness, neatness, and scrupulous exactness.'⁷⁵ The table centrepiece was a requirement for all dining, whether a small or large gathering. According to A.V. Kirwin in *Host and Guest* (1864),

'A centre ornament, whether it be a dormant, a plateau, an epergne, or a candelabrum is found so convenient, and contributes so much...to the food appearance of table, that dinner is seldom or never set out without something of this kind.'⁷⁶

⁷³ Dining à la russe was slow to gain popularity and many dinners were still served à la française. Cook books and home manuals straddled the debate. *Beeton's* and other cookbooks offered menus and suggested place settings in both styles.

⁷⁴ Kirwan, p. 91.

⁷⁵ Beeton, p. 16.

⁷⁶ Kirwan, p. 91.

By the late 1890s, the decorative epergne was out of fashion and was replaced with ornamental pots and vases filled with fresh flowers from the garden or conservatory.⁷⁷ Beeton advised her readers that 'In decorating a table, whether for luncheon, dessert, or supper, a vase or two of flower should never be forgotten, as they add so much to the elegance of the *tout ensemble*.'⁷⁸ For formal dinners, crystal and sterling silver vases would have been the preferred choice for the hostess, making Dunmore's more rustically styled vases and flower pots inappropriate at this type of meal. Instead, Dunmore would have been used for smaller, family dinners and less formal entertaining such as luncheons or teas.

The Victorian meal was as extravagant as the table setting was elaborate. The dinner was served over several hours and consisted of a first course of soup or fish, followed by the entrees, a second course containing more meat and vegetables, a third course of foods considered delicacies such as meat and cheese or cakes and jellies, culminating with the desserts and ices. Bread was either left on the table or placed on the sideboard to be brought to the diner when requested. Each course could be composed of several dishes, one to three dishes for a family dinner and up to ten for a large dinner party.⁷⁹ With the number and variety of foods served, Dunmore was able to develop several different utilitarian pieces for the presentation of food.

One of the main components of the Victorians diet was bread. Beeton described it as 'an article of food of the first necessity'.⁸⁰ In various forms, bread was served at all meals by all social classes.⁸¹ Dunmore produced a specially designed bread dish with the invocation 'Give us this day our daily bread' from the Lord's Prayer moulded around the rim (Figure 156). The quote reflects Victorians' religious convictions and

⁷⁷ Drury, p. 62.

⁷⁸ Beeton, pp. 801-802.

⁷⁹ Beeton, pp. 905-960 and Paston-Williams, pp. 328-331.

⁸⁰ Beeton, p. 832.

⁸¹ The repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846 and the importation of cheaper grains from America and Australia lowered the price of the raw ingredients for bread. There was a general decline in home baking and much of the bread was bought from the bakers.

the desire to display one's morality and piety in public. It also proves a Victorian tendency to commodify nonmaterial aspects of life which were totally immersed in convention. The prayer imprinted on the pottery item is a classical example of the commodification of a certain Victorian lifestyle.⁸² Dunmore's use of a Biblical reference is not unique and prayers in needlework, metalwork, ceramic, and architectural fittings were placed throughout the home. The dish's function as a bread bowl was reaffirmed by the inscription as well as the wheat sheaf details on the handle. The two tone slip glaze in tobacco brown and yellow have a rustic, naive feel. Dunmore's thick glaze partially obscures the quote, the piece hints at a biblical reference, but the main function of the dish-to serve bread-is the determining factor in the production of the piece. By keeping the form and function at the centre of its design, Dunmore was keeping to its early utilitarian roots.

The shape of the Dunmore bread dish followed common designs for the bread dish form. Other potteries were producing pieces in a comparable style such as the unmarked majolica bread bowl in Figure 157. Like Dunmore's dish, the rim of the bowl carries an inscription and wheat sheaves decorate the handles. While the two pieces are similar, the majolica piece has more colourful glazes crudely applied to different elements of the piece where Dunmore's bowl was glazed uniformly in browns and tans. The form of these pieces, a flat, oval shaped base with an angled rim, was used to serve other types of baked goods. In *Beeton's* an etching of a platter of macarons is seen to have the same shape as the bread plate. Instead of the wheat sheaves on the rim, a modified egg and dart design was added. Dunmore produced several platters with various rim details which would have been used to serve and display other types of baked goods.

⁸² See *Consumption and the World of Goods*, ed. by John Brewer and Roy Porter (New York: Routledge, 1993).

For the first course of the meal, one thick and one clear soup was served.⁸³

The soup was either brought directly to the table to be served by the host or portioned out individually by servants at the sideboard. To keep the soup hot, it was brought from the kitchen in a soup dish or lidded tureen.⁸⁴ The soup tureen was usually supported on decorated feet to protect the table from heat. The light blue with cobalt and brown splashed moulded Dunmore soup tureen follows this pattern (Figure 158). The tureen and its associated lid have a panel design and the moulded grotesque head feet have been applied slightly off centre to the bowl. Further detail is found on the rim of the bowl and lid. The Dunmore tureen is decorative and artistic while at the same time reveals the Pottery's utilitarian origins. No other Art potteries were producing soup tureens, most likely as they were regarded as too 'utilitarian' for Art pottery production; comparable pieces must therefore be taken from companies manufacturing mass-produced table wares. Minton produced several types of tureens including concave, round and octagon shaped tureens with painted and transfer printed decoration.⁸⁵ Where the painted and transfer patterns were prescribed and set at the Minton factory, the potters at Dunmore had more freedom to choose which glaze, feet and handles were applied to the piece. Dunmore's unsystematic approach to decoration and design of tableware, as well as a lack of evidence of a complete Dunmore dinner service, suggests that pieces such as the tureen were bought to supplement a customer's existing service or were used in less formal family dining where a matching service was not required.

Along with bread bowls and tureens, Dunmore produced cruet sets for the dining room table. The cruet set, introduced onto the British table in the early seventeenth

⁸³ Paston-Williams, p. 331. With the expansion of the British Empire and the increased availability of different spices and ingredients, soups became more exotic and important to the overall dining experience. *Beeton's Book of Household Management* gives recipes for coconut soup, mulligatawny soup, and tapioca soup. Dinners were judged not only on the quality of the meal, but also its rarity or exoticism.

⁸⁴ Tureens became a necessary part of dinner service in the late 1600s when dinners became longer and the ingredients in soups became more refined and a way to preserve the soups delicate flavours was needed. The word 'tureen' comes from the French word for flavour. See Philippa Glanville, 'Saucers, Casters and Tureens, 1600-1800' *Elegant Eating: Four Hundred Years of Dining in Style*, ed. by Philippa Glanville and Hilary Young (London: V & A Publications, 2002), 60-63 (p. 62).

⁸⁵ Atterbury and Batkin, p. 230.

century, offered a variety of flavoured vinegars, saucers, ketchups and mustards in sets containing both bottles and jars.⁸⁶ The various dishes of each dinner course, as well as the candelabra and flower arrangements, pushed the cruet set to the sideboard to be brought to the table as and when its contents were needed.⁸⁷ At less formal dinners, sauces and vinegar would be kept on the table and the guests would pass them 'at once and instantaneously to each other.'⁸⁸ The very nature of cruet sets, that they contained 'extras' to the meal, suggests that only the middle and upper classes could afford them or their contents. Early examples were created in silver, gilt, and crystal. The increase of wealth and the fall in prices of food and manufactured goods during the Victorian period brought the use of sauces and their associated cruet sets down the socio-economic chain. Cruets sets began to be manufactured in pressed glass and ceramics with smaller proportions for modest, less grand homes. Dunmore's majolica glazed cruet set with silver mounts (Figure 159) falls into this category of middle status sets. The set contains five elements: a salt pot, pepper caster, mustard pot, and vinegar bottle mounted in silver with a matching stand. Dunmore's example was compactly designed to not take up much space and could have remained even on a small table as shown in contemporary illustrations of place settings. With its sterling silver trim and stand, it was elegant and artistic, but remained functional and within the budget of a larger group of people than traditional crystal and gilt cruet sets. Dunmore's cruet set would have been equally appropriate for formal picnics of the Victorian era in which Beeton advised 'a bottle of mint-sauce well corked, a bottle of salad dressing, a bottle of vinegar, made mustard, pepper, salt, good oil' were 'things not be forgotten at a picnic'.⁸⁹

⁸⁶ Glanville, p. 60.

⁸⁷ Glanville, p. 62.

⁸⁸ Kirwan, p. 80.

⁸⁹ Beeton, p. 960.

During Victorian dinners, cheese was served at the end of the meal before desserts.⁹⁰ At large dinners, cheese in the 'form of ramequins' was provided while at small dinners 'Stilton, the Roquefort, the Chester' were served.⁹¹ Although some believed a dinner without cheese 'is like a woman with one eye' it was not always served at refined dinners.⁹² Cheese and bread, both filling and inexpensive, were the staples of the working class diet and as a result should not be eaten in quantity by the middle and upper classes.⁹³ As Thorsten Veblen observed, a lower class emulates a higher class in the style of consumption (pecuniary emulation), but the latter always tries to differentiate themselves by choosing other goods for consumption and thus would secure their higher position.⁹⁴ To make cheese appear more sophisticated and acceptable, it was elegantly prepared and presented in dedicated serving vessels such as Dunmore's cheese dome (Figure 106). The dome is constructed of three pieces: the bottom platter, the dome, and the finial and decorated with ivy leaves and a leaf shaped knob. Across the sides of the dome, two banded sections create a field for an applied ivy leaf design. This style of cheese dome was common in ceramics and Alloa Pottery produced a similar form in majolica glaze (Figure 107). The two pieces differ in detail and in the amount of ornamentation. Unlike Dunmore's example, Alloa applied leaf embellishments to the edge of the base as well as the top of the dome which have been glazed in monotone green to contrast with the majolica background. Though the two pieces appear similar, the more elaborate Alloa cheese dome was more costly to produce in terms of skill and labour. These domes were multifunctional and could be used for storing the cheese as well. Though Victorian cake domes were typically

⁹⁰ Kirwan, p. 199.

⁹¹ Kirwan, p. 198.

⁹² Beeton, p. 817.

⁹³ Flanders, p. 250.

⁹⁴ Thorstein Veblen, 'Pecuniary Emulation', in *The Theory of the Leisure Class: An Economic Study of Institutions* (New York: Macmillan, 1899), pp. 22-34.

decorated with more feminine designs such as flowers, they have a similar shape and it is possible that these pieces doubled as cake domes.

Although cheese was routinely served for the third dinner course, it was the food of choice for lunch. By the 1850s, lunch had become an accessible and less formal way to entertain for women of the leisure classes.⁹⁵ The foods eaten at lunch needed to be light and easy to consume as women would lunch without removing their bonnets or jackets.⁹⁶ A lunch meal of meat and cheese was taken in a simply set dining room. The only items placed on the table were cruets, a water jug, two types of plates, knives and forks, and desserts; the cheese and meat platter were placed on the sideboard. As lunch was less formal than dinner, the Dunmore cheese dome would have been appropriate to use in this setting.

The final course of the dinner was the desserts, fruits and ices. For displaying and serving this course, Dunmore created several types of tazzas, shallow dishes on long stems. The tazza whose base is made of three stylised dolphins is Dunmore's more 'traditional' adaptation of the tazza form (Figure 160). The inspiration for this piece is unknown; however, Dunmore was likely copying the design from other potteries. Minton manufactured ceramics with dolphin motifs in Parian, majolica, and bone china from the mid-1830s to the turn of the century.⁹⁷ The Dunmore dolphin tazza has similar decorative elements to the 1852 Minton design for a Dolphin Trinket Stand (Figure 161). Both pieces' stems are composed of three dolphins which support a shaped rim bowl. Compared to Dunmore, the Minton design has a more elaborate base and refined bowl. By incorporating the dolphin element, it is possible Gardner was trying to honour one of the Pottery's patrons. The dolphin motif used in architectural and decorative art design can be traced to France where it was used to represent the *dauphin*,

⁹⁵ Paston-Williams, p. 317.

⁹⁶ Paston-Williams, p. 317.

⁹⁷ Atterbury and Batkin, p. 71.

the heir to the throne. The dolphin tazza could therefore reference the Prince of Wales, one the Pottery's earliest patrons.

According to Beeton, 'A few vases of fresh flowers, tastefully arranged add very much to the appearance of the dessert.'⁹⁸ Following Beeton's advice that flowers and the dessert course should be displayed together throughout dinner, Dunmore created individual pieces for these purposes that could be purchased and used separately or as a set. The Dunmore tree tazza with three attached bamboo shaped flower holders and applied human figures could be used in conjunction with the four part bamboo spill vase (Figure 162). Used together, the tazza could have displayed fruit or other desserts and the bamboo vases the prerequisite flowers.

By analysing these two Dunmore tazzas, one can understand how a relatively small pottery produced such a large quantity and variety of forms. The dolphin tazza was moulded in three pieces: the base, the dolphin stem and the bowl. Dunmore's more complex tree tazza comprised the base, tree trunk stem, bowl, and applied human figures and bamboo shoots. The bowls of the two tazzas are the same and would have been made in the same mould. The bamboo shoots on the tree tazza are the same as the shoots that form the bamboo vase. The tree tazza's applied human figure was used as finials on teapot lids. The mixture of different shapes and diverse decorations produced considerable elasticity in the pottery workshop while minimalizing Dunmore's investment-essential features for a small pottery competing with large industrialized factories.

Beeton declared tazzas were 'now the favourite shape of dessert dishes' and they were essential components of larger dessert services.⁹⁹ Dessert services were usually produced in porcelain to enhance the feeling of luxury and extravagance that

⁹⁸ Beeton, p. 801.

⁹⁹ Beeton, p. 801.

went along with the dessert itself.¹⁰⁰ Purchasing in sets was not always mandatory, particularly in tea and dessert sets where there was 'some freedom'.¹⁰¹ Although Continental ceramic firms were manufacturing dessert services by the mid 1700s, Britain did not produce dessert sets until the early nineteenth century when Derby and Worcester specialised in their production.¹⁰² With progress in production and technology advanced by the Industrial Revolution, porcelain and china dessert sets at more affordable prices became available to wider audiences by the end of the nineteenth century.¹⁰³ According to advertisements at the Highland and Agricultural fairs, Dunmore Pottery produced dessert services from the 1870s. It is not know what constituted a Dunmore dessert set but it would have likely been similar to those produced by other British ceramic firms. Worcester's dessert service included 'plates, as many as you will, and then four different dishes for fruit, nuts, cake and other trifles. These dishes are leaf-shaped, round or of diamond shape, but with the sides fluted...'¹⁰⁴ Dunmore produced several leaf shaped designs including the leaf plate (Figure 163) and leaf bowl (Figure 164) which have been catalogued as 'dessert plates' in museum and auction house catalogues. Although no contemporary reference to leaf dessert sets has been found, given Dunmore's frequency in borrowing designs and following known trends, it is likely these leaf designs were part of larger dessert services. Like most comparisons with other potteries' table services, the Dunmore set would have appeared more rustic and less elegant and would not have been used for formal dining.

From contemporary descriptions of the pottery, Dunmore was producing mainly pieces in Rockingham and majolica glazes, typical of the colours found in Victorian dining rooms. Examples of contemporary dinner and dessert sets were usually white

¹⁰⁰ Hilary Young, 'Porcelain for the Dessert', *Elegant Eating: Four Hundred Years of Dining in Style* ed. by Philippa Glanville and Hilary Young (London: V & A Publications. 2002), 90-91 (p. 90).

¹⁰¹ Cook, p. 238

¹⁰² Young, p. 91.

¹⁰³ Young, p. 91.

¹⁰⁴ Cook, p. 241.

china with vibrant blue or burgundy borders trimmed in gold or silver. The white plate and bright borders created a canvas and frame to display the food. Dunmore pottery had a completely different aesthetic feel. Compared to china services, Dunmore's dark glaze and relatively thick earthenware would have appeared unsophisticated and naive. They would not have been used for large, formal dinners designed to impress guests with the extravagance and wealth of the host. This did not mean Dunmore was not used for 'fashionable' dining. The pottery would have been purchased by followers of the Arts and Crafts Movement precisely for its plain and rustic look. A 1907 *Studio* advertisement for Heal & Sons, known for progressive designs in the Arts and Crafts Style, featured a photograph of a table and sideboard displaying rustic style pottery (Figure 165). The similarities in type and production method between Dunmore Pottery and that displayed in the Heals & Sons advertisement suggest that those who decorated in this style would have considered purchasing Dunmore pottery for the dining room.

The dining room was the one room in the house where Dunmore did not have to choose an Art or utilitarian pottery identity. It created decorative ware for the mantel and sideboard and artistic, functional pieces for the table. Through the use of rich, dark glazes and substantial forms, Dunmore maintained the image of a masculine and heavy space. Though the tablewares were unlikely to be used during formal dining, the pottery secured a place for itself in more casual dining. The quantity of dessert plates and centre pieces that survive suggests that Dunmore Pottery was successful at marketing itself for informal, family dining.

5.3.2 The Smoking Room

Smoking rooms began slowly to be introduced to the home in the Victorian period as tobacco use became generally more socially acceptable. Prince Albert helped the room become more widely accepted by including a smoking room at Osborne in the

1840s and other home owners followed suit by the 1850s.¹⁰⁵ Smoking rooms, like dining rooms, were decorated in dark colours and heavy furnishings to impart a masculine feeling to the rooms. In order to protect the rest of the house from offending smells, they were typically positioned at the end of the house in a wing that included other masculine areas such as the library and the billiard room. In this way, men could have a self contained area away from the sensibilities and censure of women. The rooms were furnished with comfortable furniture and the accoutrements for tobacco use were chosen to reflect the status of the occupant and the function of the room.

The Falkirk Museum Collection contains a brown Rockingham glazed Dunmore spittoon. The piece might be considered at odds with the majority of Dunmore's production. To understand why Dunmore, known for its artistic forms and glazes, would create a spittoon that on first examination does not fit either the ethos of an Art pottery or a strict convention of the Victorian lifestyle, one must appreciate Victorian tobacco use, concepts of healthy behaviour, and new understandings about epidemiology, particularly the causes and prevention of tuberculosis. In light of these concepts it becomes apparent that Dunmore was not only filling a role by producing the sanitary wares needed for a healthy society, but also producing them with an artistic flare.

Although tobacco use today is considered unhealthy and detrimental to communities, it has a long history of use in the western world. While the most common form of tobacco today is leaf tobacco used for cigarettes, tobacco that was snorted, chewed, or 'dipped' (sucked) was more popular than the smoked variety in Victorian Britain. By the 1860s, ninety eight percent of the Virginia and North Carolina tobacco crop was used to create chewing tobacco.¹⁰⁶ The large proportion of people chewing tobacco necessitated the creation of receptacles for its by-products. Spittoons (also

¹⁰⁵ Franklin, pp. 56-57.

¹⁰⁶ Ernest Capozzili, *Accounting Practices in the 1800s: An Historical Perspective* (Paper given at the second Accounting History International Conference in Osaka, 8-10 August 2001), p. 12.

called cuspidors) in ceramic and metal were produced to catch the offending juices and tobacco wads that were previously expelled on the ground.

Historically, spitting has been a controversial bodily function. Spitting was acceptable in ancient China and spittoons are found as part of burial artefacts. These spittoons, simple in shape, had a flared mouth narrowing at the base to collect the liquid. Although it was common in the middle ages to spit at the dinner table or whenever needed, Erasmus became one of the first to deem it inappropriate in 1530 when he advised that it was 'unmannerly to suck back saliva, as equally are those whom we see spitting at every third word not from necessity but from habit' and if one must spit to 'turn away when spitting, lest your saliva fall on someone.' Spitting in public was acceptable in the 18th century and people were told 'You should not abstain from spitting, and it is very ill mannered to swallow what should be spat.'¹⁰⁷ Encouraging people to spit meant that most people needed a receptacle to catch the liquid that matched their social and economic status. The blue jasper spittoon (Figure 166) in the National Maritime Museum, London is believed to have been used by Horatio Nelson on board the HMS Victory. The spittoon's decoration consists of ribbons and swags which were popular during the neoclassical period of the late 18th century. The fine craftsmanship, materials and design details suggest this spittoon was made for someone with money and elevated social status, indicating that chewing and spitting tobacco were acceptable for socially prominent Britons.

Tobacco products were popular among all social classes in nineteenth century American and European society. Spittoons were found in most public houses and private dwellings. In *Sketches by Boz* (1850), Charles Dickens described a London ale house as 'The monotonous appearance of the sanded boards was relieved by an occasional spittoon.' Pictures of nineteenth century interiors show plain ceramic

¹⁰⁷ As quoted in N. Elias, *The History of Manners* (New York: Pantheon, 1982), p. 1.

spittoons were used in typical Victorian pubs (Figure 167). While in the more exclusive wine bars and private social clubs, bronze or brass spittoons were utilized (Figure 168). The interiors of these two rooms illustrate how different economic classes socialized, interacted and entertained. The inclusion of spittoons in both common and exclusive interiors demonstrates spitting and tobacco chewing was an acceptable and widespread behaviour in the nineteenth century.

Although spitting was common in the nineteenth century, not everyone condoned such behaviour. In *American Notes*, written in 1842, Charles Dickens describes Washington as the 'headquarters of tobacco tinctured saliva' and warned visitors to the Senate that 'the carpets are reduced by the universal disregard of the spittoon with which every honourable member is accommodated'. This censure did little to curb tobacco consumption nor to the production of spittoons. Due to the adaptation of colonial products, such as tobacco and coffee, Victorian housing design and forms of entertainment changed significantly and, in consequence, the social life of men was influenced by new trends. Transferring men's social life from the study to the fashionable smoking rooms, which contained the ubiquitous spittoons, was one example of the new social conventions induced by colonial export.¹⁰⁸ Architectural designs from imminent designers such as Baillie Scott and Ernest Gimson typically included a smoking room for the gentlemen. It was for these fashionable houses, in addition to the middle class terraced houses, that Dunmore designed its spittoons.

The Dunmore spittoon (Figure 169) has a simple, utilitarian design. The top, slightly sloped towards the centre, has ridges to help channel the fluid and wastes to the hole, allowing the liquid to be collected in the base. The hole on the spittoon's side was used for cleaning and emptying the receptacle. The only decoration is a tobacco leaf or 'golden leaf' design around the circumference of the spittoon. Descriptions from the

¹⁰⁸ Franklin, p. 54.

Highland and Agricultural Shows and catalogue entries from the 1886 Edinburgh and 1888 Glasgow International Exhibitions suggest this form was produced throughout the 1870s and 1880s.

Dunmore's interpretation of a spittoon is very similar to spittoons produced for the Texas State Capitol building circa 1880 (Figure 170). This spittoon, like Dunmore's, is moulded in two sections, finished with a rich Rockingham glaze, has a channelled top and a cleaning hole and is decorated with plant designs. Several potteries were producing this form of spittoon and the Rockingham glaze was one of the most common glazes used in spittoon production. The dark brown colour would appear more hygienic as the tobacco juices would be less obvious than on a lighter colour glaze.

Spitting, both for tobacco and for the general disposal of phlegm, was acceptable throughout the nineteenth century until 1882 when the German biologist Robert Koch discovered that tuberculosis bacillus survived in saliva. Spitting was thereafter considered not only unsocial, but also dangerous. In 1886, the French Hygiene Council issued the first anti-spitting law, followed by other European countries in the 1890s. Britain was not as strict and spitting in public remained a common behaviour in public houses and at home until the 1930s.¹⁰⁹ Ceramic industries in America and Continental European countries would have ceased spittoon production by the end of the nineteenth century when public spitting became illegal. British ceramic producers, including Dunmore, continued to make spittoons for the home market and it is likely Dunmore produced spittoons until it closed in the late 1910s.

Dunmore also produced other forms of tobacciana, including the large moulded tobacco jars decorated with classical reliefs (Figure 171). Like the spittoons, Dunmore's tobacco jars were glazed in dark sombre colours to correspond with the

¹⁰⁹ M. E. Teller, *The Tuberculosis Movement* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1988), pp. 60 and 69; L. Bryder, *Below the Magic Mountain* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988).

heavy and masculine smoking room interiors. Considering the number of these types of pieces that survived in public and private collections, it can be assumed Dunmore had a strong market in tobacco wares. Dunmore's main Art pottery rivals, Linthorpe and Burmantoft potteries, did not produce spittoons or other tobacciana. Linthorpe was strictly an Art pottery only producing vases and artistic objects, spittoons falling outside its artistic philosophy. Although Burmantoft produced utilitarian wares, it did not become popular until the late 1880s and early 1890s, when the link between saliva and tuberculosis had already been established. The market for spittoons likely decreased and the needs would have been met by other potteries like Dunmore who were already producing such wares.

Dunmore pieces for the smoking room shared a cohesive design philosophy that was absent from the pieces designed for other rooms. Unlike the ceramics for other spaces which embraced the use of bright colours and modern design, the smoking room pieces were more limited in their decorative scheme. Gardner's designs relied heavily on classical imagery and traditional forms of design. The smoking room pieces were all glazed in dark, masculine colours and moulded in heavy detail. The lightness and whimsy of pieces associated with more feminine rooms was replaced with items that adhered to the Victorian understanding of manly sophistication.

Through Gardner's ability to create ceramics that corresponded to the period's interiors and patterns of living, Dunmore Pottery survived where other Art potteries had failed. Room specific ceramics like dessert sets and spittoons adhered to the colour and gender principles set down by the period's decorating manuals. The items devoid of such characteristics were embellished with a variety of decorative designs and glazes that allowed the customer to purchase a piece to fit any décor. Dunmore's longevity was predominately a result of its twofold status of both a utilitarian and Art pottery. Liberated from a polarised aesthetic convention, Gardner acquired a diverse market for

Dunmore that other potteries, hampered by their categorization as either utilitarian or Art, was denied. For this reason, Dunmore was Scotland's longest surviving pottery of this size and type.

CONCLUSION

The study of ceramics, as well as of the whole of decorative arts, is problematic and complex. The research completed for this thesis encompassed theories from economics, sociology, and art history. The lack of an inclusive academic paradigm for decorative arts study resulted in the creation of a new model for research that, as a result of the dearth of academic ceramic research, relied heavily on literature from the ambit of collector and museum publications. In terms of focus, this thesis departs from their governing models that highlight elite and luxury objects and dismiss typical middling artefacts. Their vested interest in promoting choice wares to validate collecting and exhibitions denies the historical and social importance of everyday objects and their associated culture. In contrast, this research focuses on the inner workings of a relatively small workshop, its history and everyday productions and how those were influenced by and shaped the social and economic contexts of the period. Studying industries like Dunmore and their products helps explain how art trends manifested outside of the large industrial centres of Britain and how the transmission of styles delineated through the strata of British society.

Dunmore Pottery and its growth are significant in that they reflect what was taking place in the Scottish and overall British decorative arts industry during the nineteenth century. Usually, the decorative arts are systematically reduced to the wares themselves without further examination of the social and economic contexts in which they were produced. Analysing Dunmore as a business, and not just through its wares, shows the intricate interaction between consumers, economic principles, industrial advancements, and guiding artistic theories that shaped the Pottery's production and sustainability.

Morris's and the Arts and Crafts Movement's intellectual and socialist approach to the decorative arts gave Gardner new sources and design influences as well

as a cohesive approach for his marketing. The Movement's adherence to and promotion of traditional methods and forms came at an auspicious time as small potteries like Dunmore were having difficulties competing with the large industrialised factories. Their encouragement of handmade wares and unpretentious forms galvanized small ceramic workshops on a wave of simple and artistic designs. The Arts and Crafts Movement made small potteries and their products covetable and fashionable to a segment of society who might previously not have been interested in such humble ware. However, whereas the Arts and Crafts' critics and designers wanted to create a uniform style that would improve taste and the conditions of the workforce, Gardner understood that no homogeneous fashion could succeed in the pluralistic society of Britain. Where the Arts and Crafts would be the style choice for one group of consumers, the Classical Revival or Aesthetic Movement would be the choice for another. The transmission of nineteenth century styles developed into a highly nuanced value system whereby the dual influences of fashion and social class dictated what ceramics were purchased and displayed. With a variety of styles, pieces, and price ranges, Gardner had the freedom to find consumers for his wares up and down the socio-economic spectrum. Unhindered by strict adherence to any one prescribed style, Gardner could manipulate his ceramics and marketing to reflect consumers' perceived desires.

Gardner remained attuned to the economic and cultural changes that cultivated consumers' fascination with novelty and beauty. Dunmore's mixture of assembled shapes and varied decorations gave considerable elasticity to the workshop while minimising the company's investment—essential components for a small business competing with industrialised factories and larger Art potteries more heavily financed. Gardner fused technological ingenuity with craftsmanship to create a distinct style of pottery. By altering the glaze or applied detail, Dunmore created an endless variety of ceramics in both transient and enduring styles.

In late nineteenth century Britain, shopping was a feminine activity and Gardner used this knowledge to create and market wares that catered to women and their domestic and social rituals. From teapots to tazzas, Dunmore produced items that reflected the collective conventions of women's lives and their desires, aspirations and self-image. These wares combined the need for functional, utilitarian ceramics with artistic flair and novelty that appealed to Victorian women's perception of fashionable living. Like many decorative arts firms, Dunmore was sold through specialty shops and department stores which were seen as an acceptable part of women's recreation and amusement. However unlike many potteries, Gardner heavily promoted the wares to be sold through bazaars—a robustly feminine domain encompassing most socio-economic groups. Dunmore's emphasis on endorsing feminine concepts of beauty and retailing through feminine outlets meant that it often neglected the consumption of men which is seen in the minimal number of styles and forms of male oriented ceramics such as tobacco jars.

Gardner understood the relationship between Dunmore and its consumers. Through creating wares that consumers imbued with meaning, Gardner helped foster Victorians' passage to consumerism by responding to their material expectations. Dunmore's depots and pottery sales room facilitated direct communication between Gardner and his consumers. By interacting directly with customers, he gained first hand knowledge of what consumers desired, found fashionable and thought of his designs. Where other decorative arts producers that sold solely through secondary sources relied on feedback from their distributors, the complex dialogue between British tastes and the manufacturing and retail systems were brought directly to Gardner. Without a delay in feedback, Dunmore could more easily respond to consumer taste and alter its wares than other potteries.

Aware of the complex relationship between material artefacts and self-identity, Gardner marketed Dunmore with a multi-strand approach that promoted the workshop as a sophisticated and fashionable pottery. Branding was a new and important aspect of nineteenth century consumption. For consumers unsure of their social standing, buying branded goods was a straightforward method of asserting who they were and where they fit within the echelons of society. Through deliberate linking of the Pottery to members of royalty and nobility, Gardner created an aristocratic brand identity for Dunmore which has remained even to this day. Owing to its well devised branding and marketing strategy, Dunmore offered an emblem of style and social status to consumers. Through Gardner's skills at marketing to fashionable ideals of craftsmanship and originality, the contradiction of linking aristocracy and luxury with humble earthenware was accepted and not questioned. Likewise, Gardner's branding and classification of Dunmore as an Art pottery, despite the quantity of classically inspired pieces and moulded wares produced, helped elevate the pottery from the common to the exceptional.

Dunmore's diverse wares reflected the workshop's heterogeneous approach to sourcing design influences and sales markets. By incorporating the Eastern motifs encountered through art journals and international exhibitions, Gardner pushed Dunmore into the realm of Art pottery. From this perspective, the international exhibitions had the dual functions at Dunmore of design inspiration sources and marketing venues. The exhibitions allowed Gardner to observe what other factories were producing and how consumers responded to these styles of wares. This knowledge manifested in new forms that were then marketed at later exhibitions. In answer to the international flavour of some exhibitions, Gardner promoted the pottery through its Scottish roots by exhibiting Scottish themed pieces and having a tartan clad sales staff. This had the added effect of separating Gardner's wares from English Art

potteries whose influences and wares paralleled that of Dunmore. Like its Art pottery, the company's classically inspired wares were garnered from a variety of sources. Well known Neo-Classical paintings and sculptures and Roman allegories and myths, which were also encountered through the international exhibitions, were reinterpreted and imitated in mass produced moulded plaques for the waiting public.

Gardner would have spent much of his time grappling with the identity and desires of consumers and then designing ceramics that adhered to his understanding of their consumption needs and purchasing patterns. The consumers were sovereign and Gardner could not make what they refused to buy, and for those who participated in consumption, rules of style governed both the selection and use of the ceramics. As people invested financially and socially in consumer society, they elected to spend their money not only on objects that they needed but on ones that also signalled their self worth. In the end, it was the consumers—belaboured by cultural constraints and adherence to accepted fashions—who determined Dunmore's survival.

The study of Dunmore is in part a study of Peter Gardner. In many ways, Dunmore Pottery and Gardner are synonymous. As the Pottery's longest serving owner and master potter, he contributed more to Dunmore's artistic output and marketing strategies than other potters or previous owners. A Renaissance man, Gardner had a hand in all aspects of his pottery industry—design, sourcing materials, production and marketing. It was Gardner's decision to merge commercial and Art pottery production. His loose interpretation of artistic styles and their guiding principles gave the Pottery flexibility in production and marketing. Gardner was solely responsible for making the decisions that enabled Dunmore to grow and for giving the workshop its unusual stability in a notoriously unstable industry. He elected to import clay, participate in international exhibitions, and cater particularly to women's perception of fashion. His input to and direction of the Pottery was in many ways of far greater significance than

the input of more well-known designers and ceramicists such as De Morgan and Dresser to their potteries. Though not as well known as the former, what Gardner achieved at Dunmore, both artistically and commercially, shows him to be equally talented and a better businessman.

Research into Dunmore Pottery has shown it to have functioned as a unique blend of Art and commercial pottery which continuously responded to the social and economic framework of the period. The social and economic contexts, from the luncheon ritual to the lower fuel prices, moulded Dunmore's output and growth patterns. During the 1870s through the 1890s, the right economic conditions, the right stylistic trends, and the right man came together to shape and transform Dunmore into one of Scotland's most well-known potteries.

APPENDIX A. 1841 TO 1901 CENSUS REPORTS FOR DUNMORE POTTERY

1841 Census

Name	Age	Occupation	Address	Birthplace
John Gardner	40	Potter	Dunmore Pottery	Scotland
William Boslem	30	Potter	Airth Shore	England
Robert Hardie	40	Potter	Dunmore Pottery	England
Richard Ness	50	Potter	Outhouse	Not Listed
David Roy	50	Potter	Dunmore Pottery	Montrose
James Smart	30	Male Servant	Outhouse	England
John Wyllie	60	Potter	Dunmore Pottery	Not Listed
John Wyllie	45	Potter	Dunmore Moss	Not Listed

1851 Census

Name	Age	Occupation	Address	Birthplace
John Gardner	52	Farmer, 37 acres employing 4 labourer and Potter employing 9 men	Dunmore Moss South, Dunmore Pottery	Airth
James Brown	46	Potter (Finisher)	Mackie's Houses, Dunmore Moss North	Ireland
Mary Fraser	18	Servant	Mackie's Houses, Dunmore Moss North	Portabello
Peter Gibson	34	Potter (Finisher)	Red Row, Airth	Inveresk
James Gormley	21	Potter's Labourer	Dunmore Pottery	Ireland
Andrew Gray	45	Potter Turner	Dunmore Pottery	Dysart, Fife
Robert Merrilees	39	Potter (Slip Pan Man)	Mackie's Houses, Dunmore Moss North	Musselburgh
David Roy	62	Potter Thrower	Dunmore Pottery	Montrose

1861 Census

Name	Age	Occupation	Address	Birthplace
John Gardner	62	Farmer, 50 acres employing 4 labourer and Potter Master employing 9 men and 3 women	Dunmore Potery (House has 6 rooms with windows)	Airth
James Brown	57	Potter Journeyman	Dunmore Moss	Ireland
David Cook	34	Pottery Labourer	Dunmore Pottery	Falkirk
James Gormley	21	Potter's Labourer	Dunmore Pottery	Ireland
Andrew Gray	55	Potter Journeyman	Moss Side	Dysart, Fife
Mary Gray	17	Pottery worker	Moss Side	Alloa
John Grieg	51	Potter Journeyman	South Moss	Prestonpans
James McLean	23	Potter Thrower Journeyman	East End, Airth	Glasgow

1871 Census

Name	Age	Occupation	Address	Birthplace
Peter Gardner	34	Master Potter employing 10 men and 3 boys	Dunmore Pottery and Farnhouse	Airth
Isabella Campbell	35	Spout maker	Dunmore Pottery	Glasgow

James Campbell	36	Presser and Mould Maker	(West Cottage) Dunmore Pottery	Edinburgh
John Campbell	58	Pottery Fireman [Kilnman]	(West Cottage) Dunmore Pottery,	
Thomas Campbell	32	Potter	East cottages Dunmore Pottery,	Glasgow
James Gilfillan	34	Labourer at Pottery	East Cottages Main Street, Airth	Muiravonside
James Hutton	19	Potter	Dunmore Pottery and Farmhouse	Falkirk
James McLean	34	Potter	Dunmore Pottery, East Cottages	Glasgow
George Nielson	16	Potter	Dunmore Pottery and Farmhouse	Airdrie
William Roberts	16	Potter	Dunmore Pottery and Farmhouse	Bathgate
William Wilson	22	Potter	Dunmore Pottery East Cottages	Stirling

1881 Census

Name	Age	Occupation	Address	Birthplace
Peter Gardner	44	Master Potter	Dunmore Pottery (8 Rooms)	Airth
David Alexander	61	Potter	Pleasance, Airth	Kirkaldy
Jane Campbell	20	Pottery Worker	Dunmore Pottery	Glasgow
John Campbell	67	Pottery Worker	Dunmore Pottery	Portobello
Thomas Campbell	43	Potter	Dunmore Pottery	Glasgow
James Gilfillan	42	Potter	Red Row, Airth	Muiravonside, Stirlingshire
Thomas Harrison	25	Potter	Dunmore Pottery	England
William Harrison	52	Potter Turner	Dunmore Pottery	England
Andrew McCowan	54	Pottery Packer	Dunmore Pottery	Cowrie, Perthshire
David McFeet	24	Potter's Servant	Dunmore Pottery	Stirling
John McLay	67	Labourer at Pottery	Pleasance, Airth	Airth
Alexander Thomson	52	Potter	Dunmore Pottery	Prestonpans
John Welsh	42	Potter's Servant	Dunmore Pottery	Ireland
John Wright	55	Potter	Dunmore Pottery	Ireland

1891 Census

Name	Age	Occupation	Address	Birthplace
Peter Gardner	56	Employer, Potter	Dunmore Pottery (9 Rooms)	Airth
Thomas Campbell	54	Potter Presser	Moss Road	Glasgow
Thomas Harrison	35	Potter	Holly Walk	England
William Harrison	62	Potter	Moss Road	England
Catherine McAdam	40	Potter	Dunmore Pottery	
Andrew McCowan	67	Pottery Packer	Moss Road	Cowrie, Perthshire
David McFeet	32	Carter	Dunmore Pottery	Stirling
Alexander Thomson	62	Potter	Moss Road	Prestonpans
William Whitehead	58	Labourer	Dunmore Pottery	Denny

John Wright	60	Potter	Moss Road	Ireland
-------------	----	--------	-----------	---------

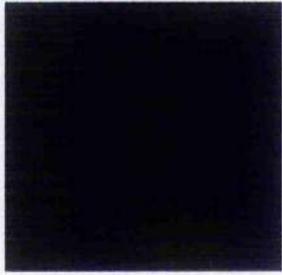
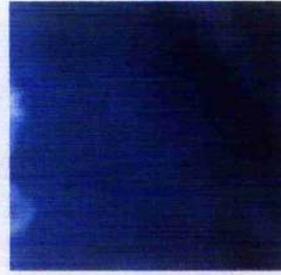
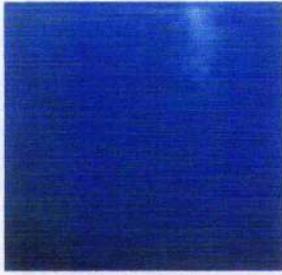
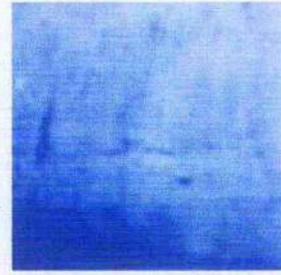
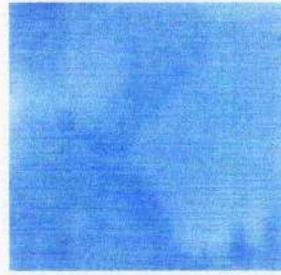
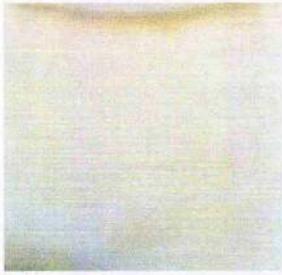
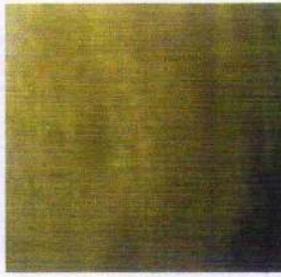
1901 Census

Name	Age	Occupation	Address	Birthplace
Peter Gardner	64	Employer, Potter	Dunmore Pottery	Airth
Jane Harrison	21	Pottery warehouse girl	Holly Walk	Glasgow
Sarah Harrison	17	Potter's assistant	Holly Walk	
Thomas Harrison	35	Potter	Holly Walk	England

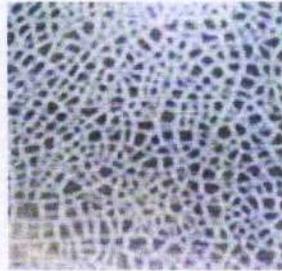
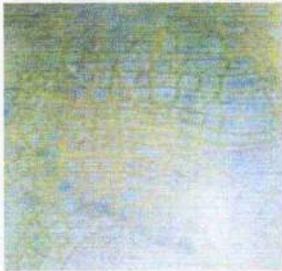
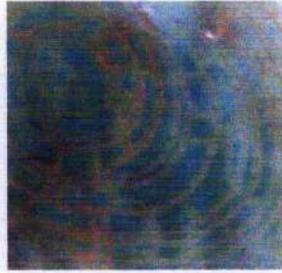
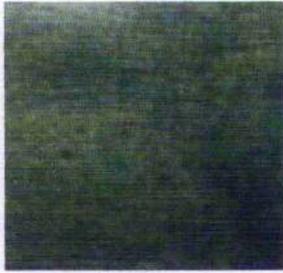
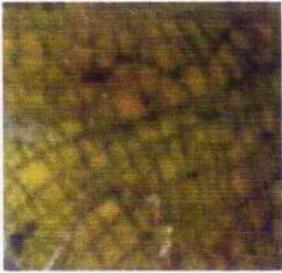
Appendix B
Dunmore Glazes

Monochrome

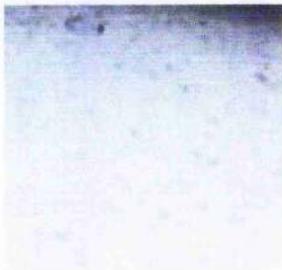
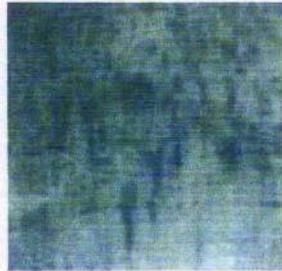
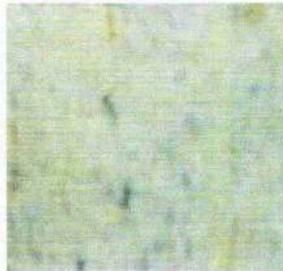




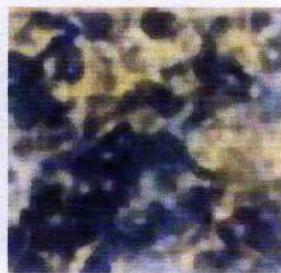
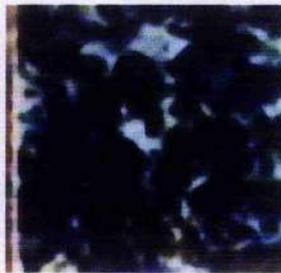
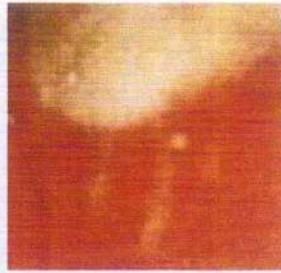
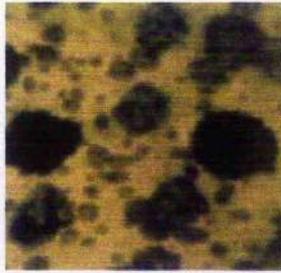
Crackle



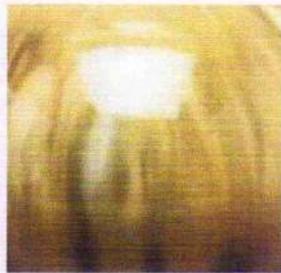
Speckled/Flecked

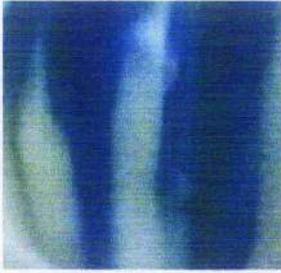


**Polychrome
Spotted**

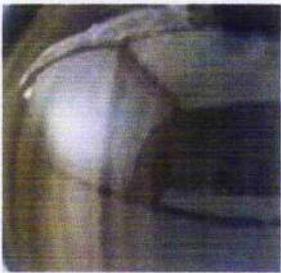


Running/Flowing

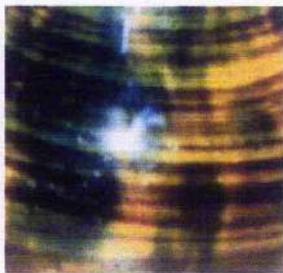




Majolica

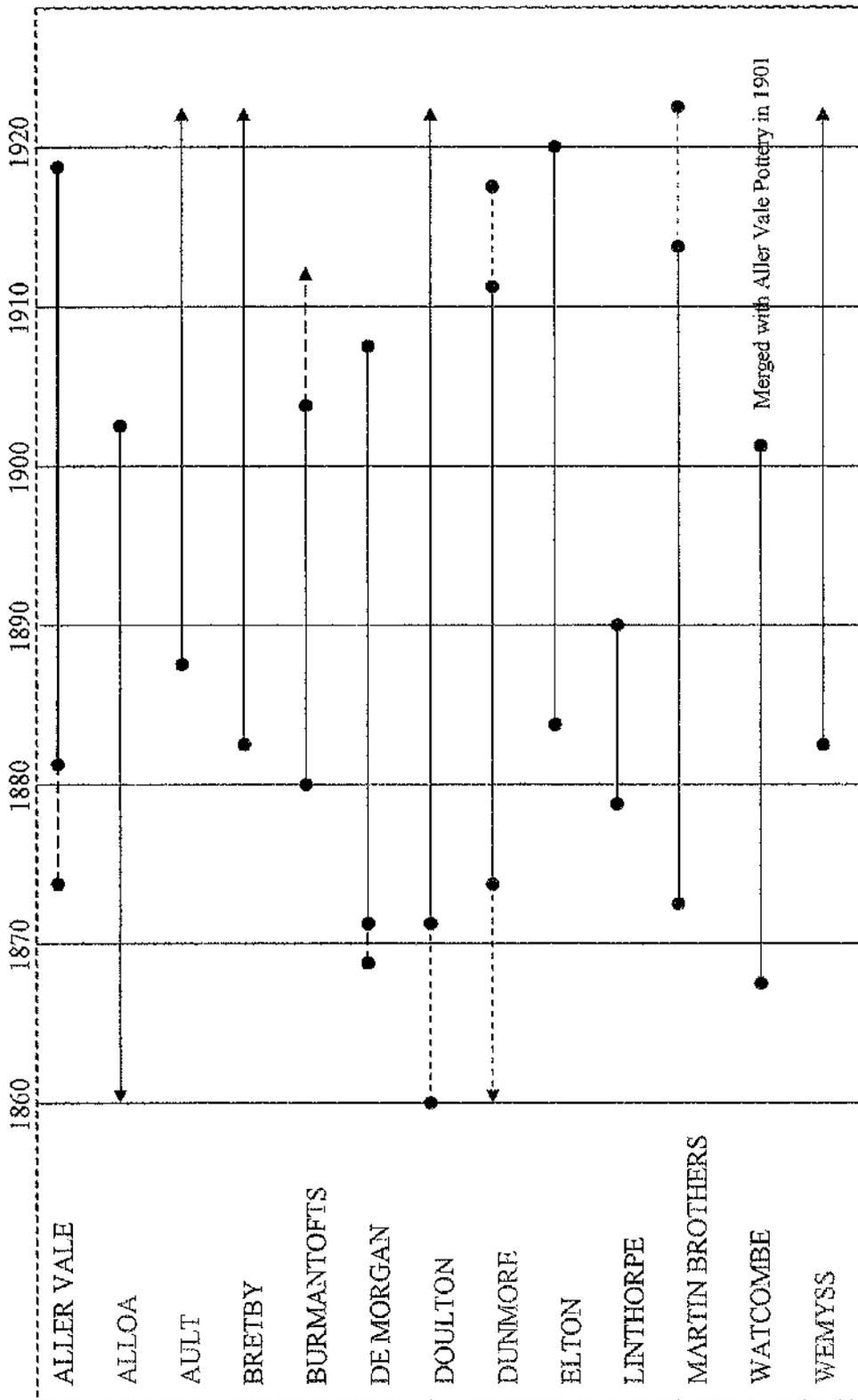


Effects



Appendix C

Time line of Art Potteries



Broken lines indicate limited production. Names in blue denote Scottish potteries.

APPENDIX D. HARRISON'S GLAZE RECIPES

40 Pounds of Lead Red
12 of ground Flint
12 of Ground Stone
5 Pounds of Clay

This is the yellow glaze
Had 3 pounds of manganese
Best for Rockingham
You have got Better
Majolica
(green) 4 oz of Oxide of Copper to one gallon of yellow glaze
(blue)

2 oz of Cobalt of Blue to one gallon of yellow glaze.
Dip your Pots in yellow glaze First then put it on with a brush (next word illegible)

13A (16A) Back

Fill up with Rockingham in between. Stain your Rockingham a little Darker for
Majolica and you must have a Light Body for it.

Jet Black Glaze
6 oz of Cobalt Blue
10 pounds of Red Lead
3 pounds of Flint
3 pounds stone
1 ½ clay

Please write back. Keep these to yourself.

From Archives 13A and 13A(16a)

Shining Black Glaze

2 Gallons of Flint

1 " of Magness [sic]

1 " of Red Slip

26 lbs of Lead

My books says very good.

Another Shining Black

5 lbs of Flint

5 " of Magness [sic]

8 " of Stone

25 " of Lead

Try This A Rockingham Glaze

60 lbs of Lead

19 lbs of Flint

6 " of Stone

11 " of Magness

A chamber pot full of white Slip

My Uncle Joseph Poole's green Glaze

18 pints of Slop Flint (30 oz to a pint)

54 lbs of White Lead (must be through a fine sieve)

6 pints Calcind Copper (32 oz to a pint)

4 small ladles full of blue stain (26 oz to the pint)

24 pints of glaze (32 oz to a pint)

to one gallon of the above glaze add one toy teacup full of white slip that is made of blue ball clay

A Manganese Blue

9 oz of Oxide of Blue

13 oz of Red Lead

grind them together

then add 2 quarts of glaze to

in the glaze you must mix in

60 of White Lead

40 of Stone

6 of Flint

this glaze works (next to words illegible) on a black body.

Hoping these will help suit you. Give our kind respects to all friends. Send us word how they do.

I remain your loving cousin,

William Harrison

From Archives

OA-2OA(21A)

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ARCHIVES

Census Records, Airth Parish, Stirlingshire: 1841, 1851, 1861, 1871, 1881, 1891, 1901,
see Appendix A

'Dunmore Pottery', typed sheet, Dunmore Pottery File, Glasgow Museum
Corporation's Archives

Inventory of John Gardner's Estate, February 1867, Stirling Sheriff Court Records, SC
67/36/52.

Letter from the Prince of Wales to the Earl of Dunmore, Dunmore Monuments
(Privately Held) Section 1, Box IV, item 59

Letter from Charles Albert Hindley to Albert Daniel Hindley, 31 January 1887, Victoria
and Albert Hindley Papers

Letters, correspondence of Thomas Harrison, Durham County Archives, reference
numbers 12(A)-12A(9A), 13A-13A(16A) and 0A-20A(21A).

Letters, Dunmore Pottery File, Glasgow Museum Corporation's Archives

National Archives of Scotland, reference code RH4/195/4

National Monuments Records of Scotland, reference code NS 88NE44

Tyne and Wear Archives Service, reference code DT.MSM

PRIMARY AND CONTEMPORARY SOURCES

Arts and Crafts Essays, (London: Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society, Rivington and
Percival, 1893)

A Visit to Dunmore (promotional pamphlet for Dunmore Pottery, circa 1888)

Beeton, Isabella, *Beeton's Book of Household Management* (London: Beeton, 1861;
repr. London: Chancellor Press, 1994)

Bremner, David, *Industries of Scotland: Their Rise, Progress, and Present Condition*
(Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1869)

Butler, Josephine E., *Woman's Work and Woman's Culture* (London: Macmillan, 1862)

Crane, Walter, *The Bases of Design* (London: Bell, 1898)

Cundall, Frank, ed., *Reminiscences of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition* (London:
Clowers, 1886)

Dresser, Christopher, *Development of Ornamental Art in the International Exhibition*
(London: Day, 1862)

- Eastlake, Charles, *Hints On Household Taste: The Classic Handbook of Victorian Interior Design* (New York: Dover Publications, 1879)
- Edis, Robert William, *Decoration and Furniture of Town Houses* (London: C. Kegan Paul, 1881)
- Gleadle, Katherine, *British Women in the Nineteenth Century* (Houndsmill, Basingstoke: Palgrave Publishing, 1901)
- Harrison, Constance Cary, *Woman's Handiwork in Modern Homes* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1881)
- Ingram, J. S., *The Centennial Exposition, Described and Illustrated* (Philadelphia: Hubbard Brothers, 1876)
- International Exhibition Glasgow 1888: The Official Catalogue 2nd edition* (Edinburgh: T. and A. Constable, 1888)
- International Exhibition: 1876 Official Catalogue: Complete in One Volume.* (Philadelphia: Nagel, 1876)
- International Exhibition of Industry, Science and Art, Edinburgh 1886: The Official Catalogue* (Edinburgh: T. and A. Constable, 1886)
- International Exhibition of 1876, Philadelphia: Exhibitors' Commercial Guide* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1876)
- Kirwan, A. V., *Host and Guest: A Book About Dinners, Wines, and Desserts* (London: Bell and Daldy: 1864)
- Loftie, L., *A Plea For Art in the Home* (London: MacMillan, 1876)
- Mayhew, Henry, *London Labour and the London Poor: A Cyclopaedia of the Condition and Earnings of Those That Will Work, Those That Cannot Work, and Those That Will Not Work* (London: Griffin and Bohn, 1861)
- Morris, William, *Hopes and Fears for Art* (London: Ellis and White, 1882; repr. Whitefish, MT: Kessinger, 2004)
- _____. *Selected Writings* (London: Nonsuch, 1946)
- Murray, Charles Adolphus *The Pamirs: Being a Narrative of a Year's Expedition on Horseback and on Foot Through Kashmir, Western Tibet, Chinese Tartary, and Russian Central Asia* (London: Murray, 1893)
- New Statistical Account of Scotland, Vol. VIII* (Edinburgh: Blackwell, 1845)
- Official Catalogue 1880 Kelso Highland and Agricultural Show*
- Official Catalogue of the International Exhibition of 1876* (Philadelphia: Centennial Catalogue, 1876)

- Official Guide to the 1886 Colonial and Indian Exhibition* (London: Clowes, 1886)
- Official Guide to the Edinburgh International Exhibition of Industry, Science and Art* (Edinburgh: T. and A. Constable, 1886)
- Orrinsmith, Lucy, *The Drawing Room: Its Decorations and Furniture*, Art in the Home Series (London: MacMillan, 1877)
- Philadelphia International Exhibition 1876 Official Catalogue of the British Section, Part I* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1876)
- Philadelphia International Exhibition 1876 Official Catalogue of the British Section, Part III* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1876)
- Rains, Fanny L., *By Land and Ocean* (London: Low and Marston, 1878)
- Ramsey, Alexander, *History of the Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland, With Notices of Anterior Societies for the Promotion of Agriculture in Scotland* (Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1879)
- Reports on the Philadelphia International Exhibition* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1877)
- Ruskin, John, *Sesame and Lilies and Unto This Last* (London: Gresham Publishing, 1912)
- _____. *The Two Paths* (London: Everett, undated)
- Sell, Henry, *The Philosophy of Advertising: Matters Worth Reading and Vitrally Concerning Every Present and Future Advertiser* (London: Sells Advertising Offices, 1882)
- Stevenson, William Grant, *Sketches at the International Exhibition, Edinburgh, 1886* (Edinburgh: T. and A. Constable, 1886)
- Veblen, Thorstein, 'Pecuniary Emulation', in *The Theory of the Leisure Class: An Economic Study of Institutions* (New York: Macmillan, 1899)
- Wornum, Ralph N., *Analysis of Ornament*, 6th edn, (London: Chapman & Hall, 1879)
- ARTICLES and PAPERS**
- Alloa Advertisement, *China and Glass Trades Review*, 1 July 1879, 243
- An Artist, 'Art in Pottery', *Pottery Gazette*, 2 August 1880, 487-488
- Archer, 'The Lesser Art Industries', *Art Journal*, 19 (1880), 156-157
- _____. 'The Potteries of Scotland', *Art Journal*, 19 (1880), 156-161
- _____. untitled lecture, *Art Journal* (1874), 174

- Armstrong, Walter, 'The Year's Advance in Art Manufactures: No. VI.-Stoneware, Fayence, Etc.', *Art Journal*, 22 (1883), 220-222
- 'Art Publications', *Art Journal*, 16 (1877), 95
- 'At the Exhibition: A Few Curiosities', *Appleton's Journal of Literature, Science, and Art*, (June 1876), 723-724
- Brown, G. Baldwin, 'Home Industries in the Highlands and Islands', *Economic Journal*, 25 (1915), 284-296
- 'Burmantofts' *Pottery Gazette and Glass Trades Review*, 1 August 1880, 498
- 'Ceramic Art At the Exhibition', *Appleton's Journal of Literature, Science, and Art: A Monthly Miscellany of Popular Literature*, 1 issue 1 (July 1876) 74-77
- Church, A. H., 'Some Points of Contact Between the Scientific and Artistic Aspects of Pottery and Porcelain: Glazes, Enamels, Irresescent and Metallic Lustres and Colouring Substances', *Journal of the Society of Arts* (31 December 1880), 95-98
- 'Colonial and Indian Exhibition', *Journal of the Society of Arts* (23 April 1886), 641
- The Colonial and Indian Exhibition 1886*, *Art Journal* supplement, (London: Virtue, 1886)
- 'Contributions to the International Exhibition, Philadelphia', *Art Journal*, 15 (1876), 185-188
- 'Contributions to the International Exhibition, Philadelphia', *Art Journal*, 15 (1876), 217-220
- 'Contributions to the International Exhibition, Philadelphia', *Art Journal*, 15 (1876), 245-252
- 'Contributions to the International Exhibition, Philadelphia', *Art Journal*, 15 (1876), 309-315
- 'Contributions to the International Exhibition, Philadelphia', *Art Journal*, 15 (1876), 361-370
- 'Cornish China Clay', *Pottery and Glass Trades Journal*, 2 no 1 (January 1879), 14
- 'Cornish China Clay', *Pottery and Glass Trades Journal*, 2 no.3 (March 1879), 30-31
- Crane, Walter, 'Design: In Two Parts—Part II', *Magazine of Art*, 16 (1893), 131-136
- _____ 'The Importance of the Applied Arts, and Their Relation to Common Life', *Journal of the Society of Arts* (3 June 1887), 717-723
- Cunliffe-Owen, Edward, 'The Colonial and Indian Exhibition', *Journal of the Society of*

- Day, Lewis F., 'Decorative Art—I. The Importance and Its Omnipresence: Taste, Novelty, Fashion, Dress, Jewellery, Etc.' *Magazine of Art* (1880), 103-107
- _____ 'The Decoration of the Home', *Magazine of Art*, 2 (1881), 98-101
- _____ 'Decorative Art—III', *Magazine of Art*, 1 (1880), 271-275
- _____ 'Decorative Art.—IV', *Magazine of Art*, 1 (1880), 355-359
- _____ 'Grotesques', *Art Journal* (1885), 44-48
- _____ 'How to Decorate a Room', *Magazine of Art*, 4 (1881), 182-186
- _____ 'Machine Made Art', *Art Journal* (1885), 107-110
- _____ 'Mere Ornament', *Art Journal* (1901), 18-22
- _____ 'Mere Ornament II', *Art Journal* (1901), 49-52
- _____ 'Principles and Practice of Ornamental Design', *Journal of the Society of Arts* (1887), 132-135
- _____ 'Victorian Progress in Applied Design.', *Art Journal* (1887), 187-202
- _____ 'The Woman's Part in Domestic Decoration', *Magazine of Art*, 4 (1881), 456-463
- 'Decorative Art in Britain: Past, Present, and Future', *Art Journal* (1877), 327-328
- 'Decorative China and Glass', *Pottery Gazette*, 1 November 1880, 708-709
- 'Elton Ware', *Art Journal* (1901), 374-76
- 'The Exhibition of Paintings on China', *Magazine of Art*, 1 (1878-1879), 176-179
- Goadby, Edwin, 'Furnishing "A Perfect House."', *Art Journal*, (1877), 300-303
- Hall, S. C., 'Art and Manufacture 1851-1877', *Art Journal*, (1877), 101-104
- 'In And About the Fair: A Mornings Stroll in the Main Building', *Scribers Monthly*, 12 issue 6 (1876), 889-896
- 'The Incongruities of Domestic Art', *China and Glass Trades Review*, 1 July 1879
- 'The International Exhibition at Philadelphia in 1876', *Art Journal*, 12 (1873), 299
- 'The International Exhibition, Philadelphia, 1876', *Art Journal*, (1875), 27-28
- 'Intern. Exhibition', *Art Journal* (1874), 241

- 'The Japanese and Chinese Collection', *Art Journal*, 1 (1879), 37
- 'The Japanese Art Exhibition', *Magazine of Art* (1888), 209-210
- 'Large Iron Conservatory', *Falkirk Herald*, 1 August 1874, 3
- 'Let of Dunmore Pottery', *Falkirk Herald*, 30 August 1902
- 'Linthorpe Pottery', *Art Journal* (1880), 53
- McI., M., 'The Symbolism of Chinese Porcelains', *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, 2 no 11 (November 1907), 181-184
- MacMillian, Hugh, 'Balmoral', *Art Journal* (1887), 216-220
- 'Miscellaneous', *Scotsman*, 20 August 1886
- Monkhouse, Cosmo, 'Burmantofts Faience', *Magazine of Art*, 8 (1885), 471-477
- _____ 'The Decoration of a Home', *Magazine of Art*, 5 (1882), 259-264
- _____ 'Elton Ware', *Magazine of Art*, 6 (1883), 228-233
- _____ 'Some Original Ceramists', *Magazine of Art*, 5 (1882), 445
- Moreland, Arthur, 'Linthorpe: A Forgotten English Pottery', *Connoisseur* (May/August 1914), 85-88
- Morton, William Scott, 'Art in the Home-V: The Drawing Room', *Art Journal* (1897), 303-306
- 'Old Edinburgh', *Magazine of Art*, 6 (1886), 437-440
- 'Oriental Art', *Art Journal* (1874), 13
- 'The Paris Universal Exhibition—III.' *The Magazine of Art*, 1 (1878/79), 66-69
- 'The Paris Universal Exhibition—IV.' *The Magazine of Art*, 1 (1878/79), 97-100
- Paton, James, 'Pottery and Glass—No II', *Glasgow Herald*, 26 July 1888, 9
- 'Philadelphia Exhibition', *Journal of the Society of Arts*, (19 March 1875), 399
- Rix, Wilton P., 'On Pottery Glazes: Their Clasification and Decorative Value in Ceramic Design', *Journal of the Society of Arts* (17 February 1893), 295-307
- 'The Sale of Exhibition', *Scotsman*, 28 May 1886, 5
- 'The Secret of Advertising', *Pottery Gazette*, 1 November 1880, 701
- 'Shipments of Goods to the Centennial Exhibition', *Journal of the Society of Arts* (29 October 1875), 992-993

- 'The Spirit of Pottery', *Quiz*, 22 (10 December 1886), 137
- 'Sydney International Exhibition', *Pottery Gazette*, 1 January 1880, 21
- 'The United States Exhibition of 1876', *Journal of the Society of Arts* (30 May 1873), 547
- Untitled, *Alloa Advertiser*, 26 April 1856
- Untitled, *Alloa Journal*, 8 July 1876
- Untitled, *Edinburgh Courant*, 29 July 1874
- Untitled, *Falkirk Herald*, 8 August 1874
- Untitled, *Falkirk Herald*, 18 March 1905
- Untitled, *Pottery Gazette*, 1 December 1880, 800
- Untitled, *Scotsman*, 28 July 1874
- Untitled, *Scotsman*, 27 July 1875
- Untitled, *The Scotsman*, 25 May 1886
- Untitled, *Stirling Journal & Advertiser*, 4 August 1874
- Untitled, *Stirling Journal & Advertiser*, 15 September 1876
- Untitled, *Stirling Observer*, 7 July 1876
- von Glehn, Oswald, 'The Possibility of Reviving a Taste for Higher Forms of Decorative Art', *Art Journal*, (1898), 89-90

CATALOGUES and EXHIBITION MATERIALS

1892 Dunmore Estate Sale Catalogue

Liberty and Co., Porcelain Catalogue, 1891

Pottery Gazette Diary Directory (Scott and Greenwood 1900)

Sale of Dunmore Park Lands, Sales Catalogue, 20 September 1917

1887 Post Office Directory.

1888 Post Office Directory

SECONDARY SOURCES

BOOKS

- Andres, Maggie and Mary M. Talbot, *All the World and Her Husband: Women in 19th Century Consumer Culture* (London: Cassell, 2000)
- Anscombe, Elizabeth, *Arts and Crafts Style* (London: Phaidon, 1996)
- Aslin, Elizabeth, *The Aesthetic Movement: Prelude to Art Nouveau* (London: Elek Books, 1969)
- Atterbury, Paul and Maureen Batkin, *The Dictionary of Minton* (London: Antique Collector's Club, 1990)
- Bailey, Geoff, *Local Ceramics: A Potted History of Ceramics in the Falkirk District* (Falkirk: Falkirk Council, Museum Services, 2002)
- Baillie Scott, M. H., *Houses and Gardens: Art and Crafts Interiors* (London: Newnes, 1906; repr. Woodbridge Suffolk, Antique Collectors Club, 1995)
- Bartlett, John A., *British Ceramic Art: 1870-1940* (Atglen, PA: Schiffer, 1993)
- Bectham, Margaret, *A Magazine of Her Own: Domesticity and Desire in the Woman's Magazine 1800-1914* (London: Routledge, 1996)
- Benson, John, *The Rise of the Consumer Society in Britain, 1880-1980* (London: Longman, 1994)
- Bergesen, Victoria, *Encyclopedia of British Art Pottery 1870 -1920* (London: Barrie and Jenkins, 1991)
- Berghoff, Hartnum, ed., *The Making of Modern Tourism* (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave, 2002)
- Blaszczyk, Regina Lee, *Imaging Consumers: Design and Innovation From Wedgwood to Corning* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2000)
- Branca, Patricia, *Silent Sisterhood: Middle-Class Women in the Victorian Home* (London: Croom Helm, 1975)
- Brears, Peter C. D., *The Collector's Book of English Country Pottery* (London: Newton Abbot, 1974)
- Brewer, John, and Roy Porter, eds, *Consumption and the World of Goods* (New York: Routledge, 1993)
- Briggs, Asa, *In Search of Victorian Values: Aspects of Nineteenth Century Thought and Society* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988)
- Bryder, L., *Below the Magic Mountain* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988)
- Burmantofts Pottery* (Leeds: Bradford Art Galleries and Museums and Leeds City Museums, 1983)
- Cameron, Elizabeth, *Encyclopaedia of Pottery and Porcelain: The 19th and 20th Century*

- (London: Faber and Faber, 1986)
- Chappell, James, *The Potter's Complete Book of Clay and Glaze* (New York: Watson-Guptill, 1977)
- Clark, Garth, *The Potters Art: A Complete History of Pottery in Britain* (London: Phaidon, 1995)
- Cook, Clarence. *The House Beautiful. Essays on Beds and Tables, Stools and Candlesticks* (New York: Scribner and Armstrong, 1878; repr. New York: North River Press, 1980)
- Cormack, Bill, *A History of Holidays, 1812-1990* (London: Routledge, 1998)
- Coysh, A. W., *British Art Pottery, 1870-1940* (Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1976)
- Cruickshank, Graeme. *A Visit to Dunmore Pottery: A Contemporary Account* (Stirling: Stirling Smith Library, 2002)
- _____. *Scottish Pottery* (Haverfordwest, Dyfed: Thomas, 1987)
- Cumming, Elizabeth and Wendy Kaplan, *The Arts and Crafts Movement* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1992)
- de Grazia, Victoria and Ellen Furlough, eds, *The Sex of Things: Gender and Consumption in Historical Perspective* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996)
- Diggle, Keith, *Arts Marketing* (London: Rhinegold Publishing, 1994)
- Dorward, Neil, *The Pricing Decision: Economic Theory and Business Practice* (London: Harper and Row, 1987)
- Drury, Elizabeth, and Philippa Lewis, *The Victorian Household Album* (London: Collins and Brown, 1995)
- Dunmore, Earl of, see Murray, Charles Adolphus
- Dutton, Ralph, *The English Interior: 1500 to 1900* (London: Batsford, 1948)
- Elias, N., *The History of Manners*, (New York: Pantheon, 1982)
- Elliot, G. W., *Some Descriptions of Pottery Making and Working Conditions* (Stafford: George Street Press, 1976)
- Eyles, Desmond, *The Doulton Lambeth Wares* (Shepton Beauchamp: Dennis, 2001)
- Flanders, Judith, *The Victorian House: Domestic Life from Childbirth to Deathbed* (London: Harper Collins, 2003)
- Fleming, J. Arnold, *Scottish Pottery* (Glasgow: Maclehose and Jackson, 1923)

- Floud, Roderick, *The People and the British Economy 1830-1914* (Oxford University Press, 1997)
- Franklin, Jill, *The Gentleman's Country House* (London: Routledge, 1981)
- Fraser, Hamish, *The Coming of the Mass Market: 1850-1914* (London: Macmillan Press, 1981)
- Girouard, Mark, *The Victorian Country House* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979)
- Glanville, Philippa, and Hilary Young, eds, *Elegant Eating: Four Hundred Years of Dining in Style*, (London: V & A Publications, 2002)
- Gloag, John, *Victorian Taste: Some Social Aspects of Architecture and Industrial Design, from 1820-1900* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1962)
- Gobé, Marc, *Emotional Branding* (Oxford: Windsor Press, 2001)
- Gropius, Walter, *The New Architecture and the Bauhaus* (London: Faber, 1935)
- Gulland, W. G., *Chinese Porcelain* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1998)
- Haldane, Kathrine Jean, *Imagining Scotland: Tourist Images of Scotland 1770-1914*. PhD dissertation, University of Virginia 1990
- Harrison, J. F. C., *Late Victorian Britain: 1875-1901* (London: Routledge 1991)
- Heald, Tim *By Appointment: 150 Years of the Royal Warrant and Its Holders* (London: Queen Anne Press, 1989)
- Hendry, William, *Forth to the Sea* (Glasgow: Ski Graphics, 1980)
- Hey, David, *How Our Ancestors Lived: A History of Life 100 Years Ago* (Surrey: Public Record Office, 2002)
- Hill, Robin, *Dunmore Pottery* (Produced for Dunmore Exhibition at Kippen Gallery, Falkirk, 1979)
- Hillier, Bevis, *Pottery and Porcelain: 1700-1914* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1968)
- Hitchmough, Wendy, *The Arts and Crafts Home* (London: Pavilion Press, 2000)
- Holm, C., *The General Index to the First Twenty-One Volumes of the Studio* (London: 1981)
- Home Book of Quotations* (London: Greenwich House, 1984)
- Horn, Pamela, *Ladies of the Manor: Wives and Daughters in Country House Society* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1997)

- Hughes, G. Bernard, *English and Scottish Earthenware 1660-1860* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1960)
- Hunter, Janet, *The Islanders and the Orb: The History of the Harris Tweed Industry, 1835-1995* (Stornoway: Acair, 2001)
- Jefferys, James B., *Retail Trading In Britain 1880-1950*, The Economic and Social Studies 13 (Cambridge: National Institute of Economic and Social Research, 1954)
- Kamson, Marilyn and Joan Stacke. *Majolica: A Complete History and Illustrated Survey* (New York: Abrams, 1989)
- Kelly, Henry E., *Scottish Ceramics* (Atglen, PA: Schiffer, 1999)
- Kenny, John, *Ceramic Design* (London: Pitman, 1964)
- Kerr, Rose, *Chinese Ceramics: Porcelain of the Qing Dynasty 1644-1911*, Victoria & Albert Museum Far Eastern Series (London: V & A Publications, 1986)
- _____. *Later Chinese Bronzes*, Victoria & Albert Museum Far Eastern Series (London: V & A Publications, 1990)
- _____. *Song Dynasty Ceramics*, Victoria & Albert Museum Far Eastern Series (London: V & A Publications, 2004)
- Knowles, Eric, *Victoriana* (London: Octopus Publishing, 2000)
- Knox, W. W., *Industrial Nation: Work, Culture, and Society in Scotland 1800-Present* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999)
- Lancaster, Bill, *The Department Store: A Social History* (London: Leister University Press, 1995)
- Langland, Elizabeth, *Nobody's Angels: Middle Class Women and Domestic Ideology in Victorian Culture* (London: Cornell University Press, 1995)
- Levine, Jonathan R., *Linthorpe Pottery: An Interim Report* (Middlesbrough: Teaside Museum 1970)
- Lewis, Jane, *Women in England. 1870-1980: Sexual Divisions and Social Change* (Sussex: Wheatsheaf Books, 1984)
- Lloyd, Thomas, *Victorian Art Pottery* (London: Guildart, 1974)
- Lochhead, Marion, *The Victorian Household* (London: John Murray, 1964)
- Logan, Thad, *The Victorian Parlour* (London, Cambridge University Press, 2001)
- Long, Helen C., *The Edwardian House: The Middle Class Home in Britain 1880-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993)

- Longford, Elizabeth, *Victoria R. I.* (London: Pan Books, 1964)
- Lyhten, Frances, *Decorative Arts in Victoria's Era* (London: Scribner, 1950)
- Lynd, Helen Merrell, *England in the 1880s* (London: Oxford University Press, 1945)
- MacCarthy, Fiona, *A History of British Design 1830-1970* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1972)
- MacCarthy, John F., *Scotland in the Nineteenth Century*, British History in Perspective Series (Basingstoke: MacMillan, 1998)
- McCracken, Grant, *Culture and Consumption: New Approaches to the Symbolic Character of Consumer Goods and Activities* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988)
- MacKay, Sheila, *Behind the Façade: Four Centuries of Scottish Interiors* (Edinburgh: Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historic Monuments of Scotland, HMSO, 1995)
- McKean, Charles, *The Making of the Museum of Scotland* (Edinburgh: NMS Publishing, 2000)
- McVeigh, Patrick, *Scottish East Coast Potteries, 1750-1840* (Edinburgh, Donald, 1979)
- Marshall, Rosalind K., *Virgins and Viragos: A History of Women in Scotland from 1080-1980* (London: Collins, 1983)
- Meech, Julia and Gabriel Wesiburg, *Japanisme Comes to America* (New York: Barm, 2001)
- Miller, Philip and Michael Berthoud, eds, *An Anthology of British Teapots* (London: Micawber Publications, 1985)
- Morley, David, ed, *Consumption, Identity, and Style* (London: Routledge, 1990)
- Paston-Williams, Sara, *The Art of Dining: A History of Cooking and Eating* (London: National Trust Enterprises, 1995)
- Paul, Iain, *The Scottish Tradition in Pottery* (Edinburgh: Saltire Society, 1948)
- Pimlott, J. A. R., *The Englishman's Holiday: A Social History* (Hassocks, Sussex: Harvester Press, 1977)
- Prochanska, F. K., *Women and Philanthropy in Nineteenth Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980)
- Reader, W. J., *Life in Victorian England* (London: Batsford, 1964)
- Rice, D. G., *English Porcelain Animals of the Nineteenth Century* (Woodbridge: Suffolk: Antique Collector's Club, 1989)

- Richards, Sarah, *Eighteenth-Century Ceramics: Products for a Civilised Society* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999)
- Rosenberg, John D., *The Darkening Glass, A Portrait of Ruskin's Genius* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961)
- Scotland in the Nineteenth Century*. John F. McCaffrey Series: British History in Perspective, (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 1998)
- Snodin, Michael and Maurice Howard, *Ornament: a Social History Since 1450* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996)
- _____. and John Styles, *Design & The Decorative Arts: Britain 1500-1900* (London: V & A Publications, 2001)
- Sparks, John L., *Potters: Their Arts and Crafts* (London: Partridge, 1920)
- Spreull, James A. S. and Robert Rankine, *Alloa pottery, c1783 to 1907* (Alloa: Clackmannan District Libraries, 1993)
- Stirlingshire: An Inventory of Ancient Monuments* (Edinburgh: Royal Commission of the Ancient Monuments of Scotland, 1964)
- Sweet, Matthew, *Inventing the Victorians* (London: Faber and Faber, 2001)
- Teller, M. E., *The Tuberculosis Movement* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1988)
- Thomas, E. Lloyd, *Victorian Art Pottery* (Ramsgate, Kent: Thanet Printing Works, 1974)
- Thompson, Paul, *The Edwardians: The Remaking of British Society* (London: Weidentfeld and Nicholson, 1978)
- Wakefield, Hugh, *Victorian Pottery* (London: Jenkins, 1962)
- Wedd, Kit, *The Victorian Society Book of The Victorian House* (London: Aurum Press, 2002)
- White, Cynthia, *Women's Magazines 1793-1968* (London: Joseph, 1970)
- Wigg, Julia, *Bon Voyage!: Travel Posters of the Edwardian Era* (London: HMSO, 1996)
- Wilkinson, Vega, *Spode-Copeland-Spode: The Works and Its People 1770-1970* (London: Antique Collectors' Club, 2002)
- Winship, Janice, *Inside Women's Magazines* (London: Pandora, 1987)
- Witherinton, Donald and Ian Grant, eds., *The Statistical Account of Scotland, 1791-799*, 9 (East Ardsley: EP Publishing, 1977)
- Winstanley, Micheal J., *The Shopkeepers World: 1930-1914* (Manchester: Manchester

University Press, 1983)

Wolff, Janet, and John Seed, eds, *Culture of Capital: Art, Power and the Nineteenth Century Middle-Class* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988)

Wood, Nigel, *Chinese Glazes: Their Origins, Chemistry and Recreation*, (London: A. and C. Black, 1999)

ARTICLES and PAPERS

Banks, J. S, 'Scottish Pottery', *Antiques*, 66 (1957), 152-153

Blaszczyk, Regina Lee, 'The Aesthetic Movement: China Decorators, Consumer Demand and Technological Change in the American Pottery Industry, 1865-1900', *Winterthur Portfolio*, 29 no 2/3 (Summer/Autumn 1994), 121-153

Boyd, Peter, 'Pteridomania-The Victorian Passion for Ferns', *Antique Collecting*, 28 no 6, (1993), 10-12

Bracegirdle, Cyril, 'Linthorpe Art Pottery', *Antique Dealer and Collectors Guide* (April 1971), 76

_____. 'Linthorpe: The Forgotten Pottery', *Country Life* (April 1971), 1022-1025

Bush, Donald, 'Thorstein Veblen Economic Aesthetic', *Leonardo*, 11 no 4 (Autumn 1978), 281-285

Capozzili, Ernest, *Accounting Practices in the 1800s: An Historical Perspective* (Paper given at the second Accounting History International Conference in Osaka, 8-10 August 2001)

Carlton, Richard, 'The Origins and Survival of Littlethorpe Potteries in the Context of British Country Pottery Making', conference paper (*Interpreting Ceramics*, issue 4, 2003)

Chattopadhyay, Swati, 'A Critical History of Architecture in a Post-Colonial World', *Architronic*, 6 (1997), 2-6

Crabill McClaugherty, Martha, 'Household Art: Creating the Artistic Home, 1868-1893', *Winterthur Portfolio*, 18 no 1 (Spring 1983), 1-26

Crawford, Alan, 'Ideas and Objects: The Arts and Crafts Movement in Britain', *Design Issues*, 13 no 1 (Spring 1997), 15-26

Donnelly, Max, 'British Furniture at the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition, 1876', *Journal of Furniture History* (2001), 91-108

'Dunmore', *Falkirk Herald*, 12 May 1888

'Dunmore', *Falkirk Herald*, 5 March 1902

- 'Dunmore Pottery', *Friends of the Smith Newsletter* (Autumn 1980), 5
- 'Eastern Art and Its Influence on European Manufactures and Taste', *Journal of the Society of Arts* (6 February 1874), 211-221
- Edwards, Clive, 'Furnishing a Home at the Turn of the Century: The Use of Furnishing Estimates from 1875 to 1910', *Journal of Design History*, 4 (1991), 233-239
- Goffinan, Erving, 'Symbols of Class Status', *British Journal of Sociology*, 2 no 4 (December 1951), 294-304
- Hall, Derek, 'Gone to Pot?', paper presented at Perth and Beyond: Resourcing the Medieval Burgh, An Archaeological Perspective, Perth Museum & Art Gallery, 5 March 2002
- _____ 'The Scottish Medieval Pottery Industry: A Pilot Study', *Tayside and Fife Archaeology Journal*, 4 (1998)
- Latimer, Clare, 'The Division of the Wall: The Use of Wallpapers In Decorative Schemes, 1870-1910' *The Decorative Arts Society 1850 to the Present*, no 12 (1988),
- Leach, William 'Transformations in a Culture of Consumption: Women and Department Stores, 1890-1925', *Journal of American History*, 71 (Sept 1984), 319-342
- Lyons, Harry, 'Christopher Dresser: Interior Designer', *The Decorative Arts Society 1850 to the Present*, no 21 (1996), 22-26
- McNeil, Peter, 'Designing Women: Gender, Sexuality and the Interior Decorator, c.1890-1940', *Art History*, 17 no 4 (December 1994), 631-657
- Microulis, Laura, 'Charles Hindley & Sons, London House Furnishers of the Nineteenth Century: A Paradigm of the Middle Range Market', *Studies of the Decorative Arts*, (Spring/Summer 1998), 69-96
- _____ 'The Furniture Drawings of Charles Hindley & Sons, 134 Oxford Street, London', *Furniture History*, 37 (2001), 67-89
- Morrison, Oonagh, 'Dunmore: An Old Pottery in the Carse of Stirling', *Scotland's Magazine* (August 1966), 42-43
- _____ 'Potter's Cottage', *Lady*, 23 November 1967, 813-814
- Muthesius Stefan, "'We Do Not Understand What Is Meant By a 'Company' Designing": Design Versus Commerce in Late Nineteenth Century English Furnishing', *Journal of Design History*, 5 no 2 (1992), 113-119
- Nicklin, Keith, 'The Location of Pottery Manufacture', *Man*, New Series, 14 (1979), 436-

- Owen, Nancy, 'Marketing Rookwood Pottery: Culture and Competition', *Studies in the Decorative Arts* (Spring/Summer 1997)
- 'Philadelphia Exhibition', *Journal of the Society of Arts* (9 April 1975), 463
- 'The Philadelphia Exhibition', *Journal of the Society of Arts*, (23 June 1876), 782
- 'Pottery Colours and Decoration', *Pottery Gazette and Glass Trades Review*, 1 November 1880, 71
- Prasch, Thomas, 'The End of South Kensington: The Colonial and Indian Exhibition, London, 1886' (Paper given at the annual Popular Culture Association conference in Atlanta, 12-15 April 2006)
- Roberts, Gaye Blake, 'Josiah Wedgwood & Innovation', Wedgwood Museum, (2001)
- Robertson, Bruce, 'The South Kensington Museum in Context: An Alternative History', *Museum and Society*, 2 no 1 (March 2004), 1-14
- Roth, Rodris, 'The Colonial Revival and Centennial Furniture' *Art Quarterly*, 27 no 1 (1964), 57-81
- Scottish Pottery Society Archive News*, 2 (1977)
- Schmiechen, James A., 'Reconsidering the Factory, Art-Labor, and the Schools of Design in Nineteenth Century Britain', *Design Issues*, 6 no 2 (Spring 1990), 58-69
- Simmons, Jack, 'Railways, Hotels and Tourism in Great Britain 1839-1914', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 19 no 2 (April 1984), 201-222
- Thomson, Ellen Mazur, 'Thorstein Veblen at the University of Chicago and the Socialization of Aesthetics', *Design Issues*, 15 no 1 (Spring 1999), 3-15
- Thompson, Julian, 'Chinese Porcelain Garden Seats', *Antique Dealer and Collectors Guide* (June 1969), 96
- Verlot, Pierre, 'Orders For Sévres from the French Court', *Burlington*, 96 (1954), 202-206
- Wade, Hillery, 'Christopher Dresser and the Linthorpe Pottery', *Antique Collector*, 55 no 2 (February 1984), 50-53
- Wallis, Walter Cyril, 'Scottish Pottery', *Apollo*, 49 (1949), 70-72
- Watters, Brian, 'Dunmore Pottery', *Calatria* (Journal of the Falkirk Local History Society), 15 (2001)

CATALOGUES and EXHIBITION MATERIALS

Falkirk Museum, *Dunmore Pottery*, Publicity Information for Dunmore Exhibit,
April 11-May 21 2002

Glasgow Museum Corporation Catalogue entries

Stirling Smith Museum, Dunmore Pottery exhibit, text panel 8

INTERNET and OTHER SOURCES

Dickson, Kay, private notes, interview with Mr. McCowan, 1977

_____ private notes, interview with Mr. McCracken, 1977

_____ private notes, interview with Mr. Hamilton, 1977

Gillon, J. K., The Edinburgh International Exhibition
<http://members.fortunecity.com/gillonj/edinburghinternationalexhibition/>
[accessed 15 October 2006]

Morgan, Chris, on RootsWeb.com 1010461467

Hill, Robin, author's conversation with, 8 September 2001

Hill, Robin, letter to the author, 22 November 2001

Dunmore Pottery:
The Art of the Art Pottery Business

By
Kristin Jurgens

A Thesis

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements

for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

(History of Art)

Volume 2 of 2

UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW

2007

Copyright © Kristin K. Jurgens 2006

1. Survey Map from the 1912 Sale of Dunmore Park Estate.	11	1
2. Butter Crock	11	1
3. Dunmore Salt Bucket.	13	2
4. Utilitarian Salt Bucket.	14	2
5. Caledonian Pottery Waverly Salt Bucket.	14	2
6. Dunmore Bank.	15	3
7. Frederick Walker.	17	3
8. Scottish Central Railway	23	4
9. Pottery shard found on the Dunmore Pottery site during a 2001 excavation.	24	4
10. Dunmore Monteith Bowl.	24	5
11. Begonia Leaf Shape Plate.	25	5
12. Dunmore Plant Stand with Fleur de Lys.	26	6
13. Dunmore Lekythos.	33	6
14. Dunmore Musical Cherub Roundel.	34	6
15. Dunmore Eastern Pedestal Vase with Two Loop Handles.	34	7
16. Minton Eastern Pedestal Vase with Two Loop Handles.	34	7
17. Dunmore Leaf Shape Wall Pocket.	34	8
18. Dunmore Large Composite Tree Form Vase with Springing	35	8
19. Dunmore Dimple Vase.	36	9
20. Dunmore Egg Shaped Plant Pot with Saucer.	36	9
21. Dunmore Candlestick with Lathe Turned Bands.	37	10
22. Dunmore Satyr Head Ashet	37	10
23. Dunmore Pierced Elephant Figurine.	39	10
24. Dunmore Cupped Hands Figurine.	39	11
25. Dunmore Pottery House.	47	11
26. Large Bowl Planter with Fluted Lip.	52	11
27. Dunmore Worker's West Cottages, 1976.	53	12
28. Worcester Parian Pigeon	57	12
29. Dunmore Pigeon.	57	12
30. Moulded Teapot With Top Handle and Shaped Spout on Daisy Stand.	57	13
31. Dunmore Jug.	58	13
32. Dunmore Egg Vase with False Ring Handles.	58	13
33. Dunmore Vase with Pinched Base and Clay Loop Handles.	62	14
34. Dunmore Creamer.	62	14
35. Burmantoft dimple vase	63	14
36. Dunmore dimple vase.	63	14
37. Dunmore Putti and Goat Plaque.	64	15
38. Dunmore Trumpet Vase with Loop Handles.	65	15
39. Drawing-Room Cheffonier from Charles Eastlake's Hints on Household Taste.	67	16
40. 'A Comfortable Corner'	67	16
41. Panelled Persian Style Vase.	68	17
42. Dunmore Lyrebird Plaque.	68	17
43. The Peacock Room, 1892.	69	18
44. Linthorpe Ewer.	69	18
45. Worcester Royal Porcelain Company enamelled Iznik Vase.	69	19
46. Dunmore Vase with Long Slender Neck.	70	19
47. Burmantoft Vase with Long Slender Neck.	70	19

48. Linthorpe Vase with Long Slender Neck.	70	20
49. Martinware Bird.	72	20
50. Advertisement from Officiate Hand Boke of Ye Strivelin.	76	21
51. Linthorpe Advertisement.	76	22
52. Cover of A Visit to Dunmore, circa 1888.	80	23
53. Drawings from the A Visit to Dunmore.	84	24
54. Martin-ware Grotesque Owl.	84	24
55. Example of donated Dunmore piece.	89	25
56. Dunmore Basket.	89	25
57. Dunmore advertisement in the Falkirk Herald, 3 March 1905.	92	25
58. "From Dunmore" teapot.	94	26
59. Soutar Johnie figurine.	95	26
60. Tam O'Shanter figurine.	95	26
61. Bust of Robert Burns.	95	27
62. Midland Railway Poster, October 1904.	95	27
63. The Drawing Room, Balmoral Castle.	95	28
64. Celtic Knot Vase.	96	28
65. Silver Mounted Dunmore Teapot.	101	29
66. Painted Dunmore Vase.	102	29
67. Interior of Dunmore Showroom.	102	30
68. Dunmore Promotional Cup.	106	30
69. Dunmore Dimple Vase.	112	31
70. Illustration of Burmantoft Swan Vase.	112	31
71. Illustration of Burmantoft Dimple Vase.	112	31
72. Dunmore Swan Vase.	112	31
73. Glass swan salt cellar.	113	32
74. Dunmore Toad.	113	32
75. Illustration of Burmantoft Toad.	113	32
76. Hindley and Sons Advertisement in the 1876 Art Journal Advertiser.	117	33
77. A Fancy Bazaar at the Wellington Barracks.	122	33
78. Street Peddler	124	34
79. Main Avenue, Philadelphia Exhibition.	130	34
80. Floor plan for a segment of the British Section.	130	35
81. Dunmore Teapot.	131	36
82. Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition Medal.	132	36
83. Palissy ware.	134	37
84. Dunmore Renaissance jug in Palissy style.	134	37
85. Watcombe ceramics displayed at the 1876 Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition.	135	38
86. Watcombe ceramics displayed at the 1878 Paris International Exhibition.	135	39
87. One of a pair of Dunmore Candlesticks.	135	40
88. Dunmore Ewer.	135	40
89. Dunmore Urn.	135	41
90. Dunmore Vase.	135	41
91. Daniell and Son's display at the Philadelphia Exhibition.	136	42
92. Dunmore Classical style wall plaque.	137	42
93. Dunmore Classical Urn.	137	43
94. Brown-Westhead, Moore & Co's display at the Philadelphia Exhibition.	137	43
95. Dunmore garden seat.	138	44

96. Doulton Fire mantle at the Philadelphia Exhibition.	139	44
97. Satsuma ware.	141	45
98. Dunmore Oriental wall plaques.	141	45
99. Dunmore monkey.	142	46
100. Meissen monkey.	142	46
101. Japanese dwelling at the Philadelphia Exhibition.	142	47
102. Japanese Bazaar at the Philadelphia Exhibition	142	47
103. Chinese Ceramics at the Philadelphia Exhibition.	143	48
104. Dunmore Globular Vase.	143	48
105. Advertisement for Dunmore Pottery. <i>Scotsman</i> , 28 July 1874.	147	49
106. Green Dunmore cheese stand.	151	49
107. Majolica Alloa cheese stand.	151	49
108. The Edinburgh Exhibition.	153	49
109. Old Edinburgh.	154	50
110. Colonial House at the Philadelphia Exhibition.	154	50
111. Dunmore plate, exhibition piece for the Edinburgh International Exhibition.	157	51
112. Dunmore Stall at the 1886 Edinburgh Exhibition.	157	51
113. Dunmore Pedestal.	157	52
114. Dunmore Queens Vase.	158	52
115. Exhibition Plate for the Glasgow 1886 Industrial Exhibition.	159	53
116. Sketch of Dunmore Pottery at the 1886 Glasgow Industrial Exhibition.	159	53
117. View of Main Avenue West, 1888 Glasgow International Exhibition.	162	54
118. Bexton Croft.	167	55
119. Dunmore Vase.	174	55
120. Dunmore Queens Vase.	174	56
121. My Lady's Chamber by Walter Crane.	175	56
122. Dunmore Classical Inspired Chamberstick.	175	57
123. Dunmore Puppy Figurine.	175	57
124. Angle Feet Bowl.	176	57
125. Dunmore Folded Basket.	176	58
126. Hanging Cabinet	177	58
127. Standing Cabinet.	177	58
128. Dunmore Two Handled Eastern Vase.	177	59
129. Dunmore Eastern Vase with Bell Shaped Neck.	177	59
130. Eastlake Mantel.	178	60
131. An Ordinary Mantel.	178	60
132. Dunmore Moon Flask.	178	61
133. Tyntesfield Drawing Room.	178	61
134. Dunmore Vase with Snake Handles.	178	62
135. Minton Urn.	179	62
136. Tam O'Shanter and Souter Johnnie Flatback.	179	63
137. Dunmore Painted Crackle Glaze Vase.	181	63
138. Dunmore Teapot with Flower Shaped Stand.	182	63
139. Linthorpe Teapot.	182	64
140. Watcombe Teapot.	182	64
141. Dunmore Teapot.	183	64
142. Door from the drawing room, Dunmore Pottery House.	183	65
143. Prince of Wales at a country house party at Tranby Croft, York 1890.	186	65

144. Garden party at Pamflete, Devon.	187	66
145. Winter garden at Moulton Paddocks, Suffolk.	188	66
146. Dunmore Flower Pot with Fern Detail.	189	67
147. Gnomes in the garden at Lamport Hall, 1890.	190	67
148. Dunmore Pig Figurine.	190	68
149. Dunmore Grottesque Frog.	190	68
150. Dunmore Frog Planter.	190	69
151. Sideboard.	193	69
152. Dining Room in the Jacobean Style.	193	70
153. Dunmore Pilgrim Flask.	194	70
154. Dining à la française.	195	71
155. Dining à la russe.	196	71
156. Dunmore Bread Bowl.	197	72
157. Victorian Majolica Bread Bowl.	198	72
158. Dunmore Tureen.	199	72
159. Dunmore Cruet Set with Sterling Silver Mounts.	200	73
160. Dunmore Dolphin Tazza.	202	73
161. Design For Minton's Dolphin Trinket Stand, circa 1852.	202	74
162. Dunmore Tree Tazzas with Bamboo Spill Vase.	203	74
163. Dunmore Maple Leaf Plate	204	75
164. Dunmore Leaf Bowl.	204	75
165. Heal and Son Advertisement.	205	75
166. Georgian era spittoon.	207	76
167. Pub with spittoons in Cantons, Cambridge Circus, 1899.	208	76
168. Wine bar with spittoons on Coventry Street in Leicester 1895.	208	77
169. Dunmore spittoon.	208	77
170. Texas capitol building Rockingham spittoon.	209	78
171. Dunmore tobacco jar.	209	78



Figure 1. Survey Map from the 1912 Sale of Dunmore Park Estate. The Pottery is located at the bottom left of the estate woodlands.

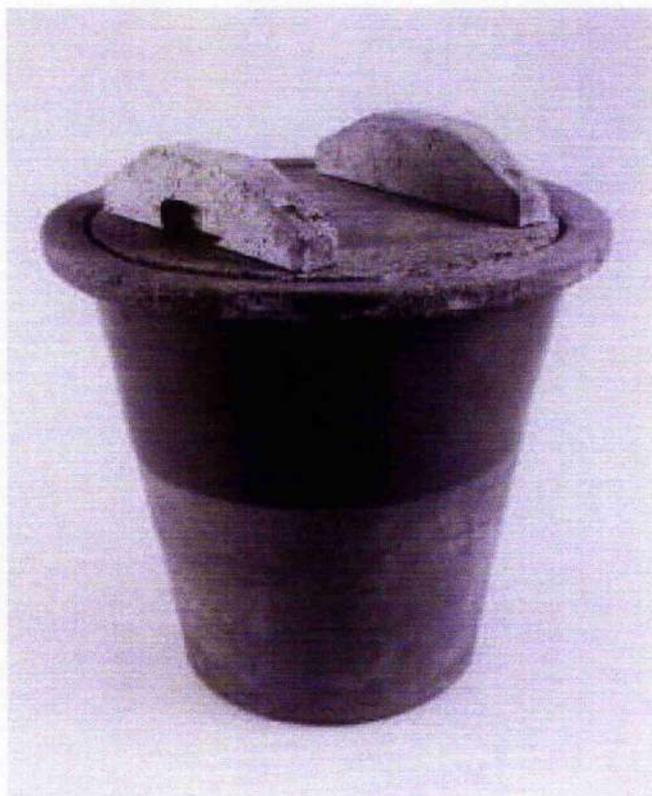


Figure 2. Butter Crock, Museum of Welsh Life, no F89.114.11.



Figure 3. Dunmore Salt Bucket. Unknown.

This salt bucket was brought to the attention of Robin Hill, then curator of the Huntley House Museum, in the 1970s. He photographed the piece, but did not take any further details. The location of this piece is unknown.



Figure 4. Utilitarian Salt Bucket. East Lothian Museum Service.



Figure 5. Caledonian Pottery Waverly Salt Bucket. National Museum of Scotland.

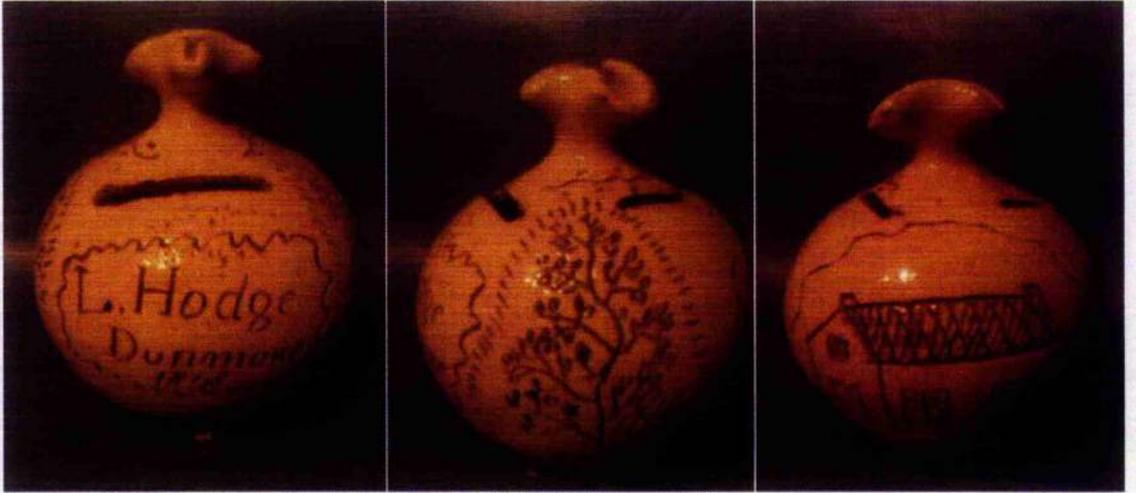
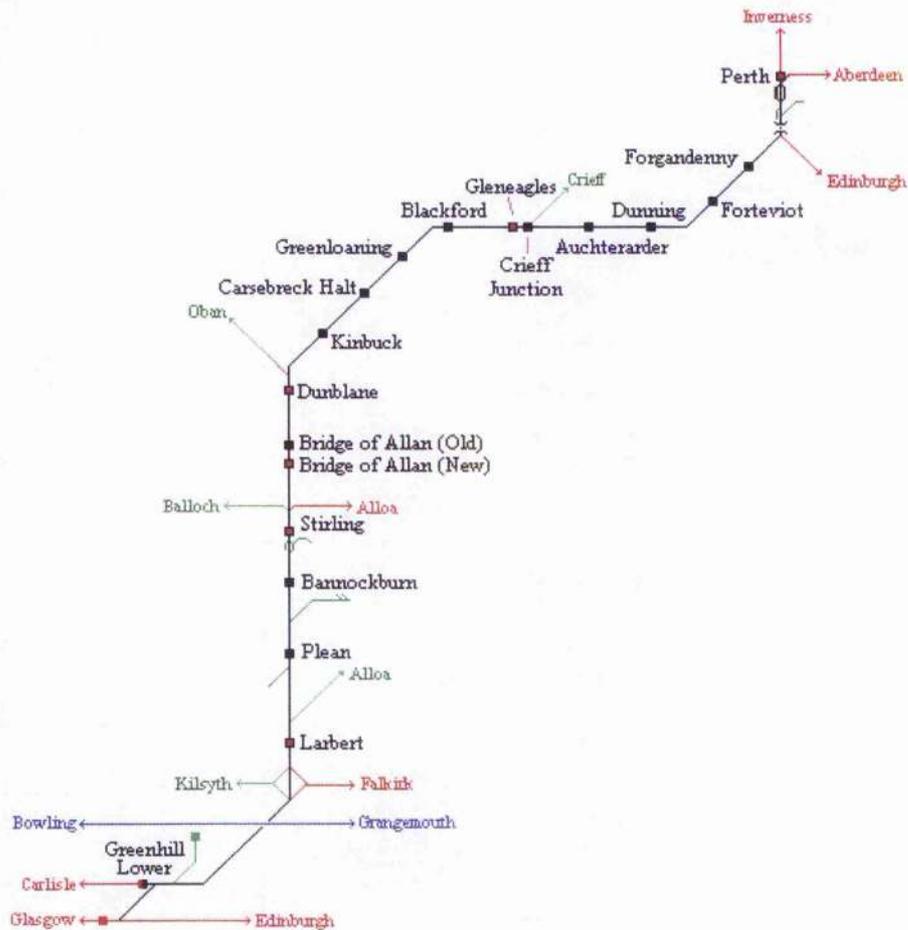


Figure 6. Dunmore Bank. Height 4.5", width 4.25". Private Collection.
Each side of the bank has been incised with a different image. There were no references to a 'L. Hodge' living near the Dunmore in either the 1841 or 1851 census.



Figure 7. Frederick Walker. *A Fishmonger's Shop* (1874). Liverpool Museum of Art.



Scottish Central Railway

Figure 8. Scottish Central Railway by Ewan Crawford, RailScot.

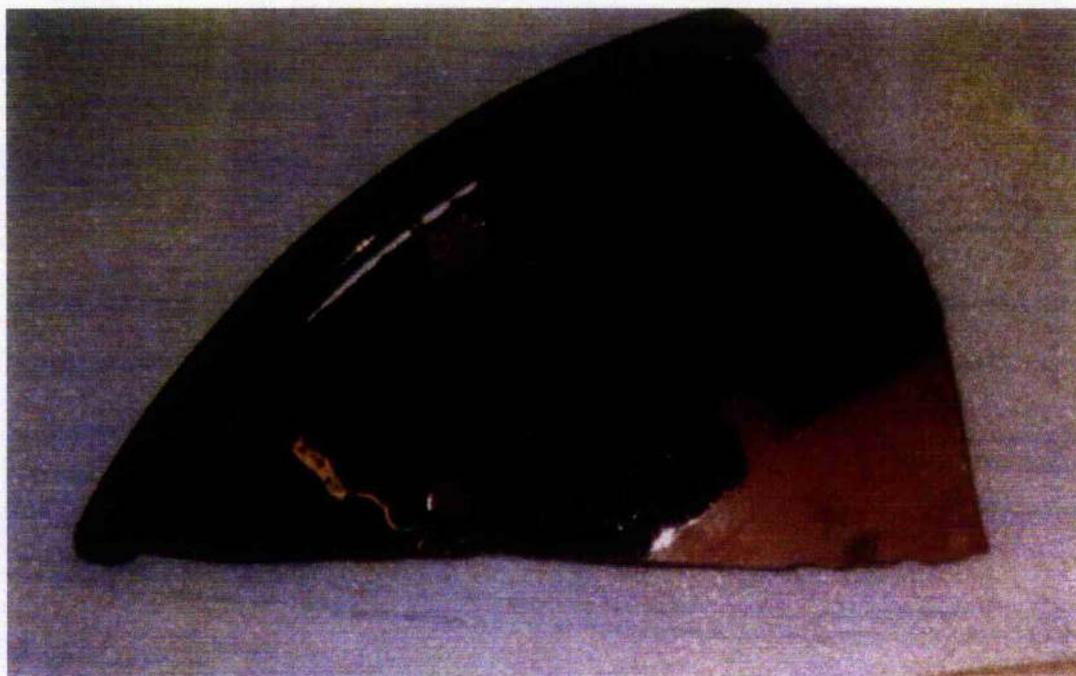


Figure 9. Pottery shard found on the Dunmore Pottery site during a 2001 excavation. The size of the shard and its curvature suggests it came from a large bowl or jardinière.



Figure 10. Dunmore Monteith Bowl. National Museums of Scotland no H.1995.65. 7" high, 9"diameter. Monteith bowls were a type of punch bowl which were usually cast in silver. The scalloped rim allowed glasses to be suspended into the bowl to chill them before use.



Figure 11. Begonia Leaf Shape Plate. Falkirk Museum Service. 9.75" x 7".

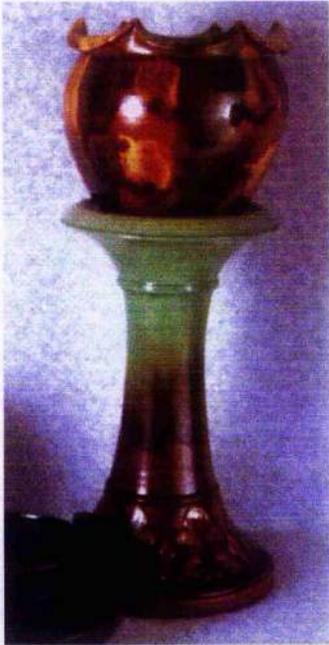


Figure 12. Dunmore Plant Stand with Fleur de Lys. Falkirk Museum Services, 31.5" high, 13.5" diameter.

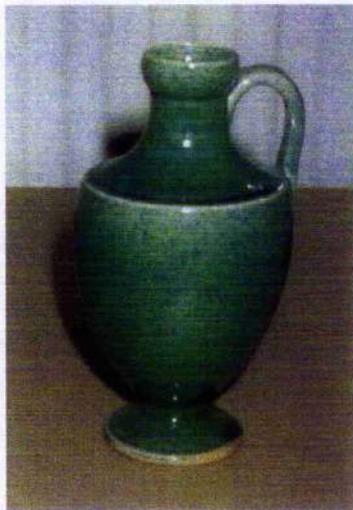


Figure 13. Dunmore Lekythos. National Museum of Scotland, no 1878 5 5. 3.5" high.



Figure 14. Dunmore Musical Cherub Roundel. Glasgow Museum Corporation, no 1878-67 67. 7.75" diameter.



Figure 15. Dunmore Eastern Pedestal Vase with Two Loop Handles. Glasgow Museums 1878-67ax. 10.25" high, 3.5" diameter.
The shape of this vase as well as the faux clay handles suggest the form was originally made in metal.

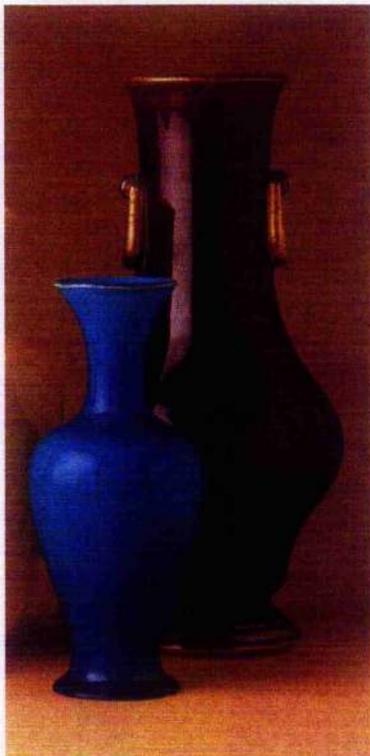


Figure 16. Minton Eastern Pedestal Vase with Two Loop Handles (in rear).

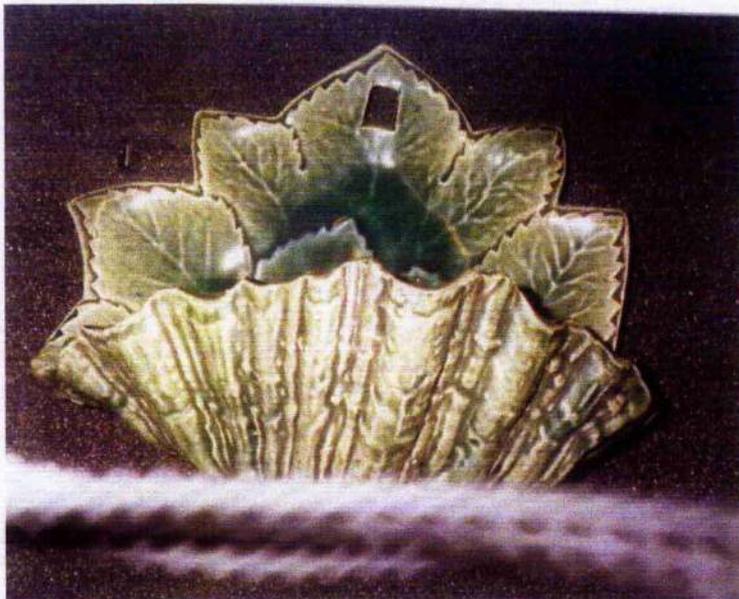


Figure 17. Dunmore Leaf Shape Wall Pocket. Glasgow Museum Corporation, no 1878-67z. 7.75" x 4.25" x 7.25".

There are two forms of the leaf shape wall-pocket. In the other version, the leaves have been folded into each other to create a more triangular top.



Figure 18. Dunmore Large Composite Tree Form Vase with Springing. Glasgow Museum Corporation, no 1878-67ce. 14.5" high, 5.5" diameter.

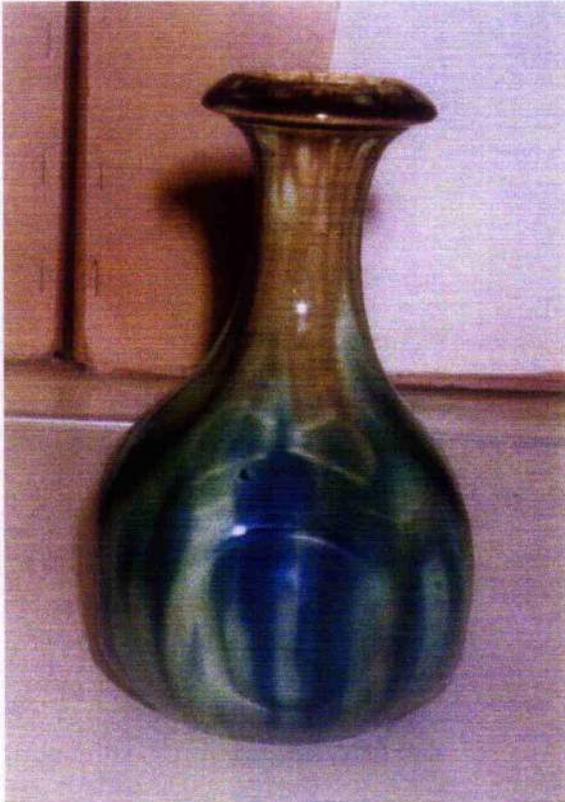


Figure 19. Dunmore Dimple Vase. Stirling Smith Museum, no 19705/3. 6.5" high, 3.5" diameter. Dunmore produced several versions of the dimple vase in various sizes. Each was wheel thrown before being impressed with the dimple. As they were all made by hand, the indentations are irregular in depth and placement.



Figure 20. Dunmore Egg Shaped Plant Pot with Saucer. Falkirk Museum Service, no 1994-12-16.

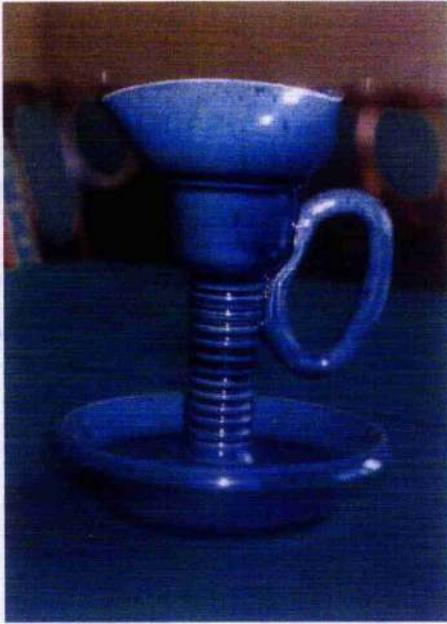


Figure 21. Dunmore Candlestick with Lathe Turned Bands. Falkirk Museum Service, no 1981-33-12. 5.5" high, 4.5" diameter.



Figure 22. Dunmore Satyr Head Ashtray Huntley House Museum, no 2517/64. 9.5" x 4".
Dunmore used at least two different moulds to create satyr head ashtrays. In one form, the bowl is oval while in the other, like the one pictured above, the bowl is almond shaped.



Figure 23. Dunmore Pierced Elephant Figurine. Stirling Smith Museum, no B17727. 5.25" x 2.75".



Figure 24. Dunmore Cupped Hands Figurine. National Museum of Scotland, no mek 468 1981.



Figure 25. Dunmore Pottery House.

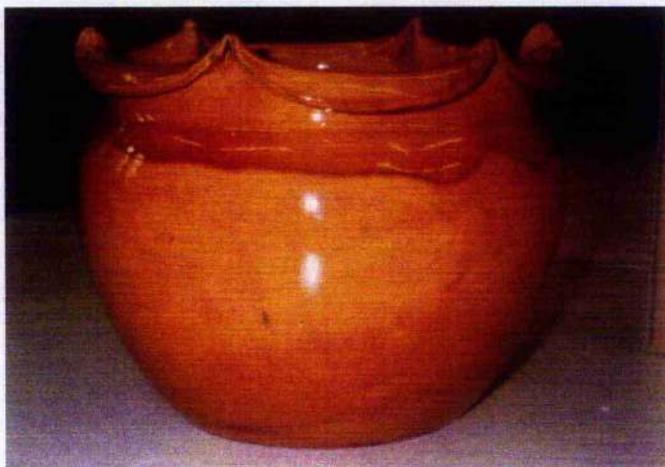


Figure 28. Large Bowl Planter with Fluted Lip. Stirling Smith Museum, no 17709. 10" diameter.



Figure 27. Dunmore Worker's West Cottages, 1976.

There were two rows of cottages that housed Dunmore employees. The cottages illustrated were located to the west of Dunmore's kiln. The cottages fell into disrepair following World War I and have been pulled down to make room for a housing development.

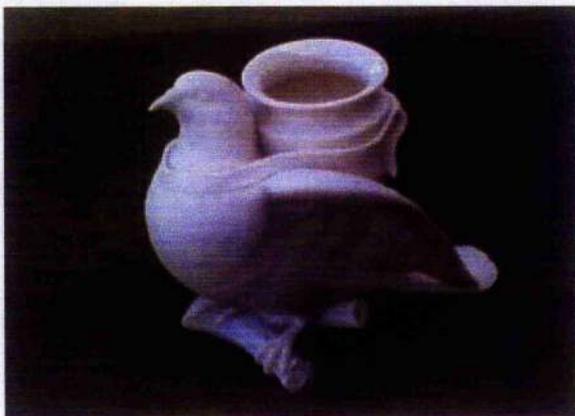


Figure 28. Worcester Parian Pigeon



Figure 29. Dunmore Pigeon. Private Collection.

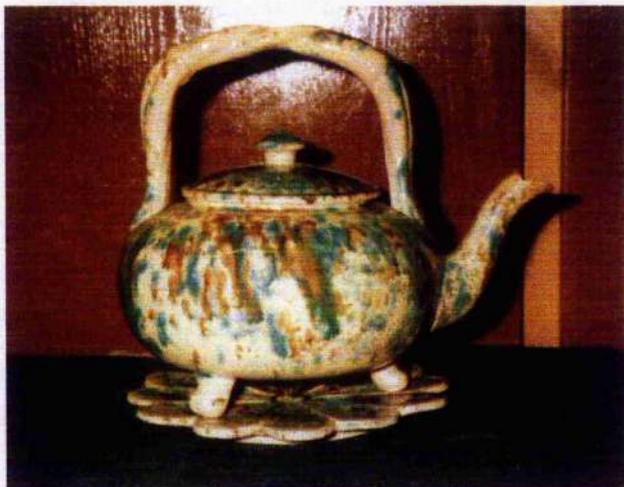


Figure 30. Moulded Teapot With Top Handle and Shaped Spout on Daisy Stand. Glasgow Museum Corporation, no 1981.109.w. Teapot 7" x 7", stand 6.5" diameter.



Figure 31. Dunmore Jug. Huntley House Museum.



Figure 32. Dunmore Egg Vase with False Ring Handles. Falkirk Museum Services, no 1992/07/01. 6" high, 5.5" diameter.

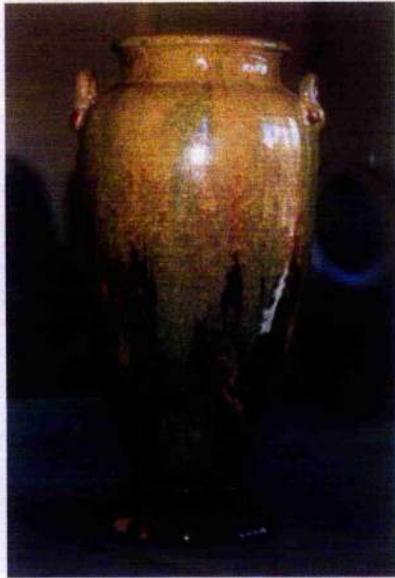


Figure 33. Dunmore Vase with Pinched Base and Clay Loop Handles. Falkirk Museum Service, no 1994 12 5. 8.5" high, 4" diameter.



Figure 34. Dunmore Creamer. Falkirk Museum Service, no 1983 17. 3.5" high, 4" wide with handle.



Figures 35 and 36. Burmantoft and Dunmore dimple vases. Dunmore vase, Falkirk Museum Service, no. 1972 75 1. 4" high, 3" diameter.



Figure 37. Dunmore Putti and Goat Plaque. Huntley House 4022/7/79 B
Scene depicts Bacchus Cult imagery. Similar scenes can be seen in paintings by Jan Van Neck and reproduced in jewelry and ceramics from the Neoclassical period onwards.



Figure 38. Dunmore Trumpet Vase with Loop Handles. Falkirk Museums Service, no 1997-32-3. 6.5" high 3.5" diameter.

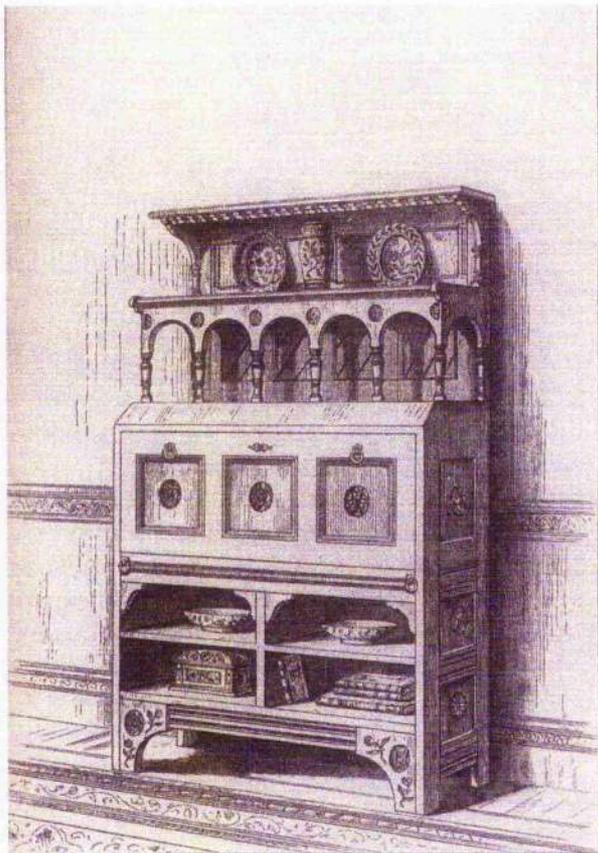


Figure 39. Drawing-Room Cheffonier from Charles Eastlake's *Hints on Household Taste*.



A COMFORTABLE CORNER.

Figure 40. 'A Comfortable Corner' From *The Drawing Room*, Part of *Art in the Home* Series. The illustration typifies what was considered an Aesthetically decorated and comfortable home. A large ceramic vase sits on the lower shelf in the cabinet in the corner. In the hanging cabinet, various pieces of Art and Eastern pottery are displayed. Dunmore ware would have been ideal for readers recreating this look.

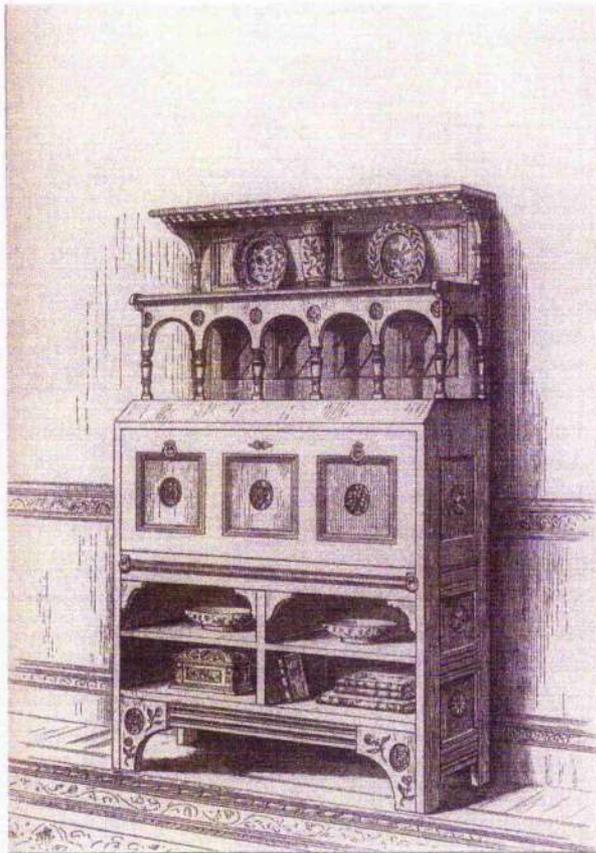


Figure 39. Drawing-Room Cheffonier from Charles Eastlake's *Hints on Household Taste*.



A COMFORTABLE CORNER.

Figure 40. 'A Comfortable Corner' From *The Drawing Room*, Part of *Art in the Home* Series. The illustration typifies what was considered an Aesthetically decorated and comfortable home. A large ceramic vase sits on the lower shelf in the cabinet in the corner. In the hanging cabinet, various pieces of Art and Eastern pottery are displayed. Dunmore ware would have been ideal for readers recreating this look.



Figure 41. Panelled Persian Style Vase. Stirling Smith Museum, no b17732 2. 8" high, 4" diameter. The panelled design and clay ring top indicate that the form was historically made in metal. Like much of Dunmore's Aesthetic Movement ceramics, this piece has been moulded.



Figure 42. Dunmore Lyrebird Plaque. National Museum of Scotland, no HMEK 550. 11.25" diameter. The lyrebird plaque is the only known surviving Dunmore underglaze painted piece. The shading and detail of the lyrebird and its feathers indicate the painter was experienced in this technique. The lyrebird motif – as a variant of the more commonly used peacock – and arabesque foliate pattern, clearly places this piece within the Aesthetic movement.

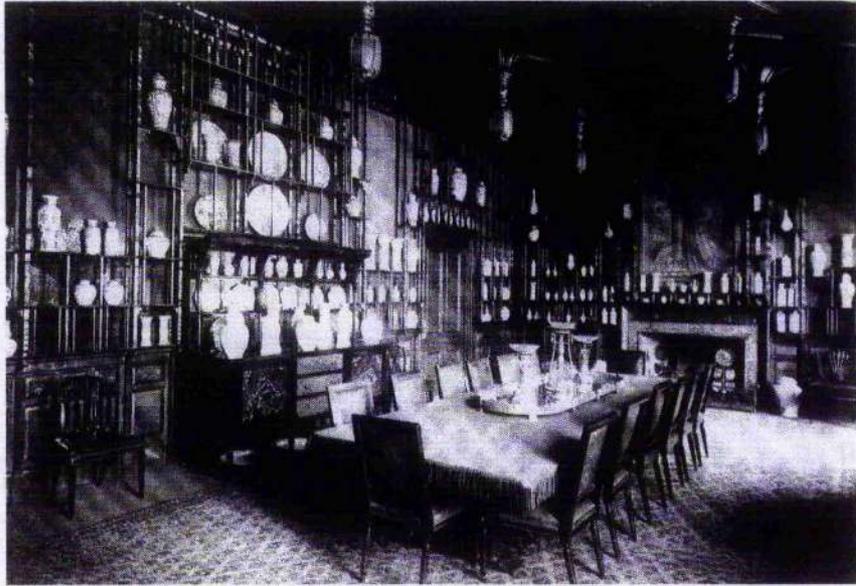


Figure 43. The Peacock Room, 1892. Photograph by H. Bedford Lemere. The Peacock Room was completed in 1876 with furniture designs by Thomas Jeckyll and interior painting scheme by J. A. McNeill Whistler. The room was purpose built to house Leyland's ceramic collection.

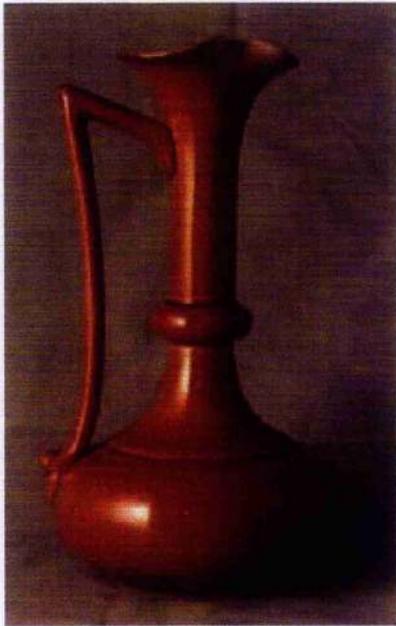


Figure 44. Linthorpe Ewer. Dorman Museum. , Middlesborough. The ewers squat bowl, long exaggerated neck, and sharp angular handle are typical of Art potteries Eastern inspired ware.



Figure 45. Worcester Royal Porcelain Company enamelled Iznik Vase. Worcester Iznik wares take their name and inspiration from the brightly enameled pottery produced in Iznik, Turkey in the 15th and 16th centuries. The form of this vase with its long exaggerated slender neck is typical of pieces produced in the Persian style.



Figure 46. Dunmore Vase with Long Slender Neck. National Museum of Scotland, no H 1995.35.



Figure 47. Burmantoft Vase with Long Slender Neck. Private Collection.

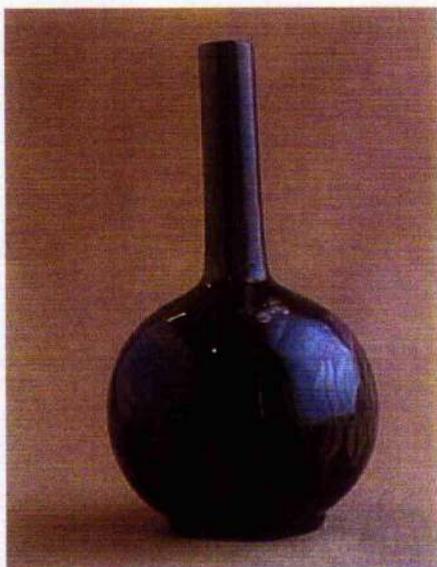
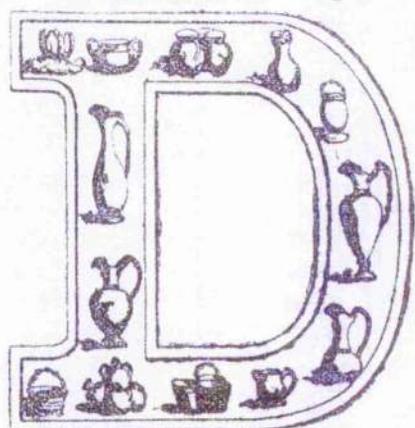


Figure 48. Linthorpe Vase with Long Slender Neck. Dorman Museum, no 1314.



Figure 49. Martinware Bird.

Patronised by H. R. H. the Duke of Edinburgh.



DUNMORE POTTERY by STIRLING

—❖❖❖— PETER GARDNER —❖❖❖—

BEGS respectfully to intimate that he has opened a Depôt for the Dunmore Pottery in the Stirling Arcade, where Specimens of the Articles will be on Sale and Orders taken. Dunmore Pottery is about six miles from Stirling by road, on the Dunmore Estate, and within a short distance of Dunmore House, one of the Seats of the Earl of Dunmore.

Mr GARDNER will be glad to show the Works to visitors who are interested in the manufacture. The articles manufactured at the Dunmore Pottery include Vases, Afternoon Tea Sets, Garden Seats, Flower Pots, Dessert Plates, Leaves; Mantlepiece, Dining-room, Drawing-room, and Toilet Table Ornaments, &c., &c., and are no less substantial than elegant, while they are inexpensive. The Ware is admirably adapted for Stalls at Bazaars, Prizes for Flower and all other Popular Competitions, &c.

—❖❖❖— DEPOT—ARCADE, STIRLING. —❖❖❖—

Figure 50. Advertisement from *Officiale Hand Boke of Ye Strivelin*.

This is the largest known Dunmore advertisement. Most Dunmore advertisements are small text listings in local papers and directories. The size and decorative elements of this advertisement is a break from known Dunmore announcements.

LINTHORPE ART POTTERY.

*Linthorpe Pottery,
MIDDLESBROUGH-ON-TEES,*

24th October, 1883.

I have the pleasure to intimate to the Trade that the next display of specimens of LINTHORPE KERAMICS will be held at No. 19, Charterhouse Street, London, E.C., from Monday, November 5th to Thursday, November 15th.

In addition to a great variety of new forms and colour effects, I purpose showing some examples of FAIENCE in which the decoration is treated in a manner entirely new and possessing the essential qualities of warmth and richness combined with softness—so desirable in productions of this character.

Trusting to be favoured with your presence and assuring you that all orders with which you may entrust me shall have my careful attention,

I am,

Yours truly,

JOHN HARRISON.

P.S.—Should you at any time find it convenient to visit the Works (which are readily accessible by Tramway from Middlesbrough Railway Station) I shall be glad to show you my stock.

In case you are unable to call and see the samples in London, I shall be happy to receive your instructions to forward a carefully selected parcel of Ware containing a good and varied assortment of the best shapes and effects.

My address whilst in Town will be Saracen's Head Hotel, Snow Hill, Holborn Viaduct, E.C., where my Representative, Mr. Harry H. Taylor, will also be.

J.H.

Figure 51. Linthorpe Advertisement.

Linthorpe was not only a contemporary of Dunmore, but also one of their main competitors. Comparing Dunmore and Linthorpe advertisements can offer insight into both potteries.

ORDERS TO BE ADDRESSED TO

PETER GARDNER,

Dunmore Pottery,

By LARBERT, N.B.



LADY DUNMORE BOWL

Depôts:

22a RENFIELD STREET, GLASGOW.

18a GEORGE STREET, EDINBURGH.

Figure 52. Cover of *A Visit to Dunmore*, circa 1888.

This is the only contemporary brochure of Dunmore Pottery known to exist. It offers information on production processes, factory management, and wares produced during the late 1880s.



Figure 53. Drawings from the *A Visit to Dunmore* by Mr. J. W. Small, Stirling. Apart from the catalog entries from the Exhibitions and pieces donated by Gardner to the Glasgow and National Museum, these drawings offer the only source to date the development of Dunmore Ware. The pieces which were chosen to be drawn are mainly the larger or more unique moulded pieces and not the more common and simple thrown pieces.



Figure 54. Martin-ware Grotesque Owl. The heads of these birds, as well as the Dunmore owl, were removable. "To these sill ill-tempered creatures, with their vast but empty heads, is fitly assigned the duty of warming spoons. Cosmo Monkhouse, 'Some Original Ceramists', *Magazine of Art*, 5 (1882) p. 445.

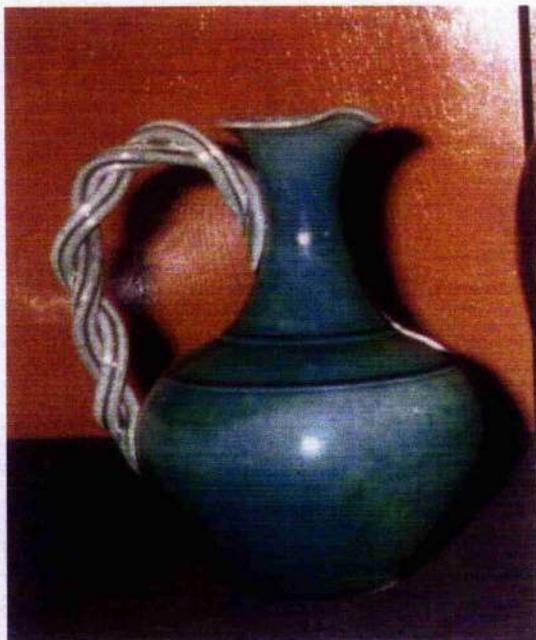


Figure 55. Example of donated Dunmore piece. Glasgow Museum Corporation, no 78.67.az. 6.75" high.

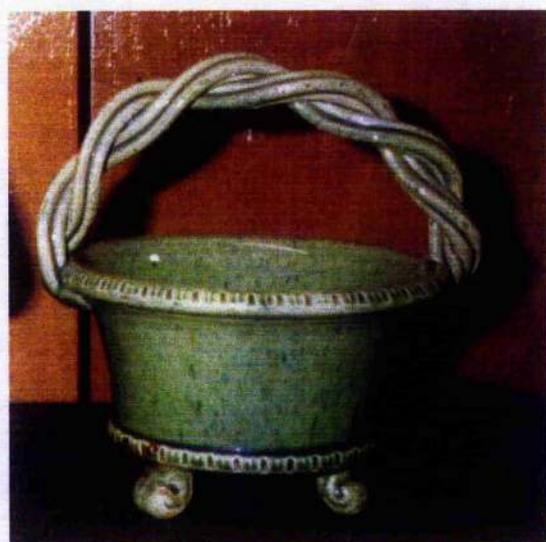


Figure 56. Dunmore Basket. Glasgow Museum Corporation, no 78.67.bp. 5.5" high, 4.5" wide.

DUNMORE POTTERY. BY LARBERT.
is always Open to Visitors.
Beautiful Selection of WARE suitable for PRESENTS
and BAZAARS or WEDDING PRESENTS.
INSPECTION INVITED.
TEA and AERATED WATERS may be had.

Figure 57. Dunmore advertisement in the Falkirk Herald, 3 March 1905.

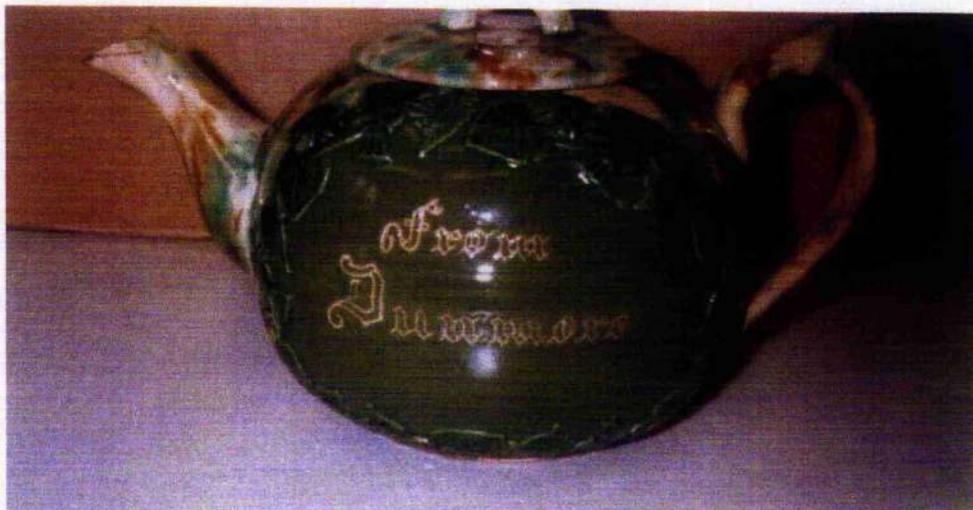
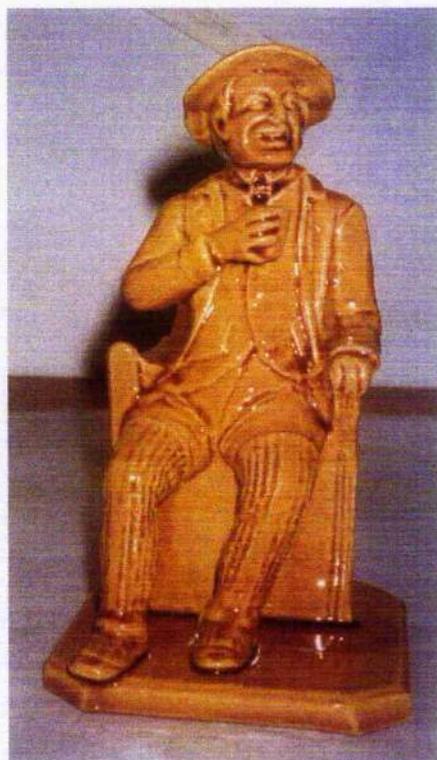


Figure 58. "From Dunmore" teapot. Stirling Smith Museum, no 14947. 6" high, 9" wide. Ready made, simple teapots and jugs incised with "From Dunmore" were available to purchase from the Dunmore salesroom. Specialty pieces could also be ordered where one side of the item was incised "From Dunmore" and a person's name incised on the other side.



Figures 59 and 60. Soutar Johnie (National Museum of Scotland) and Tam O'Shanter (Huntley House Museum, no 2353/428/62) figurines.

These two characters appear in Robert Burns's narrative poem 'Tam O'Shanter' written circa 1790. The poem tells the story of Tam and his experience with ghosts and witches after an evening in the pub with his good friend Souter Johnie.



Figure 61. Bust of Robert Burns. National Museum of Scotland, no H.1995.8 19" high, 14 wide" Although Dunmore produced several figures and plaques of historical figures, this is Dunmore's only known bust. The dark, thick glaze makes this piece appear to be made from stone rather than clay.

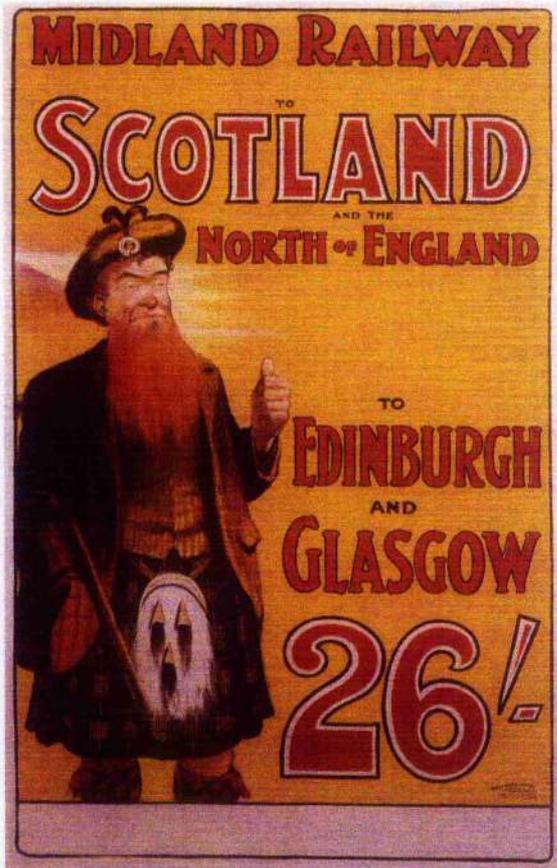


Figure 62. Midland Railway Poster, October 1904.

The artist Andrew Murray drew on well known stereotypes of the Scottish man. The ginger hair, sporran, and kilt reflect English prejudices towards the Scottish culture. The differences between the most common advertised image—that of the middle-class English—compared to the almost “native” representation of the Scotsman implied Scotland was ‘other’, foreign, and therefore romantic.

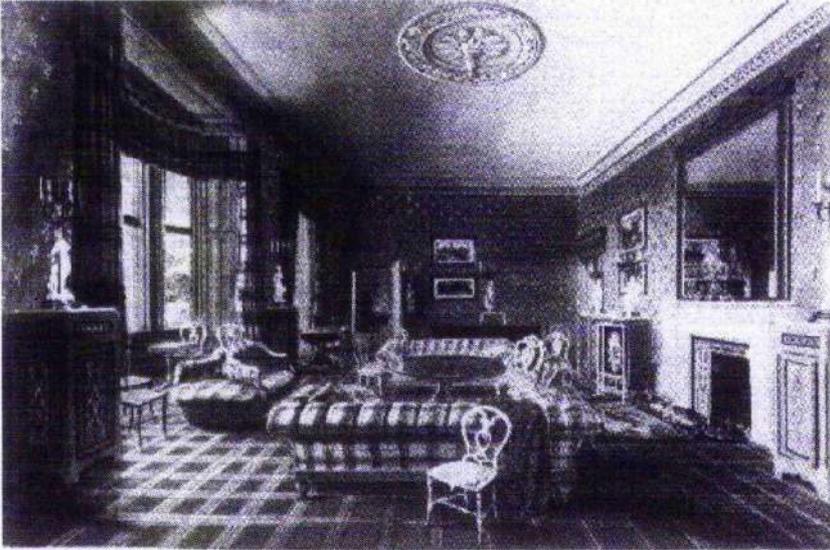


Figure 63. The Drawing Room, Balmoral Castle.

The room is finished in High Victorian design incorporating many “Scottish” design details. The overabundance of tartan and Scottish items were not representative of Scottish interiors of the period, but instead show an English interpretation of what is Scottish.

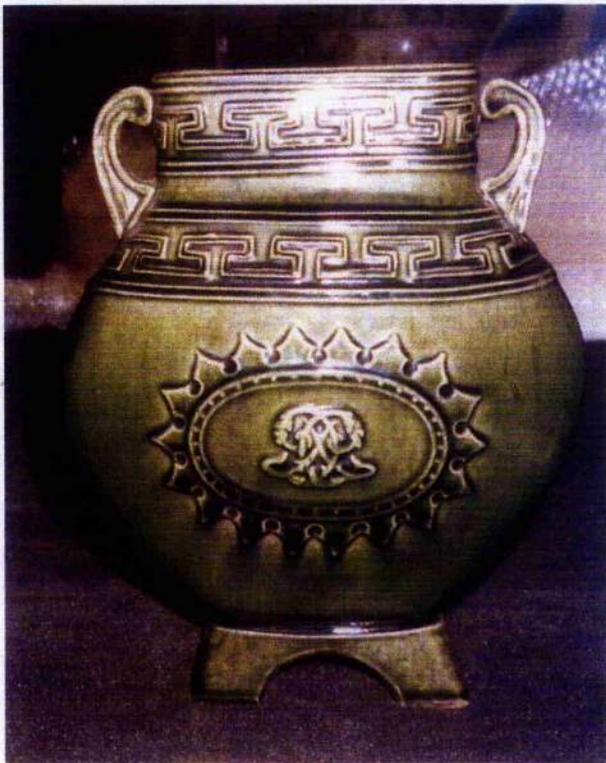


Figure 64. Celtic Knot Vase. Glasgow Museum Corporation, no 1878-67j. 8.5”high, 7.5” diameter.



Figure 65. Silver Mounted Dunmore Teapot. Glasgow Museum Corporation, no 1981-109s. 4.5" high. The teapot has hallmarks for R. & G. D., Glasow 1882.



Figures 66. Painted Dunmore Vase. Stirling Smith Museum, no B17728. 5.5" high. This piece features traditional nature scenes popular on amateur china paintings. The vase is one of several china paintings on Dunmore to survive. Other pieces (painted on glazed ware) can be found in the National Museum and Glasgow Museum Corporation collections.



Figure 67. Interior of Dunmore Showroom. Photographs by Ken MacKay. The showroom was dismantled in the 1970s despite attempts to keep it intact as a historic site. Although Edinburgh City Museums purchased a majority of the tiles with the intention of re-installing them in the museum, this plan has been discarded and most of these tiles are now in storage.



Figure 68. Dunmore Promotional Cup. Falkirk Museums, no 1994-12-25. 1.5" high, 2.5" diameter.



No. 158.—Burmantoft Vases, in artistic colours and original forms, with irregular indentations, highly glazed and very effective. For ferns, flowers, &c. 5½ inches high. Price 2/6 each.



Figures 69 and 70. Illustration of Burmantoft Dimple Vase, from Liberty and Co. Porcelain Catalogue (1891). Dunmore Dimple Vase. Private collection. 6" high.



Figure 71. Illustration of Burmantoft Swan Vase, from Liberty and Co. Porcelain Catalogue (1891).



Figure 72. Dunmore Swan Vase. Stirling Smith Museum, no B17724. 6" high, 6.5" long. This swan is the only documented piece of Dunmore finished in a white glaze.



Figure 73. Glass swan salt cellar.



Figure 74. Dunmore Toad. Stirling Smith Museum, no 19705/2. 6" high, 7" long.

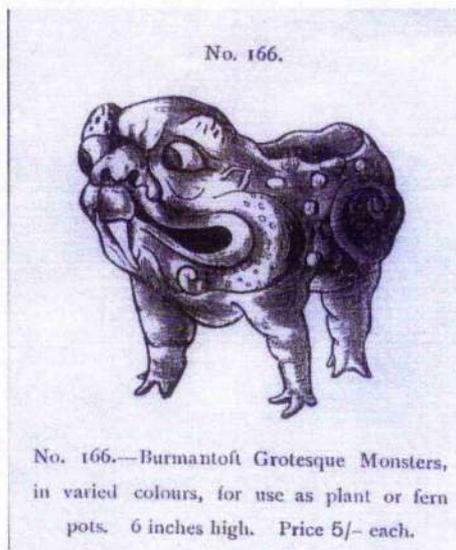


Figure 75. Illustration of Burmantoft Toad, from Liberty and Co. Porcelain Catalogue (1891). The Burmantoft toad used similar mould as the Dunmore Toad and the only way to distinguish between the two is to check the base for a factory stamp.

THE ART-JOURNAL ADVERTISER. [NOVEMBER]

CHARLES HINDLEY & SONS,
 134, OXFORD STREET, LONDON,
 DESIGNERS AND MANUFACTURERS OF

SUPERIOR CABINET FURNITURE;
 BEAUTIFUL ENGLISH CHINTZES,
 IN EVERY VARIETY OF PATTERN AND PRICE;
 AND OF

THE ANGLO-TURKEY CARPET,
 IN ONE PIECE, WITHOUT SEAM,
THE MOST DURABLE CARPET EVER PRODUCED.

THE LARGE STOCK OF CARPETS COMPRISES

RICH VELVET PILE, AXMINSTER, SUPERIOR BRUSSELS,
 And a good assortment of the cheaper descriptions.

CURTAINS:
 THE CHOICEST PRODUCTIONS IN SILK AND IN WOOL,
TAPESTRIES, DAMASKS, BROCADES,
 AND THE MOST APPROVED
NEW PLAIN FABRICS.

PURE ESTER BOON COVERINGS, supplied to the Marine and Fisheries
 Commodore. All new and of several patterns. Made in the most
 Manufactured by CHARLES HINDLEY & SONS,
 134, OXFORD STREET.

HINDLEY & SONS, 134, OXFORD STREET, LONDON, W.1. Telephone 2511.

Figure 76. Hindley and Sons Advertisement in the 1876 *Art Journal Advertiser*. This advertisement focuses on the furniture and textiles available at the store. The *Art Journal* was marketing to the upper classes and intelligencia of nineteenth century Britain. By placing an advertisement in this magazine, Hindley and Sons was trying to encourage this market group to visit the store.



Figure 77. A Fancy Bazaar at the Wellington Barracks. Illustrated London News 5 June 1858. Bazaars were often a blend of social and economic classes. They were a unique mixture of entertainment, social outing, and charity event. In this etching, there are military officers in uniform, gentlemen in top hats, middle-class women in day dresses, and upper-class women in their finery and bonnets mingling with each other. In the background of the picture to the right of the potted plant, a “stander” is helping a woman and child with a selection of pottery or glass.



Figure 78. *Cries of London* (1839) by J. T. Smith.

The two baskets show the types of wares peddlers traded—jugs, plates, cups. As transportation was problematic, peddlers offered a small, but varied selection.



Figure 79. Main Avenue, Philadelphia Exhibition. Centennial Photographic Company. Courtesy of Philadelphia Free Library.

Each country was permitted to decorate their section as they desired. As a result, each country's section had a distinctive feel and national character.



Figure 81. Dunmore Teapot. Falkirk Museum Collection, no 1994-12-32. 4.5" high, 6.5" wide. Dunmore made a variety of thrown and moulded teapots. This is an example of one of the pottery's simplest forms and finished in a Rockingham type glaze.



Figure 82. Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition Medal. Unlike other exhibitions, the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition only awarded one class of medal instead of the gold, silver, bronze categories of other exhibitions.



Figure 83. Palissy ware. Victoria and Albert Museum, no VAM 4730-1859. Originally made by Bernard Palissy in the mid 16th century. The body is made from a low-fired, secondary clay with a low tin, high lead based glaze. This type of ware was known as maiolica in Italy, faience in France and Germany, and Delftware in Holland and England.



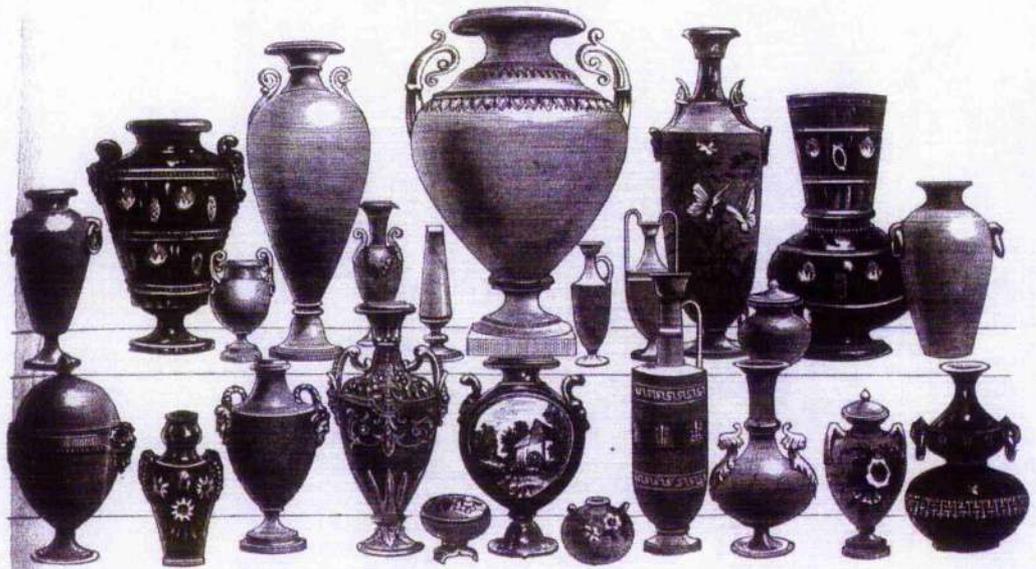
Figure 84. Dunmore renaissance jug in Palissy style. Stirling Smith Museum, no B17729. 6" high, 6" diameter. Unlike most British ceramic firms, Dunmore glazed its Palissy style ware in monochrome and splotched glazes as opposed to bright majolica.



orth—but of articles of utility, to which the hand and mind | of beauty. The productions of this factory have obtained, certainly merited, large popularity, yet the Works are b
 ie artist have given value—moulding common clay into things



Figure 85. Watcombe ceramics displayed at the 1876 Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition. *Art Journal* (1876), p. 247.



several occasions represented their many classic forms | produced, with graceful and effective decoration, painted and



Figure 86. Watcombe ceramics displayed at the 1878 Paris International Exhibition. *Art Journal* (1878), p. 5.



Figure 87. One of a pair of Dunmore Candlesticks. Falkirk Museum Services, no 1994-28/29. 8.5" high 5" wide at base.



Figure 88. Dunmore Ewer. Falkirk Museums, no 1981-33-15. 16" high.

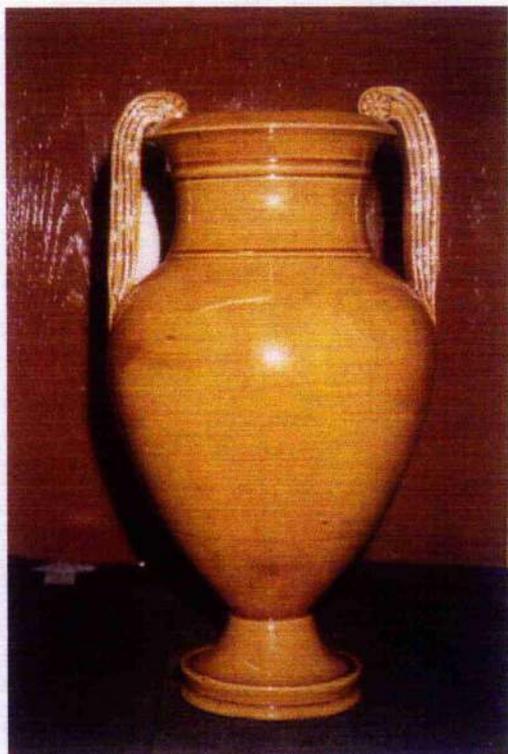


Figure 89. Dunmore Urn. Glasgow Museum Corporation, no 78-67au. 10.5" high, 6" diameter.



Figure 90. Dunmore Vase. Falkirk Museum Collection, no 1977-21. 29" high, 6.5" diameter.



Figure 91. Daniell and Son's display at the Philadelphia Exhibition. Courtesy of Philadelphia Free Library. This stall was one of the highlights of the British section and one of the few British stalls to be photographed by the Centennial Photographic Company



Figure 92. Dunmore Classical style wall plaque. Glasgow Museum Corporation, no 76-67h. 5.25" diameter.

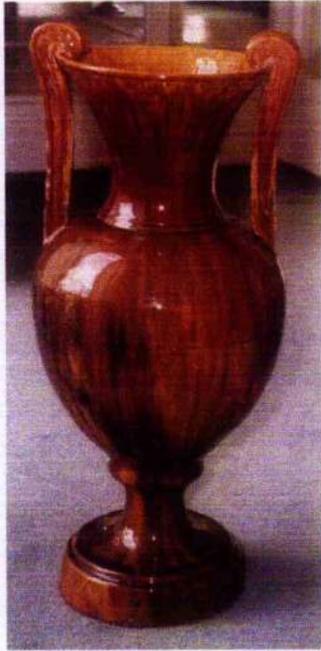


Figure 93. Dunmore Classical Urn. Falkirk Museums, no 1972-75-21. 10.5" high, 7" wide.



Figure 94. Brown-Westhead, Moore & Co's display at the Philadelphia Exhibition. Courtesy of Philadelphia Free Library.

This was one of the most photographed Centennial Exhibition displays. It is included in most contemporary souvenir catalogues and commemorative books.

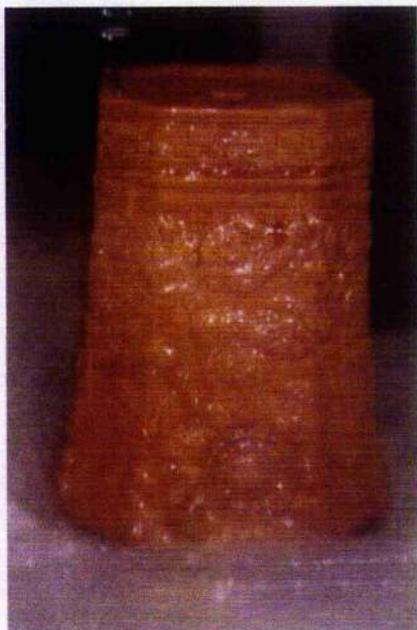


Figure 95. Dunmore garden seat. Falkirk Museum Collection. 18" high, 15" diameter at base, 10" diameter at top.

The seat is decorated with sunflowers, an iconic symbol of the Aesthetic movement, and bordered at the top and bottom in a wicker pattern.

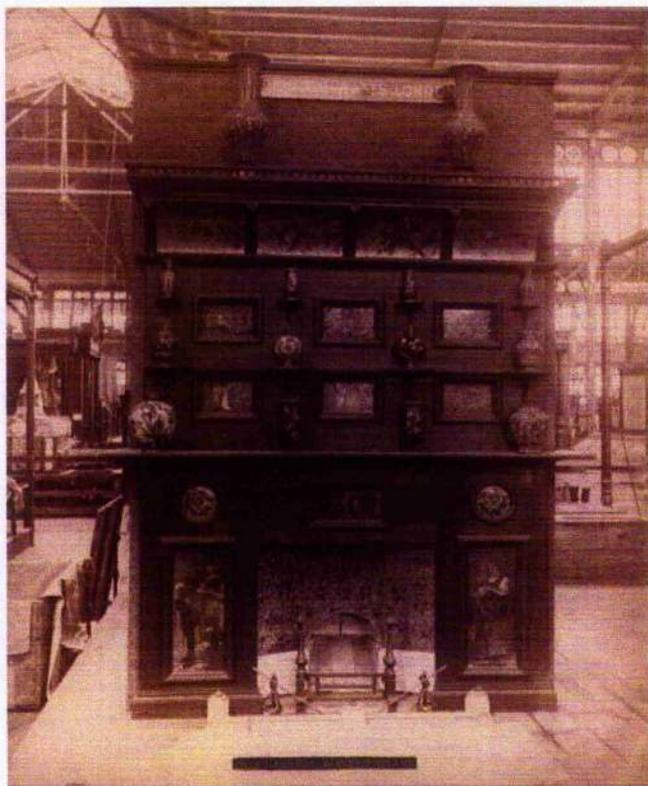


Figure 96. Doulton Fire mantle at the Philadelphia Exhibition. Courtesy of Philadelphia Free Library. In many Victorian homes, the fireplace mantle was the centre of a room's design. Clocks, candlesticks, statues and busts have traditionally had a place on the mantle. With the creation of Art Pottery, mantle pieces developed shelves and nooks for their display.



Figure 97. Satsuma ware. Victoria and Albert Museum.



Figure 98. Dunmore Oriental wall plaques. Falkirk Museum Collection, no 1980-15-1/2. Plaque on left 14.75" diameter. Plaque on right 14.5" diameter.



Figure 99. Dunmore monkey. Falkirk Museums, no 1977-32-35. 3" high.



Figure 100. Meissen monkey.



Figure 101. Japanese dwelling at the Philadelphia Exhibition. Centennial Photographic Company. Courtesy of Philadelphia Free Library.

The Japanese dwelling offered most visitors their first opportunity to view Japanese architecture and interior design. The use of space and linear elements in Japanese design became a hallmark of an Aesthetic Movement interior.

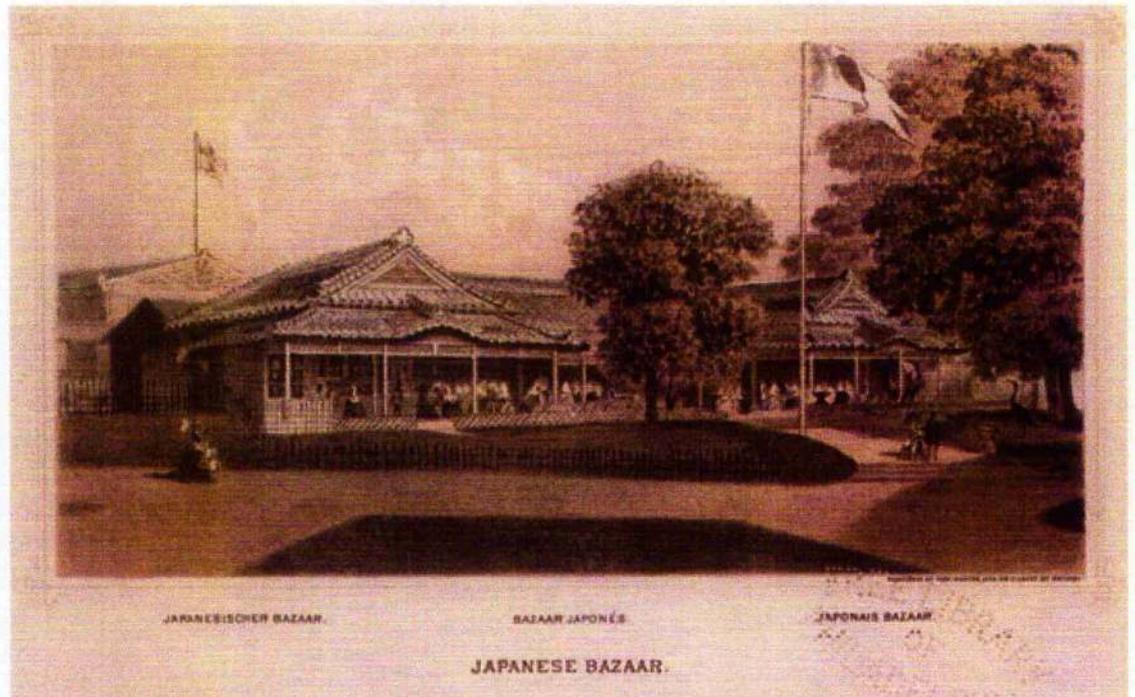


Figure 102. Japanese Bazaar at the Philadelphia Exhibition. Courtesy of Philadelphia Free Library. The bazaar attracted large crowds. Although the United States government imposed a punitive customs duty, many Japanese exhibitors had success in selling their goods.



Figure 103. Chinese Ceramics at the Philadelphia Exhibition. Courtesy of Philadelphia Free Library. Although the Japanese section attracted more attention, to Dunmore's stylistic development, the Chinese section was more important. The pieces displayed at the Exhibition varied in forms and glazes. The sheer number of pieces allowed ceramic designers an opportunity to study and interpret the designs.

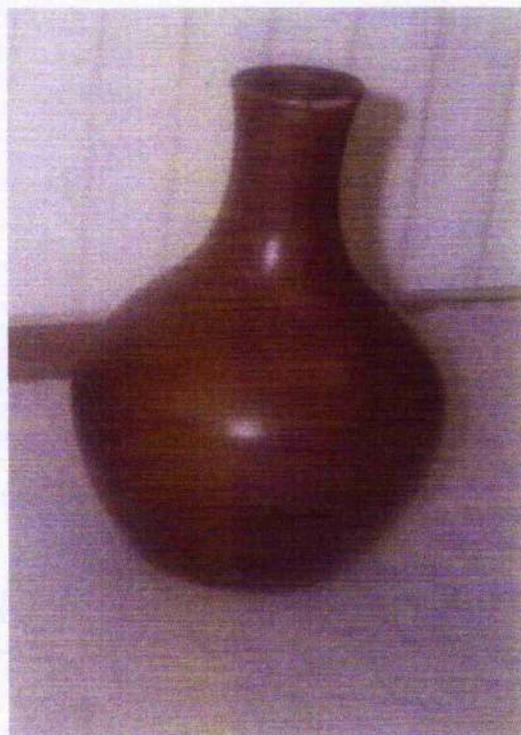


Figure 104. Dunmore Globular Vase. Falkirk Museum Collection, no 1992-12-13. 7.5" high, 4.5" wide. The vase's simple design is offset with a complex brown, turquoise and red crackle glaze. The glaze, as well as the shape, reflects Gardner's use of Chinese influences.

HIGHLAND AND AGRICULTURAL
SOCIETY'S SHOW AT INVERNESS.

A. JENKINSON, CHINA MERCHANT,
10 PRINCES' STREET, EDINBURGH.
Will Exhibit TABLE DECORATIONS, &c.,
At STAND No. 22.

Figure 105. Advertisement for Dunmore Pottery. *Scotsman*, 28 July 1874.

This is Dunmore's earliest known press advertisement. Unlike other potteries that would focus on their products and trade name, Gardner would usually put his name in the advertisement with the company name. As a result, Gardner and Dunmore were always linked together and there is not much of a distinction between him and his pottery.



Figures 106 and 107. Green Dunmore (Falkirk Museums, no 1994-12-03, 11" wide, 9.5" high) and Majolica Alloa (Private Collection) cheese stands.

Both cheese stands are decorated with leaves around the sides of the dome and a leaf finial. The weight of the dome helped form a seal. In the days prior to refrigeration, cheese stands were important to keep the cheese fresh and safe from insects. Alloa Pottery was at one time owned by Peter Gardner's uncle and this may help explain the similarities between the Dunmore and Alloa Pottery cheese domes.

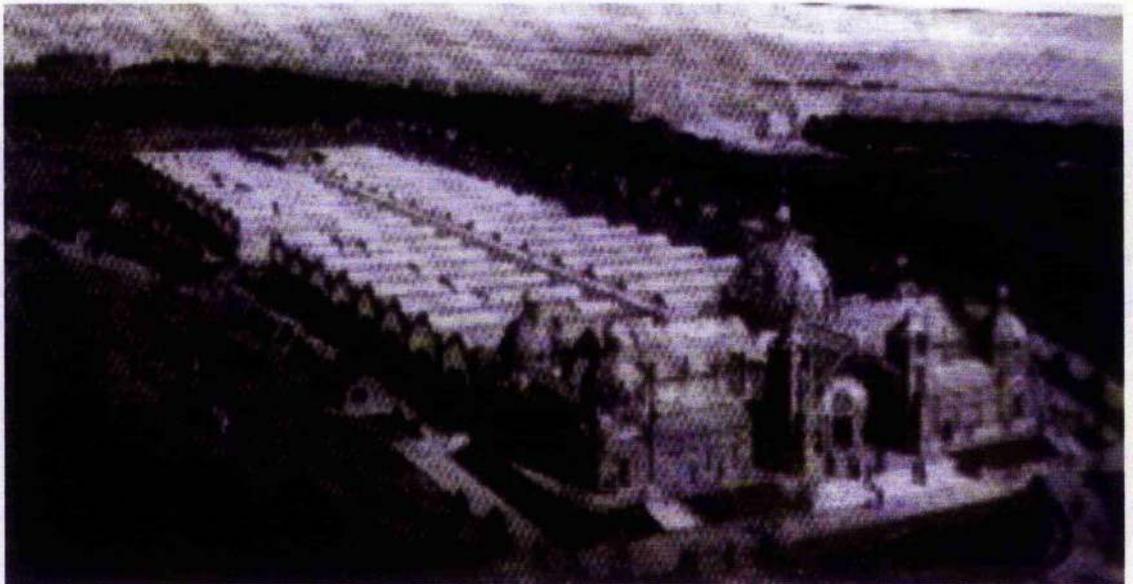


Figure 108. The Edinburgh Exhibition.

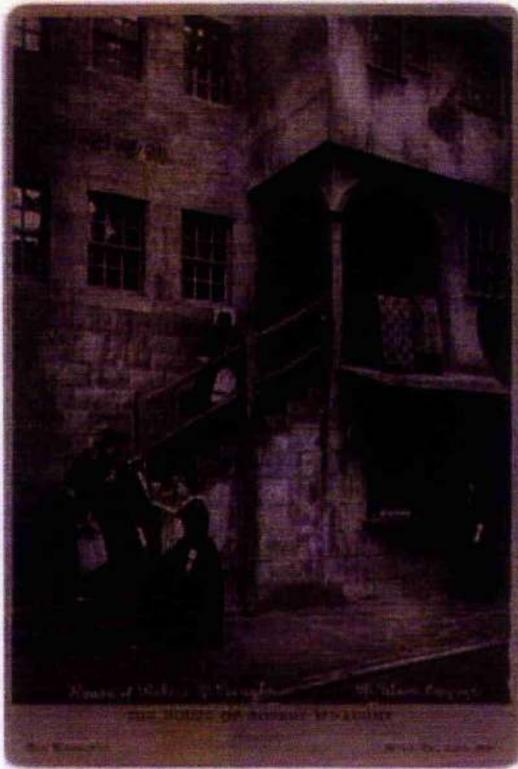


Figure 109. Old Edinburgh.

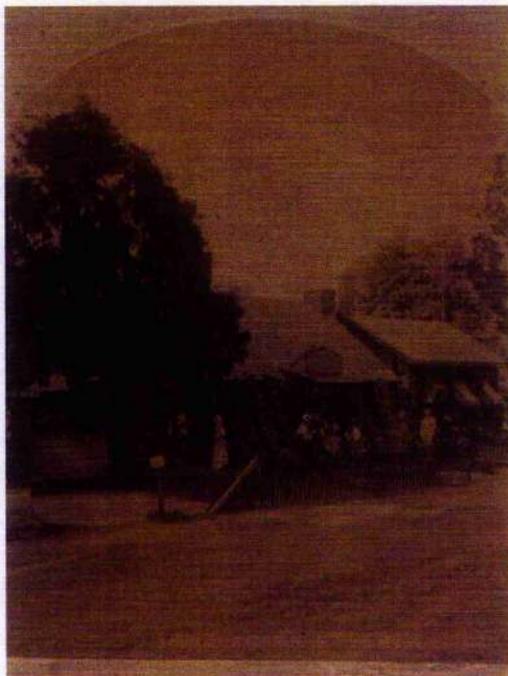


Figure 110. Colonial House at the Philadelphia Exhibition. Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition. Courtesy of Philadelphia Free Library.
At the colonial house, inexpensive meals were served and tours were offered by costumed guides.



Figure 111. Dunmore plate, most likely a commemorative exhibition piece created for the Edinburgh International Exhibition. Falkirk Museums no 1972-75-23. 16.5" diameter.



Figure 112. Dunmore Stall at the 1886 Edinburgh Exhibition. From *Sketches at the International Exhibition, Edinburgh, 1886*.



Figure 113. Dunmore Pedestal. Falkirk Museums. 1984-12-38.
Large ceramic pedestals were used to display plants, busts, and as in the sketch, large pieces of ceramics.



Figure 114. Dunmore Queens Vase. National Museum of Scotland, no H.MEK 485. 5.25" high, 3.5" diameter. Image courtesy of SCRAN.



Figure 115. Exhibition Plate for the Glasgow 1886 Industrial Exhibition. National Museum of Scotland, no H.1995.142. 8.5" diameter. Image courtesy of SCRAN.



Figure 116. Sketch of Dunmore Pottery at the 1886 Glasgow Industrial Exhibition. *Quiz*, 22 (10 December 1886) p. 137.

By comparing the sketch from the Glasgow and Edinburgh exhibitions, one sees the similarities in the sales techniques at each event. Both sales girls are wearing tartan costumes. Keeping in mind the court dress outfits used by all exhibitors in the Old Edinburgh section of the exhibition, Gardner had added exhibition expenses just in clothing the sales staff.

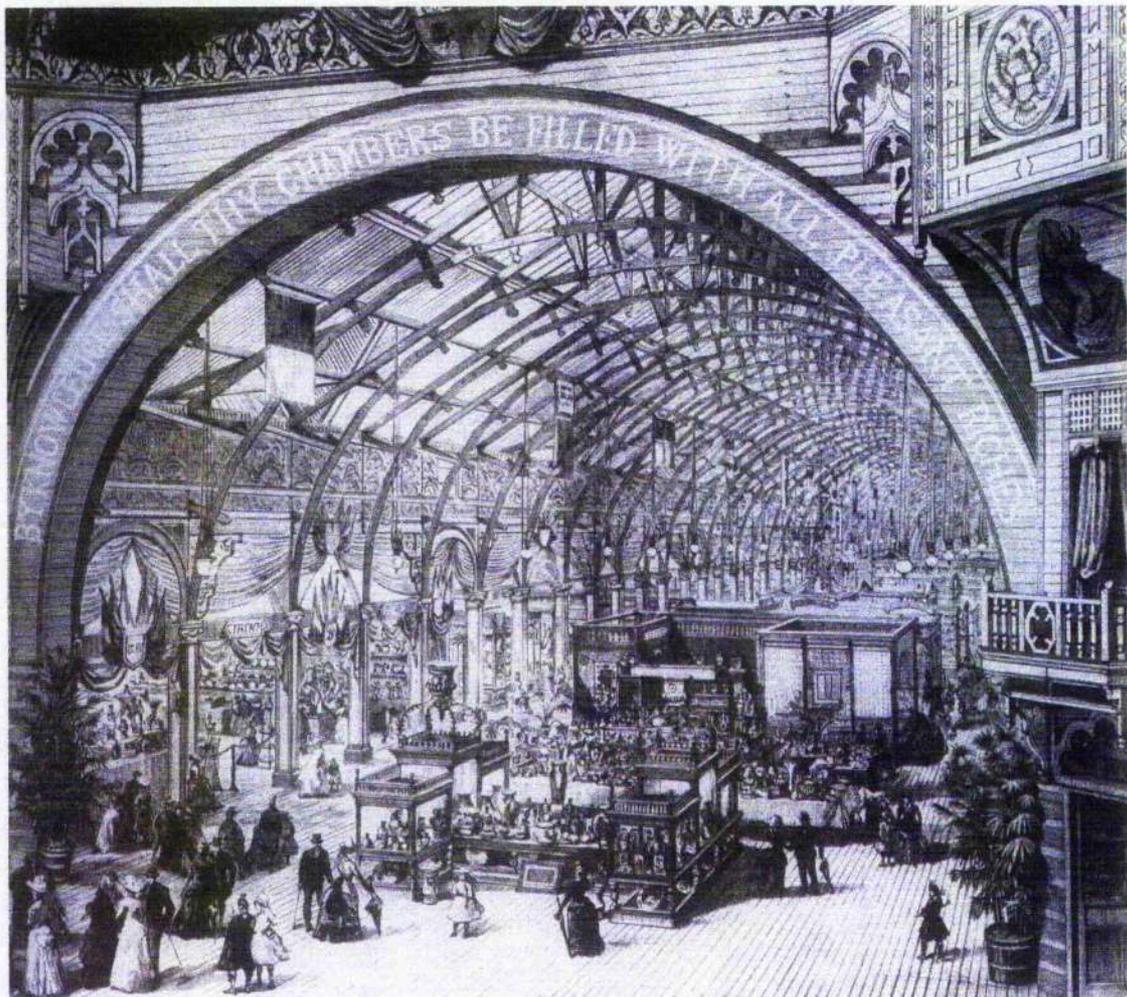


Figure 117. View of Main Avenue West, 1888 Glasgow International Exhibition.

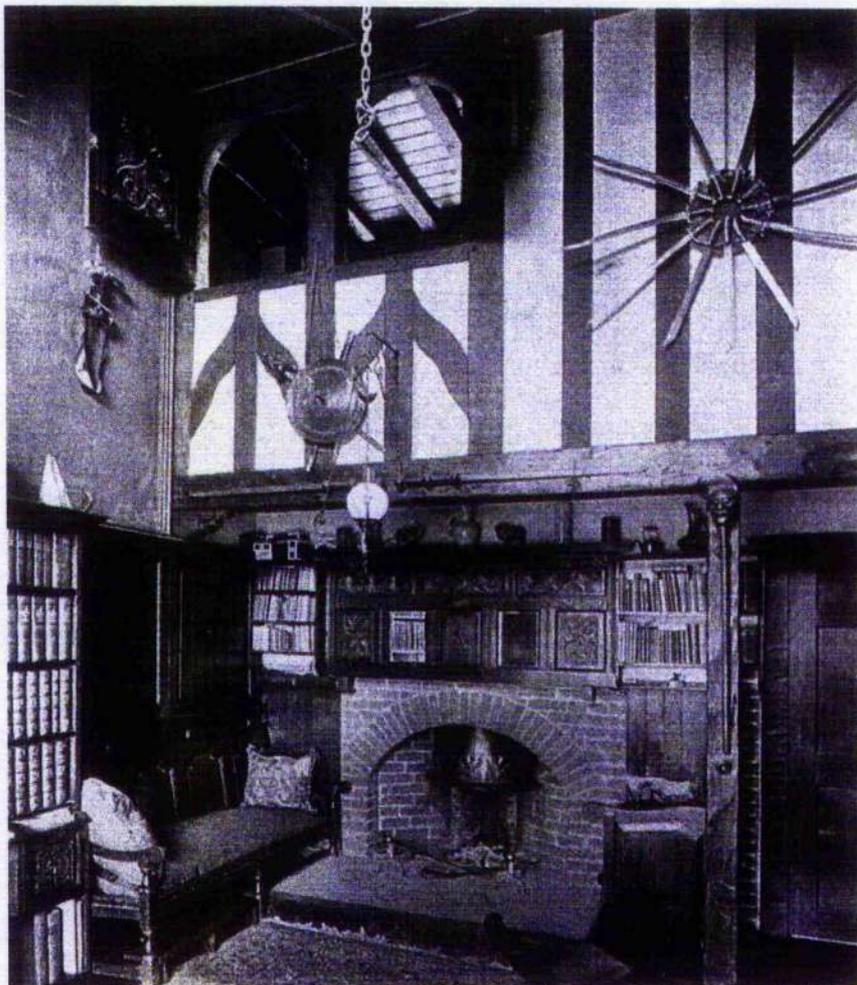


Figure 118. Bexton Croft. M.H. Baillie Scott.

The top shelf of the mantel displays several pieces of Art pottery, two of which appear to be Dunmore grotesque toads.



Figure 119. Dunmore Vase. Private Collection.

Small pottery vases and moulded items required little labour and material investment. These were sold to the public at lower prices and would have been affordable to most middle-class Victorians.



Figure 120. Dunmore Queens Vase. Huntley House Museum, no. 395579. 6" high, 9.5 diameter.



Figure 121. *My Lady's Chamber* by Walter Crane. Frontispiece for Clarence Cook's *The House Beautiful*. Ceramics have been used throughout the room. The mantle displays two urns and two ceramic candlesticks arranged symmetrically. Blue and white tiles decorate the fire surround. At the right hand edge of the illustration, there is a cabinet full of ceramic pieces.



Figure 122. Dunmore Classical Inspired Chamberstick. Falkirk Museums, no 1978-3-1. 8" high. The top of the chamberstick is shaped like a classical ewer where the spout forms the wax shield.



Figure 123. Dunmore Puppy Figurine. Falkirk Museums. 1994-12-29. 3" high.



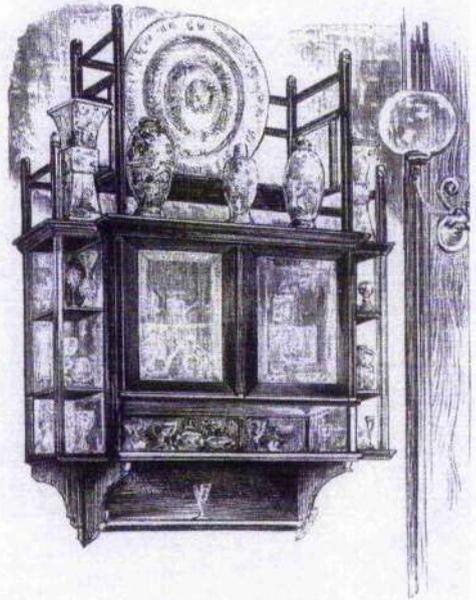
Figure 124. Angle Feet Bowl. Private Collection. To manufacture this piece, a simple thrown bowl was lathe turned to create the band around the centre and the angel feet were then attached. Dunmore would regularly use separate elements in different ways. The angel feet were likely used on other Dunmore pieces.



Figure 125. Dunmore Folded Basket. Huntley House Museum, no 4384/83. 7" high, 10" wide. The basket was wheel thrown and pinched while still wet. The handle is made from extruded ropes which have been twisted then applied to the basket when leather hard.



CABINET AND ÉTAGÈRE.



HANGING CHINA-CASE.

Figure 126 and 127. Hanging and Standing Cabinets. Lucy Orrinsmith. *The Drawing Room*. The cabinets have been designed in an Eastern style which compliments the Eastern inspired pottery displayed on the shelves.

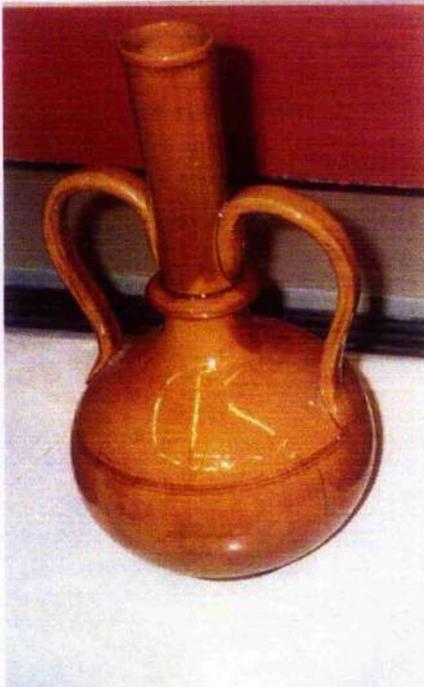


Figure 128. Dunmore Two Handled Eastern Vase. Stirling Smith Museum.
Dunmore's Eastern inspired wares would have decorated Aesthetic style homes such as those promoted in the household management and interior design guides of the period. The form of this vase was common and was also produced at Linthorpe and Watcombe potteries.

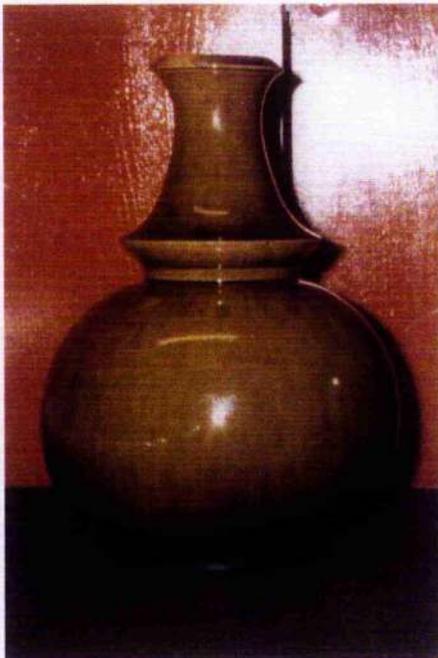


Figure 129. Dunmore Eastern Vase with Bell Shaped Neck. Glasgow Museum Corporation., no 1878-67e.
9.5" high, 6.5" wide.
The simple green glaze allows the form, the most important feature of Art pottery Eastern wares, to be the focal point of the piece.

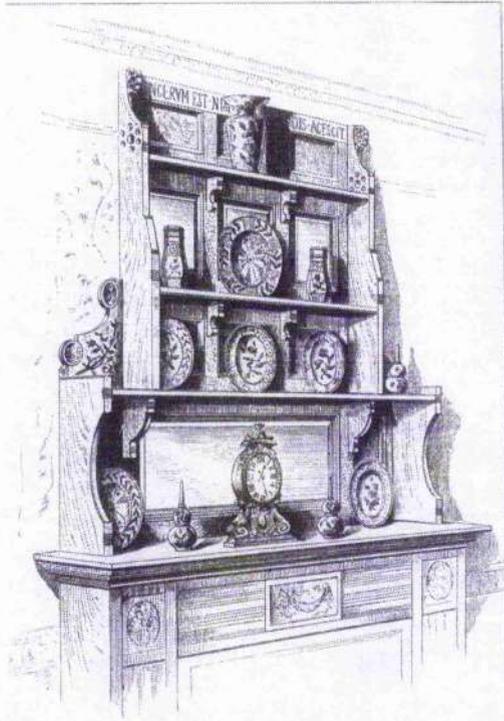


Figure 130. Eastlake Mantel. *Hints on Household Taste*. Eastlake has designed this mantel for the purpose of ceramic display. Each of the shelves is partitioned to give an individual display area for a plate or vase.



Figure 131. An Ordinary Mantel. Lucy Orrinsmith, *The Drawing Room*. Even in less prosperous homes, ceramics were an important decorative feature of the fireplace. In this example, the top shelf displays three Art pottery vases and three decorative plates.



Figure 132. Dunmore Moon Flask. Falkirk Museum Services, no 1977-32-15. 8.5" high, 7" diameter. The relatively flat shape of the moon flask made it ideal for display on the mantle.



Figure 133. Tyntesfield Drawing Room.

Classical style urns and vases are symmetrically placed on the mantel and on cabinets throughout the room. The heavy furnishings and elaborate wallpaper and mantel piece suit the more elaborate classical ceramic pieces as opposed to the more simple Art pottery ware available.



Figure 134. Dunmore Vase with Snake Handles. Falkirk Museum, no 1977-32-14. 9.5" high, 6.5" diameter.



Figure 135. Minton Urn. Circa 1875. 14" high.
Larger factories were producing more elaborate pieces in the classical style. The pâte-sur-pâte Minton urn is gilt painted with swags and the Greek key pattern.

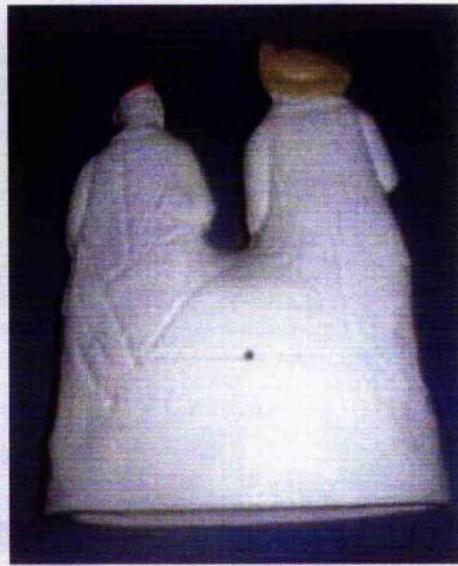


Figure 136. Tam O'Shanter and Souter Johnnie Flatback. Private Collection. 13" high, 9.95" wide. When placed on the mantle, only the front of this piece was seen. The back was left unpainted and undecorated. Compared with Dunmore, the moulding on flatbacks was less defined and cruder.



Figure 137. Dunmore Painted Crackle Glaze Vase. Falkirk Museum Services, no 1972-75-23. 7" high.



Figure 138. Dunmore Teapot with Flower Shaped Stand. Private Collection. Dunmore teapots come in a variety of shapes and sizes. Most are finished either in slip or a majolica glaze. The spout and handle on this piece have been used on other styles of Dunmore teapots.



Figure 139. Linthorpe Teapot.

The Linthorpe teapot has been decoratively painted with daisies and foliage. The high spout and exaggerated handle would have made this teapot difficult to use.



Figure 140. Watcombe Teapot.

The simple and clean lines of the Watcombe teapot suggests an Arts and Crafts influence.



Figure 141. Dunmore Teapot. National Museum of Scotland, no MEK 130. 6.25" high, 4.25" diameter. National Museums of Scotland. Etched Dunmore ware is rare and most has been attributed to Lerche of Alloa Glassworks. The definition in the birds feathers have been made by etching all the way through the glaze to the ceramic body.

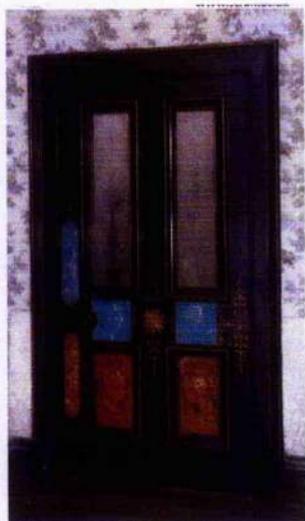


Figure 142. Door from the drawing room, Dunmore Pottery House.
The door features seven tiles: Two fingerplates, four square decorative plaques, and one star. These plaques remained in use at the house until 2001 when the house was razed.



Figure 143. Prince of Wales at a country house party at Tranby Croft, York 1890.
The country house party was part of Victorian and Edwardian high society living. Entertainments during the weekend included such activities as hunting, dinners, and garden parties.



Figure 144. Garden party at Pamflete, Devon, photo by the Countess of Durham. On the tea table, fine china and refreshments have been laid out while the guests are fashionably dressed for the event. The whole atmosphere is elegant and refined. From contemporary sources, Dunmore was known to have been a preferred pottery for garden parties.

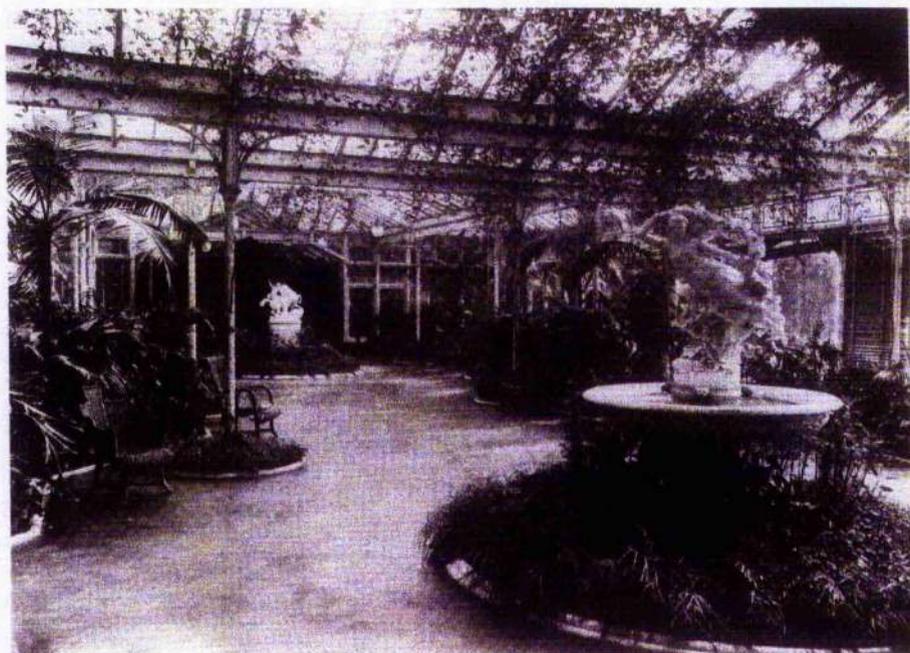


Figure 145. Winter garden at Moulton Paddocks, Suffolk. Large winter gardens like this were regarded as vulgar by the established upper classes. They often had their own heating and watering system separate from those of the household.



Figure 146. Dunmore Flower Pot with Fern Detail. Falkirk Museum Services, no 1994-12-8.

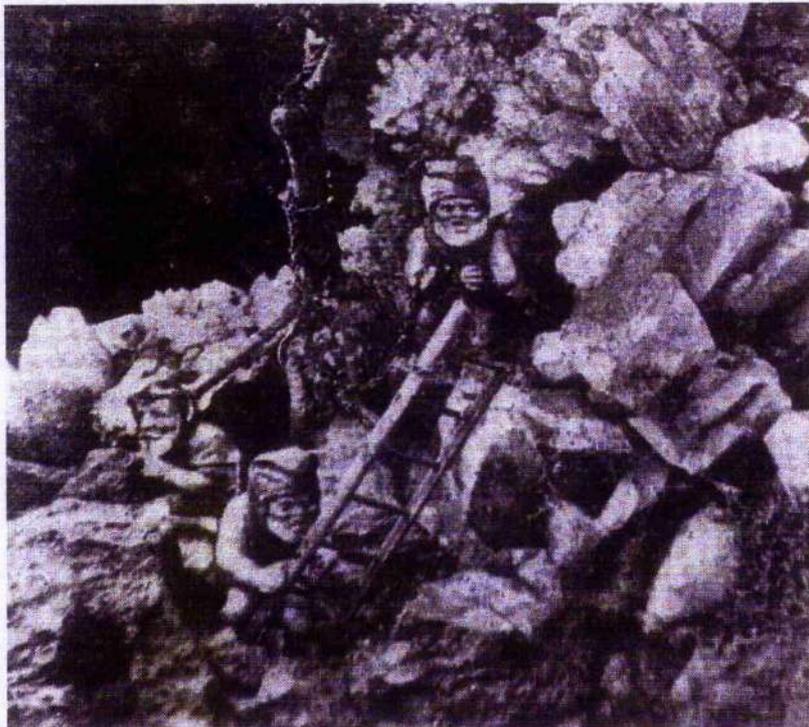


Figure 147. Gnomes in the garden at Lamport Hall, 1890.
Knomes were the first ceramic decorations to be added to the garden. Their introduction and subsequent popularity in the Victorian period created a market for Dunmore's grotesque figurines.



Figure 148. Dunmore Pig Figurine. Falkirk Museum Services, no 1979-29-1. 6" long 3" high. The shape and style of this piece can be compared with Weymss Ware pieces produced in Kirkcaldy, Scotland.



Figure 149. Dunmore Grotesque Frog. Private Collection. This is a more rare example of Dunmore's frogs. The frog has a large open mouth and human arms and feet.



Figure 150. Dunmore Frog Planter. Glasgow Museum Corporation, 1938-10hv. 6" long, 3.5" high.

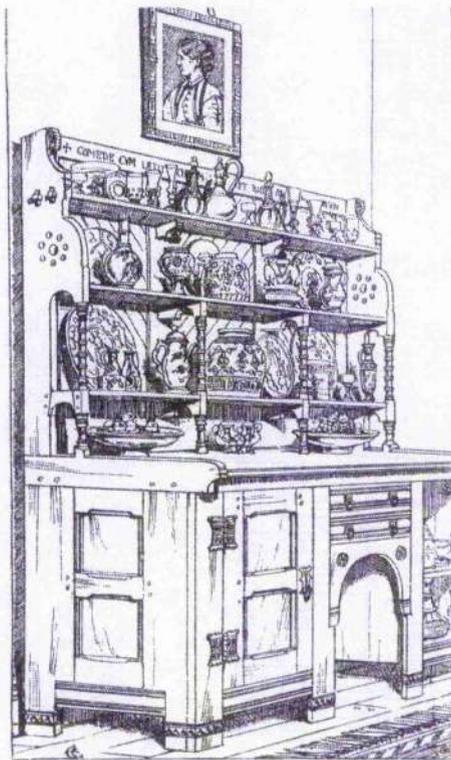


Figure 151. Sideboard. Charles Eastlake, *Hints on Household Taste*.

The sideboard shelves are filled with Eastern ceramics and glass. These pieces, such as plates, bowls, and pitchers, were typical of those displayed in the dining room. Dunmore produced a pitcher similar to the one displayed on the right hand side of the first shelf. Images such as these encouraged people to buy and display ceramics of a certain type and form.



Figure 152. Dining Room in the Jacobean Style.

Ceramics play an important aspect in the decorative scheme of the room. On the sideboard, two large urns flank each end. Ceramics are displayed in and on top of the cupboard in the corner. Likewise, the mantle has been decorated with ceramics. Although the room is furnished in a Jacobean style, the ceramics in the room have an Eastern influence.



Figure 153. Dunmore Pilgrim Flask. Falkirk Museum Services, no 1994-12-17. 9" high 6" wide. The pilgrim vase form has loops for suspending and carrying on the body. It has been found in Chinese and European ceramics and metalwork since the sixteenth century.



Figure 154. Dining à la française. Mary Ellen Best, c 1838, Bridgeman Art Library.
In the painting, the table has been set for dining à la française. All the dishes have been placed on the table, plates and serving pieces are all matching.



Figure 155. Dining à la russe. *Beeton's Book of Household Management*.
For dining à la russe, the table has been cleared of all the dishes and in its place are flowers, fruits and desserts.



Figure 156. Dunmore Bread Bowl. Stirling Smith Museum, no 19859/3. 12" diameter. The rim of the bowl is decorated with "Give Us This Day Our Daily Bread". From the number of these pieces that survive, this form was likely in production for many years.



Figure 157. Victorian Majolica Bread Bowl. Unmarked. 12.75" diameter. This shape and style of this piece is very similar to Dunmore's bread bowl. The handles and interior are decorated with wheat sheaves. Along the rim of the bowl is the motto 'The Apprentice Obeys Where Reason Rules'.



Figure 158. Dunmore Tureen. Falkirk Museum Services, no 1994-12-01. 9" high, 10" long. The tureen was made more rustic with the application of a branch shaped handle on the lid and the grotesque head feet. A different choice of feet would have greatly changed the feel and style of this piece.



Figure 159. Dunmore Cruet Set with Sterling Silver Mounts. Falkirk Museum Services, no H.1995.34.1-5.

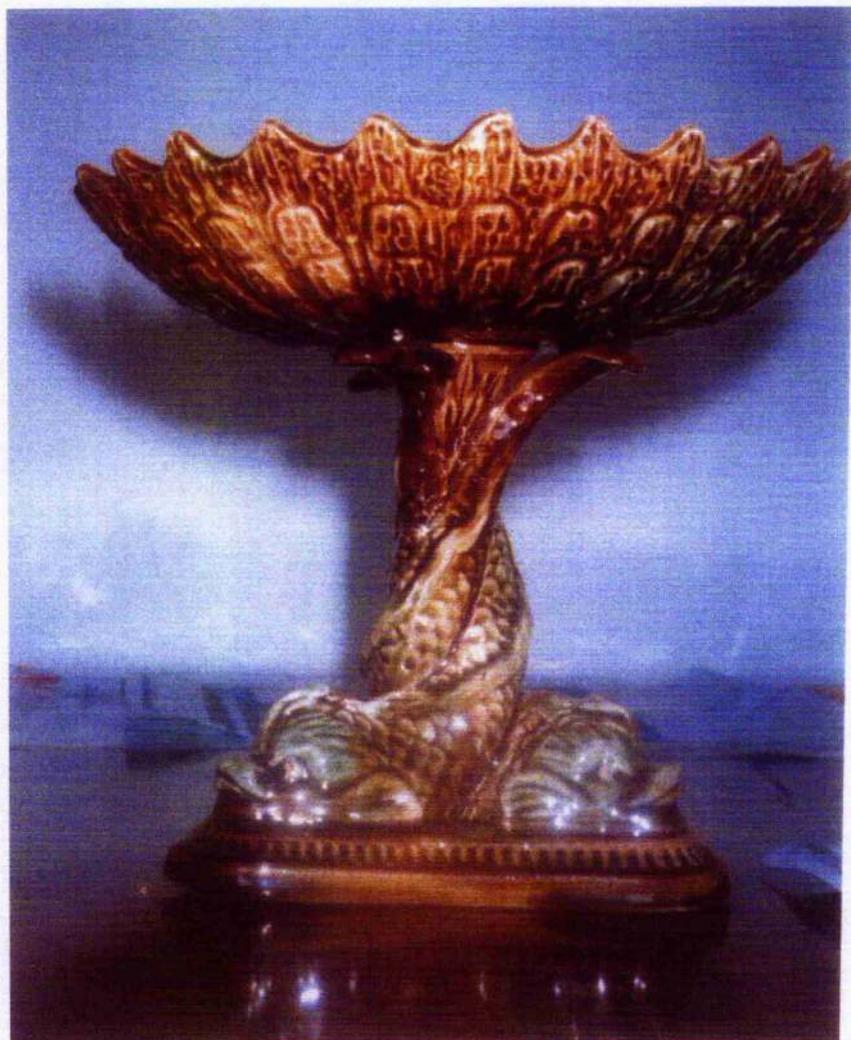


Figure 160. Dunmore Dolphin Tazza. Private Collection.
Tazzas were used to display fruit, nuts and desserts on the a la russe table. This tazza was likely originally sold as part of a pair.



Figure 161. Design For Minton's Dolphin Trinket Stand, circa 1852.
The dolphin design was used extensively at Minton's for trinket stands, table centres, and candlesticks.



Figure 162. Dunmore Tree Tazzas with Bamboo Spill Vase. Falkirk Museum Services, no 1993-19-01/02.
Tazzas 10" high, 10" diameter, spill vase 7.5" high, 5" diameter.
The tazzas and spill vase share similar elements such as the bamboo design and majolica glaze. It is likely these pieces were to be used together on the table.



Figure 163 and 164. Dunmore Maple Leaf Plate and Leaf Bowl. Plate: Glasgow Museum Corporation, no 78.67.cd. 1.25" high, 5" long. Bowl: Falkirk Museum Services, no 1977-42. 9.5" long. Dunmore created several varieties of leaf plates including maple, oak and begonia shapes. These could either be sold separately or as part of a dessert set.

Section A. FURNITURE

HEAL & SON'S

**COUNTRY
COTTAGE
FURNITURE**

Orders over £2 Carriage Free

A Living Room in a Country Cottage by HEAL & SON

INEXPENSIVELY MADE BY HAND OF PLAIN OAK

2ft. 6in. x 6ft. OAK TABLE 50/-	4ft. 6in. OAK DRESSER £6 15 0	OAK CHAIR 12/6	ARM CHAIR 22/6	OAK BENCH 25/-
--	--	-----------------------------	-----------------------------	-----------------------------

Carriage paid on Orders over £5 to England and Wales, and on Orders over £5 to Scotland and Ireland

WRITE FOR ILLUSTRATED CATALOGUE OF COTTAGE FURNITURE TO

196 ETC. TOTTENHAM COURT ROAD
W.

AD. III

Figure 165. Heal and Son Advertisement. The Studio Yearbook, 1907. Heal and Son's 'Country Cottage' style was based on the Arts and Crafts Movement. On the table and sideboard, simple ceramics are displayed.



Figure 166. Georgian era spittoon. National Maritime Museum, no Spittoon AAA5296. 3.25" x 8.5" x 7.75".

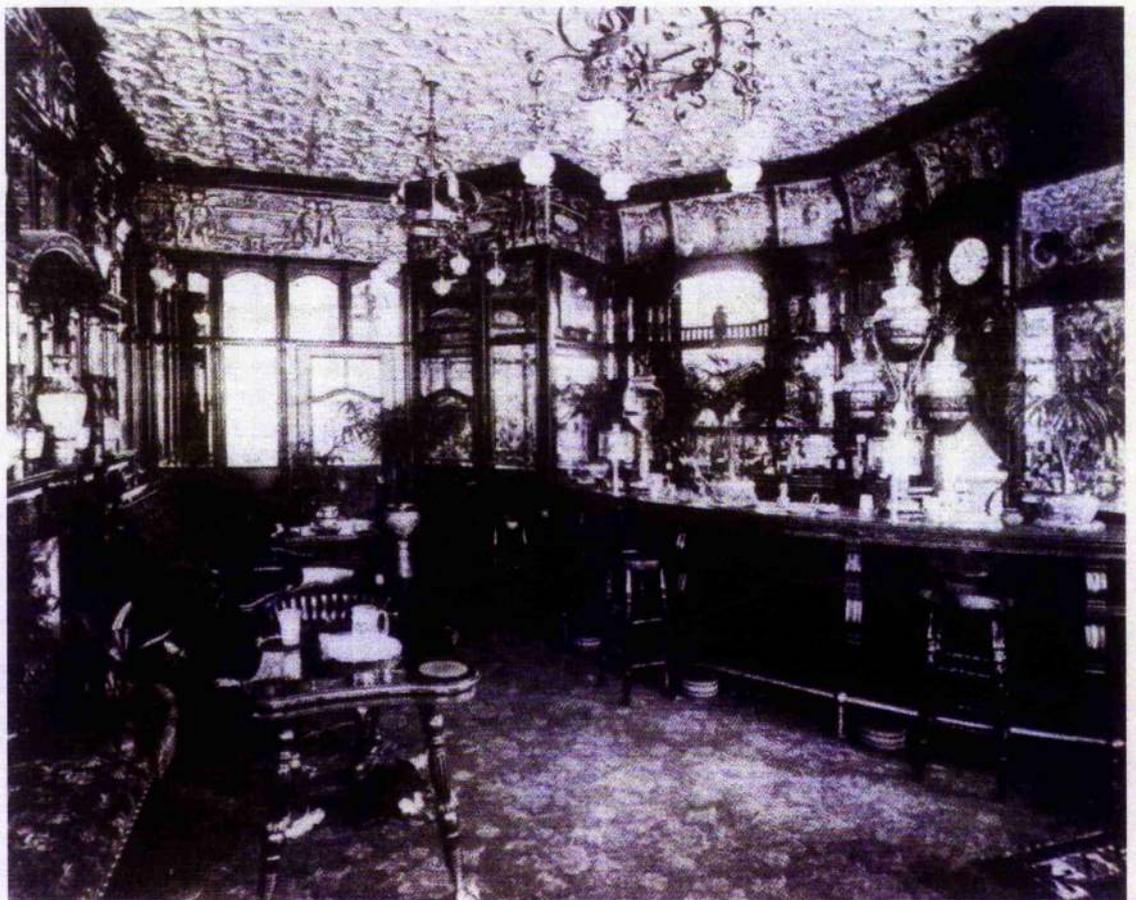


Figure 167. Pub with spittoons in Cantons, Cambridge Circus, 1899.

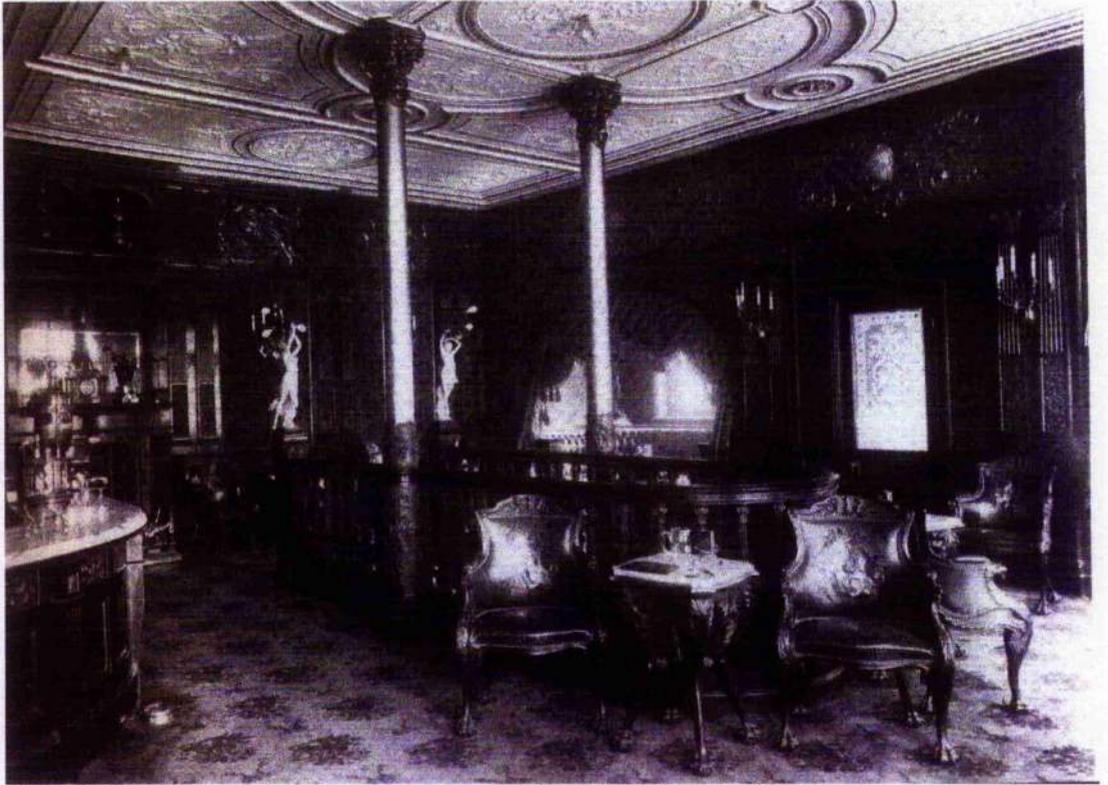


Figure 168. Wine bar with spittoons on Coventry Street in Leicester 1895.



Figure 169. Dunmore spittoon. Stirling Smith Museum, no b 12862.



Figure 170. Texas capitol building Rockingham spittoon.



Figure 171. Dunmore tobacco jar. Glasgow Museum Corporation, no 1938.10.hi. 11.75" high, 7.75" diameter.