

**A Survey of the Development and Assessment of the Influence of Golf as a Traditional
Sporting Theme in the pre-1930 Decoration of Ceramics**

By Andrew C. Mutch

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Thesis Advisor: Professor Ian A. Carradice
School of Art History
Museum and Gallery Studies

ABSTRACT

This thesis investigates the history of golf ceramics from their origins in the mid-18th century until *ca.* 1930. During this period the game of golf experienced enormous popularity, developing into a globally successful sport. In the modern period golf has also fostered a thriving trade for the collecting of golf memorabilia, surpassing that of any other comparable sport. The thesis traces the development and spread of one form of golf collectibles – golf ceramics – and considers both the relationship of the pottery industry to the sport and the reasons behind the achievement of the genre.

The modern form of golf likely began in the 13th and 14th centuries as a short game played within town walls. Under pressure from Burgh officials and Kirk ordinances, golfers eventually moved to the linksland and developed the now characteristic long game. In 18th-century Britain, elite golf clubs for gentlemen and noblemen sprang from existing sporting societies such as the Royal Company of Archers. The first examples of golf pottery, a series of 18th - and early 19th - century convivial and commemorative punch bowls, were commissioned as a direct result of the growing competitive and social traditions of the early golfing societies.

During the prosperous Victorian era, golf experienced a period of immense growth and geographic expansion, particularly during the "boom" of 1890 to 1905. As golf spread internationally, it became a game primarily for the leisure class, inspiring holiday and resort destinations for the wealthy. Exclusive clubs grew at a rate that far surpassed the availability of public golf, thereby changing the character of the game to one predominantly practised by the rich. The game's growth inspired enterprising pottery manufacturers to produce new and imaginative golf-themed pottery lines, pre-1930. Golf's burgeoning popularity, combined with the affluence of its practitioners, created the ideal consumer audience for decorative and non-utilitarian wares. Between 1895 and 1930, eighty-five or more manufacturers were actively developing golf wares.

As the pottery industry recognized the potential of the golf market, inventive new lines were developed that utilized original artwork from renowned illustrators of the era, such as Charles Dana Gibson, Howard Chandler Christy, Palmer Cox, Mabel Lucie Attwell, and Harrison Fisher. This commitment to quality golf imagery indicated that potteries placed the game in a higher institutional priority than other traditional sporting themes, such as

cricket, tennis, rugby, or football. Royal Doulton, for example, generated no fewer than twenty ranges specifically for the golf market or adapted to meet the demands of its expanding following. Doulton wares featured illustrative images produced by Gibson, Charles Crombie, Henry Mayo Bateman, Will H. Bradley, and Barbara Vernon (Bailey). Doulton's commitment to prominent illustration reflected golf's importance to the financial good footing of the firm.

The substantial catalogue of historical golfing wares produced during the period of examination experienced unparalleled success in secondary markets throughout the 20th century. Prominent institutional and individual golf collections emerged, leading to the formation of international golf collecting societies, and golf-specific museums and archives. Interest in golf collectibles advanced to the level where golf became a stand-alone auction speciality. In 2000 and 2001 alone, twenty-three major international golf sales were held. Golf pottery values escalated commensurate with the increased notoriety, availability, and competition.

Certainly, no other traditional sport can claim such an extensive collection of wares, or a more enduring legacy in the worldwide ceramics and fine art pottery industry.

DECLARATIONS

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INTRODUCTION

The first written reference to golf in Scotland appeared in the 6 March 1457 "Acts of Scottish Parliament" when King James II enacted legislation that stated, "And at the futbawe and the golf be utterly cryit done and nocht wsit."¹ Since the famous James II edict, golf has developed a bibliography of more than 20,000 volumes, comparable to the historiography of all Olympic sports, or turf and field sports when combined.² Equally impressive is the extensive body of artwork that has documented the game since Paul Sandby's 1746 oil painting *A View of Golfers on Bruntsfield Links looking toward Edinburgh Castle*.³ In fact, golf has developed a comprehensive catalogue of historical equipment, memorabilia, artefacts, ephemera, artwork, books, and decorative arts that surpasses the scope and activity of any other traditional sport.

Golf became organised in the mid-18th century with the development of a uniform code of Rules in 1744, and the rise of golfing societies, such as the (Edinburgh) Golfing Company, the Royal & Ancient Golf Club of St Andrews, and Royal Blackheath. The early golfing societies adopted many competitive and social traditions of existing societies and sporting competitions.⁴ The first examples of golf pottery, a series of convivial and commemorative punch bowls, were commissioned and produced as a direct result of the growing activity of the early golfing societies. The present investigation will survey the development of sporting and social traditions in Great Britain which influenced the first golfing societies, and the eventual production of the golfing punch bowls.

¹ Acts of the Scottish Parliament. *The Actis and Constitutions of the Realme of Scotland maid in Parliament haldin be the rycht excellent, hie and mychtie Princeis King James the first, Second, Third, Feird, Fyfh, and in tyme of Marie now Queen of Scottis*, Special Collections, National Library of Scotland [Ry.II.b.7(1); H.33.c.21(1)], (Edinburgh: Robert Lekpreuik, 1566), 338; the 1457 Acts of Parliament were hand-written. The reference to golf was not formally printed until the 1566 and 1599 versions of the (Scottish) Acts of Parliament, which were worded differently than the original. The passage is literally translated as, "football and the golf be absolutely proclaimed done and not used."

² The National Sporting Library in Middleburg (VA) houses the world's largest repository of books on turf and field sports, totalling 15,000 volumes. The International Olympic Studies Centre in Lausanne contains research material related to all Olympic sports, totalling 20,000 volumes.

³ Paul Sandby, *A View of Golfers on Bruntsfield Links looking toward Edinburgh Castle*, 1746, Oil on Canvas, British Museum. It bears mention that the Royal & Ancient has an unsigned and undated painting of a view of St Andrews from the golf course that depicts golfers, believed to date to *ca.* 1720.

⁴ Particularly influential existing sporting traditions included the Leith Races, St Andrews Silver Arrow competition, and the various archery competitions of the Royal Company of (Edinburgh) Archers. The Royal Company of Archers also served as the model for the social traditions of the first golfing societies, which were populated by a largely shared membership of gentlemen and noblemen.

Of particular importance to the present study is the prosperous Victorian period of 1890 to 1905 when golf experienced unprecedented growth. The character of the game changed not only due to dramatic international expansion, but also because golf became a game primarily enjoyed by the leisure class. This captive and predominantly wealthy golfing audience inspired new holiday and resort destinations around the world. Moreover, the number of exclusive clubs increased at a rate that far surpassed the availability of public golf. The “Golf Boom” of 1890 to 1905 inspired enterprising pottery manufacturers to produce new and imaginative golf-themed pottery lines. Golf’s burgeoning popularity, combined with the affluence of its practitioners, created the ideal consumer audience for decorative and non-utilitarian wares. By 1930, some ninety-six manufacturers had developed wares utilizing the golf theme.

Prominent institutional and individual collections of historic golf memorabilia first developed with the formation of golfing societies in the 18th century. During the 20th century, golf collectibles increased in popularity to the level where golf has become a profitable stand-alone auction speciality. In 2000 and 2001 alone, twenty-three major international sales featured golf as a speciality.⁵ Extensive and active golf collecting societies have developed both in Great Britain and the United States. Values of golf memorabilia continue to increase, attracting interest from a growing contingent of collectors around the world. Certainly, golfiana has reached a level of prominence that merits serious investigation, with the particular aim of gauging its standing and historical relevance within the context of other sporting traditions.

The topic of golf-themed pottery was initially considered, as was a second subject relating to pre-1900 works of original golf artwork. These areas of study were selected based primarily on their importance within the genre of golf collectibles, but also because the subjects have received very little in the way of serious investigation to date. The subject of pre-1900 golf artwork was eventually ruled out primarily because the topic did not lend itself to a logical or orderly end date in relation to the fact that golf imagery divides into categories based upon the evolution of equipment, and in particular the development of

⁵ For a complete listing of auctions see Chapter 9, n.36.

the golf ball.⁶ Therefore, the collection of featherball era paintings (pre-1848) was too limited in scope, and the inclusion of Gutta-percha era images (1848 to 1905) broadened the field of study to an unmanageable size. The subject of golf ceramics also posed problems with a logical end date, however the year 1930 was carefully chosen on a variety of factors: post-1930 examples of golf pottery are generally mass-produced and of significantly lower artistic and historical merit; many popular ranges were discontinued around this date, such as Doulton's Proverbs (1928), Diversions of Uncle Toby (1930), Old English Scenes (1930), Crombie Series Ware (1932), and 19th Hole (1930); and with the dramatic increase internationally in department stores and retail centres, potteries began to cater to a much larger audience with inexpensive, mass-produced wares. Many potteries struggled through production during World War I and eventually declined in the years leading to World War II. It was therefore sensible to investigate golf pottery prior to 1930, before the character of the genre and artistic production process changed drastically. Importantly, a determination was made to include a few post-1930 examples in the area of study because of their high degree of artistic integrity consistent with the earlier examples, and their contribution to the discussion of the continuing international spread of the game.

The purpose of the work is to provide a detailed analysis of the importance of golf as a theme in pottery relative to other traditional sports. The present investigation will examine the many factors that influenced the production, sale, and success of golf pottery, and the historical standing of the genre within the pottery industry. From a geographic perspective, the production of golf pottery seemed to follow the same advancement as the international growth of the game. For example, as the success of the game developed in Japan, so too did the production of golf-specific wares either produced specifically for the Japanese market, or by Japanese manufacturers for foreign markets. Identifying the many countries and regions that produced or sold golf pottery may effectively correlate with the geographic spread of the game, particularly during the "Golf Boom" of 1890 to 1905.

A second and equally important factor of study is the measure of the overall affluence of the golfing population and its relationship to the sale of fine art pottery. An impression exists that golf may have gained success as a pottery genre primarily because golfers

⁶ Golf history is typically chronicled through the evolutionary periods of the golf ball, which influenced the form and make of equipment. Although detailed sub-divisions exist within each period of the evolution of the ball, the main historical demarcations include the Featherball Era (up to *ca.* 1848), the Gutta-percha Era (*ca.* 1848 to *ca.* 1905), the Rubber Ball Period (*ca.* 1905 to *ca.* 1932), and the Modern Era (post 1932).

represented the ideal consumer audience for the sale of decorative and non-utilitarian pottery. Thus, this study necessarily examines the types of wares that were produced, the use of affluent iconography, retail centres, and characteristics of international target audiences that may test the theory of wealth as a factor in the sale of golf wares. Study will be given to the rise in the middle-class and professional populations during the late-Victorian and early-Edwardian eras to determine if correlations exist with the sudden expansion of golf. Additional focus will be given to changing attitudes toward sport and recreation, and in particular the growing emphasis placed upon respectability in sport and the idea of purity of mind and body.

Third, studying the early evolution of golf is essential, particularly as it relates to other historical stick and ball games. Numerous Low Country tiles and artwork have traditionally been attributed as golfing subjects despite the real possibility that they were not golf subjects at all. Moreover, and especially considering the ubiquitous historical depiction of hunt scene wares, golf should be defined within the overall context of sport. For the purposes of meaningful comparison, this investigation adopts the methodology that various auction houses employ in grouping golf along with other "traditional sports."⁷ This decision was especially critical when measuring golf's success as a pottery theme against like sports such as cricket, tennis, rugby, football, or boxing. This determination also effectively placed golf wares outside the scope of turf or field sport subjects, such as fox hunting scenes, which are enormously abundant.

One additional focus of study within the genre of golf pottery centres on the pervasive use of golf imagery created by some of the finest illustrators in modern history. Potteries surely went to great expense to commission artwork from such renowned illustrators as Charles Dana Gibson, Howard Chandler Christy, Palmer Cox, Mabel Lucie Attwell, and Harrison Fisher. While potteries commissioned artistic works to develop new lines that would enhance their position in the art pottery field, their level of commitment to golf was particularly telling. This commitment to golf imagery produced by recognisable and popular artists of the era suggests that potteries placed a higher institutional priority on golf wares because of reliable and active sales. Royal Doulton alone generated no fewer than twenty ranges developed specifically for the golf market or adapted to meet the

⁷ "Traditional sports" are defined as organized athletic contests that teams or individuals play according to a prescribed set of rules.

demands of its growing following. Doulton relied heavily on the expertise of popular illustrators of the modern era, including Gibson, Charles Crombie, Henry Mayo Bateman, Will H. Bradley, and Barbara Vernon (Bailey). Through its extensive use of prominent illustrators and artwork, Doulton clearly demonstrated that golf was an ideal subject for the expansion of their art pottery business, and important enough to the financial good footing of the firm to warrant such a commitment.

An understanding of the genre was gained through the documentation and on-site study of important personal and private collections, including the United States Golf Association Museum holdings, the former Lowell Schulman collection, the former collection of Fred and Shirley Sprung, and the former Wayne Aaron collection. A perspective on the overall historical catalogue of wares was gained through the examination and documentation of combined sporting sales, stein auctions, and results from every prominent golf auction from their earliest appearance in 1979 to the present. Additional material on the subject was found through the examination of collectors' guides, historical texts, club histories, and international golf periodicals. A supplemental understanding of the genre has come from a review of Museum correspondence, and in particular the work of the former Curator of the USGA Museum and Library, Janet Seagle. In addition, specific details relating to rare examples were gained through discussions with museum and archive officials, collectors, pottery experts, and private dealers in golf memorabilia.

In the case of the early convivial and commemorative punch bowls, research was conducted in the British Library India Office Records, the British Library Newspaper Archive, the University of Dundee Library, the Cupar Library, the National Library of Scotland, and the Hastings Library, as well as the private holdings of the Abdie Curling Club, the MCC Museum, the Honourable Company of (Edinburgh) Golfers, the Royal & Ancient Golf Club of St Andrews, and the Royal Blackheath Museum.

Information on specific lines and pottery designs was located in the archives of pottery manufacturers most relevant to the topic, in particular the Royal Doulton and Minton pattern books, and the Spode Museum Trust. Additional on-going research was conducted in the University of St Andrews Special Collections Department, the National Library of Scotland, the British Library, and the United States Golf Association Library and Archives, the St Andrews Museum, and the St Andrews Preservation Trust Museum.

The present examination discusses all major golfing lines from their earliest development in the mid-1700s to 1930, although some examples produced after this date have been included for their artistic merit and contribution to the overall understanding of the genre. To this end, a detailed catalogue has been developed and appended to the dissertation as Volume II. The aim of the catalogue is to document every golf-themed pottery example produced during the timeframe of this investigation and receiving discussion in the thesis. Currently, the catalogue provides specific details about more than 720 examples of golf pottery, which is estimated to be more than 90% complete. The catalogue documents the specific manufacturer, series, sub-series, shape, date, medium, artist, place of production, country of origin, published source, and wherever possible, representative auction results. In addition, each entry is assigned a unique identifier comprised of an alphabetical maker's code followed by a three-digit numerical designation. For example, the first Copeland Spode entry would receive the alpha numerical designation "COPL-001." Ninety-six international manufacturers representing thirteen countries/regions are presently represented in the catalogue.

The catalogue is the first of its kind in the genre of golf ceramics, and as such is intended to provide additional information on specific items cited in the dissertation, but also to form the basis of an ongoing reference tool for historians, collectors, and auction houses.

CHAPTER 1 - Pre-18th century depictions of sport on pottery, with an emphasis on Low Country Stick and Ball Games and Golf

Utilitarian pottery or clay forms from their earliest known date incorporated elaborate patterns and decorative imagery within their designs. These decorations have served to document visually specific elements of life within the civilizations that produced them. Uncovered ancient pottery specimens often include thematic images relating to nature, war, eroticism, and depictions of life's everyday events. Many examples focus on theocentric subjects, animals, heroism, or common physical activities, such as farming, hunting, or dancing. Not surprisingly, iconography of sporting pursuits or purely recreational endeavours appeared on pottery alongside wares from the earliest cultures. Numerous extant examples of 6th- and 5th-century BC Greek amphora and vases in "black figure" and "red figure" depict foot races, boxing, chariot races, wrestling, and other athletic endeavours.¹ The Greeks also played an early form of field hockey, called *Keretizein*, where participants used a curved wooden stick called a *kepas*.² Ancient Egyptian scenes on wall paintings from the tombs of *Beni-Hassan* depict common games such as ball tossing, wrestling, and acrobatics.³ Examples of 8th-century Mesoamerican pottery feature intricate multi-figural scenes of a Mayan game where participants struggle with a large black orb. The Chinese game of *chuiwan* dating to the Song Dynasty is preserved on pottery and murals.⁴ The many extant pottery examples featuring sporting scenes, including those utilizing a ball, or a stick and ball, illustrate that recreational endeavours were a familiar component to life in early civilizations.

For the purposes of the present investigation of golf-themed pottery, it is necessary to examine the foundation of stick and ball games as they pertain to the formation of the

¹ Michael Vickers, *Ancient Greek Pottery*, (Oxford: Ashmolean Museum Oxford, 1999), 19-21.

² *Keretizein* is depicted in a 5th-century stone relief from the *Wall of Themistocles* belonging to the National Museum, Athens. The relief is depicted in E. Norman Gardiner, *Athletics of the Ancient World* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1930), Fig. 213, 236; Also, John Murrell, *Athletics, Sports and Games* (London: Unwin Hyman Ltd., 1988), 18, Fig. 3. Gardiner also illustrates a 14th-century drawing of a field hockey bully from a manuscript in possession of the British Museum, 236, Fig. 214.

³ E. Norman Gardiner, *Athletics of the Ancient World* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1930), Fig. 1a-f, 2a-d, 4-8, via Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, ii, 54.

⁴ For a discussion of *Chuiwan*, see Charles A. Dufner, "Golf's Eastern Origins? The Chinese Connection," *Golfiana - The International Journal for Golf Historians and Collectors* (Clinton & Edwardsville, IL: Golfiana, 1987), Vol. 1, No. 1, 28-29.

modern game of golf. Most early stick and ball games, regardless of their place of origin, shared similar characteristics in their implements and method of play. In fact, many of the games in our discussion maintained parallel evolutions. Ever since historians have studied the game, they have attempted to tie various stick and ball sports to the origins of golf, often with nationalistic leanings, but this debate is one with no definite conclusions.

The elements of golf have been compared to early Greek stick and ball games and the Roman games *pila*, *pila paganica*, or *pila mallens*, which utilized curved wooden sticks and stitched leather balls. The Roman balls ranged from the small, hard *harpastum*, which was stuffed with hair, to the larger *pila* and *pila paganica* balls stuffed with feathers.⁵ The Romans carried these games to the far corners of their Empire. Stick and ball games have been described in various cultures, from the Chinese *chuiwan* and Spanish *pelota*, to the Swiss game *hornussen*. The German game *santreiben* was played with a stick and ball, but was a team competition. Stick and ball games pre-dating the supposed origins of golf have been documented in the Dutch East Indies, Samoa, and Chili. All of these games, despite their similarities, contained slight variations in the playing method, field, or in the implements, that made each its own unique endeavour.⁶

In the British Isles, the Celtic games of *shinty*, *hurling*, and their Irish predecessor *camanchd* also compare to golf in their elements of play, although each was primarily a team game. One early form of *comanchd*, referred to as *cluich-dhesog*, *ain phuill*, or *cluich poill*, is strikingly similar to golf in the use of a long curved club that propelled a tiny ball toward a distant hole in the ground, yet the specific rules of this game remain unclear.⁷ A 14th-century English game during the reign of Edward III, called *cambuca*, is thought to be a derivation of the Roman game *paganica*. *Cambuca*, which bore the

⁵ E. Norman Gardiner, *Athletics of the Ancient World* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1930), Chap. XVIII.

⁶ For further discussion of early stick and ball games see David Hamilton, *Golf: Scotland's Game* (Kilmalcom: The Partick Press, 1998), 13-20; Ian Henderson and David Stirk, *Golf in the Making* (Crawley, England: Henderson and Stirk, Ltd., 1979), 1-6; Steven J. H. van Hengel, *Early Golf* (Liechtenstein: Frank P. Van Eck Publishers, 1985), 1-19, 45; John Kerr, *The Golf-Book of East Lothian* (Edinburgh: T and A Constable, 1896), 21-34. For a discussion of ancient athletics see E. Norman Gardiner, *Athletics of the Ancient World* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1930).

⁷ Rev. J. Ninian Macdonald, *Shinty: A Short History of the Ancient Highland Game* (Inverness: Robert Caruthers & Sons, 1932), 54. Roger Hutchinson, *Camanchd! The Story of Shinty*, (Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing Co. Ltd., 1989), 18.

informal moniker *bandy*, or *bandy ball*, utilized curved sticks or mallets and a tiny wooden ball.⁸

The French games *La Crosse*, *paille maille*, and *jeu de mail (a la chicane)* shared characteristics with golf.⁹ *Jeu de mail* utilized a long wooden mallet to advance a small wooden ball along roads and paths toward a distant architectural or natural target, such as a door or tree. An excellent example of an early cross-country form of *mail* is depicted in the Italianate Flemish work of Paul Bril's 1624 painting, *Landscape with Men Playing 'Mail a la Chicane'*.¹⁰ In Belgium and France the popular field game *chole* incorporated a long club with a curved iron head and a wooden egg-shaped ball. In Gloucester Cathedral, a massive stained-glass window dating to 1350 depicts the Battle of Crecy (1346) and Siege of Calais (1347). Within the window's many 14th-century French scenes sits an eight-inch roundel depicting a (now) headless figure with a golf-like club in the process of striking a stationary ball. The image has for many years been erroneously interpreted as a golfer, despite the obvious French subject matter of the window. In fact, the roundel more likely depicts one of the popular French games of that century, namely, *chole*. Elements of the early games of *chole* and *mail* may well have been introduced into Dutch games at the time due to the proximity of the regions and the great social influence the French exerted over the Low Countries. Certainly, a strong parallel existed in the form and make of their respective equipment.

Golf's relationship to the Low Country stick and ball games of the 13th to 17th centuries continues to provoke controversy. Indeed, Steven van Hangel's book *Early Golf* produced strong assertions that the long game of golf as we now know it was first played beside Kronenburg Castle on Boxing Day, 1297.¹¹ Considering the expansive collection of Dutch tiles and Delftware that depict various scenes and images of stick and ball games, it

⁸ Robert Clark, *Golf: a Royal and Ancient Game* (London: Macmillan, 1893), 8-9.

⁹ An image of a 14th-century boy with stick and ball playing *La Crosse* is depicted in Helen B. Schwartzman, *Transformations: The Anthropology of Children's Play* (New York: Plenum Press, 1978), Fig. 1A, 11, via J. J. Jusserand, *Les Sports et Joux d'exercice* (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1901).

¹⁰ Paul Bril, *Landscape with Men Playing 'Mail a la Chicane'*, Oil on Canvas, 1624, Minneapolis Institute of Arts.

¹¹ Steven J. H. van Hengel, *Early Golf* (Liechtenstein: Frank P. Van Eck Publishers, 1985), 2-4.

is then of the utmost importance to clarify the relationship between the Low Country games and the Scottish game. This clarification is especially crucial given the historical melding of golf and colf, and the many historical misinterpretations therein.

Van Hengel lumps all of the early Dutch stick and ball games into the catch-all term *colf*. But the Dutch games were historically known by many different names, such as *koll*, *spel mitten colve*, *den bal mitter colven te staen*, *colffen*, *culfslaen*, *colf te speelen*, *cloten mitter colve*, *(cloen) mit colven*, *het kolven*, *colve*, *colven*, *doen mit colven*, *kolven op het ijs*, or *kolven*; thus one cannot term them all *colf* with any degree of accuracy. This is especially true considering that the terms *colf*, *kolf*, and the like, literally translate to *club*, and virtually all of the numerous Dutch games played with a club would be recorded as *mit colve*, or *het kolven*. This issue is rather confusing because the term used to describe games played on ice with a club and ball is much the same as a courtyard game played with a club and ball, despite the fact that they are two completely distinct practices.

Van Hengel seized upon the phonetic similarity between *colf* and *golf* to support his assertion that the games were the same. Much as the now common term *caddie* or *cawdie* was a Scottish derivation of the French term *cadet*, so perhaps has *golf* evolved from *colf*.¹² Taken solely on its pronunciation, one could see how the Dutch term *colf* could be translated by the Scots into *goff*, *gowf*, *gowffe*, *gouff*, or any other of its varying historical references before eventually becoming standardized as *golf*. But the question remains whether the games were in fact the same.

A discussion of the relationship between these two games first requires an examination of historical interactions between Scotland and the Low Countries. Beginning in the 13th century, the period in which van Hengel asserts golf was first documented in the Low Countries, Scotland maintained close ties with the various Low Country provinces primarily through mercantile relations and political exchange. As van Hengel notes, many close alliances formed between the regions were well documented through printed records

¹² The French term *cadet*, generally used to describe a young army assistant, was adopted by the Scots in the 18th century. Scots Anglicised the spelling to *cawdie* and later *caddie*. See Tobias Smollett, *The Expeditions of Humphrey Clinker* (London: Hutchinson & Co., 1905 edition), 265-276. Smollett writes of a social gathering of gentlemen from the Leith races who met at the request of a well-known society or organisation of Edinburgh *cawdies*, or errand boys.

of the Convention of the Royal Burghs, various Acts of Parliament, and the Register of the Privy Council.¹³ A series of Charters of Privileges, dating from the reign of the Duke of Burgundy in the mid-14th century, outlined the relatively free trade access enjoyed by the Scottish merchants at Bruges. Certainly, interdependence existed between a centre of European trade and production in the Low Countries, and a nation in Scotland that held a wide range of products and an abundance of natural resources. Dutch goods, such as cloths, wine, and spices were commonly transported to Scotland, while wool, salted fish, whisky, and other Scottish products were shipped to thriving staple ports such as Middleburg and Campvere. Dutch and Scottish fishermen moved freely between maritime communities in both countries, often laying-over for long periods while following the herring shoals in the North Sea.

Scotland also maintained strong diplomatic and religious ties with the Low Countries both at home and abroad. Scottish mercenaries served in armies there, and, according to marriage registers, many of the men married and remained active in the community. The ruling families of Scotland and the Netherlands were allied by a succession of Royal marriages, further advancing the political and economic exchanges of their respective lands.¹⁴ Moreover, Scotland held a prominent religious profile in the Netherlands, developing a long-standing chaplainry first endowed in 1514 at the port of Veree.¹⁵

Close economic, political, and religious bonds doubtless fostered cultural exchange between Scotland and the Low Countries. The great St Andrews Senzie Fair attracted an international audience for centuries prior to 1581, while equally popular annual Easter and All Saints Day fairs in the town of Bergen op Zoom on the Scheldt first took place in the 15th century.¹⁶ Dutch artists were regularly sponsored by the Scottish nobility to serve as

¹³ Matthijs P. Roosboom, *The Scottish Staples in the Netherlands* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1910, 483p), Chap. 1.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 3, 19. Florence III, Count of Holland, Zeeland, and the Netherlands, married Ada, daughter of Henry, Prince of Scotland in the 12th century. Florence V, a direct descendent of Florence III, contested the Scottish crown in 1292. In 1444, Mary Stuart, daughter of James I, married Wolfert van Borselen, Lord of Campvere; David Ditchburn, "The Place of Guelders in Scottish Foreign Policy, ca. 1449 - ca. 1542," *Scotland and the Low Countries 1124-1994*, Grant Simpson, Ed. (Aberdeen: Tuckwell Press, 1996), 60. In 1449, James II married Mary, daughter of Arnold, Duke of Guelders, forming a dynastic alliance between the Stewarts and the Egmonts.

¹⁵ John Davidson and Alexander Gray, *The Scottish Staple at Veere* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1909), 270.

court painters and portraitists in the 16th century and onwards. A diverse portfolio of architectural influences exists in the many harbour houses constructed during this period of exchange.

More specific to sporting traditions, documentary evidence exists that Scotland and the Low Countries freely shared techniques on the production of equipment, trading clubs and balls. Dutch ball makers and club makers were plentiful, as seen in *Kolfmakerssteeg*, an alley of club makers in Leyden in the 16th century.¹⁷ The balls, initially wooden, were soon made from leather, stuffed with cow hair, and painted white.¹⁸ The size, weight, and construction of these balls seem to indicate that they were first made for a widely practised form of handball called *kaatsen*. These *Kaatsen* balls were later applied in *colf* and other games, such as *maliespel*, a Low Country form of *Mail*. From the late 15th century, Dutch export records list barrels of leather balls shipped to Scotland for sale and use.¹⁹ These leather balls had great bearing on the form and make of the Scottish featherballs.

The most telling aspect of the relationship between *colf* and golf is represented in the clubs. Dutch *colf* club shafts were made from ash and hazel, and featured tiny lead or iron heads and a decorative woven grip. The connection of shaft and clubhead was not substantial and durable enough to withstand impact of any great significance. Few if any intact examples of the *colf* club have survived, leaving only the damaged undersized lead heads, long since dislodged from the shaft, to be discovered from time to time (Figures 1.1 - 1.2). The Scottish longnose woods or blacksmith irons, produced as early as the 15th century by bowmakers, involved a much more serious production.²⁰ Longnose wood heads were carved from apple, thorn, pear, hawthorn, or beechwood. Often, a strip of ram's horn was secured to the sole, protecting the club from damage upon impact. Shafts,

¹⁶ Van Hengel, *Early Golf*, 12.

¹⁷ David Hamilton, *Golf Scotland's Game* (Kilmalcom: The Partick Press, 1998), 34.

¹⁸ For additional material on featherballs, see Ian Henderson and David Stirk, *Golf in the Making* (Crowley, England: Henderson and Stirk, Ltd., 1979), Chapter 3; David Hamilton, *Golf Scotland's Game* (Kilmalcom: The Partick Press, 1998), 31, 46-47, 94, 106.

¹⁹ Van Hengle, *Early Golf*, 12.

²⁰ Alastair J. Johnston and James F. Johnston, *The Chronicles of Golf 1457-1857* (Cleveland: Privately Printed, 1993), 28. Johnston references an account by David Beaton of Creich, Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, dated 21 September 1502: *To the bowar of Sanct Johnstowne for clubbs.....xiiijjs*. Subsequent mention of *clubbes and ballis* for James IV appear in 1503-4, 1505-6, and 1506.

hand-turned from ash, greenheart, hazel, and lancewood, were splice-joined to the clubhead and secured with a pitch-coated twine called 'whipping.' Grips, underwrapped with long strips of wool, were then covered with a spiral of thick, durable sheepskin. Many early longnose examples featured lead that was inserted into the back of the clubhead, providing a heavier and more balanced swing-weight. Some clubs also included protective clubface inserts generally made of leather, bone, and later, Gutta-percha. The expertly crafted Scottish clubs, transported to Holland for sale and use, undoubtedly altered the character of the game of *colf* such that a player could better employ a full, more aggressive swing, and facilitate games of greater variety and distance. The distinction of form and make of clubs is vital when reviewing the various Low Country imagery of early *colf*.

Many early references to *colf* clubs described the implements as *kleiks*. Interestingly, this term mirrors the ancient Scottish term *cleek* (*cleke, cleik, klik, clyk*) which described a large hook or crook used for pulling, holding, or suspending. This term later applied to metal-headed, wood-shafted golf clubs. *Colfkleiks* even bore the production stamp or *kleik* mark of the maker, a common tradition of the Scottish cleekmaker and blacksmith. *Klieks* are still used today in Holland on the *kolf* courts. This synergy of sporting equipment, along with the commonalities of *colf* and golf, is emblematic of the overall tradition of cultural exchange between the two regions.

The overwhelming evidence in Low Country guild records and town ordinances implies that *colf* was predominantly a short-distance town game. Despite various 17th-century imagery of Dutch stick and ball games played on ice, or the rare account of *colf* being played across country, the body of evidence points towards *colf* being played in the streets, courtyards, or churchyards of the city, with architectural targets, such as a church door.²¹ The novelty of games contested on ice was an obvious attraction as it facilitated matches

²¹ Jan Beerstraan, *The Castle of Muiden in Winter*, 1658, Oil on Canvas, National Gallery, London; Arent Arentsz (Called Cabel), *Winter Scene on the Y in Amsterdam*, Oil on Panel, ca. 1620-1630, Amsterdams Historisch Museum; *Skaters on the Amstel*, Oil on Panel, ca. 1620-1630, Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto; Hendrick Avercamp, *Winter Landscape on the River Ijssel Near Kampen*, Oil on Panel, ca. 1615, The Harold Samuel Collection; Jan van Goyen, *Winter Landscape With a Horse-Drawn Sleigh*, Oil on Panel, 1645, The Harold Samuel Collection; Aert van der Neer, *Winter Landscape With Skaters*, Oil on Canvas, ca. 1655-1660, The Harold Samuel Collection; Adriaen van de Velde, *Winter Landscape With Skaters*, ca. 1668-9, The Harold Samuel Collection; *Winter Landscape (a.k.a. Golfers on the Ice Near Haarlem)*, Oil on Panel, 1668, National Gallery, London.

of distance, whereas this was not traditionally the case with *colf*. Many images of this period feature so called *colfers* with Scottish-made longnose woods, *maliespel* clubs, or other mallet-headed implements. The Adriaen van de Velde image *Winter Landscape* (1668), also erroneously known as *Golfers on the Ice Near Haarlem*, clearly shows killed men playing *colf* with longnose woods.

Additional evidence indicates that many citizens inclined towards these recreational pursuits would likely have maintained their own club and ball from a very young age. Many images show children and adults using clubs and balls for short-range putting contests toward a small post, or passing through a tall A-shaped ground target. Portraits of Dutch infants, such as Aelbert Cuyp's 1650 *Portrait of a Boy Golfer*, suggest that even at toddler age Dutch children possessed a club and ball for manageable play indoors.²² For Dutch infants the club became a prized toy or plaything. Those in possession of a club and ball obviously enjoyed a varied menu of games at home, in the streets, on frozen canals, or just about anywhere.²³ *Beugelen* and *klosbaan*, popular Low Country croquet-like games set amidst formal gardens, date to the late 14th century. *Beugelen* players used a tall wooden club with a shovel head to advance a large eight-pound ball through a set course of "hoops." The refined game of *Beugelen* is still played today in Southern Holland in the province of Limburg. Certainly, as in the many Low Country stick and ball games, not all activities were *colf*, though many would have borne the exact historical description.

Town officials hoped that *colf* would move from inside city walls to the neighbouring open spaces to avoid considerable damage to property, yet this shift never firmly transpired. This demonstrates that the game in its purest form was regarded by its practitioners for centuries as a short, town game. Historians now believe that this type of game was also played in Scotland in the town streets or Kirkyards. This early game, now termed "short golf," closely resembled *colf* on many levels. The possibility therefore

²² Albert Cuyp, *Portrait of a Boy Golfer*, 1650, Oil on (Panel), Unknown; Adriaen van der Linde, *Maurits de Heraugieres at the Age of Two*, 1595, Oil on Panel, Private Collection; Hieronymus Bosch, *Tabla With the Seven Deadly Sins*, Oil on Panel, ca.1475-1480, Museo del Prado, Madrid. Bosch's circular tabla depicting the seven deadly sins includes a scene of *Gula*, or gluttony, in which an overweight infant eschews his club and ball (shown lying on the floor in the foreground) for the prospect of food. The infant is barely at the walking stage yet possesses a stick and ball.

²³ Pietre de Hooch, *Woman With a Baby on Her Lap*, Oil on Wood, 1658, Aurora Art Fund, New York; *Children in a Hallway With 'Colf' sticks*, Oil on Panel, ca.1658-1660, The National Trust, Polesden Lacey, England; Adriaen van der Linde, *Maurits de Heraugieres at the Age of Two*, Oil on Panel, ca.1595, Private Collection.

exists that Scots were playing a borrowed form of *colf* in the streets during the 14th and 15th centuries.

Colf in the Low Countries and "short golf" in Scotland were met with much consternation from town officials due to the frequent threat of injuries and damage to property. The first known ordinance against *colf* or golf was enacted by the Magistrates of Brussels in 1360, which states, "Whoever plays ball with a club (shall be fined) 20 shillings or their upper garment."²⁴ There are numerous accounts of bodily injury both in Scotland and the Low Countries from playing the street games. In the well known account from the *Dordrecht Ordinance Book*, dated 28 September 1401, it is written, "Furthermore nobody shall play any ball games whatsoever, on the wide streets at the gate-side nor at the Land-side nor in the churchyards, nor in the churches, nor in the cloisters, not to throw balls, nor to play balls with the club, at 1 pound, to be encashed straightaway wherever it is found."²⁵ Numerous official pronouncements such as these exist throughout the 15th and 16th centuries, both in Scotland and the Low Countries. This constant pressure from town officials was responsible for the eventual evolution or refinement of the games.

Van Hengel asserts that the widely popular game of *colf* suddenly and inexplicably died out completely in 1700, only to be followed immediately by a strikingly similar and equally popular courtyard game called *kolf*. A more likely scenario is that *colf* was always a game primarily played within city walls, and despite centuries of sanctions and urging by town officials, the practitioners continued to play in courtyards and streets. The probability exists that formal playing courts eventually developed to contain play, continuing the tradition of utilizing fixed posts as targets in place of doors. Thus the game became further refined and organized. The balls could have increased in size and weight as a means to limit their potential to become airborne and cause injury or damage. The playing courts were few in number, and certainly would have restricted access to only the wealthiest of sportsmen. With these adjustments to the playing characteristics of *colf*, the street game became a gentrified court game with larger clubs and balls, commonly referred to as *kolf*.

²⁴ Van Hengle, *Early Golf*, 5.

²⁵ *Dordrecht Ordinance Book*, 28 September 1401, Art. 204, Gemeente Archief Dordrecht; For additional discussion of early notices of golf from Burgh and Parish records consult Robert Clark, *Golf: a Royal and Ancient Game* (London: Macmillan, 1893), 123-132; Van Hengle, *Early Golf*, 22.

In contrast, the Scots, facing the same mounting pressure from Burgh officials and Kirk ordinances, eventually acquiesced, taking the game away from the scrutiny of town and church to the unconfined spaces of the linksland.²⁶ Growing Kirk involvement is evident from passages such as in the St. Andrews Kirk Session Records, 18 December 1583, which states, "This quilk day, it was delatit that Alexander Milleris two sonis ar obedient to him, and that thei, with Nicholl Mane, Willian Bruse and otheris, thair complices, playit in the golf fields Sunday last wes, tyme of fast and preching, aganis the ordinances of the kirk. The sessioun ordanis thame to be warnit and accusit theairof."²⁷ As a result of the game's growing popularity among the Scots, King James II drew up the now famous legislation in the Scottish Acts of Parliament; it passed on 6 March 1457, stating, "And at the futbawe and the golf be utterly cryit done and nocht wsit."²⁸ In short, all of the primary characteristics of the long game of golf as we know it today developed in Scotland. Moreover, what little of the long game that was played in the Low Countries was facilitated by the Scottish equipment. Significantly, however, the Low Country game of *colf* may well have provided middle ground from which the Scots expanded to their now standard long game of golf, and the Dutch refined the courtyard game of *kolf*.

The Dutch documented their stick and ball games much more thoroughly than other cultures, and certainly provided a more detailed account of the game through paintings, engravings and ceramic works than their counterparts in Scotland. This can be mainly attributed to austere religious and societal mores in Scotland that discouraged participation in games, evidenced by the numerous accounts of prosecutions in the 16th century. Many images of such games and recreational pursuits would have been confiscated and

²⁶ It should be mentioned that due to a scarcity of evidence it is not possible to say if the Scots played the long game of golf prior to the mid 15th century. However, by the turn of the 15th century, the Scots had already begun to expound upon the production and performance of the implements, the conditions and code of play, and the overall etiquette of the game.

²⁷ David Hay Fleming (Ed.), *St. Andrews Kirk Session Records 1559 - 1600*, Vol. II (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1890), 515, 846, 913. The passage is translated as "today it is charged that Alexander Miller's two sons, belonging to him, along with Nicholl Mane, Willian Bruce and others, their accomplices, played in the golf fields Sunday last (week), during the time of fast and preaching, against the ordinances of the Kirk. The court rules them to be warned and accused thereof."

²⁸ Acts of the Scottish Parliament. *The Actis and Constitutions of the Realme of Scotland maid in Parliament haldin be the rycht excellent, hie and mychtie Princeis King James the first, Second, Third, Feird, Fyfth, and in tyme of Marie now Queen of Scottis*, Special Collections, National Library of Scotland [Ry.II.b.7(1); H.33.c.21(1)], (Edinburgh: Robert Lekpreuik, 1566), 338; The 1457 Acts of Parliament were hand-written. The reference to golf was not formally printed until the 1566 and 1599 versions of the (Scottish) Acts of Parliament, which were worded differently than the original.

destroyed under the strict religious codes of the 15th century. Scotland was also less prosperous and offered fewer opportunities for skilled painters to receive commissions than the Low Countries. The lack of visual documentation of golf has led to an uncontested body of Low Country iconography beginning from the late 13th century that has served to further cloud the differences between *colf*, *kolf*, *maliespel*, *chole*, *beugelen*, *golf*, and the like.

One example of the historical melding of golf and its Low Country counterparts can be found through the private collection of Dr W. Laidlaw Purves, a noted early collector of golf memorabilia.²⁹ In addition to his golf materials, Dr Purves possessed a well-regarded assortment of 'kolf' scenes, including the reverse engraved *Les Amusemens de l'Hiver* by Jacques Aliamet (after Adriaen van de Velde's 1668 oil on oak, *Winter Landscape*,) and an engraved winter scene by John Boydell (after Adriaen Van Drever's 1675 painting.)³⁰ The bulk of the illustrations in the article depict Dr. Purves's archive of six Dutch tiles, a candle sconce, and a Delft plaque. The Purves Collection exemplifies the traditional mindset of the golf collector in general that the Dutch game(s) were perceived as an early form of golf. Endorsing this notion, dozens of early historical texts on golf adopted the view based on pictorial similarities between the games. The conclusions, however, were misleading, as the games of golf and *colf*, despite visual similarities, are not interchangeable.

The Purves tiles are the same earlier reproduced in Hutchinson's *Badminton Library* series on golf.³¹ Illustrations of Dutch tiles were used as part of historical discussions on golf in highly regarded texts by The Rev. John Kerr, C.B Macdonald, Harry B. Wood, H.S.C. Everard, and Robert Browning, among others.³² Many golf museums, collectors, and

²⁹ *Golf Illustrated*, "The Collection of Dr. Laidlaw Purves," (London: August 1, 1902), 88-89.

³⁰ Adriaen van de Velde, *Winter Landscape* (a.k.a. *Golfers on the Ice Near Haarlem*), Oil on Oak, 1668, National Gallery, London; J. Aliamet, *Les Amusemens de l'Hiver*, Reverse Engraving, ca.1650; J. Boydell, *Winter Scene*, Reverse Engraving, ca. Late 17th Century; Adriaen van Drever, *Winter Scene*, 1675, unknown.

³¹ Horace Hutchinson, *Golf: The Badminton Library of Sports and Pastimes* (London: Spottiswoode & Co., 1890).

³² Rev. John Kerr, *The Golf-Book of East Lothian* (Edinburgh: T and A Constable, 1896), 14, 21; C. B. Macdonald, *Scotland's Gift Golf: Reminiscences by Charles Blair Macdonald 1827-1927* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1928); Harry B. Wood, *Golfing Curios and "the Like": With an Appendix Comprising a Bibliography of Golf* (London: Sherratt & Hughes, Limited ed. 150 copies, 1911); H. S. C.

archives make a point of acquiring Dutch tiles and wares as a means to document the antiquity of golf. Major auction houses have regularly included Dutch imagery within golfing sales, despite the historical differences between the games. In reviewing the often muddled historical references and depictions of Low Country stick and ball games and golf, however, an understandable propensity exists to confuse or even merge the games. Without preparing an extensive catalogue of Dutch stick and ball wares, it is nevertheless important to examine a representative collection of Delft tiles and ceramics in their proper historical context.

The Dutch tile industry first appeared at the end of the 16th century as a result of cultural expansion subsequent to the outbreak of the Eighty Years War (1568 to 1648) between the protestant northern and catholic southern provinces of the Netherlands. After the fall of Antwerp and closing of the Scheldt in 1585, trade and industry advanced farther inward to include Middleburg, Rotterdam, Delft, and other future centres of pottery production. The first examples of Dutch tiles came from the northern Netherlands. These polychrome tiles were influenced by Spanish and Italian wares, and in particular, majolica flooring tiles. The Hispano-Moresque style earthenware floor tiles were first produced in Antwerp and later imitated in Rotterdam *ca.*1600.³³

Not until 1600 did the classic blue tiles first appear, shortly after the polychrome period. While maintaining some of the traditional corner patterns of the earlier Hispano-Moresque examples, the blue and white tiles fell more under the influence of Chinese wares that were pervasive in the region because of the activities of the Dutch East India Company. From their earliest date, Dutch blue and white tiles featured a variety of scalloped corner designs, although during the second quarter of the 17th century, tiles produced without corner designs were referred to as "open-air work."³⁴ By 1630 tiles were being produced with a wide assortment of new themes and genre scenes, including a range depicting popular children's games. The models for these

Everard, *A History of the Royal and Ancient Golf Club, St Andrews, From 1754 - 1900* (Edinburgh: 1907); Robert Browning, *A History of Golf the Royal and Ancient Game* (London: J.M. Dent and Sons, Ltd., 1955).

³³ C. H. de Jonge, *Dutch Tiles*. Trans. P.S. Falla (London: Pall Mall Press, 1971), 6.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 37.

images were invariably taken from graphic art, specifically, popular Dutch etchings and engravings. Landscape images, including those with scenes of stick and ball games, appear at this time, based mainly on works by celebrated Dutch artists of the day. The reproduction of popular imagery is seen in Laidlaw's candle sconce that bears the likeness of Aliamet's reverse engraved *Les Amusemens de l'Hiver*, after van de Velde's *Winter Landscape*. We can follow the diverse historical use of this image from its original oil on oak format to the reverse engraving, earthenware candle sconce, *Golf Illustrated* Purves article, and other various representations in historical texts.³⁵ Ironically, this scene has served for decades as a primary example of the Dutch influence on golf when, in actuality, it demonstrates with unquestionable clarity the Scottish influence on *colf*.

Children's games and Chinese figures were the most popular themes for decorating Dutch tiles, continuing well into the 19th century. Many tiles incorporated scenes of early pastimes such as shuttlecock, swings, stilt walking, leapfrog, kite flying, pole jumping, fighting, skipping, hoops, as well as stick and ball games in the popular Chinese style (Figure 1.3).³⁶ Fine examples have survived through their use in the interiors of apartments and country homes in Holland. Tiles were incorporated into the decoration of fireboxes and later used in kitchens, cellars, halls, and general interior decoration. These blue and white tile interiors are evident in 17th-century middle-class domestic scenes painted by de Hooch and others.³⁷ Another Purves tile scene (Figure 1.4) shows a man in period attire playing a golf-like game, which was actually *beugelen*. This is the same game depicted in Rembrandt's erroneously titled

³⁵ Adriaen van de Velde, *Winter Landscape*; J. Aliamet, *Les Amusemens de l'Hiver*; J. Boydell, *Winter Scene*; Adriaen van Drever, *Winter Scene*, 1675, unknown.

³⁶ Hans van Lemmen, *Delftware Tiles* (London: Lawrence King Publishing, 1997). Many of the themes for tiles depicting games for children were taken from popular 17th century texts, engravings, and paintings. Pieter Bruegel the Elder produced *Children's Games*, which is part of the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna. Another famous series of engravings of 17th century children's games was produced by Cornelis Holsteyn in *Verscheyde Aerdig Kinderspel uyt gebeelt. - Plusieurs Jeux d'Enfants deseigné* (Amsterdam: ca.1650), with engravings by Michiel Mosijn.

³⁷ Pieter de Hooch, *A Mother and Child with its Head in Her Lap*, Oil on Canvas, ca.1658-1660, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

1654 etching, *The Golf Player*, which has in itself added much to the historical confusion between golf and Low Country stick and ball games.³⁸

Blue tiles were primarily produced in Delft, Rotterdam, Amsterdam, Utrecht, Harlingen, Bolsward, and Makkum, although upwards of sixty factories existed in the 17th century. An examination of a range of Dutch '*colf*' tiles from this period (Figures 1.3 - 1.14) verifies that most of the activities depicted are not *colf* at all. In Figure 1.4 the large shovel-type club head, oversized ball, and inverted top hand of the grip suggests the game is likely a form of *beugelen*. Here, the player appears to be pushing the ball while walking. Figures 1.5, 1.6, and 1.9 depict a form of putting game where participants aim toward short fixed posts. In each instance the ball is much larger than a *colf* ball and the game is obviously one that is played close to the target with short strokes. This game is also depicted in numerous 17th-and 18th-century Low Country winter landscape scenes where participants putt on ice towards a post fixed in a frozen canal. The tiles in Figures 1.7, 1.8, and 1.10 illustrate a garden croquet-like game, perhaps *klosbaan*, where participants aim to putt through an A-shaped fixed target. Figures 1.11 and 1.12 illustrate players using implements in the form of traditional *colf* clubs; however, the participants are shown standing quite close together and the exact game is undetermined. Their appearance though suggests that they are participating in a short, casual putting game. All of the tiles illustrated measure 5 1/8" (13cm) square and generally have a depth of 1/2" (1.2cm). The tiles feature two traditional corner decorations, called "spiders-head" or "spiders" (Figures 1.3, 1.5, 1.7, 1.10, 1.11, 1.12), and "ox-head" (Figures 1.4, 1.6, 1.8, 1.9, 1.13, 1.14).³⁹

The final figures (Figures 1.13 - 1.14) depict studies or vignettes of soldiers standing with implements whose length and construction would have been suitable for *colf*. Many similar scenes of military men were derived from the engravings of Jacob de Gheyen.⁴⁰ True *colfers* such as those depicted in Figures 1.13 and 1.14 appear in a variety of different tiles during the original production timeframe, although many of

³⁸ Rembrandt H. van Rijn, *The Golf Player*, Etching, 1654, USGA Museum and Archives, Far Hills, New Jersey.

³⁹ Additional corner patterns commonly found in this genre include the *fleur-de-lis*, and "Chinese meandering Border" decorations.

⁴⁰ Hans van Lemmen, *Delftware Tiles* (London: Lawrence King Publishing, 1997), 93; Jacob de Gheyen, *The Exercise of Arms*, Engravings, 1607, The Hague.

their implements differ in size, often taking the form of a tall, heavy *kolven*-like club. Seldom is there a ball in view, and even rarer are those tiles that illustrate a *colfer* in action of any sort. Oddly, perhaps the finest examples of true *colf* tiles are those depicting tiny cherubs in a series of *colf* positions.⁴¹ The angel tiles, most closely associated with production in Haarlem, are extremely rare in original form. If *colf* had disappeared by 1700, then there would have been a relatively small window of time, from 1650 to 1700, for true *colf* tiles to be produced. This is especially the case when one considers that the overwhelming majority of these images were faithfully reproduced in later versions into the 20th century.

As we have seen, the characteristics of the short, town game of golf shared a resemblance to, and was affected by, earlier stick and ball games of non-Scottish origin, chief among them *colf* in the Low Countries. It is clear, however, that golf evolved separately and distinctly from all other games into its current recognisable long, Scottish form.

⁴¹ For depictions of golfing cherub tiles see Van Hengle, *Early Golf*, 8; Harry B. Wood, *Golfing Curios and "The Like"*: Wood, Harry B. *Golfing Curios and "the Like": With an Appendix Comprising a Bibliography of Golf* (London: Sherratt & Hughes, 1911), Plate XXXI.



Figure 1.1 Lead *colf* club head, ca. 1650-1700. (Courtesy of Archie Baird)



Figure 1.2 Lead *colf* club head, ca. 1650-1700. Note the decorative markings around the heel of the club on left. (Courtesy of Archie Baird)



Figure 1.3 Chinese style Dutch tile (Courtesy of the Hon. Company of Edinburgh Golfers).



Figure 1.4 *Beugelen* tile (Courtesy of the Hon. Company of Edinburgh Golfers).



Figure 1.5 Putting to post tile (Courtesy Archie Baird).



Figure 1.6 Putting to post tile (Courtesy Archie Baird).



Figure 1.7 Croquet-style target tile (Courtesy of the Hon. Company of Edinburgh Golfers).



Figure 1.8 Croquet-style target tile (Courtesy of the Hon. Company of Edinburgh Golfers).



Figure 1.9 Putting to post tile (Courtesy of the Hon. Company of Edinburgh Golfers).



Figure 1.10 Croquet-style target tile (Courtesy of the Hon. Company of Edinburgh Golfers).



Figure 1.11 Stick and Ball Tile (Courtesy of the Hon. Company of Edinburgh Golfers).



Figure 1.12 Stick and Ball Tile (Courtesy of the Hon. Company of Edinburgh Golfers).



Figure 1.13 True colf tile (Courtesy Archie Baird).



Figure 1.14 True colf tile (Courtesy Archie Baird).

CHAPTER 2 - The Rise of Sporting Societies in Great Britain: Their Contests, Traditions, and Awards

During the early Medieval period in Great Britain, chivalric sports using tools of war were quite common, as was jousting. Toward the end of the Middle Ages, crowds of spectators enjoyed less dangerous pastimes, such as horse racing. Beginning in the 16th century, contests of horsemanship were the first recorded sporting events resulting in the presentation of a formal prize or award. The Haddington Race of 1552 was established as an annual competition for a trophy that the winner was expected to adorn with an engraved medal. The Haddington Race set a precedent of arranging a fixed award, in this case a trophy that was appended annually with medals. The race at Peebles may have begun as early as 1573, and the Stirling race began in 1598.

Many 17th-century horse races, often termed “bell races,” were traditionally run for a small silver bell which was hung from the tack, mane, or tail of the winning horse. The Carlisle Racing Bells of 1590 and 1599 comprise the earliest extant examples of horse-racing prizes. The tiny silver bells, measuring 1 ¾" (4.4cm) in diameter, were engraved at the equator with the name of the victor.¹ The Lanark Racing Bell competition, begun ca.1608, presented a trophy in the form of a 4 ½" (11.4cm) silver bell atop a silver base, surrounded by two-headed birds (or dragons) and engraved badges of the winners.² A bell race was run in Glasgow in 1606, and Dunfermline initiated its silver bell race in 1610, as did Cupar. The inaugural Paisley Bell race took place in 1620.³ Silver cups appeared later, with races run at Dumfries and Sterling in 1664, and Banff in 1684.⁴

Throughout the 17th century, horse racing competitions flourished, each with its own distinctive prize. Huntly Castle Horse Races offered a silver Thistle Cup in 1695, and

¹ Victoria and Albert Museum, *Sporting Glory - The Courage Exhibition of National Trophies at the Victoria and Albert Museum* (London: Sporting Trophies Exhibitions Ltd., 1992), 44, Fig. 2.

² *Ibid.*, 46-47, Fig. 1.

³ John Burnett, *Riot, Revelry and Rout: Sport in Lowland Scotland Before 1860* (East Lothian: Tuckwell Press, 2000), 8-26; See also J. Fairfax-Blakeborough, *History of Horse Racing in Scotland*, (Yorkshire: Allen, Whitby, 1973), 4.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 22-26.

engraved basket-hilted swords in the late 17th century.⁵ Additional examples of horse-racing trophies, such as a silver-gilt porringer (1663), two-handled engraved silver Asby Maske Cup (1669), and the silver Basingstoke Monteith punch bowl (1688) survive. This last example illustrates the growing preference to associate competitive victory with drink. Named after a fictional Scottish character from the 17th century, the Monteith was a punch bowl with a scalloped rim onto which could be hung drinking glasses.⁶ The Basingstoke Monteith is an intriguing award not only for its punch bowl design, but also for its series of engraved panels depicting various field sports in the manner and style of Oriental or *Chinoiserie* scenes. This is, in effect, a Chinese-style silver punch bowl produced in Europe.⁷ But sporting events in the 16th to 18th centuries were not solely of the equestrian variety.

The Kirkcudbright Siller Gun competition of 1587 is the earliest known shooting trophy in Great Britain. James VI, later James I of England, put up the 7" (17.8cm) silver gun as the prize. The Royal sponsorship to the Incorporated Trades of Kirkcudbright served to encourage greater proficiency with firearms. Oddly, a gun-shooting competition pre-dates any known archery prize, since archery was popular for centuries before the rise of the gun in the late 15th century. Nevertheless, the Siller' Gun competition of Kirkcudbright serves as another early example of sporting competitions for silver trophies appended annually with the names of the winners.⁸

Sport historians agree that archery has provided the most direct influence on the formative competitive and social traditions of golfing societies. This may well be true, but the archers were simply following many longstanding traditions previously set forth in shooting, horse racing and, specifically, the rituals surrounding the Leith Races.

Beginning with the Musselburgh Arrow in 1603, archery competitions in the burghs

⁵ Patricia Connor (Ed.), *All The Queens Horses: The Role of the Horse in British History* (Lexington: Kentucky Horse Park, International Museum of the Horse, 2003), Fig. 37.3a, 37-3b, 156.

⁶ G. J. Monson-Fitzjohn, *Drinking Vessels of Bygone Days from the Neolithic Age to the Georgian Period* (London: Herbert Jenkins, 1927). The Monteith is said to originate toward the end of the Stuart Period ca. 1680 named for a fictional Scot named "Monsieur Monteigh" who wore a cloak that was notched at the bottom.

⁷ Victoria and Albert Museum, *Sporting Glory - The Courage Exhibition of National Trophies at the Victoria and Albert Museum* (London: Sporting Trophies Exhibitions Ltd., 1992), Fig. 2, 48-50.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Fig. 1, 34-35.

became a popular leisure-time activity in Scotland.⁹ 17th-century archery competitions, generally conducted for an arrow or silver arrow prize, have been documented in Rattray (1612), University of St Andrews (1618), Peebles (1628), Linlithgow (1629), Selkirk (1660), Aberdeen Grammar School (1664), and Stirling (1678). Stirling also held a silver box competition in 1698. The popularity of archery as a test of skill, coupled with its historical role in national defence, ultimately led to the formation of His Majesty's Company of Archers in 1676, which became the Royal Company of Archers after receiving its royal warrant in March 1704.¹⁰ The Royal Company of Archers, who subsequently held the role of Queen's Bodyguard for Scotland, placed a common enjoyment of their sport in the context of a traditional society by establishing a communal financial structure and electing or appointing officers. Many of the social, competitive, and ritualistic traditions of the Royal Company transcended the boundaries of their sport and remain today as an integral aspect of many sporting societies.

The Royal Company of Archers shot in annual competitions in addition to the Musselburgh Arrow: for the Goose Prize in 1703, the Edinburgh Arrow in 1709, and the Silver Bowl beginning in 1720. The 9" Royal Company Silver Bowl trophy was offered in the same spirit as the Basingstoke Monteith, mirroring the Royal Company's growing sociable nature, both in competition and convivial gatherings. According to the Royal Company Minutes of 30 May 1720:

The Council ordain the Treasurer to order the Punch-Bowl to be made to the value of twenty pounds sterling...which pryze is to be returned by the gainer to the Treasurer within ten months, with his badge affixed thereto, not exceeding the value of two guineas, either of gold or silver, in the option of the gainer. And the Treasurer for the time is to pay him in premium 5 pounds sterling upon the return of the bowl.¹¹

A later archery trophy, the 1746 Kilwinning Coconut Cup, also serves as a fine example of a competitive award taking the form of a convivial bowl.¹²

⁹ Ian Hay, *The Royal Company of Archers: 1676 – 1951* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons Ltd., 1951), 103-105.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 8.

¹¹ Victoria and Albert Museum, *Sporting Glory - The Courage Exhibition of National Trophies at the Victoria and Albert Museum* (London: Sporting Trophies Exhibitions Ltd., 1992), 50.

¹² John Burnett, *Riot, Revelry and Rout: Sport in Lowland Scotland Before 1860* (East Lothian: Tuckwell Press, 2000), 158-159.

The coveted Edinburgh Arrow competition of 1709 became the most significant and influential of the Royal Company's competitions, featuring a silver arrow as a prize offered by the Edinburgh Town Council. The Silver Arrow competition, held over Leith Links, was recorded by the Town Council to take place "each year on the second Monday of July at 10am."¹³ The Council records continue, stating, "Notice of the competition was to be given the last Monday in June and the first Monday in July by beat of drum throughout Edinburgh."¹⁴ The practice of the trophy procession through town, along with posting proclamations, was the primary method for alerting the townspeople to noteworthy events and information. In the tradition of earlier sporting trophies, each year the winner of the Edinburgh Silver Arrow was asked to append the trophy with engraved medallions to commemorate their victory. In another tradition that would cross societal lines, the champion archer earned the right to serve as Captain of the Society for the following year. The vision of the formal crested archers in procession with a town-sponsored trophy would no doubt have made an impression on the other sportsmen, such as golfers and bowlers, who also used the links.

Leith was indeed at the centre of sport during the 17th and 18th centuries. The town entertained annual races on the sands situated east of the pier beginning in 1665. The races were considered the event of the year, lasting over an entire week to the delight of massive crowds of interested onlookers from all over Scotland. The Leith races received sponsorship from the Town Council of Edinburgh, as well as Royal patronage. Examples of surviving prizes from the Leith races include a silver cup from 1665, a gold plate in 1720, a gold teapot awarded as King's Prize in 1737-8, and a two-handled gold cup and cover as the King's Prize in 1751.¹⁵ The events of the races are well-described by Robertson, who remarks:

It was part of the ceremonial also for one of the city officers in gala dress to march every morning during the week from the City Chambers to the Sands bearing aloft on the end of a pole a gaily ornamented purse. To begin with, he had only the company of the city drummer beating

¹³ James Scott Marshall, *The Life and Times of Leith* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, Ltd., 1986), 52.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 52.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 50; Patricia Connor (Ed.), *All The Queens Horses: The Role of the Horse in British History* (Lexington: Kentucky Horse Park, International Museum of the Horse, 2003), Fig. 37.4a, 37.4b, 157. The King's prize was commissioned by the winner with the first £100 of its overall cost being paid by the Crown.

behind him with might and main, but the procession gathered strength and volume as it moved along, for it was the correct thing for the Edinburgh youth to 'Gaun doon wi' the purse.'¹⁶

It is evident from this description that the ceremonies of the Leith Races had great bearing on the future competitive traditions of the Royal Company of Archers, and later, the golfing societies.

Leith Sands offered the sporting event of the year, but Leith Links provided access to sporting endeavours or military training on a daily basis. The Links lay at the centre of social and recreational activity in Leith. In addition to archery, townspeople enjoyed tennis on the court at the King's Wark, cock fighting, curling in winter months, fairs, and the occasional display of fireworks. The Edinburgh Society of Bowlers enjoyed '*row-bowlis*' on the Leith green, competing for the Silver Jack from 1771.¹⁷ In the tradition of previous sporting awards, the Silver Jack was annually appended with medals of the various winners. The sportsmen competed for use of the land with the Incorporation of Carters in Leith, who up until 1743 paid annual rent to the Town Council for the privilege of using the Links as grazing land for horses and cattle.¹⁸ One can readily visualise the crowded links and diverse range of activities open to the townspeople.

Along with their sporting pastimes, gentlemen were afforded the opportunity for an equally active social life at the many popular taverns and inns that adjoined the links. The surrounding public houses maintained a symbiotic relationship with the linksland, providing an ideal combination that sustained societal activities in Leith, and no doubt in neighbouring Musselburgh, St Andrews, and Bruntsfield for centuries. Captain Brown's and Rose's were popular Leith retreats in the late 17th century.¹⁹ Luckie Clephane's Tavern entertained gentlemen and noblemen near the foot of Easter Road at the town end

¹⁶ D. Robertson, *The Bailies of Leith* (Leith: Charles Thompson, 1915), 37-38.

¹⁷ D. Robertson, *The Bailies of Leith* (Leith: Charles Thompson, 1915), 34, 320; Ian Hay, *The Royal Company of Archers: 1676 – 1951* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons Ltd., 1951), 28, 41-43. The Edinburgh Society of Bowlers also played on a green south of Heriot's Hospital. For additional information on bowling in Edinburgh, see John Burnett, *Riot, Revelry and Rout: Sport in Lowland Scotland Before 1860* (East Lothian: Tuckwell Press, 2000), 41-43.

¹⁸ James Scott Marshall, *The Life and Times of Leith* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, Ltd., 1986), 50-58.

¹⁹ Based on an account in the Diary of Thomas Kincaid; David Hamilton, *Golf: Scotland's Game* (Kilmalcom: The Partick Press, 1998), 50.

of Leith. Leith's most popular tavern in the later half of the 18th century was Mrs Straiton's, situated in the Kirkgate, or the High Street of Old Leith as it was known, opposite Laurie Street.²⁰ As Straiton's stood close to the links, it was here in all likelihood that a social gathering of gentlemen from the races at the request of a society of Edinburgh *cawdies*, or errand boys, was described in Smollett's *Humphry Clinker*:

The claret continued to circulate without interruption, till the glasses seemed to dance upon the table; and this, perhaps, was a hint to the ladies to call for music. At eight in the evening the ball began in another apartment: at midnight we went to supper; but it was broad day before I found the way to my lodgings; and, no doubt, his lordship had a swingeing bill to discharge.²¹

The 7 February 1767 Minutes of the Edinburgh Golfing Company tells of the close relationship between the public house and the administration of the society: Apparently on a complaint by Mrs Straiton, the Gentlemen Golfers enacted a rule, stating, "Those turning up to play on Saturdays but do not remain for dinner should be fined 2 shillings and 6 pence sterling to recompensate Mrs Straiton for her loss."²² It is apparent from the tone of the rule that Mrs Straiton was valued for her meals and her willingness to "lay up golfing gear" on behalf of Company members. Specific mention is given to those members who dashed back to Edinburgh immediately after play. Mrs Straiton evidently counted heads before golf and prepared the corresponding amount of food for their evenings of dining, drinking, and gambling.

The early activities of the gentlemen golfers, sporting or otherwise, became synonymous with the Links and the local public houses. As with all early golf in Scotland, estimating when the game was first played in Leith is a difficult assignment. The golfers became a formal society in 1744 upon approval from the Edinburgh Town Council to conduct their own silver golf club competition over Leith links. The account in the Golfing Company *Minute Book* states,

The Lord Provost, Magistrates and Council, with the Deacons of Crafts Ordinary and Extraordinary of the city of Edinburgh being in council assembled, and it being represented to them – That several Gentlemen

²⁰ John Russell, *The Story of Leith* (London: Thomas Nelson & Sons, Ltd., 1922), 406.

²¹ Tobias Smollett, *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker* (London: Hutchinson & Co., 1905), 265-276.

²² Honourable Company of Edinburgh Golfers, *Minute Book. 2 April 1744 – 13 March 1781* (National Library of Scotland, Acc. 11208, No. 1), Minute of 7 Feb. 1767.

of Honour, skilful in the ancient and healthful exercise of the golf, had from time to time applied to several Members of the Council for a Silver Club to be annually plaid for on the Links of Leith, at such time, and upon such conditions as the Magistrates of the Council should think proper.²³

This entry implies that the group of golfers had existed for years prior to receiving Town Council approval for the competition. Throughout their early existence, the golfers assumed a number of identities, beginning with "The (Edinburgh) Golfing Company," "The (Edinburgh) Golf Club," and by 1800, "The Honourable the Edinburgh Company of Golfers." The traditional name "The Honourable Company of Edinburgh Golfers" did not become standardised until later in the 19th century.²⁴

Not surprisingly, the Golfing Company's Silver Club competition, generally regarded as golf's first prize, took the image of previous town-sponsored events, incorporating many established traditions. The silver longnose putter was to be appended by the victor with a gold or silver piece which took the form of an engraved medallion or featherball. Like the Leith Races purse and the Silver Arrow, on the day of the competition the Silver Club was taken down to the links in a formal procession under *tuck of drum*.²⁵ Also in the tradition of the Royal Company of Archers, the winner of the Silver Club earned the title of 'Captain of the Golf,' an honour that bestowed the power to settle all golfing disputes. The gentlemen golfers adopted a uniform in the manner and style of the archers, which was described by John Patterson, the club tailor, as "a scarlet plush coat with blue velvet (cope) and Bluff Waistcoat and Breeches of Cloth."²⁶

We can see that the Golfing Company's competitive and societal traditions were already well-established in other sporting groups by 1744. The inaugural silver club competition among the members of the game's first society in turn had great bearing and influence upon other gentlemen golfers throughout Scotland and England. While many groups or

²³ Honourable Company of Edinburgh Golfers, *Minute Book. 2 April 1744 – 13 March 1781* (National Library of Scotland, Acc. 11208, No. 1).

²⁴ John Kerr, *The Golf Book of East Lothian* (Edinburgh: T and A Constable, 1898), 41.

²⁵ *Tuck of Drum* refers to the process of a formal procession of the town guard, generally including a group of pensioners in military attire, parading through town to the beat of a drummer.

²⁶ James Scott Marshall, *The Life and Times of Leith* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, Ltd., 1986), 56.

cliques of golfers existed, most notably on the links in Musselburgh and Bruntsfield, on Glasgow Green, in Montrose, Aberdeen, and along the shores of East Lothian, another formal golf competition did not emerge for ten more years.

The Society of St Andrews Golfers, later the Royal & Ancient Golf Club of St Andrews, organized its own silver club competition in 1754. The University of St Andrews had, after all, conducted a silver arrow competition since 1618, so the tradition of such a contest for golfers would not seem out of place. In most regards, largely due to the numerous cross-over members between the sporting societies, the *Conditions of Play* for the St Andrews Silver Club competition was copied directly from the Golfing Company in Leith. Even the mysterious method of determining the winner subjectively by mass match-play was adopted by the St Andrews golfers, at least until a revised format was adopted *ca.*1759. The major difference between the two competitions occurred with the funding of the silver club, which was solely subsidised by the twenty-two Society Golfers with no specific town endorsement or sponsorship. Significantly, the St Andrews Society, like the Golfing Company in Leith, possessed no clubhouse and therefore relied upon local taverns such as Bailie Glass's and later the Cross Keys Inn for their meetings, dinners, and evening entertainment. The St Andrews gentlemen received organisational guidance from the Golfing Company's Robert Douglas, who won the Edinburgh Arrow in 1750, the Silver Bowl in 1753, and served as Secretary of the Royal Company of Archers in 1750. For their cooperation, the members of the Golfing Company were invited by the Society Golfers to compete for their Silver Club. The inaugural winner of the St Andrews Silver Club was Bailie William Landale, a local merchant.

Although annual competitions were instituted in Musselburgh in 1774 and Glasgow in 1787, the next to follow Leith's Golfing Company and the St Andrews gentlemen was a society of golfers situated on the Heath beside Greenwich, just outside London, in 1766. The Blackheath Silver Club, presented to the Society by Mr Henry Foot at the cost of £8.10.0., took the form of a silver longnose playclub onto which were appended replica silver golf balls.²⁷ The *Rules of Play* were adopted directly from the Golfing Company, as was the repeating five-hole format that mirrored Leith's early layout. The gentleman earning the Silver Club and the title of 'Captain of Golf' was Alexander Duncan, who we

²⁷ Royal Blackheath Golf Club, *Goff Club Cash Book*, Extracts from Club Accounts (Blackheath: Royal Blackheath Archives, 1766).

will later find plays an extraordinary role in the formative history of sporting societies in Great Britain.

The Society of Blackheath Golfers is thought to have been founded at the time of its first silver club competition in 1766, although much conjecture surrounds this date. The primary reason for dispute is a notation in the club's first Minute Book, which states, "Instituted 1608." Given that no evidence exists to substantiate 1608 as the founding date, and the society minutes begin in earnest more than 150 years later, the date is generally regarded as an anomaly by historians. The 1608 date, however, is quite telling to the foundation of the club, as this is also around the time James VI of Scotland, James I of England, an avid golfer, was noted to have played in the grounds of his royal residence in Greenwich. This most certainly would have provided a great source of pride for the Scots at this time to have their King play the national game on English soil. Further suspicion arises with a reference in a 1787 newspaper clipping in the Greenwich Public Library, noting, "On Saturday a fine game of golf was played upon Blackheath, by upwards of thirty gentlemen of the London Scots Society, dressed in uniforms, in scarlet jackets, and white waistcoats."²⁸ There are numerous connections to Scotland throughout the Blackheath *Goff Club Cash Book*, almost to the exclusion of England. The members at the time were transplanted Scots, and certainly maintained close family bonds and business ties to their homeland. The overwhelmingly Scottish membership raises many interesting possibilities of why the Society at Blackheath was originally founded, especially given the dearth of firsthand accounts. Some of the more interesting notations in the *Cash Book* include a donation to the Caledonian Asylum, advertisements for the Society placed in the *Edinburgh Almanac* and *Scotch Almanac*, mention of the Highlanders being entertained by the club, odes and poems crediting the birth of the game to Scotland and St Andrews in particular, and regular "Wee Dinners" that included traditions of bag piping, eating Haggis, drinking whisky from a quaich, and singing "Auld Lang Syne."²⁹ These late 18th-century and early 19th-century references to Blackheath and the specific rituals of the society point toward a club founded by Scots for Scots.

²⁸ Ian Henderson, David Stirk, *Royal Blackheath* (London: Henderson & Stirk, Ltd., 1981), 43.

²⁹ Royal Blackheath Golf Club, *Goff Club Cash Book*, Extracts from Club Accounts (Blackheath: Royal Blackheath Archives, ca.1766).

Another revealing aspect of Blackheath that clearly reflects the influence of its Scottish predecessors was the incorporation of a strong Masonic component to the structure of the Society. At the time of its organization, the Blackheath Club featured a subsidiary winter organization called the Knuckle Club, begun on 17 January 1789.³⁰ The Knuckle appears to have been a Masonic club that met for golf, dinners, ceremonies, and general conviviality. Moreover, the club maintained ritualistic initiation practices, uniforms, and rigid protocol at meetings in the same tradition as Masonic societies of the day. The Knuckle club survived until 12 November 1825, when its members were “in future to meet as golfers.” The club subsequently became known as the Blackheath Winter Club, which remained active an additional eighteen years beyond the Knuckle Club.³¹

In the year of the Knuckle Club’s formation, there were fifty-five members of the Blackheath Club and nineteen Knuckle members. Of these Knuckle members, six were not initiated and only one was not also a member of the parent society. This presupposes that six of the members already maintained some qualification of sorts that precluded them from formal initiation rituals. The club went so far as to prepare knuckle bones for service in their meetings, stipulating that no member could speak without the knuckle placed in his right hand. It is not mentioned whether the knuckles were beef, lamb, or pork, although “particularly Beef Ones” was specified for dinner in *Regulation 12*.³²

In addition to Blackheath’s Silver Club competition, the Knuckle Club developed a Gold Medal competition in 1792, which, along with the St Andrews Gold Medal (1771), and the Golfing Company Gold Medal (1790), ranks among the first competitive medals in golf history. The medal, completed at the cost of £5.5, features an emblem of the back of two opposing fistful hands. The winner was required to pay to have his name inscribed on the medal at the cost of two shillings, and was then accorded the honour of being named “Grand Knuckle” for the year.

³⁰ Ian Henderson and David Stirk, *Royal Blackheath* (London: Henderson & Stirk, Ltd., 1981), 28-32.

³¹ Royal Blackheath Golf Club, *Knuckle Club Minute Book* (Blackheath: Royal Blackheath Archives, ca.1789 – 1829).

³² Royal Blackheath Golf Club, *Knuckle Club Minute Book* (Blackheath: Royal Blackheath Archives, ca.1789 - 1829).

The first accounts of Masonic rituals became known in the early 17th century. In his book, *The First Freemasons: Scotland's Early Lodges and Their Members*, Stevenson states, "The early references to the Masonic Word concentrate on secret modes of identification – words, postures, signs and gestures – but in fact the term had a wider application, denoting the rituals and secrets of the Masons." He continues, stating: "In addition to detailing recognition codes (question and answer sessions in which one Mason could make sure that another was an initiate), the catechisms describe initiation ceremonies culminating in the communication of a secret word to the initiate."³³ This ritual corresponds with that of Blackheath's Knuckle Club, as evidenced in the 29 December 1804 minutes, which note, "After a severe examination...passed the ordeal bravely." Another minute, dated 20 February 1813, describes, "Dr George Young initiated and passed the sign in style."³⁴

Sporting organisations did not generally adopt secret rites or form subsidiary Masonic groups within the structure of the societies, but the fact remains that a majority of the most powerful and influential members of early golfing societies were also Freemasons. The Knuckle Club is the most obvious example of a Masonic influence within an early golfing society, but nearly all of Blackheath's formative structure was developed from its Scottish predecessors. For an explanation we must look to the Society's first Captain and most influential member, Alexander Duncan. Duncan is perhaps the most important figure in the present discussion of sporting societies because he is a direct link among many societies and competitions.

Alexander Duncan was the son of James Duncan, Professor of Philosophy at the University of St Andrews. He matriculated at St Salvator's College of the University of St Andrews on 11 Feb 1747. While attending University, Duncan won the Silver Arrow competition in 1749, inscribing his medal with the Latin phrase, *OMNIA CONANDO SOLERTIA VICIT* ('By trying our skill overcomes everything'). A figure of an archer stands upon a pedestal, inscribed, *Ipsa quidem virtus subimet pulcherrima merces*, or, 'That very beautiful virtue overcomes profit.'³⁵ This conquest was the first of many. In 1756,

³³ David Stevenson, *The First Freemasons: Scotland's Early Lodges and Their Members* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1988), 4.

³⁴ Royal Blackheath Golf Club, *Knuckle Club Minute Book* (Blackheath: Royal Blackheath Archives, ca.1789 - 1829), 29 Dec. 1804; 20 Feb. 1813.

³⁵ University of St Andrews, University of St Andrews Museum, *Archery Medals*, 66.

Duncan earned the Society of St Andrews Golfers Silver Club. He won the St Andrews Silver Club again in 1761 and 1781, serving as Captain in each of his three winning years. He also claimed the Society of Golfers Silver Cup competition later, in 1783. Duncan appears again winning the Golfing Company's Silver Club in 1771 and serving as their Captain as well. He finally arrives at Blackheath, winning their Silver Club competition in 1766 and 1767, and serves as Captain of the Society in their inaugural two years. Duncan provides a link through the earliest golfing societies in his organizational experience, personal relationships, and tenures as Captain.³⁶

Beyond his obvious sporting skill, Duncan was equally respected for his strength in administrative matters. He possessed a vital connection to Masonic societies of the era, as he was noted as a "Master Mason" at the laying of the Golfing Company's new Golf House foundation stone in Leith, in 1767. In the Golfing Company's 2 July 1768 minutes, it is also mentioned that in attendance were "other worthy members of the golfing company, all Masons..."³⁷ Duncan is also described in the Minute Books on numerous occasions as a "Grand Master Mason." His unrivalled experience with sporting societies and their competitive traditions coupled with his knowledge of Masonic rituals may have influenced the formation of the Knuckle Club at Blackheath.

Another figure of great prominence and influence who merits close examination is William St Clair of Roslin. St Clair was a skilled athlete who claimed the Musselburgh Arrow on six occasions, the Royal Company of Archers' Silver Bowl six times, the Goose Prize five times, and the Edinburgh Arrow three times. As a golfer he was equally successful, winning the Gentlemen Golfers' Silver Club in 1761, 1766, 1770, 1771, and the St Andrews Silver Club in 1764, 1766, 1768, serving as Captain in each of his victorious years. St Clair was also instrumental in changing St Andrews links from twenty-two holes to the now standard eighteen-hole layout.³⁸ Just as important, though, is St Clair's

³⁶ Duncan married Margaret Dalrymple on 5 January 1781. Margaret was the daughter of Col. Cambel Dalrymple, respected longtime member of the Gentlemen Golfers.

³⁷ Honourable Company of Edinburgh Golfers, *Minute Book, 2 July 1768* (Acc. 11208, No. 1).

³⁸ Robert Clark, *Golf a Royal and Ancient Game* (London: Macmillan, 1893), 71. St Andrews had 12-holes of which ten were played twice, totalling an overall layout of twenty-two-holes. St. Clair persuaded the membership to consolidate the first four holes into two longer holes. The 18-hole format became standard throughout the world.

hereditary claim to Grand Masonry via the Sinclair (St Clair) Charters of 1600, as he served as Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Scotland in 1736. St Clair laid the foundation stone of the Golfing Company's new Leith Golf House and was instrumental in its development and construction.³⁹ In the description of the cornerstone ceremony in the 2 July 1768 Minutes, St Clair is described as, "The Undoubted representative of the Honourable and Heritable G.M.M. (Grand Master Mason) of Scotland". St Clair served as President of the RCA Council from 1768 to 1778, during the construction of Archers Hall. A well-known full-length portrait of St Clair in golfing stance, by Sir George Chalmers, hangs in RCA.⁴⁰ Duncan and St. Clair are two of the many influential individuals who introduced and encouraged Masonic traditions as part of the structure of early golfing societies.

Without question, the societal world of gentlemen and noblemen was so small that a network of influence resulting in commonalities of administrative and social traditions became inevitable. The list of gentlemen with common ties to 18th-century societies and competitions is extensive. John Rattray, for example, was also a successful member of the Royal Company of Archers, claiming the Silver Bowl on seven occasions, the Edinburgh Arrow twice, and the Goose Prize once. Robert Douglas, as previously stated, served the RCA, Golfing Company, and the St Andrews gentlemen. Some additional prominent RCA members to win competitions include the Earl of Elgin (St Andrews Silver Arrow, 1751), The Hon. Francis Charteris (Golfing Company Silver Club, 1750), and Thomas Boswell (Golfing Company Silver Club, 1758). The University of St Andrews Silver Arrow also spawned future sporting society champions, including Alexander Duncan, James Leslie (1720) who won the Golfing Company Silver Club in 1748, and Sir Robert Henderson (1739) who claimed the Golfing Company Silver Club in 1748. Finally, the Earl of Wemyss, a ubiquitous figure in golf in St Andrews and contributor towards the production of their Silver Club, won the RCA Silver Bowl in 1720, the Musselburgh

³⁹ Honourable Company of Edinburgh Golfers, *Sederant Books of the Subscribers for Building Golf House*, 23 April 1768-27 Nov. 1779 (Acc. 11208, No. 2), 23 April 1768; 31 July 1769.

⁴⁰ George Chalmers, *William St. Clair*, Oil on Canvas, 1771, Royal Company of Archers, Edinburgh; The portrait of St Clair is said to have hung in the Honourable (Golfing) Company Golf House in Leith until the contents were dispersed. The sale of the Golf House contents is thought to have taken place around 29 August 1833, and included portraits and Dining Room furnishings. Robert Clark, *Golf a Royal and Ancient Game* (London: Macmillan, 1893), xxv.

Arrow in 1748, and served the Company as Brigadier in 1724, Lt. General in 1726, and ascended to the office of Capt. General in 1743.⁴¹

This foundation behind us, we can now approach the subject of golf's early convivial punch bowls and awards, gaining a better understanding of the point from which the game expanded internationally.

⁴¹ Ian Hay, *The Royal Company of Archers: 1676 – 1951* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons Ltd., 1951); George Pottinger, *Muirfield and the Honourable Company* (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1972); University of St Andrews, University of St Andrews Museum, *Archery Medals*; Peter Lewis, *Just Rewards: A Survey of the History of Medals and Trophies in Golf 1744-1859* (Academic Survey, ca. 2000).

CHAPTER 3 - Convivial and Commemorative Wares of the First Golfing Societies

The members of the various social clubs that developed in 18th-century Scotland and England generally held positions of high standing within their communities. A wide assortment of lords, land owners, military men, university professors, merchants, clergy, surgeons, and public officials, all coexisted harmoniously in the same society. The diversity within the membership is reflected in the Golfing Company *Bet Books*, which recount regular games between men of varied professional backgrounds.¹ Collectively, society gentlemen and noblemen formed relationships that widened their social and professional sphere. The alliances among the members effectively served as a recruiting mechanism for other societies, resulting in a chain of common membership throughout society life in Great Britain.

Eighteenth-century life for gentlemen and noblemen, in addition to any of their professional duties, carried a full agenda of leisure activities, meetings, and social obligations. The numerous society commitments fostered a lifestyle of great camaraderie and convivial gatherings. Society men enjoyed active days of colourful discourse and friendly wagers, usually followed by large dinners with heavy drinking, gambling, dancing, and the occasional companionship of "ladies of the evening." This tradition of high living and revelry relied heavily upon the support of the local public houses, but ultimately prompted successful and active societies to build their own facilities.

The gentlemen of the Golfing Company, doubtless tired of reliance upon Mrs Clephane or Mrs Straiton, eventually resolved to construct their own club house in Leith, 1768.² The Golf House in Leith was popular at first, but was continually plagued by financial instability. When Leith fell upon hardships in the early 1830s, likely to the point where the links were deemed unplayable, the Sheriff ordered the sale of the contents of Golf House.

¹ Honourable Company of Edinburgh Golfers, *Bet Book* (Edinburgh: Special Collections, National Library of Scotland, ca.1790, Acc. 11208).

² Honourable Company of Edinburgh Golfers, *Sederunt Books of the Subscribers for Building of the Golf House, 23 April 1768 – 27 Nov. 1779* (Edinburgh: Special Collections, National Library of Scotland, Acc. 11208, No. 2), Special Collections: National Library of Scotland, 31 July 1769, 23 April 1768; The final bill for the construction of Golf House came to £415.2.1. The golfers were pleased with the standard of the construction and offered a bonus of £21 to Mr. Peacock, the undertaker of the work, for a job well done. The two-winged building featured a stable, club makers' row, shop, and a walled garden with trees. Including earlier expenditures, the total came to £583.14.5, which exceeded their initial estimate of £550. Thus, the contributing members were again assessed £5 each to cover the expenses. Soon thereafter, the construction of a bowling green was permitted in back of the Golf House.

The house sold later in 1834 for £1,130.³ While few details are known of the club house's contents or the specifics of any transactions, the sale is thought to have taken place on 29 August 1833, and included household furniture, rugs, cut crystal, silver plate, dining room services, and an array of artwork. Portraits of William St Clair, James Balfour, John Gray, John Taylor, and Lord Drummore are presumed to have been part of the sale.⁴ The full-length golfing oil of William St Clair of Roslin was purchased by the Royal Company of Archers and currently hangs in Archers' Hall. In the portrait, St Clair is depicted in traditional Golfing Company attire, standing at address to a featherball while gripping a longnose wood.⁵

Another well-known golfing portrait that may have been part of the sale depicted Edinburgh Surgeon William Inglis, Captain of the Golfing Company from 1782 to 1784.⁶ The portrait of Inglis, completed ca. 1788 by David Allan, is perhaps the best-known of Allan's many golf images. In this painting, Inglis poses in grand style with his left hand on hip and right hand holding a longnose spoon. All details of the painting speak to the self-importance of the subject, who is formally clad with a society-crested red coat, breeches, and three-pointed cap. Allan positioned a young, indigent caddie, holding three longnose clubs under his arm, slightly behind and to the left of the golfer. In the background, the procession of the silver club serpentines across Leith Links, approaching Inglis from behind. The subject stands gazing across the links with his back to the procession, supremely confident in and expectant of his rightful golfing status. In preparation for the final oil painting, Allan produced a watercolour study of Inglis and a

³ For a review of information pertaining to the sale, C. B. Clapcott's, *The Honourable Company of Edinburgh Golfers on Leith Links* (Edinburgh: Self Published, 1939); See also, James Scott Marshall, *The Life and Times of Leith* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, Ltd., 1986), 58; Robert Clark, *Golf: a Royal and Ancient Game* (London: Macmillan, 1893), 40; Rev. John Kerr, *The Golf-Book of East Lothian* (Edinburgh: T and A Constable, 1896), 210-212.

⁴ Sir George Chalmers, *William St Clair*, Oil on Canvas, ca. 1770, Royal Company of Archers, Edinburgh; Sir Henry Raeburn, *James Balfour*, Oil on Canvas; Sir Henry Raeburn, *John Gray, Esq.*; John Watson Gordon, *John Taylor*, Oil on canvas, ca. 1820, National Galleries of Scotland; John Medina, *Lord Drummore*, ca. 1769; Based on accounts of visitors to Golf House, two additional pencil drawings by Raeburn existed, and may have been included in the sale.

⁵ In the portrait, St Clair adopts a closed stance, with his right foot positioned well back of the front foot as he looks towards the observer. This somewhat exaggerated stance is now described as a "hook stance" because of its inclination to impart a right-to-left flight of the ball. The stance and resulting swing would have generated more forward roll and overall distance, which was a necessary device in the featherball era, and evidently quite effective for St Clair.

⁶ David Allan, *William Inglis*, Oil on Canvas, ca. 1784, National Galleries of Scotland.

line drawing study of the silver club procession. The drawing, signed “D. Allan. 1787.” shows the town guard consisting of three military pensioners parading with the Silver Club in ceremonial fashion.⁷ A listing of Golfing Company expenses for the year 1788 mentions, “To Mr. Allan Painter: 12.12 – April 1.”⁸ This is very likely the time that he executed the portrait of William Inglis and produced the ancillary artworks relating to the procession of the silver club.

Allan indeed played a vital role in the documentation of early society golf. He was a native of Alloa, situated due west of Edinburgh on the Firth of Forth. He honed his draughtsmanship while serving a seven-year apprenticeship with the brothers Foulis' Academy of Arts in Glasgow. He studied and worked in Italy *ca.* 1766 to 1777, earning the prestigious St Luke Academy Prize Medal for best historical composition in 1773. Allan next resided in London for two years before returning home to Edinburgh, where he eventually assumed the post of Master and Director of the Academy of Arts.⁹ During the time between his arrival back in Edinburgh in 1780 and his death in 1796, Allan transcribed the events of Scottish life through drawings, paintings, and etchings. He excelled at capturing the essence of his surroundings through location drawings as a visual reporter of 18th-century Scottish life. Fortunately for golf historians, he developed a passion for golf that inspired some of his best-known images. Allan was granted an honorary membership by the Golfing Company on 14 May 1785, which no doubt encouraged the production of his later golfing artworks.¹⁰

Another Allan image, depicting a tiny swinging golfer in horizontal oval, remains of pre-eminent importance to our present discussion of convivial and commemorative golfing wares (Figures 3.1, 3.2). The figure in the oval is depicted wearing Golfing Company attire while at the top of a forceful swing. Edinburgh appears faintly in the distance behind the figure, and stylised whirling clouds spread across the sky at the top of the oval.

⁷ David Allan, *Silver Club Procession*, Pen and wash on paper.

⁸ Honourable Company of Edinburgh Golfers, *Minute Book* (Edinburgh: Special Collections, National Library of Scotland, Acc. 11208, No. 3), 1 April 1788.

⁹ Peter M. McEwan, *Dictionary of Scottish Art & Architecture* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, England: Antique Collectors' Club Ltd., 1988), 43-44.

¹⁰ Alastair Johnston, *The Clapcott Papers* (Edinburgh: Privately published, 1985), 100-101; Robert Clark, *Golf a Royal and Ancient Game* (London: Macmillan, 1893), 43, 51.

Surrounding it are Greek key and dotted borders, surmounted by a flowing ribbon. The bottom of the oval incorporates crossed longnose woods amidst a garland of thistle. Draped from the end of each golf club is a banner bearing the Latin motto, "*VI ET ARTE*," meaning "By Strength and Skill."

The topic of a certificate of membership had been discussed by the Golfing Company in the minutes of 27 September 1783, and again at the 18 October 1783 meeting. At the latter meeting it was formally decided that Company golfers "shall have a diploma or certificate of membership" at the cost of "½ Guinea."¹¹ The diplomas were designed by David Allan and incorporated the oval emblem of the swinging golfer positioned at the top centre of the page (Figure 3.2). Arched above the Allan emblem appeared "Links of Leith" in script. The word "Golf" appeared on the lower left of the emblem, with "House" written on the opposing flank. In the Minutes of the 22 April 1784 meeting, the specifics regarding the production of the diplomas were listed:¹²

Designing & writing the diploma.....1.1.0
Engraving & printing 80 copys of do.....6.19.0
20 skins of velum & parch. For do..... 5.0.0

Allan may have been awarded his honorary membership for supporting the design and production of the diplomas, which occurred concurrently. Local printer Daniel Lizar produced the Golfing Company diplomas, per the Minutes of 16 March 1785, and 17 February 1786.¹³ A secondary design subsequent to the original production of the diplomas featured the *double-entendre* motto, "STIFF SHAFTS AND HARD BALLS" (Figure 3.3). The new emblem which was later used in place of the Allan badge, featured crossed longnose woods intertwined with a thistle plant. Original Golfing Company diplomas have surfaced bearing inscriptions that predate the assumed first production run *ca.*1784, but these were intentionally backdated by the recipient to reflect his initial entry into the club.¹⁴

¹¹ Honourable Company of Edinburgh Golfers, *Minute Book* (Edinburgh: Special Collections, National Library of Scotland, Acc. 11208, No. 3), 27 September 1783, 18 October 1783.

¹² *Ibid.*, 22 April 1784.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 16 March 1785, 17 Feb. 1786.

¹⁴ Alastair J. Johnston and James F. Johnston, *The Chronicles of Golf 1457-1857* (Cleveland: Privately Published, 1993), n.289.

The Allan golf emblem takes on additional significance through its use as a badge on a series of 18th-century Chinese export convivial punch bowls. The first of the convivial bowls examined in the present investigation is among the earliest known ceramic pieces that incorporates a golf motif (Figure 3.4). The "Qianlong Bowl" as it is known, was discovered by a fine art dealer in 1990s and brokered through a London antique dealer to a private golf collector in Spain. The bowl measures approximately 14" (35.6cm) in diameter and incorporates decorative border designs around the outer top rim and the foot. The top rim decoration features a series of sequential gold stars set within a narrow band of blue, above a secondary spear-head border. The base band decoration is a simple chain of interconnected blue and red dots. All of the border elements, which are neither purely Chinese nor European in design, are typical of *chinoiserie* wares decorated in Canton during the late 18th century.¹⁵ The design elements within the Allan golfer badge are faithfully reproduced from the diploma, including the oval Greek key and dotted borders, the flowing ribbon, crossed clubs, sprig of thistle, and the draped banner bearing the motto, *VI ET ARTE*. Artistic licence has been taken with the colouration of the image, which expands upon the original black and white emblem, particularly in the various bold clouds that earlier appeared as faint background in the Golfing Company diploma.

The "Qianlong Bowl" is now displayed in a private golf museum in the clubhouse at Valderrama Golf Club in San Roque, Cadiz, Spain, alongside other extremely rare golf artefacts. It serves as a fine example of Chinese export armorial ware from the period of the Qing Dynasty (1644 - 1911) under Emperor Qianlong (1736 - 1795). To understand fully the connection of the bowl to the Golfing Company, we must first discuss the time-consuming and logistically complicated process by which the order would have been placed through the British East India Company, and fulfilled halfway around the world.

The London East India Trading Company received its Royal Charter in December 1600, employing a team of "Supra-Cargo" vessels to carry out trade with China. Initially, export trade consisted of fabrics, glassware, mirrors, guns and swords, spectacles, clocks, and chests of money. Imports primarily centred on china wares, tea, silks, and spices.¹⁶

¹⁵ John Goldsmith Phillips, *China-Trade Porcelain* (Ipswich: W.S. Cowell Ltd., ca.1955), 57-59.

¹⁶ Geoffrey A. Godden, *Oriental Export Market Porcelain – and its influence on European Wares* (London: Granada, 1979), 34.

Anglo-Chinese relations were generally slow due to the unwillingness of the Chinese to fully adopt the concept of free trade. Heavy restrictions eased slightly in the early 1700s with concessions to permit the foreign “sea devils” to set foot on Chinese mainland. By the middle of the century, *Hongs*, or factories, were constructed and rented out to trading nations at very high rates. The *Hongs* were situated in the port city of Canton (formerly *Guangzhou*,) which supplanted Macao as the main trading hub. The *Hongs* served as warehouses for imported goods for sale in China, and holding centres for materials awaiting the return voyage. Despite the constant threat of fire and damage, thirteen *Hongs* were eventually built for trading nations including Australia, Belgium, Denmark, France, Great Britain, Holland, Sweden, and the United States.¹⁷ The image of the row of *Hongs* itself became a popular and romantic scene, depicted in numerous 18th-century paintings and punch bowls.¹⁸

A "Supra-Cargo" council was initiated by the East India Company to reside in Canton, controlling all sales and purchases. Resident Directors were afforded the finest treatment, complete with luxury accommodation, staff, and clerks to assist with the conduct of daily business. Crew members and tradesmen, on the other hand, were relegated to rough living conditions twelve miles down-river in Wampoa, where the vessels were anchored. During the latter half of the 17th century, Supra-Cargoes acted on the request of the East India Co. Court of Directors in London for their porcelain purchases, largely influenced by the successes of previous shipments. Some East Indiamen contained hundreds of tons of porcelain, primarily in large quantities of similar patterns. The consistency in design made the most sense from a purchasing perspective, as bulk quantities could be obtained for significantly less money. Another purchasing tactic was to acquire remaining quantities of porcelain from the previous season at discounted prices. The china was packed low in the

¹⁷ Daniel Nadler, *China to Order: Focusing on the XIXth Century and Surveying Polychrome Export Porcelain Produced During the Qing Dynasty, 1644 – 1908* (Paris: Vilo International, 2001), 42-49. A series of fires ravaged the *Hongs* in 1743, 1822, and then again in 1856. The last fire was a protest from the Chinese during the Opium Wars.

¹⁸ "Old China Still Packs a Punch," *The Sunday Times (London)*, 16 March 2003, Section 6: Money, 10; The article discusses the *Export of the China Trade* sale at Bonham's, 18 March 2003, and specifically references a China punch bowl featuring a detailed scene of the two-story *Hongs* of the Canton waterfront (illus.); For examples of paintings and punch bowls depicting the *Hongs* on the waterfront in Canton, see Geoffrey A. Godden, *Oriental Export Market Porcelain – and its influence on European Wares* (London: Granada, 1979), 101, Fig.16; John Goldsmith Phillips, *China-Trade Porcelain* (Ipswich: W.S. Cowell Ltd., ca.1955), 14-17, Fig. 8, 10; Daniel Nadler, *China to Order: Focusing on the XIXth Century and Surveying Polychrome Export Porcelain Produced During the Qing Dynasty, 1644 – 1908* (Paris: Vilo International, 2001), 42-48, Fig. 19-26.

ship's hold below the chests of tea and other goods, and was thus frequently damaged during the long return voyage.

The difficult and unprofitable nature of shipping china ware is seen in a letter, dated 1786, from an East India Co. official in Canton, stating, "Chinaware has for many years past been a losing article and appears to have been continued in the investment from its uses in forming flooring for the ship to preserve the teas from damage, but the losses thereon are at present so considerable, we have it in contemplation to discontinue the importation of it in future, at present, however, we have not proceeded...." The same letter continues, "The result of this communication has been an application in the part of the owner...requesting permission to floor the ship with half chests of China ware in lieu of ballast."¹⁹ The majority of Chinese porcelain destined for Great Britain during this time was either the East India Company's own imports, or wares imported as private trade. Ultimately, Company trading of porcelain ceased in 1791, and an increase in duty instituted 1799 left only the possibility of private trade brought back by ship captains, officers, and crewmen.²⁰

The reign of Emperor Qianlong was marked by peace, prosperity, and great importance placed on the advancement of the arts. The Emperor moulded his image, and trade policies, on those of his beloved grandfather, Emperor Kangxi (1662 - 1722). Qianlong maintained strict controls over trade during his reign, strangling expansion of any significance. He, like his predecessors, demonstrated interest and involvement in the porcelain industry, helping the Chinese product attain an unmatched standard. The traditional polychrome decoration style of *Famille Rose* continued, sometimes in combination with *Famille Verte*. White-on-white patterns also became prevalent, while rose hues became deeper and stronger. Fine black lines, or *grisaille*, were used more extensively for greater definition of detail and shading. Wares were produced via an assembly-line method that utilised teams to manage specific decorations, such as borders,

¹⁹ Hon. East India Company, *The Court Letters 1784 – 1787, Vol. 1* (London: Special Collections, British Library, R-10/Court Letters/Vol.1), 12 April 1786; Geoffrey A. Godden, *Oriental Export Market Porcelain – and its influence on European Wares* (London: Granada, 1979), 34-54. By the 1777-8 season, it is stated by Godden that a shipment of 348 tons delivered by eight vessels included but two enamelled patterns and four overglaze blue designs.

²⁰ Geoffrey A. Godden, *Oriental Export Market Porcelain – and its influence on European Wares* (London: Granada, 1979), 55.

bands, traditional interior and exterior scenes, and custom armorials or personages.²¹

During the Qianlong period, ornate and richly decorated porcelain punch bowls became a prized commission in Great Britain. A majority of bowls were specially-ordered through the *Co-Hong* in Canton, and sent subsequently for production in the distant inland mountain village of Jingdezhen.²²

Jingdezhen (*Ching-te-chen, Chingtechen, King-te-tching*) was for 2,000 years the centre of china production in the world. One primary reason the village thrived in this capacity was due to a remarkably white china clay called *Kaolin*, which appeared throughout the region in abundance. Jingdezhen's remote location, however, made the task of transporting china wares a complex and dangerous task. Completed wares shipped from Jingdezhen to Canton followed a circuitous route over mountain ranges and on water, totalling 1,600 miles.²³ The method by which porcelain was ordered in Canton, forwarded to Jingdezhen for production, and returned via a complicated and treacherous route of travel, led to communication problems and eventual production mistakes.²⁴ By the latter half of the 18th century, muffle kilns were introduced in Canton for the purposes of on-site enamel work.

An order for an armorial punch bowl placed *ca.*1784 would have occurred near the end of the East India Company's porcelain trade. Considering the close connections that many of the gentlemen and noblemen of Leith had to the shipping industry, the "Qianlong Bowl" would have been consigned directly through a ship's Captain or high-ranking official in the East India Company. A Golfing Company diploma would have accompanied the order to

²¹ Daniel Nadler, *China to Order: Focusing on the XIXth Century and Surveying Polychrome Export Porcelain Produced During the Qing Dynasty, 1644 – 1908* (Paris: Vilo International, 2001), 60-83.

²² *Ibid.*, 45-46; The *Co-Hong* was a group of eight, and later thirteen, Chinese merchants assembled specifically to manage the factories and their conduct. *Co-Hong* members reported to Provincial officials who were directed by a Viceroy. The Viceroy, in turn, governed Canton, directing all revenues back to the Imperial Court in Peking.

²³ John Goldsmith Phillips, *China-Trade Porcelain* (Ipswich: W.S. Cowell Ltd., *ca.*1955), 1-11; Initially, wares were dispatched to the inland port city of Nanchang, on the Kan River. Once at Nanchang, the wares were transferred by water craft to Nananfu, near the border of the Kiangsi Province. Next, the fragile wares were carried South over steep and rugged terrain through the Meiling Pass until reaching the town of Namyung. From Namyung, the wares were trans-shipped to Canton via the Pearl River.

²⁴ The Chinese commonly misinterpreted English instructions. Consequently, commissioned armorial wares frequently returned with reference notes, such as "my family coat of arms" (with arrow pointing to crest) incorporated into the design of the crest.

serve as reference for the badge on the bowl. The order was then either placed in Canton through the *Co-Hong* for production in Jingdezhen, or an existing punch bowl was located in Canton and enameled and fired on-site with the Allan golf badge. Given the 1784 production date of the diploma, the commission could not have reached China, undergone the potentially lengthy production process, and returned safely to Great Britain much before 1786.

As we have seen from earlier accounts of Golfing Company dinners, a convivial punch bowl of this variety was of the utmost necessity to societies, and thus would have received regular use. According to the 19 January 1782 Golfing Company Minutes, with Captain Alexander Duncan in the Chair, per *Article 5*, "port and punch shall be the ordinary drink of the Society unless upon those days when the silver club and cup is played for, - At these meetings claret or any other liquor more agreeable will be permitted."²⁵ No member took this article to heart more than John Gray, the "Clerk of Betts" in 1783, "A judicious man with a belly, white hair, and decorous black clothes; (he was) famous for drinking punch, holding his tongue, and doing jobs quietly."²⁶ Punch at this time was certainly the drink of choice for many societies. Plant's, *The Domestic Life in Scotland in the Eighteenth Century*, provides an excellent description of the realities of the customs regarding 18th-century drink:

The drinks served at dinner varied according to the district. In the Lowlands at the beginning of the (18th) century, as in England, ale was the ordinary drink except when guests were present. In due course ale was given up, except by old fashioned people, in favour of punch, which was made at first of French brandy, but after 1745 rum. Punch at its best was flavoured with lemons. Many punch-drinkers had yearly contracts for them. A Glasgow dealer, in 1756, offered a regular supply of lemons and oranges throughout the year at a shilling a dozen, with a shilling in the pound discount. Over a hundred people had already paid an annual subscription, and if by any mischance the supply should run out the dealer agreed to let them have fresh lemon juice instead at 2s. a Scots pint. "It is hoped", the advertisement stated, "this method will prevent

²⁵ Honourable Company of Edinburgh Golfers, *Sederunt Books of the Subscribers for Building of the Golf House, 23 April 1768 – 27 Nov. 1779*, (Edinburgh: Special Collections, National Library of Scotland, (Acc. 11208, No. 2), 31 July 1769, 19 January 1782.

²⁶ Reference to Henry Cockburn's *Memorials of his Time* (Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1856), in C.B. Clapcott's *The Honourable Company of Edinburgh Golfers on Leith Links* (Edinburgh: Self Published, 1939), 42.

the gentlemen's drinking punch with cremitarter in place of lemons, which several has owned their being the worse of it."²⁷

Consuming a legal drink in 18th-century Scotland was not as easy as one might imagine. A 1725 Parliamentary tax on malt eventually forced many brewers and bakers into decline. Taxes and duties in general encouraged the widespread smuggling of tea, wine, brandy, and cambic from Holland, France, and Spain. The tradition of smuggling remained prevalent, especially in Scottish port towns, until restrictions eased in 1806. Illicit whisky stills became commonplace, and by 1778 an estimated 400 unlicensed stills existed in Edinburgh alone.²⁸ The preferred wine of the day was claret, especially until 1780, because it was exempt from duty. The claret in Scotland was deemed to be less potent than that available in England, although markedly better tasting. English connoisseurs regularly ordered their claret from Leith, and excellent port wine was readily available in Edinburgh.²⁹ The gentlemen of the Golfing Company no doubt received assistance in acquiring their spirits from longstanding member Thomas Stoddart, who was noted in the Minutes at the time of his Captaincy in 1769 to be a "wine merchant in Leith."³⁰

The most likely scenario was that a member of the Golfing Company commissioned the "Qianlong Bowl" either for personal use or, more likely, to be placed among the other treasures in Golf House for the enjoyment of the entire membership. If placed into the collection in Leith, the bowl would have been in use between the years of the Golf House completion *ca.* 1786 and until the sale of the contents in 1833. If the bowl was ordered by the club, it would have remained in the collection at the time of the sale, but no mention of the bowl was made in the sale, only a general noting of "services." Therefore, it is most likely that it was either privately ordered by a member of the club and "retrieved by the

²⁷ Marjorie Plant, *The Domestic Life in Scotland in the Eighteenth Century* (Edinburgh: University Press, 1952), 120. Advertisement in Plant quote appeared in *Glasgow Journal*, 12 January 1756.

²⁸ Henry G. Graham, *The Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1901), 530.

²⁹ Marjorie Plant, *The Domestic Life in Scotland in the Eighteenth Century* (Edinburgh: University Press, 1952), 120-121; Hugo Arnot, *The History of Edinburgh: From the Earliest Accounts to the Present Time* (Edinburgh: William Creech, 1788).

³⁰ Honourable Company of Edinburgh Golfers, *Minute Book, 2 April 1744 – 13 March 1781* (Edinburgh: Special Collections, National Library of Scotland, Acc. 11208, No. 1), 1769; Stoddart was a prominent member of the Golfing Company for many years. He served as Captain in 1769, won the Silver Cup in 1778, 1791, 1792, 1794, and earned the Gold Medal in 1792.

commissioner” prior to the sale, or used in the home of a member.³¹ No documentation has yet surfaced that would assist in determining the whereabouts of the bowl in the intervening years after the Golf House sale and prior to a London antique dealer's discovery of the bowl in 1990s.

By no means was the Golfing Company the only society to enjoy convivial traditions that necessitated the frequent use of a punch bowl. On the contrary, we know of many popular 18th-century societies that possessed convivial punch bowls. But the connection of the Golfing Company's "Qianlong Bowl" to the ceremonial and convivial wares at Royal Blackheath and the Knuckle Club was uncommonly close. Blackheath presently owns two Chinese armorial punch bowls, also from the Qianlong period, and a series of four armorial “Joram” jugs bearing the seals of Blackheath Golf Club and the Knuckle Club (Figures 3.5, 3.6).³²

The first Blackheath example, which offers the closest comparison to the “Qianlong Bowl” is a 14” (35.6cm) Chinese export porcelain punch bowl (bowl “A”) with bilateral badges featuring the David Allan golfer from the Golfing Company diploma (Figure 3.5). In contrast to the David Allan scene appearing on the “Qianlong Bowl,” the Blackheath bowl “A” features a slightly more developed palette, as the ribbons are executed in *famille rose*, the clouds appear in a series of stylised blue swirls, and the trees and background incorporate a fairly heavily applied *famille verte* palette. Blackheath bowl “A” also includes a series of multi-coloured floral vignettes in hues of rose, green, blue, and burgundy, counter-positioned to the golf badges. A third floral vignette appears centred in the basin of the bowl, totalling three floral vignettes and two golf badges. All of the decorations appear to be underglaze with polychrome overglaze, which is indicative of work produced at Canton in the late 18th century. Bowl “A” incorporates a "diapered" band design on the exterior and interior of the top rim, with a secondary spear-head band

³¹ Robert Clark, *Golf a Royal and Ancient Game* (London: Macmillan, 1893) 11 - 13; Rev. John Kerr (Ed.), *The Golf Book of East Lothian*, (Edinburgh: Constable, 1896). For a review of information pertaining to the sale, see also: C.B. Clapcott, *The Honourable Company of Edinburgh Golfers on Leith Links* (Edinburgh: Self Published, 1939); James Scott Marshall, *The Life and Times of Leith* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, Ltd., 1986), 58.

³² *Golf Illustrated*, “An Interesting Find” (London: Golf Illustrated, 17 August 1906), 148. A Joram is defined as “A large drinking vessel, or its contents.”

beneath. A matching "diapered" band appears on the footrest rim of the bowl. The rim bands are executed in various densities of underglaze-blue with overglaze-gilding.

The differences and similarities between the Blackheath bowl "A" and the "Qianlong Bowl" are noteworthy in determining their possible connection. The punch bowls are the same size, and all bear bilateral golf badges. Each features two secondary floral badges on a counter-axis to the golf badges, plus another centred in the basin of the bowl. The palette of the Blackheath bowls is more active and vibrant than the colourations in the "Qianlong Bowl." The golfer on the badge of the "Qianlong Bowl" is painted in a more naive style than that of the Blackheath bowl, depicted with a much wider stance and more exaggerated posture. The differing technique and palette of the golfing badges indicate the work of two different artists. The "Qianlong Bowl" bears a different style of banding to the Blackheath bowl. The various differences and similarities of the bowls indicate that the work was completed around the same timeframe, undoubtedly in Canton, but as separate commissions.

The second Blackheath punch bowl (bowl "B") is virtually identical in size and construction to Bowl "A" but features differing decoration that may provide an answer as to how and through whom the Blackheath commission was placed. Bowl "B" includes the Knuckle Club shield and the motto, "*Dulce Periculum*," which appears on the outside of the bowl.³³ Importantly, the opposite side of the bowl displays a coat of arms from the McAlla family, which indicates the participation of Blackheath member George M. Macaulay.³⁴ Macaulay was noted in the 1787 Blackheath membership list, and subsequently served as Captain of the club in 1793. Originally from Uist, Macaulay eventually moved to London and became an Alderman of Coleman Street Ward, and later Sheriff. He was noted throughout his professional career to be very active and influential

³³ *Golf Illustrated*, "An Interesting Find" (London: Golf Illustrated, August 17, 1906), 148, 149. Above the Knuckle Club shield appears the crest, "a boot coupled at the ankle, thereupon a spur all proper." *Dulce Periculum* is literally translated to "Sweet Risk."

³⁴ *Ibid*, 149. The McAlla crest is described as "Gules, two arrows in saltire argent, surmounted by a fess chequy of the second and first, between three buckles within a bordure indented."

in the shipping industry, and even maintained annual shipping routes to China, Australia, and India at personal expense.³⁵

According to the extracts of the Blackheath *Goff Club Cash Book*, dated 1 April 1789, club Treasurer Charles Kensington writes: "April 1: To Paid for China bowls in Deca. 17866.6.0."³⁶ Noting that club accounts state that "bowls" were purchased and that the McAlla family arms appeared on one of the acquisitions it is then likely that Alderman Macaulay handled the logistics of the commission on behalf of the club.

In addition to the Chinese-made punch bowls, Blackheath possesses four covered gallon "Joram" jugs (Figure 3.6.) The opaque jugs are of thicker and heavier construction than the porcelain punch bowls, appearing more in the style of creamware. Each jug features a series of decorative bands in blue and gold-leaf decoration. The covers incorporate a gilded "foo-dog" finial, which was a frequently used element in *chinoiserie* between 1780 and 1830. The jugs feature a lightly braided strap handle, also commonly seen in *chinoiserie*, enhanced with an ornate raised leaf design at the point where the handles meet the body. As with the punch bowls, the jugs also possess the same decorative bilateral rose badges. A circular emblem in gold leaf is positioned under the spout on the front of each example. Two of the jugs are marked "Blackheath Golf Club," while the other two are marked "Blackheath Knuckle Club." One of each pair of jugs is marked, "Treasurer's Jug." The jugs, whose shape was also commonly termed a "cider today" or "lemonade jug," were surely used by the Blackheath and Knuckle Club members during dinner and ceremonies for the purposes of pouring claret. All four examples, which measure approximately 9" (22.9cm) in height, have an unglazed bottom and no distinguishable markings.

The four Blackheath jugs are thought to have been made in China, although there are no club records to verify this. European manufacturers, such as Wedgwood and Meissen produced *chinoiserie* of similar shape and style to the Blackheath examples during the time of their use. The European wares, including baluster vases and chocolate pots, also

³⁵ Macaulay's ship *Pitt* was in the East India Company's service in 1788 and was noted to have brought back two cargoes from China the following year via *Pitt* and *Lady Penrhyn*. For more information on Macaulay see, Alderman G. M. Macaulay, *The War Diary of a London Scot* (Paisley: Alexander Gardner, 1916).

³⁶ Royal Blackheath Golf Club, *Goff Club Cash Book*, Extracts from Club Accounts (London: Royal Blackheath Archives), 1 April 1789.

featured common *chinoiserie* design elements, such as the braided strap handle and "foo-dog" finial. Because the production quality is quite inferior to the Chinese punch bowls, we now deduce that the Blackheath Jugs were probably not produced in China, though no marks assist in making a determination one way or another.³⁷ Considering that the Knuckle Club formed long after the commission of the China punch bowl in 1786, the jugs could not have been part of the same order.

In "An Interesting Find," published in the 17 August 1906 (British) *Golf Illustrated*, we find some historical clarification regarding the Blackheath collection. The article notes that the specimens of china were sold along with other furniture and effects in 1867 during the renovation of the old "Green Man" Inn.³⁸ Years later it came to the attention of club members that the six china pieces were purchased by a collector, whereupon they were re-acquired by the club. This is particularly revealing when considering the possibility that the "Qianlong Bowl" may have suffered a similar fate in the sale of artefacts and furniture from the Golf House in 1833.

While it does not appear that Alderman Macaulay had any ties to the Golfing Company or the "Qianlong Bowl" there was no shortage of Gentlemen at Blackheath who may provide a link between the two commissions. If the Golfing Company diplomas were issued sometime after 22 April 1784, as the club minutes state, and the process of the commission took more than two years to complete, then the work on the bowls must have taken place concurrently. In other words, it was not possible for a gentleman golfer to view the completed "Qianlong Bowl" and place his own order for Royal Blackheath. The bowls must have therefore been separately commissioned by individuals who shared membership or familial ties. The connection between the two bowls may simply come from the great awareness of club practices that early golfing societies had with each other which often resulted in the "borrowing" of traditions. As we have seen in the case of the silver club

³⁷ Daniel Nadler, *China to Order: Focusing on the XIXth Century and Surveying Polychrome Export Porcelain Produced During the Qing Dynasty, 1644 – 1908* (Paris: Vilo International, 2001), 103, Fig. 84, 106, Fig. 89. Nadler illustrates a cider tody or lemonade jug similar to the Blackheath jorams in fig. 84. The traditional "foo-dog" finial is evident on the baluster vase in fig. 89; Wolf Mankowitz, *Wedgwood* (London: Barrie and Jenkins, 1980), 14. Mankowitz illustrates a Wedgwood covered jug #604 in creamware, ca.1817.

³⁸ Ian T. Henderson and David I. Stirk, *Royal Blackheath* (London: Privately Printed, 1995), 36, 43. Club members met every Saturday at the "Green Man" Hotel and Tavern, Blackheath, which was rebuilt in 1869.

competitions, formal club attire, rules of play, social traditions, etc., the Golfing Company maintained a sphere of influence amongst the early golfing societies.

For a possible link between the “Qianlong Bowl” and the Blackheath Bowls we must explore the common membership of the clubs, and in particular, Blackheath Members in 1786 who would have possessed a Golfing Company diploma. For this, we need not look far beyond Alexander Duncan.

As discussed in Chapter 2, Duncan possessed an uncommon understanding and body of experience within society life in the 18th century. As Captain of the Golfing Company in 1771, and an active member for many years, he would certainly have held a diploma. Moreover, Duncan understood the importance and significance of a punch bowl in the proceedings of the society. His direct link to Blackheath as their Captain in 1766 and 1767, places him atop the list of potential commissioners.

Yet Duncan is not the only gentleman to hold a membership at Blackheath and the Golfing Company. The 4 January 1783 Golfing Company Minutes state that "James Kerr of Blackheath was proposed as a member by Mr. Robert Allan."³⁹ Other possible double members, listed in the Blackheath Minute Book *ca.* 1787, were James Fraser, James Lindsay, Alexander Learmont, and Alexander Dalrymple. Significantly, Blackheath and the Golfing Company took part in a challenge match on 5 March 1783; the combatants in the match are thought to be John Learmont, Sr. and Willy Grant competing for the Golfing Company side, and William Innes and Alexander Learmont for Blackheath. Alexander Learmont, who became Blackheath's Captain later in 1783, was the eldest son of Golfing Company member John Learmont, Sr.⁴⁰ A family such as the Learmonts, prominent in the memberships of both golfing societies at the time of the commissions could provide the ideal link between the bowls. Another account in the Golfing Company *Betts Book* states, "Capt. Ja.s Dalrymple betts one guinea that he wins against Mr. Lindsay from Blackheath." The various accounts of interplay amongst Royal Blackheath and the Golfing Company

³⁹ Honourable Company of Edinburgh Golfers, *Minute Book* (Edinburgh: Special Collections, National Library of Scotland, Acc. 11208, No. 3), 4 January 1783.

⁴⁰ Royal Blackheath Golf Club, *Goff Club Cash Book*, Extracts from Club Accounts, (Blackheath: Royal Blackheath Archives, 1787); Alistair J. Johnston and James F. Johnston, *The Chronicles of Golf 1457-1857* (Cleveland: Privately Published, 1993), 287-289.

between 1783 and 1790 were indicative of a friendly rivalry and clear familiarity among the members.

One additional gentleman worthy of study is Alexander Dalrymple, a member at Blackheath around the time of the commissioning of the bowls. Dalrymple came from a prominent family of sixteen children born to Sir James Dalrymple and Lady Christian Hamilton of Hailes, near Musselburgh.⁴¹ At the age of fifteen, Alexander received the support of his Uncle, Gen. William St Clair, to attain the post of Writer in the service of the Hon. East India Company.⁴² After many years of dedicated service around the world, Alexander was appointed Hydrographer to the East India Company (1779 to 1795), and later became the first Hydrographer to the Admiralty in 1795. Alexander formed a comprehensive understanding of the East India Company's affairs during his many years of experience at sea.⁴³ As Hydrographer, Alexander formed lasting alliances with ship captains and the Admiralty, and he worked closely with East India Company directors and the Court of Proprietors throughout his tenure. Alexander had firsthand experience of the China trade through his stops in Canton and many journeys to the South China Seas. He was also close friends with noted China-trade experts of the day, such as Thomas Fitzhugh.⁴⁴ Certainly, it would have been a simple assignment for Alexander to fulfill the commission of the “Qianlong Bowl” or to assist on behalf of his relatives or many acquaintances who belonged to either golfing society.

⁴¹ Howard T. Fry, *Alexander Dalrymple (1737-1808) and the Expansion of British Trade* (London: Frank Cass & Co., Ltd., 1970), 1-4, *Appendix: Genealogical Table*. Alexander Dalrymple and many of his brothers became terrific successes. His eldest brother, Sir David Dalrymple (Lord Hailes), was admitted member of the Faculty of Advocates in 1748, elevated to the Bench in 1766, appointed Lord Justiciary the same year, and became a distinguished scholar and antiquary. James Dalrymple was Lt. Col. of 1st Bn. Royal Scots. Hugh Dalrymple served as Captain of the *HMS Canada* and *HMS Juno*, and later died at sea. Charles Dalrymple died while a student of medicine. John Dalrymple was a Merchant and Lord Provost of Edinburgh.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 1-4. Gen. William St Clair was married to Sir James Dalrymple's sister, and was thus Uncle to the Dalrymple men. St Clair used his close friendship with Alderman Baker, Chairman of the East India Company, to arrange Alexander Dalrymple's appointment as Writer.

⁴³ In addition to the voluminous collection of nautical charts and maps that Alexander Dalrymple produced during his tenure as Hydrographer, he amassed an impressive bibliography of letters, position papers, poems, memorials, political tracts, memoirs, and written discussions of trade, discoveries, historical accounts, and religion. For a complete bibliography of Alexander Dalrymple's writings, see Howard T. Fry, *Alexander Dalrymple (1737-1808) and the Expansion of British Trade* (London: Frank Cass & Co., Ltd., 1970), *Bibliography*, 281-318.

⁴⁴ Howard T. Fry, *Alexander Dalrymple (1737-1808) and the Expansion of British Trade* (London: Frank Cass & Co., Ltd., 1970), 85, *n53*.

William St Clair of the Golfing Company was clearly on close terms with Alderman Baker, the Chairman of the East India Company. Alexander Dalrymple, eminent Hydrographer to the Hon. East India Company, was listed as a member of Royal Blackheath *ca.*1787. Golfing Company member Sir John Dalrymple, Lord Provost of Edinburgh, was Alexander Dalrymple's brother. In fact, the Golfing Company recorded at least ten Dalrymple men taking part in the silver club competition between the years 1744 and 1796.⁴⁵ Alexander Duncan married Margaret Dalrymple, daughter of Golfing Company member Col. Campbell Dalrymple. Through Alexander Dalrymple, or any other of the gentlemen listed above, we can see strong familial, social, and professional bonds that would facilitate a commission such as the "Qianlong Bowl" or the knowledge of the existence of such a commission which resulted in a similar action being taken by Royal Blackheath. This interconnectivity is indicative of social life as a whole in Great Britain in the late 18th century.

The "Qianlong Bowl" and the collection of china punch bowls and creamware jugs at Royal Blackheath are among the earliest known golf ceramics. Convivial punch bowls were an important component to the traditions of 18th-century social life in Great Britain, and in particular the sporting societies and their members. But the wares used by these societies were intended purely for convivial gatherings. The next bowl in the present discussion, commissioned for the Bow of Fife Golfing Club in 1814, is the earliest known example of a ceramic piece that relates specifically to the commemoration of a golf competition or event (Figure 3.7).

A private vendor in Ramsgate, Kent, discovered the "Bow of Fife Bowl" at the time of a routine call for consignments, which preceded the Phillips 21 January 1994 sale. As is traditional with most major golf sales in Great Britain, the Phillips sale was held in conjunction with the Open Championship at Royal St George's. The bowl was purchased privately at the time of the valuation for an estimated £300-400. The condition of the bowl as it was brought-in for consignment was extremely poor. One newspaper account

⁴⁵ C. B. Clapcott, *The Honourable Company of Edinburgh Golfers on Leith Links* (Edinburgh: Self Published, 1939); The Golfing Company Silver Club competition listed Charles Dalrymple, David Dalrymple, Hew Dalrymple, Hugh Dalrymple, John Dalrymple, Robert Dalrymple, Col. Cambel Dalrymple, and William Dalrymple taking part between the years of 1744 and 1763. In addition, James Dalrymple was Captain in 1791, and John Dalrymple, Lord Provost of Edinburgh, was listed as a member in 1772.

described it as having been "brought in for sale in a dozen pieces and held together with car body filler, with its inscription rubbed and barely legible" (Figures 3.8, 3.9).⁴⁶

Extensive restoration work was carried out on the bowl in preparation for its inclusion in Phillips' 1994 sale, and an estimate was placed at £3,000-5,000. It eventually sold at auction for a record £16,100 to a private golf collector, and is now on view at the Valderrama Golf Club Museum in San Roque, Cadiz, Spain.⁴⁷

The "Bow of Fife Bowl" is an Imari-style punch bowl produced by Josiah Spode, *ca.* 1814. It was described in the auction catalogue as measuring 31.5cm (12.4") in diameter and 14cm (5.5") in height," and "conventionally decorated with peonies and leafage in underglaze blue and reds highlighted with gilt, (and) a blue scroll and insect decorated border..."⁴⁸ The bowl bears the inscribed badge:

Bow of Fife Golfing Club
Prize Medal for 1814
Won by John Pitcairn, Esq.
of Kenneard

The "Bow of Fife Bowl" represents an early 19th-century trend in Europe toward Japanese wares, and in particular, the Imari style. Imari wares originated in the 17th century in the town of Arita, located in the Province of Hizen, on the Western edge of Japan. Arita is much like the Chinese pottery capital, Jingdezhen, as it is situated in a valley that is bordered by high mountains and rugged terrain. Another similarity to Jingdezhen appears in the plentiful supply of kaolin found in the region, driving Arita to become the Japanese hub for porcelain production for centuries. The completed Arita wares became known as 'Imari' to Westerners because they were transhipped and sold in the port town of Imari. Today, the term 'Imari' takes on a wider meaning, generally describing wares decorated in underglaze blue with iron red and gold decoration. Chinese porcelain was superior in its construction to the Japanese wares, which were often grey in tone and coarse in appearance. But the Japanese compensated through their mastery of composition and harmony between figures and their environment, which, when combined with bolder blue

⁴⁶ Courier and Advertiser, "£16,100 for Golf Antique" (Dundee: 22 January 1994).

⁴⁷ The Bow of Fife Bowl was assigned Lot 342. Interestingly, the second highest price fetched in the sale was £8,740 for an original Golfing Company diploma, dated 1800. The collector who purchased the "Bow of Fife Bowl" also owns the "Qianlong Bowl."

⁴⁸ Phillips, *Golfing Memorabilia* (Chester: Phillips, 21 January 1994) 24-25, Lot 342.

and red pigments, translated into an extraordinarily popular product. By 1770 there were sixteen houses of decorators or enamellers at Arita.⁴⁹ Even the Chinese eventually copied the Imari style. These designs spread to the European Continent in large part due to the Dutch East India Company, which maintained an active trading post in Japan.

British and Continental designs emulated and sometimes directly copied Imari patterns, though early Western pieces often lacked a purity of composition that was the hallmark of Japanese artwork. British pottery firms introduced Imari-inspired wares *ca.* 1811, which therefore places the "Bow of Fife Bowl" among the early examples of British Imari wares.⁵⁰ Many decoration styles were taken directly from existing Japanese patterns, but initial designs were often executed in a crowded and clumsy manner. These early European ventures into Japanese-style wares frequently led to confusion and even merger with the existing Chinese designs and styles. Many Japanese styles and patterns were copied from tea boxes or tea paper that featured a recognisable pattern. Leading manufacturers such as Worcester, Derby, and Flight & Barr all produced adaptations based on Imari patterns, occasionally copying or expanding upon the designs of their competitors. Imari wares were met with great favour on the Continent, as most Europeans had not received previous exposure to these designs. The artistry and care taken by Spode compared well against its competitors, as the high demand for Imari resulted in rushed, often incoherent patterns. This period of production was one of great reward for Spode.⁵¹ The firm's existing understanding of Chinese wares influenced its Japanese designs, and this perhaps provides an explanation as to why the traditional Imari pattern on the "Bow of Fife Bowl" features prominently on a Chinese-style punch bowl.

The discovery of the "Bow of Fife Bowl" has created more questions than it has answered. No mention of a Bow of Fife Golfing Club has yet been uncovered. The year 1814 was remarkable only for its dearth of golf, and various struggles of prominent golfing societies for control of their lands and survival.⁵² Politically, Great Britain was engaged in war,

⁴⁹ Soame Jenyns, *Japanese Porcelain* (London: Faber & Faber, 1965), 50.

⁵⁰ Arthur Hayden, *Spode and His Successors* (London: Cassell & Co. Ltd., 1925), 117.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 118-119.

⁵² Alastair J. and James F. Johnston, *The Chronicles of Golf 1457-1857* (Cleveland: Privately Published, 1993), 384-387. In 1812, Crail had dwindled to only eight members who attended the quarterly meeting, resulting in the eventual decision to dissolve the club. The golfers of Burntisland and Elie & Earlsferry were

ending with the Battle of Waterloo in June 1815. Understandably, the mood of the land was far from sporting. Finally, and perhaps most troubling, is that John Pitcairn, Esq., has not once been mentioned in the context of golf.

John Pitcairn was born to David Pitcairn and Euphan Ramsay on January 10, 1769 in the parish of Monimail. His father, David Pitcairn, was an Elder in the Parish of Monimail until the summer of 1801 when the Pitcairns purchased *Kinnaird*, an estate located east of Denmiln in the neighbouring parish of Abdie.⁵³ John Pitcairn became the proprietor of *Kinnaird*, and one of the primary heritors of the parish.⁵⁴ *Kinnaird* lay roughly six miles outside Cupar on the main Cupar-to-Newburgh road.⁵⁵ Pitcairn married Jean Martin in 1808, and he fathered eight children.⁵⁶ In *The New Statistical Account of Scotland (Vol. IX, Fife-Kinross Edition)* he is listed among the *Abdie Accounts of Land Owners* to possess "200 Scotch Acres," and rental of "L.400."⁵⁷ The parish of Abdie, along with

forced to defend their links from growing outside encroachment. Burntisland argued in the Court of Sessions in 1812, while Elie & Earlsferry produced an injunction through the Sheriff of Fife to prevent change of possession of their land. Meanwhile, the Edinburgh Burgess Golfing Society petitioned the Sheriff to issue a summons against Thomas Clark of the Government Military Riding School to prohibit the training on Bruntsfield Links. In 1813, the House of Lords heard the "Dempster Case" to prevent Charles and Cathcart Dempster from breeding rabbits on the St Andrews Links, an issue that inconvenienced golfers for many years.

⁵³ Monimail Parish, *The Session Book of Monimail 1725-1826* (St Andrews: Special Collections, University of St Andrews Library), 192, 195. David Pitcairn is mentioned as an Elder of the Kirk, and an elected representative to the Synod of Presbytery. The 3 August 1801 minutes, note, "By the removal of Mr. Pitcairn to another parish..."

⁵⁴ Sir John Sinclair, *The Statistical Account of Scotland Drawn up from Communications of the Ministers of the Different Parishes, Vol. XIV* (Edinburgh: William Creech), 119. "...The Parish of Abdie has many antiquities, there being 8 mansionhouses in it, Den Mill, Den Muir, Kinnaird, Ayton, Lindores, Wood Mill, Berry Hole, Ormiston, either totally deserted or inhabited by tenants." The population of Abdie in 1789 is listed as 494; For a complete account of the proprietors at Kinnaird, see Sinclair p.335.

⁵⁵ General Register Office Edinburgh, *Scotland - Placenames and Population* (Edinburgh: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1967), 97.

⁵⁶ *The Courier & Advertiser*, North East Fife Edition (Dundee: Saturday 22 January 1994). According to Old Parish Registers for Monimail and Abdie, John Pitcairn had eight children, including Elizabeth in 1811, Martin in 1812, Euphan in 1814, Hope in 1816, Mary in 1818, John in 1820, and Robert Louis in 1825. Pitcairn's wife, Jean Martin, was the daughter of the Monimail Parish minister Samuel Martin, for whom David Pitcairn had served as an Elder.

⁵⁷ Sir John Sinclair, *The New Statistical Account of Scotland (Vol. IX, Fife-Kinross Edition)*, "Abdie Accounts of Land Owners" (Edinburgh: Wm Blackwood & Sons, 1845); John M. Leighton, Esq., *The History of the County of Fife from the Earliest Period to the Present Time* (Glasgow: Joseph Swan, MDCCXL), 148. "The heritors of Abdie are David Maitland Macgill Crichton, Esq., of Rankeilour, proprietor of Grange; Joseph Murray, Esq., of Ayton; the Right Honourable the Earl of Zetland, proprietor of Parkhill; D. Wilson, Esq., of Inchrye; Thomas Watt, Esq., of Denmiln; Henry Buist, Esq., of Berryhole; John Pitcairn, Esq., of Kinnaird; Francis Balfour, Esq., of Fernie; Charles Moyes, Esq., of Lumbenny; and

Monimail and Collessie, was comprised mainly of grand estates and farmlands adjacent to Cupar. The residents and land owners in this agrarian region were inextricably linked to the bustling market town of Cupar. Bow of Fife was situated at the convergence of these three parishes, serving as the primary crossroads for travellers heading north to St Andrews and Dundee, south to Edinburgh, east to Leven, or west to Perth.⁵⁸

Estate and land owners surrounding Bow of Fife were quite well-known to each other, and worked together in support of their mutual interests. Pitcairn is listed in the *Perth Courier* (Tuesday 13 January 1814) as a "Member of the Association for the Protection of Game in the lower part of Strathaven."⁵⁹ The Association met to protect local land owners from trespassers in search of game. In the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* that same year, Pitcairn is noted among the Gentlemen and Noblemen to have been elected "Director" of the Fife Fire Insurance Company.⁶⁰ He maintained the elected position of "Extraordinary Director" of this organization for many years.⁶¹ He was also a well-known and active member of both the Monimail and Abdie parishes for decades. Clearly, Pitcairn was a distinguished member of the community, particularly in the parishes of Abdie, Collessie, Monimail, and Cupar.⁶² The tiny village of Bow of Fife was a merely a crossroads in 1814. Any mention

Admiral F. L. Maitland of Lindores. Of these, Mr. Wilson, Mr. Buist, and Mr. Pitcairn are the only resident proprietors."

⁵⁸ Sir John Sinclair, *The Statistical Account of Scotland Drawn up from Communications of the Ministers of the Different Parishes, Vol. II* (Edinburgh: William Creech), 403. Bow of Fife is thought to have derived its name from bolls of grain, pronounced 'bows'. This is the location, historically, where farmers met to set grain prices.

⁵⁹ *The Perth Courier* (Perth: Tuesday Jan. 13, 1814, No. 310), 1.

⁶⁰ *The Edinburgh Evening Courant* (Edinburgh: Monday May 5, 1814), 1.

⁶¹ *The Fife Herald* (Cupar: Thursday, May 9, 1822, No. 9); *The Fife Herald* (Cupar: Thursday, May 13, 1824, No. 114), 35.

⁶² *Edinburgh Evening Courant* (Edinburgh: Thursday July 14, 1814 No. 16,085). An advertisement in the June 1814 issue states, "At a general meeting of the proprietors of the Edinburgh & Leith Shipping Company, held at McEwan's Rooms this day, the following officers were elected: John Pitcairn, Esq. - President." Less than one month later, at a meeting of the (Edinburgh) Members of the Chamber of Commerce and Manufacturers, a John Pitcairn, Esq. was unanimously elected to the office of "Director." In 1810, a John Pitcairn was instrumental in founding the Commercial Bank of Scotland, serving as the institution's first Chairman, and appearing on the £20 note between the years of 1846 and 1863. This is the same John Pitcairn whose portrait by Sir Henry Raeburn hangs in the Royal Scottish Academy. A John Pitcairn, merchant in Edinburgh, is noted as an owner of a paper factory at this time. In 1811, two John Pitcairns appear on the member roll of the Royal Company of Archers. But these men, while related to John Pitcairn of *Kinnaird*, are not likely the same man. The founder of the Commercial Bank of Scotland, and the subject of the Raeburn painting is John Pitcairn of Pitcairn; he was also owner of the paper mill and member of the Edinburgh Chamber of Commerce. The two members of the Royal Company of Archers were John

of Bow of Fife was almost certainly a de facto reference to its two main estates, *Over Rankeilour* and *Nether Rankeilour*. To learn the origin of the "Bow of Fife Bowl," one must therefore investigate the various gentlemen and noblemen of the region who maintained direct familial ties to the estates.

Over Rankeilour was the residence of General Sir John Hope, second son of John Hope, the Second Earl of Hopetoun. Gen. Sir John Hope was a military veteran who returned home from the Napoleonic Wars wounded.⁶³ The nation regarded Hope as a conquering hero in light of his well-publicised valour in the heat of battle. Upon his homecoming from France in May 1814, Hope was named Lord Niddry, of Niddry Castle. His bravery and resultant rise to the peerage elicited many celebrations across Scotland in his honour, and in particular, at his Fife home.⁶⁴ He was honoured at a public dinner in May at the Tontine Inn in Cupar, attended by inhabitants of the immediate neighbourhood of *Over Rankeilour*.⁶⁵ Gen. Sir John Hope also hosted a gala dinner for various gentlemen and noblemen of the surrounding lands, which was described as "the social event of the year."⁶⁶ As a well-regarded local land owner and gentleman, John Pitcairn would surely have attended these gatherings.

Pitcairn, younger of Pitcairn, and John Kincaid Pitcairn, merchant of Leith. It appears that while John Pitcairn of *Kinnaird* was a well-regarded member of his parish and active participant on various committees and associations, he was primarily a landed proprietor.

⁶³ *Edinburgh Evening Courant* (Edinburgh: January 28, 1814), 63. General Hope's heroics at the Battles of Nive (10 to 13 Dec. 1813) are discussed in this account: "Sir John Hope being in the thick of the enemy's fire, his escape was most providential; His hat was absolutely riddled with musket balls; several shots passed through his clothes, and his knee was slightly hurt by one. His conduct preserved this division of the army from great loss." Hope was wounded in the final sortie of the French Garrison on 14 April 1814, resulting in his return to Scotland.

⁶⁴ *Edinburgh Evening Courant* (Edinburgh: Friday, July 29th, 1814, No. 5278, Vol. CII), 143. "The tenants of Lord Hopetoun's estate, in the parish of Bathgate and others, dined together in the Inn possessed by Alexander Philp, one of the tenants, to testify their joy at Lord Niddry's elevation to the peerage ..."; *Edinburgh Evening Courant* (Edinburgh: August 30th, 1814, No. 5287, Vol. CII), 143. "On Wednesday 10th inst. the Earl of Hopetoun's tenants dined together in the village of Ecclesmachan to testify their joy at Lord Niddry's elevation to the peerage ... In the evening there was a ball and a bonfire, dancing kept up till the early hours"; Another earlier account referenced a celebration that took place in West Lothian at Niddry Castle.

⁶⁵ While travelling the world in his military capacity, Gen. Sir John Hope maintained *Over Rankeilour* as his primary residence. Later, on 14 May 1814, he became Baron of Niddry Castle. After the death of his half-brother James, Third Earl of Hopetoun, in 1816, Gen. Sir John Hope became the 4th Earl of Hopetoun. At that time, *Over Rankeilour* fell to his younger half-brother, Maj. Gen. Charles Hope of Waughton. Maj. Gen. Charles Hope died in 1828, leaving *Over Rankeilour* to his brother, Gen. Sir Alexander Hope.

⁶⁶ *Edinburgh Evening Courant* (Edinburgh: Tuesday 17 May 1814).

A general meeting of the landed interests of Fifeshire took place in the same month, whereupon it was agreed that a subscription would be sold to fund the production of a full-length portrait of Gen. Sir John Hope, "By a first-rate London artist."⁶⁷ John Pitcairn was among the first portrait subscribers. In 1822, upon the completion of the portrait by Sir Henry Raeburn, Pitcairn was again among the first subscribers to receive an India print of the painting.⁶⁸ In August 1822 Pitcairn joined select noblemen and gentlemen of Fife who met for the purposes of preparing a suitable address to his Majesty King George IV, on the occasion of his intended visit to Hopetoun House.⁶⁹ In 1824, with the decision to sell subscriptions for the erection of a monument to the memory of Gen. Sir John Hope, the 4th Earl of Hopetoun, Pitcairn joined a special committee appointed for this purpose.⁷⁰ His name appeared at the head of the list of subscribers, and he later took part in the formal dedication ceremony.⁷¹ The ninety-five foot memorial column to Gen. Sir John Hope can be seen from Pitcairn's *Kinnaird*. As perhaps the most telling indication of the closeness that the two men shared, in 1816 Pitcairn named his son, the fifth child, "Hope."

Clearly, Gen. Sir John Hope, as one of the primary land owners in Bow of Fife, the central figure in the Monimail parish, and a celebrated national hero, would have significant bearing on a supposed Bow of Fife Golfing Club. Gen. Sir John Hope and Pitcairn were not merely neighbours, but close acquaintances at the very least. A Bow of Fife Golfing Club could hardly have existed without the approval and participation of Gen. Sir John Hope, especially considering his standing in the community in 1814. Pitcairn's

⁶⁷ *Dundee, Perth and Cupar Advertiser, 1810-1814* (Cupar: May 27, 1814). The Sir Henry Raeburn portrait hangs in the Cupar town hall.

⁶⁸ *The Fife Herald* (Cupar: Thursday, November 28, 1822, No. 9).

⁶⁹ *The Fife Herald* (Cupar: Thursday, September 5, 1822).

⁷⁰ John 4th Earl of Hopetoun was elected governor of the Royal Bank of Scotland. While travelling in Paris on bank business, he died 27 August 1823 at the age of 57.

⁷¹ *The Fife Herald* (Cupar: August 19, 1824, No 128, cover). Lord Hopetoun's monument had 167 subscriptions. The first name on the list was John Pitcairn, Esq., of Kinnaird, for "5 - 50"; *The Fife Herald* (Cupar: Thursday, March 18, 1824). Pitcairn was among the names of a special committee appointed to gain subscriptions for the purposes of erecting a monument to Gen. Sir John Hope, Earl of Hopetoun; *The Fife Herald* (Cupar: Thursday October 14, 1824, No. 136, p. 123). On Monday 3rd of May the foundation stone of the Hopetoun Monument was laid on top of Byres Hill. In October, the Earl of Hopetoun's Monument was laid with full honours and great participation of the surrounding lodges. A dinner was held in Cupar at the Tontine Inn for the entire procession. The land used for the Hopetoun Monument was also termed "The Mount," which was owned by Gen. Sir John Hope.

consistently generous actions in support of Gen. Sir John Hope suggest that their bond was a close one.

The second of the two primary residences that comprised Bow of Fife was *Nether Rankeilour*, most closely associated with the eminent Fife families, Maitland and Makgill. In 1814 the estate was owned by Col. Charles Maitland Makgill and his wife, Mary Johnstone. Col. Maitland Makgill had fifteen children, including the eventual successor to the estate, David Maitland Makgill Crichton.⁷² Col. Maitland Makgill was the eldest of seven children born to Frederick Lewis Maitland and Margaret Louisa Dick. He was described in Taylor's *Memoir of the Late David Maitland Makgill Crichton of Nether Rankeilour* as a "high-minded country gentleman," though no further description of him is offered. Although he lived in the parish of Collessie, Col. Maitland Makgill's influence spread across many neighboring parishes, primarily as a principal land owner.⁷³ Sinclair records Col. Maitland Makgill among the "ABDIE Land Owners" to possess 1200 Scotch acres, far more than any other heritor. As the main land owner in the parish, Col. Maitland Makgill, along with Pitcairn and others, would bear great responsibility for the well-being of the parish residents and Kirk.⁷⁴ As shown in the *Abdie Kirk Session Register*, Col. Maitland Makgill and Pitcairn worked closely together in this vital role.

The influence of the Maitland family extended through many Fife families and estates via marriage, resulting in their adopting an assortment of names and hereditary associations, including the Makgills of Kemback, the Crichtons (formerly of Fren draught), and the

⁷² Rev. J. W. Taylor, *Memoir of the Late David Maitland Makgill Crichton of Nether Rankeilour* (Edinburgh: Thomas Constable and Co., 1853).

⁷³ Sir John Sinclair, *The Statistical Account of Scotland Drawn up from Communications of the Ministers of the Different Parishes, Vol. XIV* (Edinburgh: William Creech), 119.

⁷⁴ Abdie Parrish, *Abdie Parish Kirk Session Register - Accounts Book (1788-1817)* (Cupar: Cupar Public Library). As the primary land owners in Abdie, Col. Maitland Makgill and John Pitcairn supplied housing and employment, supported the parish Kirk through regular donations and assessments, and provided for the poor and needy. The Minutes of the Parish Kirk of Abdie reflect many meetings where Col. Maitland Makgill and John Pitcairn worked together to support the parish and solve particular issues that were brought to their attention. In one particular case, a lady in the parish was apparently suffering from a severe form of mental illness and thus required commitment to an asylum. All of the monthly fees and logistical details related to her care for a period of more than two years were absorbed by the main heritors in Abdie, including Col. Maitland Makgill and John Pitcairn, who were appointed to a small committee to personally attend to the matter of her care.

Heriots of Ramornie, among others.⁷⁵ Thus, in 1814, several prominent Fife families and scores of gentlemen would have held direct ties to Bow of Fife. Chief among them was Admiral Frederick Lewis Maitland, younger brother to Colonel Maitland Makgill, who was born at *Nether Rankeilour*. Admiral Maitland became a heroic military figure in his own right, accepting the surrender of Napoleon after the battle of Waterloo.⁷⁶ Between extended tours of Royal service, Admiral Maitland built and resided at *Lindores House* on the banks of Loch Lindores, which bordered *Kinnaird*.⁷⁷ Another Maitland brother, John, became the heritor at *Kilmaron*, an estate in the parish of Cupar. Still another Maitland man, John Makgill Maitland-Heriot, became the Heritor at *Ramornie*.

Many of the aforementioned gentlemen with direct familial links to the primary estates in Bow of Fife were known to be golfers. A "Major Charles Maitland" was listed as a member of the Royal & Ancient Golf Club of St Andrews in 1794.⁷⁸ Adm. F. L. Maitland was also an active and popular member of the R&A for many years. John Maitland of Kilmaron became Captain of the R&A in 1810, and John Makgill served the same role in 1815. In addition to the Bow of Fife gentlemen, numerous neighbouring land owners practised golf. In fact, many prominent local lairds not only belonged to the R&A, but served at one point as Captain. Among them are the Balfours of Fernie (1777, 1830), Robert Low of Clatto (1784), Captain John Cheape of Rossie (1785), George Cheape of Wellfield and Pusk (1801, 1814), The Earl of Leven and Melville (1820), Col. Alexander Bethune of Blebo (1821), and David Gillespie of Mountquhannie (1841).

⁷⁵ Sir James Makgill, Provost of Edinburgh and Ambassador to England, was the owner of *Rankeilour* in the 16th century.

⁷⁶ In June of 1815, Admiral Frederick Lewis Maitland intercepted Napoleon during his attempted escape from Rochefort to America. Admiral Maitland, in command of *HMS Bellerophon*, accepted Napoleon's sword, symbolising his surrender.

⁷⁷ John M. Leighton, Esq., *The History of the County of Fife from the Earliest Period to the Present Time*, (Glasgow: Joseph Swan, 1740), 34. Admiral Maitland owned this small parcel of land in Lindores, which was otherwise owned in its entirety by his brother Colonel Charles Maitland Makgill and later his nephew David Maitland Makgill Crichton.

⁷⁸ In 1790, the Royal & Ancient records listed a "Hon. John Hope" as a member. Gen. Sir John Hope was already a Captain in the 17th Light Dragoons at that time, which would have been reflected in the entry. Our Gen. Sir John Hope perhaps was not the man listed in the R&A records. The "Hon. John Hope" in the R&A records was likely Sir John Hope of Craighall, who was noted to be a keen golfer. John Hope of Craighall served as President of Musselburgh in 1810, and, in 1812, helped revive the club after a period of inactivity. On July 1, 1828, he was elected Captain at Musselburgh. Presumably, the Maj. Charles Maitland is the same Col. Charles Maitland Makgill who lived at *Nether Rankeilour*, as there were no other Charles Maitlands at this time.

Perhaps the strongest evidence that a Bow of Fife Golfing Club existed is found later in an informal golf club comprised mainly of Maitland men formed at the estate *Ramornie*, in 1844 (Figures 3.10 - 3.11). *Ramornie*, like *Lindores*, *Nether Rankeilour*, and *Kemback*, was an estate that was inherited through marriage by a Maitland man, which in this case was James Maitland Makgill-Heriot. The members of the golf club likely played a rudimentary layout over grazing lands on the *Ramornie* estate. The Ramornie Golf Club medal, listing the names of nine winners on the reverse, may well have developed from a tradition of an earlier generation of Maitland men, who perhaps formed a similar club in Bow of Fife.⁷⁹ This is a noteworthy finding, in that it shows a group of Maitland men and their friends who formed an informal golf club that was situated on, and named after, their estate. The inscription on the Bow of Fife bowl mentions the "Prize Medal for 1814" which, given the evidence of the Ramornie Golf Club medal, may indicate that a Bow of Fife medal may exist.

Many of the facts surrounding the "Bow of Fife Bowl" argue against its identification as a golfing prize. John Pitcairn was never mentioned as a golfer, and he was not a member of the R&A even though most of his neighbours were. A few of the Bow of Fife men were away for long stretches of time during 1814, including Gen. Sir John Hope and Admiral F. L. Maitland.⁸⁰ The lands in Bow of Fife were reserved for farming, and any remaining terrain was plagued with drainage problems, so it was entirely unsuitable for golf. Certainly, a man such as John Pitcairn, without apparent experience as a golfer, could not possibly compete successfully against any of the above mentioned avid golfers or Captains of the R&A. The physical condition of the bowl prior to conservation was deplorable, and the inscription was noted as being rubbed to the point of illegibility. And finally, prior to 1814, groups of gentlemen golfers were historically placed in the context of a "Golf Club" or "Golfing Society." The term "Golfing Club" is, in itself, contrary to the customary description.

The possibility exists that a group of novice golfers met at the suggestion of either Gen. Sir John Hope or Col. Maitland Makgill for a single round of golf on their lands. The resultant

⁷⁹ Winners listed on the back of the Ramornie Golf Club medal were William Heriot Maitland, James Balfour, Robert Heriot Maitland, and Frederick Lewis Maitland Heriot.

⁸⁰ Gen. Sir John Hope was away at war until his return in May 1814. Adm. F. L. Maitland was in service aboard the *Goliath* until October of 1814, and was appointed to the *Boyne* in November of the same year.

competition among land owners in or near Bow of Fife might have been coined, perhaps in mock formality or self importance, the Bow of Fife Golfing Club. The Imari punch bowl, which includes the misspelling, "Kenneard" instead of *Kinnaird*, would indicate that it was commissioned by someone other than Pitcairn, perhaps as a gift to commemorate the event. Any participating gentlemen are assumed to have known John Pitcairn simply on the basis of their proximity of residence and various committee and parish relations.

However, there is another possible explanation for the origin of the bowl if we consider that it relates to a different sport. The lands surrounding Bow of Fife and John Pitcairn's home *Kinnaird* were directly connected with the first curling clubs in Scotland.⁸¹ The earliest record of curling in the area was dated 28 December 1789, and headed, "The Record of the Ancient Curling Club of Lindores." This club was organised anew in 1831 as the Abdie Curling Club (Figures 3.12 - 3.17). According to the 1831 minutes of the Abdie Curling Club, the founders of the club were Adm. Frederick Lewis Maitland and John Pitcairn.⁸² Significantly, this offers the first indication of Pitcairn being a sportsman, and provides a direct connection through Adm. Maitland to *Nether Rankeilour* and Bow of

⁸¹ Sir John Sinclair, *The Statistical Account of Scotland Drawn up from Communications of the Ministers of the Different Parishes, Vol. IX* (Edinburgh: William Creech, ca.1845), 34, 36-38. The village of Kinloch in the parish of Collessie was noted to have entertained curlers on Rossie Loch, which bordered Bow of Fife. The Abdie Curling Club was noted to hold its dinners at the Trafalgar Inn, a local retreat and coach stop in Collessie.; John M. Leighton, Esq., *History of the County of Fife from the Earliest Period to the Present Time, Vol. II* (Glasgow: Joseph Swan, MDCCCXL), 34. Curling was said to be a long time favourite amusement in Cupar, whose practitioners used a pad in nearby Tarvit. The many references to curling at Abdie, Cupar, Kinloch, and Collessie illustrate that the sport was actively practised by land owners in the surrounding region of Bow of Fife in the early 19th century.

⁸² Abdie Curling Club, *Record of the Abdie Curling Club 1831-1854*, (Abdie: 1854), 1-4. "The Lough of Lindores ... affords in winter one of the best situated in Scotland for the game of Curling which is there much practised and keen contests have frequently taken place from time immemorial - a few members of an old club still remain, but as the places of those who had in the course of nature disappeared, were not filled up, it had become nearly extinct. For the last ten or twelve years the gentlemen in the neighbourhood of the lough have annually met and played at this game whenever the state of the ice admitted of that amusement, but they have neither joined the old club nor formed themselves into a new one, till the winter of 1830-31 when a match was undertaken to be played between the Married Men and Bachelors, the losers being bound to give dinner to the winners - this match was played on the 28th January 1831. The curlers on the side of the Benedicts being Sir Frederick Maitland of Lindores, Messrs John Pitcairn of Kinnaird, Buist of Berryhill, Walker (of) Higham, Walker (of) Woodmill. While those who upheld the honour of the single life were Messrs Russell (of) Parkhill, Dun (of) Hattonhill, Buist younger of Berryhill, Simson (of) Hallhill, Dr. Burton. On that day however Mr. Simson was unfortunately called to Edinburgh on business and it was agreed to by both parties that Mr. Dun should play one of his stones and Mr. Buist the other - This match was won by the Married Men and the dinner was given by the Bachelors at Saundersons Inn Newburgh on the 31st of January 1831." The account continues, "Immediately after dinner Sir Frederick Maitland was called to the chair when it was proposed by Mr. Pitcairn and agreed to by the meeting that they should constitute themselves into a body to be called The Abdie Curling Club."

Fife. Adm. Maitland was also the co-founder of the prominent Royal Caledonian Curling Club in Edinburgh.

John Pitcairn served as Vice President of the Abdie Curling Club in 1833, and President in 1834 and 1842. The Pitcairn family, in fact, was very active and successful within the club for more than eighty years, evidenced by the curling medals that bear their names (Figures 3.18 - 3.21).⁸³ His passion for curling is reflected in club songs and a poem that he composed in the original minute book:⁸⁴

Aim well as cautious curlers do this life
Let noble deeds your generous bosoms fire
Be steady, take advice, stem foolish strife
And to the see of honor still aspire.
Skim lightly o'er gay scenes as skaters glide
O'er the smooth surface of the glassy plain
Conscious beneath is the devouring tide
Where many fall, never to rise again.

The various accounts in the Abdie Curling Club minutes cause a different reflection upon the swampy lands of Bow of Fife, which, coupled with the keen local interest in curling, would have proven an ideal situation for curlers in 1814.⁸⁵ Many Bow of Fife men became members of the Abdie Curling Club, including Adm. F. L. Maitland, David Maitland

⁸³ The eldest son, David Pitcairn, was among the first members of the club in 1831. Hope Pitcairn was an active member, serving as Vice President in 1841. John Pitcairn Jr. held the office of Vice President in 1845 and 1851, and President in 1857, and won the gold medal in 1859, 1865, 1871, 1878, and 1880. Robert Pitcairn, the youngest son, was noted as a member in 1846. Even Pitcairn's grandchildren were successful club members, as D.D. Pitcairn won the gold medal in 1892, and another John Pitcairn won the gold medal in 1912.

⁸⁴ In the minute book, a song was written by James Ogilvy Dalgliesh to the tune of "The Quaker's Wife." The song recounts in ten verses the events surrounding a challenge curling match between two sides of the Abdie Curling Club. "A Spiel" was contested for the benefit of the (Lindores) village school. Pitcairn and Buist were elected "Directors", or Skips, which is discussed in verse IV: "Pitcairn and Buist of skill confest, 'Directors' were elected. And man to man were all the rest, as merit had selected. The warriors name alone sing - Their daring deeds, to bind them. To histories page, defies my power, But there you'll maybe find them!" Buist's side won the Spiel. The contestants later retired to the Trafalgar Inn for a traditional meal of Beef and Greens, followed by bumpers filled "up tee high."

⁸⁵ Sir John Sinclair, *The Statistical Account of Scotland Drawn up from Communications of the Ministers of the Different Parishes, Vol. IX* (Edinburgh: William Creech, ca. 1845), 35. Col. Charles Maitland Makgill of Nether Rankeilour deepened the water of Keilour to give better drainage, thus reclaiming marshland for farming, ca. 1836. This confirms that prior to 1836, any lands at Nether Rankeilour not used for farming would have been too wet or marshy for golf. The marshy lands of Bow of Fife were noted to become completely flooded in winter months, which would have been ideal for curling; *Dundee, Perth and Cupar Advertiser, 1810-1814* (Cupar: December 24, 1813). A curling match was noted in Cupar at this time, followed by merriment and celebration of the usual variety. According to newspaper accounts in the region, the winter months in 1813 and 1814 were unusually cold, resulting in ideal curling conditions and also leading to the formation of many local skating clubs.

Makgill Esq., Capt. J. Maitland, and Capt. Heriot Maitland. Understanding that Adm. Maitland and Pitcairn were well-known to each other in 1814, and later became partners in the formation of the Abdie Curling Club, and taking into consideration the many uncertainties of the golfing component of the bowl, it becomes plausible that the "Bow of Fife Bowl" may actually have been awarded as a prize for curling. Given that the inscription was barely legible, and the formation of the letters "GOLF" and "CURL" are rather similar, the bowl may have been mistakenly attributed. Finally, groups of curlers were invariably termed "Curling Clubs," which is more in keeping with the inscription on the "Bow of Fife Bowl." Until additional evidence related to John Pitcairn and the "Bow of Fife Bowl" comes to light, its exact origin will remain unclear.

The final example in the present discussion of convivial and commemorative golfing bowls is known as the "Canton Bowl," which is currently in the possession of the R&A Golf Club of St Andrews (Figures 3.22 - 3.24). The "Canton Bowl" has a long and circuitous history, filled with political posturing between the various institutions and individuals in whose care it was periodically placed. The artistry of the "Canton Bowl," when contrasted with the previously discussed Chinese armorial wares, reflects sweeping changes in the socio-political environment in China. In addition, one can readily see the expanding expertise of Chinese polychrome porcelain production from the bowl's varied menu of colourful decoration techniques. Most importantly, through its journeys, exquisite craftsmanship, and the passionate actions of its caretakers, "The Canton Bowl" exemplifies golf's strong inspirational qualities.

The "Canton Bowl," produced *ca.* 1826, measures approximately 18" (45.7") in diameter, and stands 8" (20.3cm) tall. The full interior of the bowl features a series of polychrome Mandarin scenes with *Han* figures dressed in ceremonial attire. Additional figures, placed in an idyllic garden setting, appear in a decorative top band around the exterior rim of the bowl. The foot ring of the bowl features a *famille verte* border in the Chinese "meander" style. No markings exist on the underside of the bowl to indicate the origin, date of production, or artist. The overall condition of the bowl is good, although a large triangular portion of damage and subsequent repair is present near the top rim.⁸⁶

⁸⁶ It is not known when or where the bowl was damaged and subsequently repaired. In a discussion with R&A Heritage officials, it was stated that for many years the bowl was placed in the North Room of the clubhouse atop a tall wooden stand with spindly legs and a swivelling top.

Many of the primary design characteristics of the "Canton Bowl," such as the Mandarin court panoplies, developed amidst the tumultuous years following the death of Emperor Qianlong, in 1795. The reign of Qianlong's successor was marked by progressive easing of trade restrictions; however, Emperor Jiaqing (1796 -1820) did not share the same commitment to ceramics.⁸⁷ The indifference to china production and trade led to an eventual decline of the Imperial kilns. By 1820, and the rule of Emperor Daoguang (1821 - 1851), a great number of events both politically and environmentally proved further damaging to trade.⁸⁸ The changing ideology of the Chinese leadership led to a departure from the traditional Manchurian wares. The resultant Mandarin wares, most associated with Canton, adopted imaginative and colourful new themes that almost completely covered the thickly-potted bodies. The rose and butterfly imagery, found in the margins on the exterior of the "Canton Bowl," is indicative of this evolving Mandarin style.⁸⁹

A series of panels depicting the Burgh of St Andrews is painted amidst the Mandarin imagery of the "Canton Bowl." The scenes include two golf images, two detailed views of the town harbour, a town seal, and a regimental crest. In the first harbour scene, the view from the perspective of the sea incorporates the cathedral ruins and St Regulus' Tower, and

⁸⁷ Daniel Nadler, *China to Order: Focusing on the XIXth Century and Surveying Polychrome Export Porcelain Produced During the Qing Dynasty, 1644 – 1908* (Paris: Vilo International, 2001), 88-98. China trade was effected by an increasing American influence. The British were preoccupied with the Napoleonic Wars, and although efforts were made to advance trade, priority was understandably given to the battles at home. Meanwhile, opium sales were prohibited to no effect, building tensions that would eventually lead to the first of the Opium Wars. The War of 1812 hampered trade relations between Great Britain and America. Importantly, the rise of quality porcelain production in Europe also played a significant role in the decrease of Chinese import porcelain.

⁸⁸ The Opium Wars continued, while overpopulation and silver shortages led to abject poverty. The flooding of the Yellow River closed the main artery of trade, resulting in wares being shipped via a coastal route. This shift in the transportation of wares greatly affected the middle of China, which stood as the heart of porcelain production for centuries. The unison in which Jingdezhen and Canton had worked for generations consequently suffered serious disruptions.

⁸⁹ Daniel Nadler, *China to Order: Focusing on the XIXth Century and Surveying Polychrome Export Porcelain Produced During the Qing Dynasty, 1644 – 1908* (Paris: Vilo International, 2001), 60-83. By 1800, a new style of decoration emerged depicting Mandarin Chinese figures rather than the traditional Manchurian. Images often illustrated series of court panoplies or scenes drawn from Chinese opera. The realism of the figures increased with time, and fine gold detailing points toward an earlier date of production. Decorations often incorporated butterflies (sometimes black) with intricate and colourful floral patterns. Use of yellow pigment in the enamelwork also indicates an earlier production date. The new Mandarin style of Canton wares was termed "rose medallion" in North America, which became the primary market for their sale.

various dwellings along the cliff edge leading toward the castle ruins (Figure 3.24). Oarsmen are depicted in the sea, alongside sailing vessels that have a distinctly Oriental appearance. On the shore stand two tiny figures, one of whom is shown holding a Chinese style parasol. The quaint harbour scene was surely based upon the engraving "Ruins of the Cathedral and Castle of St Andrews from the East," which appears in Grierson's *Delineations of St Andrews* (Figures 3.24 - 3.26).⁹⁰ Incorporated into the top of the first harbour scene is a circular St Andrews town seal bearing the Latin description, "SANCTI ANDREE SIGILLUM COMMUNE CIVITATIS." The seal depicts a red-haired St Andrew on the cross, the wild boar and (oak) tree symbols that date to the reign of Alexander I, and the oval Latin motto, "Dum Spiro Spero," ("While I Breathe, I Hope.")⁹¹

The second harbour view is from the perspective atop a rocky cliff, overlooking the East Sands. The scene depicts couples walking along the coastal path with a view of sailing ships and the Burgh of St Andrews. The cathedral ruins and St Regulus' tower feature prominently amidst the early 19th-century townscape. The image also contains a series of rocky outcrops (the Rock and Spindle) and native grasses in the foreground. An oval Scots Guard regimental crest appears centred above the harbour badge, mirroring the composition of the harbour scene and town seal on the opposite side of the bowl. The crest bears a radiant St Andrews cross with an oval thistle badge in the centre. Encircling the crest is the traditional Latin motto of the Scots Guards, "Nemo Me Impune Lacessit," which means, "Touch Me Not With Impunity."

⁹⁰ James Grierson, *Delineations of St Andrews* (Cupar: R. Tullis, Second Edition, 1823). The second edition of Grierson's book contains an engraved plate, titled, *Ruins of the Cathedral and Castle of St Andrews from the East*. The scene was originally painted by Rev. John C. Cook, D.D., Professor of Moral Philosophy at the University of St Andrews. This is very likely the Harbour scene depicted on the Canton Bowl. The scene is almost exact in its vantage point and view of the cathedral and castle ruins from the perspective of the sea. Many other features are the same, including the styling of clouds, height of the rocky cliff walls, and positioning of prominent physical structures, such as St Regulus' tower. See also n94 for additional information of Cook.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 55-56. Grierson explains the significance of the wild boar symbol, stating, "It was Alexander I who conferred upon the see of St Andrews the famous tract of land called the Curus Apri, or Boar's Chase ... a tract of about twenty-four square miles." He continues, "Boar's Chase, so called from a boar of uncommon size, which, after having made prodigious havoc of men and cattle, and having been frequently (sought) by the huntsmen unsuccessfully, and to the imminent peril of their lives, was at last set upon, by the whole country up in arms against him, and killed while endeavouring to make his escape across this track of ground." For additional historical information on the various versions of the St Andrews burgh seals, see John Marquess of Bute, J.R.N Macphail, and H.W. Lonsdale, *The Arms of the Royal and Parliamentary Burghs of Scotland* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons, 1897), 352-356. Less literally, "Dum Spiro Spero" may be translated as "While There's Life There's Hope."

The bilateral golf scenes, situated on an opposing axis to the harbour badges are noteworthy featherball period (pre-1848) golf paintings, of which there are only rare examples. One view includes groups of red-coated golfers and caddies (in blue), presumably playing on the links at St Andrews (Figure 3.23). The golfers are spread across the busy links, depicted in various golfing postures. Interestingly, the barren, undulating golf terrain, despite the potentially vivid green tones available to the artist, is accurately conveyed in hues of sandy brown. The second golf panel is quite similar to the first, with the exception of the inclusion of a small building on the horizon. Each of the golf badges, harbour scenes, and crests, incorporates a detailed flowering thistle border in *famille rose* and *famille verte*.

The first mention of the "Canton Bowl" appears in the 4 March 1838 minutes of the Royal & Ancient Golf Club, stating, "The punch bowl belonging to the club was ordered to be lodged with Mr. Walter Adamson Innkeeper to be produced at meetings when required." Adamson was the innkeeper at the Cross Keys Inn, where the club held social engagements, such as the "Ordinary."⁹² Later, the 3 October 1838 minutes note, "Appended to inventory of club property is acknowledgment by Walter Adamson that the China Punch Bowl has been entrusted to his keeping."⁹³ The "Canton Bowl" remained in the custody of the Cross Keys Inn until St Andrews Day of 1850, when it was recorded in the minutes of the St Andrews Literary and Philosophical Society, "On Major Playfair's motion it was agreed to place a large Chinese punch bowl presented by Mr. Robinson (sic.) to the golfing club, in the museum for safe keeping. It being understood, that the society will not be answerable for accidental breakage."⁹⁴ What precipitated this transfer to the Lit. & Phil. Society is not known. However, in placing the bowl into the care of the

⁹² The Cross Keys Inn was a popular local St Andrews public house and Inn that was frequented by the gentlemen golfers. The Inn was used for social gatherings and dinners, as the R&A clubhouse was not constructed until some years later, *ca.* 1854. The "Canton Bowl," which was apparently given to the R&A at some point prior to 1838, was then transferred to the Cross Keys Inn for convivial use, in 1838. See Peter N. Lewis, Fiona Grieve, and Kieth Mackie, *Art and Architecture of the Royal and Ancient Golf Club* (Kirkaldy: Inglis Allen, 1997), 118-120.

⁹³ Royal & Ancient Golf Club of St Andrews, *Minute Book* (St Andrews: Special Collections, Royal & Ancient Golf Club of St Andrews), 23 October 1838; "The China Punch Bowl belonging to the club has been entrusted to my keeping where it presently is by order of the Club. - Walter Adamson."

⁹⁴ Literary and Philosophical Society of St Andrews, *Minute Book 1838-1861* (St Andrews: Special Collections, University of St Andrews Library), 30 November 1850, 111-112.

society, the bowl was effectively accessioned into a museum jointly controlled by the Lit. & Phil. Society and the University of St Andrews.⁹⁵

On 10 October 1887, nearly forty years after the bowl was placed in the care of the museum, the R&A began negotiations with the Lit. & Phil. Society to have it returned. R&A Club Secretary, Charles Stuart Grace, and Professor William Carmichael McIntosh, Convener of the Museum Committee and St Andrews University Professor of Natural History, initiated correspondence to determine rightful custody of the "Canton Bowl." On 10 October 1887, Grace requested the return of the "Handsome China punch bowl presented to the club some years ago by a Patrick Francis Robertson and placed in the Museum for safe custody."⁹⁶ On 28 October, Grace reiterates in a letter, " There is a meeting of the Club Committee on Monday afternoon and I shall be very much obliged if you can hand over the China Punch Bowl before then. I am anxious to place it before the Committee."⁹⁷ At the advice of his father, who also served as R&A Club Secretary at the time of the original donation of the bowl in 1834, Grace solicited information from Rev. George Cook, D.D. of Borgue (Figures 3.27 - 3.29):⁹⁸

⁹⁵ Ibid., 1, 10, 22. In the 30 April 1838 minutes of the Literary and Philosophical Society of St Andrews, the founders adopted the mission statement, "Several gentlemen connected with the University and the city of St Andrews, being desirous of establishing a literary and philosophical society," the statement continues, "Beside the general object of promoting literary and philosophic research the society would especially have in view the establishment of a museum in the University." The Society elected Ordinary and Honorary members throughout its eighty-one-year history. Many of the early members were leading authorities covering all fields of scholarly pursuits, including medicine, natural sciences, mathematics, and literature. During meetings, members of the society presented scholarly papers and discussed a full range of lofty topics. Whether the St Andrews mortality rate, meteorological state of the winter, or encapsulated fluids in topaz, the Society covered a seemingly endless and divergent range of topics in great detail. As part of its founding mission, members endeavoured to develop a museum not limited in scope. It was therefore expected that each member would either donate or seek acquisitions on behalf of the collection. During the 4 June 1838 general meeting it was moved that a committee of the Society be appointed to "look after antiquities, and to take means for their preservation." Soon thereafter, the Society was granted space in St Salvators College to house and display its growing museum collection.

⁹⁶ Royal & Ancient Golf Club, *Letter Book No. 2* (St Andrews: Special Collections, Royal & Ancient Golf Club of St Andrews), 10 Oct 1887, 554, (1/15).

⁹⁷ Ibid., 28 Oct 1887, 565, (2/15).

⁹⁸ Rev. Dr. George Cook was Professor of Moral Philosophy at the University of St Andrews ca. 1867 - 1876, and the last of a long line of Cook men who served in this capacity. Cook was born 1812 and educated at St Andrews, and thus may have been a classmate or friend of the Robertson children. He was the grandson of Rev. John C. Cook, D.D. (1770 - 1824), who was Professor of Biblical Criticism at the University 1808 - 1824. Rev. John Cook produced the harbour scene and other illustrations in Grierson's *Delineations of St Andrews*. It is probable that George Cook, while only twelve or thirteen years old at the time the paintings would have been produced, copied existing images executed by his grandfather. This would account for the slight modernizations included in the views on the bowl. Rev. George Cook died 29

Dear Sir, The attention of the Committee of Management of this Club was some time ago directed to the fact that an old China Punch Bowl belonging to the Club is in the College Museum and several of the members suggested that steps should be taken to have it placed in the Club House where it may be seen by those to whom it really belongs. On making enquiry I ascertained that the bowl was presented many years ago by the late Patrick F. Robertson to this club. I understand that it was made in China and my Father (who was for long Honorary Secretary of the Club) says that the sketches of golfers on it were made by you. At one time this bowl seems to have been in the custody of the landlord of the Hotel in which the Club dinners used to be held but apparently it was afterward placed in the Museum. I suppose it was put there for safe custody. My Father is quite clear as to that point and it seems exceedingly improbable that the Club would deliberately give away such an interesting bowl. I made an application to the Museum Committee requesting that the bowl might be restored to the Club, but they say they have no evidence that it belongs to us and ask me to furnish them with the history of the bowl and dates. I cannot say when it was placed in the Museum and I must try to satisfy them by its history that it belongs to the Club. My object in writing to you now is to ask if you will write me a short note in reply stating anything you can regarding the disputed bowl...⁹⁹

Upon response from Rev. Cook, Grace again wrote to McIntosh with his findings:

Dear Dr. McIntosh, I duly received your letter of the 14th ult. asking me to give you some particulars regarding our claim to the China Punch Bowl at present in the Museum. The Bowl was presented to this Club by Mr. Patrick F. Robertson who died a few months ago in London. For a long time it was kept at the Cross Keys Hotel where the members used to dine, and it was used at the Club Dinners - In these days there was no proper Club House where it could be kept, and it appears that it was resolved to place it in the Museum for safe custody. The sketches for the bowl were done by Dr. George Cook, Borgue, and I wrote to him asking if he would kindly give me any information regarding it. I now enclose his reply, which, I think, should satisfy your Committee that the Bowl belongs to the Club. No one could for a moment suppose that a Bowl such as the one in dispute would have been given away by the Club. My Father, who, as you are aware, was for many years Hon. Secy. of the Club knows the circumstances quite well and he can testify that the bowl was only sent to the Museum for safe custody. I hope that the Museum Committee will now hand over the Bowl to the Club Committee for I think I have quite proved that it is ours. Kindly return Dr. Cook's letter when you have done with it.¹⁰⁰

February 1888 at Borgue. (See also n87). The original sketches by Rev. John C. Cook can be found in *Sketches of Old St Andrews*, (St Andrews: 1797), in the collection of the University Library.

⁹⁹ Royal & Ancient Golf Club, *Letter Book No. 2*, 14 Dec 1887, 573, (3/15).

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 22 Dec 1887, 578, (4-6/15).

Eight additional letters ensued, each applying increasing pressure for the return of the bowl. Finally, on 3 March 1888, five months after the initial inquiry, Grace confirmed delivery of the bowl:

Dear Dr. McIntosh, I received your letter last night and Mr. Walker has today brought to me the Punch Bowl belonging to this Club. I have given him a receipt for it as requested. My Committee will be pleased to have the Bowl delivered to them on Monday. In the meantime perhaps you will allow me on their behalf to thank the Museum Committee for taking care of the Bowl all these years.¹⁰¹

Immediately after receiving the bowl, Grace wrote one final letter:

I am glad to be able to inform you that the Punch Bowl presented to the Club by your Uncle, Mr. P. F. Robertson, has now been recovered from the College Museum and placed in the Club House where you can see it when next here.¹⁰²

Through this series of fifteen letters we can trace the history of the Canton Bowl from its donation to the R&A *ca.* 1834, transfer to the Cross Keys Inn in October 1838, deposit with the St Andrews Lit. & Phil. Society in November 1850, and eventual return to the R&A in March 1888. But we know little of the bowl's history prior to 1834, or the specifics regarding its commission. For this, we must turn to the aforementioned Patrick Francis Robertson.

Patrick Francis Robertson was the oldest of three children born to the Rev. Daniel Robertson, D.D., and Isabella Small.¹⁰³ According to University of St Andrews Senate Minutes, Rev. Robertson was appointed Royal (Patent) Professor of Hebrew, and Professor of Divinity in New College of St Andrews. He was also noted as a Professor of Oriental Languages at St Mary's College, elected representative of the General Assembly

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 3 March 1888, 602, (13-14/15). Additional letters in the series include, 8 Feb 1888, 589, (7/15); 10 Oct 1887, 554, (8-9/15); and 27 Feb 1888, 598, (10-11/15).

¹⁰² Ibid., 6 March 1888, 604, (15/15); Grace to Mr. L. (A.) Robertson. Lyndsay Robertson was the son of James Roderick Robertson, younger brother to Patrick Francis Robertson.

¹⁰³ *St Andrews Parish Records*, Volume 4, 1803 - 1820 (St Andrews: Special Collections, University of St Andrews Library). Patrick Francis Robertson was born in Meigle on 24 August 1807. Mary Wortley Robertson was born 30 October 1808. James Roderick Robertson was born 8 October 1810. Rev. Daniel Robertson married Isabella Small, daughter of Rev. Alexander Small of Kilconquhar, on 18 September 1806. Rev. Dr. Daniel Robertson was presented by George III on 17th October 1800, and he was ordained on 14 May 1801.

of the Church of Scotland, and served as University Librarian.¹⁰⁴ Sadly, however, with the death of Isabella Robertson in 1811, followed by the death of Rev. Robertson in 1817, the three young children became orphans.¹⁰⁵

Patrick Francis Robertson attended university at St Andrews, spending two sessions from 1820 to 1822.¹⁰⁶ In 1820/21 he attended classes of Greek Junior and Latin Junior, and in 1821/22 Greek Senior, Latin Senior, and Mathematics Junior. By 1826, according to the *East India Register and Directory*, Robertson was listed as an Assistant to Boyd & Co. in Bengal, India.¹⁰⁷ Later, in the *Bengal Annual Register and Directory* of 1831, appears the listing, "Robertson, P. Francis, Assistant to Boyd, Beeby & Co. (China)."¹⁰⁸ According to these references and subsequent mentions of Robertson being a Merchant in Canton, he likely served as a liaison for the agency, linking the tea trade between Canton and Bengal.¹⁰⁹ Robertson clearly divided his time between ports, but was apparently the agency's primary person on-site in Canton, managing procurement at the height of the

¹⁰⁴ University of St Andrews, *Senate Minutes*, Vol. XII (St Andrews: Special Collections, University of St Andrews Library), Dec. 1810 - Oct. 1817, 10 January 1817, 228-230. Rev. Daniel Robertson's death is recounted in the Senate Minutes, which state, "Instruct the Rector to write a letter in their name to the Chancellor, Lord Melville, notifying this event and soliciting His Lordships inter-position with the government to secure to the family of the deceased the salary for the current half-year." Upon the election of Dr. James Hunter to the vacant Librarian position, "The meeting resolve that the emoluments of the office shall be paid to Dr. Robertson's family till the term of midsunday next."

¹⁰⁵ It is not known who assumed responsibility for the Robertson children, although their grandmother, Jean Small, lived in nearby Kilconquhar and died in Sterling, April 1828 (*The Scotsman*, Edinburgh: No. 865, Wednesday April 23 1828), 266; One other possibility comes from a note written by Lindsay Robertson, grandson of James Roderick, in 1926 (University of St Andrews Library, Rare Book and Manuscripts, ms38382) where he describes a Donald Robertson as his Great Grand Uncle. This would have been Rev. Daniel Robertson's brother.

¹⁰⁶ J.M. Anderson, University of St Andrews, *The Matriculation Roll of the University of St Andrews 1747-1897* (London: Blackwood, 1897, UY 315/1, UY 309). James Roderick Robertson also attended University at St Andrews.

¹⁰⁷ Hon. East India Company, *East India Register and Directory* (London: J. L. Cox, 1832, 1st Edition), 185. On page 152, it is confirmed that Boyd, Beeby and Co. is among the Houses of Agency in Bengal, residing, "At Calcutta, 4 Mangoe Lane"; Hon. East India Company, *Bengal Annual Register and Directory* (Calcutta: Hindoostance Press, 1821). The firm of Boyd, Beeby & Co. was managed by William T. Beeby, who arrived in Bengal in 1818, and Matthew Boyd, who arrived in 1820. Robertson joined the agency later in 1826.

¹⁰⁸ Hon. East India Company, *Bengal Annual Register and Directory* (Calcutta: Hindoostance Press, 1831).

¹⁰⁹ In the Minutes of the R&A, Patrick Robertson is listed at various times as "Merchant, Canton", or "ex-merchant, Canton" (2 May 1834). In the Minutes of the St Andrews Lit. & Phil. Society, Robertson is listed as "Late of Canton new of London" (1 January 1844).

Anglo-Chinese tea trade.¹¹⁰ Tensions were rising in the region, however, due to opium conflicts, while the prospect of unrestricted trade in China loomed on the horizon. So, by the middle of 1834, according to published passenger lists, Matthew Boyd, William T. Beebe, and P. F. Robertson had all made their retreat to London.

The records of the R&A list a "Patrick James Robertson, ex-merchant Canton" elected to membership on 2 May 1834, along with a "Patrick Robertson, London" on 26 July 1843. Considering that "The Canton Bowl" was donated to the club in 1834, and the timing of Robertson's return from Canton, it is probable that the former listing actually referred to Patrick Francis Robertson. Robertson's connection to the R&A bears greater significance given the understanding that his father was elected to membership on 3 May 1816, just months before his death. Robertson's brother, James Roderick, is also listed among the membership, elected on 20 July 1841. Robertson is thought to have remained a member of the R&A and the Union Club until his death in 1885.¹¹¹ The Robertson family obviously shared a passion for golf and the Burgh of St Andrews, which is reflected in the various scenes depicted on the bowl. So "The Canton Bowl," when viewed in the context of an orphaned son, becomes a memorial carefully produced to commemorate and recall the best of times, when the Robertson family was whole. Unlike the other bowls in the present examination, the "Canton Bowl" should be regarded as both convivial and commemorative.

¹¹⁰ John Goldsmith Phillips, *China-Trade Porcelain* (Ipswich: W.S. Cowell Ltd., ca.1955), 24. By 1830, near the end of the Br. East India Company's activity, the tea export to England amounted to nearly 40,000,000 pounds.

¹¹¹ *The London Times* (London: Thursday, January 22, 1885), 6; "Mr. Patrick Francis Robertson, late of Halton House, Hastings, and former M.P. for that borough, died on Tuesday at his residence on Oakhill Park, Hampstead. Mr. Robertson was the eldest son of the late Rev. Daniel Robertson, D.D., of St Andrews, N.B., by his marriage with Isabella, daughter of the Rev. Alexander Small, D.D., of Kilconquhar, Fifeshire, and was born in 1807. He was educated at the University of St Andrews and was formerly a merchant in Canton. Mr. Robertson was a Magistrate for the borough of Hastings, and a Deputy Lieutenant for Sussex. He was returned to Parliament, in the conservative interest in 1852, as the colleague of Mr. Musgrove Brisco in the representation of Hastings, and retained his seat for that constituency until 1859, when he was defeated. In October, 1864, on the succession of Lord (Harry Vane), one of the sitting members to the peerage, Mr. Robertson again offered himself as a candidate but was defeated by the Hon. G. W. Leslie, his Liberal opponent. At the general elections in the following year, Mr. Robertson was again returned in conjunction with Mr. Leslie but retired from Parliamentary life at the dissolution in 1868." Robertson was a member of the Carlton Club, Conservatives Club, and served as President of the Society of the Sons of Clergy in 1864.

One remaining question is why, if the R&A had built their storied clubhouse by 1854 and periodically solicited artifacts from the membership, had Robertson either forgotten the bowl or remained silent as it was housed in the University museum? The answer may lie in the fact that Robertson's ties to the University and the museum were as strong as those with the R&A. His father worked and died at the University, and Patrick Francis and James Roderick both attended university at St Andrews. Robertson was also an active member of the St Andrews Lit. & Phil. Society, that founded and co-managed the Museum.¹¹² He was perhaps then equally comfortable to have the bowl in the possession of the Museum as with the R&A. Regardless of his intentions, upon the death of Robertson in 1885, and through the efforts of his extended family, the R&A sought their rightful prize.

In summary, the collection of convivial and commemorative bowls in the present discussion reflect upon the social and competitive traditions of golf's first societies, and the interconnectedness of their memberships. Through the examination of the "Qianlong Bowl," the Blackheath bowls and jugs, the "Bow of Fife Bowl," and the "Canton Bowl," we gain insight into the infancy of organised golf and its membership of gentlemen.

¹¹² Literary and Philosophical Society of St Andrews, *Minutes 1862 – 1916* (St Andrews: Special Collections, University of St Andrews Library, 4 May 1840), 47. Patrick Robertson of London is noted to have donated, "A piece of oak from the wreck of the Royal George."; (1 January 1844), 82; Curator Adamson reports receiving a donation from "Mr. Patrick Francis Robertson late of Canton new of London," including, "Specimens of coinage from the present reign fresh from the mint from a five sovereign gold (juice) down to a farthing." He is later noted to donate, "A florin to be added to his former donation of the coins of the reign of Queen Victoria." In the (6 March 1848) Minutes, Robertson is noted to have donated "A collection of algae from Hastings."

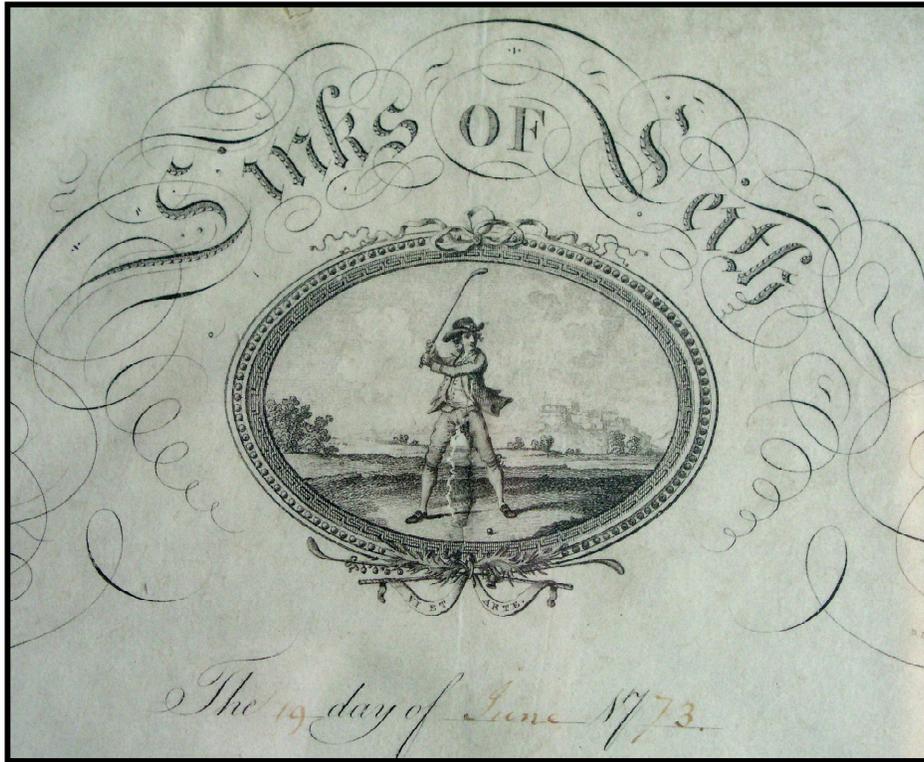


Figure 3.1 The David Allan golfer image on an original Golfing Company diploma.

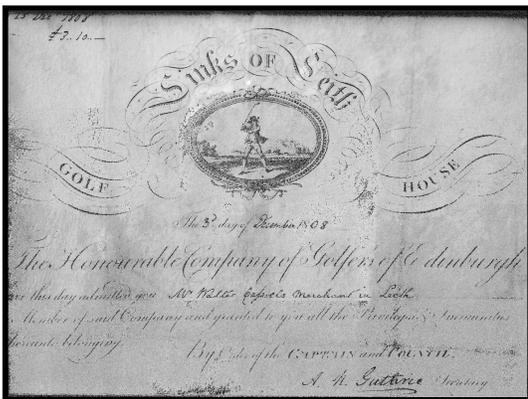


Figure 3.2 An original Golfing Company diploma.



Figure 3.3 A secondary Golfing Company motto as it appears on a membership diploma.



Figure 3.4 “The Qianlong Bowl” featuring the oval Golfing Company emblem by David Allan (Photo courtesy of Valderrama Golf Club).



Figure 3.5 The Blackheath Punch Bowl “A” featuring the oval Golfing Company emblem by David Allan (Photo courtesy of Royal Blackheath Golf Club).



Figure 3.6 The Blackheath Knuckle Club “Joram” Jugs (Courtesy of Royal Blackheath Golf Club).

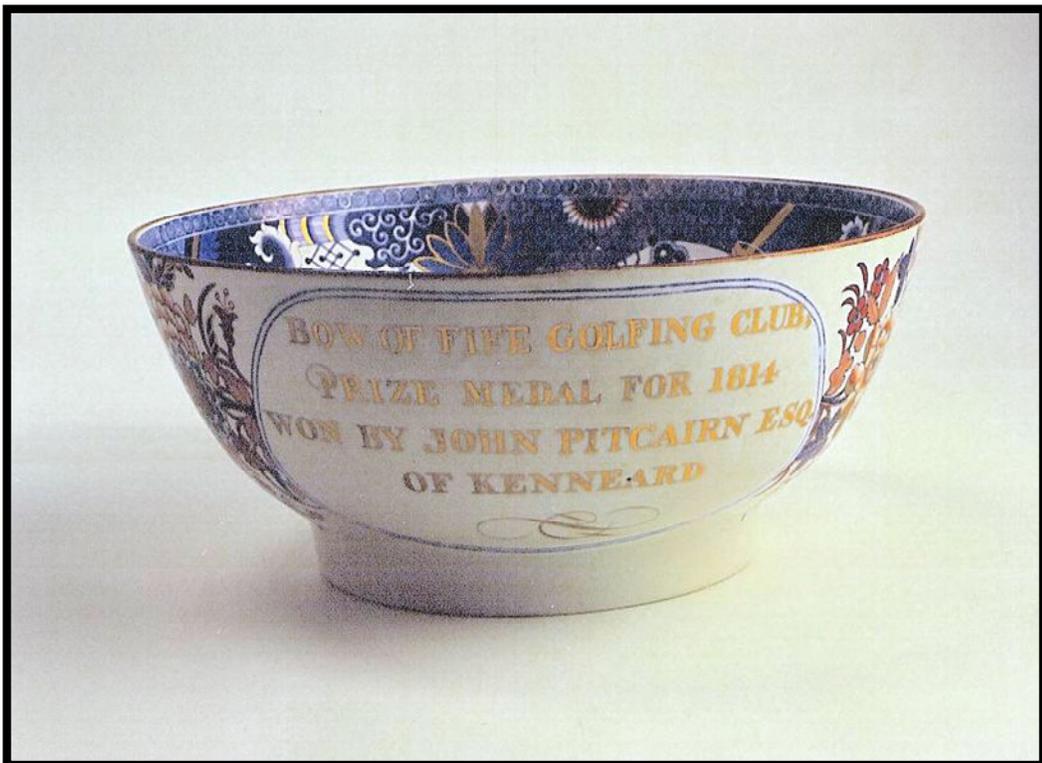


Figure 3.7 The Bow of Fife bowl after repairs (Courtesy of Robert Gowland).

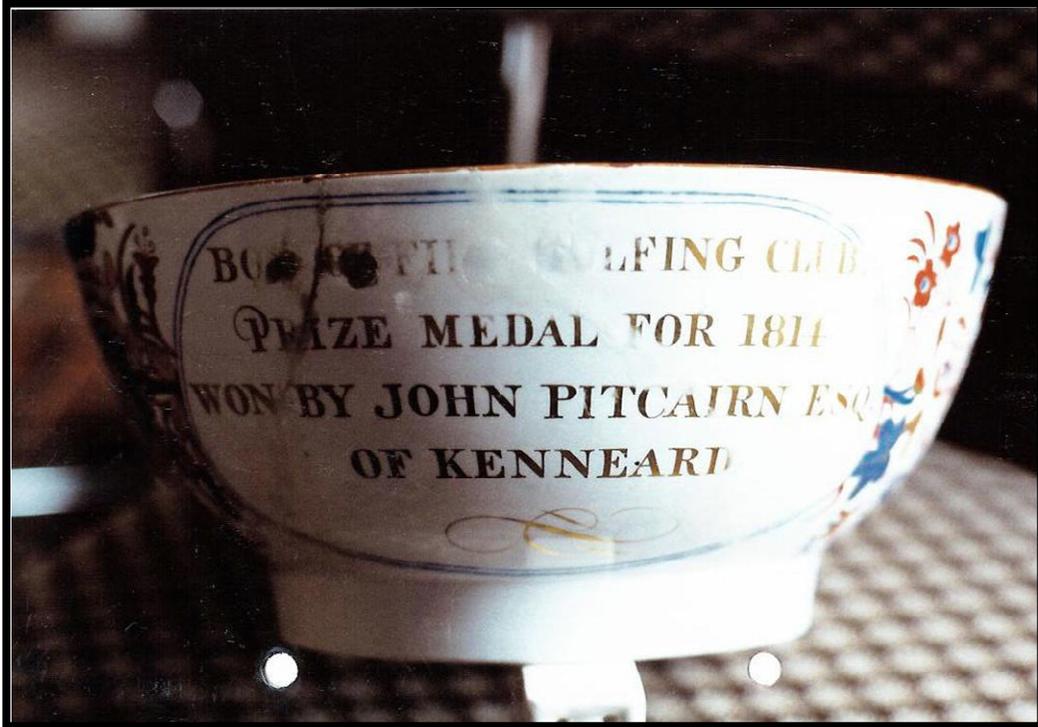


Figure 3.8 The Bow of Fife bowl displaying early poor condition (Courtesy of Robert Gowland).

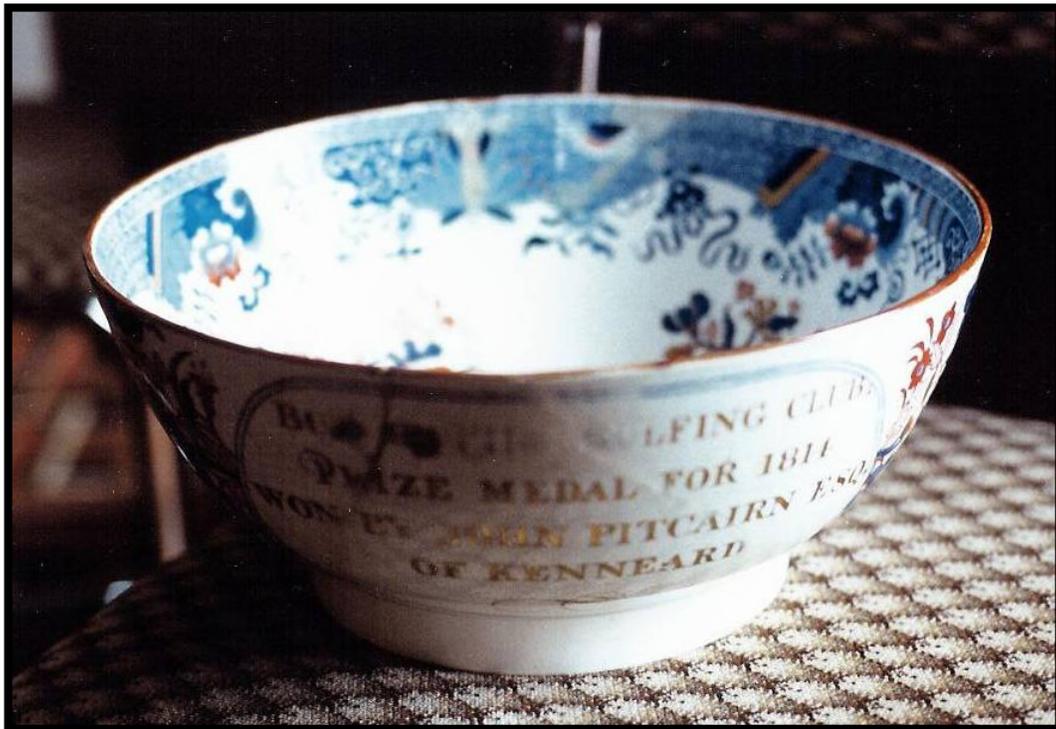


Figure 3.9 The Bow of Fife bowl displaying early poor condition (Courtesy of Robert Gowland).



Figure 3.10 The Ramornie Golf Club medal (front).



Figure 3.11 The Ramornie Golf Club medal (verso).



Figure 3.12 Abdie Curling Club Local Medal (front). (Courtesy of the Abdie Curling Club.)



Figure 3.13 Abdie Curling Club Local Medal (verso). (Courtesy of the Abdie Curling Club.)



Figure 3.14 Abdie Curling Club Hamilton Medal (front). (Courtesy of the Abdie Curling Club.)



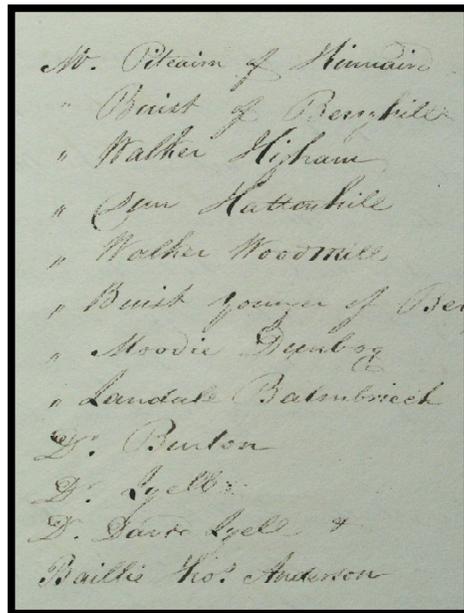
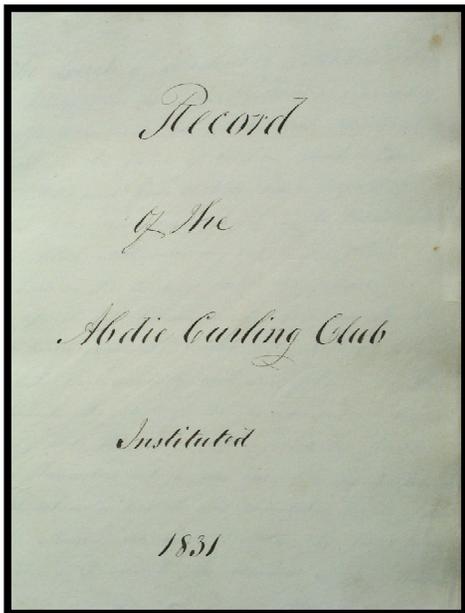
Figure 3.15 Abdie Curling Club Hamilton Medal (verso). (Courtesy of the Abdie Curling Club.)



Figure 3.16 Abdie Curling Club Champion Medal (front). (Courtesy of the Abdie Curling Club.)



Figure 3.17.Abdie Curling Club Champion Medal (verso). (Courtesy of the Abdie Curling Club.)



A collection of written materials from the *Record of the Abdie Curling Club*, including mention of John Pitcairn, Figures 3.16 – 3.19. (Courtesy of the Abdie Curling Club.)

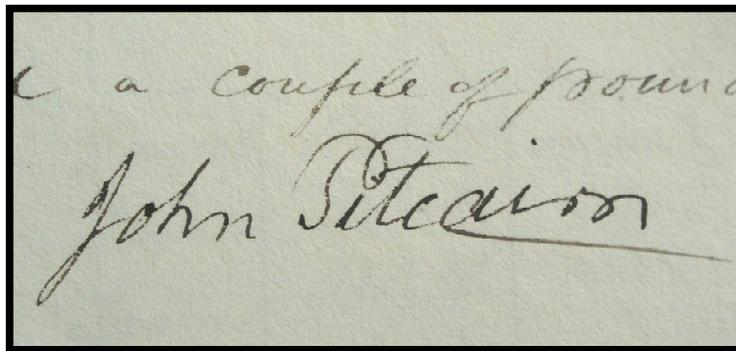


Figure 3.20

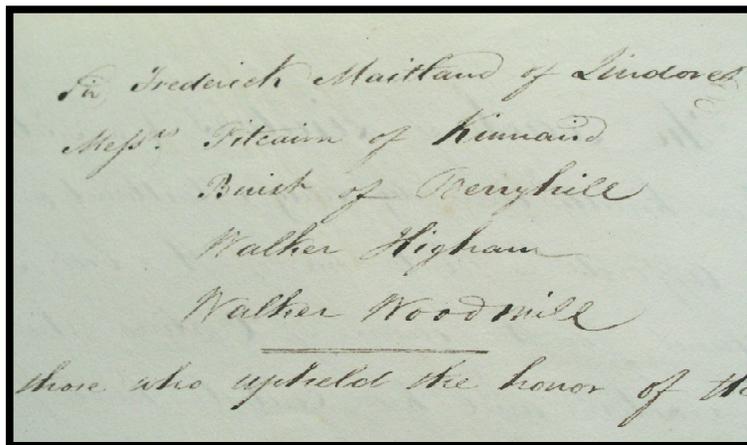


Figure 3.21



Figure 3.22. The “Canton Bowl” Interior. (Reproduced by kind permission of the Royal & Ancient Golf Club of St Andrews.)



Figure 3.23. An exterior view of the Canton Bowl” displaying a golfing panel and Mandarin decorations. (Reproduced by kind permission of the Royal & Ancient Golf Club of St Andrews.)



Figure 3.24 The exterior of the “Canton Bowl,” featuring a view of St Andrews from the perspective of the Harbour, and the St Andrews town seal. (Reproduced by kind permission of the Royal & Ancient Golf Club of St Andrews.)



Figure 3.25 "Ruins of the Cathedral and Castle of St Andrews from the East," which appears in Grierson's *Delineations of St Andrews*. The plate was engraved from a scene by J. Cook, D.D.

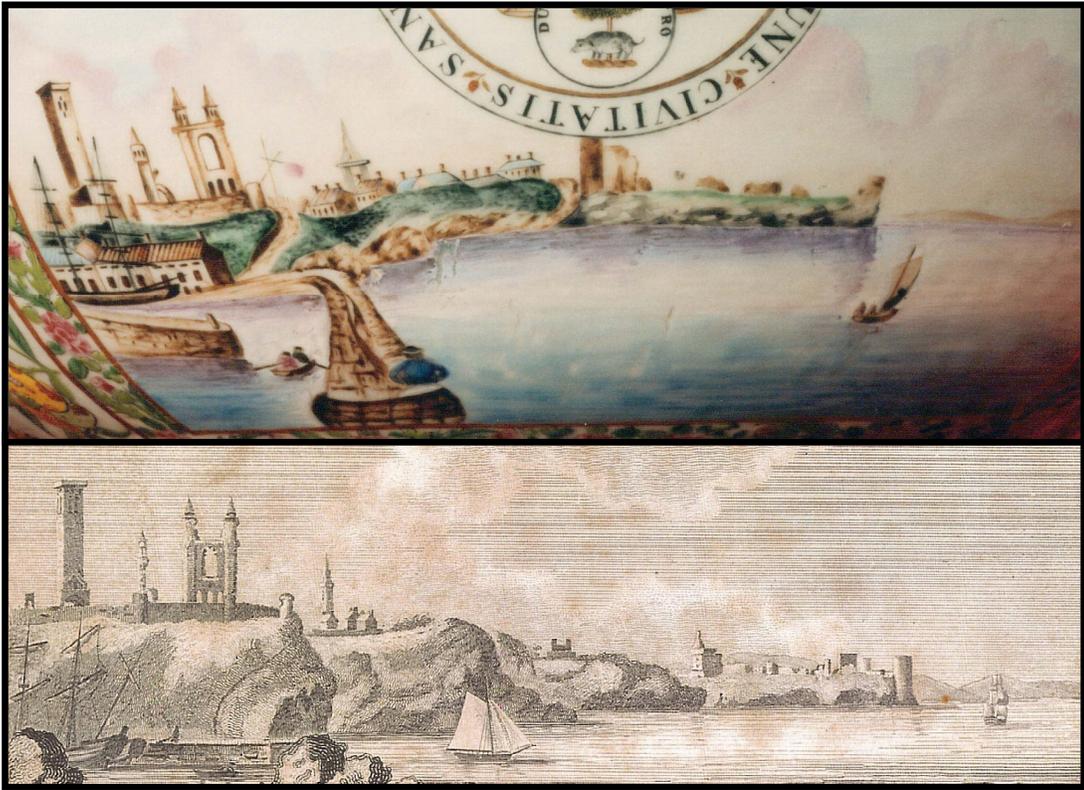


Figure 3.26 A comparison of the St Andrews harbour scenes that appear on the “Canton Bowl” (Top) and in Grierson’s *Delineations of St Andrews* (bottom). (Reproduced by kind permission of the Royal & Ancient Golf Club of St Andrews.)



Figure 3.27 A watercolour study of the Ruins of St Andrews from the perspective of the end of the Pier, produced by the Rev. John Cook. (Courtesy of the University of St Andrews Library.)

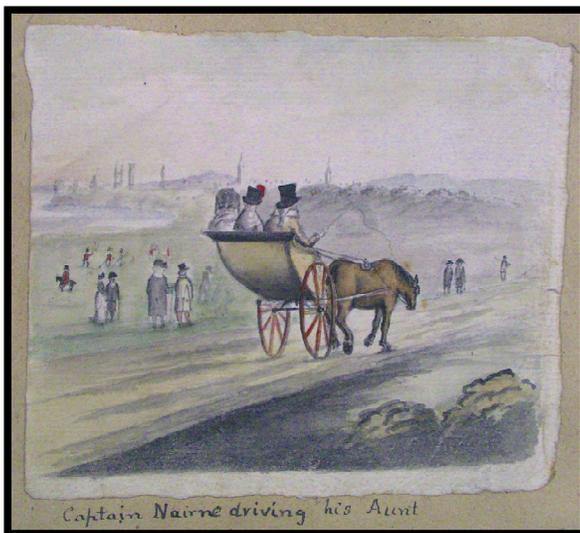


Figure 3.28 A watercolour scene “Captain Nairn Driving his Aunt” from the sketch book of the Rev. John Cook, Professor of Biblical Criticism at St Andrews (1808 – 1924). The ca.1797 scene depicts golf on the links, with a view of town in the distance. (Courtesy of the University of St Andrews Library.)

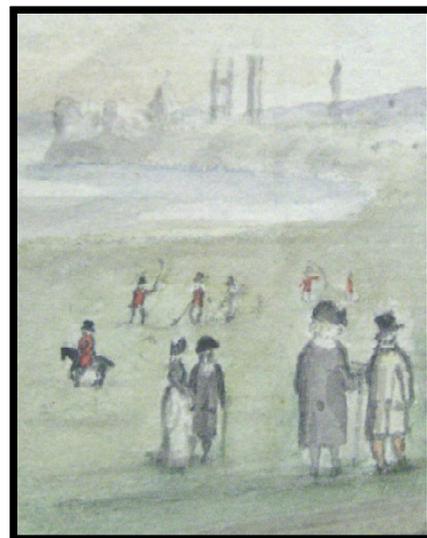


Figure 3.29 A detail of the golf scene from Cook's sketch.

CHAPTER 4 - Developments during the “gap years” of 1826 to 1890

The period of the production of the convivial and commemorative punch bowls, *ca.* 1780 to *ca.* 1826, is its own sub-genre within the subject of golf ceramics. Clearly the bowls came about subsequent to the rise of the first golfing societies and prior to the decline of the British East India Co. Understanding that the full effects of the “golf boom” were still more than sixty years off, there is then a period of “gap years,” *ca.* 1826 to *ca.* 1890, when organized golf was still forming and expanding but not yet to the level where it was identified as a prominent theme for the potteries. This was a period of great change in the game as golf spread from the north in Scotland to the more populous and industrial south in England. As we will later see, the dramatic effects of the “golf boom” of the late Victorian and Edwardian era would not have been so prominent were it not for the many advances made during the “gap years” which provided ideal conditions for growth. Of particular importance is the twenty-year period (1870 to 1890) during which the advances made during the “gap years” converged with the prosperous Victorian society and its changing views on sport and leisure. This chapter will explore the many factors which both resulted from and directly increased the rapidly expanding golf population. A brief examination of the wares from this period and the influences behind them is necessary due to the rarity of the examples but also to gain a better perspective on the conditions that led to the sudden and pervasive production of golf pottery during the boom.

The success of the earliest golfing societies in Scotland and England progressively led to new cliques and clubs throughout Great Britain. It is estimated that by 1860 there were more than thirty golf clubs in Scotland and well over fifty by the end of the decade.¹ With the expansion of the railway lines in the United Kingdom, golfers became more connected, resulting in grand rivalries, team matches, and a tradition of challenge matches. As talented professional golfers emerged from caddie ranks and prominent golfing families, they drew the admiration and support of their respective regions. By the mid-19th century, young golf artisans were making a modest living by producing golf balls and clubs, caddying, and earning the occasional profit through a challenge match. At the same time, communities and regions were becoming more aware of golf beyond their sphere.

¹ Bobby Burnet, *The St Andrews Opens* (Edinburgh: Sportsprint Publishing, 1990), 10; John Burnett, *Riot, Revelry and Rout: Sport in Lowland Scotland Before 1860* (East Lothian: Tuckwell Press, 2000), 72, n.151.

Challenge matches first became prominent in 1819 with a "caddie tournament" that took place in St Andrews for the Autumn Meeting of the R&A.² By the 1830s, heated challenge matches attracted widespread attention and participation, particularly in Scotland.³ Amidst constant speculation and debate as to which town or region could claim the finest player, skilled golfers, such as "Old" Tom Morris, Allan Robertson, the Straths of St Andrews, and the Park and Dunn families of Musselburgh, often backed by large sums of money offered by syndicates of local supporters, seized opportunities to compete for reputation and gratuities.⁴ The 1840s boasted numerous big money matches, including one in 1843 between Allan Robertson of St Andrews and Willie Dunn of Musselburgh, in which the two men engaged in a contest spanning twenty rounds, or a total of 360 holes. In 1849 Robertson and "Old" Tom partnered against the Dunn brothers over the links of Musselburgh, St Andrews, and North Berwick for a £400 purse. The tradition of challenge matches continued to develop, soon to include amateur competitions and team invitational events.

A new golf club, Prestwick, was formed in Ayrshire in 1851, in large part due to the efforts of a prominent local laird, James Ogilvy Fairlie. Fairlie, with the support of the Earl of Eglinton, smartly lured the iconic "Old" Tom away from St Andrews to tend the green at Prestwick, earning an immediate seal of legitimacy for the new club. Fairlie was actively involved in the R&A, becoming a member in 1838 at the time of the inception of the professional sweepstakes events, and served as Captain in 1850. Fairlie was also recognised as one of the finest amateur golfers in Scotland, evidenced by this poetic tribute:

² Ibid., 12-13. Burnet notes that the 1819 R&A caddie tournament was held on the second day of the Autumn Medal, and included professionals, who were deemed caddies, ball makers, and clubmakers. The tournament was arranged by the members, who provided the financial "in-puts" for the tournament.

³ *Fifeshire Journal* (Cupar: September, 1835); "On Thursday a match was played betwixt the two St Andrew Pieries and Robert Oliphant, younger of Rossie, and Thomas Alexander, famed on the Burntisland Links; and after playing on the course two rounds, the Pieries gained by seven holes; they are undoubtedly the first players in Scotland." Bobby Burnet, *The St Andrews Opens* (Edinburgh: Sportsprint Publishing, 1990), 12-13; A professional sweepstakes was arranged by the R&A, held on the Thursday after the 1838 Autumn Medal. This contest was won by, "Mr. Geddes of Musselburgh at 93 strokes - Alex Pirie came in at 97. This was reckoned very crack play."

⁴ In most instances, participating golfers did not play directly for a purse, but rather were provided a gratuity from the sponsoring parties or syndicates as a reward, based upon the relative merits of their performance.

I've kept a man, *in petto*, for the last-
Not an old golfer, but by few surpassed-
Great Captain Fairlie! When he drives a ball-
One of the *best*, for he don't hit them *all*,
It then requires no common stretch of sight
To watch its progress and to see the light⁵

Thus Fairlie, with all of his competitive and administrative experience, well understood the importance of immediately incorporating a competitive component, such as professional challenge matches, into the fabric of the new club. So, in Prestwick's inaugural year, a match was arranged between "Old" Tom and Musselburgh's Willie Dunn, which was won by Dunn, two-up.

The tradition of challenge matches grew in frequency in the 1850s, featuring bouts between various combinations of the game's greatest players.⁶ The professional matches evolved slightly away from mere regional rivalries to include contests that considered competitive pairings based more on ability. Many combinations of matches, sometimes over the course of four days at four different venues, attracted handsome purses. By 1857 Prestwick had instituted a major inter-club tournament, which was won by the men of Blackheath. Concurrently, at St Andrews the R&A introduced a series of "Grand National" inter-club tournaments that took place in 1857, 1858, and 1859, which included the finest amateur golfers in Scotland. When one considers the rise in professionalism, lucrative challenge matches, and the introduction of popular invitational events, it is apparent that the conditions were ripe for a defining "Open Championship."

Such a competition was developed by Fairlie in the image of previous professional medal play contests, to be held at Prestwick in 1860. Fairlie and his supporters at Prestwick put up a richly ornamented silver and red morocco challenge belt, similar to those won by prize fighters of the era, as an award to the champion golfer. While it is apparent that the first few Open Championships were not initially popular or well-attended, this may be attributed to the lack of prize money being offered and a general absence of competitive

⁵ W. W. Tulloch, *The Life of Tom Morris* (London: T. Werner Laurie, 1908), 49.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 86-90; In 1852, "Old" Tom played at St Andrews, partnering with Allan Robertson in a match against Sir Robert Hay and Willie Dunn. In 1853, "Old" Tom returned to St Andrews to play in a match against Allan Robertson. Later that year, "Old" Tom began a series of duels with Willie Park, competing in upwards of eight matches in four years. In 1854, "Old" Tom and Bob Anderson teamed against Allan Robertson and Willie Dunn. In 1857, "Old" Tom partnered with Willie Park against Allan Robertson and Andrew Strath. That same year, "Old" Tom competed against Captain Maitland Dougall at St Andrews.

spirit in light of the prowess of "Old" Tom and Willie Park. This apathetic outlook changed slightly in the 1863 championship with the introduction of second (£5), third (£3), and fourth (£2) place prize money. The necessity of the purse to maintain interest amongst the professionals was obvious to the organisers, as the prize money continued to grow from this point onward. Prestwick hosted the Open Championship from its inception in 1862 until 1873, when it was moved to St Andrews.

An important consequence of the heightened profile of golf and the swelling ranks of notable professionals, was an increase in the number and variety of golf-specific publications. Newspapers across Scotland and England began to devote more space to the coverage of match results and the events of prominent golfers and clubs. The featherball era, which extended to *ca.* 1848, saw little mention of golf in literature; in Donovan and Murdoch's *The Game of Golf and the Printed Word*, just over a dozen titles are listed, few of which contain more than a brief reference to golf, or a poem about the game.⁷ However, the ensuing "Gutty" era, a period of less than fifty years, produced more than ten times as many golf books as the previous four centuries. The golf bibliography continued to grow during the boom years, but many of the publishing trends and precedents were already established.

⁷ Richard E. Donovan and Joseph S. F. Murdoch, *The Game of Golf and the Printed Word* (Endicott, New York: Castalio Press, 1988), 1-7; *The Actis and Constitutions of the Realme of Scotland maid in Parliament haldin be the rycht excellent, hie and mychtie Princeis King James the first, Second, Third, Feird, Fyft, and in tyme of Marie now Queen of Scottis* (Edinburgh: Special Collections, National Library of Scotland, [Ry.II.b.7(1); H.33.c.21(1)], Robert Lekpreuik, 1566), 338; Henry Adamson, *The Muses Threnodie: or Mirthful Mourning on the death of Mr. Gall. Containing variety of Poetical Descriptions, Moral Instructions, Historical Narratives and Devine Observation, with the most remarkable Antiquities of Scotland, especially of Perth* (Perth: James Cant & Robert Morrison, 1774); James Arbuckle, *Glotta, A Poem Humbly Inscribed to the Right Honourable The Markees of Carnarron* (Glasgow: William Duncan, 1721); George Fullerton Carnegie, *Golfiana, or, Nicities Connected with the Game of Golf* (Leith: Privately Printed, 1833); James Cundell, *The Rules of the Thistle Golf Club: with some historical notices relative to the progress of the game of golf in Scotland* (Edinburgh: Privately Printed, 1824); George Bernhard Depping, *Evenings Entertainments; or, Delineations of the manners and customs of various nations, interspersed with geographical anecdotes, and descriptions in natural history* (London: Henry Colburn, 1811); James Grierson, *Delineations of St Andrews* (Edinburgh: Peter Hill, 1807); Honourable Company of Edinburgh Golfers, *Laws to be Observed by the Members of the Golfing Company in Playing Golf* (Edinburgh: Privately Printed, 1775); Edmund Hoyle, *Hoyles Games Improved* (London: J. F. & CA. Rivington, 1790); Thomas Mathison, *The Goff; A Heroi-Comical Poem in Three Cantos* (Edinburgh: Privately Printed, 1743); Musselburgh Golf Club, *Laws of the Musselburgh Golf Club with some notices Respecting The Game* (Musselburgh: Privately Printed, 1829); Benjamin Rush, *Sermons to Gentlemen upon Temperance and Exercise* (Philadelphia: John Dunlap, 1772); Joseph Strutt, *The Sports and Pastimes of the People of England: Rural and Domestic Recreations, May-Games, Mummeries, Pageants, Processions and Pompous Spectacles, from the earliest period to the present time* (London: J. White, 1801).

The “Gutty” era introduced the first "serious" book on the game, *The Golfer's Manual, being an Historical Descriptive Account of the National Game*, which, in addition to the historical perspective on the game, was the first book to include instructional material.⁸ The author, who employed the pseudonym "A Keen Hand," was actually Henry Brougham Farnie, a student at the University of St Andrews in the 1850s (Figure 4.1).⁹ Soon after the publication of Farnie's book came a host of new types of golf-specific publications, including the first golf anthology, *Historical Gossip about Golf and Golfers*, by George Robb in 1863, and the first limited edition golf book, *Golf a Royal & Ancient Game*, by Robert Clark, in 1875.¹⁰

Another by-product from the heightened profile of professionals and regular schedule of competitions was the need for golf annuals. Many of these annuals documented the personalities, courses, and events of the golf community, bringing the game and its participants further into public awareness. Robert Howie Smith penned *The Golfer's Yearbook for 1866*, uncommon not only as the first published annual of its kind but also for its ambitious listing of club members of the day.¹¹ The next such annual to appear, though short-lived, was *The Golfer's Annual for 1869-1870*, written by Charles MacArthur.¹² By the end of the 1880s, the sizable golf market provided ample material to support additional annual publications geared specifically toward golf. The informative *Golfing Annual* was published from 1887 through 1910.¹³ *The Golfer's Handbook*, written by Robert Forgan, was published first in Edinburgh ca. 1881 and continued with annual

⁸ Richard E. Donovan and Joseph S. F. Murdoch, *The Game of Golf and the Printed Word* (Endicott, NY: Castalio Press, 1988), 11-14; H. B. Farnie ("A Keen Hand,") *The Golfer's Manual, being an Historical Descriptive Account of the National Game of Scotland*, (Cupar: Whitehead and Orr, 1857).

⁹ David Hamilton, *Golf Scotland's Game* (Kilmalcom: The Partick Press, 1998), 257; Hamilton describes Farnie as, "A student at St Andrews, was later an editor, controversialist, adulterer, bigamist, and librettist."

¹⁰ George Robb, *Historical Gossip about Golf and Golfers* (Edinburgh: Privately Printed, 1863); Robert Clark, *Golf and Royal & Ancient Game* (Edinburgh: R & R Clark, 1875).

¹¹ Robert Howie Smith, *The Golfer's Yearbook for 1866* (Ayr, Scotland: Henry & Grant, 1867).

¹² Charles MacArthur, *The Golfer's Annual for 1869-1870* (Ayr, Scotland: Henry & Grant, 1870); MacArthur was a golfer from Edinburgh.

¹³ C. Robertson Bauchope (ed.), *The Golfing Annual* (London: Horace Cox, 1887 to 1910).

editions into the 1890s.¹⁴ Manufacturers of golf equipment, such as A. G. Spalding Bros., entered the publishing frenzy later during the boom, producing *Spalding's Official Golf Guide* from 1895 to 1931.¹⁵

The spread of golf throughout Great Britain produced an international ripple-effect as British citizens transported golf across the Empire and to regions of proprietary interest around the world. In India, clubs were formed at Bangalore (1820), Royal Calcutta (1829), and Royal Bombay (1842). In the Southern Hemisphere, golf was first organized in Australia at Royal Adelaide (1870), Melbourne (*ca.* 1874), and Sydney (1881); in New Zealand at Dunedin (1871) and Christchurch (1873); and in Tasmania (*ca.* 1905). In the Far East, clubs were formed in Thailand at Royal Bangkok (1890); in Hong Kong (1889); in Shanghai (1896); and in Kobe, Japan, at Mount Rokko (1900). In South Africa early golf was played at Maritzburg Golf Club (1884) and Royal Cape Golf Club (1885). In Canada, the first organised golf in North America came at Royal Montreal (1873), followed closely by Quebec (1874), Toronto (1876), Ottawa (1876), and Niagara (1882). In the United States, a series of clubs formed almost simultaneously in the 1880s in West Virginia, Pennsylvania, Vermont and New York.¹⁶ In Central and South America golf was introduced in Mexico City (*ca.* 1902), and British Honduras - Costa Rica (*ca.* 1903).¹⁷

¹⁴ Robert Forgan, *Golfer's Handbook, including History of the Game; Special Uses of the Different Clubs; Hints to Beginners; History of Golf Balls; The Feats of Champion Golfers; Golfiana; New Rules for the Game* (Edinburgh and London: The Golf Agency, *ca.* 1881 to 1895).

¹⁵ A.G. Spalding Bros., *Spalding's Official Golf Guide* (New York: American Sports Publishing, 1895 to 1931).

¹⁶ Much debate exists as to the first organised club in America. The Oakhurst Links, in White Sulphur Springs, West Virginia, claims a founding date of 1884, although the club was dormant for decades before reorganising. Foxburg Country Club, in Western Pennsylvania, claims to be the oldest American golf course in continuous use, with a founding date of 1887. Dorset Field Club, in Vermont, claims to be the nation's oldest golf course still playing on the same site, with a founding date of September 13, 1886. The St. Andrew's Golf Club, in Yonkers, New York, was formed by John Reid and his "Apple Tree Gang" in Yonkers, New York, on 14 November 1888. Reid is referred to as the "Father of American Golf," although it is clear that many golfers played sporadically across the United States well prior to Reid. There is documentary evidence that golf was played in America by Scottish émigrés informally as far back as 1743, on Harleston Green, in Charleston, South Carolina. The South Carolina Golf Club was formed in 1786, and a nearby Savannah Golf Club, in Savannah, Georgia, was formed in 1795.

¹⁷ David Hamilton, *Golf Scotland's Game* (Kilmalcom: The Partick Press, 1998), 200; Hamilton references specific Scottish émigrés that were instrumental in the expansion of the game in the above referenced locations. He bases his assertions on a number of sources, including: Daniel G. Soutar, *The Australian Golfer* (Melbourne: E.W. Cole, 1908); Terry Smith, *The Complete Book of Australian Golf* (North Sydney: Jack Pollard, 1967); G.M. Kelly, *Golf in New Zealand: A Centennial History* (Wellington: New Zealand Golf Association, 1971); C.F. Odell, *History of the Pretoria Country Club 1909-1975* (Pretoria: Privately Printed, 1977); Pearson Surita, *The Royal Calcutta Golf Club* (Calcutta: Privately Printed, 1979); T.F.R.

On Continental Europe, which will be covered in detail in Chapter 9, golf was first played at Pau, France, in 1856.

One image that originated from the development of the first golfing societies has remained a consistent theme in golf ever since, and is of particular importance to the discussion of wares produced during the “gap years.” The portrait popularly known as “The Blackheath Golfer,” was painted by Lemuel Francis Abbott *ca.* 1790 (Figure 4.2). The image depicts William Innes, a respected merchant of Lime Street Square in London, and Captain at Blackheath in 1778. Innes is thus portrayed in his formal Blackheath uniform along with his “College Man,” a pensioner caddie from the neighbouring Royal Naval Hospital of Greenwich. Innes is depicted wearing a wide-brimmed hat, breeches, and the traditional red Captain’s coat with blue facings and a single epaulette on his left shoulder.¹⁸ The caddie, positioned behind and to the right of Innes, is wearing a tri-cornered hat, dark breeches, and a blue coat. The twosome is posed standing on the Heath with a windmill, Morden College, Shooter’s Hill, and Severndroog Castle appearing in the distance.¹⁹

In most respects the Innes portrait was similar in style and motivation to previous 18th - century golf portraits, such as David Allan’s image of William Inglis (1787), or Sir George Chalmers’s painting of William St Clair (*ca.* 1770). The portrait was commissioned by the subject or by the club as a tribute to his golfing prowess; the image reflects the self-importance of the subject in relation to his status within the golfing

Waters, *History of Hong Kong Golf Club* (Hong Kong: Privately Printed, 1960); *Golfing* (6 Feb. 1902, 26 March 1903).

¹⁸ Captains and Past Captains at Blackheath traditionally wore a single epaulette. Only later when Henry Callender earned the rank of Captain General in 1807 was a Blackheath man permitted to wear two epaulettes.

¹⁹ Francis King, “Double Life of the Blackheath Golfer,” *Golf Illustrated* (London: 24 January 1986), 20-21. The whereabouts of the original portrait of William Innes has been somewhat of a mystery for many years. Recent research by King has turned-up a secret double life of Innes that included a mistress named Agnes Palmer with whom he had nine children over a period of thirty years. A series of family documents including Palmer’s Will, a memorandum written by her grandson General Henry Palmer titled *My Father, his sisters and brothers*, and General Palmer’s privately printed memoirs *Indian Life Sketches*, outlines the fate of the painting: Innes left the painting to Agnes Palmer, who in turn left the painting to her oldest surviving child, the Rev. William Palmer. The Rev. Palmer served as senior chaplain of the Bengal Presidency of the East India Company. The Rev. Palmer’s son, General Henry Palmer later wrote, “For as long as I can remember, and up to the outbreak of the Indian Mutiny on the night of the 30th May, 1857, when my house at Lucknow, was burnt down, with every scrap in it, there was before me either in my father’s house (The Rev. William Palmer), or mine, an oil painting, full size, of a gentleman standing in a field, holding a golf club, under which was inscribed, “John Innes, Father of the Scottish Golf Club.”

society; and each figure is posed using the implements of the game in a familiar golfing landscape. “The Blackheath Golfer” image, however, attained a much higher degree of recognition and longevity than its counterparts due to its numerous and varied reproductions as a general golfing representation. In fact, it is undoubtedly the most familiar and ubiquitous image in golf history.

The international popularity of the portrait is mainly due not to the notoriety of Innes or Royal Blackheath but to the fact that the subject has come to represent many other general characteristics associated with the early formation of society golf or club life in Great Britain. Innes, in his full red-coated uniform, is himself a symbol of affluence and aristocracy strongly associated with early golfing societies. In a 5 June 1891 advertisement in (British) *Golf* a photogravure was offered for clubs to “enrich the attractiveness of the Golf clubs to members” and for members to “embellish their home surroundings” (Figure 4.3).²⁰ Clearly, as additional clubs came to feature the image on their walls, more golfers in turn sought to decorate their own homes in a similar fashion. The popularity of “The Blackheath Golfer” image demonstrates that golf clubs and societies have exemplified among their membership the highest standards in taste. In their appearance Innes and his pensioner “College Man” depict both extremes of class, personal wealth, and success. In the view of many golfers, perhaps subconsciously, the portrait is seen as a reflection of the social dominance of the golfer and the subservience of his caddie. During the prosperous Victorian Era, the image of Innes as a symbol of affluence had great bearing on its use as a popular theme in re-prints, glassware, and decorative silver and enamel works. In the same *Golf* advertisement, these differences are subtly insinuated when “Mr. Innes” is described as wearing “picturesque” and “ceremonial garb” while his caddie is noted as more “serviceable than artistic.” Moreover, it is slyly mentioned that the caddie has “a bottle which peeps...out of his right-hand pocket,” illustrating the all-too-popular notion that ramshackle caddies and their drinking are a charming aspect of the game.

²⁰ “A Celebrated Golf Picture,” *Golf: A Weekly Record of “Ye Royal and Ancient” Game* (London: Golf, 5 June 1891), 202.

Almost immediately upon completion of the portrait it was reproduced in a 1790 mezzotint by Valentine Green, thus becoming the first golf print ever published.²¹ Original 23 ¾” x 17” (60.3cm x 43.2cm) mezzotints were produced in black & white, although some were later hand-coloured. It is estimated that only fifteen of these important prints remain in existence today. Numerous subsequent mass reproductions were created of “The Blackheath Golfer” image before 1926, including a black & white platinotype in 1891 by John Thompson, a photogravure in 1901 by R. Samson, and mezzotints in 1914 to 1917 by Will Henderson, and again in 1926 by W. A. Cox.²²

Specific to the present examination, “The Blackheath Golfer” image has been used as a common theme in ceramics.²³ The most noteworthy example is an 8” (20.3cm) Staffordshire portrait figure of Innes and his caddie that was produced *ca.* 1830 to 1840 (Figure 4.4). Very few of the Blackheath Staffordshire portraits exist, and it is not known which manufacturer produced the figure. Examples of the original figure can be found in the Royal Blackheath museum and the collections of the Brighton & Hove Museums. Only rarely are original examples offered at auction, the first of which was presented at Bonham’s *Golfing Memorabilia* sale of 8 August 1998.²⁴ The Stoke Museum is noted to have the moulds for this particular piece.²⁵

²¹ Valentine Green, *William Innes – Dedicated to the Society of Goffers at Blackheath*, mezzotint (23.75” x 17”), 1790.

²² John Thompson, *William Innes – Dedicated to the Society of Goffers at Blackheath*, platinotype (23” x 17”), *ca.* 1891, London. This print was advertised in “A Celebrated Golf Picture,” *Golf* (London: Golf, 5 June 1891), 202. The print sold for £2.2s. unframed or £3.3s. framed; R. Samson, *William Innes – Dedicated to the Society of Goffers at Blackheath*, photogravure, 1901; Will Henderson, “William Innes,” colour mezzotint, 1914 to 1917; W. A. Cox, “William Innes,” colour mezzotint (15” x 10.5”), 1926, London, The Gainsborough Galleries. The Henderson print was offered in “An Unique Opportunity,” *Golf Illustrated* (London: 25 June 1926), 30.

²³ Royal Worcester made a 6” (15.2cm) porcelain beer tankard with the Blackheath Golfer image *ca.* 1916. Additional pottery examples include a 10.5” (27cm) Continental porcelain bowl with a pink lustre rim and grapevine interior border featuring a central scene of Innes without his caddie, a tankard produced by Gray’s pottery, and a Sandland’s 5.25” (13cm) humidior produced *ca.* 1935.

²⁴ Bonham’s, *Golfing Memorabilia* (Manchester: Bonham’s, 8 August 1998), 12, Lot #239; Reproductions of the 19th-century Staffordshire figure were made *ca.* 1926 to 1930, along with more modern reproductions.

²⁵ Arthur Hayden, *Spode and His Successors* (London: Cassell & Company Ltd., 1925), 43; Perhaps the fact that Valentine Green’s mezzotint was reproduced in statuary form is not surprising when it is considered that he studied under the tutelage of Robert Hancock, one of the earliest practitioners of the art of transfer printing on pottery. In 1756, Hancock worked at Worcester, creating some of his finest engravings for transfer. Hancock, in turn, studied mezzotint under Thomas Frye of Bow porcelain works. Green went on to great success as a mezzotint artist; Pat A. Halfpenny, *English Earthenware Figures 1740 to 1840* (Suffolk, England: The Antique Collectors’ Club, 1991), 214.

Another example that dates to the “gap years” also featured a version of the “Blackheath Golfer” image as its central theme. In Henderson and Stirk’s *Golf in the Making* there is an illustration of a Continental tea caddy and domed cover thought to have been custom-painted by a London decorator *ca.* 1825.²⁶ The object features a fully-painted and faithfully-reproduced scene of Innes standing on the Heath but with the conscious omission of the caddie figure. The Continental tea caddy and the Staffordshire portrait figures, clearly inspired by the success of the Valentine Green “Blackheath Golfer” mezzotint, became the first wares produced for mainstream consumption to utilize a golf theme.

Another example from the “gap years,” also illustrated in Henderson and Stirk, is an 8.25” (21cm) Scottish earthenware “daisy” plate dating to the mid-19th century.²⁷ The plate features a transfer printed scene of three golfers in full Highland dress. The scene includes a small fenced cottage in the background, set amidst trees. The primary golfing figure is shown holding a long nose wood at address to a featherball. The kilted golfer plate is an excellent early example, however stereotypical the scene, of golf pottery produced in Scotland. This is particularly noteworthy given the almost complete absence of pre-1900 wares produced in Scotland with a golf theme.

One final example from this period, a 7.75” (19.7cm) stoneware plate by R.W. Martin Bros. of Southall, London, is perhaps the finest example of Arts & Crafts golf pottery ever produced (Figure 4.5).²⁸ The Martin Bros. plate is inscribed on the back as being produced in 1879, which was well-ahead of the boom. It therefore was not conceived in response to a sudden expansion in golf’s popularity or to the success of wares produced by competing firms. Nor was the plate a self-congratulatory commission or a commemorative piece. By all appearances, the plate was produced simply because someone in the firm thought it would make a successful scene. The plate was hand-thrown and decorated with a central scene of a suited golfer standing with a long nose wood at address to the ball. The image was incised in the contour line style characteristic of Hannah Barlow, and spot coloured with washes of green and white. The golfer is

²⁶ Ian T. Henderson and David I. Stirk, *Golf in the Making* (Crawley: Henderson & Stirk, 1979), 298.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 298.

²⁸ Malcolm Haslam, *The Martin Brothers Potters* (London: Richard Dennis, 1978), 56, Fig. 61.

depicted wearing a derby, jacket, and trousers, which in itself is a departure from the standard depiction of 19th-century red-coated golfers in knickerbockers. Finally, the Martin Bros. plate was produced more than a decade in advance of other Arts & Crafts golf examples and by a firm renowned for its craftsmanship therein.

As we have seen, by 1870 numerous advancements occurred in the game that both resulted from and fostered the golf population growth, such as the growing profile amongst professionals, a greater schedule of competitions, events and regional rivalries, and an expanding body of golf-specific literature. As we will next explore, these factors will converge in the late Victorian and Edwardian eras with much greater changes in British society, and with views on sport as a whole. By 1890 the conditions and attitudes were ideal for the expansion of the game and its identification as a staple market in the production of pottery.



Figure 4.1. Henry Brougham Farnie, author of *The Golfer's Manual, being an Historical Descriptive Account of the National Game*. (Courtesy of the University of St Andrews Library.)



Figure 4.2. “The Blackheath Golfer” mezzotint by Valentine Green, after Lemuel Francis Abbott.

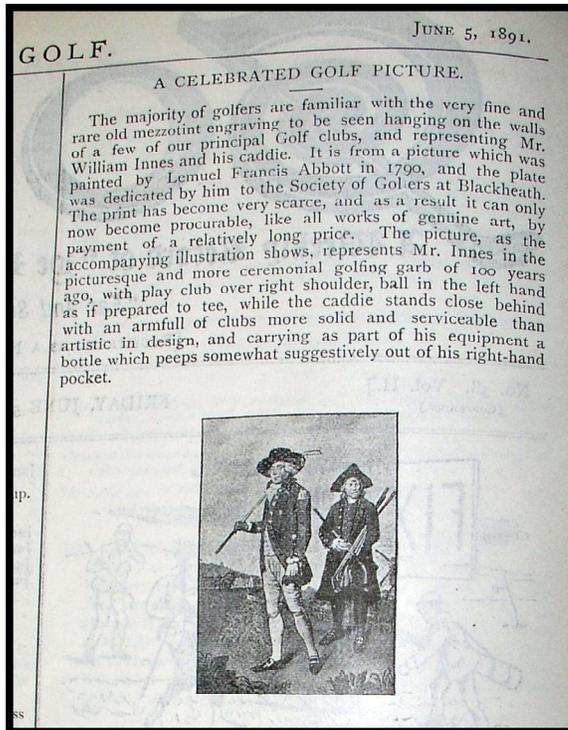


Figure 4.3. Advertisement for the “Blackheath Golfer” print appearing in the 5 June 1891 issue of (British) *Golf Illustrated*.



Figure 4.4. Staffordshire portrait figures of William Innes and caddie taken from “The Blackheath Golfer Print, ca. 1830 to 1840. (Courtesy of the Brighton and Hove Museum.)



Figure 4.5. A stoneware plate by R.W. Martin Bros. of Southall, London, 1879.
(Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Archives.)

CHAPTER 5 - The “golf boom” of 1890 to 1905, and the emergence of mass-produced wares

Great societal changes occurred as a result of the massive economic expansion beginning in the later years of the Victorian era and progressing through the reign of Edward VII. Various scholars have attempted to quantify the rise of the middle classes during this period, and although the numbers and date ranges differ slightly depending on the study, the conclusion is inevitably reached that the English middle classes grew at an unprecedented rate. In *Sport and the Middle Classes 1870 - 1914*, Lowerson samples a variety of analyses which offer evidence of this trend:

Harold Perkin has placed some 1,500,000 families in the broad ‘middle classes’ by 1867. Guy Roth has offered a possible 2,500,000 families in the same general categories by 1914. Musgrove has offered a wider constituency, from 1,699,000 families in 1881 to 2,869,000 in 1911. W.J. Reader has estimated a 50 per cent growth in middle-class numbers during a period when general population growth was 39 per cent.¹

This is often a misleading exercise because eventually within the broadening definition of ‘middle class’ there developed complex levels of financial success, social aspiration, and overall affluence. The influx of ‘new wealth’ produced a generation of professional men with a surplus of disposable income and spare time. As we will explore, British society, particularly in England, saw sweeping changes in attitudes toward sport and recreation which by association and influence rippled around the world.

The economic success in the late Victorian and Edwardian era was fuelled by new industries and jobs which offered higher wages and shorter work hours, the development of a capable rail network, and the proliferation of the mass press. Consequently, there formed an expanding base of literate professional men. According to the “Occupational Listings” in the *Decennial Census* returns, men of “independent means” rose from 25,510 in 1871 to 97,466 by 1891.² Over the same two-decade-period, the number of professional men, such as Stock Brokers, Accountants, Barristers and Solicitors, Auctioneers, and the

¹ John Lowerson, *Sport and the English Middle Classes 1870 – 1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993), 6; Harold J. Perkin, *The Origins of Modern English Society, 1780-1800* (London: Routledge & K. Paul, 1969), 420; Guy Routh, *Occupation and Play in Great Britain, 1906 – 1960* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1965), 104; Frank Musgrove, “Middle Class Education and Employment in the Nineteenth Century”, *Economic History Review*, (1959), 12; William J. Reader, *Professional Men: The Rise of the Professional Classes in nineteenth-century England* (London: Privately Printed, 1966), 211.

² *Ibid.*, 9.

like, rose at an equally impressive rate. This legion of well-off men, motivated by the pressure to fit within a social hierarchy, sought opportunities for networking, camaraderie, and self-improvement. The new middle-class masses developed a taste for the finer things in life, including artistic and academic pursuits, elegant homes, high fashion, and a more refined menu of sporting and leisure activities. Most important to the present examination was the ensuing change of long-held views on sport and leisure activities.

The cultural transition caused by the expanding British middle class led to a period when sport and recreation were viewed with an increasing sense of personal and moral worth. Aptly described by Holt, this Victorian “culture of respectability” led to a series of legislative acts which banned cruel sports and violent animal sports such as bull-baiting and cock-fighting.³ Other unregulated contests, such as prize fighting and bare-knuckle contests took longer to change, primarily because of aristocratic patronage, though boxing eventually prevailed with the development of the National Sporting Club in 1891, followed shortly thereafter by the first gloved bout in 1892.⁴ Participation in sporting endeavours became an exercise in developing not simply the body, but purifying the individual mentally and spiritually as well. This revived appreciation for physical beauty and grace, in combination with a more socially diverse population of sportsmen, led to a battle for the moral high-ground between Amateurism and Professionalism.

The notion of the ‘Gentleman Amateur’ arose during this period when greater numbers of working-class sportsmen entered the ranks of sport, and, in the eyes of many upper-class purists, muddied the waters of fair play. Secondly, with the development of a sporting mentality amongst public schools, colleges, and post-graduate clubs, the model gentleman amateur took on an elitist persona. Amateurism, along with its high-minded idealism, often served as a mechanism to exclude high-level participation based mainly upon class. Perhaps the strongest indication of the extent to which amateurs went to delineate themselves from their professional counterparts, thereby defining the essence of the game in their view, came through the development of scores of new amateur regulatory bodies,

³ Richard Holt, *Sport and the British – A Modern History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 12-28, 42, 65-66. The Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (SPCA), mainly supported by evangelical humanitarians, helped enact the *Cruelty to Animals Act* of 1835. This legislation suppressed bull-baiting and eventually made great progress in deterring cock-fighting and other cruel animal sports.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 65-66. The National Sporting Club instituted the “Marquess of Queensberry Rules” which were originally drafted in 1865 and first published in 1867 as a means for fighters to conduct themselves in the ring by a prescribed set of Rules.

including the Amateur Athletic Club (1866), Amateur Athletic Association (1880), Amateur Boxing Association (1880), Amateur Swimming Association (1886), National Amateur Rowing Association (1890), and Amateur Fencing Association (1902). In rowing the distinction was most clearly drawn with the “Henley Definition,” devised in 1878, which essentially eliminated all those who competed for money. Moreover, the “Henley Definition” also drew a participatory distinction based upon profession, listing examples of those that would not be tolerated, including “mechanics, professionals, artisans and labourers.”⁵ In general terms, amateurs were viewed as having better technique, sounder fundamentals, and greater knowledge of the intricacies of the game, therefore making fewer mental and physical miscues and providing a sounder overall standard of play. Professionals, on the other hand, were often viewed as brawny labourers who lacked common sense, and the understanding of the subtleties or nuances of the game. The debate on the ethical and physical purity of the athlete was one based mainly upon class distinction.

Most if not all sporting and leisure activities benefited from greater participation due to the dramatic changes in late Victorian society, and, as Lowerson states, “golf enjoyed the greatest boom of any game.”⁶ According to (British) *Golf Monthly*, there were almost 1,200 golf clubs with more than 1,000 golf courses by 1914.⁷ This sudden and remarkable expansion in the number of clubs comes in sharp contrast to the estimated dozen courses in existence in England prior to 1870. To accommodate the rising numbers of golfers, public and municipal courses were developed in addition to holiday and resort courses, and specialized clubs with membership devoted solely to the working class.⁸ In essence, golf bridged all social and economic debates of the era. So what specific characteristics did golf possess that facilitated a boom surpassing all other sports? Golf provided the ideal diversion because it was available to all economic strata within the middle-classes, it

⁵ Caspar W. Whitney, *Sporting Pilgrimage – Studies in English Sport, Past and Present* (London: Osgood & Company, 1895), 162-163.

⁶ John Lowerson, *Sport and the English Middle Classes 1870 – 1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993), 125.

⁷ (British) *Golf Monthly* (London: Drayton House, June 1912), 307.

⁸ The first holiday-style resort course in England is thought to be Eastbourne, which was instituted by the Duke of Devonshire in 1887. Bournemouth opened a municipal course in 1890, followed by Sheffield, Manchester, Brighton and many more. It should be noted that public golf in Scotland was deemed an integral component to the essence of the game for centuries, though this notion was never fully supported in England until after the 1890s.

was not physically taxing or time-consuming, it fulfilled the requirements as a social game which could improve one's standing in business, it was perceived as a pure and virtuous test of one's inner-self, it could be played virtually year-round in a pastoral setting, and it did not exclude the participation of the young, elderly, or the female populations. No other game could claim these qualities, and it became evident in the scope and scale of golf's expansion not only in Great Britain but around the world. As we will later discuss in greater detail, North America experienced a parallel boom in golf, developing 895 golf courses in the United States and 75 in Canada by 1916.⁹

The new importance placed upon the physical ideal of the amateur— in any sporting endeavour — led to the identification of individuals who best represented this notion. W. G. Grace in cricket, for example, became a cultural icon, held as the model of skill and style in his sport. In golf there arose a great many men who came to exemplify the virtues of the game, including Horace Hutchinson, Leslie-Balfour (Melville), Freddie Tait, and the Great Triumvirate of Harry Vardon, J.H. Taylor, and James Braid. As we will next explore, pottery manufacturers around the world looked to capitalize on the booming golf market and the growing population of affluent upper-class and middle-class golfers by developing wares that used the likenesses of well-known personalities who exemplified style and physical grace.

Just after 1890, prominent international potteries identified the affluent golfing population as one that was ready-made for the sale of decorative pottery, and many therefore initiated plans to develop golf-specific wares targeting the British and North American markets. Often, artists and designers who worked in the potteries had little first-hand understanding of the images they were charged to create. Once a manufacturer determined that a line of golfing wares was to be developed, artists, unfamiliar with the game, were then compelled to find reference materials from which they could draft accurate figural representations of golfers in action. Life-study drawings were impractical, as there were few readily accessible golf links, especially in urban centres. One could not easily dress a studio model in golfing attire, using the proper equipment with believable technique in the appropriate setting. A far better solution then was to seek published images or photographs of expert golfers in action for reference use.

⁹ P.C. Pulver, *American Annual Golf Guide and Year Book* (New York: Golf Guide Publishing, 1916), 139-276, 279-292, 314-320.

While golf publications became more prevalent during the last decade of the 19th century, few periodicals or annuals offered images or photographs that illustrated the game in action. British *Golf* contained few pictures of golfers until it became *Golf Illustrated* in June of 1899. Annual golf guides featured champion golfers in suit and tie holding a golf club, often with a medal pinned to their lapel. Rarely were these golfers shown in action on the course. Published images were a bit easier to locate in America, thanks in large part to *Golf* magazine which contained numerous photographs, advertisements, and illustrations of regional and national golf tournaments and championships beginning in 1897. For most artists and designers, golf books proved to be the easiest source from which to locate suitable reference material, as, by the turn of the 20th century, there were more than 100 golf books, dozens of annuals, and weekly coverage of events in periodicals. Therefore, it is logical that most of the original reference materials used to create golfing scenes can be traced to printed images of well-known golfers of the era.

Many of the first golf wares have their roots in the notable personalities and publications of the late 19th century. One of the finest texts on the game of golf, titled *Golf*, was written by Horace Hutchinson for *The Badminton Library of Sports and Pastimes* in 1890.¹⁰ Hutchinson was twice British Amateur champion and twice runner-up between 1886 and 1903. He was much respected for his thorough understanding of the principles of the game and his personal insights on the top players of the day. To his credit, Hutchinson was able effectively to translate this knowledge onto paper. He became renowned for his analysis of the game through his many published writings.¹¹ Hutchinson penned more than a dozen books from 1886 to 1919, and featured prominently in periodicals (British) *Golf* and *Golf Illustrated* during the same span of time.

¹⁰ Horace Hutchinson, *Golf: The Badminton Library of Sports and Pastimes* (London: Longmans, Green, 1890).

¹¹ In addition to his account of golf for the Badminton Library, Hutchinson penned: *Hints on the Game of Golf* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1886); *Famous Golf Links* (London: Longmans, Green, 1891); *Golfing: The Oval Series of Games* (London: George Routledge, 1893); *British Golf Links; A Short Account of the Leading Golf Links in the United Kingdom* (London: J.S. Virtue, 1897); *A Golfing Pilgrim on Many Links* (London: Methuen, 1898); *The Book of Golf and Golfers* (London: Longmans, Green, 1899); *Aspects of Golf* (Bristol: J.W. Arrowsmith, 1900); *Golf: A Complete History of the Game, together with Directions for Selection of Implements, the Rules, and a Glossary of Golf Terms* (Philadelphia: Penn, 1900); *Bert Edward, the Golf Caddie* (London: John Murray, 1903); *Golf Greens and Greenkeeping* (London: Country Life, 1906); *The New Book of Golf* (London: Longmans, Green, 1912). *Fifty Years of Golf* (London: Country Life, 1919); *The Lost Golfer* (London: John Murray, 1930).

Although Hutchinson's Badminton anthology discussed the specialized topic of golf in great detail, because it was part of a larger, highly popular sporting series, it was available to a much wider audience than his other writings. In addition to golf, the Badminton series effectively seized upon the British sports and recreation craze with volumes on Archery, Athletics, Billiards, Boating, Coursing and Falconry, Cricket, Cycling, Dancing, Driving, Fencing, Fishing, Football, Hunting, Motoring, Mountaineering, Poetry, Racing, Riding, Rowing, Sea Fishing, Shooting, Skating, Swimming, Tennis, and Yachting. It stands to reason that anyone, such as pottery artists and designers, wishing to learn the intricacies of the game would turn to this particular book, both because of Hutchinson's expertise and the relative availability of the volume at the time of the "golf boom."

The illustrations in Hutchinson's book were wonderfully executed in photographic form, line drawings, and watercolours. The images, specifically in the section on *Elementary Instruction*, depict golfers in positions to illustrate "as it should be" in opposition to golfers in poor form. Many of the line illustrations were produced from photographs, by C. L. Shute, while the watercolours were made by the renowned golf artist, Thomas Hodge.¹² Hutchinson himself served as the model for many of the images, but he used many famous golfers of the day to illustrate proper form throughout the text. Numerous illustrations of golfers in proper form can be directly identified as source material for pre-1900 golf wares by the Ceramic Art Company, O'Hara Waltham Dial Co., Hauber & Reuther, Simon Peter Gerz, W. Wood & Co., and James McIntyre & Co.

The most extensive use of the Hutchinson images was made by the Ceramic Art Co. of Trenton, NJ, for a golfing series produced in the late 1890s. One particularly important line image depicts Hutchinson "at the top of the swing (as it should be)" on p.88 (Figures 5.1 - 5.2). The image features Hutchinson executing a "Scots swing," or "St Andrews swing" which is characterized by a free lifting left heel, "flying" right elbow, and a

¹² Peter J.M McEwan, *Dictionary of Scottish Art & Architecture* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, England: Antique Collectors' Club Ltd., 1988); Mary Ann Wingfield, *Sport and the Artist Volume 1: Ball Games* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, England: Antique Collectors' Club, 1988), 146-147; Hodge was born in Truro, Cornwall. He is noted as a watercolour painter of golfing subjects and figurative scenes. He was an avid golfer who was well-known in Prestwick and later St Andrews, where he claimed the Autumn Medal on three occasions and the Spring Medal once. Hodge is famous for his many sketches of golfing personalities of the era between 1860 and 1890. Hodge also contributed artwork for Andrew Laing, *A Batch of Golfing Papers* (London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent, 1892), and Robert Clark, *Golf A Royal and Ancient Game* (Edinburgh: R&R Clark, 1875).

generous shoulder turn to the point where the eye can barely remain trained on the ball. At the time of its publication, this swing style was generally considered from the “Old School,” as many young champions had already started to incorporate modern techniques into their swing. A second image, appearing on p.95 depicts Hutchinson "at the end of the swing (as it should be)" (Figures 5.3 - 5.4). C.A.C. produced the Hutchinson swing images on a range of shapes in the 1890s, although mostly on steins.¹³ The Hutchinson figure was reproduced in exacting detail under-glaze in monochrome shades of blue, green, or sepia. Little creative license was taken with the image, as positioning, attire, shadows, and ground effects were all faithfully reproduced on the body of the stein. As we will discuss later in Chapter 7, the same Hutchinson image "at the end of the swing (as it should be)" was also used by the Ohio-based pottery manufacturer Robinson Clay Products on a blue washed stoneware mug (Figures 8.11 - 8.12).

A third image of Hutchinson’s “Three quarter stroke” appearing on p.120, was incorporated in the same series of C.A.C. golf wares. A fourth image from the book, a watercolour by Thomas Hodge, appearing on p.140, was also used as reference material for the series. The Hodge painting illustrates Hutchinson lining up an iron shot “Off the left leg,” referring to the positioning of the ball in the stance (Figures 5.5 - 5.6). This image was altered somewhat in reproduction, as the C.A.C. figure appears wearing plus-tvos rather than trousers, and the background features trees as opposed to Hodge’s dappled dunescape.

All four images from Hutchinson's *Badminton* book were also used in a collaborative series of golf wares between the Ceramic Art Company (later Lenox), the O’Hara Waltham Dial Co., Inc. (Waltham, MA), and a network of international distributors.¹⁴ The O’Hara Waltham Dial collaboration featured the popular Ceramic Art Company golf mugs with a hinged pewter lid and a custom decorated, enamelled porcelain inlay. This enigmatic collaboration will receive further discussion in Chapter 8.

¹³ The Ceramic Art Company stamp is a "C.A.C." surrounded by a wreath in matching colour to the main body colour. In 1896, Walter Scott Lenox became the sole owner of the company, incorporating the Lenox name into a new stamp. By 1906, Lenox had reorganized the company into Lenox, Inc., which was reflected in the stamp.

¹⁴ O’Hara Waltham Dial Co. was one of the premier watch dial manufacturers in America, *ca.* 1890 to 1926. The company became renowned for special and unusual dials decorated in elaborate underglaze techniques.

A fifth image from the Hutchinson book, features Mr Leslie Balfour (Melville) on p.105 (Figure 5.7). Mr Balfour, who later changed his surname to Balfour-Melville, earned a reputation as one of Scotland's finest all-round amateur athletes, competing on the highest levels in golf, cricket, rugby, and lawn tennis. He was perhaps most associated with golf, winning dozens of titles as an amateur at the Royal & Ancient Golf Club and the Honourable Company of Edinburgh Golfers. In 1895 he finally won the Amateur Championship after many years of contending for the title. Mr Balfour (Melville) embodied the standard of style and grace of the late-Victorian amateur, and his athletic figure on the golf course was certainly one that was hard to mistake.

The Balfour (Melville) image was used by the Burslem-based porcelain and earthenware manufacturer James McIntyre & Co., Ltd. on a golf series, *ca.* 1896 (Figures 5.8 - 5.9). Like the Hutchinson book plates, "At the top of the swing (as it should be)," "At the end of the swing (as it should be)," and "Three quarter stroke," the Balfour (Melville) line drawing was also created by C. L. Shute. McIntyre used the Balfour (Melville) likeness on a full range of shapes in the late 1890s, including a claret jug, biscuit barrel, salad bowl with silver rim and serving utensils, covered sugar bowl, match holder, cream pitcher, and lemonade jug. The Balfour (Melville) image was altered only in the sense that colour was added to the figure, most prominently in the form of a bright red golfing coat. This no doubt gave a more formal and proper appearance to the figure, though not entirely accurate for Balfour (Melville).

Continental manufacturers also focused on capitalising on the "golf boom" of the 1890s, which most certainly posed a difficult assignment for artists and designers, given that golf was virtually non-existent in Germany and Austria at the turn of the 20th century. Nonetheless, many German and Austrian pottery factories recognised the growing potential for sales of golf-themed wares, especially for export to the British market. The most extensive and distinct golfing series was produced by Simon Peter Gerz, based near Höhr-Grenzhausen, in the Westerwald region of Bavaria. Gerz founded his stoneware and porcelain business in 1862, which is still active today.¹⁵ In the 1890s Gerz earned an international reputation for producing blue-grey salt glaze stoneware steins.

¹⁵Jerry and Shirley Sprung, *Decorative Golf Collectibles: Collector's Information and Current Prices* (Coral Springs, Florida: Glentiques, Ltd., 1991), 18.

The sturdy Gerz golf stein featured a series of relief golfers in varying positions of the swing. Intermixed with the golfers is a young caddy figure holding a golf bag under an arm. The golfers and caddy vignettes appear in an outdoor scene with raised golfing terrain, with relief trees encircling the object. The Gerz wares generally included steins and pitchers with hinged pewter lids, and wide-mouth jugs with handles and stoneware stoppers. The characteristic grey-bodied stoneware shapes were typically blue-washed with a cobalt-oxide glaze to varying densities of colour.

One golfing figure that frequently appears on Gerz golf wares bears a strikingly similar appearance to that of Harry Vardon (Figures 5.10 - 5.13). By 1900, just prior to the production of the Gerz golf wares, Vardon was the most recognizable golfer in the world thanks to his many victories in Great Britain and his whistle-stop exhibition tour of the United States. He was also the first athlete to lend his name to a commercial product, the Vardon Flyer Gutta-percha golf ball, produced by A.G. Spalding Bros. in 1899. The Vardon Flyer advertisements appeared with great regularity in periodicals and annual golf guides to promote the ball. Vardon is seen in the advertisement gazing at the target as he prepares to drive the Vardon Flyer Ball. This particular image of Vardon, while similar to numerous other Vardon photographs of the time, is virtually identical to the figure on the Gerz wares. The wide Vardon stance, the angle of the club at address, the style of attire, the positioning of the head, the negative space between the club and the back leg, and the positioning of the ball relative to the feet, are all identical to the Gerz relief decoration.

While this may or may not be the exact photograph of Vardon that was used as the subject for the Gerz figure, it is certain that the figure is Vardon. This would also make sense from the standpoint of international distribution of the advertisement, and ubiquitous image of Harry Vardon. Finally, Harry Vardon would be the ideal subject for any golf wares heading to the British market, considering his recognisable profile and status as an international golfing hero.

Another golf ware of German origin, produced by Hauber & Reuther, features a famous British amateur golfer as the subject (Figures 9.1 – 9.2). Hauber & Reuther, based in Freising, Bavaria, produced porcelain and stoneware steins from *ca.* 1876 to 1909. The small company, estimated to have a staff of only thirty, mainly fulfilled custom orders

from interested clients.¹⁶ However, one sporting series featured exquisite etched stoneware steins with full-colour golfing figures. The steins, typically adorned with hinged pewter lids, included decoration patterns #1000 and #1001. The patterns featured an image of a gentleman golfer at the top of his swing (#1000), and another golfer at the finish of his swing (#1001). Interestingly, pattern #1002 is said to be of a female tennis figure. Most examples of these steins date to *ca.* 1900.

The Hauber & Reuther golfing figures were directly copied from photographs of champion golfer Freddie Tait that appeared in Horace Hutchinson's book, *Golf and Golfers* (Figures 5.14 - 5.15). This volume, first published in April 1899, featured photographs and analysis of the swing techniques of numerous champion golfers of the era.¹⁷ The first photograph featuring Tait "At the finish of his swing" appears as the frontispiece of the book. The image is noted as "from a photograph by Herbert Bickerton, Pentonville Road." The second image used by Hauber & Reuther is labelled "Mr. F. G. Tait at the top of his swing," appearing on p.144 of the Hutchinson book.

As with many of the early ceramics, the Tait images were copied directly with only minor adjustments in colour from piece to piece. Even Tait's checked cap and Argyll-banded socks are faithfully copied. The background, including the horizon line, tree line, and terrain are the same as those depicted in the photographs. Both figures may be found with varying colourways on the clothing, including a golfer in a brown suit, and a golfer in a red coat and striped plus-tuos. All of the golfing examples display the distinctive "HR" maker's mark.¹⁸ Again, this is a logical image to use considering that Tait was often

¹⁶ Ibid., *Decorative Golf Collectibles: Collector's Information and Current Prices* (Coral Springs, Florida: Glentiques, Ltd., 1991), 17.

¹⁷ Horace Hutchinson, *Golf and Golfers* (London: Longman's, Green, 1900).

¹⁸ Jack G. Lowenstein, Letter: *Lowenstein to Janet Seagle, 18 October 1979* (Far Hills, NJ: United States Golf Association Museum Archives, 1979); Mr. Lowenstein served as Executive Secretary and Managing Editor – PROSIT of Stein Collectors International. Mr. Lowenstein responded to a query by Ms. Seagle regarding a stoneware stein with hinged pewter lid in the collection of the United States Golf Association with the maker's mark "HR". Mr. Lowenstein surmised that the mark was that of Hauber & Reuther, of Freisling, Bavaria Germany. In addition to the impressed HR mark, the half-litre etched stein shows "Gesetzlich Geschützt", which is essentially a design copyright label that means *Protected by Law*. At the time of his response (1979), Mr. Lowenstein estimated the value of the stein, "if in perfect condition...in the neighbourhood of \$200"; Gary Kirsner, *Sunday, January 27, 2002 auction catalog* (Coral Springs, FL: Gary Kirsner Auctions, 2002); A virtually identical Hauber & Reuther golf stein appears in the 27 January 2002 Gary Kirsner auction catalogue for an estimated \$2,200-\$2,800. From 1979 to 2002, the golfing stein increased in value tenfold.

pictured in books and periodicals of the era, and that his likeness would be recognized in the British market.

Interestingly, the exact source image of Tait "at the top of his swing" appearing on the Hauber & Reuther stein can also be found as a motif on Gerz stoneware (Figure 5.16). That two German pottery manufacturers from the Westerwald region would use the same source image for their golf wares is telling, though not entirely surprising when considering that Hutchinson's books were viewed as definitive resources on the game at that time. It is not likely in this case that one manufacturer simply copied the other's successful design, as Gerz designs featured multiple golfers from varying source materials, and the Hauber & Reuther scene contains great detail specific to the published image of Tait. Therefore, in the case of the Freddie Tait image wares, each manufacturer derived separate golf designs from the same source material found in Hutchinson's *Golf and Golfers*.

The earliest mass-produced golf ceramics reflected the many socioeconomic changes that converged beginning in the late Victorian era to create the "golf boom." The iconic personalities that were used for subject matter, the sources from which the references were drawn, and the countries to which the wares were marketed, all speak to golf's unprecedented international growth during this period. Among others, McIntyre & Co. and W. Wood & Co. in England, Hauber & Reuther and Gerz in Germany, the Ceramic Art Company, O'Hara Waltham Dial Co., and Robinson Clay Products in America all seized upon golf's potential at once. The identification of golf as a new theme, and golfers as a promising, affluent market, initiated the production of hundreds of golf lines from more than ninety-six international manufacturers by 1930.



Figure 5.1. Horace Hutchinson “at the top of the swing (as it should be)” produced by C. L. Shute for *Golf: The Badminton Library of Sports and Pastimes*, ca.1890.

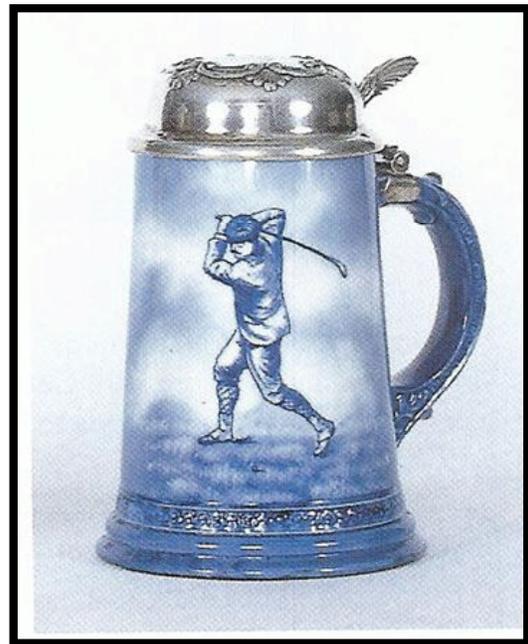


Figure 5.2. The Hutchinson mage used as source material for a line of Ceramic Art Company and O’Hara Waltham Dial Co. golf wares. Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Archives.



Figure 5.3. Horace Hutchinson “at the end of the swing (as it should be)” produced by C. L. Shute for *Golf: The Badminton Library of Sports and Pastimes*, ca.1890.

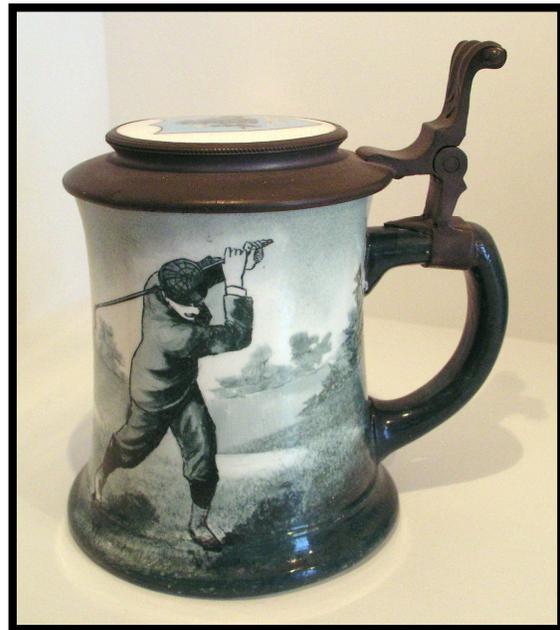


Figure 5.4. The Hutchinson image was used as source material for a line of Ceramic Art Company and O’Hara Waltham Dial Co. golf wares. Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Archives.

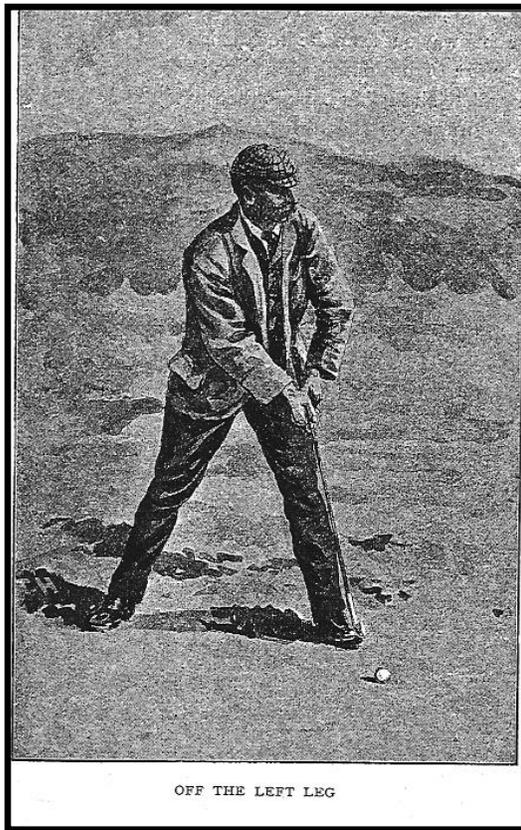


Figure 5.5. An image of Horace Hutchinson “Off the left leg” by Thomas Hodge for *Golf: The Badminton Library of Sports and Pastimes*.



Figure 5.6. The Hutchinson image was used as source material for a line of Ceramic Art Company and O’Hara Waltham Dial Co. golf wares. Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Archives.



Figure 5.7. Leslie Balfour (Melville) image from Hutchinson's *Golf: The Badminton Library of Sports and Pastimes*.

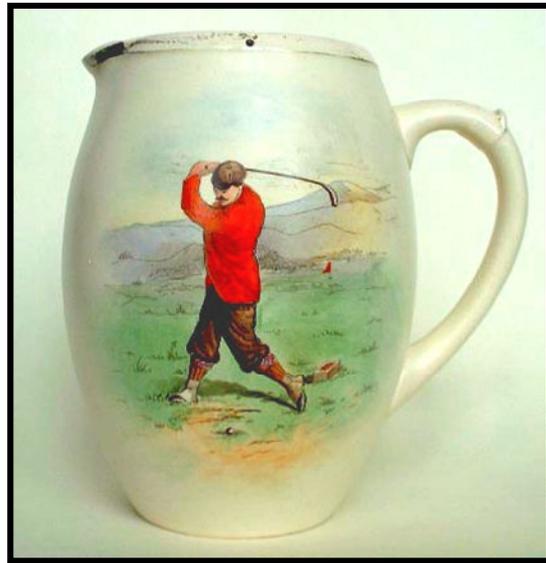


Figure 5.8. Lemonade jug featuring the Leslie Balfour (Melville) image, produced by James McIntyre & Co. Ltd., ca. 1894-1896.

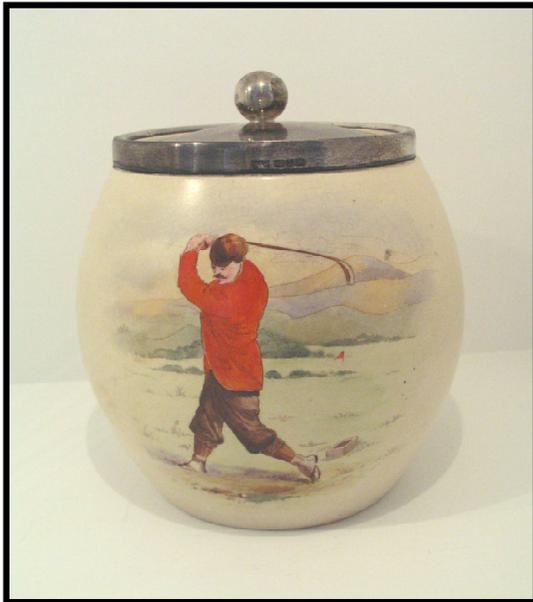


Figure 5.9. A covered jar, featuring the Leslie Balfour (Melville) image, produced by James McIntyre & Co. Ltd., ca 1894-1896 Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Archives.



Figure 5.10. A ca.1899 advertisement for the Vardon Flyer Gutta-percha ball, including a well-known image of Vardon at address to the ball.



Figures 5.11 (left) and 5.12 (right). Two blue-washed salt-glazed stoneware pieces produced by Gerz, featuring the Vardon likeness, ca.1899. Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Archives.



Figure 5.13. A side-by-side comparison of the Vardon Flyer advertisement image and the Gerz stoneware likeness.

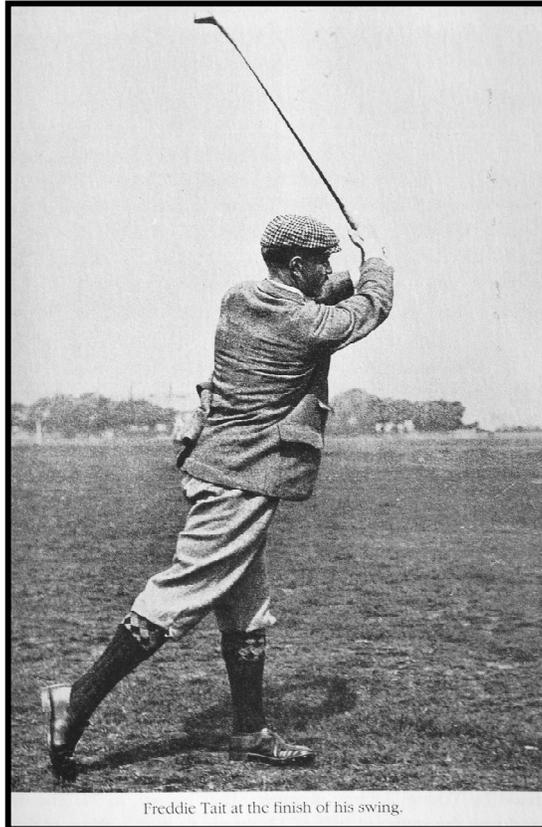


Figure 5.14. A photograph of Freddie Tait “at the finish of his swing,” appearing in the frontispiece of Hutchinson’s *Golf and Golfers*, 1899.



Figure 5.15. The Tait image used on a Hauber & Reuther incised beer stein, ca.1900 (mould #1001.) Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Archives.



Figure 5.16. The Tait image used on a line of Gerz salt-glazed stoneware, ca.1900. Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Archives.

CHAPTER 6 - Royal Doulton's Golf Wares

No other pottery manufacturer capitalised more often and more effectively on the growing golf market than Royal Doulton. Between the “golf boom” beginning in 1890 and the years leading to World War II, Doulton introduced twenty new and inventive golf lines into the pottery marketplace. Doulton initially drew upon its stable of talented in-house artists and designers to incorporate golf themes into existing lines. Later, the firm commissioned the work of internationally respected illustrators to create golf-specific imagery for innovative and diverse lines of series ware. Even during lean years during World War I, the Doulton golf lines remained active while more traditional lines languished and were eliminated from production. In the scope and success of its catalogue of wares, Royal Doulton best exemplifies golf's historical importance as a traditional sporting theme.

To understand the genesis of Doulton's golf wares, and in particular its initial endeavours in the Lambeth salt-glaze stoneware, we must first discuss the firm's development and formative philosophies. John Doulton first served in Fulham as a thrower, producing pint pots, beer vessels, and other chemical or spirit vessels. In 1812, after seven years apprenticeship, he joined a Lambeth studio owned by a widower named Martha Jones. By 1815 Doulton became one-third owner of the back-yard Lambeth pottery which became known as Jones, Watts & Doulton. Apart from the usual salt-glazed stoneware bottles and jugs, Doulton initiated the production of spirit flasks and specialty wares taking various shapes and forms, such as pistols, horns, and whistles.

Eventually, after the departure of Jones in 1820 and Watts in 1853, Doulton assumed full control of the firm.¹ Aside from “reform” flasks, produced in conjunction with the passing of the first Reform Act in 1832, Doulton's earliest relief-figure designs depicted field sports, such as fox and stag hunting, on salt-glazed stoneware shapes. Doulton incorporated these designs into the shape of the object as well, crafting greyhound or

¹ A. S. Church, *English Earthenware* (London: Wyman and Sons, Ltd., 1904), 35-43; Desmond Eyles and Louise Irvine, *The Doulton Lambeth Wares* (Somerset, England: Richard Dennis, 2002), 14-18. By 1820, with the withdrawal of Mrs Jones, the firm was left to the remaining partners, Doulton and John Watts. John Watts retired from the firm in 1853, leaving the business solely in the hands of the Doulton family. When Watts died in 1853, the firm became Doulton & Co., although the Watts name continued as part of the company trademark until roughly 1866.

foxhound handles on tygs, jugs, and loving cups.² The earliest examples of Lambeth relief-figure designs featured applications of tan base or body clay, with a portion of the top dipped in an ochre brown glaze. The combination of tan and brown on salt-glazed stoneware is now synonymous with Doulton Lambeth. Doulton applied the brown glaze specifically due to its ability to withstand intense firing.³ These pre-1850 examples typically bear the Doulton & Watts maker's trademark.⁴

In 1835 Doulton hired his fifteen-year-old son, Henry, as an apprentice with the firm. Shortly thereafter Henry began displaying remarkable aptitude and creativity in his work. He quickly mastered the practical aspects of production, from the preparation of the clay and potting of the object, to decoration, firing, and glazing. When Henry reached seniority and achieved decision-making power, he concerned himself almost entirely with the firm's production of industrial wares rather than fine art.⁵ Consequently, Doulton's pipes, toilet fixtures, chemical vessels, conduits, and insulators helped put the firm in good financial stead. As a by-product of Henry's focus, the period 1840 to 1875 was one concerned primarily with practical production rather than artistic. Later, in stark contrast to his single-minded focus on industrial wares, Henry Doulton finally sought to develop the firm's reputation for the production of fine art wares. He also spent a great deal of his personal fortune championing the arts community, promoting Doulton's art wares, and personally assembling a large and valuable collection of art wares.

Doulton art wares, as we know them now, were slow to arise. Henry Doulton was resolute in his belief that industrial wares and their profitability should be the sole focus of the

² Much later, in 1875, the range was extended to include hare coursing, Shakespearean figures, and additional popular themes, but this came after the period of Henry Doulton's focus on industrial wares.

³ Stoneware is fired at high temperatures, reaching a range of 1200 to 1300 degrees Celsius. This extreme temperature causes the surface to melt, eventually becoming very hard and non-porous. Other colours, such as blue, persistently bled during firing and often disappeared completely.

⁴ Desmond Eyles and Louise Irvine, *The Doulton Lambeth Wares* (Somerset, England: Richard Dennis, 2002), 17-27. Later versions of these popular designs utilized a slightly different production process, as white relief figures were sprigged onto the brown body with the tops dipped in the same ochre brown glaze. This modification helped the figures contrast to the body, much in the same popular manner as wares produced by Wedgwood and Copeland Spode. Some rare examples from this era feature stoneware with colour bodies or polychrome glaze in black, blue, or red.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 28-34. John Doulton, the firm's patriarch, died in 1873 near the age of eighty. He witnessed Doulton's rise to the top of the industry, and his son's capable accession to head of the firm.

business. He was deterred by previous attempts to produce art wares, largely because of their overall lack of success to date. Yet, beginning in 1860, Henry Doulton slowly warmed to the notion of Doulton art wares taking their place alongside the firm's trademark utilitarian wares.

Henry Doulton was motivated by the success of the nearby Lambeth School of Art and its artistic leader, John Sparkes, who urged him to look upon art wares more favourably. Eventually, Doulton agreed to sit on the Management Committee of the school, developing an understanding for more artistic endeavours. Sparkes pushed Doulton to hire one of his most gifted students, George Tinworth, which would prove to be among his finest decisions. Tinworth's artistic ability as a modeller soon became evident and during the period 1864 to 1871 his work was an influential factor in the success of Doulton's art wares. By the time of the 1871 International Exposition in South Kensington, Doulton had committed himself to a formal art studio at the factory. Again, he fed upon the talent of the neighbouring art school, hiring Hannah Barlow, Arthur Barlow, and later, Florence Barlow.⁶ Their work in preparation for the expo resulted in universally acclaimed art wares that became the catalyst for the growth and popularity of decorated salt-glazed stoneware in England.⁷

On the heels of the successful 1871 exposition, Henry Doulton committed himself to hire additional students from the Lambeth Art School. He expanded the Doulton art studio to accommodate his stable of seven artists and decorators. Doulton's commitment to art wares is reflected in the number of decorators hired from this point onwards, eventually totalling 345 by 1890.⁸ As with Tinworth and the Barlows, most of the artistic talent continued to flow directly from the Lambeth Art School.⁹

⁶ Hannah Barlow served as a stoneware designer and artist at the Lambeth Studio from 1871 to 1913. Arthur Barlow served in the same capacity from 1871 to 1878. Florence Barlow designed and decorated stoneware and "Marqueterie" from 1873 to 1909.

⁷ The Barlows struck upon a technique of using a style to incise the body of the object with expertly executed line drawings. The line drawings and decorative borders were incised into the clay, painted black, and fired to achieve a sgraffito appearance. Many of Barlow's works were erroneously dubbed "Doulton Sgraffito", even though true sgraffito uses a slip coated surface into which lines are incised to reveal the dark surface below. Hannah Barlow's work in particular drew upon her uncommon understanding of the animal form. Her love of animals was coupled with an ability to portray form with a simplicity and economy of effort. Her quality of line alone captured the essence of the subject, translating immense depth of field through the subtle variation of line intensity.

⁸ Desmond Eyles and Louise Irvine, *The Doulton Lambeth Wares* (Somerset, England: Richard Dennis, 2002), 36 - 44.

By the 1880s moulded series wares, usually produced in quantities of less than 2,000 and often less than 1,000, were instituted at Lambeth. This came in response to the growing demand for less expensive wares. The moulded series-ware pieces did not bear the monogram of the designer, rather the initials or symbols of the assistants. The assistants worked from the designer's original examples, producing expert work in their own right. Series or repetitive wares may also have been distinguished from hand-thrown wares by the listing of a factory order number or the impression of a number followed by an "X."¹⁰

Following Sir Henry Doulton's death in 1897 at the age of seventy-seven, the firm reduced the volume of artist-signed and series-ware pieces. This step resulted from the slowing of industrial ware sales, which had financially propped-up the firm for decades. Indeed, the art wares ran at a deficit even at the pinnacle of their popularity. It was therefore determined by Henry Lewis Doulton, the third generation of Doulton men to manage the business, to reduce the scope of the firm to a Limited Company. Thus, Doulton & Co., Ltd. was born on 1 January 1899. Just two years later, Doulton received the Royal Warrant of Appointment from King Edward VII, authorizing the firm use of the "Royal" designation.

To his credit, Henry Doulton remained committed to the development of art wares from the hiring of Tinworth in the 1860s, until his death in 1897. His altruistic pursuance of a wholly unprofitable aesthetic, considering industrial wares kept the firm afloat, was fiscally risky but true to his convictions. However, it may also be said that Doulton later over-developed the art wares within the firm perhaps for the sake of popular acclaim, especially as he most certainly knew that they ran at a deficit. The argument can be made that Doulton envisioned the development of the Doulton art wares and their popular success as his legacy to the industry at the expense of the financial good footing of the firm.

⁹ Ibid., 197. The artistic atmosphere at Lambeth in 1881 was the finest in the industry. Artists, then totalling 231, were afforded by Henry Doulton the luxury to pursue their own ability, sending their creations out "before the world" to survive or fail on their own merits. According to an article in the 1884 *Contemporary Review* (London: A. Strahan, 1884), artists were given expanded studios and workrooms in which to create their works. Doulton provided a library, music room, recreation room, and museum collection to stimulate their creativity and production. Trainees and assistants were given specially arranged evening art lessons at the Lambeth School of Art to aid in professional development and provide every opportunity to become a full-fledged studio artist.

¹⁰ Ibid., 199-200.

In the decades after 1900 Doulton faced a slowing trend in the production of industrial wares. Due to a confluence of detrimental economic and political factors, such as the Boer War, Russo-Japanese War, Balkan Wars, German militarism, and greater competition in the marketplace, pottery sales slowed dramatically. Industries were not able to make the same financial commitment to order pipes, vessels, and sanitary wares that previously benefited the firm. Consequently, Doulton could no longer rely on the sale of the industrial wares to support the extensive line of art wares. A factor, alongside the recessionary times, was the firm's financial commitment to maintain art studios both in Lambeth and Burslem.¹¹ The relative success of the Burslem studio led to reduced production at Lambeth and a dramatic reduction of in-house artists to a mere twenty-five by 1925. Through this transitional period, Lambeth continued to produce its trademark brown and tan salt-glazed stoneware. New series were introduced but only remained in production if sales proved promising. At the cusp of this difficult period at Lambeth, an extensive line of sporting wares was developed. These wares evidently remained in good standing during these lean years, as new combinations of shapes and relief figures continued until the outbreak of World War I in 1914.

Significantly, during the firm's most difficult economic period and through immense downsizing, Doulton continued to introduce new shapes and scenes in its Lambeth sporting wares. After the 1880s, when moulds were common for the production of pottery, Doulton continued to hold steadfast to the tradition of hand craftsmanship. Even within series ware, entire runs were produced and decorated individually. Doulton's adherence to traditional production methods, amidst the growing pressures of mass-production and price-cutting, lent artistic integrity to each piece.

Doulton Lambeth capitalized on the rise in popularity of recreational pursuits through the development of these sporting wares. As we have seen with the golf boom, sporting scenes became a reliable theme at a point when the industry fell on its most tenuous financial footing. These designs were generally produced between 1900 and the outbreak of World War I, although earlier examples exist that depict scenes of cricket, boating, horse racing, and rugby. The sporting scenes featured applied relief figures and vignettes often complimented with Art Nouveau borders in tan or blue. Additional traditional

¹¹ Doulton & Co. Burslem began in 1882. The Lambeth studio eventually closed in 1956.

sporting themes from this period included cycling, football, golf, and track & field events such as running, long jump, and shot-putt.

The most popular Lambeth golf wares, which were part of the sporting ware series, depicted scenes titled "Putting", "Driving", and "A Lost Ball." A diverse range of shapes was introduced, including a series of jugs in stepped sizes, beakers, flared mugs, loving cups, tankards, and a humidior (Figures 6.1 - 6.3). Occasionally, the Doulton Lambeth golf wares incorporated sterling silver rims, covers, or bands engraved for use as trophies. Scenes or figures from the same series may also be found on Doulton's specially commissioned golf trophies, like the Corby Challenge Cups (Figures 6.4 - 6.5).¹² Additional golf designs can be found on advertising jugs that touted Colonel Bogey Whisky, produced on stoneware vessels beginning *ca.* 1904 (Figure 6.6). The Colonel Bogey Whisky jugs typically featured an applied relief thistle border at the neck, an applied relief rampart lion crest on the body, and a transfer advertising scene with a golfer and caddie. Through its advertising wares, Doulton looked to capture the popularity of specific products, many of which related to the vices of smoking and drinking. A byproduct of the success of advertising wares was that Doulton reached a wider demographic of working class men and publicans.

Doulton Lambeth produced a line of jugs, occasionally with sterling silver rims, based on a set of humorous Rules of Golf cartoons by the popular illustrator, Charles Crombie (Figure 6.7). This was one of several popular series produced by the firm utilizing Crombie imagery.¹³ Crombie originally created his twenty-four lithographs as a bound promotional publication for Perrier. The humorous Rules of Golf series was commissioned "By special appt. to H. M. King Edward VII," 1905, along with similar

¹² Shirley and Jerry Sprung, *Decorative Golf Collectibles* (Coral Springs, FL: Glentiques, Ltd., 1991), 30. The Corby Challenge Cups were produced annually by Royal Doulton, likely between 1912 and 1927. The Corby Cups were made specifically as trophies for the winner of an amateur golf invitational competition held at Molesley Hurst Golf Club, in London. Each year the trophies assumed different shapes and sizes, but all featured similar colourful decorations in the Lambeth style. Each unique Corby Challenge Cup related to a larger "Mother Cup". Only a few examples of the Corby Cups exist, and all are now highly coveted by collectors. A two-handled Corby Cup was featured in Christies East *Golfing Memorabilia* (New York: Christies, 18 August 1995), Lot 35. The 10 ½" (26.7cm) Baluster Jug included a stylised figural finial of "Colonel Bogey", and was dated 1924.

¹³ The most important and extensive Crombie wares, produced as a line of Doulton series ware, will be discussed in detail later in this chapter.

treatments on Cricket and Motoring.¹⁴ Crombie also produced a series ware range for Doulton that featured humorous images of angling in the same style as his golf cartoons. Shortly after their introduction, advertisements for the Crombie portfolio appeared in leading golf periodicals of the era, including (British) *Golf Illustrated*, which offered the fully-bound series for 7s. 6d, a set of six unbound prints for 9s per set, or artist-signed proofs for 5s.each (Figure 6.8).¹⁵ The Crombie images, touted as the “cleverest drawings that have ever appeared on golf,” became widely-known and often reproduced. The Crombie Rules series was based on the wording of specific Rules of Golf, interpreted with satirical cartoons. Interestingly, and in contrast to the Morrisian Cavaliers, Crombie depicted his golfers in Puritan attire which lent a period appearance and comical premise to the work.

Three additional golf items produced during this period at Lambeth, which have proved to be quite rare, are 15.2cm (6”) stoneware bookends of two caddies, inscribed "Foozled" and "Fed up," (Figures 6.9, 6.10.) and a match holder with a golf ball design¹⁶ Clearly, through its commitment to the Sporting Series, Crombie stoneware, Corby Challenge Cups, advertising wares, bookends, and match holder, Doulton Lambeth recognised the growing golf market as one that provided active returns on investment.

The man behind the sporting series designs was John Broad. Broad served as a modeller, sculptor, designer, and decorator throughout his forty-six years at Royal Doulton. He worked in the shadow of George Tinworth but made significant and noteworthy contributions of his own, including numerous monumental figurative pieces. Broad was

¹⁴ Charles Crombie (1885 to 1967) was best known for his popular illustrations for *Punch*, *Vanity Fair*, *The Graphic*, and *The Bystander*; Charles Crombie, *Laws of Cricket* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd, 1906); Charles Crombie, *Motoritis: Or Other Interpretations of the Motor Act* (London: Perrier, 1905).

¹⁵ Advertisements for the golf series can be found in *Golf Illustrated*, (London: Golf Illustrated, 28 September 1906). The Crombie portfolio measures 18” (45.7cm) by 11 ¾” (29.8cm). The twenty-four plates included I (g), I (i), I (j), III, IV, VI, VII, VIII, IX, X, XI, XII, XII (v), XIII, XIV, XV, XVI, XVII, XVIII, XX, XXIII, XXXI, XXXII, XXXIII.

¹⁶ "Foozled" & "Fed Up" can be found in Christies *Golfing Memorabilia Sale* (South Kensington: Christies, 9 July 2002), Lot 27, 6. According to the under stamp, the bookends were produced between the years 1881 and 1910. They appear to be stoneware, produced in the Lambeth factory. This places them among the very first golf wares produced by Doulton at the Lambeth factory. The series of initials in the base and the underside of the bookends relate to the modelers and decorators who worked on the pieces. The "BH" mark on the base indicates the work of J. B. Harding, a modeler ca.1902. This might also give a more specific date of production.

able to translate his ability with the figure on both a grand scale and in much smaller applied relief decorations. His tenure with Royal Doulton was marked by expert craftsmanship and versatility, creating works in stoneware and terra-cotta. Broad's work with the golfing scenes found in applied relief on the sporting wares evidenced his unique sculptural ability and firm understanding of the figure. Primarily due to Broad's work, the Lambeth sporting wares are now admired for their artistic production process, and have remained popular in the modern collecting market.

Between 1870 and 1914, Doulton pushed the conventional boundaries of ceramic design with imaginative and unique wares, such as Faience, Impasto, Vitrens Fresco, Silica, Copper, Marqueterie, Natural Foliage, Chine, Gilt Circle, Cyprus, Majolica, Persian Ware, Crown Lambeth, Velluma, and Terra-cotta. Many of these colourful designs resulted from Doulton's willingness to experiment with a wide range of creative techniques and scientific processes. In an effort to produce wares that appealed to a greater audience of consumers, the firm strove to perfect and patent a multitude of these new techniques.

One such inventive process was Doulton Leatherware, which included a 9 ½" (24cm) golf bag, produced *ca.* 1902 (Figures 6.11 - 6.12). The leatherware container featured elaborate detailing that conveyed the seams, buckles, pockets, and stitchwork that approximated the appearance of a leather golf bag. The stippled texture was the brainchild of John Slater, Art Director at Burslem between 1877 and 1914. Slater co-patented the process of achieving texture by pressing netting, lace, linen, leather, and other fabrics and substances into the soft clay body (Figures 6.13 - 6.14). This effect, usually marked "Slater's Patent," can be found on Doulton Leatherware and Chine Ware, with underglaze decoration, overglaze decoration, or both. The process was quite popular at Doulton on stoneware borders, particularly between 1885 and World War I, but examples exist up to 1939.¹⁷

After opening in 1877 Doulton's Burslem studio initiated a thriving china business. In addition to tableware, the Burslem factory produced series ware, vases, bowls, ash trays, character and toby jugs, candlesticks, wall plaques, and a wide assortment of other popular products. The Burslem art wares that flowed from the factory became recognized around the world, mainly due to an extensive and highly acclaimed range displayed at the 1893

¹⁷ Desmond Eyles and Louise Irvine, *The Doulton Lambeth Wares* (Somerset, England: Richard Dennis, 2002), 170-171, 177-178.

Chicago Exhibition. According to under-markings, at some point between 1891 and 1902, Burslem produced a line of individually decorated golf wares. These decorative wares, now known simply as "Burslem" to golf collectors, are widely regarded among the finest-quality golf ceramics ever produced (Figures 6.15 - 6.18).

Doulton Burslem is characterised by expertly executed, hand-painted golf scenes in shades of pale blue and white. Some examples offer additional banding and gilded decoration. Most extant examples of this rare porcelain golf ware bear the signature, "J. Littler," who served as one of the many talented artists in the Burslem studio. Though examples are scarce, Doulton Burslem golf wares take an assortment of unique and elegant shapes. Known shapes include tankards, vases, baluster jugs, urns, covered pots, and loving cups, although it is exceptionally uncommon to find more than one or two examples of each shape.¹⁸ Of particular interest are the series of rounded bud vases with tiny top spouts, ranging from 7" (18cm.) up to roughly the size of a basketball. The three-handled loving cup is also unusual, in that the object features three distinct golfing vignettes that are completely surrounded in white, unlike most Burslem wares, which are traditionally fully covered with decoration (Figure 6.18).

Beginning in 1899 Doulton initiated a series of golfing tankards and jugs that again featured Charles Crombie golfing figures, produced with differing decoration processes that resulted in three distinct appearances. This new range was developed in the style of Doulton's Public House wares, which flourished in the age of the Victorian public house.¹⁹ Although the shapes within each series were created from common embossed moulds, the unusual decoration techniques facilitated the collection of multiple pieces. The popular earthenware range sold well for Doulton even through the lean war years, eventually being discontinued in 1949.

¹⁸ Christie's, *Golfing Memorabilia Sale* (South Kensington: Christie's, Thursday 8 July 1999), 11, Lots 57-58. Two particularly interesting examples of Doulton Burslem appeared together in an auction at Christie's in July of 1999. Lot 57 was a 30.5cm (12") fluted vase that featured a female golfing scene painted in a central panel. The image was bordered above and below with "scrolling stylised foliage" in gilt on a royal blue field. The object was estimated to fetch £5,000-£7,000. Lot 58 was a 31.8cm (12.5") wall plate featuring a golfing scene with a male golfer at the top of his swing. The object was estimated at £6,000 - £8,000.

¹⁹ Doulton's Public House wares, predominantly in Kingsware, were specifically produced for publicans, brewers and distillers. Similar to its advertising wares, many well known examples featured advertising for Dewar's, Bell's, and other producers of spirits.

The first of the three ranges was termed, "Kingsware" (Figures 6.19 - 6.21). Kingsware was produced when decorative colours were applied directly to the inside of an embossed mould. Next, a dark brown slip was poured into the mould and, when fired, the colours transferred and fused into the body of the vessel. This process is characterized by soft colourations with undefined borders on the figures. The Kingsware shapes subsequently received a high-gloss glaze that enhanced the tones of the decoration. An important characteristic of this production method is that the colour of the Kingsware body always matches the interior of the vessel. Some Kingsware examples bear the added feature of sterling-silver hinged lids or cork stoppers. By way of clarification, a series of 22cm (8.7") vases titled "The Scratch Man", "One Down", and "I Bet I Win" was produced by Crown Derby *ca.*1910, which takes the appearance of Kingsware and are often misattributed as Kingsware (Figure 6.22).

A rarer and highly sought-after version in this Doulton range was termed, "Queensware" (Figure 6.23). Queensware was produced in the same manner as Kingsware, although a cream-coloured slip was used with decoration colourations predominantly in a palette of pale blues, browns, and greys. As with Kingsware, the exterior body colour of Queensware examples matches the interior colour of the vessel. Queensware was produced in significantly less quantity than Kingsware, and is therefore more valuable within the modern golf collecting market than Kingsware.

The third and later variety in this range, produced after 1930, is termed "Airbrush Brown," and is given the series ware pattern number, D5716 (Figures 6.24, 6.25).²⁰ Airbrush Brown utilized the same shapes and Crombie figures as Kingsware and Queensware, although the decoration was executed on the body after moulding and firing. The airbrush decoration techniques resulted in a sharper and brighter appearance, though it was a much less involved production process. This airbrush decoration method also imparted a richer colour to the body of the object, in contrast to the white interior of the vessel. The distinction between the artistic production methods of Airbrush Brown and its earlier Kingsware and Queensware counterparts provides an important example of the growing

²⁰ It bears mention that Royal Doulton coded many of their wares with two different systems. The golf wares typically appear with an "LL" prefix as well as a "D", "E", "M", or "CN" prefix. Often, wares stamped with a "D" mark, appear in an "LL" pattern book. Therefore, where possible, both pattern numbers are referenced in this investigation.

trend for manufacturers to produce greater quantities in a more economical and expeditious manner.

By the early 1900s Doulton was producing a wide assortment of golf-themed ceramics to accommodate the growing population of golfers around the world, especially in the United Kingdom. Based upon the relatively long success of the golfing lines in comparison to the shorter duration of other sporting wares, Doulton initiated a new campaign of successful and inventive golf-themed series ware that is unmatched by any other manufacturer in the pottery industry. Between 1902 and 1937, Doulton introduced nearly a dozen different series ware golfing lines with lasting consequences to the financial well-being of the firm.

In 1902 Doulton developed its first and most artistically complex golf series-ware line, termed Morrisian Ware in honour of William Morris (Figures 6.26 - 6.29). Morris was the driving force behind the development and direction of the Art & Crafts movement in the second half of the 19th century. Before exploring the specifics of the Morrisian line, it is important to first discuss Morris and the elements of the Arts & Crafts movement that inspired the line. As we will see, Morrisian Ware ultimately represented many of the characteristics that Morris despised in the pottery industry, and exemplified the dichotomy that arose between the Arts & Crafts philosophy and the reality of a wealthy, industrial society.

Upon the expansion of the Industrial Revolution, William Morris fostered the viewpoint that capitalism, fuelled by individualism and greed, was degrading society as a whole. Morris and others believed that the expansion of industrialism and diminished integrity of the artistic process triggered the call for greater social and moral responsibility.²¹ Morris professed that proper design, whether in landscape, fine arts, architecture, or down to the smallest decoration, would serve to improve the greater society. Architects, writers, designers, furniture makers, poets, and artisans of all disciplines joined together in a form of artistic revolt against sloppy production methods and dull working environments. This

²¹ Politically, Morris adopted the Marxist view that the repressed working classes would eventually revolt and destroy society. With his company a success, Morris was still struck by the overall unimportance of his work to affect societal change. In 1883, he focused more of his energies on politics, joining the Marxist organization, The Democratic Federation, and helped found the Anti-parliamentary Socialist League. In 1890, Morris founded the Hammersmith Socialist Society.

purist view of artistic production fuelled the Arts & Crafts movement on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean.

In April 1861 William Morris founded Morris, Marshall, Faulkner and Co., engaging a stable of fine art workmen dedicated to the reform of greater and lesser arts through the hand-made production of stained glass, murals, carving, metalwork, embroidery, sculpture, and design.²² The firm used nature as the supreme example by which all products were measured. Morris's designs incorporated repetitive, intricate patterns of interlocking floral, vine, or leaf patterns. Examples of carpets, chair upholstery, embroidery, curtains, decorative page borders, even inlaid wood furniture, often shared this characteristic appearance.²³ Through its dedicated use of natural forms and dyes, and hand-craftsmanship, the firm distinguished its work from mainstream late Victorian design.

From the perspective of pottery production, Morris and the Art & Crafts Movement were particularly influential, helping return hand-crafted fine art pottery to its rightful place in the realm of aesthetics. Morris eventually set-up a kiln for the production of pottery and tiles, supporting the work of enthusiastic colleagues such as Webb, Edward Burne-Jones, and William De Morgan. Much of the work produced by the firm was decorative tiles and stained glass. According to De Morgan, Morris was reputed to have only designed three tiles, including *Trellis and Tulip*, *Poppy*, and "one other," though he is now thought to have made ten.²⁴

²² "Red House" was designed by Philip Webb and built for Morris in the summer of 1858. The house, situated in Bexleyheath, Kent, is regarded as a seminal Arts & Crafts building, and one of the first examples of a modern (architecture) house. The house is decorated and furnished with the works of many noted members of the Arts & Crafts Movement, including Edward Burne-Jones, Dante Gabriel Rossetti, and Morris.

²³ Linda Parry, *William Morris* (London: Philip Wilson Publishers in association with The Victoria and Albert Museum, 1996). Many of the natural patterns are illustrated in the calligraphy and illuminations from Morris' Kelmscott Press books. See examples in Parry book. See also, Gerald H. Crow, *William Morris Designer* (London: The Studio Ltd., 1934), for excellent examples of typography and book illustration from Kelmscott Press.

²⁴ Bevis Hillier, *Pottery and Porcelain 1700 – 1914* (London: Trinity Press, 1968), 244-253. For more information on Morris, his tile designs and fellow workers, see Richard and Hilary Myers, *William Morris Tiles* (London: Richard Dennis, 1996).

Morris maintained very strong views on the diminished integrity of pottery production and the “styleless anarchy” that prevailed in the industry.²⁵ In his lecture, “The Lesser Arts of Life,” Morris placed the current state of the pottery industry into historical perspective, surveying noteworthy wares of “progressive” civilizations up to the “so-called Renaissance,” which introduced a “period of blight” upon the art.²⁶ Morris evaluated the industry, stating, “...we have before us the workman who was but thought of as a convenient machine, and this machine, driven by the haphazard whims of the time, produced at Meissen, as Sèvres, at Chelsea, at Derby, and in Staffordshire, a most woeful set of works of art, of which perhaps those at Sèvres were the most repulsively hideous, those of Meissen (at their worst) the most barbarous, and those made in England the stupidest, though it may be the least ugly.”²⁷ In his subsequent outlining of five principles for proper pottery, Morris insists that the work should be thrown and spun by hand, thereby displaying a workmanlike rather than mechanically polished finish. The same held true for surface decoration, which Morris stipulated should be hand-painted work specifically suited for the surface of the material, and never of the printed variety. Finally, Morris argued that consumers should boycott the potteries until they receive the qualities that they ask for, understanding that they will pay more for each item but will require fewer pots.²⁸

With his views in mind, we can now see that Doulton’s Morrissian line displayed many of the characteristics that Morris despised about the state of the pottery industry; Morrissian was mechanically shaped to an extremely fine finish, transfer printed with elaborate and incongruent scenes, and produced mainly for commercial gain. Although Morris was undoubtedly influential in the resurgence of art pottery and a champion for improved

²⁵ William Morris, *The Lesser Arts of Life* (Lecture, unknown), 7; available from <http://www.marxists.org/archive/morris/works/tmp/life1.htm>.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ For additional information relating to Morris’s views on the Lesser Arts, see: William Morris, *Hopes and Fears for Art* (Chap.1, “The Lesser Arts”, Lecture delivered before the Trades’ Guild of Learning, 4 December 1877), 1-15; available from <http://www.marxists.org/archive/morris/works/1882/hopes/index.htm>; For Morris’s views on the pottery industry, see: William Morris, *Art and Beauty of the Earth* (Lecture delivered at the Burslem Town Hall on 13 October 1881), 1-12; available from <http://www.marxists.org/archive/morris/works/tmp/earth.htm>; Annette Carruthers and Mary Greensted (Ed.), *Simplicity or Splendour – Arts and Crafts Living: Objects from the Cheltenham Collections* (London: Cheltenham Art Gallery and Museums in association with Lund Humphries Publishers, 1999), 29-33.

production methods and working environments in the pottery industry, the Morrisian line was less a tribute to his influence than a good marketing opportunity for Doulton.

Through its opportunistic use of the Morris name without the underlying principles that he espoused, the Morrisian line serves as an example of the Arts & Crafts Movement's tragic flaw: that hand-made works of art were primarily affordable to the wealthy, whereas mass-produced works were easier to produce in quantity and therefore available to a wider segment of the population at less cost to the manufacturer and consumer.

In 1902, Royal Doulton commissioned the respected American illustrator, Will H. Bradley to produce artwork for a golfing line that would become Morrisian Ware.²⁹ Bradley had previously illustrated Doulton's Eastern Figures line of 1901. For Doulton's Morrisian line Bradley produced a series of nineteen golfers depicted in various stages of the golf swing.³⁰ Many of the golfers in the Morrisian series were represented as Cavaliers from the period of the English Civil War (1642 to 1651.) Bradley's courtly-fashioned male figures featured long hair with ringlets, wide-brimmed hats with plumage, falling collars, long jerkins or jackets, and breeches banded just below the knee. The female equivalents were depicted in long flowing gowns cinched at the waist, wide-brimmed hats with plumage, waistcoats, and low-heeled shoes. The use of Cavalier imagery was appropriate for the golf theme, as their adversaries during the war, the 'Roundhead' faction of the Parliamentarians, held Puritanical views on sport. In contrast to the 17th-century golfing figures, Bradley incorporated intricate Art Nouveau grapevine and leaf patterns, gilt floral bands, and other natural representations. Bradley's characteristic use of whiplash curves

²⁹ Bradley was a well-known graphic artist, art director, designer, and publisher within the Art Nouveau movement. He was influenced by the English Illustrator, Aubrey Beardsley, and is frequently mentioned alongside Alphonse Mucha and Gustav Klimt as being among the foremost illustrators in the Art Nouveau style. Bradley is regarded as the initiator of the newsstand poster craze in America in the 1890s, and is credited with the first Art Nouveau poster in America ("The Twins", *The Chap-Book*, 1894.) Among his many achievements, Bradley contributed illustrations and articles for *The American Chap-Book*, *Colliers Magazine*, and *Ladies Home Journal*. For more on Bradley, see Robert Koch, *Will H. Bradley: An American Artist in Print A Collector's Guide* (New York: Hudson Hill Press, 2002); Anthony Bambace, *Will H. Bradley: A Bibliographical Guide* (Boston: Oak Knoll Press, 1995).

³⁰ Morrisian golfing figures include: *Back view lady golfer; Front view lady golfer; Profile lady golfer; Golfer poised to putt, three-quarter view; Golfer poised to putt, profile; Golfer poised to putt, front view; Profile golfer in energetic swing; Bare-headed golfer in swing before hit; Front view golfer in swing before hit; Front view golfer in swing before hit (with boots); Front view golfer in swing after hit; Front view golfer in swing after hit (buckle shoes); Profile golfer in swing before hit; Profile golfer in swing after hit; Profile golfer in swing after hit (with cloak); Back view golfer in energetic swing; Caddy with clubs on his back; Caddy leaning on the golf bag; and Caddy taking a club from the bag*

and contrasting tones was emblematic of the increasingly popular Art Nouveau style, though his extreme stylization of the natural form was yet another element of Morrisian that contradicted Morris's design philosophy.

Morrisian Ware utilized combinations of Bradley golfers, appearing individually or together with other figures. In rare instances, golfing figures were used in tandem with Bradley's Eastern Figures. The series was produced in a wide combination of vibrant colourways, although examples are predominantly found in olive green and white on an ochre base, maroon on an ochre base, and (No. 7) blue and white on a maroon base.³¹ A majority of the Morrisian wares were produced of sturdy Whieldon Ware with Holbein glaze.³² Morrisian shapes are varied and usually elegant in their curvilinear Art Nouveau form. A wide assortment of shapes was produced, such as rack plates, teapots, jugs, flower bowls, covered cream and sugars, and jardinières.³³ One particularly impressive and rare Morrisian object is a two-piece, pedestal fern stand, currently in the possession of the United States Golf Association Museum in Far Hills, NJ (Figure 6.30, 6.31). As testament to the popularity of the Morrisian line, two 7" (17.8cm) loving cups sold for \$5,000 and \$5,600 respectively in a 1988 golfing memorabilia auction.³⁴ Doulton added new shapes and colourways to the Morrisian line until 1905, whereupon the series continued in circulation until *ca.* 1924.

³¹ Royal Doulton, *Pattern Book LL5* (Burslem: Royal Doulton Archives). According to Royal Doulton's pattern book LL5, additional combinations of colourways were considered, although it is not clear if they were ever produced. Pattern D2061 is a 14" (35.6cm) jardinière with a combination of Grey, Peach, and Pale Green. The pattern notes call for "Olive Green and Black print, Olive Green-Lemon Yellow and Black mixed, Emery's Dove Grey ground and No2 Gold trim." Pattern D2227 is a covered teapot with "Van Dyke Brown, cover & band etc in Olive Green, 108 Brown shade "aerograph" figures tinted on glaze in Bass's Red, Blue, Orange, and Light Green. Bottom band in No6 Chrome." Both D2061 and D2227 offer much more decoration detail among the figures due to extensive on-glaze coloration. Both also utilize a combination of golfing and Eastern figures.

³² Peter Faure, *The Connoisseur Complete Encyclopedia of Antiques* (London: The Connoisseur, 1975), 513. Wheildon Ware was named after Thomas Wheildon, a Staffordshire potter from 1740 to 1780. Wheildon ware is characterized as cream-coloured earthenware under a glaze splashed with metallic oxides. This technique imparts a tortoiseshell or mottled appearance.

³³ Royal Doulton, *Pattern Book D327 – D1435, D1590 – D1795 (or LL2087 – LL2377), D2019 – D2236, and LL-5* (Burslem: Royal Doulton Archives). Pattern numbers for the Morrisian series include: D1132, LL1497, LL1515, D1165, LL1602, D1385, D1395, D1396, D1398, LL1778, D1424 (2), D1430, D1464, D2227, D2061, LL2110, D1157/M125, D1157/M126, M130, D1418/M141, D1404/M142, D1404/M143, D1404/M144, D1404/M145, D1402/M146, and M155.

³⁴ Phillips, *Historic Golfing Memorabilia* (New York: Phillips, 17 December 1988), Lots 91-92.

Morrisian was not the only series ware line that Doulton produced with Bradley's Cavalier golfers. In 1911 the firm initiated a series of Proverb rack plates that incorporated the Bradley figures along with stylised floral and grapevine borders around the rim (Figures 6.32 - 6.33).³⁵ The inclusion of mottoes such as those used in the Proverb series and in the Crombie Golf series was a common artistic device during the Arts and Crafts Movement. Each of the seven proverb plates featured two insightful titles:

If at first you don't succeed try again
A miss is as good as a mile

Fine feathers make fine birds
Old saws speak the truth

Hope springs eternal in the human breast
Hope deferred maketh the heart sink

An oak is not felled by one blow
Take the will for the deed

Nothing venture nothing win
Count not your chickens before they are hatched

Fine feathers make fine birds
Handsome is that handsome does

Nothing venture nothing have
A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush

Related rack plates were developed by Doulton around the same time as the Proverb series that utilized the Bradley golfers in combination with an existing Castles and Churches Series (Figures 6.34 - 6.35).³⁶ Doulton apparently took similarly styled elements from active series ware lines to create new variations. Such was the case with the Doulton Picturesque Series, which presented the incongruous mix of well-known castles and churches on the rim of the plate, and a golfing figure as the central image. The

³⁵ The Proverb Series continued in production until 1928 and was identified by the patterns D3391, D3481/LL6389, and LL6276; Royal Doulton, *Pattern Book Pattern LL5* (Burslem: Royal Doulton, Ltd.). Pattern LL6276 is a Proverb Series rack plate. The decoration notes indicate "Print border in Dr Brown, center (figure) Black, tinted H/G, Golden Brown edge and band, Pale Yellow glaze." The central Edwardian figure is *Bare headed golfer in swing before hit*. Pattern D3481/LL6389 features a more vibrant and detailed decoration than traditionally seen on proverb plates. Pattern notes indicate, "For subjects print black center, Van Dyke Brown border tinted H/G Strong Yellow, Ultramarine Blue, Electric Green, Pink and Golden Brown. Edge Golden Brown, Pale Yellow glaze." The central Edwardian figure is *Golfer poised to putt three quarter view*.

³⁶ Louise Irvine, *Royal Doulton Series Ware Vol. 1 – Subjects from Literature Popular Illustrators Historical Characters and Event* (London: Richard Dennis, 1980), 83-85.

Picturesque Series featured historic views of Pembroke Castle, Melrose Abbey, Stratford-on-Avon, and Killarney, set in cartouches around the rim.³⁷

In a 1973 letter from the United States Golf Association Museum archive, a Royal Doulton Customer Service Department representative, Roland Bisailon, responded to an inquiry from the USGA Museum Curator and Librarian, Janet Seagle. Ms Seagle inquired previously regarding the production details of two Royal Doulton golfing rack plates in the museum collection, presumably from the Proverb series. Mr. Bisailon responded that the Burslem factory produced six different scenes between 1910 and 1912. He stated that the earthenware plates featured lithograph underglaze decoration, and were sold for \$3.00. Through the recollections of factory workers of the period, he estimated that one thousand examples were produced during its period of activity, though no additional information could be gained due to the loss of records to fire during World War II.³⁸

In the first decade of the 20th century Royal Doulton began to introduce new lines of series ware featuring imagery derived from popular English literature. The most well-known of these lines was Doulton's Dickens Ware series, based on the characters from the writings of Charles Dickens.³⁹ Another popular series conceived in the same vein was Doulton's Diversions of Uncle Toby (Olde English Games), based upon the

³⁷ The Picturesque series was assigned the pattern number, D1398; Royal Doulton, *Pattern Book LL5* (Burslem: Royal Doulton, Ltd.). Pattern D1398 illustrates the Morrisian styled Picturesque Series Rack Plate. The notations specify a white ground with Olive Green shading "traced in liquid gold, with H/G (Holbein Glaze) tinting in orange." The scene depicts the *front view of a golfer in swing before hit*. This particular pattern utilizes a scene of Melrose Abbey in the rim decoration. An image of Pembroke Castle, perhaps appearing in the Picturesque series is pattern number D3610/LL6315, found in Royal Doulton pattern book D3534-3741. A colour version of Pembroke Castle appears on the opposing page in the same pattern book. The ornate rack plate border that features Melrose Abbey, Stratford-on-Avon and a Killarney Scene used in combination with Morrisian figures in the Picturesque series is pattern number LL6351 in pattern book D3534-3741.

³⁸ Roland N. Bisailon, *Bisailon to Janet Seagle, 11 September 1973*, (Far Hills, NJ: United States Golf Association Museum Archive, 1973); there is some confusion as to which rack plates Mr Bisailon refers. The Proverb series featured seven titles, while the picturesque series did not bear formal titles. Based on corresponding USGA Museum inventories for this period, it appears that the letters in all likelihood refer to the Proverb series.

³⁹ Paul Atterbury and Louise Irvine, *The Doulton Story* (Stoke-on-Trent: Royal Doulton Tableware, Ltd., 1979), 31. Doulton's Dickens Ware characters included Bill Sikes, The Fat Boy, Pickwick, Mrs. Gamp, Tom Pinch, Sergeant Buzfuz, Sam Weller, Capt'n Curtis, and Sidney Carton. We will discuss the Weller Dickensware line, based on Dickens' *The Pickwick Papers*, later in Chapter 7.

popular 18th-century novel, *Tristram Shandy*, by Laurence Sterne (Figures 6.36 - 6.37).⁴⁰

Sterne's Uncle Toby was a man of great honour, a veteran of the wars who returned home due to an injury received during the battle of Namur. Toby, who was uncle to Sterne's main character, Tristram Shandy, convalesced for three years upon his return from battle. In Sterne's novel, Toby is represented as a keen student of the preparations and strategies of warfare, even going so far as to create mock battlements in his back gardens. He walked with the use of a crutch and was rarely seen out of the company of his man servant, Trimm, who also was a wounded veteran of the wars. Yet aside from Sterne's occasional reference to bowls, Uncle Toby did little else but smoke a pipe, ride his hobby-horse or sit in a fringed chair.

The Royal Doulton Series, *Diversions of Uncle Toby* (Olde English Games), included fanciful scenes of Golf, Quoits, Skittles, the Maypole Dance, Cricket, Battledore, Shuttlecock, Quarterstaff, Fencing, Football, As a Toxophilite, Tag, Ale Drinking, Tea Drinking, and Bowls.⁴¹ Of this series, a majority of subjects were only given the slightest reference in Sterne's text, and a few were never mentioned at all. The Doulton series likely took an embellished view of Sterne's likable Uncle Toby. Certainly, there was no evidence that he ever played golf.

It is likely then that Doulton seized upon the popularity of this literary character to develop a series of attributed diversions. The Doulton series was initiated in 1909, some 150 years after Sterne first published Vols I and II of *Tristram Shandy*. The series, designed by Burslem studio decorator, Walter Nunn, was produced in shapes of rack plates,

⁴⁰ Laurence Sterne, *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983); Melvyn New, *Tristram Shandy - A Book for Free Spirits* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1994). Laurence Sterne was born in Clonmel, Ireland in 1713. He was educated in England at Jesus College, Cambridge. He later became Vicar of Sutton-on-the-Forrest, near York. In 1759, he published the first two volumes of *Tristram Shandy*. He would eventually publish nine (IX) volumes to the story between 1759 and 1767, before his death.

⁴¹ Louise Irvine, *Royal Doulton Series Ware Vol. 1 – Subjects from Literature, Popular Illustrators, Historical Characters and Events* (London: Richard Dennis, 1980), 30-31.

chambersticks, and two sizes of jugs.⁴² The series was noted in Doulton pattern books to be produced of "Polychrome Whieldon ware with Holbein glaze."⁴³ The Uncle Toby series remained active until its withdrawal in 1930. Examples of Doulton's Uncle Toby are amongst the most sought-after in modern golf collecting.⁴⁴

Another Doulton series that was produced at the same time and is often confused with the Uncle Toby series, is the Old English Scenes Series Ware (Figure 6.38).⁴⁵ Examples of the Old English Scenes have similar decoration style, colourations, and historical subject matter to the Toby series as well as Doulton's Coaching and Dickens Ware series. One rare scene from this series offers an image of a golfer. Examples of the golfer from the Old English Scenes series have been uncovered in only a few shapes, such as a compartmentalised dish, a chamberstick, and a bell-shaped vase. The Uncle Toby golfing image and the Old English Scene featuring a golfer are prime examples of how Doulton continued to incorporate golf imagery into new Series Ware lines due to the popularity of the subject.

Based upon Doulton's continuous development of new lines, and the relatively long timescale during which these wares remained available in the market, golf was apparently a popular and actively selling topic. Clearly, Doulton strove to develop creative ways in which sporting imagery, and in particular golf iconography, could be introduced or merged into existing lines. Although Doulton's studio artists created expertly executed decorations and imagery for many lines, the firm remained committed to the development of fresh and topical artistic material from which to produce new lines. As we have seen with Crombie and Bradley, Doulton occasionally turned to well-known illustrators of the era for material that was both stylistically familiar, and fashionable in society. Such was especially true with Doulton's golf wares, as some of the finest illustrators in the first half of the 20th century were commissioned to create works for popular new Series Ware lines.

⁴² Nunn was noted to be a painter of figures and landscapes at the Burslem studio *ca.* 1900 - 1910. He specialized in Shakespearean, historical, and legendary subjects. He is also associated with Doulton's "Holbein" and "Rembrandt" decorations.

⁴³ Royal Doulton, *Pattern Book LL5* (Burslem: Royal Doulton, Ltd.). Doulton assigned the Uncle Toby golf scenes the pattern numbers D3111, D3121, and D3197.

⁴⁴ Louise Irvine, *Royal Doulton Series Ware Vol. 1 – Subjects from Literature, Popular Illustrators, Historical Characters and Events* (London: Richard Dennis, 1980), 30-31.

⁴⁵ The golf image from this series was assigned the pattern number D3470.

Perhaps the best known of the illustrators to contribute artistic material for new lines was Charles Dana Gibson. Gibson developed a series of illustrations in his well-known, traditional "Gibson Girl" style (Figures 6.39 - 6.40).⁴⁶ According to decoration notes in Doulton pattern books, the Gibson images were reproduced in "(Print) Aberdeen Grey. Tinted H/G (Holbein glaze), Olive Green edge and Handles and pale yellow glaze."⁴⁷ The successful Gibson golf range incorporated sixteen titles:

Golf – a good game for two.
Is a caddie always necessary?
Don't watch the player, keep your eye on the ball.
One difficulty of the game – keeping your eye on the ball.
Fore.
Who cares?
The girl he left behind him.
A little incident.
Wasting time.
From 10 a.m. to 6:45 p.m. this dog has been kept out. Where is the
S.P.C.A.?
The last day of summer.
Here it's Christmas and they began saying goodbye in August.
The susceptible rock.
Melting.
Love in a garden.
The dog.

Gibson images were produced on pin trays, and a series of small, uniquely shaped vases.⁴⁸ One other shape, a traditional Doulton tea cup with oblong saucer, was included in the Gibson series.⁴⁹

The extent of Doulton's commitment to the development of the Gibson line is evidenced by the fact that in 1904, when the series debuted, Gibson had signed a "six figure" contract

⁴⁶ The Gibson line was assigned the pattern numbers E2766/LL3159, and E2827/LL3244.

⁴⁷ Royal Doulton, *Royal Doulton Pattern Book LL-10 (LL3041 – LL3348)* (Burslem: Royal Doulton, Ltd.).

⁴⁸ Ibid. These (14) wonderful Gibson Ware examples (E2766/LL3159) appear on a two-page spread in pattern book *LL-10*. The spread appears to be as much an exercise in creating custom shapes for the series as one to determine appropriate colourways. Most of the shapes used in the Gibson series are not accounted for in the Doulton shape books, inferring that these were uniquely produced for this series.

⁴⁹ Royal Doulton, *Royal Doulton Pattern Book LL-11 (D2418 – D2607)* (Burslem: Royal Doulton, Ltd.). The pattern documenting the Gibson Ware tea cup indicates the use of "Hair Brown paint, tinted Lemon Yellow dispersed shade, O Green edge and Hdl." This is a traditional Doulton tea cup shape, which is perhaps why it appears on its own apart from the fourteen custom shapes of E2766/LL3159.

with *Collier's* to contribute illustrations for the magazine.⁵⁰ The retention of Gibson was particularly effective for Doulton, as his *London as seen by Charles Dana Gibson* book was published in 1897, creating a large following in the UK, and his satirical view of the social elite was the ideal genre for the wealthy art ceramics audience.⁵¹ Doulton first produced a Charles Dana Gibson series in ca.1900 which consisted of twelve 9" (22.9cm) rack plates featuring a blue bow and heart border and central Gibson Girl portrait.⁵² A second series followed ca.1902 including twenty-four 10.5" (26.7cm) blue and white plates with black and white square reproductions of Gibson illustrations from *A Widow and Her Friends*.⁵³ The first two Doulton Gibson series did not include any golfing scenes. For Doulton to produce a third Gibson line in 1904 featuring only golf scenes is telling when considering the variety of immensely popular Gibson illustrations and topics from which the firm had to choose. Gibson golf ware examples exist bearing undermarkings from Civil Service Stores in Sydney, Australia, which demonstrates Doulton's powerful distribution reach and the universal appeal of the Gibson imagery. The Gibson golf series probably remained active until World War I though no exact discontinuation date is known.

The most extensive and recognized of Doulton's golf wares is now known among golf collectors under the general heading of "series ware," once again featuring the Rules of Golf illustrations of Charles Crombie (Figures 6.41, 6.42). As we have examined, numerous ranges of Doulton Series Ware existed that featured golf iconography, so therefore we will proceed by representing this range as "Crombie Golf Series Ware," which is different from the previously described Crombie figures found in stoneware Crombie Lambeth, Kingsware, Queensware, and Airbrush Brown.

⁵⁰ National Museum of American Illustration, "Charles Dana Gibson" (Newport, RI: National Museum of American Illustration, 2006); see <http://www.americanillustration.org/html/cg/bio.html>.

⁵¹ Charles Dana Gibson, *London as seen by Charles Dana Gibson* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1897).

⁵² This Doulton Gibson series of rack plates featured a backstamp noting the copyright belonging to Life Publishing, who originally commissioned and published the images in 1900.

⁵³ Charles Dana Gibson, *A Widow and her Friends* (London: John Lane, 1901); the patterns for this series appear in the Doulton pattern book *LL-11(D2418 – D260)*.

Doulton introduced the Crombie golf series ware line in 1911, and continued to develop the series, eventually adding more than 110 different shapes until 1932.⁵⁴ The diversity of shapes within the Crombie golf series ware is the most extensive among all golf ceramics, primarily because the series was designed as tableware and produced in complete place settings with many unique speciality additions that appeared during its twenty-one-year term of activity. Traditional Doulton blank shapes were featured in the line, including a wide stylistic assortment of rack plates, bowls, dishes, platters, jugs, and steins. However, the line was supplemented with speciality shapes that are scarcer, such as a milk jug, Wescott jug, baluster jug, Corinth jug, cocktail shaker, fruit bowl, pedestal bowl, loving cup, jardinières, a trophy shape, and many more. Some of the smaller, exotic shapes in the range include a sugar caster, sugar basin, egg cup, thimble, toothpick cups, and a range of candle sticks and chambersticks.

Doulton transfer-printed the Crombie designs onto blank shapes of porcelain or earthenware; this was followed by a process of hand-painting the figures and scenes. The shapes then received a tinted glaze, which was predominantly pale-yellow, although rare examples exist featuring a bronze glaze or gold decoration (Figure 6.42).⁵⁵ The decoration of the series features a primary scene with Crombie's Puritan golfers set amidst a secondary golf terrain banding. Five titles, or sayings, were featured on the range, including:

Give losers leave to speak and winners to laugh
He that complains is never pitied
All fools are not knaves but all knaves are fools
He hath good judgement who relieth not wholly on his own
Every dog has his day and every man his hour

In addition to the titles that were used interchangeably, the series featured eight golfing character scenes that could also be used in any size or combination.⁵⁶ The resultant

⁵⁴ Doulton's Crombie golf series ware featured the pattern numbers D3394, D3395, D5960, and D2296.

⁵⁵ Royal Doulton, *Royal Doulton Pattern Book D3204 – D3397* (Burslem: Royal Doulton Archives). The pattern D3394 depicts a large-two handled loving cup with dark gold handles. Notes from the page indicate a pale yellow glaze and "jug shape with slight stipple inside & outside top." Special colouring on this piece is a "C.B. Gold," which is deeper and richer than usual. The image illustrated is a Crombie scene of a golfer choosing club from bag held by caddy. This happens to be one of the larger shapes in Crombie Golf Series Ware.

⁵⁶ Golfing characters within Crombie Golf Series Ware include, *Profile golfer choosing club from bag held by caddy*, *Putting scene with caddie blowing ball in hole*, *Golfer swinging - caddie holding flag*, *Golfer*

flexibility of shape, title, or scene created a diversity of decoration among the range that encouraged collecting. Even within the same shape, such as a rack plate, one might find a multitude of decoration possibilities.

This volume of production and diversity of the range has fostered keen interest among golf collectors in the contemporary market, who actively pursue each new piece that is uncovered. It is not unusual to find distinct sections within golf auction catalogues that are devoted solely to Crombie Golf Series Ware. One specific auction, held by Sloan's in Miami on 18 March 2001, offered a collection of twenty-five different Crombie Golf Series Ware shapes (Lots 345 to 369).⁵⁷ Another sporting sale held on-line in 2004 offered a collection of forty Crombie Golf Series Ware pieces.⁵⁸ The passion of contemporary collectors, who aggressively expand their Crombie holdings through the active pursuit of elusive shapes, mirrors the collecting mentality that Doulton no doubt encouraged among its clientele during the active life of the series.

Another popular illustrator who was commissioned by the Doulton's Burslem factory to create custom artwork specifically for the production of golf ceramics was Henry Mayo Bateman (Figures 6.43 - 6.45). Bateman worked as a social satirist in the cartoon style, and was held in much the same regard as popular British illustrators of the era, such as Crombie, Victor Venner, Cecil Aldin, Harry Furniss, John Hassall, Lawson Wood, and Harry Rountree.⁵⁹ Bateman earned his reputation after the golf boom by contributing illustrations for books and periodicals, and particularly for the satirical magazines *Punch*, *The Humorist*, and *The Bystander*. He became known for cartoons, such as "The Man Who..." series, which recreated unspeakable public blunders to the unbridled shock of

reading - caddie beside, Golfer putting - caddie standing beside, Group of three golfers - one putting, Golfer with hands on hips - caddie behind, and Golfer about to putt.

⁵⁷ Sloan's Auctioneers and Appraisers, *Sporting Art & Golf Memorabilia* (Sunday, March 18, 2001), Plate 2, 35.

⁵⁸ Manfred Schotten Antiques, "Old Sport - An Exhibition Capturing the Atmosphere and Tradition of the Victorian and Edwardian Sporting Life" (London: Manfred Schotten Antiques, 2004), Lot 78; See http://www.schotten.com/exhibition/oldsport/golf_ceramics.htm.

⁵⁹ Bateman was born in New South Wales in February 1887 to an English family. As a young child he was brought to England where he later studied at the Westminster School of Art and Goldsmiths College. Bateman worked as an apprentice for three years in the studio of noted Dutch painter Charles van Havenmaet. He contributed cartoons and satirical images to periodicals from the age of sixteen. Bateman was adept at conveying outlandish personalities and uncomfortable public situations in the cartoon style.

those in attendance. His most famous golf image of this variety was titled, "The Man who Missed the Ball on the First Tee at St Andrews", which appeared in *The Tatler*, 1925.

The Doulton Series Ware line that featured the Bateman cartoons included a series of small rectangular pin trays, a tankard, an octagonal sweet dish, and a covered box.⁶⁰ The golf characters from this series were titled "The Irate Golfer," who was depicted kicking his golf bag in frustration, and, "The Smug Golfer," who stands confidently with his club held behind his back. Also prominent in this series are two "Laughing Caddies" that can be seen chatting behind the Smug Golfer, and are also depicted separately on a pair of tiny pin trays. Aside from golf, the Bateman series included "The Monk," "The Fisherman," "The Game Hunter," "Boxers Preparing," "The Punch," "The Knockout," "The Card Game," "The Officer," "The Officer with Monocle," "Soldiers Marching," and "Soldier Presenting Arms." The Bateman series was developed in 1930 at the height of his popularity, although most markings date later to 1937. The range sold actively until 1950, when it was withdrawn.

One final range of Doulton Series Ware whose success was greatly impacted by the work of an illustrator was the Bunnykins series, created from the paintings of Sister Barbara Vernon Bailey (Figures 6.46 - 6.47). In her early twenties Bailey entered a closed convent run by the Roman Catholic order, Augustinian Canonesses of the Lateran, active in England since the 11th Century. There, she took the name Sister Mary Barbara.⁶¹ At the urging of her father, then General Manager of Royal Doulton, Miss Vernon Bailey endeavoured to dedicate her remaining spare time to artistic pursuits. With a supply of paper and paints provided by her father, Miss Vernon Bailey first struck upon her internationally popular vision of an anthropomorphic family of rabbits. She produced a wide variety of rabbit characters, led by "Mama Bunny" and the pipe smoking, bespectacled "Father Rabbit," said to be modelled after her father. The rabbit family

⁶⁰ The Bateman series was assigned the pattern number D5813.

⁶¹ *Barbara Vernon Bailey*, *The Economist*. May 17th- 23rd, 2003 (Vol. 367 Number 8324), 101. Born 1911, Barbara Vernon Bailey was raised in a well-to-do family in Shropshire. As a child she displayed a natural artistic ability, often sketching the animals on a neighbouring farm. She was schooled by governesses, and later trained as a nurse and a teacher before entering the convent. Miss Bailey taught history and French at an adjoining school, but otherwise was strictly confined to the convent.

images and scenes evoked a sense of nostalgia and innocence by depicting a life far from modern constraints or concerns.

In 1937 the illustrations of the rabbit family were incorporated in a wide range of Flat Ware and Hollow Ware shapes introduced by Doulton in a new line of Children's or Nursery Ware. The line, marketed as the Bunnykins Series, was immensely popular and enduring. Hollow Ware Bunnykins examples consisted of thirty-nine shapes of mugs, bowls, saucers, baby plates, hot water plates, beaker, jam pot, sugar bowl, egg cup, jugs, tea cup, tea pot, plaques, plates, boxes, and books. Small and Large Flat Ware examples were first introduced later in 1940. Bunnykins Small Flat Ware was produced in fourteen shapes, including a teapot, jugs, plates, saucers, a cake stand, and candle holder.

The Hollow Ware title, "Golfer," displayed a lone golfing rabbit wearing a blue sweater and plus fours.⁶² The Small Flat Subject title, "Game of Golf," incorporated a more detailed golfing scene, with a group image depicting a rabbit in a blue sweater and trousers swinging a golf club.⁶³ Standing beside the golfing rabbit is a smoking rabbit wearing a red top and plus fours. A caddie rabbit in yellow is depicted standing behind the golfing twosome. Some Bunnykins shapes featured an illustrative border of running rabbits designed by Hubert Light.⁶⁴ The golfing series was not produced in the Egg Cup Series, Large Flat Subjects, Colin Twinn Subjects, or Commemorative Series.

The Bunnykins HW4R "Golfer" image was produced on a Casino Jug, Casino Teacup, and a series of Don Beakers and Don Mugs. The SF11 "Game of Golf" series was produced on a Casino Jug, Casino Saucer, Casino Teapot, Cereal Bowl, Jaffa Fruit Saucer with a plain or wavy rim, Baby Plates, and Plates.⁶⁵

Miss Vernon Bailey produced more than 1,000 images for the series. Bunnykins Hollow Ware and Small Flat Subjects were discontinued in 1952, although Doulton has offered many subsequent reproductions of the Bunnykins line. Original examples from this series, however, bear the signature "Barbara Vernon." Original signed examples of the

⁶² The Hollow Ware "Golfer" was assigned pattern number HW4R.

⁶³ The Small Flat Subject "Game of Golf" was assigned the pattern number SF11.

⁶⁴ Hubert Light was a designer of tablewares at the Burslem factory from 1916 to 1948.

⁶⁵ Jean Dale and Louise Irvine, *Royal Doulton Bunnykins* (Toronto: W.K. Cross, 1999), 83, 90.

Bunnykins figures, and in particular the golfing subjects, have grown increasingly popular and valuable with collectors and connoisseurs.⁶⁶

The final example of Doulton golf ware in the present investigation is termed "The 19th Hole." (Figure 6.48).⁶⁷ The series features a polychrome image of two men drinking whisky on a clubhouse veranda with a golf course in view in the background. The 19th Hole series was produced in a rack plate, and an extremely rare whisky barrel with porcelain end cap, on a wood stand.⁶⁸ The series was introduced in 1914 and discontinued by 1930.

Interestingly, this example of series ware is marked by an apparent difficulty that Doulton artists had in arriving at a suitable design. Early attempts to identify proper colourways for The 19th Hole plate appear in the Doulton *Pattern Book CN19*. Design notes indicate "*Print in Dr Brown, tinted H/G, edge O green, pale yellow glaze*. This means that the scene itself was printed in dark brown with tinted Holbein Glaze, Olive Green edging, and a pale yellow glaze. The colours on this attempt were quite muted while the background scene offered additional figures and more detailed decoration. However, this version of the scene was ultimately rejected.

A follow-up attempt appears later in the same pattern book, bearing extensive decoration notes that refer to each aspect of the scene. The design is noted, "Print Dr Brown tinted OG, no edge," meaning that an olive green tint was used over the dark brown scene which extended to the rim of the plate with no distinct border. Colours chosen for this revised design are much bolder and vibrant, especially on the two main figures in the foreground. The background on this version is more muted and contains fewer figures and decorative elements. This overall design is more successful than its predecessor, in that the main figures are bolder while the simplified and muted background offers less competition to the main subjects. Colour notes from this accepted design indicate "Light Scores Green, Bull Dog Blue and Red, 13C Brown and Blue mixed together."

⁶⁶ For additional information on Barbara Vernon (Bailey) and the Bunnykins series, see Louise Irvine, *Royal Doulton Bunnykins Collectors Book* (Somerset, England: Richard Dennis, 1984); "Barbara Vernon Bailey," *The Economist*, May 17th-23rd, 2003 (Vol. 367 Number 8324), 101.

⁶⁷ The "19th Hole" series bears the pattern number D3755/CN742 and D3770/CN751.

⁶⁸ Doulton used the barrel and wood stand in other series ware lines, but examples featuring The 19th Hole decoration are extremely scarce.

In the intervening years between the golf boom of the 1890s and World War II, golf became a viable and lucrative subject for the sale of fine art pottery and china. No ceramics manufacturer represents this trend better than Royal Doulton. No fewer than twenty Doulton ranges included golf imagery that were either developed specifically for the golf market or adapted to meet its growing potential. Doulton developed examples in stoneware, earthenware, and porcelain, for use on the table, nursery, or as fine art objects. The duration of these series and the continual introduction of new lines indicated that Royal Doulton undoubtedly saw golf as a profitable theme.



Figure 6.1. Doulton Lambeth stoneware jug with Art Nouveau decoration. (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)

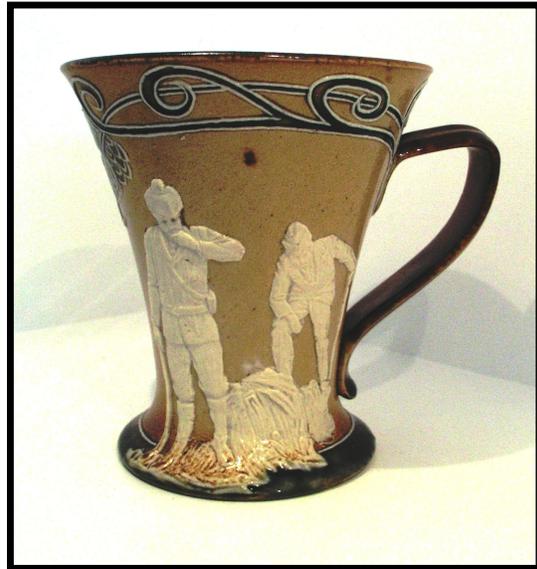


Figure 6.2. Doulton Lambeth Flared tankard with Art Nouveau decoration. (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)

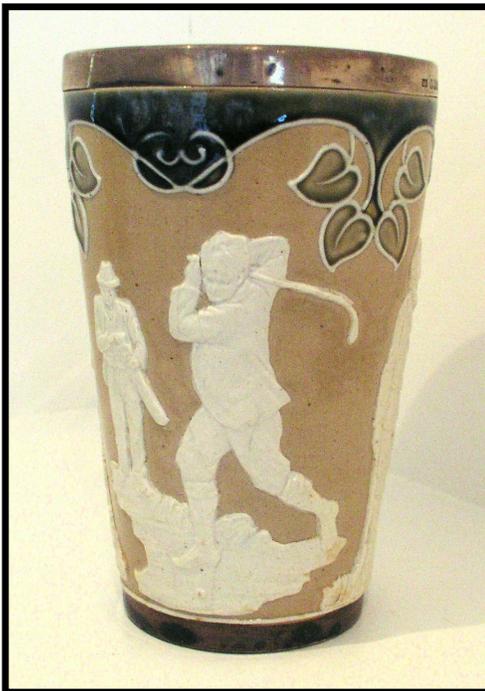


Figure 6.3. Doulton Lambeth beaker with sterling silver rim. (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)

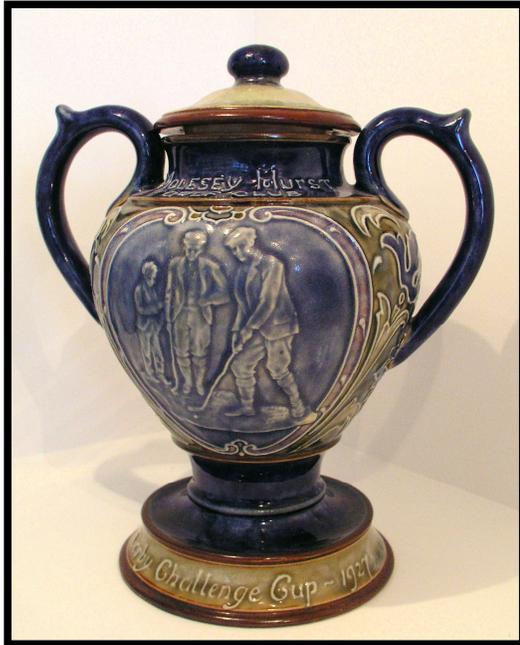


Figure 6.4. Doulton's 1927 Corby Challenge Cup for Molesey Hurst Golf Club. (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)

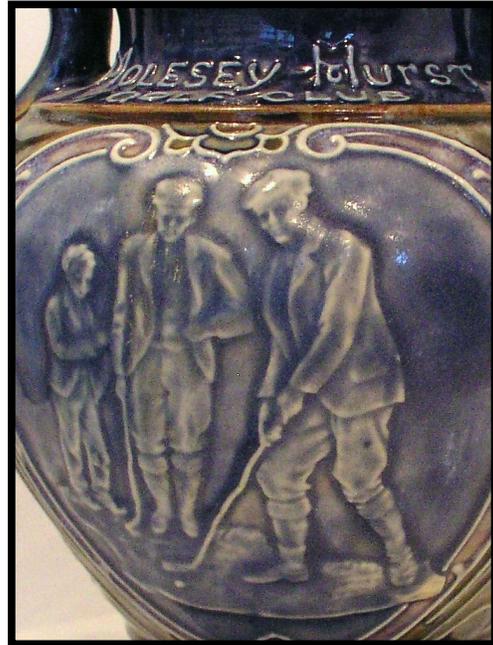


Figure 6.5. Detail of Figure 6.4.



Figure 6.6. Doulton Lambeth advertising ware, featuring Colonel Bogey Whisky. (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)

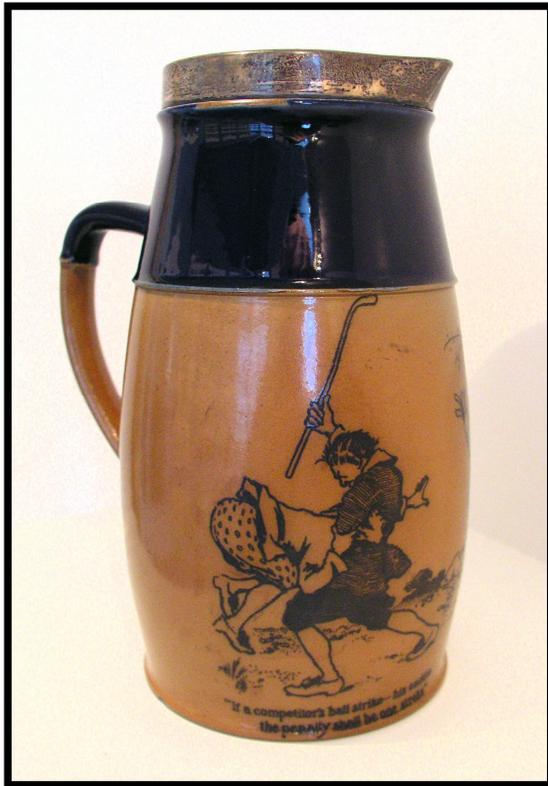


Figure 6.7. Doulton Lambeth Crombie stoneware jug with sterling silver rim. (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)

Pictures for Golfers.

Illustrating the Rules of Golf, published by "Golf Illustrated."

The pictures are by far the clearest drawings that have ever appeared on Golf, and should be bought by every lover of the Royal and Ancient game. They are reproduced in colours in two forms—

(1) The whole series of 24 plates, complete in a handsome album on heavy

paper, 18 inches by 11½ inches, price 7s. 6d.

(2) In a set of six, on plate sunk mounts for framing, at 9s. per set. These plates form a very handsome decoration for library, billiard room, smoking room, &c.

Artists' signed proofs, 5s. each.

Order, with remittance, to be sent to—

PUBLISHER, "GOLF ILLUSTRATED," TEMPLE CHAMBERS, LONDON, E.C.

Figure 6.8. An advertisement for the Crombie Rules of Golf series in the 14 September 1906 issue of (British) *Golf Illustrated*.



Figure 6.9 (Top) and 6.10 (Bottom) Doulton bookends “Fozzled” and “Fed Up” from two views.





Figure 6.11. Doulton Slater's Patent Leatherware golf bag with sterling silver rim. (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)



Figure 6.12. Detail of Figure 6.11.



Figure 6.13. Doulton's Slater's Patent Leatherware jug with crossed clubs motif *ca.*1903. (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)



Figure 6.14. Detail of Figure 6.13.



Figure 6.15. Doulton Burslem rounded bud vase with top spout and decoration by “J. Littler.” (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)

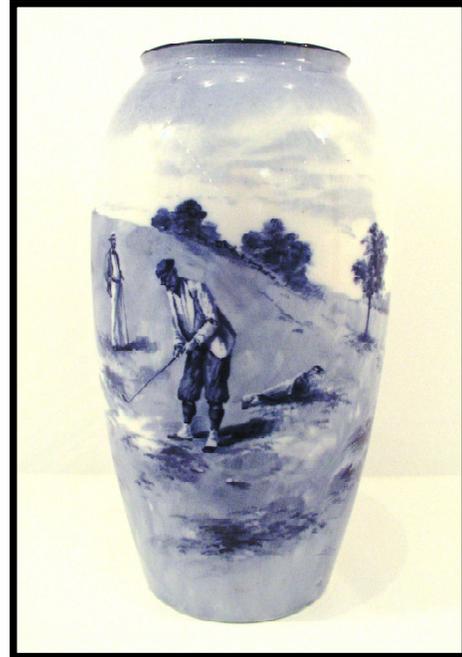


Figure 6.16. Doulton Burslem vase. (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)

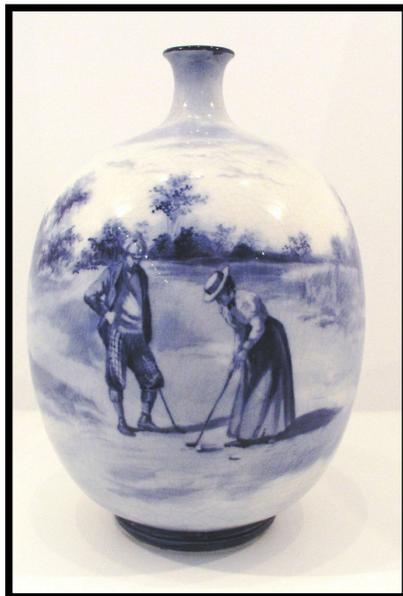


Figure 6.17. Doulton Burslem oval bud vase with top spout. (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)



Figure 6.18. Doulton Burslem loving cup. (Courtesy Morton W. Olman.)



Figure 6.19. Doulton Kingsware jug with sterling silver stopper. (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)



Figure 6.20. Doulton Kingsware beaker. (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)



Figure 6.21. Doulton Kingsware "Ye 19th Hole" coaster (reverse). (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)



Figure 6.22. Crown Derby Kingsware-style vase featuring "The Scratch Man" decoration. (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)



Figure 6.23. Doulton Queensware.
(Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)

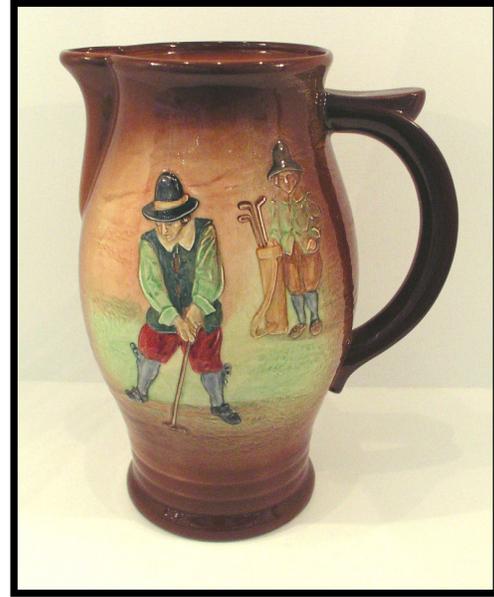


Figure 6.24. Doulton Airbrush Brown.
(Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)



Figure 6.25. A collection of three Doulton mugs featuring the different decoration styles, including Kingsware (left), Queensware (centre), and Airbrush Brown (right).
(Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)



Figure 6.26. Doulton Morrision vase with maroon and ochre decoration. (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)



Figure 6.27. Detail of Doulton Morrision vase with maroon and ochre decoration.



Figure 6.28. Doulton Morrision covered sugar bowl with blue on white decoration. (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)



Figure 6.29. Doulton Morrision jug with cobalt ground decoration. (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)

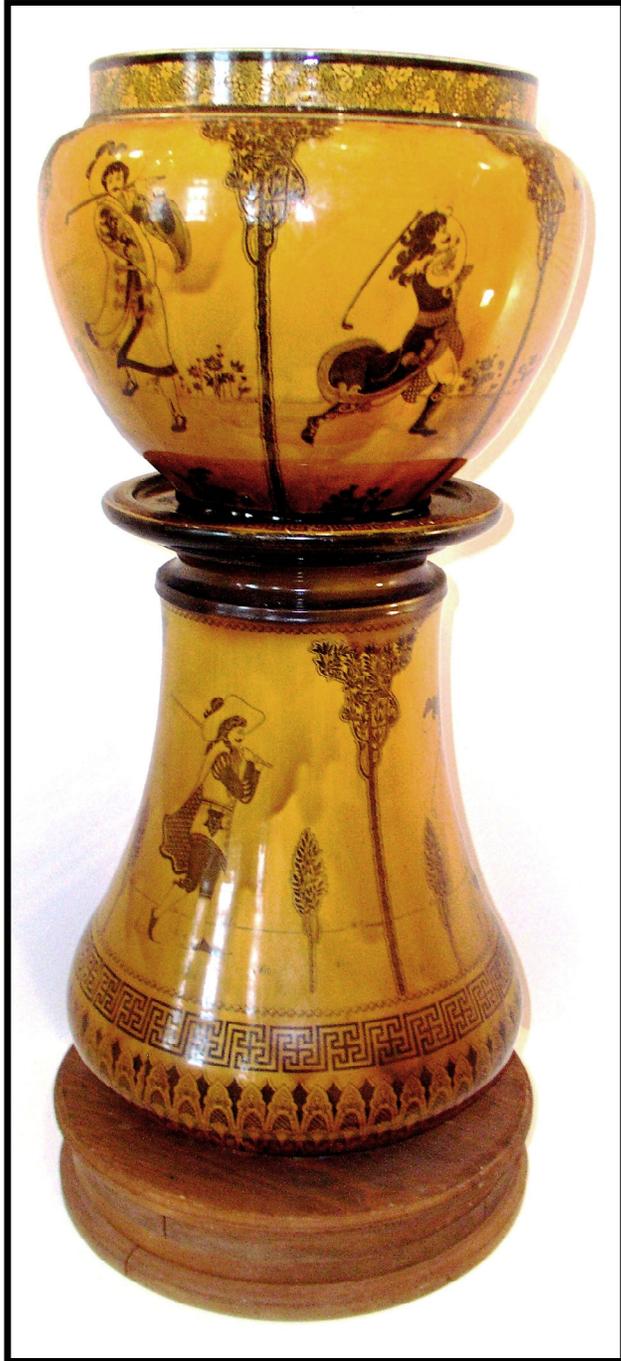


Figure 6.30. Doulton Morrisian two-piece pedestal fern stand. (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)



Figure 6.31. Detail of Doulton Morrisian two-piece pedestal fern stand.



Figure 6.32. Doulton Proverb rack plate. (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)



Figure 6.33. Detail of figure 6.32 decoration.



Figure 6.34. Doulton Picturesque series rack plate with blue on white decoration. (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)



Figure 6.35. Doulton Picturesque series rack plate with ochre and olive green on white decoration. (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)



Figure 6.36. Doulton Diversions of Uncle Toby Series Ware plate. (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)



Figure 6.37. Doulton Diversions of Uncle Toby Series Ware pitcher. (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)



Figure 6.38. Doulton Old English Scenes Series Ware compartmentalized serving dish. (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)



Figure 6.39. Doulton Gibson Series Ware cup and saucer. (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)

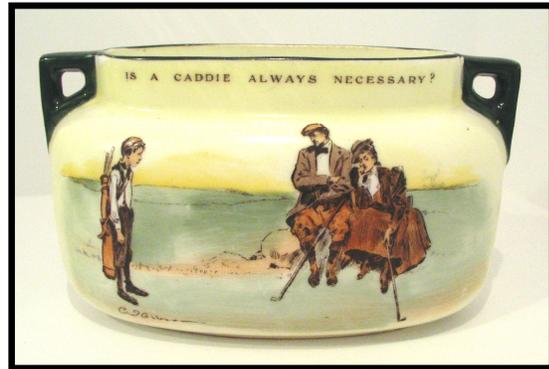


Figure 6.40. Doulton Gibson Series Ware vase. (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)

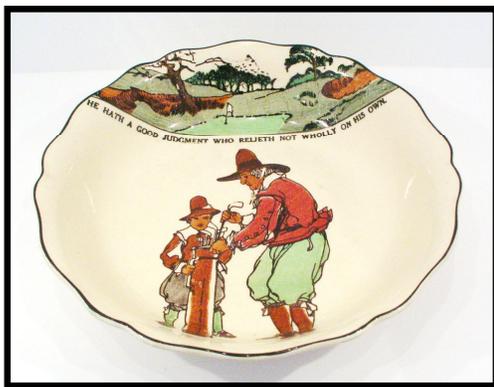


Figure 6.41. Doulton Crombie Golf Series Ware wavy-rim bowl. (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)

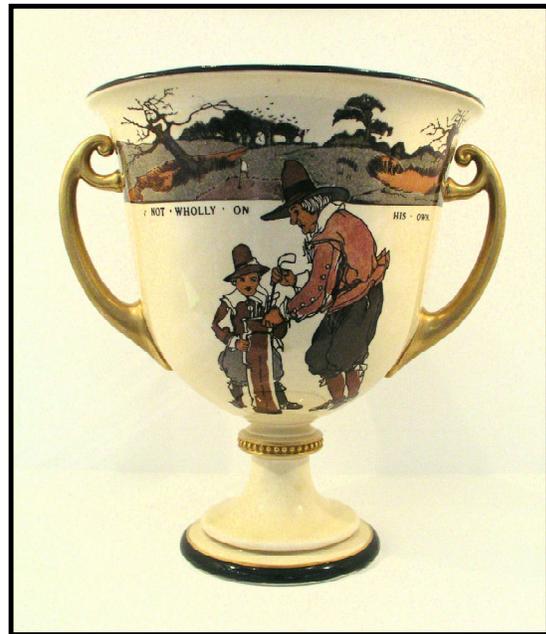


Figure 6.42. Doulton Crombie Golf Series Ware trophy with alternate bronze decoration. (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)



Figure 6.43. Doulton Bateman tankard. (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)



Figure 6.44. Doulton Bateman pin trays. (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)



Figure 6.45. Doulton Bateman covered dish. (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)



Figure 6.46. Doulton Bunnykins examples.
(Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)



Figure 6.47. Doulton Bunnykins detail.



Figure 6.48. Doulton 19th Hole rack plate. (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)

CHAPTER 7 - The North Staffordshire Potteries

The heart of the British pottery industry has for centuries been centred in North Staffordshire in the neighbouring towns of Tunstall, Burslem, Stoke, Fenton, Longton, Cobridge, Etruria, Hanley, Shelton, and Lane End.¹ How long this region has supported the manufacture of pottery is unknown, but recent excavations have uncovered large pottery bowls and jugs from a major 15th-century potbank situated in Burslem.² Clearly, North Staffordshire was identified from a very early date as a region that was ideally suited for pottery production due to its abundance of natural resources, including proximity to long flame coal, clean water, and mineral-enriched clay deposits. As discussed in other chapters in this examination, similar geographical regions around the world have supported a high concentration of potteries and a long history of production, such as Jingdezhen in China, Arita in Japan, and the Ohio River Valley in the United States. Staffordshire's specific combination of geological ingredients was easily recognized to potters, and highly prized for its ability to sustain the production of pottery.

North Staffordshire farmer-potters developed a thriving business for the production of butterpots, soon transforming Burslem into the hub of the potteries. With their reputation for butterpots well-developed, the pottery houses next perfected the technique for the production of salt-glazed stoneware *ca.* 1680. The success of the region's salt-glazed wares attracted a confluence of enterprising pottery families who populated North Staffordshire and revolutionised the industry. Josiah Wedgwood, Thomas Minton, Ralph Wood, and Josiah Spode, to name only a few, settled in this region, producing inventive and high-quality wares that have remained popular for generations. According to a 1762 Parliamentary petition, the booming region supported upwards of 150 potteries and employed 7,000 workers. In addition to the British Isles, the thriving Staffordshire potteries shipped wares to America, West Indies, and Continental Europe.³

¹ The first six of these towns, spanning a ten-mile stretch following the River Trent and the Trent & Mersey Canal, were eventually federated as 'Stoke-on-Trent' in May 1910.

² Sarah Chapman, "Shards of the 15th Century Broken Pieces of History Under their Feet," *Sentinel Newspaper*, Canberra: 16 May 2000.

³ John Ward, *The Borough of Stoke-upon-Trent* (Henley, Staffs: Webberley, 1984); See also, Howard and Pat Watson, *Collecting Art Deco Ceramics – Shapes and Patterns from the 1920s and 1930s* (London: Kevin Francis, 1993.); Fred W. Burgess, *Old Pottery and Porcelain* (London: George Routledge, 1916), 178-188.

One of the most important figures attracted to North Staffordshire during this period was Josiah Spode. Spode was born on 23 March 1733 in what is now Stoke-on-Trent. At the age of sixteen he worked for one of the finest potters in the region, Thomas Whieldon.⁴ After his time with Whieldon, Spode worked cooperatively with local potters, eventually jointly establishing a firm in 1767. By 1776 he was the outright owner of the firm, which is now regarded as the oldest pottery company still operating on the same site. In 1778, Josiah sent his son, Josiah II, to London to open a showroom and shop. The London venue allowed Spode to gain a better understanding of the needs of his clientele.⁵ When Spode died in 1797, the role of overseer of the company was left to Josiah II. Josiah II was a practical potter who learned the business aspect of the company while serving as Manager of the Fore Street (London) warehouse under the direction of partner, William Copeland.⁶ Eventually, the firm was acquired by the Copeland family who retained the Spode name throughout much of their tenure.⁷

⁴ Thomas Whieldon taught and influenced some of the finest potters in history, including Josiah Wedgwood, Ralph Wood, Aaron Wood, and Josiah Spode. Whieldon became known for his coloured and tortoiseshell glazes. The name 'Whieldon' is now synonymous with this style of ware. Spode worked under Whieldon until the age of 21.

⁵ Arthur Hayden, *Spode and His Successors* (London: Cassell, 1925). Equipped with this knowledge, Spode developed the process of blue underglaze printing on earthenware in 1784. He was later credited with developing the formula for fine bone china. These two groundbreaking developments assured the success of the firm for more than two centuries.

⁶ Spode II further expanded upon the techniques for blue underglaze transfer printed earthenware, and bone porcelain. In 1800, he introduced felspar into his china composition, making the porcelain wares more translucent and desirable. An indication of Spode's soaring production can be seen in the multitude of new patterns recorded in the 1804 pattern books.

⁷ After the death of Josiah II in 1827, William Copeland's son, William Taylor Copeland, bought the business from the Trustees of Josiah Spode III. In 1833, W. T. Copeland became sole owner of the respected firm, taking Thomas Garrett as a partner. Thus, Spode became 'Copeland and Garrett', continuing so until 1847. In 1867, W. T. Copeland's four sons were taken into partnership, and the mark 'W. T. Copeland & Sons' was first instituted. The firm was passed again from the youngest son, Richard P. Copeland, to his two sons, R. R. J. Copeland and A. G. Copeland. Eventually, in 1966, the company was sold to the Carborundum Company Ltd. In 1970, in honour of the firm's 200th anniversary, the name was changed back to Spode. For detailed information on the history of Spode in its various forms, consult: John Bedford, *Old Spode China* (London: Cassell, 1969); T. G. Cannon, *Old Spode* (London: T. Werner Laurie, 1924); Robert Copeland, *Spode's Willow Pattern and Other designs after the Chinese* (London: Studio Vista, 1999); Idem, *Spode and Copeland Marks and Other Relevant Intelligence* (London: Studio Vista, 1997); Idem, *Spode* (Risborough: Shire Publications, 1998); Idem, *Blue and White Transfer Printed Pottery* (Risborough: Shire Publications, 2000); David Drakard and Paul Holdway, *Spode Printed Ware* (London: Longman, 1983); Idem, *Spode Transfer Printed Ware 1784 - 1833* (Woodbridge: Antique Collector's Club, 2002); Arthur Hayden, *Spode and His Successors: A History of the Pottery Stoke-on-Trent 1765 - 1865* (London: Cassell, 1925); Leonard Whiter, *Spode: a History of the Family, Factory and Wares 1733 - 1833*

Central to the present investigation is a line of immensely popular golfing wares that was developed during the tenure of W. T. Copeland and Sons. The new range capitalised on the "golf boom" in Great Britain, and was registered on 16 September 1899 with the pattern number 345322. The Copeland Spode golfing range was released with two distinct decoration varieties: 1) a grey stoneware body with the upper surfaces encased in a cobalt blue slip and adorned with damp, or "green," sprigged-on golfing figures in white, and 2) a tobacco-brown stoneware body with green slip and white sprigged-on golfing figures (Figures 7.1 - 7.6). The bases, rims, and covers of the shapes featured a "narrow wreath of grasses" derived from a mould by John Turner of the Lane End facility.⁸ The sturdy wares were produced in a wide range of shapes and sizes, including pint and quart mugs, loving cups, tygs, jardinières, biscuit barrels, whisky jugs, and creamers.

In a 14 July 1978 response to an inquiry from USGA Museum Curator, Janet Seagle, Robert Copeland describes the series as a form of stoneware with colour applied as a clay slip, and white figures "Sprigged-on in a similar manner to the Jasper ware." Copeland confirmed that the "little boat" backstamp placed the production timeframe at about 1894 to 1900, though no specific recording of the pattern was made.⁹

In an advertisement appearing in the 2 April 1909 (British) *Golf Illustrated*, Spode touted its wares as "The ideal golfing trophy" (Figure 7.7.)¹⁰ The advertisement stated, "Spode Artware Loving Cup with Golfing Subjects in White Relief on a rich green ground. Two sizes, height 6 ins. & 5ins.; Capacity one quart and one pint respectively." Interestingly, the Spode golfing wares were offered with a heavy sterling silver rim for the price of 21s for the large size, and 15s for the small size. Examples without the silver rim sold for 7s/6d and 6s respectively. The sole depot, indicated as "Townsend Galleries, (Dept. F) Newcastle-on-Tyne," was likely the fulfilment centre for orders or one of the firm's primary retail galleries prior to the opening of the Holborn showroom. Examples of the

(London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1989); and Vega Wilkinson, *Spode-Copeland-Spode: The Works and its People 1770 - 1970* (Woodbridge: Antique Collector's Club, 2002).

⁸ Robert Copeland, "Copeland's Golfing Wares," *Spode Review* v. 1, 303-306.

⁹ Robert Copeland to Janet Seagle, 14 July 1978, United States Golf Association Museum Archives.

¹⁰ *Golf Illustrated* (London: Golf Illustrated, 2 April 1909), 60.

Spode golfing wares also exist with under-markings that note international distribution and retail centres, such as "R. H. Stearns & Co. Boston."¹¹

The Spode Museum contains in its collection a horizontal plaster cast of the original golfing figure sequence (Figure 7.8). The eight raised golfing figures, each in various poses relating to the practice of the game, are placed amidst a wooded golfing terrain. The figures include:¹²

Man golfer leaning against a tree waiting for his turn to play
Boy caddie with golf bag under right arm
Man golfer at address
Man golfer at top of swing
Man golfer at high finish
Man golfer waiting his turn with club under arm
Man golfer preparing to putt
Boy caddie tending flagstick and holding bag under left arm

Returning to the marks on the underside of the Spode wares, Robert Copeland writes:¹³

The printed 'felucca' mark was registered as a trade mark in 1894, No. 180288, and remained in use in the late years of the nineteenth century and early years of the twentieth century, so this suggests that the teapot dates from about 1900. The impressed '30' is the size. Pottery sizes of teapots and jugs in those days were based on the number of clay articles which would fit on a six-foot work board, to be carried from the [work] shop to the 'greenhouse' prior to being placed in the kiln to be fired. (Unfired clayware was in the 'green' state, or 'green'.)

A survey of golf memorabilia auctions from their first appearance in the late 1970s shows that aside from Royal Doulton, Copeland Spode wares have traditionally received the most attention from collectors. The Copeland Spode wares typically remain in excellent condition due to their sturdy construction and non-utilitarian use. Because many examples such as loving cups, jardinières, and jugs were produced in extensive ranges of differing colour and stepped sizes, the series encouraged the collecting of multiple examples at the time of production. The same is true today for modern collectors, who aggressively pursue missing shapes to complete a stepped series. This competition among

¹¹ John and Mort Olman, *Golf Antiques & Other Treasures of the Game* (Cincinnati, OH: Market Street Press, 1992), 160.

¹² Robert Copeland, "Copeland's Golfing Wares," (Spode) *Review Vol.1* (Stoke-on-Trent: The Spode Society, ca.1995), 303.

¹³ *Ibid*, 304

knowledgeable contemporary collectors has maintained a keen level of interest in the Copeland Spode golfing line over a period of nearly thirty years, and produced increasingly higher values.¹⁴

One extremely uncommon variation of the Copeland Spode golfing wares was derived from a specially produced stoneware decanter to commemorate the coronation of their Majesties King George V and Queen Mary, on 22 June 1911 (Figure 7.9). The Whisky decanters included a detailed cork-filled stopper in the shape of a sovereign's crown. The commemorative wares featured sprigged-on portraits of their Majesties flanked by flags. On the reverse was depicted a shield of the Royal Arms encircled by the Garter and surmounted by a crown, with sprays of rose, thistle, and shamrock at the edges of the shield. Copeland Spode collaborated with Andrew Usher & Co. Distillers of Edinburgh, which was indicated by a band of printing around the shoulder of the decanter. Like the Copeland Spode golf wares, the decanters were produced in colour combinations of cobalt blue/grey, and dark green/tobacco brown. There was no record as to the number of decanters produced or the proportion of each colouration.¹⁵

Copeland Spode literature has indicated that a golfing variation was produced in the shape of the Coronation decanter, though it is likely only a few survived as showroom samples (Figure 7.10). The golf decanter utilized the same sovereign crown stopper and rose, thistle, and shamrock motifs that appeared on the neck of the coronation decanter. However, this example was decorated with the traditional band of sprigged-on golfing figures from the earlier golfing series. On the base of the golfing decanter were impressed and printed marks identical to that of the coronation decanter. A circular paper label was marked, 'W.T. COPELAND & SONS 14-18 HOLBORN', which confirms that the piece was designed for use in the Holborn showroom. Robert Copeland estimates that the Holborn showroom lease commenced in 1913, which would seem to be the appropriate

¹⁴ Kevin McGrath, *Sporting Antiquities Auction* (Melrose, MA: 26-27 May 1994), 43; Lot 447, a 5 3/8" (13.7cm) cobalt loving cup fetched \$1,400. Manfred Schotten and Nick Potter, *Far and Sure - The Third Joint Exhibition of Golfing Art and Memorabilia 18th Century to the Present Day* (Burford, Oxfordshire, England: Manfred Schotten Antiques, 2002), 18-19, Lots 100 - 103, 115; The Schotten/Potter sale saw a 7" (17.8cm) cobalt jug fetch £625, a 4 1/2" (11.4cm) jug fetch £450, a rare 3 1/2" (8.9cm) beaker fetch £580, a 6 1/2" (16.5) jug fetch £1,100, and a rare cookie pot with plated cover fetch £750. For another fine example see the cover of Phillip's *Golf Memorabilia* sale catalogue, 16 July 2001, Lot 409.

¹⁵ Robert Copeland, "Copeland's Golfing Wares" (Spode) *Review Vol. 1* (Stoke-on-Trent: The Spode Society, ca.1995), 304.

timeframe considering the release date and run of the commemorative decanter. Based on additional markings, the suggested price of the golfing decanter in 1913 was *7s/6d*.¹⁶ Most likely, Copeland would have used a portion of the undecorated Coronation decanters to produce the golfing variety for showroom display to elicit potential orders. Certainly, these hybrid decanters with decorative golfing elements are amongst the rarest Copeland Spode golf wares ever produced.

An additional line of golfing wares from Copeland Spode is notable, despite falling outside the timescope of this investigation, because of its direct association in production and appearance with the previous Copeland-Spode golfing series (Figure 7.11). The new line, produced in 1955, was based on the firm's 'Flemish Green' tableware series. Comprised mainly of fluted vases and flower containers, the new 'Fortuna' series was both ornamental and functional.¹⁷ The shapes featured a body of Flemish Green with ivory golfing figures and an ivory interior. The figures, derived from the original band of Copeland Spode golfers, included the *Man preparing to putt* and *Boy caddie tending flagstick and holding bag under arm* icons. By August 1955, additional shapes were added to the range in the form of jugs and tankards.

For the Fortuna series, Copeland explains the differing production process:¹⁸

The figures and handle were ivory while the rest of the tankard was green. The method of manufacture was not by 'sprigging' but the figures were in the mould side. The craftsman opened the mould so he could paint the figures in the mould with ivory clay. He closed the mould and poured in the green clay 'slip' (clay mixed with water to a creamy consistency). Later, when the clay cast was stiff enough, he would remove the cast tankard and apply the ivory handle.

Many telling parallels can be drawn between the Spode Fortuna range and Doulton's Airbrush Brown series ware: both were produced subsequent to more popular and diverse ranges; each diverged from earlier, more complex slip-decorated production methods to adopt a more efficient poured mould process; and, while the later series were perhaps

¹⁶ Ibid, 304-305.

¹⁷ The Spode Fortuna golfing pattern was identified as 'K605.'

¹⁸ Robert Copeland, "Copeland's Golfing Wares" (Spode) *Review Vol. 1* (Stoke-on-Trent: The Spode Society, ca.1995), 306.

produced faster and in greater relative quantities at lesser cost, they lacked the artistic integrity of their predecessors. These distinctions are not overlooked even in the modern market.

Testament to the success and wide distribution of the Copeland Spode golfing wares is the appearance of other golfing ceramics that copied their motif directly (Figures 7.12 - 7.15). One specific range, produced in Germany by an unknown manufacturer, copies the Copeland Spode figures in striking detail. Examples from this range are often mistaken as Jasperware, due to the sea-green biscuit bodies and white cameo figures. Upon close inspection, however, many of these copy wares display bulky seams and clumsy execution. As we have seen with Gerz and Hauber & Reuther using the same likeness of champion golfer Freddie Tait, and will explore later in detail in this chapter, copying or 'borrowing' successful iconography is a common trend among pottery manufacturers entering into the genre of golf ceramics.

While Copeland Spode is perhaps the best known and most prolific of the North Staffordshire potters to produce golf wares, numerous other local firms acknowledged the burgeoning golf market with their own lines; among the most skilled was the Hanley firm Taylor Tunnicliffe & Co.¹⁹ Thomas Taylor and William Tunnicliffe founded the firm *ca.* 1867 for the purposes of producing specialized pottery articles. The firm changed production specialities periodically until *ca.* 1899, when they concentrated specifically on high-grade electrical ceramics.²⁰ While Taylor Tunnicliffe would eventually become synonymous with electrical ceramics, their earlier portfolio of earthenware and china is especially ambitious.

Toward the end of their specialised pottery period, *ca.* 1890 to 1898, Taylor Tunnicliffe produced a range of sturdy and artistic tobacco humidors and biscuit barrels. True to its founding principle of combining engineering knowledge with the art and science of pottery manufacture, many extant examples of Taylor Tunnicliffe's container ware

¹⁹ There are differing accounts on the proper spelling of "Tunnicliffe." In many instances, the firm is noted as "Taylor Tunnicliff." For consistency in this presentation, we will refer to the firm as "Taylor Tunnicliffe."

²⁰ North Staffordshire Chamber of Commerce, *Prestige and Progress - A Survey of Industrial North Staffordshire* (Stoke-on-Trent: North Staffordshire Chamber of Commerce, 1955), 77. The firm is also noted as a collaborator with Samuel Clarke on the production of pottery bases for his "fairy lamps."

employed a patented expanding cover that provided an air-tight seal. This "A.F.C." patent is often the only discernable mark that indicated the firm's involvement in the production of the piece. It is not known if Taylor Tunnicliffe owned the patent or if the cover was used in collaboration with another firm.

Considering the relative dearth of Taylor Tunnicliffe humidors reaching public sale, and the variety of sporting motifs that were employed, it is assumed that the wares were produced periodically in very limited quantities. A survey of modern golf auction catalogues reveals that the firm produced a wide assortment of golfing humidors, including a 17cm (6.7") Art Nouveau version with a male and female twosome in black silhouette set against a green terrain with blue mountains and a pale yellow sky (Figure 7.16).²¹ This particular example is the most common of the Taylor Tunnicliffe golf humidors, although quite scarce in its own right. Another extremely rare humidor featured a depiction of "Old" Tom Morris in hues of mustard yellow, set against a maroon ground.²² A third variety, measuring 14cm (5.5"), was a blue and white earthenware shape featuring a lithograph and hand-painted scene of female golfers in a mountainous terrain.²³ A fourth variety of humidor depicted a *ca.* 1890s golfer in an oval badge set against a dense green ground (Figure 7.17).

One of the most coveted examples of Taylor Tunnicliffe's golf ware appeared in the 11 July 1995 Sotheby's *Traditional Sports (Cricket and Golf) Sale*, displaying the well-known likeness of "Old" Tom Morris.²⁴ The firm was one of many pottery houses that understood the selling power of "Old" Tom who, more than any man in history, came to symbolise the virtues of the game.²⁵ The item took the form of a salad bowl with a silver

²¹ Richard W. Oliver, *The Nation's First Antique & Classic Golf Auction* (Kennebunk, ME: Richard W. Oliver, 17-19 June 1988), Lot 67. This item fetched \$1,800. The same example was recently auctioned at Lyon & Turnbull's *Sporting Memorabilia* sale on 11 July 2005, Lot 36.

²² *Ibid.*, Lot 66, Illustrated. This item sold for \$2,700.

²³ Sotheby's, *An Important Sale of Golfing Interest* (Chester: Sotheby's, 15 July 1991), 70, Lot 340. This item measured 14cm.

²⁴ Sotheby's, *Traditional Sports* (St Andrews: Sotheby's, 11 July 1995), 90, 81, Lot 516.

²⁵ Golf pottery manufacturers used the likeness of "Old" Tom Morris in a wide assortment of designs dating from the 1880s to the present. John Aynsley & Sons, Ltd. of Longton produced a 23cm hand-painted ceramic vase and cover with a likeness of "Old" Tom Morris painted by J. Shaw. The vase included gilded handles and finial, and was produced in the early 20th century. The item appeared at auction at Sotheby's *Traditional Sports* sale 11 July 1995, Lot 469. "Old" Tom was also commonly used by Hewitt &

rim and matching ceramic-handled silver tongs. The white bowl featured an expertly painted image of “Old” Tom set amidst a detailed golfing terrain. The scene, which fully-encircled the bowl, was echoed in small vignettes on the handles of the tongs. This unique piece eventually sold for £1,725. The firm also produced a 19cm (7.5”) biscuit barrel with the same “Old” Tom Morris scene, decorative silver-plate cover and articulating handle.²⁶ This particular piece shows markings that indicate that it was sold by Thomas Goode & Co., a London-based retail store renowned for its exclusive consignment of the finest china. A third known Taylor Tunnickliffe shape with the “Old” Tom Morris scene is found on a 6cm (2.4”) match-stick holder.²⁷ One final example of Taylor Tunnickliffe's golf ware that occasionally appears at auction from time to time is a tiny earthenware match-stick holder with hand-painted vignettes of male and female golfing figures set against a dark green ground (Figure 7.18).

Examples of Taylor Tunnickliffe golf pottery have stayed in strong favour with collectors and dealers because of the assurance that the wares invariably date to the “golf boom” of the late 19th century, are of sturdy construction, feature expertly crafted artistic representations, and were produced in limited supply. Another firm whose golf wares share these valuable characteristics is W. Wood & Co. of Albert Street Works, Burslem. W. Wood & Co. was founded *ca.* 1873, having formerly traded under the name Wiltshaw & Wood, and was known primarily for the production of earthenware lines of differing design.²⁸

During the late 19th-century period of golf's expansion in Great Britain, W. Wood & Co. began the production of exquisite biscuit barrels with ornate plated covers, delicate articulating handles, and finely painted golf designs (Figures 7.19, 7.20). While numerous

Leadbeater's Willow Art China for a 15cm porcelain bust with the St Andrews town crest on a square base. See Bonham's *Golfing Memorabilia & Other Traditional Sports* (West Country: Bonham's Ltd., 24 July 1996) 6, Lot 26.

²⁶ Christie's, *Golfing Memorabilia* (South Kensington: Christie's, 8 July 1999), 5, Lot 6.

²⁷ Lyon & Turnbull, *Sporting Memorabilia* (Edinburgh: Lyon & Turnbull, 11 July 2005), Lot 30.

²⁸ There has been considerable confusion historically regarding the manufacturer of these particular golf wares stemming from the maker's mark, "W & W Co." centred in a Staffordshire knot. This mark may well have been in use when the firm was Wiltshaw & Wood Co., and remained in use when the name changed to W. Wood & Co. Regardless, these wares have been misattributed for decades as being produced by "Wood & Wood." Adding to the confusion is the historical prevalence of the Wood name amongst pottery manufacturers in North Staffordshire.

manufacturers were producing these popular shapes, very few strayed from typical floral decorations. The W. Wood golfing biscuit barrels featured a detailed scene of golfers and caddies on a pale green golfing terrain, with lavender mountains appearing in the distance against a pale blue sky. Overall, the painting is expertly executed in a watercolour style similar to that of Thomas Hodge.

Clearly, the central image of the swinging golfer is once again taken directly from Hutchinson's *Golf* (Figures 7.21, 7.22.)²⁹ The figure appearing on p.88 depicts Hutchinson "At the top of the swing (as it should be)" employing the "Scots swing", or "St Andrews swing" which is characterised by the lifting of the left heel and flying left elbow. This image is the very same used by Robinson Clay Products and in many Ceramic Art Company and O'Hara Dial golf wares (Figures 5.3, 5.4, 8.11, 8.12). This consistent use of the Hutchinson image "as it should be" is a reflection of his international stature as an authority on the golf swing, and that *Golf* was deemed as the definitive resource on the specifics of the game at the time.

Examples of the W. Wood biscuit barrel have been uncovered in 12cm (4.7"), 15.7cm (6.2"), 18.5cm (7.3"), and 21cm (8.3") stepped-sizes.³⁰ Each example was produced with the Hutchinson scene but with slightly differing shapes and silver-plated adornment. It is clear that W. Wood produced very few examples with this scene, but care was taken particularly with the decorative covers and articulating handles to make each piece unique.

²⁹ Horace Hutchinson, *Golf, The Badminton Library of Sports and Pastimes* (London: Longman's Green, 1890), 88.

³⁰ Sotheby's, *An Important Sale of Golfing Interest* (Chester: Sotheby's, 15 July 1991), 70, Lot 340; A rounded 18.5cm (7.3") version of the W. Wood biscuit barrel appeared in the Sotheby's golfing sale in 1991. The item featured the lithograph and hand-painted scene with silver-plated mesh-patterned golf ball mounts and a crossed-club articulating handle. This is one of the finest examples of this genre to appear for sale, primarily due to its detailed, golf-specific silver work. Kevin McGrath, *Sporting Antiquities* (Andover, MA: Kevin McGrath, 7-8 May 1992), 6-7, Lot 15; A second example of the above W. Wood biscuit barrel appeared at auction in 1992, fetching \$1,900, although the piece did not incorporate the articulating handle. Bonham's, *Golfing Memorabilia* (Ladybank, Fife: Bonham's Ltd., 21 July 2000), 13, Lot 207; This example measured 21cm (8.3"). Manfred Schotten and Nick Potter, *Come to Britain for Golf: A Joint Exhibition of Golfing Memorabilia 18th Century to the Present Day* (Burford, Oxfordshire, England: Manfred Schotten Antiques, 2000), 21, Lot 127; This W. Wood Biscuit Barrel fetched £2,800 and featured an ornate plated top and rounded articulating handle. Lyon & Turnbull, *Sporting Memorabilia* (Edinburgh: Lyon & Turnbull, 11 July 2005), Lots 29 and 31; Lyon & Turnbull offered a short 12cm (4.7") version with silver adornment, and a tapered 15.7cm (6.2") example with an angular Art Nouveau swing handle.

This lack of uniformity amongst the examples would suggest that they were produced as commissioned pieces.

As we have seen with the consistent use of “Old” Tom Morris and the adaptation of illustrations from Hutchinson's *Golf*, specific popular themes have emerged historically in the decoration of golf ceramics. Among the most prevalent and telling of these themes is the scene of the red-coated golfer. Gentlemen golfers have employed a formal uniform from the very first development of golfing societies.³¹ Traditional uniforms, such as those at the Honourable Company, Royal & Ancient Golf Club of St Andrews, and Royal Blackheath generally included a formal red jacket with club buttons, breeches, perhaps a tri-cornered velvet cap, and gloves. Countless popular 18th- and 19th-century prints and paintings featured the uniformed golfer, such as Valentine Green's famous 1790 mezzotint “The Blackheath Golfer” based on the portrait by Lemuel Francis Abbott, Sir George Chalmers' portrait of William St Clair of Roslin, and David Allan's portrait of Honourable Company Captain, William Inglis.³²

Clearly golfing uniforms stemmed from earlier traditions of club dress such as the Company of Archers, which in turn were highly influenced by regimental uniforms. The first golfing societies set the example of formal dress for subsequent groups, such as the Edinburgh Burgess, Crail, Glasgow, Aberdeen, Kingsbarns, and dozens of mid-19th century British clubs. The tradition of the club uniform carried from England and Scotland to Continental Europe, America, and beyond.³³ Eventually, the restrictions governing club attire eased in the late 19th century, leaving club jackets only for formal

³¹ While most clubs employed a traditional red coat with a blue or black velvet collar, other coats existed that were made of differing colours, such as grey at Glasgow and blue at Kingsbarns.

³² Lemuel Francis Abbott, *William Innes at Blackheath*, Oil on Canvas, Royal Blackheath Golf Club, ca.1790; George Chalmers, *William St Clair*, Oil on Canvas, 1771, Royal Company of Archers, Edinburgh; David Allan, *William Inglis*, Oil on Canvas, National Galleries of Scotland, ca.1784; . Additional well-known portraits of red-coated golfers include Lemuel Francis Abbott, *Henry Callender*, Oil on Canvas, The Royal Blackheath Golf Club, ca.1803; Sir Francis Grant, *John Whyte-Melville*, Oil on Canvas, Royal & Ancient Golf Club of St Andrews, ca.1823; and Sir John Watson Gordon, *John Taylor*, Oil on Canvas, The Honourable Company of Edinburgh Golfers, ca.1820. Many paintings of red-coated golfers can also be found in the mid-19th-century club portraits by Major Francis Powell Hopkins.

³³ Red coats were implemented at Pau in France, and dozens of clubs in Canada and the United States. The uniforms in America, however, were equally influenced by the attire of existing hunt clubs and field clubs which employed traditional 'pink' coats. The tradition of the red-coated golfer was maintained in America into the first decade of the 20th century.

club events.³⁴ The red jacket, however, came to symbolise a bygone era of golf where formality and social etiquette were of pre-eminent importance.

Through its ever-present use in a multitude of artistic representations of the game, and specifically in the production of golf ceramics, the nostalgic scene of the red-coated golfer outwardly represented golf's formal traditions. More importantly, the red-coated golfer implied an affluence and elevated social standing attained by golfers who belonged to a club. This exclusive motif was the ideal subject for pottery houses, who were striving to capture the interest of the wealthy golf community with decorative, non-utilitarian wares. In addition, the red coat often served as an aspirational symbol to those in the working classes. Therefore, many examples can be found where the original reference materials were altered specifically to include the feature of the red coat.

McIntyre's popular late 19th-century golf wares, as discussed in Chapter 5, incorporated specific design changes to transform the recognisable figure of Leslie Balfour (Melville) into a red-coated golfer (Figures 5.7 - 5.9). Another respected North Staffordshire firm that also featured an enduring line of red-coated golfer wares was Wiltshaw & Robinson. The Stoke firm was founded in 1890 by James Wiltshaw and brothers James Alcock and William Herbert Robinson. Interestingly, Wiltshaw's father Thomas was Managing Director at McIntyre until his death in 1887. Initially focusing on earthenwares and fine china produced at their Carlton Works factory, Wiltshaw & Robinson quickly became known for its diversity and quality.

Almost immediately Wiltshaw & Robinson's trade name 'Carlton Ware' became more recognisable than the company name. Beginning toward the end of the 1890s, the firm introduced an image of two golfers and a caddie that was produced on a wide range of shapes for more than two decades (Figures 7.23 - 7.25). The image depicted a red-coated golfer positioned on the right of the scene, standing at address to the ball. A diminutive caddie is shown centred in the background while a second golfer observes from the left. The scene is transfer-printed and hand painted, and occasionally features gold banding and trim. The three Carlton Ware figures are used together almost exclusively on a wide

³⁴ Many clubs maintain club uniforms specifically for formal events. The Royal & Ancient, for example, eventually required only the Captain to wear the club jacket at formal events. As a result of this gradual slowing of tradition, examples of early club jackets and buttons have become prized by collectors.

range of shapes, including plates, tea cups, saucers, match pots, humidors with lock tops, biscuit jars, baluster vases, and tobacco jars. Examples from the Carlton Ware golfing series are not generally as successful at auction as similar pieces from the same era largely due to the high volume of production. The earliest of the Carlton Ware examples were generally produced in earthenware and hand painted in lesser quantities, therefore meriting greater consideration.³⁵

Another pottery manufacturer known for its red-coated golfer wares was the Fenton firm, Wileman & Company. Henry Wileman and his sons, James and Charles, worked together in the mid-19th century to expand the business and develop name recognition through the popular Foley trade name, although they also produced wares under the name Wileman & Co. Beginning in 1870, James Wileman became sole proprietor of Foley Pottery and Foley China Works, which produced earthenwares and china respectively. Two years later he entered into a partnership with J.B. Shelley, producing household wares for overseas markets. In 1892 the firm formally changed its name to Wileman & Co., although the Foley name continued as a well-established and popular trade name. In 1910 the Foley trade name was replaced with the Shelley mark. The firm was eventually passed to Shelley in 1925, who continued to produce earthenwares until World War II, and china into the 1960s. With this history in mind, the period during which Wileman & Co. produced golf wares marked with the Foley trade name was quite narrow, specifically between 1892 and 1910.

Wileman & Co. produced a range of diverse golf wares featuring scenes based upon a well-known series of golf images by the noted American illustrator Arthur Burdett (A.B.) Frost (Figures 7.26 - 7.29). Frost was an artist who could expand his technique from simply drawn whimsical cartoon characters to expertly executed paintings in exacting detail. This range of ability fostered an active and successful illustration career for periodicals, such as *Punch*, *Scribner's*, *Life*, and *Collier's*. Frost also provided illustrations for dozens of popular publications by noteworthy writers, such as Charles Dickens, Theodore Roosevelt, and Lewis Carroll.³⁶ Frost's flexibility of style can be seen in his

³⁵ Carlton Ware pieces are easily dated based on their registration marks and back stamps. See Geoffrey A Godden, *Encyclopaedia of British Pottery and Porcelain Marks* (London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1988), 677.

³⁶ Frost illustrated for: Max Adeler, *Out of the Hurly Burly, or Life in an Odd Corner* (London: Ward, Lock, 1882), *An Old Fogey and Other Stories* (London: Ward, Lock, 1881); Lewis Carroll (Charles Lutwidge

progression of artistic studies and teachers: he learned traditional English caricature as a student in London *ca.* 1876 to 1878; he studied Realism in life classes taught by Thomas Eakins at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Art; and he learned Impressionism under friend and colleague William Merritt Chase.³⁷

Frost captured humorous scenes through his comic vignettes which were produced decades before the introduction of newspaper comic strips. He also captured rural and small-town American life at the turn of the 20th century through hundreds of illustrations as a member of the art department at Harper Brothers Publishing, which he joined in 1876. Among the multitude of his illustrations published in *Harpers Weekly*, Frost specialised in recreational and sporting scenes, often depicting hunting, fishing, rowing, boating, baseball, and golf. A collection of these images was published in *Sports and Games in the Open* by Harper Brothers, 1899.

Frost's series of golf images, produced for Harpers between *ca.* 1895 and 1908, are known for their combination of expert draughtsmanship and sense of comic caricature. Many of his scenes were taken directly from Morris County Golf Club (NJ), where he was a charter member.³⁸ Titles from his golf portfolio include "Drive," "By Sheer Strength," "Bunkered," "Saturday Afternoon," "Long Putt," "Hooked," "Leg Wrapping," "Twosome," "Stymied," "Scoffer's First Attempt," "Good Show," "Good Form," "Brassy

Dodgson), *Rhyme? and Reason? A Tangled Tale* (London: Macmillan, 1883), *Phantasmagoria and other poems* (London: Macmillan, 1911); Charles Dickens, *Pictures From Italy* (NY: Harper & Brothers, 1877); Joel Chandler Harris, *Uncle Remus and his Friends: Old Plantation Stories, Songs, and Ballads* (NY: Houghton, Mifflin, 1892), *The Tar-baby and Other Tales of Uncle Remus* (NY: D. Appleton, 1904), *Brer Rabbit; Stories from Uncle Remus* (NY: Harper Brothers, 1941). Frost also produced his own illustration books, including *Stuff and Nonsense* (NY: Scribner's, 1884), *The Bull Calf and other Tales* (NY, Scribner's, 1892), *A Book of Drawings* (NY: P. F. Collier & Sons, 1904), and *Carlo* (New York: Doubleday, 1913).

³⁷ Frost studied in London from 1876 to 1878. After returning to Philadelphia in 1878, Frost studied at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts under Thomas Eakins. Here, he was also introduced to the value of photography as a reference tool by studying sequential motion images produced by Eadweard Muybridge. Later in his career, Frost arranged for his son, A. B. Frost, Jr. to study painting under his friend and colleague William Merritt Chase. Merritt Chase instructed at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts from 1896. Frost (Sr.) no doubt respected Merritt Chase for his abilities as an artist and teacher.

³⁸ William L. Quirin, *Morris County Golf Club 1894-1994* (Virginia Beach, VA: Donning, 1995); Ruth Churchill, "If You Own a Frost...Hold onto it", *Madison Eagle and Chatham Courier*, 16 June 1977, 13. Frost and his family moved to Chatham Twp., NJ, in 1895 while he worked for Harper Brothers in Manhattan. He joined nearby Morris County Golf Club the same year and remained a member until 1920. He was an avid golfer who was reputed to regularly score in the eighties even as he approached seventy years of age. The club presently owns six of Frost's finest golf paintings, which were produced in a black & white gouache and wash technique.

Lie," and "Duffer." Subsequent to their original publication date, the Frost golf illustrations have been reproduced as colour prints on numerous occasions.

For their Foley golf series, Wileman took creative liberty with the famous Frost illustrations, altering them to include red-coated golfers where Frost represented them in plain American-style dress. This change was no doubt made to impart a more British appearance to the figures, and to assist with sales in the United Kingdom. Frost golf scenes most commonly found on Foley china include: the main swinging figure from "Brassy Lie" with a red-coated golfer observing from the left; a scene of two golfers and a caddie taken directly from "Stymied" where the standing golfer is represented with a red coat as he watches the putting golfer; the main swinging figure from "By Sheer Strength" depicted with a red coat with the addition of two on looking caddies positioned in the background. In each scene the Frost images are altered to include a red-coated golfer, and in two instances the images are augmented with additional figures. While a vast majority of the Foley golf wares were produced on porcelain, early earthenware examples exist, such as a match pot. Rare examples of Foley golf china have surfaced that were produced on greenware, or with monochrome line illustrations that did not undergo hand-colouration. Perhaps the most important characteristic of the Foley golf wares as a whole is the wide range of inventive shapes, some of which are only 1½", on which the Frost imagery was transferred.³⁹ It is likely that Foley developed a multitude of very tiny shapes to encourage the collecting of groups of similarly themed wares that could be easily displayed. Certainly, many of the objects are far too small for any other possible use.

An additional decorative element that is commonly found on Foley golf wares is the crest "Far and Sure." (Figures 7.30, 7.31)⁴⁰ This ubiquitous motto dates to the mid-17th

³⁹ Foley golf wares have been produced on plates, beakers, vases, jugs, loving cups, covered boxes, candy dishes, scalloped dished, cups, top hats, puzzle jugs, toothpick pots, cream and sugars, and many more interesting shapes. Examples range as small as 1 ½" and span incrementally up to larger sizes. One particularly interesting shape is a 23cm (9.1") tilting helmet tobacco jar surmounted by a top hat and clay pipe finial. Frost golfing scenes appear transferred on the top hat. This item was offered at the Phillip's *North West Golfing Sale* (Chester: Phillip's, 12 July 1994), 30, Lot 395.

⁴⁰ See James Cundell, *Rules of the Thistle Golf Club: with some historical notices relative to the progress of the game of golf* (Edinburgh: Privately Printed, 1824); Cundell writes, "In connexion with the anecdotes related above, there is a traditionary narrative on the same subject, which tends to illustrate the history of Golf as a royal amusement, as well as to throw some light on a heraldic device and inscription, which have of late attracted considerable notice."

century and is linked to a claim that James Duke of York (James II) played in the first international match in 1681. According to the narrative, two English noblemen attending Scottish Court insisted that the game was of English descent, creating a dispute with the Duke. Defending the game's Scottish origins, the Duke accepted a challenge to settle the matter on the links. A foursome was arranged, but not before the Duke conducted a thorough search throughout the countryside for a suitable partner. The townspeople identified John Patersone, a local cobbler, as the finest golfer. With a reputedly grand sum of money at stake, Patersone and the Duke won the match. With his share of the earnings Patersone built a home in Edinburgh at 77 Canongate, where, over the front door, was placed his coat of arms along with the motto, "Far and Sure." The house, called "Golfer's Land", was torn down in 1960. Versions of the story can be found in most golf history books, and, accurate or not, it is known that many of the claims of the story are based in fact. Most important to this investigation is the existence of the "Far and Sure" motto and its adoption as a generational golfing motto.

The crest shows the motto printed on a flowing banner over crossed clubs. The image also includes a grouping of three golf balls centred below the crossed clubs, with an additional ball centred above. This particular icon can be found in dozens of club mottos, early golf medals, publications, and historical references, though the Foley wares most resemble the Royal Burgess Golfing Society of Edinburgh crest, first instituted by the club *ca.*1800.⁴¹

Certain Foley golf wares may have continued in circulation after Wileman & Co. was acquired by Shelley. It is also possible that Shelley sold select quantities of Wileman's remaining wares to other distributors at a discounted price. One such marking that has elicited much confusion is that of Peacock Pottery, often shown in combination with "Foley Art China (Figures 7.32 - 7.34)." Some examples exist where the Peacock Pottery stamp is used over the Shelley stamp, perhaps as a means to obscure the identifying mark of the original producer. It is not known if Peacock Pottery was a subsidiary of Shelley, or

⁴¹ The Edinburgh Town Council approved a Seal of Cause for the Burgess Society on 2 July 1800. Upon the granting of the new seal, the society changed its motto from "Long and Far" to "Far and Sure". The Burgess Society crest took a variety of shapes through the years, although versions exist that incorporated a flowing banner with crossed clubs and a grouping of three balls centred at the bottom.

if Shelley sold some of their over-run white ware to Peacock Pottery, who incorporated their own stamp as a means to obscure the Shelley name.

One particular example of the Peacock Pottery overstamp can be found on crested dinnerware produced for Scotsraig Golf Club. The club commissioned the production of china ware featuring a green line image of the clubhouse for special club events, such as the Scotsraig Bazaar in October 1906. Early lines of dinnerware for golf clubs, produced in the styles similar to those of Scotsraig, can also be found with decorations of Panmure Ladies Golf Club, dated March 1905, and Tryst Golf Course Stenhousemuir.⁴²

Separate from its association with Wileman's Foley China, Shelley developed a number of diverse and interesting golf wares. Shelley may well have developed golf-specific wares due to the popularity of the Foley series, which continued on the market even after Wileman had sold to Shelley. One of the finest examples of Shelley's golf ware, found on sturdy earthenware plates, vases, and speciality shapes, features a transfer and hand-coloured scene of Leven Links (Figures 7.35 - 7.37). The image depicts Leven Links with the coast line, undulating golfing terrain, and distant mountains incorporated in the scene. The main figure is shown addressing the ball in a large bunker while two other figures observe from the left. Additional Shelley golf wares include a series that featured the titles "Bunkered" and "Come! Step Out my Man."⁴³ Another *ca.* 1930 rack plate Shelley produced featured a full-colour cartoon of two golfers and their caddies on the first tee. The golfer on the tee, depicted in a red coat, is shouting "F-O-R-E." Also in the 1930s Shelly collaborated with noted illustrator Mabel Lucie Atwell on a large nursery ware series that included golfing images.⁴⁴ Atwell also collaborated on a small bone-china

⁴² Both examples were sold in an on-line live auction of sporting memorabilia by Lyon & Turnbull on 11 July 2005, Lot 75.

⁴³ One example of Shelley's "Bunkered" and "Come! Step out my Man" decorations appeared on a 13.5cm (5.3") ceramic wine jug in the Sotheby's *Golf and Sporting Memorabilia* sale in Musselburgh on 16 July 1990, 13, Lot 39. This piece, produced *ca.* 1910 to 1920, sold for £858. The 10 1/8" (25.7cm) Minton plate with decoration described as a male swinging golfer in a bunker appeared in Kevin McGrath's *Sporting Antiquities* auction of 25 April 1990, Lot 342.

⁴⁴ Mabel Lucie Atwell was a popular and prolific illustrator in the first half of the 20th century. She was primarily known for her caricature representations of chubby, cherubic toddlers. Her illustrations appeared in dozens of widely popular publications, including *Peeping Pansy* by Mary, Queen Consort of Ferdinand I, King of Roumania (London, 1919), and *Peter Pan and Wendy*, by J. M. Barrie (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1921). Her recognizable characters also appeared in post cards, advertisements, and greeting cards produced by Valentine & Sons of Dundee. Atwell based her characters on her daughter Peggy. Later in her career, Atwell contributed a comic strip called "Wot a Life" for the *London Opinion*. Her endearing children became the ideal subject matter for a line of nursery china for Shelley which eventually included a twenty-four piece place setting that was used in the Royal Nursery of Princesses Elizabeth and Margaret, and

figure of a child golfer (Figure 7.38.) These examples of Shelley's golfing wares, typically bearing the Shelley shield backstamp, were produced between 1916 and 1940.

Another pottery firm known for the diversity of its golf wares was Grimwade Brothers of Winton Pottery, Hanley and Stoke. The firm, founded by potter Leonard Lumsden Grimwade in 1885, earned a reputation for its useful and decorative earthenwares, majolica, and china. Sidney Richard Grimwade later joined his younger brother in the business. By 1900 the firm had purchased showrooms in Stoke-on-Trent and London, becoming Grimwades Ltd.⁴⁵ Evidence of its early success is seen in the four thriving factories that the firm maintained in Staffordshire in 1906. The Grimwades name has remained popular for more than a century thanks largely to its Royal Winton trade name which was established in 1929.

The earliest and most enduring of the Grimwade golf lines was one that featured a band of sprites called "Brownies," first made popular in the 1890s by illustrator and poet Palmer Cox (Figures 7.39 - 7.41). Cox was a Canadian who moved west to the San Francisco Bay area to seek work as an artist and writer. He found great success through his humorous illustrations and cartoons which were published in numerous books and popular periodicals of the era.⁴⁶ Cox later lived and worked in New York City and maintained a studio in London before returning home to Granby, Quebec in 1905.⁴⁷

Although much respected for his artistic and journalistic work, Cox's main legacy came from the massive success of the Brownie characters. The Brownies first appeared in February 1881 in an article by Professor Arthur Gilman titled "The Battle of the Types."

later Prince Charles. Examples of the Atwell golfing figure appeared for sale in the Sotheby's *Golf Memorabilia* sale of 17 July 1989, Lot 91.

⁴⁵ An important distinction of the firm's marks is seen in earlier versions which reads "Grimwade", translating to Grimwade Brothers, and later "Grimwades", which refers to Grimwades Ltd.

⁴⁶ For detailed information on Cox and his Brownies, see Roger W. Cummins, *Humorous but Wholesome, A History of Palmer Cox and The Brownies* (Watkins Glen, NY: Century House Americana Publishers, 1973); Cox illustrated for *Golden Era*, *Alta California*, *The San Francisco Examiner*, *St. Nicholas*, *Scribner's Illustrated Magazine for Girls and Boys*, *Harper's Young People*, and *Ladies' Home Journal*.

⁴⁷ Cox moved to New York City and later Long Island while working for Charles Scribner and Sons in Manhattan. Upon his return to Granby, Quebec, Cox built a mansion he called "Brownie Castle". The large Victorian home featured seventeen rooms, six staircases, a Brownie stained glass window, a four-story octagonal tower, and a running Brownie weather vane. Cox lived at Brownie Castle until his death in 1924.

Two years later Cox's Brownies appeared in a feature story "The Brownies Ride," published in *St Nicholas*.⁴⁸ Soon thereafter, they became a national and international phenomenon. In all, Cox wrote and illustrated more than two dozen Brownie books, magazine articles, poems, and developed two Broadway plays through his theatrical company called "The Brownie Company."⁴⁹ His recognisable Brownies were used on many occasions in advertisements, packaging, and to promote products such as the Brownie nine-pins game by McLaughlin Bros., and the Kodak Brownie camera.

Cox developed his band of Brownies in childhood based upon stories of Scottish folklore told to him by his mother and mother-in-law. In his article "The Origin of the 'Brownies'" in the *Ladies' Home Journal* in November 1892, Cox characterises his Brownies as "good-natured little spirits or goblins of the fairy order. They were all little men, and appeared only at night to perform good and helpful deeds or enjoy harmless pranks while weary households slept, never allowing themselves to be seen by mortals."⁵⁰ Cox gave form and personality to each of his merry Brownies, who adopted colourful and descriptive names such as *Major Telloff of the Brownie War Office*, *Donald MacCraggie from the Highlands*, *John Bull from "Lunnon"*, *Billie Tackabout who has weathered many a gale*, and *Uncle Sam of the land of the free*.

Grimwades realised the potential of a nursery series featuring Cox's popular Brownie characters, developing an extensive line *ca.*1910 that included golfing and sporting imagery. Some golfing examples of Grimwades Brownie ware include a porridge plate,

⁴⁸ Palmer Cox, "The Brownies Ride," *St Nicholas: Scribner's Illustrated Magazine for Girls and Boys* (Feb., 1883). Brownie-like characters appeared in three previous publications by Cox, although they did not take their now recognisable Brownie appearance until 1881.

⁴⁹ Brownie books by Cox include: *The Brownies, Their Book* (New York: The Century Co., 1887); *The Brownies at Home* (New York: The Century Co., 1893); *The Brownies Around the World* (New York: The Century Co., 1894); *Palmer Cox's Brownies* (New York: T. B. Harms & Co., 1894); *The Brownies in Fairyland* (New York: T. B. Harms & Co., 1894); *The Brownies Through the Union* (New York: The Century Co., 1895); *Brownie Year Book* (New York: McLoughlin Bros., 1895); *The Brownies Abroad* (New York: The Century Co., 1899); *The Brownies in the Philippines* (New York: The Century Co., 1904); *The Palmer Cox Brownie Primer* (New York: The Century Co., 1906); *Brownie Clown of Brownie Town* (New York: The Century Co., 1908); *The Brownies' Latest Adventures* (New York: The Century Co., 1910); *The Brownies Many More Nights* (New York: The Century Co., 1913); *The Brownies and Prince Florimel* (New York: The Century Co., 1918); *The Brownies in Fairyland* (New York: The Century Co., 1925). Cox's Broadway play opened 12 November 1894 at the 14th Street Theater. The play ran for 100 performances before touring the United States and Canada for five years.

⁵⁰ Palmer Cox, "The Origin of the 'Brownies'," *Ladies' Home Journal*, Nov. 1892.

tea cup and saucer, 16cm (6.3”) water jug with hinged cover, 25cm (9.8”) pedestal bowl, 28cm (11”) fruit bowl, and a 23cm (9.1”) and 8.5cm (3.3”) teapot.⁵¹ The Grimwades Brownie wares appear rarely at auctions and have thus become highly sought-after among golf collectors. Additional Brownie wares bear the markings of Taylor Smith & Taylor (WV), the Staffordshire Tea Set Co. Ltd., of Tunstall, Steubenville China (OH), and Knowles Taylor & Knowles (OH). These copy wares or over-run distributions appear occasionally for sale, though they do not hold the same appeal as original examples produced by Grimwades.

Grimwades also produced a series of colourful rack plates with humorous scenes, each with its own ironic title (Figures 7.42 - 7.45). Plates included "Full Swing" featuring a swinging female golfer in formal attire, "Golf Language" displaying a male golfer sprawled face down on the turf, "Carry Your Caddy, Sir?" showing an adult caddy confronting a golfer regarding his employment of a child caddy, "Golf Critics" displaying three young caddies commiserating while their male and female golfers court privately in the distance, "Them's Mushrooms" showing a myopic golfer at address to a mushroom, and "The Indispensable Caddie" depicting a child caddy standing close by a seated golfing couple. The Grimwades golfing rack plates were produced in a range of sizes between 23cm (9.1”) and 26cm (10.2”). Importantly, the Grimwades plates featured many combinations of rim designs, including solid blue, pink, black, gold, dappled green, and a painted border that is a continuation of the landscape in the central scene. Confusion arises, however, from another series of rack plates produced by Sampson Bridgewood & Sons of Longton, which utilizes the exact same scenes and titles (Figures 7.45 - 7.47). The Bridgewood plates typically bear a decorative running border featuring a townscape and stone bridge. The Bridgewood examples generally measure 26cm (10.2”) with a smooth rim, while the Grimwades plates often feature a contoured rim pattern. Both Grimwades and Bridgewood plates were produced during the period between *ca.*1912 and 1925.

The Grimwades Brownies and rack plate series are but two of many illustrations of successful golf wares that were offered simultaneously by competing firms. Often,

⁵¹ The 25cm (9.8”) pedestal bowl was offered by Phillips in their *Golfing Memorabilia* sale of 20 January 1995. The item, assigned Lot 331, realized £600. Phillip's, *Golfing Memorabilia Sale* (Chester: Phillips, 20 January 1995), 23, Lot 331.

examples can be found that feature borrowed decorations on differing shapes in porcelain and earthenware, produced by manufacturers around the world. One excellent case of popular borrowed iconography is that of the Sporting Teddy Bear series inspired by U.S. President Theodore "Teddy" Roosevelt beginning first in 1902 (Figures 7.48 - 7.51).⁵² Versions of golfing teddy nursery wares can be found with maker's marks from Grimwades Ltd., W. H. Grindley & Co., B & S of Austria, Blair's Ltd., Underwood's, R. H. & S. L. Plant China Co., J.A. Robinson & Sons Ltd., H. M. Williamson & Sons, John Aynsley & Sons, "N & Co.," and, no doubt, many more manufacturers. Sporting Teddy wares have appeared in a full china tea set, a warmer plate with handles, nursery plates, porridge plates, a patented triangular highchair baby plate, and a wide range of additional plates and bowls. A majority of these whimsical wares date between 1905 and 1915, although later versions were produced.

Finally, Grimwades produced a long-running and successful series of useful and decorative golfing wares under the Royal Winton trade name (Figures 7.52, 7.53). This later series included transfer scenes of golfing characters dressed in early 1900s attire, reacting to various comical situations. The simplistic figural vignettes appear as black line illustration with colourations of solid yellow, blue, red, and green set against a white background. Occasional examples can be found with gilding, though not many remain in good condition. The assortment of shapes within the Royal Winton golfing series was extensive, and examples often appear at auction due to the larger production runs. While the Royal Winton series falls outside the timescope of this investigation, it well-represents the length of Grimwades' commitment to the production and sale of golfing wares.

During the decades following the "golf boom" it became difficult for pottery firms around the world to ignore the influx of golfing wares and their success in the market. This trend was especially noticeable in North Staffordshire where established and aspiring pottery houses alike competed in close quarters. Golf became a common theme in North

⁵² President Roosevelt went on a fruitless three-day hunting excursion in Mississippi in 1902 at the end of which a bear was brought to him to shoot. Roosevelt refused to harm the bear due to its helpless condition. This scene was illustrated the next day in the 16 November 1902 issue of *The Washington Post* by editorial cartoonist Clifford Berryman. The story soon inspired a Brooklyn shopkeeper named Morris Michtom to offer hand-made children's bears, called "Teddy's Bear" in the display window of his novelty shop. The Steiff company in Germany also produced a stuffed, jointed bear in 1902 for export to Britain and America. Eventually the "Teddy Bear" became popular around the world, inspiring numerous concepts for toys, decorations and nursery wares.

Staffordshire, and examples can be found to greater or lesser degrees of commitment among its many noteworthy firms.

The renowned Stoke firm Minton developed a series of blue and white plates and jugs in the late 19th century that included loosely drawn line illustrations of individual golfing subjects in a landscape (Figure 7.54). Minton images included a swinging male and female golfer, a putting female golfer, a male golfer at address to the ball, a caddie, and a standing male figure contemplating the fate of his ball by the water's edge. The Minton plates, produced in 20cm (7.9"), 23cm (9.1"), and 26cm (10.2") sizes, included a variety of border designs from traditional bands to elaborate floral decorations. Examples of Minton's golf wares have surfaced with the markings of the established London-based retailer Apsley Pellatt & Co. (Figure 7.55).

Royal Worcester produced at least three known boxed coffee sets comprising cups and saucers with golfing decorations. The custom sets were commissioned as prizes shortly after the completion of the Gleneagles King's Course in 1919. The fine porcelain cups and saucers, expertly painted by Raymond Rushton, feature scenes of the Kings' Course golf holes and the distant Glen Devon range in soft pastel colorations. Perhaps all eighteen holes, each of which had descriptive Scots titles, such as "Kittle-Kink" (Tricky Bend) or "Warslin' Lea" (Wrestling Ground), were featured in the rare presentation set. Only one set is known to have remained in complete condition. Individual cups and saucers, presumably disassembled from the other remaining sets, appear occasionally on the auction market.⁵³ Another unique Royal Worcester example known to have been offered at sale is a large floral two-handled ivory cup with very boldly executed paintings on verso of long nose woods and early irons, produced *ca.* 1910.

The Longton firm H. M. Williamson & Sons also introduced an elaborate porcelain tea service that featured figural vignettes of Britain's finest golfers of the early 20th century, including the "Great Triumvirate," Harry Vardon, James Braid, and J.H. Taylor (Figures 7.56 - 7.57).⁵⁴ Shapes were accented with pale green border decorations. The series

⁵³ Phillip's, *Golfing Memorabilia* (Chester: Phillip's, 22 January 1988), 15, Lot 192.

⁵⁴ Vardon, Braid and Taylor dominated golf, particularly in the British Isles, between the years of 1894 and 1913. The "Triumvirate" won sixteen Open Championship of Great Britain titles during this time frame.

included cups and saucers, side plates, a cake plate, sugar and creamer, bowls, sandwich plate, egg cup, and jugs. Williamson & Sons assigned the registration No. 480949 and introduced the series *ca.* 1915. Additional figures from the series include a grouping of three young caddies, and a female golfer presumed to be the three-time British Women's Amateur champion "Cecil" Leitch.⁵⁵

Wedgwood introduced a series of basalt shapes termed Kenlock Ware, which featured a vignette of a female golfer carrying a golf bag (Figure 7.58). Examples of Kenlock Ware, typically small plates, jugs, and vases, were produced in very limited quantities between 1895 and 1900.⁵⁶ Kenlock Ware jugs and vases appear in terra cotta or black colour, and are characterised by a glazed interior, in contrast to the typical Jasperware biscuit surface. One additional example was a 7" (17.8cm) black Kenlock three-handled humidior with a patent cover, marked "Kenlock Ware."⁵⁷ In 1931 Wedgwood designed a range of sports plates in conjunction with Kennard Wedgwood in Manhattan.⁵⁸ The plates portrayed three beautifully painted scenes each of tennis, golf, polo, and racing. The images were expertly produced by noted Wedgwood painter and decorator Arthur Dale Holland.⁵⁹ Wedgwood did not introduce a golfing subject in its trademark Jasperware style until well-after the timescope of this investigation. One notable example of Jasperware that often is mistaken as a golf piece features cameo decoration of the Apollo XI (20 July 1969) lunar landing, misattributed as the Apollo XIV mission (5-9 February 1971) when Admiral Alan Shepard, Jr. made his two historic golf shots. Confusion occurs with the inclusion of a

⁵⁵ Charlotte Cecilia Pitcairn Leitch was the full name of this prolific ladies amateur golf champion. In her career she claimed twelve women's amateur national titles, among them four British, five French, and one Canadian. A tea cup, saucer, and plate from this series was auctioned in the Phillips *Golfing Memorabilia* sale (16 July 1987, 17, Lot 217) and was referenced to be from the estate of J. H. Taylor.

⁵⁶ Robin Reilly and George Savage, *The Dictionary of Wedgwood* (Suffolk: The Antique Collector's Club, 1980), 248. For additional material on Wedgwood, see W. B. Honey, *Wedgwood Ware* (London: Faber & Faber, 1966).

⁵⁷ Sotheby's (Glasgow: Sotheby's, 17 July 1989), 8, Lot 151.

⁵⁸ Maureen Batkin, *Wedgwood Ceramics 1846 – 1959* (London: The Hillingdon Press, Richard Dennis Publishing, 1982); Due to a significant lack of creative direction at the turn of the 19th century, John Goodwin was appointed Art Director. Goodwin succeeded Kennard Wedgwood, who was sent to New York in 1906 to re-establish a North American branch to explore new marketing and distribution avenues.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 236. Holland (1896-1979) worked at Wedgwood from 1910 to 1935, specializing in sporting scenes, fish and game images, and floral subjects. Holland later worked in Staffordshire for Empire Porcelain, Bell Pottery, Paragon, and Minton. He retired from Minton in 1961.

retrieval implement in the decoration, which was the same general device that Shepard modified with a six-iron head for his two lunar golf shots.

One final noteworthy and enduring golfing series from North Staffordshire was produced by A. G. Richardson & Co. Ltd., of Tunstall, as part of its popular Crown Ducal trade name (Figures 7.59 - 7.62). Crown Ducal was Richardson's most prominent line of the 1920s and 1930s, typified by the production of tableware and "Fancies." Richardson developed a widely distributed and successful range of golfing subject earthenwares produced in hollow shapes and rack plates. Scenes usually depicted comical and demonstrative golfing characters in various stages of embarrassment or exasperation. The Crown Ducal golf wares were fully decorated with brightly coloured scenes, often in vibrant hues of yellow, orange, green, and blue. Shapes included vases, covered dishes, tobacco jars, biscuit barrels, humidors, tankards, jugs, and a variety of dishes. Examples of the Crown Ducal golfing wares appear at auction frequently, and possess only moderate value due to the relatively large quantities remaining in circulation.

While our present examination focuses primarily on the most prominent lines that emerged from the North Staffordshire potteries, dozens of additional manufacturers from the region entered the market with their own golfing subjects. Charles Allerton & Sons produced golf wares *ca.*1900 that featured the motto, "Queer isn't it that this is considered work while this is regarded play!" Arkinstall & Sons Ltd. included golfing wares under its Arcadian China trade name. Dartmouth Pottery produced earthenware tankards with golfing handles in high-glaze brown, amber, and pale blue (Figure 7.63). Burgess & Leigh also made tankards with figural golfing handles in varying sizes and colourations as part of their coveted Burleigh Ware line (Figure 7.64). S. Fielding & Co. Ltd. produced golfing wares in its Crown Devon series. H.J. Wood Ltd. and Alfred Meakin each produced colourful wares featuring a young hillbilly golfer with the title "Its Plus Fours As Does It" (Figure 7.65). Examples of golfing wares have surfaced that bear the markings of J.B. Wood & Co., Sandlands & Colley, and Wm. Henry Goss. A 12cm (4.7") golfing lustre ware milk jug appeared at auction in 1995 bearing the markings of (Wm.) Ridgway, *ca.*1900.⁶⁰ George Jones included golf in its Crescent China brand. C. H. Brannam Ltd. of Devon is well known among golf collectors for its tall earthenware motto

⁶⁰ Sotheby's, *Traditional Sports Sale* (London: Sotheby's, 11 July 1995), Lot 517.

jugs that featured an etched poem that coiled around the exterior of the shape (Figures 7.66, 7.67).⁶¹ Arthur Wood & Sons Ltd. included golf in its Royal Bradwell line, and Hewitt & Leadbeater produced a 15cm (5.9") china bust of "Old" Tom Morris in its Willow Art China line. The pervasiveness of the golf-themed wares provides us with a clear indication of its success and importance to the British pottery industry and specifically those of the North Staffordshire region.

In total, more than forty North Staffordshire pottery firms produced golfing wares between the years of 1895 and 1930. It is clear from the diversity of golf wares and their widespread development among the North Staffordshire potteries that the theme of golf was recognised as one that held great promise. The enduring appeal of many lines also indicated that golf was an actively selling topic and the rapidly expanding population of late-Victorian golfers were an ideally suited audience for decorative wares.

⁶¹ "It's a Grand Game Gowf! When the sun shines hot on the green, and your drive was not fit to be seen. Your ball has got bunkered or lost in a whin, and you're thinking it is just about time to give in. Gie yer club to a caddie say good bye to the tee, come into the house and drink freely from me."



Figure 7.1 Copeland Spode Jardinière in green and tobacco brown. (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)



Figure 7.2 Copeland Spode Jardinière in blue and gray. (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)



Figure 7.3 Copeland Spode jug. (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)



Figure 7.4 Copeland Spode Jug. (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)



Figure 7.5 Copeland Spode biscuit barrel with silver cover, finial, and articulating handle. (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)



Figure 7.6 Copeland Spode tall jug. (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)

IDEAL GOLFING TROPHY.



Spode Artware Loving Cup with Golfing Subjects in White Relief on a rich green ground. Two sizes, height 6 ins. & 5 ins.; the larger looks double the smaller.

	Large	Small
Price with heavy Silver Rim	21/-	15/-
Ditto, without Silver	7/6	6/-

Carefully packed, post free in B.I.

Sole Depot: Townsend Galleries, (Dept.F.) Newcastle-on-Tyne

Figure 7.7 An advertisement for Copeland Spode golf wares appearing in the 2 April 1909 (British) *Golf Illustrated*.

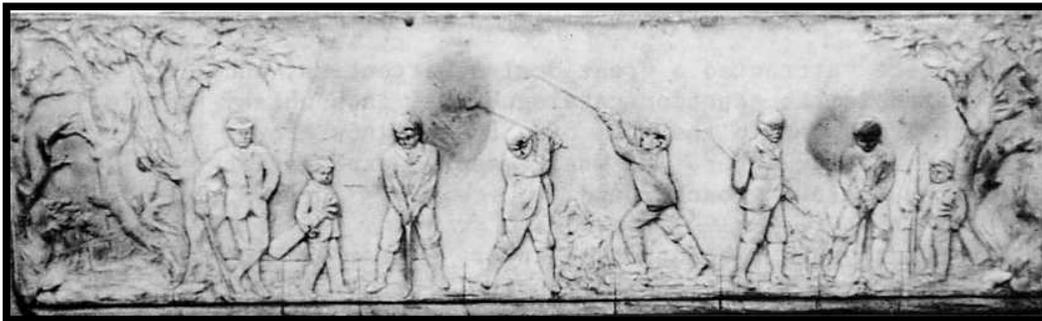


Figure 7.8 Copeland Spode horizontal plaster cast of the original golfing figure sequence (Courtesy of the Spode Museum Trust).



Figure 7.9 (left) Copeland Spode commemorative Coronation decanter, 22 June 1911. **Figure 7.10 (right)** A golfing variation utilizing the shape of the Coronation decanter (Courtesy of the Spode Museum Trust).



Figure 7.11 A Spode Fortuna jug. (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)



Figure 7.12 A German creamer with decoration borrowed from Copeland Spode (Figure 7.13 on right.) (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)



Figure 7.14 A German creamer with decoration borrowed from Copeland Spode (Figure 7.15 on right.) (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)



Figure 7.16 A Taylor Tunnicliffe earthenware tobacco humidor. (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)



Figure 7.17 A Taylor Tunnicliffe earthenware tobacco humidor. (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)



Figure 7.18 A Taylor Tunnicliffe earthenware match pot. (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)



Figure 7.19 A W. Wood & Co. biscuit barrel with ornate plated cover and articulating handle.



Figure 7.20 A W. Wood & Co. biscuit barrel with ornate plated cover and articulating handle.



Figure 7.21 Horace Hutchinson “at the top of the swing (as it should be)” produced by C. L. Shute for *Golf: The Badminton Library of Sports and Pastimes*, ca. 1890.



Figure 7.22 Decoration from a W. Wood & Co. biscuit barrel featuring the Hutchinson image “The Swing (As it Should Be.)”



Figure 7.23 A Wiltshaw & Robinson Carlton Ware earthenware humidior with red-coated golfer scene. (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)



Figure 7.24 A Wiltshaw & Robinson Carlton Ware porcelain plate with red-coated golfer scene. (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)



Figure 7.25 A Wiltshaw & Robinson Carlton Ware earthenware match pot with red-coated golfer scene. (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)



Figure 7.26 Wileman & Co. Foley China dish with A. B. Frost red-coated golfer scene. (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)



Figure 7.27 Wileman & Co. Foley China tiny creamer with A. B. Frost red-coated golfer scene. (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)



Figure 7.28 Wileman & Co. Foley China top hat with A. B. Frost red-coated golfer scene. (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)



Figure 7.29 Wileman & Co. Foley 1 1/2" vase with A. B. Frost red-coated golfer scene. (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)



Figure 7.30 Wileman & Co. Foley China dish with "Far & Sure" emblem. (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)



Figure 7.31 Detail of Foley China "Far & Sure" emblem. (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)



Figure 7.32 Foley China Scotsraig Golf Club china, 1906. (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)



Figure 7.33 Foley China Scotsraig Golf Club china, October 1906. (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)



Figure 7.34 Peacock Pottery mark and Foley Art China mark.



Figure 7.35 (left) Shelley earthenware plate and **Figure 7.36 (right)** Vase with “Golf Links, Leven” decoration. (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)

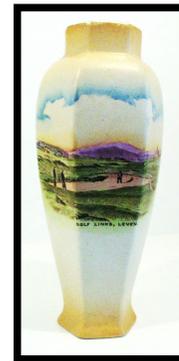


Figure 7.37 Detail of Shelley “Golf Links, Leven” decoration. (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)



Figure 7.38 A Shelley figure by Mabel Lucie Atwell.

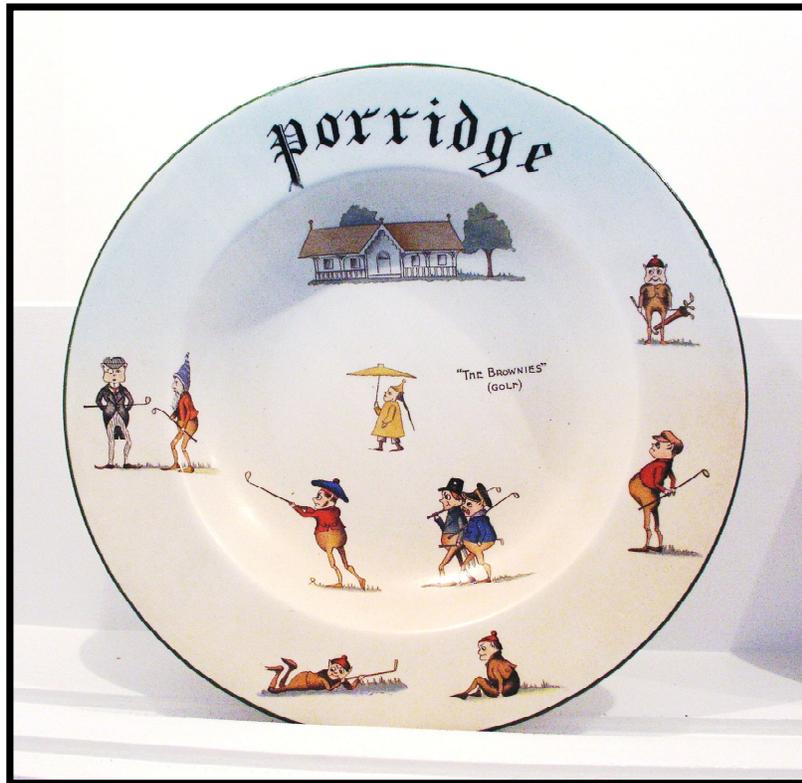


Figure 7.39 Grimwades Ltd. porrige bowl with Palmer Cox's "Brownies" decoration. (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)



Figure 7.40 Grimwades Ltd. tea cup and saucer with Palmer Cox's "Brownies" decoration. (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)



Figure 7.41 Grimwades Ltd. plate with Palmer Cox's "Brownies" decoration. (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)



Figure 7.42 Grimwades Ltd. rack plate “The Indispensable Caddie.” (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)



Figure 7.43 Grimwades Ltd. rack plate “Golf Critics.” (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)



Figure 7.44 Grimwades Ltd. rack plate “Golf Language.” (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)



Figure 7.45 Sampson Bridgewood & Sons rack plate “Carry Your Caddie Sir?” (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)



Figure 7.46 Sampson Bridgewood & Sons rack plate “The Indispensable Caddie” (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)



Figure 7.47 Sampson Bridgewood & Sons rack plate “Them’s Mushrooms” (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)



Figure 7.48 A golfing “Teddy” nursery plate produced by “B & S Austria.” (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)



Figure 7.49 A golfing “Teddy” creamer produced by “W.H. Grindley.” (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)



Figure 7.50 A golfing “Teddy” salad plate by R.H. & S. L. Plant. (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)



Figure 7.51 A detail of the golfing “Teddy” image.



Figure 7.52 A Grimwades Royal Winton golfing dish. (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)



Figure 7.53 A Grimwades Royal Winton golfing dish. (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)



Figure 7.54 A Minton golfing plate with blue and white floral rim pattern.



Figure 7.55 A Minton golfing plate marked "Apsley Pellatt." (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)



Figure 7.56 H. M. Williamson & Sons creamer with Harry Vardon image. (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)



Figure 7.57 H. M. Williamson & Sons tea setting with "Great Triumvirate" Image. (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)

Figure 7.58 A Wedgwood Kenlock Ware terra cotta jug. (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)





Figure 7.59 A Richardson & Co. Crown Ducal golfing biscuit barrel. (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)



Figure 7.60 A Richardson & Co. Crown Ducal golfing covered box. (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)



Figure 7.61 (top and bottom) Richardson & Co. Crown Ducal Florentine rack plate. (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)



Figure 7.62 A Richardson & Co. Crown Ducal golfing vase. (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)



Figure 7.63 Two colouration examples of Dartmouth pottery tankards with golf bag handles. (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)



Figure 7.64 A Burgess & Leigh Burleighware tankard with figural handle. (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)



Figure 7.65 Alfred Meakin octagonal "Its Plus Fours as Does it" plate. (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)

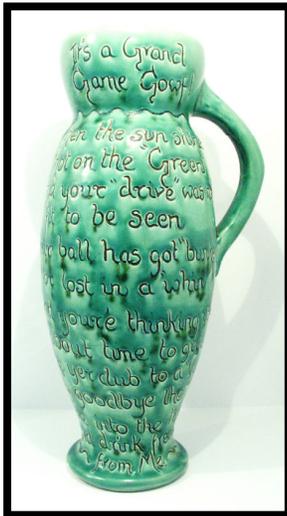


Figure 7.66 C.H. Brannam Ltd. motto jug. (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)

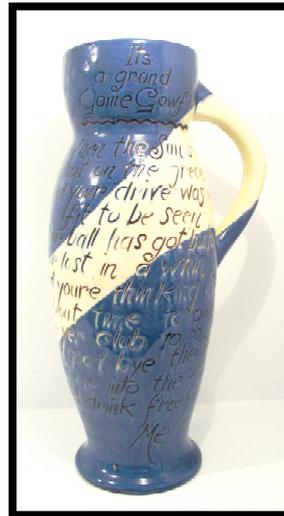


Figure 7.67 C.H. Brannam Ltd. motto jug. (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)

CHAPTER 8 - American Golf Wares

Evidence of *colf* exists in the court records of the Dutch colonial settlement of New Netherlands. As early as December 1650 Dutch settlers in *Beverwijck* were noted to have played "kolf op het ijs" on the frozen canals by the Hudson River.¹ One instance of *colf* on ice, taking the form of pre-wedding amusements for the groom, Philip Pietersz Schuyler, and his friends, resulted in a turn of violence that prompted fighting and an assault with a knife.² On 10 December 1659 Magistrates of the settlement of Fort Orange, later Albany, enacted an edict forbidding burghers from playing *colf*. The violent, destructive nature of the events described in the court records indicated that, like *colf* in the Low Countries, the game was predominantly played in the streets to the detriment of many residents and homes:

The Honourable Commissary and Magistrates of Fort Orange and the village of Beverwijck, having heard (diverse) complaints from burghers of this place against the practice of playing (golf) along the streets, which causes great damage to the windows of the houses, and also exposes people to the danger of being injured and is contrary to the freedom of the public streets; therefore, their honors, wishing to prevent the same, hereby forbid all persons playing (golf) in the streets, under penalty of forfeiture of *fl.* 25 for each person who shall be found doing so.³

All indications suggest, however, that the various stick and ball games of the Dutch New Netherlands settlement mirrored those of the Low Countries. Golf, in its recognisable long form, would not officially appear in America until more than a century later.

The first evidence of playing golf in North America came in Charleston, South Carolina, in the mid-18th century. According to an extract from the Port of Leith *Customer*

¹ *Beverwijck*, or "Beaver Town," was so called by Dutch colonists due to the plentiful supply of beaver pelts which were traded via the Dutch East India Company.

² Paul Grondahl, "Rambunctious 'Kolfers' end the Rounds for Good," *Albany Times Union* (NY), 10 April 2002. Philip Pietersz Schuyler was married to Margrieta van Slichtenhorst on 12 December 1650. Schuyler and friends played *Kolf op het ijs* prior to his wedding, wagering brandy on the match. The participants retired to the tavern of Steven Jansz where a dispute arose, followed by a violent clash. *Colf* implements were used as weapons, and a stabbing occurred.

³ A.J.F. van Laer (ed.), *Minutes of the Court of Fort Orange and Beverwyck, 1652-1656 [and] 1657-1660* (Albany: The State University of the State of New York, 1920), 23, Vol. II; see also Robert Browning, *A History of Golf the Royal and Ancient Game* (London: J.M. Dent, 1955). Browning's account is taken from the *Minutes of the Meeting of the Court of Fort Orange*, 10 December 1659.

Accounts Book, a consignment on the *Magdalen* included "8 doz. golf clubs and three gross golf balls," sent to Charleston in 1743.⁴ Additional extracts from Greenock (Scotland) list shipments of clubs and balls to Virginia in 1750 and again in 1751. Further records from *Glasgow Custom Accounts* describe a shipment of "1 ½ doz. clubs and 1 gross balls" to Maryland in 1765.⁵ One further account of 18th-century American golf appeared in a notice published in the 1779 *Rivington Royal Gazette*, New York, stating, "To the GOLF PLAYERS, The Season for this pleasant and healthy exercise now advancing, Gentlemen may be furnished with excellent CLUBS and the veritable Caledonian BALLS, by enquiring at the Printers." Such an advertisement would most certainly have been placed for the attention of Scottish officers during the period of the Revolutionary War.

Golf took the firmest initial hold in America in Charleston rather than New York, largely due to a strong Scottish influence. In fact, the St Andrews Society was first organised in Charleston as early as 1729. The 1743 shipment of clubs and balls was forwarded to David Deas, who, along with his brother John, served amongst the many Scottish merchants based in Charleston. Golf there, as in Scottish cities such as Glasgow, was informally played on open public lands in the centre of the city, amidst horse-drawn wagons, picnics, and playing children. The public green in Charleston, home to the golfers, was known as Harleston Green. In 1786 the South Carolina Golf Club was established, and a clubhouse was constructed for the golf club in 1795. An advertisement for club activities appeared in the 29 September 1790 *Charleston City Gazette*, stating, "GOLF CLUB: The Anniversary of the South Carolina Golf Club, will be held on Wednesday the 29th instant, at William's Coffee House, where the members are requested to attend at two o'clock, to transact the business of club before dinner, which will be on table at three." The Charleston club was soon followed by the Savannah (Georgia) Golf Club in 1795.

⁴ Ian T. Henderson and David Stirk, *Golf in The Making* (Crowley, England: Henderson and Stirk, Ltd., 1979), Supplement, 4. See also Alistair J. Johnston and James F. Johnston, *The Chronicles of Golf 1457-1857* (Cleveland: Privately Published, 1993), ref. 50; David Hamilton, *Golf Scotland's Game* (Kilmalcom, Scotland: The Partick Press, 1998), 36.

⁵ David Hamilton, *Golf Scotland's Game* (Kilmalcom, Scotland: The Partick Press, 1998), 97-98. For a more detailed account of 18th century American golf, see Charles Price and George C. Rogers, Jr., *The Carolina Low Country - Birthplace of American Golf, 1786* (Hilton Head: Sea Pines Company, 1980).

Golf in the lowland Carolinas and Georgia was short-lived. After the United States declared war against Great Britain in June of 1812, the game became less-fashionable because it was viewed as distinctly British. Certainly, tensions between the two nations would have greatly affected the lives of the many British merchants who were noted to have initiated golf in the region. The lingering anti-British sentiment for decades after the War of 1812, followed not long after by the US Civil War, effectively curtailed golf in America for more than seventy years.

Although great debate rages among amateur historians as to who may lay claim to the honour of being the first golf club in America, or the "Father of American Golf," the game was clearly organised and practised in Charleston more than a century ahead of the numerous late-19th-century clubs. Nevertheless, golf's re-emergence in America was again fuelled by Scottish émigrés who, almost simultaneously and independently across a great geographic swath, sought the implements and the land to enjoy the game. Col. J. Hamilton Gillespie, a native of Edinburgh, developed golf holes in Sarasota in 1886. Russell Montague and his Scottish neighbours introduced golf in White Sulphur Springs, WV, in 1884. Robert Lockhart and John Reid, natives of Dunfermline, introduced golf in Yonkers, NY, in 1887. A. H. Findlay, originally from Montrose, is credited with bringing golf to Nebraska in the 1880s. Joseph Mickle Fox, after a visit to St Andrews, returned to his summer home in Western Pennsylvania to form Foxburg Golf Club in 1887. Dorset Field Club, VT, claims to have entertained golfers as early as 1881, with a nine-hole layout appearing in September 1886. Charles Blair Macdonald, a native of Chicago, attended the University of St Andrews from 1872 to 1874, and learned the game under the tutelage of "Old" Tom Morris. Macdonald would later win the first United States Amateur Championship, design the first eighteen-hole golf course in the United States, and devoted his considerable energies to organising and administering the game in America in the likeness of its Scottish progenitor.⁶ Scottish men sought new

⁶ C. B. Macdonald was a golf Renaissance Man in the truest sense. He won the first United States Amateur Championship in 1895 while assisting with the formation of the fledgling United States Golf Association. He served as an unyielding guiding force for organized golf in America through his longtime role as a committeeman in the early years of this association. He was a noted golf architect, designing the first eighteen-hole layout in America, Chicago Golf Club (1893), and numerous other respected designs, such as Mid Ocean in Bermuda (1924), and National Golf Links in Southampton, NY (1911). Macdonald also wrote his golfing memoirs, *Scotland's Gift Golf - Reminiscences 1872 - 1927* (New York: Privately Printed, 1912).

opportunities in North America, emigrating by the hundreds to serve as golf professionals.⁷

Many of the same factors that precipitated the golf boom in the United Kingdom influenced golf's rapid and widespread emergence in America in the late 1880s. Consequently America experienced its own dramatic increase in the population of golfers. The expansion of the game in America also included a factor of affluence and social prestige that closely matched the character of the game in Europe, and particularly that of England. Golfing components were hurriedly added to the activities of holiday resorts, and to existing field clubs, hunt clubs, cricket clubs, and country clubs across America. As golf permeated the ranks of the American upper class, the new game and its affluent practitioners received coverage in periodicals such as *Harpers* magazine that catered to the wealthy, and in the society columns of weekly newspapers. The combination of the game's expansion on both sides of the Atlantic and its popularity among well-to-do society quickly made golf an appealing and profitable subject for American pottery manufacturers.

Perhaps the most active region for 19th-century pottery production in America centred in the Ohio River Valley, most notably Muskingum County. This county was particularly well-suited for pottery production due to its proximity to rich clay soil, clean burning natural gas, and an intricate network of waterways. The first record of pottery in Muskingum County came in 1810, when Samuel Sullivan began making "redware" cups and plates.⁸ The county had plentiful rich clay soil which Sullivan extracted from nearby farms. Sullivan started his business in tiny Zanesville, unaware that the city would become the leading centre for pottery production in the state. Soon, he was turning and firing jars and crocks in large quantities.⁹ This became the start of a long tradition of potters and clay tile manufacturers that, over 150 years, vaulted Muskingum County, and

⁷ David Hamilton, *Golf Scotland's Game* (Kilmalcolm, Scotland: Partick Press, 1998), 207. Hamilton estimates that between the years 1898 and 1930, upwards of 150 club professional jobs in North America were filled by Carnoustie émigrés.

⁸ Peter Faure (ed.), *The Connoisseur Complete Encyclopedia of Antiques* (London: The Connoisseur, 1975), 404. "Redware" describes a sturdy "folk pottery" for use in kitchens or dairies. Redware utilizes a simple manufacturing process with minimal tools and machinery needed for success. Typical redware was washed and glazed with colours.

⁹ Betty Purviance Ward and Nancy N. Schiffer, *Weller, Roseville & Related Zanesville Pottery & Tiles* (Atgen, PA: Schiffer Publishing Ltd., 2000), 5.

specifically the city of Zanesville, into the forefront of pottery manufacture in the U.S. Major American pottery houses such as Weller, Roseville, Peters and Reed, and J.B. Owens followed the pioneering efforts of Samuel Sullivan.

The most notable of the early Ohio potters, Samuel A. Weller, began his career in 1872 with the Blue Bird Pot Shop in Fultonham.¹⁰ Weller distinguished himself from other local potters through his hand-painted designs and keen business acumen. He travelled door-to-door peddling his wares, and by 1882 had made the first of many business relocations to increase production and expand his opportunities, settling in nearby Zanesville.¹¹ At the time, Zanesville pottery was building a reputation, though mainly known for its pioneering work in decorative art tile production.¹² Considering that all decorative tiles had been imported to America prior to 1875, Zanesville quickly became the country's primary production centre. Thus when Weller arrived in Zanesville, he was joining a thriving centre of pottery and tile production, complete with an existing infrastructure tailored for his business. He was also the beneficiary of improved transportation facilities, a larger marketplace, and perhaps most importantly, a legion of skilled throwers, designers, decorators, and seasoned pottery workers.¹³

Weller was soon operating two factories in town, producing flower pots and canning jars, though he harboured a strong desire to expand his business in the direction of art wares.¹⁴

¹⁰ Peter Faure (ed.), *The Connoisseur Complete Encyclopedia of Antiques* (London: The Connoisseur, 1975). "Blue Bird" was a term that denoted a seasonal potter.

¹¹ Betty Purviance Ward and Nancy N. Schiffer, *Weller, Roseville & Related Zanesville Pottery & Tiles* (Atglen, PA: Schiffer Publishing Ltd., 2000), 6.

¹² *Ibid.*, 135, 152-154. The firm of Fischer & Lansing became the first U.S. firm to produce decorative tiles, beginning in 1875. Next, the American Encaustic Tiling Company was formed in 1879, producing popular embossed style tiles. Joining these firms were the Mosaic Tile Company in 1894, Empire Floor and Wall Tile Company (formerly J.B. Owens) in 1907, and the Standard Tile Company in 1923.

¹³ *Ibid.*, Introduction, 166-167. The Ohio River Valley became known as "Clay City" attracting many families from pottery producing regions around the world. In the 1840s, numerous prominent Staffordshire families moved to the region to apply their trade, including the Hallam, Howson, Tunncliffe, and Wheaton families. Designers, Albert Radford and Frederick Hurten Rhead, both originally from Staffordshire, produced innovative new wares for Weller in the early 20th century. Zanesville especially enjoyed a European environment, as many of the prominent designers and artists were born and educated on the Continent, including Karl Virgil Bergman of Brussels, George Kraus of Bunzlau, Germany, John Lassell of Mettlach, Germany, Rudolph Lorber of Vienna, and Herman C. Mueller of Nuremberg.

¹⁴ One Weller factory was situated on the lower end of Pierce Street, and another plant was located on East Second Street.

By 1890 Weller had built a larger factory on the corner of Woodlawn Avenue and Pierce Street to accommodate his growing enterprise. Only one year later, he purchased the former American Encaustic Tiling Company plant.¹⁵ At the Chicago World's Fair of 1893 Weller finally recognized an avenue to fine art pottery through the expertise of William A. Long. Long and his associates, W. H. Hunter, and Alfred Day, developed a successful range known as "Lonhuda."¹⁶ Lonhuda is characterized as brown ware with airbrush shading and slip decoration under glaze. This was a style often used in Rookwood's popular standard lines of the era. Through Lonhuda and its innovator, William Long, Weller saw the opportunity to transform his business from ordinary clay pots into the burgeoning American market of fine art pottery. Weller and Long joined under the name Lonhuda Faience Company in 1894, producing wares out of Weller's Woodlawn Avenue plant.¹⁷

Weller continued to seek new and diverse production methods and innovative decoration techniques. To this end, he implemented another in a line of wise business decisions, hiring Charles Babcock Upjohn to serve as Art Director of the firm's art department.¹⁸ Upjohn was well-travelled and formally educated, having studied art in France and Italy. His worldly perspective served as the impetus behind a highly successful series of Dickensware lines. These lines have caused much confusion and speculation over the years stemming from Charles Dickens's famous character Sam Weller in the novel *The Pickwick Papers*. The connection between the writer, the fictional character, and the pottery manufacturer was exploited by Sam Weller, who claimed that he informed

¹⁵ Betty Purviance Ward and Nancy N. Schiffer, *Weller, Roseville & Related Zanesville Pottery & Tiles* (Atgen, PA: Schiffer Publishing Ltd., 2000), 6.

¹⁶ The name Lonhuda was derived from a combination of the last names of the partners, "**LONG**," "**HUNter**," and "**DAy**."

¹⁷ Weller capitalized on these newfound production techniques, expanding upon them to create many successful lines in future years. Long subsequently moved to Weller's rival, J.B. Owens, again sharing his expertise as a master modeller and ceramist. Weller utilized the principles behind Lonhuda, or brown ware with underglaze decoration, to introduce a new line called "Louwelsa." Like Lonhuda, Louwelsa was derived from the names "**LOU**ise," Weller's infant daughter, and "**S. A. WEL**ler." The ambitious Louwelsa line featured floral decoration, animal themes, and portraits in 500 shapes and sizes.

¹⁸ Betty Purviance Ward and Nancy N. Schiffer, *Weller, Roseville & Related Zanesville Pottery & Tiles* (Atgen, PA: Schiffer Publishing Ltd., 2000), 13, 167. Upjohn was a native of Manhattan and the grandson of noted architect Richard Upjohn, designer of Trinity Church. C.B. Upjohn was schooled in architecture and served as an apprentice to Viennese sculptor Karl Bitter. C.B. Upjohn assisted Bitter on the design of the brass doors to Trinity Church, and served as a model for one of the subjects depicted on the doors. Upjohn served in the capacity of Art Director from 1897 to 1904, and eventually became a teacher of ceramics at Columbia University in New York City for twenty-five years.

Dickens that if a character was named Samuel Weller in a novel, then he (Weller) would dedicate a line of pottery to the writer. Many have assumed that Weller had a connection with Dickens, especially since Dickens made celebrated trips to the United States with multiple stops in Ohio.¹⁹ The simple truth, however, is that *The Pickwick Papers* was written in 1837, fourteen years before Sam Weller was born.²⁰ The connection to the Dickens character was likely not even known to Sam Weller originally. More probably the worldly and well-read Upjohn became familiar with the character while in England, taking advantage of the marketing potential of the Dickens character when creating the Dickensware line in 1897.²¹

Weller produced Dickensware in a series of three popular lines. He introduced the first in 1897 with a similar decoration to that of the previous Louwelsa line. Dickensware I featured slip decoration under glaze, although the ground was solid in colour rather than airbrush toned as in the Louwelsa line. The Dickensware series illustrated characters from the author's novels, *The Pickwick Papers*, *Nicholas Nickleby*, and *David Copperfield*, with, of course, special emphasis on the Sam Weller character.²² Although some of the Dickensware lines related directly to Dickens imagery or quotations, many of the wares featured non-Dickens subjects, such as monks, Native Americans, political figures, pilgrims, or animals. This line, which sold quite well, is now highly prized among collectors due to its scarcity.

The second Dickensware line, produced between 1898 and 1904, clearly showed Upjohn's design influence and artistic eye.²³ Dickensware II featured a new production technique

¹⁹ Charles Dickens, *The Letters of Charles Dickens 1812-1870*, ed. Madeline House and Graham Storey (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965 to 2002). Charles Dickens visited Cincinnati on 4 April 1842 on his first trip to America.

²⁰ Some historians have asserted that Dickens may have modelled his Sam Weller character after Tobias Smollett, a fellow writer and close friend.

²¹ In 1890, while assisting with the construction of homes in Liberia, Upjohn contracted Malaria. He convalesced in England, and would certainly have been acquainted with Dickens's novels and perhaps even popular lines of ceramics inspired by the author's work.

²² Charles Dickens, *The Posthumous Papers of the Pickwick Club* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1867). *The Personal History of David Copperfield* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1868); *The Life and Adventures of Nicholas Nickleby* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1868).

²³ Interestingly, Upjohn was red/green colour blind.

that strayed dramatically from the earlier Louwelsa and Dickensware I lines. Wares were decorated in sgraffito technique and finished in a colourful matte glaze. Few from this range were finished in gloss, although rare examples exist. The sgraffito technique associated with Weller Dickensware lines was particularly painstaking in its process. Upjohn sketched the scenes on paper, then traced, excised, and perforated the scenes in a series of dots to indicate line placement. He then dipped the paper figures in water and applied them to the body of the object while he executed the background colour glaze around the paper. After removal of the paper, he darkened the lines with India ink and painted figures with coloured slip. Finally, when the surface dried to the proper semi-hardness, a thin style was used to etch the figures, revealing the dark lines below the slip surface. The sgraffito technique coupled with the already popular Dickensware theme resulted in Weller's most noteworthy and original line of wares.

The third and final Dickensware line, produced in 1905, was designed after the departure of Upjohn. The new art director, Frederick Hurten Rhead, was a member of a prominent Staffordshire family of ceramists.²⁴ Dickensware III reverted in technique and appearance to Louwelsa and Dickensware I, with the exception that the grounds were applied in hues of blue, green, and grey, rather than the traditional mahogany. Thus, the third Dickensware line further emphasised the unique appearance and expert technique of second Dickensware line.

The second line of Weller Dickensware is of primary interest to the present investigation as it was one of the first American pottery products to feature golf imagery. Additionally, in its rarity and exquisite production values, Weller II has remained amongst the most coveted lines in the modern golf collecting market. Weller produced as part of its Dickensware II series a wide assortment of vases, pitchers, and mugs with golfing scenes (Figures 8.1 - 8.9). The elegantly shaped vessels, which occasionally included delicate handles, were mainly produced in a matte finish and ranged in height from 7" (17.8cm) to 17" (43.2cm). Some high-glaze finish examples exist, although they are quite rare and highly coveted by collectors.

²⁴ For more detailed information on Frederick Hurten Rhead, see Sharon Dale's *Frederick Hurten Rhead: An English Potter in America* (Erie, PA: Erie Art Museum, 1986.)

Weller golfing scenes are varied, and include decorations with combinations of male, female, child, and caddie figures, all dressed in late 19th-century American attire. Typical male golfing Dickensware II figures are depicted either with trousers or plus fours, although the latter is less common. The skin tone of the golfers appears in either white or pink; the former is the earlier decoration. Many of the figures relate to their environment via minimalist representations of bushes, trees, receding fences, clouds, and rudimentary horizon lines. Considering the wide variety of decorations, it is possible to find the male golfing figure with many combinations of dress, decoration, or colouration.

Female golfers shown on the Dickensware II series are traditionally outfitted in a wide-brimmed hat, blouse, and a long flowing dress. Occasionally female golfers are depicted with capes blowing in mid-swing, or fashionable ankle-high leather boots.²⁵ Often, the figures are featured individually, although the combination of figures and the amount of detail within each scene varies from piece to piece.

The second line of Weller Dickensware featured the artistic designs of Anna Jewett, Anna Fulton Best, Hester Pillsbury, and Hattie Mitchell, all of whom marked their designs with their initials.²⁶ The Weller figures are characterised by a plainly drawn and decorated technique. Golfers are typically executed in a naive style, often depicted with their arms and bodies awkwardly twisted in mid-swing. Known scenes include a crouching male golfer teeing up a ball, while a young caddie stands watching over the process. Another scene shows a male golfer in plus fours standing and receiving a club from his caddie. Another rare high-gloss example featured on a 12" (30.5cm) pitcher depicts an unusually detailed scene with a female golfer in mid-swing, being observed closely by an adjacent male golfer. The couple is depicted in the foreground, against a series of elaborate pine trees.

Perhaps the most intriguing of the Weller golf pieces is a high-gloss vase with a male figure and caddie. Oddly, the golfer is depicted in mid-swing while standing directly beside a short flagstick that is marked with the number "2." Another source of confusion

²⁵ At the turn of the 20th century, it was common for ladies to wear laced ankle-high leather boots while golfing. The boots featured hobnails, or tiny metal nubs on the soles for added traction. These boots were the precursor to spiked golf shoes.

²⁶ Shirley and Jerry Sprung, *Decorative Golf Collectibles* (Coral Springs, FL: Glentiques, Ltd., 1991), 20.

for collectors is that the figure bears the appearance of a Japanese golfer. This has led to the speculation that the vase was actually a unique presentation or commemorative piece for Emperor Hirohito, who was an avid golfer. Emperor Hirohito made a well-publicised 1921 trip to Europe during which he visited Scotland and England, playing a round of golf with Edward, Prince of Wales. However, Hirohito's European trip came long after the decline of the Weller Dickensware lines. It is unlikely that a vase would have been produced to the specifications of the Dickensware II line sixteen years after its retirement from production. More plausible is the scenario that, when one considers the naive style in which the features of the figures were incised, the golfer may have been unintentionally Orientalised during production. Regardless, because of the high-gloss finish and unusual amount of detail in the scene, the vase remains amongst the finest Weller Dickensware II examples.

Weller was not the only pottery house in this region to produce golf wares. Respected firms such as Rookwood, J.B. Owens, and Robinson Clay Products included golf subjects in various lines. The trend for Ohio River Valley pottery firms to incorporate golf subjects in their wares demonstrated that, despite only two golf courses existing in the entire state of Ohio in 1895, the game was recognizable as a national and even international phenomenon.²⁷ Many pottery manufacturers, such as those in Muskingham County, Ohio, maintained a keen awareness of emerging themes and subjects that promised the potential of greater sales.

J.B. Owens was an active firm based in Zanesville that became well-known for its expert production of stoneware art pottery between the years 1896 and 1907. Like many of the Zanesville firms, the Owens firm developed pottery lines that often mirrored those of its rivals. One line, Owens Utopian, took the decoration style of the immensely popular Weller Louwelsa line, which was itself borrowed from Rookwood. The Utopian line featured brown wares with underglaze decoration, such as Native Americans, flowers, and historical figures. One early Owens Utopian example was produced in the shape of a 12" (30.5cm) oval vase with top spout. The vase featured an expertly executed painting of a male golfer in *ca.* 1890s attire. A second Utopian vase featured a female golfer in attire of

²⁷ Josiah Newman, *The Official Golf Guide of the United States and Canada, 1899* (New York: Privately Printed, 1899). Only two golf clubs are noted in Ohio in 1895, and eighty-nine clubs overall in the United States. By 1899, 111 golf clubs were formed in the United States, thirteen of them in Ohio.

the same period. Two other exceedingly rare Utopian examples are a large 11" (27.9cm) bowl with male golfing figure in early 19th-century period attire, and a four-footed 9" (22.9cm) vase with male golfing figure in similar period attire.²⁸ Based primarily on the quality of the artwork, its quintessential representation of late 19th-century Ohio Art Pottery, and the extreme rarity of the pieces, many collectors regard the Utopian wares amongst the most coveted examples in the genre of golf pottery.

Another respected Ohio pottery firm was the Cincinnati-based Rookwood, founded by Marie Longworth Nichols in 1880. Rookwood mastered high-quality art pottery in a wide assortment of designs that astutely reflected the changing artistic influences of the times. One late 19th-century golf example from Rookwood is a four-handled mug that the Palmetto Golf Club, South Carolina, commissioned as a golf trophy in 1899. The high-glaze mug features an engraved presentation plate and a top band of Art Nouveau stick figure golfers in a sequential series of swing positions.²⁹ Another early Rookwood golf example, also a one-off trophy, appeared in a Sporting Antiquities auction on 25 April 1990.³⁰ The 8³/₈" (21.2cm) stein, designed by Lenore Asbury, featured a silver, hinged lid and a decoration of flowers and leaves in hues of green, brown, and yellow. The stein was used as a trophy for Nassau Country Club for their 1900 "January Cup." Rookwood later produced Art Deco sporting wares in the 1930s, including an elaborate cigarette holder that incorporated golf, American football, and equestrian imagery in raised relief (Figure 8.10).³¹

Two additional examples of early Ohio golf pottery were produced by Peters and Reed pottery of Zanesville, and Robinson Clay Products of Akron.³² Peters and Reed, founded

²⁸ Based on conversations with Wayne Aaron, a noted collector in the United States (8 August 2006.)

²⁹ William Watts Taylor managed Rookwood beginning in 1883. Taylor hired a chemist to create a menu of unique glazes, some in matte finish, which helped define and popularise the Rookwood look. Rookwood's innovative wares earned awards in the 1889 Exposition Universelle in Paris, the 1893 World Columbian Exposition in Chicago, the 1900 Exposition Universelle in Paris, and the 1901 Pan American Exposition in Buffalo, NY.

³⁰ Kevin McGrath, *Sporting Antiquities* (Melrose, MA: Sporting Antiquities, 25 April 1990), Lot 336. The stein was presented by Leonard J. Busby and won by J. B. Coles Tappan. Lot 336 realised \$600.

³¹ One additional example from Rookwood, a 6 ³/₄" (17.1cm) flower vase, was noted in the Phillips *Golfing Memorabilia Sale* of 17 December 1988, Lot 63.

³² Shirley and Jerry Sprung, *Decorative Golf Collectibles* (Coral Springs, FL: Glentiques, Ltd., 1991), 45. Robinson Clay Products produced wares between 1902 and 1920, although the firm existed from 1856 under

by John D. Peters and Adam Reed in 1899, included amongst its many decoration styles traditional brown wares decorated under high-glaze. The golf example, produced *ca.*1905, depicts a stout golfer with a golf bag held under his arm. The decoration appears in white cameo on a 5" (12.7cm) covered vase with twin handles. It is uncertain if this rare decoration appeared on additional shapes. Robinson Clay produced a stoneware beer mug *ca.*1915 that featured a raised relief golfer set in a golfing terrain (Figure 8.11). The golfing figure that appears on the Robinson Clay golfing stein is clearly taken from the illustration "at the end of the swing (as it should be)," as described in Hutchinson's *Golf: The Badminton Library of Sports and Pastimes* (Figure 8.12). Similar to German stoneware steins of the time, and in particular those produced by Simon Peter Gerz (discussed in Chapters 4 and 9), the grey-bodied Robinson Clay golfing stein was blue-washed to varying densities of colour. Examples of the Robinson Clay golfing mug are relatively plentiful today, but they typically show the rigors of time. The generally poor condition of the Robinson Clay golf mug is due to the fact that examples were often packaged in large sacks of flour as promotional 'scoops,' and therefore were delivered to a wider segment of the public and with an implied utilitarian purpose.

Concurrent with the production of late 19th-century Ohio River Valley wares, golf was emerging as a viable pottery theme elsewhere in America. Another burgeoning region for pottery production in America was Trenton, NJ, situated beside the Delaware River. Firms such as McCully, Taylor and Speeler, and William Young & Co., began producing inventive lines of pottery in the 1850s to compete with the influx of foreign wares.³³ By 1883 an estimated twenty-three firms based their operations in Trenton, making it one of the nation's leading centres for the production of pottery and tiles.³⁴

Of particular importance to the present discussion is Trenton's involvement in the development of an American version of the popular Irish Belleek. In 1849 John Caldwell

a different name. After 1920, the firm joined with Ransbottom Brothers, becoming the wholesale distributor.

³³ David J. Goldberg, *History of Trenton Pottery Making* (Trenton: Trenton City Museum, 1998), 1. Among other traditional wares, Trenton pioneered the production of white graniteware, sanitary wares, and American Belleek; Lois Maples, "Proud Trenton Hometown Marks Lenox China 100th," *The [Newark] Sunday Star Ledger* (NJ), 22 October 1989, 7.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 1.

Bloomfield first developed in the Irish village of Belleek a very thin, translucent ware with a pearly glaze finish. Examples of this delicate porcelain were introduced in America after its inclusion in the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition of 1876. Immediately the immense popularity of the Irish wares led American manufacturers to compete. One of the leaders in this endeavour was Walter Scott Lenox, who mastered the production of American Belleek at the Trenton firm, Ott and Brewer. Lenox, along with partner Jonathan Coxon, eventually founded the Ceramic Art Company (C. A. C.) in 1889.³⁵

Some of C. A. C.'s earliest forays into Belleek came with a line of beer steins in 1889. Notably, the steins that C. A. C. produced were sturdier and thicker than traditional eggshell-thin Belleek. Nevertheless, detailed monochrome transfer scenes of sports figures, monks, or Native Americans stood out against the stein's bright white porcelain body. Steins were made in half-litre and litre sizes, often with custom hinged lids produced by Gorham Silver Co. of New York.³⁶ The detailed transfer images, which depicted male and female golf scenes in a full landscape, were produced in green, blue, and very rarely, sepia brown.³⁷

In 1896 C. A. C. first introduced golf as a theme in their line of American Belleek (Figures 8.13 - 8.21). Steins were produced in the traditional half-litre and litre sizes which became their biggest selling items in the range. The popularity of the golf-themed Belleek led to steins being produced with plain, gold wash, silver, ornate silver, and silver-plate tops for export to the United Kingdom and Europe. In addition, blank steins were produced in three levels of detail, including plain, semi-ornate, and ornate relief

³⁵ The development of American Belleek in Trenton was a key factor in the city's success as a major pottery centre both in America and abroad. Specifically, Ott and Brewer, Willets Manufacturing Co., Ceramic Art Co. (later Lenox), Rittenhouse and Evans (American Art China), Morris & Wilmore (Columbia Art Pottery Co.), and other firms perfected the production of American Belleek prior to the turn of the 20th century.

³⁶ C. A. C. developed a number of cooperative arrangements with manufacturers. The Gorham agreement was fortuitous, in that steins were embellished with hinged lids, domed lids, silver bands, and silver rims, which attracted additional sales. C. A. C. also piggy-backed on Gorham's significant distribution network of department stores and jewellery stores. The same is true of C. A. C./Lenox's agreement with Tiffany Co. of New York, of which rare examples exist. Many organizations commissioned these exquisite engraved steins as trophies. One specific example of a C. A. C./Lenox golf trophy, is a 6" (15.2cm) green stein with engraved pewter top, commissioned by Baltusrol Golf Club, 2 January 1898.

³⁷ Many of the C. A. C. images were taken from Horace Hutchinson's *Golf: The Badminton Library of Sports and Pastimes* (London: Longmans, Green, 1890), as discussed in Chapter 5.

bands (Figure 8.15). Beyond steins, C.A.C, and later Lenox, expanded their line of shapes to include six sizes of loving cups, a walk-around style “Betty Lamp” or oil lamp for the burning of whale oil, decanters, and toothpick holders, any of which may also feature combinations of secondary decoration or silver adornment.³⁸ Exceptionally rare C. A. C./Lenox golf examples include a brown gloss three-handled cup with inlay silver decoration, a square hourglass 5” (12.7cm) pitcher with spout and top handle, and a very large 16” (40.6cm) pitcher with domed Gorham lid that sold for \$16,000 at auction in 1992.³⁹

According to correspondence from a Lenox representative in 1977, the production methods for the C. A. C./Lenox wares, while transfer-decorated, were produced to an unusually high artistic standard.⁴⁰ The golf line featured detailed decal golfing scenes that were first hand-drawn and photographed before being transferred to a photo-sensitive, hand-polished copper plate. The copper plates were next etched in an acid-bath, inked, run through a hand-press with specially-sized paper, and gently heated to release the image. After the finished decals were hand-applied to the surface of the object, examples were fired at 1420 degrees for eight hours, hand-sprayed with the required colour, and re-fired. Shapes receiving additional decoration, such as gilding, were fired a third time at 1250 degrees for eight more hours. This complex and time-consuming process resulted in decoration with impressive detail that closely approximated hand-painted scenes.

Similar to the cooperative agreement that C. A. C./Lenox shared with Tiffany and Gorham Silver Co., drinking vessels were also provided to the respected enameller, O'Hara Waltham Dial Co., of Waltham, Mass (Figure 8.22 - 8.24).⁴¹ The firm was formed by

³⁸ In 1896 Walter Scott Lenox assumed full ownership of C. A. C., first including the Lenox name as part of the backstamp, later changing the name of the company to Lenox China Co. The "C. A. C." mark was used between 1896 and 1906. Examples of golf wares can be found with the C. A. C. mark, the Lenox mark, or various combinations of the two.

³⁹ Kevin McGrath, *Sporting Antiquities Auction* (Melrose, Mass: Thursday, 7 May 1992 - Friday, 8 May 1992), 5, Lot 1. The 16” (40.6cm) C. A. C./Lenox pitcher features an ornate Gorham sterling silver hinged lid. The Lot was estimated to sell for \$12,000 - \$14,000, and eventually sold for \$16,000. The pitcher features a detailed full-body golf scene by William H. Clayton, labelled WHC. Lenox was also known to have green pieces labelled “Ignel,” presumably the artist. E. A. Delan is a third noted artist of Lenox golf ware.

⁴⁰ C. Harris to Janet Seagle (Far Hills, NJ: Archives, United States Golf Association Museum, 27 June 1977).

⁴¹ A full description of the golfing scenes depicted on these vessels, along with their reference sources, appears in Chapter 5.

Daniel O'Hara, foreman of a case department of a Waltham watch factory.⁴² O'Hara obtained patents for watch cases and other parts which led to his forming the Waltham Dial Co., with Edwin Wetherbee, 1890. After the withdrawal of Wetherbee, O'Hara formed the O'Hara Waltham Dial Co., specializing in plain and decorated hard watch dials, enamel dials for utility meters, ashtray inserts, jewellery and buttons. So detailed was their enamel work that a facsimile of the American *Declaration of Independence* along with all of the corresponding signatures was produced on an ashtray insert that measured a mere 1 ½" x 2 ⅜" (3.8cm x 6cm).⁴³

In the agreement with C. A. C./Lenox, finished loving cups, jugs, steins, and tankards were provided to O'Hara Waltham Dial, who fitted custom, hinged lids with round enamel settings (Figure 8.24). Vessels featured sporting scenes, monks, Native Americans, and card games. The lids were "made of lead or cast in a mould, but made of the most expensive alloy that can be used for the purpose with safety, and in lines that conform with the shape as a whole."⁴⁴ A catalogue of the wares describes the expertly crafted covers:

Each cover is "spun up" and fitted to each "mug" individually, and finished by hand for the reception of an "enamelled setting," two and one quarter inches in diameter. Each cover and setting is hinged to the handle of the stein by a five knuckle joint, and the attachment between the members of the joint is made by a secret process which prevents any of the shaking or rattling so objectionable in other makes.⁴⁵

⁴² O'Hara worked for the Dueber Case Company prior to serving as a foreman at for the Waltham Case Department.

⁴³ O'Hara Waltham Dial Co., *Enamel - or Incrusting the Truth* (Waltham, MA: O'Hara Waltham Dial Co., ca. 1910), 5- 6, 9, 11, 13. So great was their ability to perform minute decorations that the firm produced a secret name dial on which the owner's name was printed so small as to be indiscernible to the naked eye. The particular difficulties of enamelling is discussed in this publication, stating: "Enamelling is a peculiar material, hard to work to close measurements, as the size and shape of the piece is determined at a relatively high temperature before cool enough to handle. Some colours only appear after a temperature of 1800 degrees Fahrenheit; others are destroyed by no more than 1400 degrees. Then, too, there is always the danger of breakage due to different expansion of the glass and metals, and no matter how tough a glass is developed, the enamelled articles crack or splinter at ordinary changes of temperature, if they are not properly annealed."

⁴⁴ O'Hara Waltham Dial Co., *Exceptional Articles in Enamel and Porcelain: Steins, Jugs, Tankards, Loving Cups, etc.* (Waltham, MA: O'Hara Waltham Dial Co., ca. 1905), 7.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 7-8.

The custom O'Hara Waltham Dial setting, however, is the feature that sets the vessel apart from traditional steins or mugs of the era. Dials were crafted from jeweller's enamel on a silver or copper base. The design of the setting usually featured the crest of the commissioner, or a specific quotation or monogram that related to the subject. Designs were crafted in a variety of colours and occasionally inlaid with combinations of twenty-four carat gold, pure silver, or jewels.⁴⁶ Finished vessels were advertised as holiday gifts, golf prizes, anniversary presents, or for use in homes, grill rooms, golf clubs, lodges, or colleges. C.A.C./Lenox's attention to craftsmanship combined with O'Hara Waltham Dial's painstaking production methods resulted in a line of wares that represent the best of the golf pottery genre.

Of particular importance to understanding of the O'Hara Waltham Dial and C. A. C./Lenox collaboration was that the former firm enjoyed strong distribution ties with jewellers and art dealers across America, France, Germany, and Japan. In fact, in supplying dials to watch manufacturers around the world, O'Hara Waltham Dial entered a massive distribution network specifically for jewellery. When one considers the distribution capacities of O'Hara Waltham Dial, Gorham Silver, and Tiffany & Co., in combination with C.A.C./Lenox's own relationship with department stores, jewellery stores, and overseas vendors, it becomes clear that the American Belleek vessels reached an unusually large and international audience.⁴⁷

One additional Trenton-based firm known for its American Belleek porcelain was Willets Manufacturing Co., successor to Young Pottery. Willets rapidly earned a reputation for the production of expert Belleek, thanks in large part to the guidance of Walter Scott Lenox, who served as the head of their operation until 1889. Willets produced and distributed Belleek chiefly between the years of 1887 and 1909, although the New Jersey China Co. continued to produce "Willets" Belleek until *ca.*1914. One excellent example that relates to early American golf pottery resides in the custody of the United States Golf Association, in Far Hills, NJ. The 11 ½" (29.2cm) ornate pitcher features hand-painted whimsical images of golfing rabbits on a green ground (Figures 8.25 - 8.27). The pitcher

⁴⁶ Ibid., 8.

⁴⁷ In advertising brochures and catalogues of the era, O'Hara Waltham Dial references a sales department on 32 Park Place in New York City.

likely dates to the first decade of the 20th century, a quarter-century ahead of Doulton's Bunnykins line. Because no other examples have yet been uncovered, it is believed that the Willets pitcher may well be a one-of-a-kind example.

Another aspect of early golf wares in America that merits discussion centres on the genre of dinnerware and hotel ware. The primary source for the production of these plates was a corridor of pottery manufacturers that extended from upstate New York through Pennsylvania, Ohio, and West Virginia. Manufacturers filled sizable china orders for restaurants and hotels with custom-decorated insignias and emblems. With the influx of country clubs and golf clubs in America, the need for specialised dinnerware became a profitable business. The porcelain and semi-porcelain chinaware featured decorations that were airbrushed, transfer printed, painted, embossed, or adorned with under-glaze decals. While much of the commercial china was built to survive heavy usage, examples with unblemished decorations are understandably hard to find in modern times.

Warwick China Company of Wheeling, WV, established 1887, quickly became one of the largest suppliers of chinaware in the nation.⁴⁸ Warwick, along with other manufacturers such as Knowles, Taylor & Knowles (OH), Taylor, Smith & Taylor (Chester, WV), Buffalo Pottery (NY), Homer Laughlin China Co. (East Liverpool, OH, and Newell, WV), and Syracuse China (NY, formerly Onondaga Pottery,) accounted for the bulk of the production of American chinaware.⁴⁹ As golf became a larger part of American society in the first third of the 20th century, many country clubs required house china or dinnerware for their memberships and clientele. Examples of this genre, generally dating prior to 1930, feature colourful Art Deco rim designs and central iconic emblems. One particular emblem that frequently appears is that of Bobby Jones putting, produced by Warwick, ca.1930. The black & white (transfer) image depicts Jones at the height of his ability and

⁴⁸ Hon. Gibson Lamb Cranmer, *History of Wheeling and Ohio County, West Virginia and Representative Citizens* (Wheeling, WV: Biographical Publishing, 1902). Warwick China was established in 1887 by J.R. McCourtney, Orville C. Dewey, C.J. Rawling, Albert Stifel, and A.J. Clark. The firm occupied three large buildings dedicated to the output of chinaware. By 1892, the firm employed 260 workers and had a team of travelling sales representatives who worked in larger cities throughout the country.

⁴⁹ Libby, Inc., *The History of Syracuse China* (Toledo, OH: Libby, Inc., 2004). The Onondaga Pottery Company was founded in 1871 by sixteen local businessmen in Geddes, NY. Beginning in 1885, and through the efforts of the firm's superintendent, James Pass, Onondaga Pottery developed a vitreous china body that earned a medal for translucency at the 1893 Columbian Exposition in Chicago. By 1897, "Syracuse China" became the firm's sole product, and the new name of the company.

popularity, and was used on various shapes of dinnerware. The image of Jones came to represent the epitome of the amateur sportsman in the late 1920s and early 1930s. Often, the Jones image was used in combination with a rim design of sequential golfers in a running golfing landscape. Similarly, Syracuse China used the iconic figure of Jones on everyday wares (Figure 8.28). In addition to the central image and band designs, Jones plates exist that include titles and logos of various golf resorts, such as The Broadmoor Hotel in Colorado Springs, CO, and the Miami Biltmore Hotel.

One particular series of colourful rack plates featuring the comical illustrations of Victor Venner and the backstamp "Warwick" are typically misattributed to the Warwick china firm in Wheeling, WV (Figure 8.29). Actually, the series was produced in England and backstamped "Warwick Ware."⁵⁰ The Venner images frequently had double entendre titles such as "Holing Out," depicting a golfer and elderly caddie who is searching his pockets, and "One up and One to Play," displaying a charging bull chasing two golfers up a tree. The decal rim design is comprised of a contiguous golfscape. The Victor Venner rack plates have been attributed to Sandlands & Colley, Ltd., of Hanley, ca.1907 to 1910.

Another company outside of the northeast U.S. clay belt, Dohrmann Hotel Supply Co. of San Francisco, commissioned and distributed golf wares for everyday use.⁵¹ Dohrmann,

⁵⁰ Venner illustrated for *Punch* and the London Sketch Club in the early 1900's. He produced a series of humorous and widely selling golf prints that were published ca.1904, which undoubtedly led to his work on the golfing rack plate series. Like many of the popular British Illustrators of the era, Venner worked with pottery firms to produce artwork for new rack plates. He is well-known in the pottery industry for his collaboration with Royal Doulton on their "Coaching Days" Series Ware, which was introduced in 1905 and included upwards of twenty scenes. He also produced the rack plate, "The Rivals," for the Austrian-based Imperial Crown China. Along with his comic golf series, Venner produced tennis rack plates titled "Mixed Doubles" and "Deuce!" The golfing rack plates measure 27cm. (10.6") and bear the Rd. No. 516465. Because the Venner rack plates were produced primarily for display, it is possible to find scarce examples in good condition. A Christie's *Golf Sale* catalogue of 8 July 1994 credits the Venner plate (Lot 13, p. 6) to "Sandlands and Colley, Ltd."

⁵¹ [F. W.] *Dohrmann Family Papers*, 1896-1936, *Bancroft Library*, BANC MSS 91/29 (University of California, Berkeley). William Fredrick Dohrmann immigrated to the United States from Schleswig-Holstein, Germany in 1858. He settled in San Francisco and eventually partnered with Bernard Nathan in the Nathan, Dohrmann Co., which specialised in the selling of fine crockery. Nathan spent a majority of his time scouting pottery suppliers in Europe, of which J. Maddock & Sons, Burslem, became one of their earliest and most reliable. Concurrent to his association with Nathan, Dohrmann served as President of the Dohrmann Commercial Co. He was instrumental in the founding of the Emporium, which was California's first department store, and the progenitor of numerous syndicate stores. Dohrmann also founded the Dohrmann Hotel Supply. Co. and helped organize the San Francisco Hotel Co. which operated the St. Francis. He was a successful businessman and an active leader within civic organizations, charitable foundations, and international societies. Two Dohrmann sons, A. B. C. Dohrmann and F. W. Dohrmann, Jr., eventually succeeded their father in the business.

well known for its hotel china, also imported, wholesaled, and distributed wares for the dining cars of the Southern Pacific and Union Pacific Railroads, the commissaries of major department stores, and maritime clients. Dohrmann also imported glass ware, china ware, and gifts from abroad for distribution in the United States. Examples of Dohrmann's golf wares generally date the 1920s and 1930s, and appear along with the undermarking "Black Knight, Selb, Bavaria," which will be discussed further in Chapter 9. During the 1920s and 1930s enterprising American import/wholesale firms like Dohrmann developed relationships with porcelain factories, many of which were based in Germany, to supply resorts, country clubs, and golf clubs with house china.⁵²

One final aspect of American golf pottery that merits discussion comes from the work of designer Viktor Schreckengost. Schreckengost, who was born into a family of talented artists and musicians, displayed a prodigious aptitude for artistic design at an early age.⁵³ His uncommon skills were initially directed toward pottery design and production, although he ultimately became one of the most respected industrial designers in America during his eight decades in the profession.⁵⁴ Schreckengost's early works in conjunction with Cowan Pottery in Rock River (OH), and American Limoges of Sebring (OH), produced many groundbreaking designs, including the first modern mass-produced dinnerware, "Americana."⁵⁵ During his association with Guy Cowan, Schreckengost

⁵² Dohrmann also developed relationships with Mayer China of Beaver Falls, PA, to produce "Fair Mede" restaurant ware that featured a swinging golfer in plus-fours. Also, the Chicago-based wholesale distributor Arthur Schiller & Sons imported wares from Bauscher Bros. Porcelain in Weiden, Bavaria, that featured golfing and equestrian imagery *ca.* 1920s.

⁵³ Kathy L. Woodward, "Profiles in Ceramics: Viktor Schreckengost," *The American Ceramic Society Bulletin*, January, 2001), 40. Schreckengost's father, Warren, was a potter for the French China Co., in Sebring, OH. His brother Don was head designer for Hall China Co., and The Summitville Tile Co. Another brother, Paul, also served in the ceramics industry as a modeller and designer. Schreckengost was trained at the Cleveland Institute of Art and at *Kunstgewerbeschule* in Vienna. In 1930, he became a designer for Cowan Pottery, and later opened a design studio with Guy Cowan.

⁵⁴ Schreckengost started as a professional designer in the late 1920's, continuing into the first decade of the 21st century. During his career, Schreckengost expanded his work to encompass Industrial Design, including pioneering work on toys, children's pedal cars, bicycles, baby walkers, automotive designs, lawn chairs, and even a golf cart lawn mower. Regardless of media or subject, Schreckengost's designs displayed a simplicity and functionality in combination with a streamline, even futuristic, appearance. In tandem with his design work, Schreckengost served as a professor at the Cleveland Institute of Arts for more than seventy years. In 2006 he was awarded the (U.S.) National Medal of Arts and his work was celebrated in a retrospective exhibition of more than 140 simultaneous shows.

⁵⁵ Schreckengost designed "Manhattan," an early mass-produced dinnerware. He conceived "Jiffy Ware," a collection of china that offered space-saving shapes. He also designed "Econoware" for Onondaga Pottery, "Peasant Ware" for American Limoges, and a "dripless teacup." Perhaps his finest work in ceramics was the

produced a few ceramic plates that featured sporting designs, including rare golf-specific plates that are now highly coveted by collectors (Figure 8.30). An assemblage of raised relief golf icons in a geometric, Art Deco style characterise his decorations.⁵⁶ Certainly, Schreckengost's designs are the most non-traditional in the genre of golf ceramics.

Pre-1930 American golf wares were produced in response to the growing profile of the game not only in North America but around the world. Moreover, the majority of wares discussed in this chapter also suggest that they were produced specifically for the expanding family of affluent American golfers who looked to document their passion for the game through the collection of pottery and china. A dramatic increase of North American golf clubs between the years 1890 and the 1920s expanded the audience of affluent golfers to the degree that triggered the mass production of golf themed pottery. Wealthy American golfers in particular became a profitable consumer audience for the sale of decorative and non-utilitarian golf wares.

creation of "Jazz Bowl," a black and blue punch bowl with sgraffito designs of New York City skyline for Eleanor Roosevelt, which sold recently for \$121,000 to the Cleveland Museum of Art.

⁵⁶ Examples of Schreckengost golf pottery typically features interconnected decoration across the entire surface of the plate. Represented icons generally include a central golfing figure and golf bag, surrounded by an assortment of angular flagsticks, flowers, scenes of nature, and a scalloped border design. The interconnectivity of the many geometric, Art Deco icons creates a sense of simplicity and complexity at once.



Figure 8.1 A collection of Weller Dickensware II golf pottery. (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)



Figure 8.2 A Weller Dickensware II golf vase. (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)



Figure 8.3 A Weller Dickensware II golf vase. (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)



Figure 8.4 A Weller Dickensware II golf vase. (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)



Figure 8.5 A Weller Dickensware II golf vase. (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)



Figure 8.6 A Weller Dickensware II golf vase. (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)



Figure 8.7 A 16 ¼” Weller Dickensware II golf pitcher. (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)

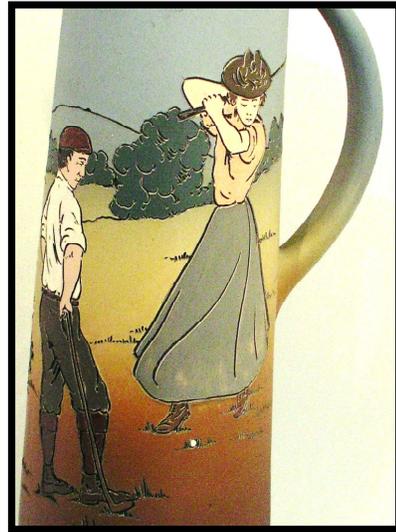


Figure 8.8 A detail of Figure 8.7.



Figure 8.9 A Weller Dickensware II golf vase. (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)



Figure 8.10 A Rookwood Art Deco cigarette holder with retractable cover. (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)

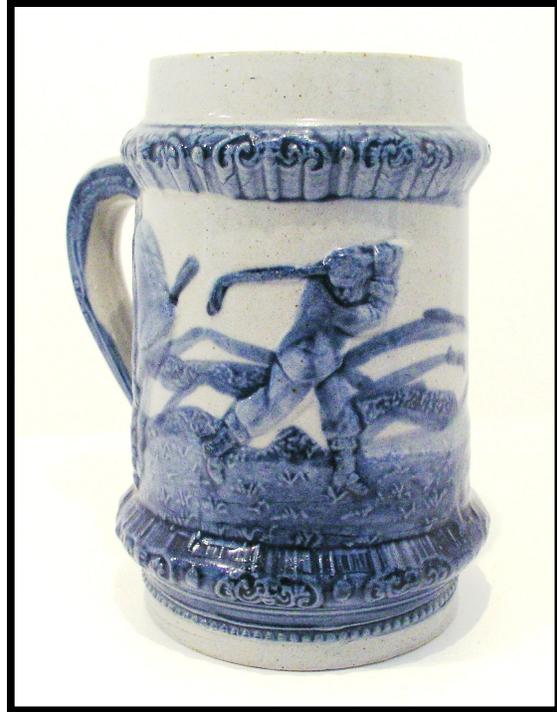


Figure 8.11 A Robinson Clay Products stoneware mug with imagery taken from the illustration “at the end of the swing (as it should be)” appearing in Hutchinson’s *Golf: The Badminton Library of Sports and Pastimes*. (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)



Figure 8.12 The illustration “at the end of the swing (as it should be)” appearing in Hutchinson’s *Golf: The Badminton Library of Sports and Pastimes*. (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)



Figure 8.13 A collection of Ceramic Art Company mugs with golfing decoration. (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)



Figure 8.14 A rare 14 ½” Ceramic Art Company pitcher with golfing decoration. (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)



Figure 8.15 A collection of Ceramic Art Company mugs with differing levels of ornamentation. (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)



Figure 8.16 A Ceramic Art Company mug in blue and white. (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)



Figure 8.17 A Ceramic Art Co. stein with sterling silver hinged cover produced by Gorham Silver Co. (Courtesy of Baltusrol Golf Club)



Figure 8.19 Detail of **Figure 8.17** (Courtesy of Baltusrol Golf Club).



Figure 8.18 Detail of a caddie image used on Ceramic Art Co. golfing wares.



Figure 8.20 A Ceramic Art Co. loving cup with sterling silver rim by Gorham Silver Co. (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)



Figure 8.21 A Ceramic Art Co. toothpick urn with silver rim. (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)



Figure 8.22 A Ceramic Art Co. sepia stein with hinged enamel cover produced by the O'Hara Waltham Dial Co. (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)



Figure 8.23 A Ceramic Art Co. green stein fitted with hinged enamel cover produced by the O'Hara Waltham Dial Co. (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)



Figure 8.24 Four examples of hinged enamel covers produced by the O'Hara Waltham Dial Co. in collaboration with the Ceramic Art Co. (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)



Figure 8.25 An extremely rare 11 ½” Willets Manufacturing Co. Belleek tall pitcher with golfing rabbit design. (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)



Figure 8.26 An extremely rare Willets Manufacturing Co. Belleek pitcher with golfing rabbit design (verso). (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)



Figure 8.27 Detail of decoration from Willets Manufacturing Co. Belleek pitcher.



Figure 8.28 A Syracuse China every day plate with decoration featuring Bobby Jones, produced for the Broadmoor Hotel, *ca.* 1930s.



Figure 8.29 A Warwick Ware rack plate with comical scene produced by Victor Venner for Sandlands & Colley of Hanley, Staffordshire, England *ca.* 1907 – 1910. (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)



Figure 8.30 A golf themed Art Deco rack plate designed by the noted industrial designer Viktor Schreckengost for Cowan Pottery.

CHAPTER 9 - Continental Europe and Japan

As we have examined in previous chapters, golf expanded from the British Isles through a variety of means, but primarily through the determination of its multitude of travelling practitioners. Scottish officers of Wellington's army were reputed to have played golf on Continental Europe in Pau, France, during their campaigns of the Napoleonic Wars. Some of these men and their wealthy friends and families returned to Pau annually thereafter for the benefits of the temperate winters and healthy environs. This enclave imparted to the spa town a distinctly English character, organizing Pau Golf Club in 1856, establishing the St Andrew's Anglican Church in 1887, and developing numerous public gardens and parks. The founders of Pau Golf Club, including the Duke of Hamilton, Colonel Hutchinson, Major Pontifex, Colonel Anstruther, and Archdeacon Sapte, modelled Pau after the traditional British golf clubs of the era.¹

Additional spa towns across Continental Europe, catering to the tastes of wealthy European and American travellers, offered golf as a featured activity. After Pau, golf was played in France at the aristocratic resort town of Biarritz in 1888, followed by nearly a dozen more golf courses before the end of the century.² Popular European ski destinations introduced golf as an "off-season" attraction; in Switzerland, golf was played at St-Moritz beginning in 1891, followed by Davos in 1895, Montreux in 1900, and Lucerne in 1903. Wealthy classes of the era enjoyed opportunities to travel to exotic resort destinations across Continental Europe, as promoted in travel brochures and railway and cruise line posters. As a result, most of the European destinations, linked by sea and rail, began to feature golf during the boom years. Between the years 1888 and 1906 golf was introduced and promoted in nearly forty prominent travel destinations in France, Germany, the

¹ Phil Pilley, *Golfing Art* (London: Stanley Paul, 1988), 70-71. Pilley illustrates the oil painting "The First Club on the Continent," by Allen Sealy, ca.1893, in which a red-coated golfer putts while an assemblage of male and female golfers observe. Although the key to the painting was lost during German occupation of the town during World War II, it is thought to depict Horace Hutchinson putting; Kevin McGrath, *Sporting Antiquities* (Melrose, Mass: 25-26 April 1991, Lot 360.) Another Sealy oil landscape painting of golf at Pau, ca.1893, was offered at auction in 1991, fetching \$76,000.

² Golf resorts and facilities in France included: Argelès Gazost (ca.1890), Dinard (1890), Cannes (1891), Sainte Barbe (1892), Paramé St Malo (1893), Hyères (1894), St Raphaël, Valescure (1895), Compiègne (1896), Le Mesnil le Roi (1896), Dieppe, Pourville (1897), and Deauville (1899).

Austro-Hungarian Empire, Denmark, Sweden, The Netherlands, Belgium, Spain, Italy, and Poland.³

Perhaps no other Continental pottery industry understood the vitality and promise of the burgeoning golf market better than the lands that now comprise Germany. In many ways, the German and Bavarian potteries were better attuned with advancing international trends than most other Continental potteries. For example, the Hauber & Reuther (HR) golf steins #1000 and #1001 depict colourful incised golfers; Hauber & Reuther produced and distributed these steins at a time when only two golf courses were active in Germany (Figures 9.1, 9.2). Yet the Germans were clearly aware of the international reputation of the game and the population of affluent new golfers, particularly in Britain and America.

The Hauber & Reuther factory was based in Freising, an early ecclesiastical and cultural capital in Bavaria situated on the Isar River, twenty-five miles northeast of Munich. Freising had also licensed one of the world's first breweries in 1146. The ceramic firm was founded by Albert Hauber and Hans Reuther in 1876, initially producing blue-grey stoneware, and later porcelain and earthenware steins until 1909. Unlike some of the other formidable German stein factories, HR remained a smaller firm that filled custom orders and focused more on the artistic aspect of production.⁴ Their hand-painted steins were manufactured with widely varying colourways in relief, tapestry, or incised decoration. Many examples of HR steins included a variety of ornate, hinged pewter lids.

³ Golf spread to Berlin in 1895, Hamburg in 1899, and Baden-Baden in 1903. Austria promoted golf at Vienna in 1901, and Czechoslovakia recorded golf at Karlsbad in 1904, and Marienbad in 1905. In Denmark, golf was played at Copenhagen in 1898, and Fano-Vesterhavbad in 1903. Sweden recorded golf first at Gothenborg in 1902, and Stockholm in 1904. In the Netherlands, golf was played at Utrecht in 1890, The Hague in 1893, Rosendal in 1895, and Hilversum in 1900. Golfing accounts began in Belgium at Antwerp in 1888, Dinant in 1895, and Royal Knocke in 1899. In Spain, the game was played at Madrid in 1895 and at Granja in 1903. Golf was played in Rome by 1902, and in Poland by 1906, though likely under German authority. Baron Géza Andrassy is credited with bringing golf to Hungary in 1902, with the first course being built at Tátralomnic in 1909.

⁴ Eric Salzano, "Introduction of HR Steins," (Beer Stein Library, 2001); see <http://www.beerstein.net/articles/hr-intro.asp>. Hauber & Reuther employed only thirty people at its peak *ca.* 1890.

In recent years information has come to light to establish that Merkelbach & Wick (MGW) supplied stoneware blanks to HR during the period *ca.*1887 to 1897.⁵ MGW produced the blank steins with "pseudo" HR undermarkings, and then presumably supplied them to HR for decoration. This cooperative arrangement came at a time when HR was focusing more on porcelain wares, and production problems forced the firm to seek outside assistance to supply stoneware bodies. After 1909 the firm maintained a similar agreement with A.J. Thewalt for the production of stoneware blanks. HR was a very small firm by comparison, so it would have been under strain to produce enough blanks to keep pace with demand. Having a supply of blank stoneware steins from an able outside maker, HR could focus on the artistic side of production. A firm such as MWG or A.J. Thewalt certainly would have managed the volume of stoneware production better than HR. The agreement between HR and MWG is important to the present discussion because the incised stoneware golf steins fall into this category, and thus would have been produced near the end of the agreement, decorated, and launched into circulation by *ca.*1900. The HR golf steins (#1000 and #1001) are by far the most coveted examples among the dozens of sporting and recreational motifs in their collection.

The largest concentration of potteries in Germany was located in the towns of Höhr, Grenzau, and Grenzhausen in the Westerwald region. Beginning in the 14th century, Westerwald acquired a reputation for its stoneware pipe makers and jug makers. The region attracted master potters who perfected the production of blue-grey salt-glazed stoneware. One of the largest and best known of the Westerwald factories was Gerz, was founded by Simon Peter Gerz in 1862. Gerz produced superior stoneware steins and jugs in the Westerwald tradition featuring a blue-grey glaze derived from cobalt oxide (Figures 5.11 - 5.13, 5.16). Gerz and other firms of the region raised salt-glazed stoneware to a new standard.⁶

Gerz produced salt-glazed stoneware examples in varying densities of blue-grey decoration that featured a series of relief caddies and golfing figures in stages of the swing. Examples include steins with hinged pewter lids in 4/10 litre (#046) and half-litre

⁵ John MacGregor, "HR Steins and the Freising Factory Revisited," (Stein College, 2005); see <http://www.steincollege.com/bsc2hr/hrfront.htm>. MacGregor expands upon the work of Mike Wald to include 837 varieties and 326 models of HR steins in his catalogue.

⁶ Reinhold Hanke (1868), Merkelbach & Wick (1872), Hauber & Reuther (1876), Marzi and Remy (1879), Reinhold Merkelbach (1882), and Dümmler and Breiden (1883).

(#045) sizes, and a two-litre ale jug with a hinged pewter lid (#040, #020). Gerz also produced wide-mouth jugs with handles and decorative stoneware stoppers in 7½" (19.1cm, #043) and 9" (22.9cm, #043) sizes, covered tobacco jars, and a decanter with handle and stopper. Gerz golf wares are typically marked with the term "Ges. Gesch.," which has often led to the misattribution of the pieces as Gesch, though the marking is actually an abbreviation for the German copyright term *Gesetzlich Geschützt*, meaning "Legally Protected." The Gerz maker's mark found on the golfing examples is a triangle with a stein positioned in the centre.

Another respected German firm that capitalised on the growing worldwide popularity of golf was Royal Bonn, founded in 1836 as the Franz Anton Mehlem Earthenware Factory; it later received its Royal Warrant *ca.*1890. The factory eventually fell into the management of Villeroy & Boch in 1920, but closed a decade later. During the period when it was known as Royal Bonn the firm produced earthenware and porcelain wares, many of which featured exquisite hand-painted polychrome decorations and scenes. Bonn's golf-themed wares include a 10½" (26.7cm) oil lamp that was perhaps converted from a vase. This rare item, produced *ca.*1898, depicts a left-handed golfer in cap, jacket, and plus-twos along with a caddie tending a flagstick. The detailed scene includes a backdrop of mountains and a distant sea in a palette of greens, deep blues, and yellow. Royal Bonn also produced the same hand-painted left-handed golfer scene on a half-litre stein with hinged pewter lid, though these examples appear with a full-colour pastel palette, or a version with blue and white decoration (Figure 9.3).

One firm highly regarded not only for its production of fine porcelain but also for its far-reaching international distribution network was NY & Rudolstadt Pottery. The firm, based in the pottery-rich central German region of Thuringia, in the principality of Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt, produced mainly porcelain from 1882 to 1918. NY & Rudolstadt was twenty-five percent owned by the pioneering import/export company, L. (Lazarus) Strauss & Sons of Manhattan, who served as the firm's sole U.S. importer.⁷ In

⁷ The Straus family built a large and profitable company specialising in the import of porcelain from respected European pottery and glass firms. The patriarch of the family, Lazarus Straus, was born in Ottergerg, Germany, and emigrated to the Southeast U.S. in 1852. Straus later relocated to New York City from Georgia after the U.S. Civil War. Along with his sons, Nathan, Isador, and Oscar, Straus developed an agreement with R.H. Macy & Co. to include a retail china component in its store. Eventually, the Straus family gained sole-ownership of R.H. Macy's in 1896. Straus also expanded their reach to become one of the largest suppliers of hotel china in America. Isador Straus and his wife died aboard the *Titanic* in 1913,

addition to its share in NY & Rudolstadt, Strauss maintained a decorating studio at Limoges, and operated additional Bohemian potteries in Karlsbad, and a Bohemian glassworks factory in Kamenicky Senov.⁸ Through its European ties and vast distribution network in America, Straus helped NY & Rudolstadt find a broad new audience for its porcelain wares.

Specific to the present discussion, NY & Rudolstadt are known to have produced two ranges of fully decorated golf scenes on porcelain under the Schwarzburg trade name. The first range, following in the tradition of utilizing well-known imagery from popular illustrators of the era, featured decoration based upon the artwork of Harrison Fisher (Figures 9.4 - 9.6).

Fisher was born in Brooklyn, NY in 1875, the son of a third-generation artist. As a youth, Fisher demonstrated an aptitude for artwork and, after relocating with his family to Alameda, California, studied at the San Francisco Art Association and the Mark Hopkins Institute of Art. He honed his artistic skills professionally beginning at age sixteen, producing sketches of newsworthy events and social affairs for *The San Francisco Call* and later at the much larger *San Francisco Examiner*. By 1897 Fisher relocated to New York City securing work as a cartoonist at *Puck* magazine. He used this opportunity to build a reputation and earn freelance assignments from some of the most popular periodicals of the era, including the *Saturday Evening Post*, *Ladies Home Journal*, and *Cosmopolitan*. However, Fisher became best-known for his depictions of the beautiful "American Girl" which, along with Charles Dana Gibson and Howard Chandler Christy, helped define the epitome of feminine beauty in America during the first quarter of the 20th century.

One such Fisher illustration entitled "Fore!" depicts a threesome of stylish female golfers on the links. The main figure portrays a lady in a long brown skirt and red waist-coat signalling ahead as she prepares to swing (Figure 9.6). A young caddie, positioned in the

though the family business continued through four generations. It bears mention that all of the Straus men made significant and lasting contributions to society through political appointments, diplomatic service, and philanthropic pursuits.

⁸ James D. Henderson, "Bohemian Export Porcelain - A Legacy of the Habsburg Empire" ca.1998; available from <http://home.wi.rr.com/bohemianchina/ccgi.pdf>. See also, James D. Henderson, *Bohemian Decorated Porcelain* (Atglen, PA: Schiffer, 1999.)

left background, is shown carrying a bag of clubs under his arm. The image was created *ca.*1906, followed by a colour lithograph produced by Charles Scribner & Sons with the copyright date of 1909. NY & Rudolstadt used this popular Fisher image on a series of decorative Schwarzburg porcelain shapes, including a diverse range of vases, rack plates, a covered sugar and creamer, teapot, tea cups and saucers, a biscuit jar, candy dish, and trefoil plate. Some plates and dishes incorporated a running landscape border around the rim. In addition, examples combine the "Fore!" image with a similar Fisher tennis scene on verso (Figure 9.7). The NY & Rudolstadt image typically has the decorator's signature "Landry," and bears the Schwarzburg trade name understamp which first appeared *ca.*1906. It is likely then that Straus requested this popular Fisher golf image for use in a series from *ca.*1906 to 1910, primarily for sale in the American market.

The second NY & Rudolstadt series featured fully-painted porcelain shapes produced with three different but compatible golf scenes (Figures 9.8 - 9.12). The images were executed in the style of English illustrator and poster artist John Hassell (1868 - 1948), who was renowned for his golf series. The scenes include a red-coated golfer trudging up a hill with his female companion following close behind, a male and female putting scene with three young caddies, and a swinging golfer being observed by a red-coated female figure hiding behind a tree. These three whimsical scenes were used to decorate a diverse range of vases, a tea set, plates, bowls, dishes, and covered tureens. The attire of the figures included in the scenes along with the Schwarzburg markings indicates that the range was produced around the same time as the Fisher golf series.

Significantly, both of the NY & Rudolstadt golf series feature iconography that depicts wealthy individuals engaged in recreational pursuits. Virtually all of the scenes include red-coated male or female golfers, or ladies in American high-society. The same can be said of the accompanying NY & Rudolstadt tennis imagery. Certainly, as we have seen with most of the golf wares produced during the boom, the pronounced depiction of wealthy or high-society golfers was an apparent and intentional means by which the potteries marketed to the same demographic that it represented thematically.

Another noteworthy German-American connection, although somewhat mysterious, was developed by the New York City importer and retail china firm, Gilman Collamore & Co.⁹ Collamore is credited with commissioning a range of golf steins in stepped sizes from half-litre to two-litres (Figure 9.13).¹⁰ Although no identification markings have yet been uncovered, it is suspected that the steins were produced by a factory in the Westerwald region of Germany. Two additional well-known golfing steins of unknown origin feature turn-of-the-century golfing figures (Figures 9.14 - 9.15). Examples of these rare steins are marked 5055, 5044, 5043, and are presumed to have been produced in Germany due to their classic salt-glaze construction and traditional hinged pewter lids. Each of the steins features a *ca.* 1900 male golfing figure wearing plus-twos, red coat, and cap. The golfers are set against an incised golfing terrain with a row of trees on the horizon. While there is still more to learn of the details of Collamore's collaboration and the unmarked steins, they serve as quintessential examples of the salt-glazed stoneware golfing genre.

The respected firm Villeroy & Boch (V&B) was founded in 1836 in the western German town of Mettlach when the tableware factories of Jean-Francois Boch and Nicholas Villeroy merged. Before the end of the century the firm expanded upon their thriving tableware business to include the production of glassware, floor tiles, bone china, architectural ceramics, and sanitary ware. The Mettlach wares, and in particular the chromolith (coloured stoneware) steins, have now become the model for the genre. As evidence of their immense popularity between 1880 and 1910, the Mettlach factory employed upwards of 1,250 workers.

V&Bs success eventually allowed for eight factories in other cities. The Dresden factory, founded in 1856, is of primary interest to the present investigation; it introduced a sporting and recreational series that bears the Dresden Hermes trademark (Figure 9.16). The sporting series was produced in quarter-litre and half-litre beakers, and 18cm (7.1") and

⁹ New York City Landmarks Preservation Committee, *The Wilbraham Designation Report (Designation List 354)* (New York: New York City Landmarks Preservation Committee, 8 June 2004), 6. Gilman Collamore learned the china import business from his Uncle's Boston firm, Curtis, Collamore, & Co. Eventually he and his brother Davis opened their first store in New York City, *ca.* 1854. During the period after the death of Gilman Collamore in 1888, the firm was managed by John Joseph Gibbons. Gibbons operated the firm until his death in *ca.* 1917. The firm earned a reputation by commissioning, importing, and retailing fine china from around the world.

¹⁰ Jack Level, "Golfing Steins," *Spinning Wheel Antiques* (Taneytown, MD: The Spinning Wheel Publishers, July 1955), 20. Level, the first major collector and historian in the field of golf ceramics, specifically notes that his 16" stein was "made" by Collamore.

32cm (12.6”) plates. Scenes in the diverse sporting series included golf, tennis, motoring, bowling, horse racing, sailing, fox hunting, rowing, harness racing, field hockey, weight lifting, skating and football. All of the sporting examples are produced on beige earthenware. The golf image, which was painted under glaze, depicts a female turn-of-the-century golfer with red hair, white skirt, white blouse, and blue tie. She stands at address to a white golf ball, gripping a vintage club well-down on the shaft. Most examples of the golf plates include a white checked border and blue-green rim band, while the beakers feature only the monochrome banding at the rim and base. Considering the attire of the figure, form of implements, and the presence of the Hermes trademark that was used until 1909, the V&B sporting series likely was produced from *ca.*1900 to 1905.

Due to the changing political climate in the German and the Austro-Hungarian Empires in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, some markings can cause confusion, especially those from regions that have long since changed names or borders. For example, some golf pottery examples were marked "Austria," denoting the Austro-Hungarian Empire, but were actually produced in what is now the Czech Republic. Similar identification issues arise with wares bearing the marks "Bavaria" or "Bohemia."

One longstanding Bavarian Firm, Rosenthal, was located in the thriving pottery-rich town of Selb. Philip Rosenthal founded this firm in 1879, earning a reputation for tableware and fine china figures. Rosenthal produced a series of porcelain steins incorporating decoration of an old St Andrews caddie, based upon the work of Lawrence Carmichael Earle (1845 - 1921). Earle was commissioned by the Stetson Shoe Company of South Weymouth, Massachusetts in 1908 to produce two golf paintings that were reproduced and distributed as promotional favours for customers and company salesmen. The Earle images, entitled "The St Andrews Caddie" (a.k.a. "The Old Scotch Caddie") and "The Bogey Man" (a.k.a. "The Booby Score") were painted *ca.*1907 (Figures 9.17 - 9.18). Subsequent reproductions of the Earle paintings, in particular "The St Andrews Caddie," have made the image very well known among golf collectors.¹¹ Rosenthal no doubt seized upon the popularity of the image to produce and market steins in the U.S. Examples of the

¹¹ Subsequent prints of the "The Old Scotch Caddie" were produced in 1928 and *ca.*1979, though based on the 1908 Stetson print rather than the original painting, which had been lost.

Rosenthal steins, typically signed by the decorator, Edna Albright, exist in half-litre and litre sizes, and are occasionally fitted with traditional ornate hinged lids.

Another Bavarian firm, C.M. Hutschenreuther (CMHR), was founded by Carolus Magnus Hutschenreuther at Hohenstein in 1817. CMHR's production of fine tableware was highly regarded, and in 1857 the firm opened a factory in Selb. The Selb plant eventually purchased numerous rival companies, including, after more than a century of independent competition, the original CMHR factory in Hohenstein. Much like NY & Rudolstadt, Hutschenreuther's Selb factory aggressively developed overseas partners to assist with the importation and sale of wares into America. One leading import and wholesale firm was Graham & Zenger, based in New York City; they imported wares from CMHR factories in Germany and Czechoslovakia between the years 1925 and 1941. CMHR also developed an agreement with the San Francisco-based Dohrmann Hotel Supply Company that distributed the enigmatic "Black Knight" dinnerware produced for many golf and country clubs in America. While the origin of the Dohrmann Black Knight dinnerware has long puzzled golf collectors, the marks represent the vast marketing and distribution network of the German and Bavarian pottery industry.¹²

The pottery tradition in the neighbouring Austro-Hungarian villages of Turn and Teplitz rose to prominence in the last quarter of the 19th century. The Bohemian region, located in present-day Trnovany, Czech Republic, held a long tradition of porcelain production due to an abundance of Kaolin found in nearby riverbeds. The most prominent local manufacturer was the Alfred Stellmacher Royal and Imperial Porcelain factory, founded in 1859, which produced decorative porcelain and fine household china in the Neo-Baroque and Oriental style. Stellmacher and his extended family eventually developed five pottery companies that brought the region, and in particular the innovative Art Nouveau movement Amphora, into international acclaim.¹³

¹² For additional Dohrmann information see the discussion on dinnerware in Chapter 8, 223 - 226; additional examples of this international marketing and distribution agreement can be found with Bauscher Bros. Porcelain in Weiden, Bavaria, and the Chicago-based wholesale firm Arthur Schiller & Sons, who produced some examples of golf themed resort and dinnerware in the 1920s and 1930s. One golf example from the Bauscher-Schiller relationship is a 7¼" (18.4cm) wide-rim soup bowl produced in 1928 for Claremont Country Club in Claremont, CA.

¹³ "Amphora" was derived from the Greek pottery term traditionally used to describe an oval storage vase with a tapered base and twin handles extending from the lip to the shoulder.

Stellmacher's son, Eduard, and his sons-in-law Hans and Karl Reissner and Rudolf Kessel opened Reissner, Stellmacher & Kessel (RStK) in 1892, primarily focused on the production of Amphora fine art pottery. With the assistance of skilled decorators from the Imperial Technical School for Ceramics and Associated Applied Arts, RStK produced innovative decorative works in the Art Nouveau style. Subjects ranged from fantasy and animals to figural and natural decorations. RStK also produced Art Nouveau series based on the works of Mucha and Klimt. The Amphora trade name received international acclaim, earning *Best in Show* honours at the 1893 Chicago World's Fair and again in St Louis in 1904. By 1905 Eduard Stellmacher left to form Stellmacher Co. and RStK became Amphora Factory Reissner and Kessel. After the departure of Kessel in 1910 the firm was renamed Amphora Werke Reissner. Although copied elsewhere in the region, the wares of Alfred Stellmacher and his extended family elevated Amphora to a distinct genre within the Art Nouveau movement.¹⁴

Between the years *ca.* 1898 and 1910 RStK and its successor factories produced a series of popular Amphora sporting figures caricaturing the upper class (Figures 9.19 - 9.22). The expressive and idiosyncratic figures included caddies, golfers, sporting spectators, a Bavarian hiker, and exaggerated characters taking part in billiards, table-tennis, football, basketball, croquet, motoring, sledding, and photography. Some of the eccentric characters were produced in the traditional ivory porcelain with only spot colourations, while others received up to ten layers of high-gloss polychrome glazing. Amphora figures ranged incrementally in height from 6" (15.2cm) to a rare 21" (53.3cm) version. Occasionally, figures bear the signature "E. Stellmacher," and the understamp "Austria," which denoted the Austro-Hungarian Empire.¹⁵

¹⁴ For detailed information on the various Amphora firms, see Richard L. Scott, *The House of Amphora* (Sidney, OH: Antique Collectors Club, 2004).

¹⁵ Sotheby's *Traditional Sports: Golf, Cricket and Boxing* (Ayr: Sotheby's, 11 July 1994), 45, Lot 302. For additional examples of Amphora, see Phillips, *Golfing Memorabilia Sale* (Chester: Phillips, 24 January 1986), Lot 410; Phillips, *Golfing Memorabilia Sale* (Glasgow: Phillips, 11 July 1986), 21, Lots 341-342; Phillips, *Golfing Memorabilia Sale* (Chester: Phillips, 23 January 1987), 17, Lot 308; Phillips, *Golfing Memorabilia Sale* (Edinburgh: Phillips, 16 July 1987), 17, Lots 223-226; Phillips, *Golfing Memorabilia Sale* (Chester: Phillips, 22 January 1988), 15, Lot 195; Kevin McGrath, *Sporting Antiquities* (Melrose, MA: Kevin McGrath, 26-27 May 1994), Lot 449; Bonham's, *Sporting Sale Part 1* (Knightsbridge: Bonham's, 3 August 1995), Lot 19; Phillips, *Golfing Memorabilia* (Chester: Phillips, 20 January 1995), Lot 321.

Additional Central European golfing wares were developed in Austria and Hungary as golf began to earn acceptance in these countries. In Hungary golf was introduced by Baron Géza Andrásy at the Budapest racecourse in 1902. However, it was not until 1909 that a formal golf course was developed at Tátralomnic. Two years later, the Budapest Golf Club was founded, later renamed the Hungarian Golf Club. By the 1920s and 1930s golf in Hungary had developed to the point where its male and female stars were winning regional and European championships.¹⁶ The Széchenyi Hill course in Budapest, built in the 1920s, attracted some of the finest players in the world, including Robert T. Jones, Jr., who played the course in 1936. Not surprisingly, Hungarian potteries, like so many others on Continental Europe, recognised golf's growing popularity and initiated golf-themed wares directed towards its domestic population.

One Hungarian pottery manufacturer, Komlos Keramia, produced a rare 13" (33cm) polychrome female golfing figure, *ca.* 1931 to 1934. Komlos was based initially in Nyíregyháza in 1931, although a second workshop was opened in Budapest in 1934. The firm earned a reputation for its colourful figures based on recreational pursuits and domestic and peasant life. The Art Deco style figure depicts a young female golfer at the top of her swing, wearing a knee-length blue skirt, white blouse and orange hat.¹⁷

In Austria golf developed more slowly but the pottery industry maintained a far greater tradition than that of Hungary. In fact, after Meissen, Vienna was the second European city to produce quality hard-paste porcelain.¹⁸ Therefore the Austrian potteries held stronger international trade ties and produced a more diverse range of subjects. The overwhelming preponderance of Austrian-produced golf wares were figural representations. Furthermore, it can be said that a majority of all pre-1930 figural representation of golfers either bore the simple mark "Austria" or "Germany," or bore no mark at all. One example of an Austrian golfing figure, taking the form of a majolica spill

¹⁶ Dezső Lauber, designer of Széchenyi Hill Golf Course and famed Hungarian sportsman, was three-time winner of the prestigious Munich Cup. He, along with Béla Gyurkovich and Jenő Kovács, formed one of the most successful teams in European during the 1920s and 1930s. Mrs Béla Szlavy, nineteen-time Hungarian champion, also won five Austrian titles and four Bohemian championships between 1920 and 1944. In 1926, she was deemed the finest women's player in Europe after winning the German Championship.

¹⁷ Kevin McGrath, *Sporting Antiquities* (Melrose, MA: Kevin McGrath, 26-27 May 1994), 15-16, Lot 130.

¹⁸ Europe's second hard-paste porcelain manufacturer was founded in Vienna by Claudius du Paquier *ca.* 1719.

vase, features a young boy wearing knickerbockers, a blue jacket and a brown cap.¹⁹ The youth is depicted holding two golf clubs and leaning against a tree stump upon which sits an oak bucket. This example is perhaps only one of a dozen or more unmarked early golfing figures produced in Austria prior to 1930.

Another Austrian golf piece is a decorative covered dish that Wiener Kunst-Keramik produced (KWK) *ca.*1927. The elaborately designed Art Deco cover of the small dish shows an elegant female golfer in mid-swing, wearing a white knee-length skirt, orange jumper, and wide-brimmed sun hat (Figure 9.23). Additional detail for the golfing terrain includes a putting green and flagstick, a footbridge, a clubhouse, and swirling clouds. The decorative cover incorporates a series of five small openings within its composition.²⁰

Although golf was *en vogue* in many locations in France starting in the mid-19th century, French potteries were comparatively slow to respond to the popularity of the game. Very few lines developed in response to the "golf boom" at the turn of the 20th century. This is puzzling considering the volume and success of golf wares emanating from the British Isles, America, Germany, and the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Moreover, some enterprising foreign firms such as the Ceramic Art Co./O'Hara Waltham Dial collaboration as discussed in Chapter 8, clearly achieved success in developing marketing and sales agreements with Parisian jewellers and art dealers. Perhaps this was due to the impression that golf was predominantly a British game and therefore was not looked upon by the French with a proprietary view. Apart from Pau, golf was predominantly played by tourists on resort courses. The attitude toward golf as a suitable subject seemed to change slightly during the Art Deco period with the heightened profile of golf fashion and the greater inclusion of women participating in the game, both of which appealed more to French designers. Based on known examples, however, French golf wares were apparently produced in very limited supply, custom orders, or one-offs. While not overwhelming in quantity, the French examples are nevertheless important to the overall picture of Continental golf wares.

¹⁹ Shirley Sprung, *Decorative Golf Collectibles* (Coral Springs, FL: Gary Kirsner, Glentiques, 1991), 40, Figure 114.

²⁰ The KWK covered dish is presently in the collection of the United States Golf Association Museum in Far Hills, NJ.

The venerable firm Limoges produced the earliest French golf ware *ca.*1905.²¹ The half-litre porcelain stein featured a hand-painted scene of a male and female golfer. The female figure is executed in the style of Charles Dana Gibson's American beauty, standing with a long flowing skirt, white blouse, and wide-brimmed hat. The male figure is depicted wearing a red coat, plus-twos, and Argyll socks. The golfing twosome is shown standing in a golfing terrain executed in a line and wash technique. The unpainted interior of the vessel is stark white, in contrast to the painted exterior.

Limoges also produced hotel ware for "Golf Hotel Le Touquet," a seaside resort town in Northern France that prospered from the late 1870s. By 1903 the resort had attracted a syndicate of wealthy British investors who purchased much of the land to develop properties for homes and to expand amenities to attract English high-society. In Le Touquet, as in Pau, British ownership exerted powerful influence; they engaged Horace Hutchinson to develop a celebrated golf course along the coast, which opened in 1904. Thus the Limoges china for the Le Touquet Golf Hotel appeared soon after 1904. The decoration featured the emblem "Golf Hotel Le Touquet" printed around the rim, with a centrally-positioned child golfer in mid-swing.²² The swinging child is depicted wearing matching checked coat and plus-twos against a backdrop of fencing and trees. The Le Touquet Golf Hotel china exemplifies the influence of wealthy British golfers and the game's expanding role as an international travel and tourism beacon.

Another source of French golf wares was the Parisian porcelain dealer Robj, which operated only from 1920 to 1931. Despite its brief tenure Robj commissioned numerous excellent examples of Art Deco and Cubist art porcelain. A seeker of talented artists and designers, the firm conducted an annual competition from 1927 to 1931 to stimulate new and inventive porcelain designs. The firm's Sevres factory produced the winning designs in limited editions.²³ Robj quickly developed a reputation for exquisitely designed figurals and bar ware. Several of the rare Robj figurative decanters represented golfers and

²¹ John Olman and Morton W. Olman, *The Encyclopedia of Golf Collectibles* (Florence, AL: Books Americana, Inc., 1985), 201. The understamp recorded in the Olman's book was first used by Limoges in 1905.

²² Chuck Furjanic, *Antique Golf Collectibles - A Price and Reference Guide* (Iola, WI: Krause, 1999), 318.

²³ Shirley Sprung, *Decorative Golf Collectibles* (Coral Springs, FL: Gary Kirsner, Glentiques, 1991), 11, Fig. 3-4.

caddies. One example, an 11" (27.9cm) porcelain cocktail shaker, featured a standing male golfer with a removable hat with cork stopper, and a removable head for pouring. Another 11" (27.9cm) spirit flask depicts a golfer carrying a bag, his bent arm forming a pouring handle (Figure 9.24.)²⁴ A third known example is a 6¾" (17.1cm) caddie figure carrying a golf bag containing a collection of chromed golf club stirring sticks. Some Robj golf figures are marked "G. Bastard, Editeur, Paris," and decorated in a limited palette of blue, black, gold, and beige (Figure 9.25.)

Additional examples of French-produced golf-themed pottery are scarce. One 19.5cm (7.7") rack plate was produced *ca.*1920s by an unknown French manufacturer and featured a detailed black & white Art Deco image of a male and female golfing twosome and their terrier in a landscape. The female figure in the scene strikes her male playing partner in the eye during her backswing. The plate also included a wide pink rim and the humorous title, "La femme et les sports, Fan!! dans l'oeil."²⁵ Another rare French piece of importance is a 19" (48.3cm) porcelain vase that the French national porcelain manufacturer Sevres produced in 1939 (Figure 9.26). The fully hand-painted Sevres vase depicted players and their caddies in a winter golfscape, signed "M. Herbillon." This particular example, while slightly outside of this investigation's period of enquiry, is noteworthy for its rarity and relevance to the topic of French golf pottery.²⁶

One final Continental contributor of significance was the Italian firm Richard-Ginori, originally founded by Carlo Ginori outside Florence in 1735. At the time of its founding, Ginori was one of only three manufacturers of hard-paste porcelain in Europe.²⁷ In 1896, after five generations of ownership, the firm fell to the Milanese manufacturer Augusto Richard, whose group of factories produced a wide range of industrial ceramics. The

²⁴ Sotheby's, *Golf and Sporting Memorabilia Sale* (Musselburgh: Sotheby's, 16 July 1990), 13, Lot 44. For additional Robj examples see, Sotheby's, *An Important Sale of Golfing Interest* (Chester: Sotheby's, 15 July 1991), 73, Lot 360; Sotheby's *Traditional Sports: Golf, Cricket and Boxing* (Ayr: Sotheby's, 11 July 1994), 45, Lot 296.

²⁵ Lyon & Turnbull, *Sporting Memorabilia* (Edinburgh: Lyon & Turnbull, 11 July 2005), Lot 125; The title is translated as "The Woman and the Sports, Fan!! In the Eye."

²⁶ Shirley Sprung, *Decorative Golf Collectibles* (Coral Springs, FL: Gary Kirsner, Glentiques, 1991), 12, Fig. 5. This vase, which may be a commissioned piece, is in the USGA Museum collection in Far Hills, NJ.

²⁷ Oliva Rucelai, "Museo Richard-Ginori" (*Ceramics Today*, 2005); the Rucelai article is available from <http://www.ceramicstoday.com/articles/Sesto-Fiorentino.htm>. The other hard-paste porcelain factories in Europe were Meissen in Germany, and Du Paquier, in Austria.

newly merged Richard-Ginori Ceramics Co. combined the contrasting disciplines of Ginori's art wares and Richard's industrial wares.

In 1923, the firm hired architect and painter Gio Ponti to serve as Art Director. Under Ponti's guidance Richard-Ginori produced internationally acclaimed fine art porcelains. Ponti combined his understanding of classical architecture and modern graphic design to create a range of popular luxury wares. Ponti incorporated modern designs, many of which featured geometric or architectural elements within the composition. An important characteristic of his work was the use of contemporary art styles such as Art Deco on classical shapes from the Etruscan, Greek, Roman, and Egyptian traditions. During Ponti's tenure, the firm produced a variety of Deco golf decorations on classical shapes (Figures. 9.27 - 9.29). For example, one piece from this era features groups of stylised golfers placed in a series of vignettes around the body of an Etruscan-inspired porcelain urn. Golf examples from this period used motifs of golfers, caddies, and equipment on a variety of shapes, such as urns, cists, vases, plates, ash trays, and candy dishes. Richard-Ginori golf wares are an excellent representation of the period of high design produced during Ponti's tenure.

One element most crucial to golf's international dissemination was its seamless assimilation into diverse cultural traditions and political climates. Historians and writers have ruminated on the universal characteristics of the game that facilitated not only its crossing of boundaries but also foreign lands' eager acceptance of the pastime. As we will explore in Chapter 10, this receptivity to golf similarly influenced the international production and dissemination of golf-themed pottery well beyond the scope of cricket, rugby, angling, boxing, or any other traditional sport. Nowhere is the addictive nature of golf more evident than in its development in Japan.

A Scotsman named Arthur Hesketh Groom organized the first golf club in Japan at Mount Rokko near Kobe in 1900. Groom, an English tea merchant working for the firm of T. B. Glover & Co., helped open trade in the western port city of Kobe in 1868. He built a seasonal villa near Mt Rokko, where he and his friends engaged in recreational pursuits including golf, cricket, swimming, and hunting. By 1901 the group, consisting mainly of wealthy English and Scottish merchants, developed a rudimentary four-hole golf course. Two years later, the course expanded to nine holes, and Kobe Golf Club formally opened

with 120 "pioneer" members.²⁸ The rapid success of Kobe Golf Club led to the development of a second nine-hole layout in 1904.²⁹ That same year, another group of British golfers developed a nearby six-hole winter course, called the Ohgi Golf Course. The year 1906 saw the formation of the Nippon Race Club Golfing Association of Yokohama.

These introductory forays into organized golf in Japan came largely through the efforts of foreign merchants, though often to the exclusion of native Japanese. In fact Japan's first Amateur Championship, the "All-Japan Amateur Championship" held at Mt Rokko in 1907, registered only foreign competitors.³⁰ The relative isolation of the game did not forestall its initial expansion among the Japanese populace, however. The Unzen Golf Course was founded on Mt Unzen near Nagasaki in 1912; the Tokyo Golf Club's Komazawa Course followed soon thereafter, in 1914.³¹ The Tokyo club was the first Japanese-managed course intended solely for Japanese membership. Significantly, Komazawa was Japan's first public golf course, signalling an era of unprecedented growth that produced seventy courses by 1937. Before long, Japan numbered the second-largest golfing population in the world.³²

After trade opened in the 1860s the Japanese pottery market introduced lines patterned after those of prominent European and American manufacturers. These Japanese potters developed imitation wares specifically for sale abroad, which provided a much broader market for the growing population of Japanese workers. Japanese trade porcelain was backstamped "Nippon" with the passing of the *McKinley Tariff Act* in 1890 until its repeal in 1921. During this timeframe a majority of Nippon-marked wares were funnelled through the world-wide import-export company Morimura Gumi (Morimura Brothers).³³

²⁸ Kobe Golf Club, *The Story of Kobe Golf Club* (Kobe: Kobe Golf Club, 1966), 2.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 5-7.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 3.

³¹ Junosuke Inouye, an ex-Governor of the Bank of Japan, was introduced to golf while working in New York. Upon his return home, Inouye was instrumental in the development of Japan's first public golf course.

³² Torrin Shimono, *An Unlikely Pairing: The History of Golf in Japan* (Honors Thesis, Whitman College, 2004). Shimono discusses the development of golf in Japan and the intrinsic properties found in golf that relate directly to Japanese culture.

³³ Joan Van Patten, *Van Patten's ABC's of Collecting Nippon Porcelain* (Paducah, KY: Collector Books, 2005), 32-35. To best cater to the American market, the Morimura Brothers developed a design studio in

Morimura Brothers maintained a design studio and retail shop in New York and multiple specialised manufacturing plants in Japan. On the strength of its New York trade, the firm moved into wholesale ceramics in 1904, transferring the headquarters to Nagoya and taking the name Nippon Toki Kaisha, which later became Noritake.³⁴ While numerous Japanese firms produced Nippon wares between the years 1890 and 1921, most examples, and the best known, originated with the Morimuna Brothers and Noritake.³⁵

Noritake produced a range of hand-painted decorative golf wares that were backstamped with "Nippon" and a green "M" surrounded by a wreath. Noritake used this particular mark, dating from 1911, during a period when the firm refined its production of high-quality pure-white porcelain dinnerware.³⁶ Noritake's most noteworthy golfing line was marked 'Nippon' and decorated in caricature style with a colourful and active collection of golfers, caddies, and spectators on the links. (Figure 9.30 – 9.32). The sprightly figures appear individually or in combinations and groupings depending on the size and shape of the piece. Noritake employed an equally diverse range of colourways to decorate this series; examples can be found with the golfing figures set against a pale green ground, pale blue sky, and green terrain, or a full palate of pastel yellow, orange, red, blue, green, and pale brown. Examples from this series can be identified quite easily based solely on their intricate and highly developed palate of pastel colourways.

Nippon golfing characters include a series of diminutive caddies, a collection of female golfers in early 1900s attire, an angular male golfer wearing plus-fours and a large tam, a collection of portly male spectators wearing overcoats, and several male and female spectators in *ca.* 1900 American-style golfing attire. Clearly, the style of dress used in the decoration of the figures was calculated to appeal to Noritake's retail outlets in the United States. Shapes and sets from this series include a "smoke set," featuring a 6¾" (17.1cm)

New York where artwork was produced and next sent to Tokyo for production at one of the firm's factories. The resultant American-style Nippon fine china was then exported to America for sale.

³⁴ Ibid., 12-13.

³⁵ Nippon wares produced by Nippon Toki Kaisha before the firm became known as Noritake are now commonly referred to as "Old Noritake" by collectors.

³⁶ The "M" in the backstamp refers to Morimura Brothers. This same mark can also be found in blue, magenta, and gold.

circular tray, match stick holder, triangular ash tray, and a tobacco humidor with cover.³⁷ Noritake also produced a similar multi-piece tea set that included a teapot and stand, cup and saucer, and cream and sugar service pieces. Individual shapes were also produced in this range, such as a coffee mug, beer mug, dishes, and plates. Occasional examples can be found that incorporate custom silver rims, tops, handles, and spouts.³⁸

Another Nippon golf example was a 4¼" (10.8cm) hand-painted mini vase. The vase took a square form with an oval panel on each side with a matching oval opening at the top. The panels were decorated with a still-life of golf clubs, golf balls, and tennis racquets decorated the panels. Again, this item would have been produced in Japan between *ca.*1910 and 1915, specifically for sale in the United States.³⁹

One final golf example from Noritake that occasionally appears on the open market is a 6½" (16.5cm) porcelain humidor and cover, produced *ca.*1930 (Figure 9.33). The fully-painted humidor features a cartoon image of a swinging Orientalised golfer wearing plus-twos, red coat, and cap. Importantly, this particular decoration demonstrates that Noritake recognised that the traditional red coat was an important component even within wares produced in Japan for domestic sale. To date, examples of this scene have only appeared on the humidor, in contrast to the earlier Nippon-marked caricature range that Noritake used extensively on a wide assortment of shapes. An important distinction from the Nippon wares is that Noritake produced the golfing humidor in Japan for the Japanese market, while the earlier Nippon range was designed in America for the American market, though produced in Japan. This catalogue of Nippon and Noritake wares represents the Japanese pottery industry's changing outlook on golf from a theme specifically tailored for the burgeoning foreign golf market *ca.*1911, to a subject produced in response to a domestic obsession *ca.*1930.

³⁷ Van Patten, 277.

³⁸ Lyon & Turnbull, *Sporting Memorabilia Sale* (Edinburgh: Lyon & Turnbull, 11 July 2005), Lot 101.

³⁹ Kevin McGrath, *Sporting Antiquities* (Melrose, MA: Kevin McGrath, 25 April 1990), Lot 55.



Figure 9.1 Hauber & Reuther etched golf stein #1000. (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)



Figure 9.2 Detail of the Hauber & Reuther etched golf stein #1000.

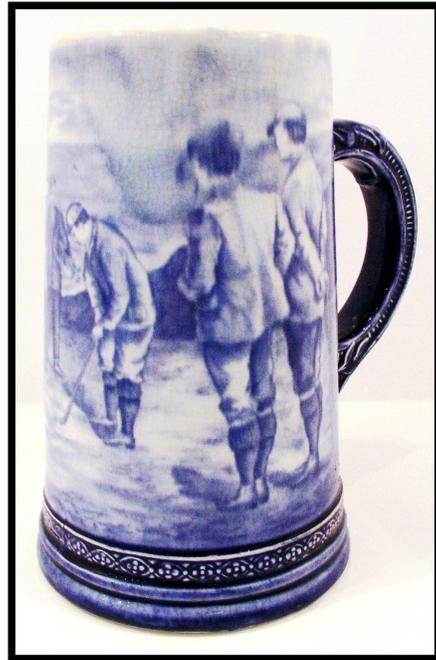


Figure 9.3 Royal Bonn ½-litre golf stein in blue and white. (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)



Figure 9.4 NY & Rudolstadt Schwarzburg golfing rack plate with Harrison Fisher “Fore!” scene. (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)

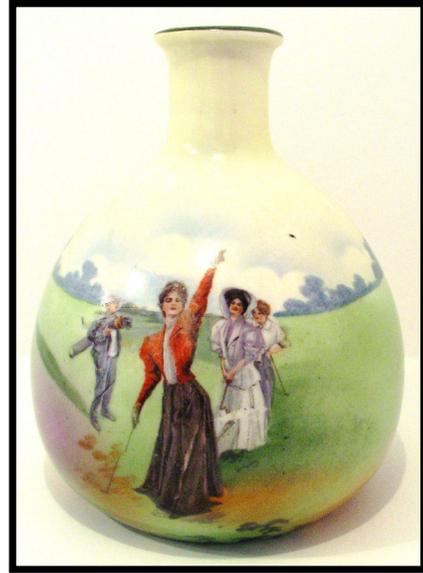


Figure 9.5 NY & Rudolstadt Schwarzburg golfing bud vase with Harrison Fisher “Fore!” scene. (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)



Figure 9.6 Detail of Harrison Fisher “Fore!” image.

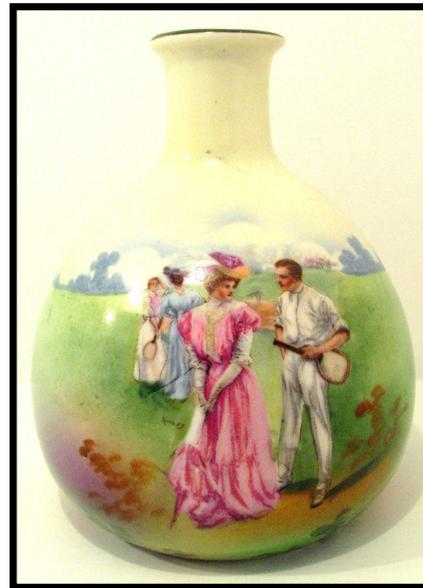


Figure 9.7 Harrison Fisher tennis scene found on verso of **Figure 9.5**.



Figure 9.8 A collection of NY & Rudolstadt Schwarzburg porcelain golfing wares with “Brown” scenes. (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)



Figure 9.9 A NY & Rudolstadt Schwarzburg porcelain golfing tureen. (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)



Figure 9.10 A NY & Rudolstadt Schwarzburg porcelain golfing soup bowl. (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)

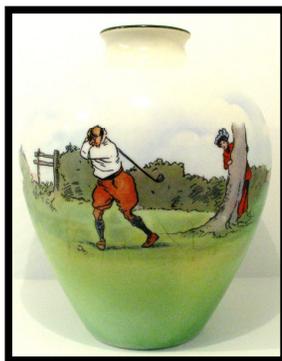


Figure 9.11 A NY & Rudolstadt Schwarzburg porcelain golfing vase. (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)



Figure 9.12 A NY & Rudolstadt Schwarzburg porcelain golfing teacup and saucer. (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)

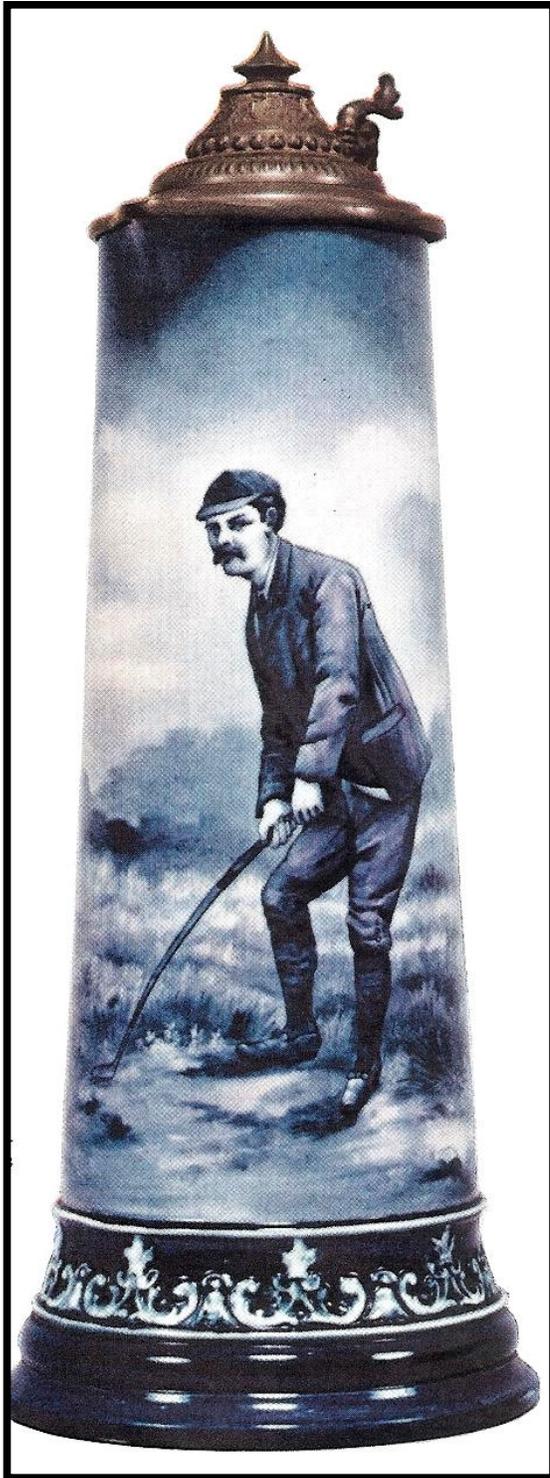


Figure 9.13 A rare 16" golf stein commissioned by Collamore & Co. of New York City.



Figure 9.14 A classic incised salt-glazed stoneware stein of unknown German origin *ca.* 1900. (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)



Figure 9.15 A classic incised salt-glazed stoneware stein of unknown German origin *ca.* 1900. (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)

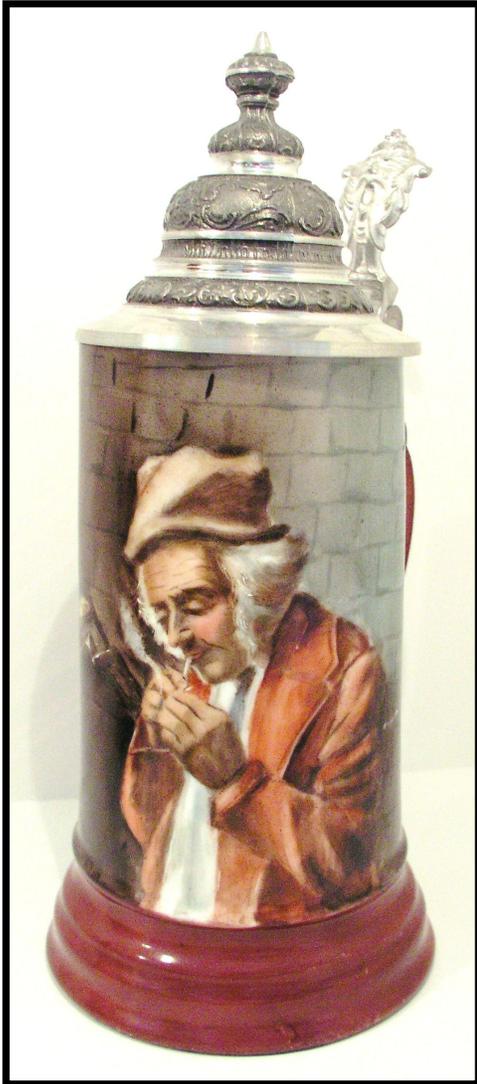


Figure 9.17 Rosenthal porcelain golf stein based on “The Old Scotch Caddie” by Lawrence Carmichael Earle. (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)



Figure 9.16 Villeroy & Boch golfing plate as part of the sporting series. (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)

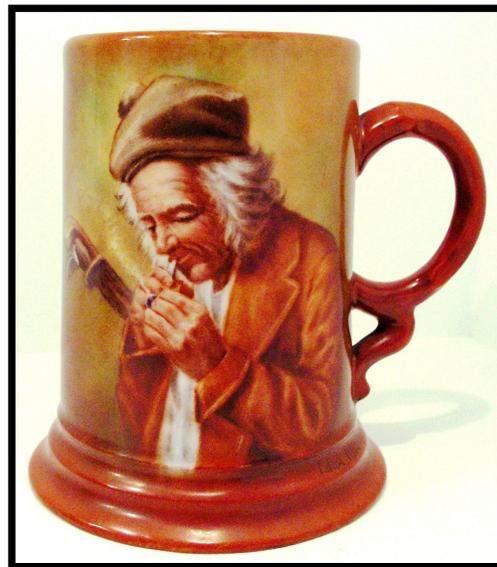


Figure 9.18 Rosenthal porcelain golf stein with decorative handle and no lid, based on “The Old Scotch Caddie” by Lawrence Carmichael Earle. (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)



Figure 9.19 Amphora golfing figure produced by Reissner, Stellmacher & Kessel (RStK) of Turn-Teplitz, Bohemia.



Figure 9.20 Amphora caddie figure produced by Reissner, Stellmacher & Kessel (RStK) of Turn-Teplitz, Bohemia.



Figure 9.21 Amphora golfing figure with spot colouration.



Figure 9.22 Amphora golfing figure with full colouration.



Figure 9.23 Art Deco covered dish with golfing decoration produced by Wiener Kunst-Keramik (KWK) of Vienna.



Figure 9.24 Art Deco golfer cocktail shaker by Robj, *ca.* 1927 to 1931 (Courtesy of Lowell Schulman.)



Figure 9.25 Art Deco caddie spirit flask by Robj, *ca.* 1927 to 1931 (Courtesy of Lowell Schulman.)



Figure 9.26 Hand-painted porcelain golf vase produced by Sevres, *ca.* 1939. (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)



Figure 9.27 A Richard-Ginori porcelain urn with Art Deco golfing decoration. (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)



Figure 9.28 A Richard-Ginori porcelain ashtray with Art Deco golfing decoration.

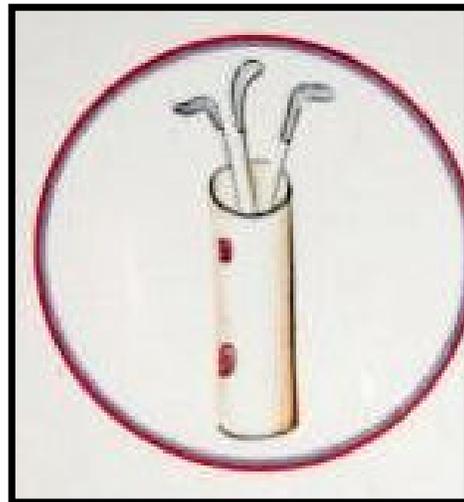


Figure 9.29 A Richard-Ginori Art Deco golfing decoration.



Figure 9.30 Noritake Nippon ware with golfing caricature decoration. (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)



Figure 9.31 Noritake Nippon ware with golfing caricature decoration. (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)



Figure 9.32 Noritake Nippon ware with golfing caricature decoration. (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)



Figure 9.33 A Noritake hand-painted porcelain humidifier with Orientalised golfing decoration. (Courtesy of the USGA Museum and Library.)

CHAPTER 10 - Golf's Importance as a Sporting Theme on Ceramics

Understanding golf's historical relevance in the fine art pottery and ceramics industry requires defining its specific place among the myriad of competing sporting and leisure endeavours. Historically, major auction houses have categorized golf as a "traditional sport," despite it being termed a "game" by its international governing bodies. Traditional sports are defined as organized athletic contests played by teams or individuals according to a prescribed set of rules.¹ Some typical "traditional sports" that are generally recognised to be included in this category are golf, cricket, rugby, tennis, wrestling, football, American football, baseball, and boxing. "Field" or "Turf" sports are slightly different, as they are generally regarded as countryside pursuits, often with the component of killing or capturing an animal. Some examples of field and turf sports are hunting, angling, beagling, sport shooting, steeplechasing, flat racing, and falconry. The distinction between traditional sports and field or turf sports is important to the present investigation primarily for the purposes of meaningful comparison. While scenes of stag, deer, or foxhunting are undoubtedly more prevalent than those of golf, they are not within the scope of traditional sporting endeavours, and therefore do not provide the most effective comparison.

From time to time potteries focused on representations of various traditional sports, creating lines or limited editions that they marketed directly to specific sporting audiences. Prize-fighting wares, for example, often commemorated historically significant fighters or memorable bouts.² Pottery examples depicting bare-knuckle boxing scenes or motifs are therefore few, though consistent from their earliest appearances in the late 18th century. This is also the case with the figural representation of historic sport horses and racing dogs

¹ Richard Holt, *Sport and the British – A Modern History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 2-3. Holt differentiates between "Traditional" and "Modern" sports, considering "Modern" sports to be those which developed a formal code of rules and organized national governing or administrative bodies. However, under this theory golf and cricket would be considered "modern" sports despite their rules being organized more than 200 years ago.

² Bonham's, *Sporting Memorabilia and Staffordshire Pottery* (Chelsea: Bonham's, 3 September 1997), 3-5. Bonham's offered figural and commemorative wares modelled after the John Carmel Heenan and Tom Sayers bout of 17 April 1860 (Lots 1, 40), Tom Molineaux and Tom Cribb bout of 18 December 1810 (Lots 4, 6, 16), Daniel Mendoza and Richard Humphreys bout of May 1789 (Lot 17), Tom Johnson and Isaac Perrins fight of 22 November 1789 (Lot 18), and Tom Spring and Jack Langan fight of 8 June 1824 (Lots 8-9). P.D. Gordon Pugh, *Staffordshire Portrait Figures of the Victorian Era* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Antique Collectors Club, 1981), F461 - F463. Pugh discusses some of the more noteworthy Staffordshire boxing portrait figures, such as (Tom) Sayers & (John) Heenan (F461, Plates 7A, 7B), and Tom Cribb (F460, Plate 55). Another early example, ca.1811, again depicts Tom Cribb (85, Plate 68) and is said to pair with a portrait figure of Tom Molineaux commemorating their historic bout of 1810.

to commemorate their performances.³ Yet, while prize-fighting and horse and dog racing celebrated specific champions through figural representations, the sports themselves were not used successfully as a pottery theme.

Some potteries looked to capture the attention of sizable populations of fans who either participated in or avidly followed a sport, such as football and rugby. Although these sports started primarily as schoolyard games, they eventually developed into a participatory recreation for the masses. Some notable rugby wares include a hand-painted Delft porcelain stein that Swaine & Co. produced *ca.*1900, two incised stein examples with inlaid hinged lids from Mettlach (#2324, #3351), an incised stein from Merkelbach & Wick *ca.*1905, and a rare Shierholz hinged half-litre stein in the form of a rugby ball. A few manufacturers, such as the Ceramic Art Company (C.A.C) and O'Hara Waltham Dial, collaborated to produce a limited rugby and American football range. O'Hara Waltham Dial promotional literature confirms that these wares were intended for use in "homes, grill rooms, dining rooms, club rooms, colleges, etc."⁴ Clearly, the development of a sporting mentality in elite schools, colleges, and post-University clubs during the late-Victorian era, both in Great Britain and North America, spawned the production of such wares. Copeland Spode produced a series that was similar in style to the well-known golf range, which incorporated sprigged-on rugby and football figures. As part of their sporting series *ca.*1900, Royal Doulton produced a range of Art Nouveau Lambeth wares that featured football imagery in combination with general representations of running and shot-put. The ranges produced by C.A.C, O'Hara Waltham Dial Co., Copeland Spode, and Royal Doulton were not as extensive, enduring, or popular as the golfing variations, however, for reasons which we will later explore.

Historically, boxing and football (and, to a lesser degree, rugby) audiences lacked the overall affluence or social incentive to purchase decorative and non-utilitarian ceramics.

³ P.D. Gordon Pugh, *Staffordshire Portrait Figures of the Victorian Era* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Antique Collectors Club, 1981), 79, F469-F462; Pugh depicts the figure of "Master McGrath" (Plate 55), a champion coursing Greyhound *ca.*1871, owned by Lord Lurgan. Master McGrath was featured in an engraving in *The Illustrated London News* on 11 March 1871 after claiming a third Waterloo Cup. The Staffordshire portrait figure was based on the published engraving. A second portrait figure of "Pretender", a rival of "Master McGrath" was produced at the same time (F459, Plate 7). A third very rare Greyhound figure, titled "Elizabeth Travis," was also produced (F462, Plate 10).

⁴ O'Hara Waltham Dial Co. *Exceptional Articles in Enamel and Porcelain: Steins, Jugs, Tankards, Loving Cups, etc.* (Waltham, MA: O'Hara Waltham Dial Co., *ca.* 1903).

This was not the case with tennis. The new game of lawn tennis emerged from the prosperous Victorian era *ca.*1873, eventually supplanting croquet as the game of choice for the British aristocracy.⁵ In fact, Lowerson targets the rise of Lawn Tennis and public school athletics as key indicators in the beginning of the Victorian sports craze.⁶ The Tennis and Racquets Sub-committee at the Marylebone Cricket Club (M.C.C.) drafted the first *Laws of Lawn Tennis* in 1875. Lawn tennis was soon the primary recreational pursuit at sporting clubs such as the All England Croquet Club. By 1877, the sport was officially added to the title of the club, and it established a formal world tennis championship at Wimbledon.⁷ Lawn tennis soon expanded to the boundaries of the British Empire as well as the United States and Continental Europe.⁸ Exclusive lawn tennis and racquet clubs emerged, and the grounds of manor houses and estates featured private courts. As always, international potteries were quick to seize upon the popularity of growing leisure endeavours or social trends. Beyond its expanding population and rapid international spread, lawn tennis became a particularly successful pottery theme because the sport flourished in a segment of society that was more inclined and financially equipped to purchase decorative wares. This is the essential difference between lawn tennis and most other traditional sports, such as boxing, football, baseball, American football, or rugby, which held far greater legions of followers yet commanded a smaller pottery market.

Many of the golf wares discussed in previous chapters were also produced by the potteries in conjunction with tennis wares. For examples, while Hauber & Reuther produced the etched golf steins #1000 and #1001, they also made a tennis stein #1002 featuring a female

⁵ Lawn tennis, or *Sphairistiké*, was introduced in Wales at a garden party by Major Walter C. Wingfield *ca.*1873. Major Wingfield was later granted a recreational patent on 23 February 1874. *Sphairistiké*, named for the Greek term "ball playing," was first contested on an hourglass-shaped court that was widest at the baselines and progressively narrowed to the net. Lawn tennis featured elements of play modelled after much older racquet sports, such as squash, badminton, and real, royal, or court tennis, first played in the Middle Ages.

⁶ John Lowerson, *Sport and the English Middle Classes 1870 – 1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993), 2-5.

⁷ The All England Croquet Club changed its name in the spring of 1877 to The All England Croquet and Lawn Tennis Club. In 1882, as the popularity of lawn tennis almost completely overshadowing croquet, the club was re-titled The All England Lawn Tennis Club. However, by 1899, the club re-instituted croquet in the title for sentimental reasons.

⁸ The United States Lawn Tennis Association was founded in 1881, adopting a standardised form of Rules. That same year the US National Singles Championship was held at the Newport Casino in Newport, RI. The inaugural French Open was contested in 1891 in Paris.

figure.⁹ NY & Rudolstadt produced a series of porcelain tennis wares under the Schwarzburg trade name with illustrations by Harrison Fisher (Figure 9.7.) Villery & Boch introduced a tennis scene in its sporting series along with golf, motoring, bowling, horseracing, sailing, foxhunting, crew, harness racing, field hockey, weight lifting, skating, and football. Royal Bonn produced *ca.*1900 a blue and white tennis stein at the same time and by the same artist as its rare golf scene. Sandlands & Colley (attr.) produced a Warwick Ware Victor Venner tennis scene along with its series of golfing rack plates. Significantly, many of the golfing counterparts to the above German sporting examples were produced specifically for sale in the American market. This suggests that the sale of tennis wares, unlike those of cricket and rugby, which never firmly took hold in the United States, clearly benefited from American expansion. Although golf and tennis shared a similar population, geographic spread, and relative success in the pottery market, a more telling comparison may yet exist between golf and cricket.

Golf and cricket shared many comparable characteristics in their early development, audience, and expansion throughout Great Britain. Like golf, the origin of cricket is somewhat murky, and cannot be fixed to a definitive year or antecedent. Based primarily on the strength of a recorded land dispute at the Royal Grammar School, however, we know that a similar game was played at Guildford, Surrey, in the mid-16th century.¹⁰ While accounts may exist prior to this date, we shall consider the Guildford reference as solid ground from which to proceed.¹¹ Numerous subsequent references to the game place cricket in many locations across England beginning in the early 17th century. Like rugby and football, cricket began as a schoolyard game for boys and developed into a game of mass appeal in the 17th century.

⁹ Hauber & Reuther also produced etched steins with a crew scene #1003, man playing ball #1004, and horse racing #1005.

¹⁰ Rowland Bowen, *Cricket: A History of its Growth and Development throughout the World* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1970), 45. John Derrick, a Coroner in Guildford disputed the ownership of a plot of land with the Royal Grammar School in 1597, citing his use of the property for the game of "Kreckett" some fifty years earlier. This places the game in Guildford *ca.*1550.

¹¹ Interestingly, early cricket was considered a boys' game, yet no edicts or sanctions existed against the game until the first quarter of the 17th century when adult participation appears to have begun. This is quite different from golf, as numerous well-known accounts exist regarding sanctions against golf or golfers who caused public disturbances or played the game on the Sabbath.

The figurehead of the game of cricket, Thomas Lord, was born in the Yorkshire village of Thirsk in 1751. Lord eventually moved to London, worked as a supplier of wine to the King and other noblemen, and joined the membership of the White Conduit Cricket Club in Islington, the premier cricket club for aristocrats. In the 1780s at the urging of George, 9th Earl of Winchelsea, Lord leased a suitable piece of ground in Dorset Fields, Marylebone, where he established a new cricket club on the grounds that now bear his name. Today, the Marylebone Cricket Club (M.C.C.), or Lord's, now located at St John's Wood, is widely recognized as the administrative home of cricket.¹²

Just as the “Qianlong Bowl,” Blackheath bowls, “Bow of Fife Bowl,” and “Canton Bowl” represent the earliest examples of golf wares, so too does cricket have a similar punch bowl that is directly linked to Thomas Lord. The impressive cricket punch bowl is Chinese export porcelain, likely produced in Jingdezhen between *ca.*1786 and 1790. The 6” x 14” (15.2cm x 35.6cm) bowl is presently in the custody of the M.C.C. Museum. The interior of the bowl is decorated with a hand-painted scene of a sailing vessel “Man-O-War” which is flying the Union Jack. In the image, the ship sails upon green waters and flies a long, maroon banner from its mast. The decoration contains characteristic grisaille that defines the rigging, masts, and additional details within the shading. The bow of the ship features the curious sign “THIRX2” which is now thought to be a mistaken decoration that was meant to read “THIRSK,” the birthplace of Thomas Lord. This aspect of the decoration suggests a personal connection to Lord, who, at the time of the commissioning of the bowl, had founded the M.C.C.¹³

The exterior of the bowl contains three oval hand-painted scenes of cricket based upon the famous painting *Mary-le-bone Fields*, produced by Francis Hayman, R.A., *ca.*1744.¹⁴ The original Hayman painting is considered one of the finest representations of early cricket in the world. According to M.C.C. Museum Curator, Stephan Green, Thomas Lord almost certainly owned the Hayman painting at one point, and Lord is the presumed commissioner

¹² Stephan Green and Glenys Williams, *Lord's - The Home of Cricket* (London: Pitkin Unichrome, Ltd., 2001), 2.

¹³ The interior also features a decorative band with an ornate floral design below a Greek key border and a gilded rim. The outer rim of the punch bowl displays a blue floral border with a gold vine leaf pattern. The bottom rim also bears a border of repeating gold circles with a fine black line through the centre.

¹⁴ Francis Hayman, *Mary-le-bone Fields*, Oil on Canvas, Marylebone Cricket Club Museum, Lord's Ground, London.

of the bowl.¹⁵ The original Hayman painting measures 34" x 43" (86.4cm x 109.2cm) and has been reproduced in various forms, including a 24" x 24" (61cm x 61cm) silk handkerchief that features the earliest extant version of the 1744 *Laws of Cricket* printed around its border. Another important variation of the Hayman image appears in a 1785 colour broadsheet that also bears a printed reproduction of the *Laws of the Noble Game of Cricket*.¹⁶ Hayman's painting depicts a cricket match in the area of Regent's Park, the site where Lord later purchased ground; this site is now Dorset Square, the home of the M.C.C. Like golf, organised cricket expanded in popularity across the British Isles in the 18th century. It subsequently spread throughout the geographic reaches of the Empire. Thus accounts exist of the game's introduction to such far-reaching lands as India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, the West Indies, South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand, due in no small measure to the powerful presence of the British East India Company.¹⁷

In North America, colonists and merchants in Georgia, Virginia, and the Carolinas played cricket as early as 1709.¹⁸ Officers of the British Army are said to have played cricket in America during the American War of Independence, and numerous additional 18th-century American cricket references have been substantiated.¹⁹ John Adams, debating the use of the title "President" in the 1776 Continental Congress, argued, "Fire brigades and cricket clubs have Presidents. He will be despised to all eternity. 'His Most Benign Highness' is the correct title."²⁰ Ironically, George Washington was said to be a keen cricketer who played "wickets" with his officers while stationed at Valley Forge on 4 May

¹⁵ Based on conversations M.C.C. Curator, Stephan Green at the M.C.C. on 5 December 2002.

¹⁶ The 1785 colour broadsheet reproduction of Hayman's painting is the likely form of reference that was submitted for the production of the bowl. This would also corroborate the timeframe during which the bowl was commissioned and produced.

¹⁷ For additional detailed information on the spread of cricket in the 18th century, see: Rowland Bowen, *Cricket: A History of its Growth and Development throughout the World* (London, Eyre & Spottiswood, 1970), 68-78.

¹⁸ William Byrd (Louis B. Wright and Marion Tinling, Ed.), *The Secret Diary of William Byrd of Westover, 1709-1712* (New York: Arno Press, 1972). William Byrd II of Virginia, in his secret diary written in shorthand, refers to an early morning game of cricket with his family and friends on 25 April 1709. Byrd lived at *Westover*, an estate on the banks of the James River.

¹⁹ Rowland Bowen, *Cricket: A History of its Growth and Development throughout the World* (London, Eyre & Spottiswood, 1970), 259 - 268.

²⁰ Gore Vidal, *The American Presidency* (Monroe, ME: Odonian Press, 1988), 15-16.

1778.²¹ Members of American high society soon adopted cricket, and it became a game of immense but fleeting popularity.

In what may have been the first international contest of any sport in the modern age, teams representing the U.S. and Canada competed at St. George's Cricket Club in Manhattan on 24-25 September 1844, before an estimated crowd of 10,000 spectators. In Philadelphia, a thriving centre of cricket in the United States, crowds of 20,000 gathered to watch local matches. In fact, upwards of 120 cricket clubs existed in the Philadelphia area alone.²² The peak of cricket's international popularity coincided with the period of the "golf boom." In many regions, however, cricket was quickly supplanted as a component at elite clubs where golf and tennis were deemed more practical endeavours. This trend is reflected in two of the most prominent Philadelphia institutions, the Belmont Cricket Club, a faction of which developed into Aronimink Golf Club, and Merion Cricket Club, which spawned an offshoot club that became Merion Golf Club. Cricket's popularity waned in America with the rise of the more socially-inclusive game of baseball, which eventually took over as the national pastime. Therefore, concurrent with the great expansion of tennis and golf into club life across North America, cricket diminished at an equal and opposite rate. Cricket simply was not as conducive to widespread geographic acceptance because it was a team game reliant upon competition and great amounts of time. In contrast, golf continued to spread across North America and to Continental Europe and Asia, attracting an increasingly diverse social population while cricket maintained an elitist character and became less accommodating of amateur players.

With cricket's extensive international pedigree and the overall affluence of its practitioners, the sport became a popular and durable theme, particularly amongst the British potteries. The Victoria and Albert collection contains a cricket jug, titled "The Game of Cricket - Lowestoff," dating to 1765.²³ Amidst its many cricket artefacts, the M.C.C. Museum has on display a *ca.*1800 Staffordshire punch bowl produced at Fletcher and Co., Shelton, featuring

²¹ Noel F. Busch, *Winter Quarters, George Washington and the Continental Army at Valley Forge* (New York: Liveright, 1974), 112-114.

²² Amar Singh, *History of Cricket in Philadelphia and the International Cricket Festival* (Philadelphia International Cricket Festival, 2002), available from http://www.cricketfestival.com/web/about_us.htm.

²³ George Savage, *English Ceramics* (New York: The Alpine Fine Arts Collection, 1981), Plate 179.

cricket scenes based on an engraving published in the June 1793 *The Sporting Magazine*.²⁴ Another early cricket example in the M.C.C. collection is a ca.1820 blue and white Staffordshire Metropolitan Scenery Ware meat dish and soup tureen with a transfer cricket scene featuring views of Eton and Windsor Castle.

Royal Doulton produced perhaps the best known of the cricket pieces in the late 19th century in the traditional brown-glazed stoneware style. The Doulton Lambeth variations featured white relief cricket figures in various action poses. Additional examples exist in blue washed stoneware. Another Doulton Lambeth cricket example of note is a brown-glazed stoneware loving cup with depictions of the famous cricketer W[illiam] G[ilbert] Grace along with a series of relief trophies around the body of the piece.²⁵ This particular example in the M.C.C. Museum is thought to be a prototype for a series produced ca.1881 to 1884. Examples from this collection often contain a decorative moulded handle in the form of a wicket, cricket ball, and hat, and a body incised with a series of tiny decorative daisies. Still another Doulton stoneware example features transfer portraits of cricketers Grace, George Giffen, and K.S. Ranjitsinhji, ca.1890. As the status of the Victorian amateur athlete rose, several noteworthy cricketers, including Grace, were depicted in portrait figures.²⁶ Despite cricket's substantial international popularity, it remained a quintessentially British subject among the potteries pre-1900.²⁷

A great many international pottery manufacturers developed wares featuring recreational and sporting themes. Historically, pottery manufacturers explored a wide assortment of

²⁴ *The Sporting Magazine*, "The Grand Cricket Match" (London: The Sporting Magazine, June 1793), 134-136. The full title of the print is "Grand Cricket Match, played in Lord's Ground Mary-le-Bone on June 20th & Following day between the EARL'S of WINCHELSEA & DARNLEY for 1000 Guinea's."

²⁵ William Gilbert Grace (1848-1915) was undoubtedly the most famous early cricketer, with a career in first-class cricket that spanned nearly forty years. His immense talents and well-known profile helped make cricket the first modern spectator sport. Grace was a medical doctor by profession, but he continued to play cricket as an amateur into his early fifties. Grace, like Old Tom Morris, became an iconic figure of the game.

²⁶ P.D. Gordon Pugh, *Staffordshire Portrait Figures of the Victorian Era* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Antique Collectors Club, Ltd., 1981), F452-F459. Staffordshire portrait figures were produced for Thomas Box, Julius Caesar, William Clarke, Frederick William Lillywhite, George Parr, Fuller Pilch, and W.G. Grace. Pugh illustrates a triad of figures of Lillywhite or Clark, Pilch, and "Box" (F454, Plate 1) taken from a series of engravings published July 1843 in the *Illustrated London News* (F454, Plate 2). A triad of Staffordshire 'Pratt ware' jugs featuring the same cricketers was produced ca.1840 (F455, Plate 3). Additional cricket figures featuring unidentified batsmen and bowlers appear in Plates 4, 5, 6, 7, and colour plates 51, and 52.

²⁷ Mike Coward, "Baer's Legacy Will Enrich MCC," *The Australian*, 21 November 2006. The largest cricket pottery collection was developed by Tony Baer, who donated the collection to the Melbourne Cricket Club.

pursuits such as bicycling, playing card games, skating, weight lifting, rowing, fencing, sailing, bowling, hockey, and motoring. Each theme developed according to its individual rate of sales success. This is to say that active sporting lines rapidly spawned additional ranges and copy wares produced by competing manufacturers. It is also true that additional shapes and decorations were continually added to popular ranges, extending both the active lifespan and size of the series. Thus, we can often measure the success of a sporting or recreational theme not only by quantifying the overall catalogue of work, but through a comparison of the size and duration of like series.

As we have seen, companion sporting ranges were produced by Copeland Spode, C.A.C. and O'Hara Waltham Dial, Royal Doulton, and numerous additional manufacturers; NY & Rudolstadt produced a more limited tennis version of its Schwarzburg Harrison Fisher golf range; Cowan Pottery produced Viktor Schreckengost-designed Art Deco plates with scenes of polo, baseball, tennis, and fox hunting; Hauber & Reuther produced steins with scenes of rowing, racing, tennis, bowling, skating, and other recreations; Rookwood produced pottery with themes of American football and angling; the largest and most complete golfing series, Royal Doulton's Crombie series ware, was also produced in a much more limited run with Crombie angling illustrations.²⁸ It bears mention that angling experienced a parallel boom in the late-Victorian era, with the number of personal fishing licenses increasing from 9,109 in 1879 to 59,652 by 1910.²⁹ But in every instance, the golfing series were more extensive and remained active longer than their counterparts.

Understanding why golf pottery apparently thrived to a greater degree than other traditional sports requires a review of key factors that influenced sales of decorative and non-utilitarian pottery.

Chief among the many influences that helped golf pottery reach its level of success was the rapid international spread of the game. Clearly, the number of golfing wares and the time-span within which they remained active was directly proportionate to the size of the audience and the growing number of international markets. During the "golf boom," large

²⁸ Royal Doulton's Crombie golf Series Ware remained active from 1911 to 1932.

²⁹ John Lowerson, *Sport and the English Middle Classes 1870 – 1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993), 45, n.46.

golfing populations were rapidly developing concurrently in Britain, Continental Europe, North America, and parts of Asia. The expansion in America was a particularly vital component as we will next explore, as this burgeoning market generated numerous international alliances in pottery production and sales, while this was not the case with most other traditional sports.

As a result of golf's rapid international growth, pottery firms realized the necessity of capitalising upon burgeoning overseas markets, expanding their sales and distribution networks accordingly. German-made stoneware steins were commissioned by the New York retail firm, Gilman Collamore & Co. NY & Rudolstadt utilized their powerful retail connection with R. H. Macy & Co. and Strauss Importers to develop a strong retail presence in New York. American importers, such as Arthur Shiller & Sons of Chicago, Graham & Zenger of New York, and Dohrmann in San Francisco commissioned club china from German manufacturers, such as Hutschenreuther, and Bauscher Brothers. In Japan, Noritake developed a design studio and retail outlets in New York City to better cater to the American market. Wedgwood also pursued a similar plan of action, assigning Kennard Wedgwood to establish a New York branch office in 1906.³⁰ American firms also exported, such as the Ceramic Art Company, which formed international distribution alliances with O'Hara Waltham Dial Co., Tiffany & Co., and Gorham Silver to reach consumers in jewellery shops throughout America, France, and Japan.

During the same time period, British firms developed high-end retail outlets for their wares both at home and abroad. Examples of Copeland Spode golf wares have surfaced with markings from their Holborn showroom in London, as well as R.H. Stearns department store in Boston. Taylor Tunnicliffe formed a sales alliance with the London retail firm Thomas Goode & Co. Minton golf wares were sold through the respected London retail firm Apsley Pellatt. Royal Doulton golf wares were marketed in Canada and appear with markings from as far away as Civil Service stores in Sydney, Australia. We can see through the extensive international network of production and sales that great effort was made to reach the active and expanding golf market. Importantly, whether well-regarded department stores, speciality china retail firms, or elaborate showrooms, the target market for the sale of decorative wares was undoubtedly the expanding elite and middle-class populations.

³⁰ Maureen Batkin, *Wedgwood Ceramics 1846 – 1959* (London: The Hillingdon Press, Richard Dennis Publishing, 1982);

A quantification of *Percentage of Wares Produced by Country* (Table 1) based on the Vol. II catalogue illustrates that golf wares were produced in at least ten country/regions on three continents. The percentages indicate that the majority of golf wares were produced in Great Britain (69.16 %), the United States (13.61%), and Germany/Bavaria (8.47%). These results measure only production, which, as we have seen, does not entirely reflect the complex networks of international distribution and sales. For example, a majority of wares produced in Germany/Bavaria, such as those by Gerz, NY & Rudolstadt, Hauber & Reuther, Hutschenreuther, Bauscher Bros., etc., were intended to reach the British and American markets. Likewise, most wares produced in Japan were made primarily for the American audience, and many Continental wares were intended for the British market. Therefore, while production figures may represent a somewhat diverse international landscape, it is clear through an analysis of sales and distribution that the overwhelming majority of all wares were intended for British and American markets.

TABLE 1

Percentage (%) of Examples Produced by Country *

Country/Region	Quantity	Percentage
Great Britain	498	69.16%
United States	98	13.61%
Germany/Bavaria	61	8.47%
Misc.	17	2.36%
Czech.	13	1.8%
Japan	13	1.8%
France	8	1.12%
Austria	5	0.70%
China	4	0.56%
Italy	2	0.28%
Hungary	1	0.14%

(*) Results are based on the quantity of 720 examples documented in the Vol. II Catalogue.

A second analysis of the Vol. II catalogue focuses on the *Percentage of Wares Produced by Theme* (Table 2.) Not surprisingly, nearly eighty percent (77.66%) of all golf wares feature a traditional golfing scene, including a man or group of men using the implements of the game in a golf setting. One-third of those traditional themed wares (32.31%) also include the element of a caddie. Certainly it is to be expected that men playing golf in the company of a caddie would be the most commonly used theme in the representation of golf on

pottery. However, a more telling figure is that women golfers were used on nearly one-quarter (24.82%) of all golf wares.

TABLE 2

Percentage (%) of Examples Produced by Theme *

Theme	Quantity	Percentage
Traditional	560	77.66%
Caddie	233	32.31%
Female	179	24.82%
Humorous	157	21.77%
Red Coat	94	13.03%
Historical	68	9.43%
Nursery	45	6.24%
Animal	43	5.96%
Figural	28	3.88%
Sporting	8	1.11%
Advertising	3	0.41%

(*) Results are based on the quantity of 720 examples documented in the Vol. II Catalogue. Examples may display more than one theme.

The use of the female golfing figure as a factor in the success of golf as a pottery theme should not be underestimated. Women were taken into consideration by the potteries both for their role as golfers and as consumers of decorative wares. Clearly, women participated in golf to a great degree as the game became internationally popular in the Victorian era. At the same time, female participation was not evident to any substantial degree in cricket, rugby, football, American football, baseball, boxing, wrestling, or virtually any other traditional sport. We can see through the female-centric decorations of Schwarzburg, Noritake, Weller, Doulton, Taylor Tunnicliffe, Grimwades, Wedgwood, Ceramic Art Co., Villeroy & Boch, and many others, that the presence of women as a decoration component was consistent. Moreover, through the illustrations of Gibson, Fischer, Christy, and Frost, the use of the quintessential American beauty was an obvious thematic priority in the genre. Interestingly, in 1894 Morris County Golf Club in Morristown, NJ, became the first club in America organized by women; this is also the same club to which A.B. Frost was a charter member and on which he based his many golfing scenes. To further the point of the importance of women in the golf pottery genre, we may see a similar impact with tennis wares, in which aristocratic women were used in decorations often in combination with similar golf scenes. Surely the scene of an attractive female golfer or tennis player was universally appealing and therefore a calculated thematic priority.

Another telling factor in the success of golf as a pottery theme is that nearly twenty-two percent (21.77%) of wares featured humorous decorations. While most other traditional sports were represented by more serious characterisations, golf was historically depicted in a more light-hearted manner which added to the popularity and public personality of the game. Often golfers were depicted in illustrations and cartoons as overweight, pompous, or flailing about in the rough or a deep bunker. Golfers have always understood the humbling nature of the game and have found enjoyment in the depiction of the futility and awkwardness of its practitioners. This ability of golfers to laugh at themselves has inspired countless humorous depictions, often with double-entendre titles which play-off the specialised language of the game. Certainly, the ability for golfers to enjoy more humorous depictions of the game aided greatly its success as a pottery theme.

Scenes depicting red-coated golfers appeared in 13.03% of all golf wares. Historical imagery, including likenesses of well-known personalities such as “Old” Tom Morris and Bobby Jones, or scenes with traditional mottos like “Far and Sure”, appeared in 9.43% of the wares. Nursery wares and those including animal or anthropomorphic scenes each appeared in roughly 6% of golf wares. Remaining themes include figural pieces (3.88%), scenes featured in combination with other sports (1.11%), and advertising wares such as Colonel Bogey Whisky (0.41%).

An evaluation of the *Percentage of Examples Produced by Shape* (Table 3) quantifies golf examples based upon general shape. This evaluation takes into consideration varying nomenclature such as “Jug”, which is a term primarily used in the U.K., and “Pitcher” which is essentially the same shape as termed in America. Therefore, all drinking vessels, such as tankards, steins, mugs, beakers and cups were grouped together. Not surprisingly the most traditional forms, such as flatware and hollow ware, appeared most frequently, accounting for well-over half of all examples. More telling though is the diversity of shapes within the golf pottery catalogue. Diversity in the pottery industry often relates directly to the success and duration of the lines, as many prospered to the degree where additional shapes continued to be added to the series over time to stimulate interest amongst collectors. Doulton Crombie Series Ware, for example, expanded the series to include more than 100 different shapes. Moreover, within the Crombie Series Ware there existed a multitude of varying titles, decorations and colourations which encouraged not only the collecting of 10” rack plates, for instance, but examples of 10” rack plates with all possible decoration variances.

TABLE 3
Percentage (%) of Examples Produced by Shape *

Shape	Quantity	Percentage
Plate (110), Tray (5), Dish (19)	134	18.61%
Jug (107), Pitcher (10)	117	16.25%
Jardinière (18), Vase (94)	112	15.55%
Tankard (27), Mug (12), Stein (33), Beaker (10), Cup (4)	86	11.94%
Bowl (36), Urn (5), Jar (5)	46	6.38%
Creamer (20) Sugar Basin (8), Sugar Caster (1)	29	4.02%
Figure	28	3.88%
Teacup (22), Coffee Cup (4) /Saucer	26	3.61%
Humidor (20), Tobacco Jar (6)	26	3.61%
Loving Cup, Tyg	24	3.33%
Teapot (20), Coffee Pot (1)	21	2.91%
Match Pot (12), Toothpick Holder (6), Egg Cup (3)	21	2.91%
Biscuit Barrel (19), Cookie Jar (1)	20	2.77%
Misc.	9	1.25%
Candle Stick (4), Chamber Stick (3), Oil Lamp (2)	9	1.25%
Ashtray	7	0.97%
Covered Box (1), Jewelry Box (2)	3	0.41%
Trophy	2	0.27%

(*) Results are based on the quantity of 720 examples documented in the Vol. II Catalogue.

The present investigation has concentrated primarily on the many factors that affected the popularity of golf as a pottery theme at the time of production and sale, which was mainly influenced by the “golf boom” in the late Victorian and early Edwardian eras. Certainly the rapid growth of the game and the suitability of its practitioners as a ready-made audience for the sale of decorative pottery greatly affected the initial production of golf wares. However, many decades subsequent to their initial production and sale, golf wares have experienced an equally impactful resurgence in modern secondary markets. Many of the same factors that precipitated the initial production of golf pottery also affect their eventual re-sale. Therefore, the focus now proceeds to examine golf’s role in modern secondary markets, including a review of the collecting community, appreciation in the value of golf wares, and auction history.

Early golf clubs, such as the Honourable Company of Edinburgh Golfers, the Royal & Ancient Golf Club of St Andrews, Royal Blackheath, and Edinburgh Burgess Golfing Society, assembled noteworthy and valuable golf-specific collections throughout their existence. Many of these venerable clubs amassed sizable collections of books, trophies, artwork, and equipment, placing items in clubhouse displays for the benefit of members and

guests. The practice of maintaining club heritage carried-over by example to overseas golf clubs, which followed with their own institutional collections as their history grew. Golf's administrative bodies also devoted time and expense to documenting the history and traditions of the game by establishing formal archives and museums.³¹ Although many clubs documented their heritage for centuries and developed institutional collections, prominent individual golf collectors did not surface until the end of the 19th century.

As discussed in Chapter 1, Dr. Laidlaw Purves became one of the first individuals to collect golf memorabilia, specialising in artwork and ceramics that focused on golf's perceived connection to the Low Countries. Purves, a distinguished Oculist, was a prominent member of the Royal Wimbledon Golf Club in the 1880s when he founded and designed Royal St George's in Sandwich, Kent.³² Purves' personal interest in collecting was no doubt influenced by his close associations with golf institutions that maintained collections. The 1 August 1902 issue of *Golf Illustrated* profiled Purves and his collection of Delft tiles, as did other early golf magazines. The Purves tiles also appeared in Hutchinson's *Badminton* series on golf.³³ Purves represents the first of a new trend of golfing enthusiasts who devoted time, energy and money developing significant collections of golfing memorabilia.

In 1916, another noteworthy collector, Jack Level, a Press Agent for RKO, began collecting golf prints, books and memorabilia. Level developed a passion for golf pottery in particular after he viewed a collection of steins at a 3rd Avenue pub in Manhattan. He purchased a golf stein from the bartender and subsequently developed the largest collection of golf pottery of his era. Level also learned a great deal about the history and production methods of golf pottery, writing "Golfing Steins" for publication in the July 1955 issue of *The Spinning Wheel*. The 8 November 1954 issue of *Sports Illustrated* profiled Level and his

³¹ The United States Golf Association first began collecting golf memorabilia in 1936, primarily focusing on its national championships. The USGA developed a public museum in 1954, the first in America dedicated to the history of a sport. The Museum collection eventually expanded to encompass more than 40,000 objects, a 20,000-volume golf library, a photographic archive of half a million images, and an extensive film and video archive.

³² "Golf Gleanings: The Collection of Dr. Laidlaw Purves," *Golf Illustrated* (1 August 1902), 88-89. Purves is noted to have helped found Royal Wimbledon, Littlestone, and Jersey, in addition to St. George's Club at Sandwich.

³³ Horace Hutchinson, *Golf:-The Badminton Library of Sports and Pastimes* (London: Spottiswoode, 1890).

collection. Both articles documented Level's forty-two piece collection in photographs, including an image of an enigmatic stein that featured hand-painted golfing mermaids.³⁴

In the modern era of collecting, Shirley and Jerry Sprung showcased their extensive collection with the publication of *Decorative Golf Collectibles*. In the decades of the 1970s and 1980s, the Sprungs acquired nearly 200 items of golf pottery in addition to jewellery, silver, and glasswork.³⁵ During the period when they developed their golf collection, the Sprungs studied and documented specific manufacturers, production techniques, and lines that were previously unrecorded. Another important modern collector who also held a passion for golf pottery during the same timeframe was New York businessman, Lowell Schulman. Schulman assembled a collection of more than 250 objects, including one of the finest Amphora collections in the world. Schulman donated the bulk of his collection to the USGA Museum and Archives in the late 1990s, increasing the USGA's holdings to more than 400 objects.

A succession of modern collections grew as a result of the knowledge and expertise of Ray Davis. During the 1970s, Davis aggressively sought to acquire new golfing examples, building a collection estimated at 100 objects. He was perhaps more instrumental as a mentor to other interested collectors such as Walt Lewis from Newport News, VA, and Wayne Aaron, an Atlanta businessman. Davis eventually sold his collection to Aaron, who built the most complete golf pottery collection in the world, estimated at nearly 500 objects. The Davis/Aaron collection featured many rare and one-of-a-kind examples, such as the 1896 Owens Utopian 12" (30.5cm) oval vase. The Davis/Aaron collection was eventually sold privately in the late 1990s to a Florida businessman, although Aaron retained many of the unique items. Today, there are perhaps four or five other collections containing 200 or more examples of golf pottery.

The discipline of collecting golf memorabilia grew steadily over the 20th century to the point where not a single aspect of the game has remained unexplored. The same passion that inspired golf's practitioners is also evident in its legion of ardent collectors such as the U.S. Golf Collector's Society (GCS), which Joseph S. F. Murdoch and Robert Kuntz

³⁴ Jack Level, "Golfing Steins," *Spinning Wheel* (Taneytown, MD: The Spinning Wheel, July 1955), 20; "Rare Golfing Steins," *Sports Illustrated* (Time, Inc., 8 November 1954), 33-34.

³⁵ Shirley and Jerry Sprung, *Decorative Golf Collectibles* (Coral Springs, FL: Glentiques, Ltd., 1991).

founded in 1970. Today, the GCS has nearly 2,500 members from eighteen countries. The British Golf Collectors Society formed in 1980 and numbers more than 600 members. The expansion of interest in the speciality of golfiana in the modern era both contributed to and benefited from a very active auction market.

Not long after the development of the Golf Collector's Society and the increasing interest in golf collectibles, major auction houses began to include golf memorabilia in their sporting sales. Phillips was the first to capitalize upon the surge of interest in golf memorabilia, holding a *Sporting Memorabilia* sale on 26 September 1979 at their Marylebone Auction Rooms; seventy-seven of the 298 lots were golf-related.³⁶ On 25 August of the following year at Gleneagles Hotel, Sotheby's held a sale of *Historic Golf Items* totalling 124 lots, including a special section dedicated solely to Ceramics (Lots 55-68).³⁷ Among other early golf-related sales, the 1980 Sotheby's auction featured Doulton Lambeth, Doulton Crombie Series Ware, Copeland Spode, and Taylor Tunnicliffe, though most descriptions were cryptic. This particular sale demonstrated that the golf memorabilia market was strong enough to stand on its own in specialized sales, rather than in combination with general sporting items.

In 1981, on the strength of the earlier golf auctions, Sotheby's and Christies offered golfing sales around the time of the Open Championship, beginning a tradition that would continue each year.³⁸ The Christies sale featured 337 lots, eighty-seven of which sold at or higher than the top estimate; only two lots did not sell. Auction sizes continued to increase as the Sotheby's golf sale on 24 July 1985 contained 428 lots; a Phillips "Golfing Memorabilia" sale of 12 July 1988 included 568 lots; and a McGrath *Sporting Antiquities* auction in May 1993 contained 870 lots. The year 1988 was particularly noteworthy for golf memorabilia sales: Richard W. Oliver held the first "Antique and Classic Golf Auction" in America, and

³⁶ Phillips, *Sporting Memorabilia* (Marylebone: Phillips, 26 September 1979).

³⁷ Sotheby's, *Sotheby's at Gleneagles Hotel: Historic Golfing Items* (Gleneagles Hotel, Scotland: Sotheby's, 25-26 August 1980). An additional sale was held in 1980 by Christie's South Kensington of *Fine Billiard Tables and Sporting Equipment*, on 2 December 1980.

³⁸ Sotheby's, *Important and Early Golf Clubs, Golf Balls, Ceramics, Prints, Books and Other Items Related to Golf* (Belgravia: Sotheby's, 15 July 1981); Christie's, *Sale of Collectors' Golf Equipment and Memorabilia* (South Kensington: Christie's, 20 July 1981). Christie's also held a second sale of *Collectors' Golf Clubs and Memorabilia, Fishing Tackle and Sporting Equipment* on 27 October 1981.

Phillips offered three international sales.³⁹ The Oliver sale offered twenty-seven lots of ceramics, including a pair of 5" (12.7cm) Doulton Lambeth flared mugs that fetched \$4,000. In all, nearly 2,000 golfing lots were offered by the auction houses in 1988, achieving a remarkable new level of success.

In the years following Oliver's 1988 auction, the American market flourished, adding annual golfing sales by Keving McGrath in Andover, MA, The Old Golf Shop, Ltd. in Cincinnati, OH, and Richard Ulrich in Wall, NJ. In addition, occasional U.S. sales were offered by Phillips, Doyle's, Bonham's, Golf's Golden Years (Chicago, IL), Christie's East, Old Tom Morris Golf (Windsor, CT), Sloan's, Wm. F. Comly & Sons (Philadelphia), and others. The British market also remained strong, with annual sales by Sotheby's, Christie's, Phillips, Bonham's, Lyon & Turnbull, Gowland International Golf Auctions, Mullock & Madeley, and Manfred Schotten/Nick Potter. In 2000 and 2001, an astounding twenty-three major international sales were held with golf as a featured speciality, far more than any other sport.⁴⁰ The golf auction market became one of the most active auction genres in the modern era.

³⁹ Richard W. Oliver, *The Nation's First Antique & Classic Golf Auction* (Kennebunk, ME: Richard W. Oliver, 21 June 1988); Phillips, *Golfing Memorabilia* (Chester: Phillips, 22 January 1988); Phillips, *Golfing Memorabilia* (Chester: Phillips, 12 July 1988); Phillips, *Historic Golfing Memorabilia* (New York, Phillips, 17 December 1988).

⁴⁰ Manfred Schotten and Nick Potter, *Come to Britain for Golf* (London: Schotten & Potter, 6-24 July 2000). Bonhams, *Golfing Memorabilia* (Ladybank, Fife: Bonhams, 21 July 2000). Phillips, *Golfing Memorabilia* (Chester: Phillips, 12 July 2000). Mullock & Madeley, *Golfing Memorabilia* (The Royal Blackheath Club, London: Mullock & Madeley, 5 & 8 February 2000). Phillips, *Golfing Memorabilia* (Chester: Phillips, 22 January 2000). David Berkowitz, *Golf's Golden Years* (Palatine, IL: Golf's Golden Years, December 2000). Christie's, *Golfing Memorabilia* (South Kensington: Christie's, 10 July 2000). Christie's, *The Scottish Sale* (Edinburgh: Christie's, 26 October 2000). Old Tom Morris Golf, *Golfing Memorabilia* (Windsor, CT: Old Tom Morris Golf, 23 September 2000). Sotheby's, *Football, Olympic Games, Formula 1, Tennis, Cricket, Golf & Other Sports* (London: Sotheby's, 14 July 2000). Phillips, *Golfing Memorabilia* (Chester: Phillips, 20 January 2001). Sloan's, *Sporting Art & Golf Memorabilia* (Miami: Sloan's, 18 March 2001). Old Tom Morris Golf, *Golfing Memorabilia* (Windsor, CT: Old Tom Morris Golf, 27 October 2001). Bob Gowland, *Golfing Memorabilia* (Chester: Bob Gowland International Golf Auctions, 15 July 2001). David Berkowitz, *Golf's Golden Years* (Palatine, IL: Golf's Golden Years, December 2001). Phillips, *Golfing Memorabilia* (Chester: Phillips, 16 July 2001). Old Tom Morris Golf, *Golfing Memorabilia* (Windsor, CT: Old Tom Morris Golf, 27 October 2001). Christie's, *Golf Memorabilia* (South Kensington: Christie's, 28 February 2001). Wm. F. Comly & Son, Inc., *Golf Memorabilia Auction* (Philadelphia: Wm. F. Comly & Son, Inc., 10-11 April 2001). Christie's, *Golf Memorabilia* (South Kensington: Christie's, 10 July 2001). Sotheby's, *The Sporting Sale* (London: Sotheby's, 18 July 2001). Bonham's & Brooks, *Cricket, Golf, Tennis, & Other Sports* (Chelsea: Bonham's & Brooks, 30 October 2001). Bonhams & Brooks, *Tennis and Other Sports* (Chelsea: Bonham's & Brooks, 26 April 2001).

One important factor in the success of the golf memorabilia market in the late 1980s and early 1990s was the influence and activity of Japanese collectors. Memorabilia prices soared and auctions grew much larger as a result of the strong Japanese economy and the participation of newly wealthy collectors who were passionate about golf. Consequently, many of the most prominent objects and collections available for sale during this timeframe were sold to Japanese businessmen. However, with the sharp decline in the Japanese stock market beginning in 1992, many of the most notable and valuable items from previous auctions resurfaced in sales in the mid-1990s. The Asian influence on the activity of the golf memorabilia industry is indicative of how golf's popularity has benefited from international expansion to a greater degree than cricket, rugby, or other traditional sports.

One auction in particular that Sotheby's held in 1995 may place the success of the golf market in proper and revealing perspective. Sotheby's offered a combined *Traditional Sports* auction that featured a cricket memorabilia sale in London on 11 July, and a golf sale at the University of St Andrews on 15 July.⁴¹ The Cricket sale featured 311 lots that totalled £184,686 in gross sales, while the golf sale featured 288 lots that fetched £738,951.⁴² Most golf sales consist of speciality categories such as artwork and prints, ceramics, decorative arts, equipment, and books. Ceramics have played a significant role in golf auctions since their first appearance in the 1980 Sotheby's sale at Gleneagles. Traditionally, golf wares have generated strong interest amongst collectors, and they have steadily increased in value to the present. Specifically, examples from well-known potteries with durable ranges, such as Royal Doulton, Copeland Spode, Weller, Ceramic Art Company, and others, have always remained in favour with collectors. We may gain a clearer perspective on the evolution of golf pottery values by charting results from the sale of like pieces over a period of time.

⁴¹ Sotheby's, *Traditional Sports* (St Andrews: Sotheby's, 15 July 1995). The golf sale was held at Parliament Hall and Senate Room, St. Mary's Quadrangle, South Street, University of St Andrews.

⁴² Ibid; Sales totals include Buyer's Premium. The Sotheby's golf sale recorded sixteen lots that fetched more than £20,000. In additional sales of combined sporting memorabilia, golf outperformed cricket, boxing, fishing, tennis, and other sports. Sotheby's, *Traditional Sports: Golf, Cricket and Boxing* (Ayr, Scotland: 11 July 1994). Sotheby's, *Golf and Other Traditional Sports* (London: Sotheby's, 12 July 1996). Sotheby's, *Golf, Cricket, Tennis and other Traditional Sports* (London: Sotheby's, 9 July 1999).

In the Christie's golf sale of 1981, a 6¼" (15.9cm) blue and white Copeland Spode jug fetched £280 or the equivalent of \$552.16 (Lot 79).⁴³ In 1988, at the Oliver's sale, a similar example sold for \$1,250 (Lot 71).⁴⁴ In 2002, a similar blue and white example of Copeland Spode sold at the Manfred Schotten/Nick Potter auction for £1,100, or the U.S. equivalent of \$1,631.36 (Lot 103).⁴⁵ Thus this particular piece more than tripled in value in just over twenty years. Similar results are obtained with a Royal Doulton Crombie Series Ware 9" (22.9cm) jug that sold for £120 in 1981, while a 7½" (19.1cm) version sold in 2000 for £595.⁴⁶ These examples mirror the overall trend in the escalating values of golf pottery from the late 1970s to the present.

As the number of golf pottery collectors has grown, the competition for particularly scarce examples has become intense. For example, a pair of rare Royal Doulton Morrisian three-handled loving cups of opposite colourations sold at auction in 1988 for \$5,000 and \$5,600 respectively.⁴⁷ At Kevin McGrath's *Sporting Antiquities* auction in April 1991, a very scarce 6¾" (17.1cm), three-handled "Lenox" cup with Gorham sterling silver rim sold for \$10,000 (Lot 481). The 1990 Sotheby's *Golf and Sporting Memorabilia* auction sold two very rare Royal Doulton Burslem jugs for £4,620 and £4,840 respectively (Lots 53, 54).⁴⁸ Finally, an Oliver's sale of 28 April 1990 saw another rare "Lenox" three-handled cup with silver rim fetch \$7,250 (Lot 123), and an 8¾" (22.2cm) Royal Bonn stein sell for \$10,000 (Lot 126.)

We can see through the number and size of annual golf sales, and the steady increase in the value of wares that golf has become one of the most reliable and important specialities in

⁴³ Christie's, *Sale of Collectors' Golf Equipment and Memorabilia* (South Kensington: Christie's, 20 July 1981), Lot 79. £-to-\$ conversions are based on historical currency exchange rates found on <http://www.oanda.com/convert/fxhistory>. The exchange rate at the time of the sale was 1.9720.

⁴⁴ Richard W. Oliver, *The Nation's First Antique & Classic Golf Auction* (Kennebunk, ME: Richard W. Oliver, 21 June 1988), Lot 71.

⁴⁵ Manfred Schotten and Nick Potter, *Far and Sure* (London: Schotten and Potter, 2002), Lot 103. £-to-\$ conversions are based on historical currency exchange rates found on (<http://www.oanda.com/convert/fxhistory>.) The exchange rate is based on the July 2002 average rate of 1.48306.

⁴⁶ Christie's, *Sale of Collectors' Golf Equipment and Memorabilia* (South Kensington: Christie's, 20 July 1981), Lot 80; Manfred Schotten and Nick Potter, *Come to Britain for Golf* (London: Schotten and Potter, 6-24 July 2000), Lot 153.

⁴⁷ Phillips, *Historic Golfing Memorabilia* (New York: Phillips, 17 December 1988), Lot 91, 92.

⁴⁸ Sotheby's, *Golf and Sporting Memorabilia* (Musselburgh: Sotheby's, 16 July 1990), Lots 53-54, 14.

the modern auction market. But in a larger sense, examples of golf pottery continue to be vigorously bought and sold for greater values long after their initial production and sale. Many of the same factors that precipitated the production of wares during the boom, such as the expansive international popularity of the game amongst the upper and middle classes, and the suitability of golfers to the pottery industry or collecting market, have also fuelled modern successes in secondary markets. Therefore, when considering the overall scope of the genre, and longevity and importance of golf's as a pottery theme, it is apparent that no other traditional sport can claim a more successful or enduring legacy.

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