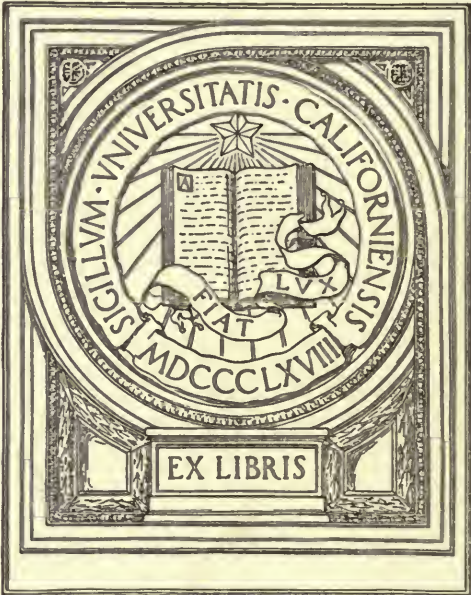


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A
HISTORY AND DESCRIPTION
OF
ENGLISH EARTHENWARE
AND
STONEWARE

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1,450 copies, of which this
is No. *572*.









PLATE I.

WEDGWOOD.

Solid Agate Ware Vase with Gilding.

H. $8\frac{3}{4}$ in.

Victoria and Albert Museum.

A
HISTORY AND DESCRIPTION
OF
English Earthenware
and
Stoneware

(to the beginning of the 19th century)

BY
WILLIAM BURTON, F.C.S.

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JOSIAH WEDGWOOD AND SONS

CONTAINING TWENTY-FOUR PLATES IN COLOURS, TOGETHER
WITH REPRODUCTIONS OF MARKS AND NUMEROUS
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P R E F A C E .



THE writer of a volume on English earthenware and stoneware, at the present day, finds his task considerably complicated by the labours of a number of predecessors in the same field. Unfortunately, most of the early writers on this subject wrote with much greater zeal than discretion, and it has been a serious task to disentangle from the narratives of Simeon Shaw, Ll. Jewitt, W. Chaffers, and Miss Meteyard, the true facts connected with the origin and development of the English earthenwares and stonewares of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Where there has been so much repetition of ill-understood tradition, and such an evident bias in favour of particular men or particular factories, it is not always possible to arrive at such a view as can be put forward without hesitation, and some amount of misgiving. Fortunately, the more competent and conscientious work of Mr. Solon, Professor Church, and of Mr. Hobson in his lately issued British Museum catalogue, helps to clear up many difficulties. My own experience as a student and as a potter, has, however, forced me to certain conclusions, which I have embodied in the following pages, and it will be found that the views herein expressed, on many subjects, differ in some important particulars from those that have hitherto been accepted. There is scarcely a chapter in the book which does not contain either fresh information or some novel view of the subject under discussion. The accounts of the inventions of Dwight; of the innovations of Elers; the manufacture of

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Staffordshire salt-glaze; the production of the agate and tortoiseshell wares; the evolution of cream-coloured earthenware; the position of Josiah Wedgwood, the prince of British potters, and of his great contemporaries, as set forth in the following pages, will be found to differ in many essential points from those of previous writers. In every case the conclusions given are those which seem to me most perfectly in keeping, not only with all the information that has been handed down to us by tradition, but with the results of a careful and independent study of the specimens that have come down to our own times. The ingenuity of the English potters of the 18th century was so great, and their productions were so varied and interesting, that it has been impossible to continue the account beyond the close of the 18th century. Some day I hope it may be possible to describe the English pottery of the 19th century, but such a task clearly cannot be undertaken yet, however greatly one might desire to attempt it.

For purposes of illustration, the objects have, as before, been selected from public museums, so that every student and collector might have access to the pieces actually described. It has been necessary to draw upon the collections in some of the provincial museums, particularly those of Liverpool and Burslem; indeed, in many departments of English pottery, the provincial museums are richer in fine examples than those of London. The coloured illustrations will, it is hoped, furnish perfectly reliable representations of carefully selected specimens, so that the collector may have, at first hand, means of comparison such as have hitherto not existed in connection with the English earthenwares. The marks again are reproduced from photographs, and are of the same size as the originals. One great advantage to the collector is that the marks on English earthenware are generally impressed, and are therefore not so easily counterfeited as the painted marks found on most of the porcelains.

It is a pleasure to acknowledge how much I owe to the keepers of the pottery collections in our museums, for their active and generous assistance. Mr. C. H. Read, F.S.A., and

his assistant, Mr. R. L. Hobson, B.A., of the British Museum; Mr. A. B. Skinner, B.A.; Mr. C. H. Wylde and Mr. Rackham, B.A., of the Victoria and Albert Museum; Mr. Thomas Hulme, to whom the Wedgwood Institute at Burslem owes so much; Mr. Entwistle, of the Liverpool Museum; and others, have given me every facility for studying and reproducing the specimens in their collections. Mr. Rackham has again spent much time and pains in the selection of typical marks, and in superintending their reproduction. My especial thanks are also due to Mr. E. G. Hawke and Mr. R. L. Hobson for the careful reading of my proofs, and for many valuable suggestions in the course of the work.

WILLIAM BURTON.

Clifton Junction, Manchester.

April, 1904.

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ENGLISH EARTHENWARE AND STONEWARE.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

THE writer of a book on the History of English Pottery is faced at the outset by considerable difficulties. Where is he to commence his story? How is the matter to be arranged so as to give due and sufficient weight to the influence of imported wares and methods, as well as to the genuine and native growths of our English soil? Whatever scheme of treatment is finally decided upon, the result must be a compromise between conflicting claims, and no doubt much could be said against the arrangement adopted here. Every writer must choose his own point of view, but the one that appeals most naturally to a potter is that which shows in the clearest way the gradual development of his art from its rudest forms.

The potter's art, one of the first invented by mankind, is so simple in its rudiments that it may have originated independently in a dozen different centres. Much might be said even about the pottery of our first predecessors in these islands, dating back as it does to Neolithic times. Remembering too, how, at a later period, the Romans spread the knowledge of pottery-making in certain forms over the greater part of Western Europe, England must have been, in times still remote, a pottery-producing centre of importance. The finds of Roman kilns, as well as of the wares produced under Roman influence in many different parts of the country, show how widespread the practice of working in clay was, in England, during the third

and fourth centuries of our era, though all this was to vanish in the ruder times of Saxon, Dane, and Northman, when the country lapsed once more into primitive barbarism. It is difficult to believe that the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries, which witnessed such a revival in all the other crafts, could have left that of the potter untouched; yet, apart from the glorious tile pavements of that period, there is little direct evidence of the production of any particular form of pottery of the slightest artistic account among us. It is true that we find references in contemporary documents to primitive kinds of pottery, apparently the commonest utensils for domestic use, all through the Middle Ages. We have in addition a few well-known pieces of rather higher order—such as the ewer in the form of a mounted knight in Salisbury Museum—but these are extremely rare, and we are driven to the conclusion that down to the late sixteenth, or early part of the seventeenth century, very little pottery was made in England that was above the level of skill of the travelling brick-maker or tile-burner. The workmen connected with the religious houses, who produced the tile pavements at Chertsey, at Monmouth Priory, Great Malvern, and elsewhere, must have brought to the production of such earthenware vessels as they made, a much higher technical skill and better taste than these untutored peasants. Indeed, the better made wares for which the name “Cistercian” has been proposed seem to show that that order, at all events, turned to account, in the manufacture of earthenware vessels for ordinary use, the knowledge and skill gained in the manufacture of their elaborate tiled floors. Be this as it may, it is impossible to resist the feeling that we are still in the province of the archæologist, not of the pottery collector; and therefore no attempt will be made, in this volume, to deal with the productions of the periods thus briefly passed in review. Not until the seventeenth century do we find English wares which manifest sufficient originality, or sufficient effort in a definite direction, to entitle them to consideration, either for their own sake, or because we can see in them the dawning of the movement which was to make the English pottery of the eighteenth century one of the most notable achievements in

ceramic history. Though the labours of many centuries have left so little of artistic interest, we may assume that the widespread knowledge of the simpler forms of pottery that existed in the country provided, at all events, a fertile ground, awaiting only the due moment of cultivation to produce a fair and worthy crop. It is idle, even, to speculate how long the English potter might have been content to go on undisturbed in his insularity. In various Continental countries, dignified, elegant, and refined species of pottery had been slowly evolved, and in some instances had even already passed into disuse. The Italian majolica ware, in many respects the noblest production of European potters, had risen to its height and was in full decline. The French faïence, undoubted child of such a noble parent, was rising to a position of distinction. In the German Rhineland another fine ware, of unique character, also flourished; while the skilful and patient Dutchman was slowly perfecting his painted earthenware, which, under the name of Delft, was to become a household word for two centuries.

In England, however, these movements were unheeded, and the art made little or no progress. The excellence of our platework in silver and in pewter met all the requirements of the well-to-do householder, while for the poorer classes the ashen trencher, the wooden bowl, the leathern jack, and the rude earthen jug or porringer provided the few necessary utensils for the serving of food or drink. But our intercourse with the Continent, and the steady development of our commerce, assuredly brought into this country the more refined and perfected forms of pottery produced abroad. This was especially true of the stonewares of the Rhine provinces, which were imported throughout the sixteenth century, and the "Delft" ware of Holland, introduced early in the seventeenth century. Nor was this all. The religious wars of the Continent brought to our Eastern counties many skilled workmen in various trades, and it would have been wonderful if, among these refugees of various nationalities, potters had not been numbered. Such workmen must certainly have striven to pursue their craft after the manner practised in

the countries from which they came, and during the greater part of the seventeenth century, in the neighbourhood of the capital and in the home counties, there was a considerable production of English wares made after the foreign fashions. It will be obvious to anyone acquainted with the history of pottery that these imported methods would, of necessity, follow two main lines. First, the making of tin-enamelled earthenwares in imitation of those of Delft, of France, and of Italy. Second, the production of earthenwares fired so hard as to be vitrified and extremely durable—hence the name “Stoneware”—in imitation of the German and Flemish wares now brought to perfection.

The various patents applied for and granted, in some cases on the flimsiest possible pretexts, during the course of the seventeenth century, show not only what a considerable trade had sprung up in the importation of these wares, but how anxious Englishmen were to have their manufacture domiciled in this country. No long period elapsed before creditable reproductions could be made, and were made in quantity, and it was in the natural course of things that London—from its position, not only as the capital of the country and the centre of refinement and luxury, but also as the great trading centre—should become the scene of the first successful efforts in this direction. During the next century the potteries of Staffordshire were so rapidly developed, and produced so many novelties both in materials and technique, that the position of London as the first important centre of pottery manufacture in England has been insufficiently recognised. But in the seventeenth century, while the potters of the rest of England were mainly content to produce what can be best described as peasant pottery—made by peasants, for peasants, and in which the materials, the methods, and the artistic skill displayed were still of the simplest order—at Lambeth, at Fulham, and elsewhere in the neighbourhood of the capital, tin-enamelled earthenware painted in blue and occasionally in other colours, and stonewares, were manufactured on a considerable scale.

It was at Fulham that Dr. John Dwight, the first great name on the roll of English potters, conducted his experiments

in "the mystery of transparent earthenware commonly knowne by the name of Porcelaine or China and Persian ware, as alsoe the misterie of the stoneware vulgarly called Cologne ware." It has been already stated in a preceding volume of this series* that in his attempt to solve the mystery of porcelain or china ware, Dwight was unsuccessful; but his stonewares are of such remarkably fine quality, both technically and artistically, that they suffice in themselves to place him in the front rank of the men who are honoured as original potters. His works, indeed, rank above all contemporary productions, yet his direct influence on the course of English pottery seems to have been singularly small. Like his great forerunner Palissy, with whom one instinctively compares him, his productions were so individual that they stand in a class by themselves, and when the master spirit was withdrawn no successor was found to carry on his work. Indirectly, it is probable that Dwight's influence on English pottery was greater than has been generally recognised. The use of metal stamps for the impressed ornaments found on some of his wares; the use of calcined flint as a superior form of silica for potters' use; and the manufacture of the fine red terra-cottas, which, following the custom of his time, he described as "red porcelaine," were due to him, though they have generally been attributed to later inventors.

Meantime, scattered all over England, were little village pot-works, where, with the rudest appliances, families of potters continued to make, from such clays as the locality afforded, the old traditional wares of the country. From time to time one of these native potters set out on his travels, and so by degrees information became more generally diffused. Thus, we find, during the seventeenth century, and especially in the latter half of it, wares produced in many remote parts of England, yet all having a strong family likeness. From the fact that these wares were often decorated with lines, dots, or patches of lighter coloured clay, applied in the form known as "slip," they are invariably grouped together under the title, "slip-decorated wares."

* Burton's "History of English Porcelain," pp. 7 and 8.

Formerly it was the custom to refer all such pieces to one or two places, generally either to Wrotham in Kent, or to the Staffordshire Potteries. It is now clearly recognised that they were produced, with but little variation, in many places; and in addition to those mentioned, there must have been settled works in the capital itself, at Tickenhall and elsewhere in Derbyshire, in Cheshire and in Yorkshire; while Liverpool, Fareham (Hants), Buckley in Flintshire, Pencoed in Monmouthshire, and other places on the borders of Wales, produced pieces of the same class at a later period.* So conservative, indeed, is the potter in his art, and so simple are his requirements, that such elementary manufacture still continues in many parts of the British Isles, and it would be easy to gather to-day, from the village potteries of both the north and south of England, examples of slip-decorated ware, differing in no essential particular from the ordinary productions of the seventeenth century.

There was one particular district of the country, however, where suitable clays and abundance of rough coal for firing could be obtained almost by scratching the soil. This was that part of North Staffordshire now known distinctively as "The Potteries." So freely provided with the requisite materials was this district that we cannot wonder if travelling potters found their way thither and settled, or if the natives more and more turned their attention to the manufacture of such simple forms of pottery as were most in demand. Certain it is that Staffordshire was becoming known as a pottery centre of importance in the latter half of the seventeenth century, and here it was that English pottery actually "found" itself, and by the labours of a succession of skilful men the making of English earthenware was gradually brought to such a pitch of perfection as to entitle it to a place among the most important kinds of

* There must always be great difficulty in definitely attributing works of this class to any particular factory, in the absence of inscriptions on the piece itself. A travelling potter would find his materials ready to hand in many parts of the country, and with his few simple appliances and some powdered lead ore to make his glaze, might easily travel from place to place, making any suitable spot a little pottery centre for the time being.

pottery with which we are acquainted. It has been claimed that the starting point of these improvements was the settlement, near Burslem, of the famous Elers, about 1692. The evidence on this head is not so clear as might be wished, but there can be no doubt that about that date we may trace the beginnings of the movement which was to place North Staffordshire at the head of all English pottery centres. It is probably true that the Elers brought into the district fresh knowledge and a higher standard of taste and technique, but most of the improvements that have been attributed to them are known to have been successfully practised by Dwight of Fulham. A flourishing pottery industry of an elementary kind was already in existence in Staffordshire at their arrival, and while we cannot doubt that the novelty of the Elers' productions and the superior taste and greater perfection of finish which marked their wares, aroused the emulation as well as the jealousy of the native potters, it is just possible that too much has been made of their doings at Bradwell Wood. It has been stated that they introduced the process of salt-glazing into Staffordshire, but this is open to doubt, for no examples or even fragments of such productions have ever been found, and there is an old tradition in the district that stoneware was made before their arrival. Turning from this debatable ground for the present, it is abundantly clear that whatever the Staffordshire potters owed to the incursion of the Elers, they were prepared to take full advantage of such stimulating influences as might come in their way. Just as, in a clear saturated solution of certain salts, the introduction of a single crystal will set up a movement that results in the crystallisation of the whole mass, so we find that from the time of the Elers a regular development and crystallisation of knowledge took place among the potters of Staffordshire.

By experiments, first in one direction, then in another; now abortive, now successful; sometimes by the labours of men whose names have survived, equally no doubt by the labours of those whose names are forgotten,—the improvement went on. Within the short space of about sixty years we

find a whole series of earthenwares and stonewares produced, such as had never been seen before. First, the elegant white salt-glazed ware with which one associates the names of Astbury, Dr. Thomas Wedgwood, and Whieldon; along with the tortoiseshell and agate wares for which the last-named was so famous. Then the improved cream-colour ware of the Astburys and the Warburtons, which in the hands of Josiah Wedgwood, John Turner, and others was to be developed and perfected until it became the characteristic ware of English manufacture and overran the civilised world. Finally the high achievements of Josiah Wedgwood himself, either in taking up the work of his predecessors and giving it a settled form, as in his black wares, his agate wares, and his Queen's ware; or in the invention of absolutely new combinations such as his white stone body or his beautiful series of jaspers, which were to give an enduring place in ceramic history to products really native of our English soil. It is impossible to recall, without a sense of pride, how far-reaching have been the effects of the labours of this famous Staffordshire potter and his contemporaries. So perfectly did they carry out their work that English cream-colour, English black ware, and English jasper became known all over the European world, and wherever they went, by their perfection of manufacture, their lightness and durability of substance, and the cheapness with which they could be produced, gave the *coup de grâce* to older, and in some respects more artistically beautiful, forms of pottery. The "Delft" of Holland and the painted faïence of France, equally with the debased survivals of Italian majolica and the tin-enamelled wares of Spain, had to give way before them, and were replaced by the English wares, or by imitations of them made in those countries. It is not too much to say that the whole subsequent history of the manufacture of pottery in Europe and America was changed by the labours of the Staffordshire potters of the eighteenth century, and the history of that change will, so far as is practicable, be related in the ensuing chapters.

It must not be assumed, however, that the earlier forms of

fine pottery succumbed, even in England, without a struggle. Throughout the greater part of the eighteenth century, almost indeed to its very close, tin-enamelled earthenware or "Delft," as it is popularly called, continued to be made at Lambeth, at Bristol, and at Liverpool. The manufacture of stonewares of the ordinary kinds survived at Fulham, at Mortlake, at Nottingham, at Chesterfield, and at Bristol. But in the end the tin-enamelled wares, and the glazed stonewares,—even the beautiful white salt-glaze of Staffordshire and the quaint and original agate and tortoiseshell wares of the same district, disappeared before the victorious cream-coloured earthenware. By the end of the eighteenth century the great proportion of the English pottery manufactured was divided between cream-coloured earthenware and English bone china, with a small proportion of stonewares, black basalt, and jasper ware thrown in, as a kind of protest. It is true that during the eighteenth century several other centres of greater or less importance, such as Liverpool, Leeds, Newcastle, Bristol, Sunderland, and Swansea, strove to make head against the running tide, by adopting the materials and methods of the Staffordshire potters, but most of these efforts were only partially successful at the best, and the commencement of the twentieth century sees the Staffordshire potter almost as pre-eminent among English potters as he was at the commencement of the nineteenth century.

The nineteenth century saw many changes in the production of English earthen- and stone-wares. It would be as interesting, as some day it will be important, to trace the development in England during the latter half of the nineteenth century of stoneware, with which the name of the late Sir Henry Doulton must always be connected; to detail the variety of forms that the earthenwares have assumed in the hands of Mintons, Copelands, Wedgwoods, and Ridgways; to discuss the white earthenware of present day manufacture, as perfected by the Meakins, the Johnsons, and the Grindleys, and the enormous developments in the manufacture and decoration of earthenware tiles made by Minton Hollins, by Maws, and by Pilkingtons. All these later developments are too near to

us to be correctly and impartially appreciated, so that, much as one would like to essay the task, it cannot be attempted here. It must suffice for this volume if we describe, as clearly as we may, the successive steps by which the English potter, by the aid of foreign knowledge and inspiration, and much more by the force of his own native enterprise and industry, "converted a rude and inconsiderable manufacture into an elegant art and an important part of national commerce."

CHAPTER II.

ON CERTAIN TECHNICAL MATTERS.

BEFORE entering into details of the historical development of English earthen- or stone-wares, as sketched in the introduction, it would seem essential, to save needless repetition as well as some misunderstanding, that one should give a brief explanation of pottery processes such as will define not only the terms employed but the methods actually used by English potters in the various periods of the history we are setting out to recount.

The word "earthenware," in its widest sense, might be used to cover all varieties of pottery, as they are all made from some form of earthen or mineral substance taken out of the ground. In this broad sense, a brick, a drain-pipe, and a Chinese vase might be equally described as earthenware, but though the chemical differences between them are slighter than would be supposed, they are so far apart in technique and final result that the names earthenware, stoneware, and porcelain are very conveniently used to differentiate between them. In this restricted sense, the title "earthenware" covers all articles made from a single natural clay, or from mixtures of clay and other mineral substances which, *when sufficiently fired for practical use, still remain porous*, and need, therefore, if they are to be used for culinary, domestic, or decorative purposes, to be completed by the addition of an outer skin of glaze or glass melted on them. This glazing process may take place either when the piece is first fired, or in a subsequent firing at a somewhat lower temperature. It will be seen that such a definition covers everything made of clay, from the commonest brick, tile, or garden-pot, to the perfected cream-colour of the eighteenth century, or the fine white table ware of present-day English manufacture. It also includes such famous wares of the past as

the Persian, Rhodian, and Hispano-Moresque faïence, no less than Italian majolica, French faïence, and the Delft wares of later times. This large class may, for further convenience, be broken up into many subsidiary groups; thus we speak of slip-decorated earthenware, of tin-enamelled earthenware or faïence, and of English earthenware, the modern earthenware *par excellence*. Just as the glaze varies according to the particular clay mixtures to which it has to be applied, so do the colour and the hardness of the fired body itself vary. There is, indeed, every gradation from the common crock made of any local brick clay, glazed by dusting it with powdered lead ore and finished in one firing, to the fine white earthenware of English manufacture made from mixtures of light-burning clays, rendered still whiter by the addition of flint, and harder by the addition of china stone, which is first fired to a sufficiently high temperature, and then has its surface rendered impervious and smooth by melting on it at a lower, though still a comparatively high temperature, a complex glaze containing flint, china clay, soda, boracic acid, and oxide of lead.

It is quite possible, however, to take some of these earthenware bodies of simple or of mixed clay, and by merely firing them harder than usual, to produce such an incipient fusion of the mass as will render it impervious to fluids. The pottery thus produced is at once harder and more durable than earthenware, and does not need to be finished by the application of a coat of glaze. The red unglazed wares made by Dwight, Elers, and Wedgwood in imitation of the Chinese and Japanese pieces, often erroneously dignified by the title of "red porcelain," are of this class. With them we may rank the black Egyptian or basalt wares, probably invented by Elers, and reaching their highest development in the hands of Josiah Wedgwood, Palmer, Mayer, and Turner. To the same class must also be referred the fine unglazed white and variously coloured stonewares of the latter part of the eighteenth century, and the jasper bodies invented by Josiah Wedgwood.

Though the stonewares are so hard fired that they do not need the addition of a glaze to render them impervious

to fluids, many of the finer stonewares have been completed, or can be completed, by a special glaze of their own. The potters of the German Rhineland seem to have discovered this special salt-glaze in the thirteenth or fourteenth century. In this process the stoneware is put into the kiln without any glazing substance upon it. When the kiln has attained its full heat, and the ware is already becoming vitrified, wet common salt is shovelled into the kiln through holes left for the purpose; wherever the vapours thus produced come in contact with the white-hot stoneware, it acquires a beautifully thin skin of transparent glaze.* This salt-glazing, doubtless brought to this country from Germany, enabled our English potters to produce many notable kinds of pottery. For in addition to the wonderful Dwight pieces, and the later Fulham, Nottingham, and Chesterfield wares, which are reminiscent of German stoneware, we have the white salt-glaze of Staffordshire, which is just as distinctively English in its methods, its taste, and its technique.

Just as it is impossible to draw any fixed line of demarcation between earthenware and stoneware, it is equally impossible to find any sharp dividing line between the finer stonewares and true porcelain. The tests of hardness, of whiteness, or of translucency all in turn fail us. It is possible to produce stonewares as white, as hard, and as transparent as many of the forms of porcelain. Yet there remains an essential difference between them. Porcelains of every kind contain a larger proportion of natural or artificial fluxes mixed with the clay of which they are formed, and when, as is generally the case, they are completed by a glaze, the glaze is of an entirely different nature from that produced by the vaporisation of sodium-chloride or other salts upon stoneware.

* It has been too readily assumed that salt-glaze is a simple silicate of soda formed by the chemical union of the soda in the salt vapours with the silica of the ware. It has been proved that the soda vapours attack not only the silica of the ware, but some of the clay substance too. Thus, salt-glaze is not merely a silicate of soda but a silicate of soda and alumina, the soda being furnished by the vapours of the common salt, and the alumina and silica by the outer layer of the clay itself.

Having cleared the ground to a certain extent, it will be well to pass in review the successive steps by which English potters perfected their craft, from the simple slip-decorated wares of the seventeenth century through all the various forms produced in the eighteenth century. If we take as an example one of the well-known pieces of peasant pottery, such as a Wrotham candlestick or posset-pot, or a Toft dish, we have earthenware in one of its simplest forms. The body of the piece was made from some common clay dug from the local clay pit, and used with the addition of nothing but a little sand or some pounded fragments of pottery already baked. The ornament was shaped in other local clays, burning to a lighter tint, or in many cases was made of a white pipe-clay, so scarce as to be used only for this purpose. When the piece had been shaped and decorated it was dusted over with powdered lead ore (generally galena, the native sulphide of lead). The clay piece thus dusted was put into a potter's oven and fired. The first result of the firing would be to drive the sulphur out of the lead ore, which the increasing heat then slowly roasted into oxide of lead. This oxide of lead in its turn melted and attacked the clay body, now become red hot. In this way, and at one operation, the ware was hardened from clay into pottery, and its surface was coated with a brilliant glassy compound of lead oxide, alumina, and silica. This process is analogous to the salt-glazing process, though differing from it in the materials used, in the temperature required, and in the final result obtained. In such wares the lead glaze is always thick—sometimes even treacly—and has a strong yellow colour, due to the large excess of lead oxide, and partly, no doubt, to the oxide of iron dissolved from the body. Such a method of glazing could not yield fine or delicate results, but it gave a splendid richness and quality such as the later and thinner glazes frequently lack.

When the demand for a lighter coloured ware than could be obtained from the commoner clays roused the potters of various countries to improve their productions, the first process of refinement took the form of a coating of white slip or of

tin-enamel, which disguised the colour of the body of the ware. From this invention sprang all the tin-enamelled wares of the Continent. The process was introduced into England from Holland, just as the salt-glazing process had been brought from Germany. At Lambeth, Liverpool, Bristol, and elsewhere, these tin-enamelled wares were largely made for more than a century, but as the process never developed in the hands of our English potters it is of little further interest to us here, but will be described in its proper place.

When the Staffordshire potters, in the early years of the eighteenth century, felt the same need of white or light-coloured pottery, they first tried the method of washing their clay vessels with a slip of white clay and powdered sand or flint. From this it was only a step to the use of the mixtures of white clay and flint, made into potter's clay and used for the fabrication of the ware just as the ordinary local clays had been used previously. From the same mixture two distinct bodies were obtained: at a moderately high fire, the cream-coloured earthenware; at a much higher fire, and by the use of salt, the equally characteristic white salt-glaze. Though it was the cream-coloured earthenware which was to survive, the white salt-glaze first became widely popular, as it more nearly approached, in the special qualities of whiteness and translucence, the still rare and highly-prized porcelain. For some time—down, at all events, to 1750—the two wares were developed side by side, but the greater risk attendant on the manufacture of the thin salt-glaze, as well as its brittleness, told against its extended use. With the introduction of porcelain manufacture into England, it had to face a still more formidable rival, and while the demands of the upper classes could be better satisfied by English porcelain, those of the average household could be equally well met by the cheaper cream-colour. It is certainly one of the most interesting points of these distinctive productions of the English potter—cream-colour and white salt-glaze—that they were made of the same materials mixed in the same proportions, and yet by the simple differences of firing temperature and glaze were so widely separated as finished products. The

decorative processes applied to one were in great measure equally applicable to the other: stamped ornaments, engine-turned bands, the variegated pieces produced by the working together of slices of differently coloured clays, decoration in over-glaze colours, and the application of printed patterns made their appearance almost simultaneously in both wares. There were, of course, certain special processes which we find only on one of the two species, but these will be described in detail in subsequent chapters.

The development of cream-colour took place more slowly than that of salt-glaze. Down to about 1750 the old method of lead glazing—by dusting the unfired clay article with finely powdered galena, and firing the body and glaze at one operation—was still persisted in. A slight refinement had been introduced by subjecting the lead ore to a preliminary roasting, or even by replacing it with such purer compounds as red or white lead. According to Simeon Shaw, it was a potter named Enoch Booth, of Tunstall, who adopted the method, long used in the manufacture of tin-enamelled wares, of first firing the ware at a high temperature, to what is known as the *biscuit* condition, and then dipping it in a fluid glaze consisting of a mixture of calcined lead ore and calcined flint, ground together, in water, to a perfect state of admixture. While it is impossible to overrate the importance of this step in the development of English cream-colour, it seems almost incredible that the Staffordshire potters should have been so long in acquiring a practice that had been in use in the Delft-ware factories at Lambeth for more than a century, while it had been practised by Continental potters much longer still.

This was the final improvement in the cream-colour body until Josiah Wedgwood and his contemporaries perfected it by the introduction of the china clay and china stone discovered by Cookworthy in Cornwall. About the same period (1775), or probably a little earlier, the simple glaze of white lead and flint was superseded by the more complicated glassy mixtures that had been introduced at the porcelain factories of Chelsea, Bow, Worcester, and Derby.

It may be advisable to point out here how the whole future course of the decorative treatment of earthenware was to be determined by two factors, both of which came into operation about 1750. The first was the establishment of the English porcelain works at Chelsea, Bow, Worcester, and Derby. The painted tin-enamelled ware was fast falling into disrepute; had it been otherwise, painted patterns of a similar character in under-glaze colours would probably have become an essential part of the cream-colour process. But the fashionable porcelain lent itself more readily to enamel, or on-glaze, decoration, and to be in the fashion the earthenware potters followed suit, and instead of decorating their wares by the older and more appropriate methods, adopted the method of enamelling, with results the reverse of satisfactory.

At about the same time, too, the application of printed patterns to the decoration of pottery was worked out in England. Whatever may be the case as regards porcelain,* the earthenware potters of Staffordshire owed their knowledge of this process to Sadler and Green, of Liverpool, who seem to have discovered it independently, and from about 1755 down to 1780, decorated enormous quantities of cream-colour earthenware, as well as Delft tiles, by transferring patterns, printed in black, red, and purple, to the surface of the fired glaze. At a later date the process of printing in under-glaze colours, at first confined only to blue, was introduced into the Staffordshire Potteries, apparently from the Caughley China Works, where it had been perfected, and this led to the enormous development of blue-printed earthenware from about 1790 to 1840.

A short account must be given of the various unglazed stonewares so largely produced in the Staffordshire potteries, and imitatively in other centres, during the eighteenth century. The first of these was the hard and fine red stoneware, made of local clays, which seems to have been introduced into the district by Elers. From the commencement of the eighteenth

* There seems to be little doubt that the early use of printed patterns on English porcelain, at Worcester and at Bow, originated from the process devised at the enamel works at York House, Battersea.

century to the present time this manufacture has continued, and though the ware is no longer called "Red Porcelaine"—and, indeed, is generally described simply as red ware or terra-cotta—it would be impossible to praise too highly the fine colour and texture of the body, and the perfection of the potting of many of the teapots, cream-jugs, and simple bowls made by the later eighteenth century potters, and especially by Josiah Wedgwood.

The fire-clay marls, underlying the coal measures, which crop out on the surface in many parts of the North Staffordshire district, furnish a material which, by careful washing and treatment, gives a stoneware body of exceedingly fine texture and of various shades, ranging from light cream to deep buff. These cane, buff, and piecrust bodies, as they are sometimes called, only made their appearance, on an extensive scale, about 1760; but in the hands of such potters as Wedgwood, Turner (of Lane End), Mayer, and many others, they were even more extensively used than the red stoneware.

The basalt or Egyptian black bodies also perfected in Staffordshire during the eighteenth century are, again, said to owe their inception to Elers. The black colour of the early varieties was obtained by adding finely ground oxide of manganese, or some native earth rich in manganese, to a strong, red-burning clay. The large amount of the metallic oxides thus introduced not only produces the black colour but renders the material so fusible that the result is a stoneware perfectly vitrified and of extreme hardness. The final improvement in the black body came with the introduction of the superior clays of the South of England, to form the basis of the body, the colour being then produced by the addition of calcined clay-ironstone, and oxide of manganese. The black bodies of perfect texture, and so hard as to be capable of receiving the finest polish on the lapidary's wheel, which are familiar to us in the wares of Wedgwood, Palmer, Turner, and Mayer, were produced in this way.

White or light cream stonewares, so fine in texture and so perfectly vitrified as closely to resemble unglazed Oriental porcelain, were also produced. Some of them, like the

creamy-tinted stoneware of Turner, were largely composed of local clays; but the whiter stonewares of Josiah Wedgwood were of a more complicated mixture, closely resembling true porcelain itself. So hard and vitreous were all these stoneware bodies that no glaze was needed to render them impervious, though it is quite common to find the insides of vessels intended for domestic use coated with a thin lining of a transparent glaze, such as was in ordinary use at the time. Occasionally we meet with specimens of these red, black or buff bodies that have been salt-glazed, but there does not appear to have been any regular manufacture of pieces of this class.

Most noteworthy, and most beautiful of all the fine dry stoneware bodies, were those invented by Josiah Wedgwood, to which he gave the name of "Jasper." Nothing quite like them in character and composition seems to have been independently arrived at by the potters of this or any other country. They are dense, hard, perfectly vitrified, and capable of incorporating the colouring oxides generally used by the potter so as to produce a variety of shades of blue, green, yellow, greyish-pink, and black. Like many other fine stonewares, they resemble true porcelain in being translucent in thin pieces, but they differ from porcelain absolutely in their texture and composition. The special ingredient to which they owe their distinctive qualities is barium sulphate, used in its mineral form as barytes, or "cawk." This substance, which when ground is a heavy white powder, goes through the ordeal of the fire partially undecomposed, and its shining white particles, though of minute dimensions, serve to reflect and enhance the colour produced by the combination of the oxides of cobalt, iron, and manganese with the other constituents of the body.

As this work is confined to the description of earthenware and stoneware, it would be beyond its scope to enter on the consideration of porcelain bodies here. The reader desirous of information on that branch of the potter's art will find it in the opening chapters of the companion volume descriptive of English porcelain.

CHAPTER III.

THE PEASANT POTTERY OF THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES.

As has already been noted in the introduction, throughout the Middle Ages, so far as we can judge by authentic examples, the pottery made in England was, broadly speaking, only such as would be used by the lower orders. A few pieces of somewhat exceptional merit have been met with, but they are probably the occasional show pieces made by the humble peasant potter as a peace offering, or a propitiatory token for his feudal or monastic overlord. It is not until Tudor times that we find anything like such refinement of form or such decorative skill as was common enough in other branches of handicraft; and, even then, the known pieces are too few to build any theory upon that would connect them with any definite place of origin, or with any potter whose name has by chance survived. There is a singularly fine pilgrim's bottle in the British Museum (B. 282), with the arms of England over a Tudor rose within the Garter, and other emblems, sharply moulded in fine relief, and covered with a light green glaze, which has attracted much attention from the excellence of its workmanship and the great contrast it affords, in ornament and manufacture, to the majority of contemporary pieces. The well-known stove tiles and bracket (British Museum collection, 278, 279, and 280), in somewhat similar style, may have been made by the same potter, but who this potter was we do not know. Mr. Ll. Jewitt stated long ago that, "according to Stowe, in 1570 Jasper Andries and Guy Janson, potters who had settled in Norwich in 1567, removed to London and petitioned Queen

Elizabeth to grant them house room in or without the liberties of London, by the water side."* Mr. M. L. Solon has a variant of the same story when he states † that "Gaspar Andries and Guy Janson (Continental potters who came over and settled in England) are known to have established in Norwich, in 1570, the manufacture of pottery after the fashion used in Flanders, and made a highly decorative ware which they called *les poteries gracieuses de la reine Elizabeth*." It is impossible to say what those potters actually produced, but it has been suggested that the few pieces mentioned above may be of their manufacture. Their strongly marked German style seems to lend support to such a view, though, it must be said, many competent authorities are of opinion that the stove tiles, at all events, were made in Germany.

Apart from a small number of exceptional pieces such as these, the pottery of England remained, down to the seventeenth century, practically indistinguishable from the common wares made all over the Continent. The pieces were fabricated of the ordinary clays, burning to various shades of buff, drab, brown, and red; the material was coarsely prepared, and capable, therefore, of receiving but little finish; the shapes were of the simplest, and such as were common in many countries during the early stages of the potter's art. It is impossible to draw any distinction, for instance, between the jugs, costrels or pilgrims' bottles, pipkins, pots and pans made by our countrymen, and those common elsewhere. The glaze, when it occurs at all, is the simple lead glaze obtained by dusting powdered lead ore over the clay vessel before firing. Attention may be drawn to the fact that on many pieces the glaze was coloured by the accidental or intentional addition of the simpler metallic oxides—oxide of iron, oxide of manganese, and oxide of copper. It is probable that the only one of these added of deliberate intent to the glaze, at all events on an extended scale, was oxide of copper, which gives a light yellowish green tint of a pleasing

* "Ceramic Art of Great Britain," Vol. I., p. 90.

† "Connoisseur," Vol. I., part 4, p. 248.

character, evidently appreciated even at this early period.* This very elementary kind of pottery seems to have been made throughout the country, though no doubt special conditions and materials may, here and there, have created a local type, the significance of which is now lost to us.

It was from these modest beginnings that the English potters of the seventeenth century gradually advanced. In the neighbourhood of London and the adjacent counties, their advance was undoubtedly accelerated by the coming of foreign workmen and the increasing importation of foreign wares; yet in the country districts, where new ideas penetrated but slowly, we also find a marked improvement in the shaping and decorating of the simple household utensils. It is in the seventeenth century, too, that we begin to find definite pottery centres to which we can refer, with reasonable certainty, existing specimens in public and private collections, so that in this chapter we may confine our attention to the successive steps by which the Englishman improved his native wares without borrowing from foreign sources. We have, therefore, to deal with the tygs, the posset-pots, the beer-mugs, the great circular dishes and similar articles used in the country cottages and farmsteads. These, though still primitive and rude in their fabrication and decoration, mark a decided advance on the goddets, the costrels, the cruskyms, and the pitchers of the Middle Ages.

The first changes, as we may expect, were simple enough, in all conscience. The same strongly coloured local clays, with little or no admixture of foreign substances, continued to be used, but greater care was taken with the preparation even of this common clay, and the finish and workmanship of the pieces decidedly improved. Very soon, too, we find the potters beginning to use those natural clays that burn to a light yellow or white colour, and so afford a decided contrast to the red brick-earth. These light-burning clays seem to

* Losely MSS., sixteenth century. "The Gentlemen of the Temple drank out of green earthen pots made from a white clay found in Farnham Park." Records of the Drapers' Company of London, 1552, describing the election feast:—"There were green pots of ale and wine with ashen cups before them." See "Chaffers' Marks and Monograms," 9th edition, pp. 41, 42.

have been precious substances to the peasant potter of the seventeenth century; hence they were generally used as decorative adjuncts only, and there are but few instances in which they have been employed to furnish the body of the piece. Lozenges or twisted bands of light-coloured clay might be used to brighten the sombre colour of the tyg, the posset-pot, or the dish formed in dark red clay. Occasionally, even, these light-coloured clays were used as a roughly clouded wash on the red body.*

The earliest examples that are known of the use of applied lozenges and twisted bands of whitish clay are certain tygs bearing incised or stamped dates from 1612 onwards. The earliest of these, and one of the best of them in shape and finish, is the tyg in the Mayer Collection at Liverpool, shown in Fig. 1, which bears the stamped date, 1612. Somewhat similar specimens are dated 1621, 1627, 1640, etc. The one here illustrated is worthy of particular attention, for not only is its manufacture remarkable as regards the preparation of the clay and the comparative thinness and the finish of the vessel, but the particular way in which the white-coloured clay is used is also noteworthy. In the looped handles attached to the tyg, which are made of the same red clay as the body of the vessel, a groove has been sunk, and in this groove is placed a very neatly applied cord of the white clay, which is thumbed down on to the body of the pot at the base of the handle, and is finished on the top of the handle by a carefully made knob, also of white clay. The cord is double above the first loop of the handle; two threads, one of white and one of red clay, being twisted together and then laid in the groove. The small applied lozenges have been stuck on as bits of moist clay, and have then been impressed with the date or an ornamental device, with a wooden or metal stamp, just as one might impress softened wax with a seal. Considering the use made

* The collections of the British Museum and the Guildhall Museum in London contain many specimens of bottles and flasks of various shapes, which show this elementary use of a slip-wash. Some of these pieces are, with the greatest probability, referred to the end of the sixteenth or the early part of the seventeenth century.

of stamps of various kinds by the pewterer, the leather-worker, and other craftsmen, it is singular that these stamped ornaments had not made their appearance on English pottery at an earlier date.

A considerable number of such pieces is known, and from the occurrence of similar twists of clay in the handles and of applied moulded ornaments in light-coloured clay on certain later pieces which bear the name "Wrotham," many collectors have not hesitated to ascribe these early pieces to the same place. Fig. 2 is one of these later pieces, and though it does not bear the inscription "Wrotham," its close resemblance to the pieces that do leaves little doubt as to its place of origin. If we are to attach any importance to the testimony of Simeon Shaw, and certainly many of his statements are most unreliable, we must definitely ascribe the simpler pieces, without slip decoration, like the tyg in Fig. 1, to the Staffordshire Potteries, as the following extract will show:—

"On Tuesday in Whitsun week, 1824, the late Mr. John Riley accompanied the author to inspect a curious and beautiful specimen of brown ware, *made* at the Green Head, Burslem, and in the family of Richard Keys almost a century. The vessel is a quart drink mug, of a cylindrical shape, rather wider, but not flanged, at the top, with a thin edge. This is, by the four handles, separated into four compartments, and four persons might use it, yet each drink from his own place.

"The four handles are double looped, and remarkably well *stouked* on; the outer surface has a deep groove, in which is laid a twisted band of the red and whitish clays; the bend of each has a button of whiter clay, and of this is also a hat-shaped ornament on the top of each upper loop near the brim; and under is a small hole for the rarefied air to escape, to prevent such being split while in the oven. Between the handles are ornaments, formed by either white clay slip, left to dry, and afterwards impressed with a carved stick or tool; or else stuck on with a stick and trimmed to its present form. These are in embossed squares, G. R. above a dog, 1642 above a deer, M. H. above a rosette, and a well-made fleur-de-lys over a seal of a face: and many drops of a white clay slip on the other parts."*

There can be no doubt that what Shaw describes was a piece of exactly the same type as those mentioned above and illustrated in Fig. 1, and if we may follow him in

* Simeon Shaw's "History of the Staffordshire Potteries," p. 106.



STAFFORDSHIRE (?).

FIG. 1.—TYG DATED 1612 (WITHOUT
SLIP DECORATION).

H. 8 in.



WROTHAM.

FIG. 2.—TYG DATED 1663 (SLIP
DECORATED).

H. 7 in.

ascribing pieces of this class to the Burslem potters, it merely strengthens the old traditions of the district that the Staffordshire Potteries was a centre of improvement at an earlier period than has generally been allowed.

Except for the rough clouding and mottling of some early drinking vessels already noted (*see* p. 23), this application of light-coloured clays in twisted rolls and stamped wafers is the first appearance of the decoration of clay with clay which, during the next hundred years, was to assume in the hands of our English country potters a character of its own, giving us a definite English ware differing from those of Continental countries.

As soon as our potters commenced to use clays of two or three different colours, other methods of applying them in a decidedly decorative way would suggest themselves. The accidental splashing of drops or spots of lighter clay would be quite sufficient to give a hint to a workman anxious to improve his wares. At all events, we find throughout the latter half of seventeenth century a very widespread use of what is known as "slip decoration." "Slip" is a term used by potters for the thick creamy fluid obtained when any clay is diffused in water, and, beginning with almost meaningless cloudings and splashes of a white, a buff, or a light red slip on a body of darker-coloured clay, we pass by insensible gradations to the elaborate slip-wares of Wrotham, the Staffordshire Potteries, and elsewhere. The mere fact that slip is a fluid form of clay would suggest the application of it by pouring, so that with all potters who have used slip decoration, from the Egyptians of the Ptolemaic period and the Romans themselves (who did marvellous work in this way), one common method of applying slip decoration has been in lines, bands, or spots, trailed out of a spouted vessel, or through quills of various sizes inserted in holes in the side of a vessel made for the purpose. Mr. Solon sketched long ago in his "Art of the Old English Potter" the kind of vessel used at the time we are speaking of, from which, by closing an orifice with the thumb, the slip could be delivered drop by drop, or, by using quills of different bore, lines of varying thickness could be drawn or trailed at the

potter's fancy. There is something singularly appropriate in this method of decorating clay with clay, and though the slip-decorated wares of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries never reached any high standard of refinement, they were so perfectly harmonious,—the process, the workmanship, and the ornament so absolutely in keeping,—while the completed effect was so rich in tone of colour,—that we must accord them a distinct place among the multifarious productions of the potter's art throughout the ages.

Other methods of using clay-slip would also suggest themselves from constant practice in the process. Even in the latter part of the sixteenth century very rough cloudings of light-coloured slip on a darker body had been used for the decoration of costrels and vessels of that class, and by the end of the seventeenth and the commencement of the eighteenth centuries these simple and aimless cloudings took a more artful and definite form. Light-coloured slips of two or more shades, say buff and brown, or buff and light red, would be worked singly or together over the surface of a plate, a dish or a tyg, while it remained in a fairly moist condition, by a many-toothed comb of wire, leather, or horn, exactly after the manner in which graining is done by a house-painter. This process may be described as the most elementary form of combing or marbling, and many pieces are extant which prove the extreme skill attained by the peasant potter in this method of working. Flat objects, such as plates and dishes, were comparatively easy to decorate in this way, but the well-known "Owl jugs," a fine collection of which is displayed in the British Museum, show how the more ambitious workman overcame the technical difficulties of applying the process to objects modelled in the round. Fig. 3 will explain, more clearly than words can, the effect that was obtained in the most highly finished examples. Such elaborate pieces as this were made in Staffordshire in the early years of the eighteenth century.

A third use of slip must also be mentioned. In this case the whole piece, formed in a red or other dark-coloured clay, was either dipped into a bath of lighter-coloured slip, or



STAFFORDSHIRE.

FIG. 3.—OWL JUG. COMBED OR
MARBLED WARE.

H. 8½ in.

British Museum.

the slip was brushed over it in layers until it had acquired a sufficient thickness. When the piece with its slip coating had dried sufficiently, some ornamental tracery in lines or spots was scratched through the light-coloured face down to the darker ground beneath. Such a piece, when fired and glazed, presented a dark pattern upon a light ground. This process had long previously been practised, to a considerable extent, in Italy and in Spain; indeed, it is commonly called "Graffiato," from its Italian name. It has been suggested that it was first practised here in imitation of such foreign pieces, but the process is so simple that it may just as well have originated independently among us. The mere accident of spilling some slip over a plate of dark-coloured clay would be quite sufficient to suggest the method to an intelligent workman.

Having thus described the processes which we know to have been in extensive use during the latter half of the seventeenth century, we must state briefly what is known as to the places where such processes were in use, and of the potters who used them. It should not be forgotten, however, that the processes described have never gone out of use, and that slip-decorated wares of the same elementary kinds are still being made in many parts of the British Isles.

WROTHAM, KENT.

Wrotham is a small village lying between Sevenoaks and Maidstone. It has been generally assumed that the earliest pieces of slip-decorated ware should be referred to this centre, and, indeed, it has been suggested that the manufacture may have originated there by the settlement of some foreign potter. A Dutch potter is known to have worked in Sandwich as early as 1582, and is said to have carried on the same process. The identification of Wrotham pieces has been rendered easier by the fact that on many of them the name "Wrotham" occurs in slip letters round the neck of the piece, or introduced among the other ornamental features (*see* Fig. 4). In examining this piece, the first thing that strikes one is the profusion of ornament. Pads or lozenges of clay, stamped with various devices such as fleurs-de-lys, rosettes, rude masks, coats-of-arms,

and initials are dotted all over the body of the piece. Down the handles run applied strips of white clay, and lines and drops of slip are used as if to connect these and the lozenges to the body itself; just as some coarse stitchery might have been employed had the process been one of sewing medals or gold cord on a garment. This particular piece shows the elaboration common at Wrotham, and, as if to support the idea of foreign influence, the coat-of-arms on one of the lozenges is that of the city of Amsterdam. On the other hand, this may have arisen just as readily from the fact that the ornaments are pretty obviously imitated from those used in the decoration of some of the commoner stoneware vessels which, as we have said, were so largely imported from Cologne. The exact date of the Wrotham pottery is by no means settled, nor have we any potters' names, except that of one, Jull. The earliest piece described bearing the name "Wrotham" is a tyg dated 1659, though a posset-pot inscribed with the initials T. J. and the date 1654, which is traditionally supposed to have been the work of this Thomas Jull, and is still in the possession of one of his descendants, would carry us a few years further back. A number of pieces bearing earlier dates are ascribed to Wrotham because they are decorated mainly with dots of slip and with the twisted bands of clay in a groove in the handle. The evidence of the dots of slip is by no means conclusive, as, although they were seldom used by the Tofts, they were largely used by other Staffordshire potters at a somewhat later date. As to the twisted cords of clay in the handle (*see* Figs. 1, 2, and 4), it will be seen that these were perfectly described by Shaw in his account of a piece which, he says, was made at Burslem, and which bore the date 1642. It seems reasonable to conclude that the simpler tygs, without slip-decoration, like that shown in Fig. 1, were made in Staffordshire, while the more elaborate ones, with the dots on the edges of the lozenges of clay like Fig. 2, were made at Wrotham.

There is ample evidence that slip-decorated wares continued to be made at Wrotham down to 1710, for, in addition to many pieces dated variously 1663, 1675, 1687, 1699, 1703 and



WROTHAM.

FIG. 4.- SLIP-WARE TYG WITH REMAINS OF INSCRIPTION,

"WROTH . . . N . . . M"

H. 9 in.

1704, all bearing the inscription "Wrotham," there is in the Victoria and Albert Museum a posset-pot (formerly G. 19 of Jermyn Street Museum) with the date 1710, which has all the characteristics found in the undoubted Wrotham pieces. These pieces comprise many drinking vessels, in the form of tygs, posset-pots, or jugs, while some interesting candlesticks are also attributed to Wrotham. The tygs and posset-pots have the usual looped handles, varying in number from four to six. The body of the ware is generally of a rich red colour, and the slip is almost invariably yellow or buff coloured. We have already referred to the profusion of ornamental devices stamped on the Wrotham ware; and applied masks and faces, rudely enough moulded, also occur, though they are rarely found on other wares of the period. Apparently these Kentish potters inspired themselves from contemporary work in other arts. In some pieces one feels the influence of the silversmith, while others are just as strongly reminiscent of appliqué embroidery. In the Hanley Museum there is an elaborately decorated jug, dated 1693, and doubtfully attributed to Wrotham,* in which this embroidery feeling is strongly manifest. The "Graffiato" process of decoration was also used, as a few dishes are known, decorated in this way, which bear the inscription "Wrotham."

METROPOLITAN SLIP WARE.

The late Sir A. W. Franks was the first to propose this name for certain specimens of slip ware which were found almost exclusively in and about London. Such pieces are generally in the form of cups, mugs, and jugs, and are usually smaller than the Wrotham pieces. The body is darker in colour; in fact, in many of the pieces it almost approaches a brownish black. Such ornamental devices as occur are of the simplest character, comprising little more than wavy bands or lines of slip with an occasional fleur-de-lys. Almost every piece bears, however, an inscription in slip, and the cursive lettering is quite distinctive in style, and differs from other

* This jug is figured in the small edition of Mr. Solon's "Art of the Old English Potter," Fig. 25, p. 84.

slip-lettering both in its character and in the thinness of the slip. The earliest dated piece appears to be a jug which was formerly in the Brent collection, inscribed "Be not hy-minded but feare God. 1638." Another jug, dug up in some excavations near Bishopsgate Street, is now in the Guildhall Museum, London. It bears the inscription, "The gift is small: Goodwill is all. 1650." Fig. 5 is taken from a specimen in the British Museum, bearing the inscription, "When this you see, remember me. Obeay God's Wourd." It may be remarked in passing that the inscriptions on these Metropolitan slip pieces have almost invariably a pious twang which seems to bespeak the Puritan.

STAFFORDSHIRE.

The most important centre of the English slip-decorated pottery, during the latter part of the seventeenth and the earlier part of the eighteenth century, was undoubtedly the district of North Staffordshire, now known as "The Potteries." Every collector is familiar with the large deep dishes (*see* Plate II.), having wide borders decorated with elaborate trellis patterns in white slip, the centre being filled with uncouth renderings of royal personages, cavaliers and ladies, heraldic beasts, or broadly treated floral devices; and the quaintly decorated cups, jugs, tygs, posset-pots, and toy cradles, generally bearing inscriptions in raised slip letters, which can be traced to various primitive potters of this region. The majority of these pieces, especially the dishes, bear, in broad slip letters, names generally supposed to be those of their makers, and from the frequency with which the name Toft occurs, the appellation "Toft ware" has been rather foolishly applied to the whole group of slip-decorated pottery. The Tofts are a well-known old family in the Potteries, and the name is by no means uncommon among the working potters of the present day; indeed, the late Charles Toft, who traced his descent from one of those very Tofts of the seventeenth century, deserves to be remembered as one of the most accomplished working potters of the latter half of the nineteenth century. Thomas Toft, apparently the first of the family who boldly



METROPOLITAN.

FIG. 5.—SLIP-WARE JUG WITH INSCRIPTION,
“WHEN THIS YOU SEE, REMEMBER
ME. OBEAY GOD’S WOURD.”

H. $6\frac{1}{2}$ in.

British Museum.

wrote his name on his rudely decorative productions, is the one of whom we have the most information, though that is little enough. Mr. Solon mentions a slip dish, seen in a cottage at Hanley, with this inscription scratched in the back, "Thomas Toft, Tinkers' Clough,—I made it, 166—." Tinkers' Clough was in those days a little ravine running down to the west from where Hanley now stands. The name still survives, though the ravine is almost filled up with heaps of coal-pit refuse. Shaw, the historian of the Staffordshire Potteries, attributes to Thomas Toft the introduction of aluminous shale or firebrick clay,* by which probably he meant to imply that Toft had discovered the possibility of obtaining a yellow-burning slip from the weathered fire-clay underlying the coal-measures, which, in Tinkers' Clough, as in many other spots in North Staffordshire, cropped out on the surface. The name of Ralph Toft also occurs on dishes of the same style; one of these in the Salford Museum, with comically drawn figures of a cavalier and an exceedingly slim-waisted lady, bears, in addition to the name, the date 1676. Besides the names of the two Tofts, we find on similar dishes or other vessels the names of Thomas Sans, William Sans, Ralph Simson, William Talor, George Talor, Ralph Turner, T. Johnson, and Joseph Glass.

The work of Joseph Glass is deserving of a little attention, for many of his pieces, particularly his cups and posset-pots, display a much greater refinement in manufacture and in the decorative use of slip than the ruder work of the Tofts and others. He seems to have been at work in Hanley into the eighteenth century, as there is a cradle in Mr. Griffiths' collection with the inscription, "Joseph Glass, 1703." † The lettering on his pieces is of better character than that of most of the other slip potters, and its effect has been further improved by a device—not, however, confined to him—of tracing the letters first in dark brown slip, which was then brightened

* Shaw. "Chemistry of Pottery," p. 417.

† Miss Meteyard printed a note of Josiah Wedgwood's as to the potters working in Hanley in the beginning of the eighteenth century, and the first of the seven potters mentioned is Joseph Glass, "making a sort of dishes, painted with different coloured slips and sold at 3s. and 3s. 6d. per dozen."—Meteyard's "Life of Josiah Wedgwood," Vol. I., p. 192.

by decorating each letter, as it were, with very neatly applied drops of white slip, the whole being kept low in relief.

Besides the manufacture of miniature cradles in slip ware, which seems to have been confined to the Staffordshire district, we must mention another unusual application of the process. Many tombstones were erected in the older churchyards of the district, such as those of Burslem or Wolstanton, with an inscription in slip-lettering. In the same way, some of the old buildings in Burslem bore, down to recent times, slabs or tiles built into their fronts, with dates and initials also in slip.*

DERBYSHIRE SLIP WARES.

There can be no doubt that slip-decorated pottery, very similar in character to that produced in Kent and in Staffordshire, was also made in Derbyshire during the same period.

Pottery is known to have been made at an early date at three centres, at Tickenhall, Cockpit Hill (Derby), and Bolsover, arranging them in the order of their date; but in spite of careful researches, we have little reliable information as to the special slip wares made at any of them.

The first of these places, Tickenhall, situated a few miles south of Derby, and on the fringe of a district in which potteries still abound, must have been the site of many factories, as the waste heaps of the various works occur over a district more than two miles in length. There is historical evidence that as early as 1650 Tickenhall was an important centre for the supply of rough utensils, not only to its own immediate neighbourhood but throughout the eastern counties.† Even its slip-decorated wares were decidedly rude in character, and compare unfavourably with those produced elsewhere. Some writers have claimed for Tickenhall the dishes with raised outlines forming boundary walls for the slip, but such attribution is almost out of the question. A few large dishes are known, such as D. 46 of the British Museum collection, which seem

* See Meteyard's "Life of Josiah Wedgwood," Vol. I., pp. 118-124.

† Jewitt's "Ceramic Art of Great Britain," Vol. II., p. 151, quoting Philip Kinder's "Notes towards a History of Derbyshire" preserved in the Bodleian Library.

PLATE II.

THOMAS TOFT.

Slip Dish: "The Pelican in her Piety."

Diam. 17 in.

British Museum.



THOMAS TOFT

more likely to be from Tickenhall. These have been decorated by the "Graffiato" process, but the white slip, probably from imperfect agreement with the red body, has almost entirely peeled off, leaving only the lines and dots showing in the red clay.

It has become the custom among collectors to attribute to the Cockpit Hill pottery in Derby certain dishes of a type somewhat different from those already described as proceeding from Staffordshire. One of these, from the collection in the British Museum, is shown in Fig. 6. While the trellis border is not unlike that of the ordinary Staffordshire dish, the whole decorative scheme is different, the general colour effect being much lighter and the ornamental devices better considered and arranged, so that there is good reason for separating such productions from the rougher pieces of the Toft school.

The pieces of this group differ from the Toft dishes in another important particular. The slip dishes were always shaped on a convex form or mould, the dish being made face downwards. Those of the Toft type were made on plain moulds, but the dishes now under consideration must have been made on moulds which had the outlines of the patterns already sunk in them, so that when the dish was sufficiently dry and hard to bear removal from the mould, the outline of the pattern stood up on it in slight relief. Such outlines would form boundary walls for the slip, controlling its flow and rendering its application more easy and certain, so that in some respects the process marked a decided advance in slip decoration.* The attention of connoisseurs and collectors may be drawn to the fact that in the Victoria and Albert Museum there is a saucer mould of the kind used for making such pieces which bears the inscription "Thomas Wedgwood,"† and probably belonged to one of the Staffordshire Wedgwoods. An inspection of it will explain at a glance the rationale of this particular process. Besides its value in connection with these dishes,

* It is just possible that the process may have been founded on the methods by which some of the mediæval tiles were made.

† This mould was formerly in the Jermyn Street collection, where it was numbered G. 220. It came from Enoch Wood's collection.

it is even more valuable from the light it throws on the fabrication of such pieces as a posset-pot and piggin, also in the Victoria and Albert Museum, in which the running of slip into definite bands between slightly raised boundaries has been combined with carefully executed combing.*

The main ground on which these fine dishes are attributed to Cockpit Hill is the occurrence on some of them of the initials S. M., supposed to stand for Samuel Meir.† Such attributions must be received with caution, for even if S. M. did stand for Samuel Meir, the name Meir is an old family name in the Staffordshire Potteries, and he may just as well have been a Staffordshire as a Derby potter. The evidence of initials can be worth very little, but on other pieces made in the same way we find the initials R. S., which might on the same ground be claimed as those of Richard Simpson, of Burslem, described in Josiah Wedgwood's list as making "Red Dishes, etc." Mr. Boynton has also a fine dish of this class with the initials S. S. in front, while there is scratched on the back "STEPHEN SHAW, 1725." There were several families of Shaws working in Burslem in the first half of the eighteenth century, so that we may probably attribute this particular piece to one of them. The mould just described may be taken as practical proof that the method of raising outlines by means of a carved mould was, at all events, practised by the Burslem potters.

One more readily agrees with the attribution to Cockpit Hill of the later and less elaborate pieces, decorated with simple scroll borders and with the figure of a cock in the centre traced in slip, like the dish in the Liverpool Museum, which bears the inscription "W. W., 1749." Many dishes of this type are known with dates ranging from about 1740 to 1780. The Cockpit Hill factory appears to have been closed in 1780 (*see* p. 178).

With regard to the factory at Bolsover, we have singularly little information. Tradition, however, informs us that during

* The posset-pot and piggin here described are figured in Professor Church's "Handbook of English Earthenware," Figs. 21, 22.

† Jewitt states that the Meirs were potters in Derby for more than one generation. A John Meir was working here in 1708 and 1721. *See* "Ceramic Art of Great Britain," Vol. II., p. 56.



FIG. 6.—SLIP-DECORATED DISH WITH RAISED
OUTLINES. INSCRIBED "S. M."

Dia. 17 in.

British Museum.

the eighteenth century there was in the town a works in which common pottery, some of it decorated with slip by the trailing of slip patterns and by the "Graffiato" method, was made; and in some excavations made near the market-place of Bolsover in 1894 a number of fragments of such wares were disinterred. These fragments are now dispersed among the British Museum and the museums at Nottingham and Derby. A few authentic specimens of Bolsover ware are also said to be in the hands of local collectors.*

MISCELLANEOUS.

There is hardly a county in England in which we do not find traces of the existence of works producing simple slip-decorated pottery. In the majority of cases, such factories were ultimately given up owing to the general improvements in the potter's art in the more important centres. Some few of them have survived to our own day, while by the fostering care of such bodies as the Home Arts and Industries Association, many a local peasant industry showing hardly any advance in technique over the simple slip wares of the late seventeenth century has been revived, or actually brought into being in the later years of the nineteenth century.

One of the most interesting of the little-known factories which have escaped general notice was at work in Liverpool in the early part of the eighteenth century. As will be shown in subsequent chapters of this work, Liverpool was an important seat of pottery manufacture during this period, and though its potters were mainly concerned in the production, first of "Delft" ware, and then of cream-coloured earthenware and a little porcelain, some of them appear to have made slip-decorated wares also.

There is preserved in the Liverpool Museum a large double-handled posset-pot with cover (*see* Fig. 7) of exceptional character; the richness of its decoration and the quality of the workmanship alike point to its being of later date than the productions of Wrotham, or those of the Toft school; while the colours of the body and the slip are also different.

* *See* Downman's "English Pottery and Porcelain," pp. 13-15.

The body of the piece is a fairly bright, buff-coloured clay, the outlines of the decoration have been traced in dark brown, and then the leaves, etc., have been filled in with a curious grey slip which is almost unknown elsewhere. This piece is said to have been made by a potter named Page, who had a little works in that hive of Liverpool potteries known as Shaw's Brow (the modern William Brown Street). It had been preserved by his descendants until it was acquired by the Museum, so that its pedigree is fairly well established. A double-handled posset-pot, of somewhat smaller size and without a cover, but of exactly similar character both in materials and technique, is in the Salford Museum, and a few other less important pieces are known to be in the hands of private collectors. It is possible that in thus directing the attention of collectors to a factory that has been all but overlooked, one may promote the discovery of other specimens of the same kind.

Other isolated factories of which we have but little and uncertain information were those at Fareham, Hants; Donyat, Somersetshire; and Pencoed in Monmouthshire. In several districts of Cheshire, Yorkshire, Westmorland, and Devonshire we find evidences of the production of similar wares, though possibly they are none of them earlier than the middle of the eighteenth century.

We may conclude this chapter by drawing attention to the almost universal appearance of lettering on the slip-wares of every factory and every period. The flowing line of the slip, as it came from the quill orifice, almost invited the potter to trace words or sentences on his pieces, so that wherever slip-decoration was used in England, letters, dates, and inscriptions are a constant feature of the ware. Sometimes we have the place of origin boldly traced, a characteristic feature of the Wrotham wares; or the name of the maker, as in the well-known Staffordshire pieces which perpetuate the Tofts, the Simpsons, the Talors, and Joseph Glass. Occasionally the initials or the inscription suggest the person for whom the piece was made, as in the well-known dishes or cups inscribed "MARGERE NASH," "MARY PERKINS," "ANN



LIVERPOOL.

FIG. 7.—SLIP-WARE TWO-HANDLED POSSET-POT
WITH COVER.

H., with cover, $12\frac{1}{2}$ in. Dia. $9\frac{1}{2}$ in.
Liverpool Museum.

DRAPER," etc. More commonly, however, this slip lettering takes the form of some pious or humorous sentence or verse. On the Metropolitan slip-wares already alluded to, the inscriptions are of a sententious, not to say pious, character; but the ordinary run of slip-inscriptions betray either the rude philosophy of the writers, or their love of good cheer.

On the cup, already mentioned, bearing the name of Ann Draper (B. M., D. 63), the full inscription reads "ANN DRAPER THIS CUP I MADE FOR YOU AND SO NO MORE. I. W. 1707." The inscription on a slip-dish, also in the British Museum:

"KEEP WITHIN CUMPAS AND YOU SHALL BE SURE

TO AVOID MANY TROUBLES WHICH OTHERS INDURE,"

and the following inscriptions on jugs or drinking-cups, speak most eloquently of the customs and feeling of the time:

"HERE YOU MAY SEE WHAT I REQUEST

OF HANST GENTLEMEN

MY BALLY FILED OF THE BAST

I COM BUT NOW AND THEN. 1716,"

"FILL ME FULL DRINK OF ME WHILE YOU WOULL," "THE BEST IS NOT TOO GOOD." It is unnecessary to pursue this subject further here, not only because it would lead us too far from our true path, but also because it has been so perfectly treated by previous writers.*

In concluding this account of a very distinctive branch of English earthenware, it seems necessary to mention that, while the materials and the methods were of a character absolutely befitting the rude and homely ways of their peasant potters—if we are content to judge them from their own standpoint as unpretentious work done for humble folk—it is impossible not to feel that they possess the essential quality of "filling their place" perfectly. Such simplicity, not to say crudity, seems singularly out of place in the twentieth century in England, though even now their manly and robust style, with the mellow harmony of their rich and sober colouring, puts many a more elaborate and pretentious species of pottery to the blush.

* See especially "Examples of Early English Pottery Named, Dated, and Inscribed," by J. E. Hodgkin and E. Hodgkin; and also, Solon's "Art of the Old English Potter."

CHAPTER IV.

JOHN DWIGHT AND THE EARLY ENGLISH STONEWARES.

HAVING treated in the last chapter of what may be described as the purely national movement in English pottery, we must enter upon the consideration of the pottery made in direct imitation of foreign wares. So far as we can ascertain, the first pottery of any kind that was largely imported into England was the stoneware of the German Rhineland. These vessels, with their strongly marked Teutonic feeling, were so absolutely in keeping with English taste that we can readily understand how, during the Tudor period, an increasing demand for them sprang up among the wealthy trading classes of London and the Eastern seaports. Soon, too, we find petitions presented to the Sovereign, praying for the monopoly in the importation of such goods. We have the petition of William Simpson to Queen Elizabeth; the petition granted to Thomas Rous and Abraham Cullyn (the latter name strongly reminiscent of Köln) in 1626, and the petition granted to David Ramsey and others in 1635. Of course, each of these petitioners for a monopoly or a patent claimed to be in possession of the secret of making wares identical with those imported from abroad; but there is nothing to show that the petitions were really more than attempts on the part of shrewd merchants to secure a trading monopoly. While we have no direct evidence of any works being established in consequence of these patents, there is a vague tradition that the manufacture of stoneware of a very similar character to that made in Germany was conducted in some of the outlying districts of London, probably adjacent to the water-side, early in the seventeenth century. It is at all events possible that some of the jugs with well-rounded bellies and plain



JOHN DWIGHT.

FIG. 8.—“JUPITER.”

H. 12 in.

Liverpool Museum.

wide necks, or those with globular bodies and narrow necks, often bearing in front applied pads of clay with moulded ornaments, frequently in the shape of a mask or face after the style of the German Bellarmine, were made here. Many vessels of this kind are mounted with bands and lids of English silver and pewter bearing hall-marks, which range between 1560 and 1610. The date of the mount goes for nothing, except as presumptive evidence that the piece with which it is connected dates roughly from a certain year. It was natural that the hall-marks should be English, for the English silver and pewter work of the period was of high repute, and we know that many German stoneware jugs were mounted in England in this way; but some of the jugs in question differ both in shape and in the mottling of the glaze from foreign types, and, without straining the point too far, we may fairly decide in favour of an English origin for quite a respectable number of the pieces in question. In further support of this view, we may mention the fact that the potters of the stoneware-making districts in Germany and Flanders were perfectly well aware that England possessed all the materials requisite for their manufacture, as we have abundant evidence that they imported from England clays for making some of the finest of their wares. Thus it would not be surprising to find that some of them should settle near such a splendid market as London must have been.

We reach absolutely safe ground, however, in 1671,* when the famous potter, John Dwight of Fulham, obtained his first patent on the ground that he had discovered "the mystery of transparent earthenware commonly knowne by the names of porcelaine or China and Persian ware, as alsoe the misterie of the stoneware vulgarly called Cologne ware; and that he designed to introduce a manufacture of the said wares into our kingdom of England where they have not hitherto been wrought or made." A literal acceptance of the last sentence would dispose of the possibility of any manufacture of stoneware in our country before this date, except

* The patent was renewed for a further term in 1684. The full text is given in Jewitt's "Ceramic Art of Great Britain," Vol. I., pp. 118-123.

such as Dwight must himself have made in anticipation of his patent; but in all the patents previously mentioned, exactly the same sentence occurs, and it is amusing to find these four patents, within about a century, all granted, and each one calmly ignoring all that had preceded it.

Though everything goes to show that Dwight never solved what he calls "the mystery of porcelain or china," there is overwhelming evidence that he solved "the mystery of Cologne ware," and, indeed, that in his materials and methods, he went far beyond his German predecessors. Confining ourselves for the moment to the commoner kinds of stoneware vessels so largely imported for use, as ale and wine jugs, in the tavern as well as in the household, he must have succeeded within a very few years in putting a first-rate article on the London market. For Dr. Plot, in his history of Oxfordshire, published in 1677, says—

"Let it suffice for things of this nature, that the ingenious John Dwight, formerly M.A. of Christ Church College, Oxon, hath discovered the mystery of the stone or Cologne wares (such as d'Alva bottles, jugs, noggins) heretofore made only in Germany, and by the Dutch brought over to England in great quantities; and hath set up a manufacture of the same, which (by methods and contrivances of his own altogether unlike those used by the Germans) in three or four years hath he brought it to greater perfection than it has attained where it has been used for many ages, insomuch as the Company of Glass Sellers of London, who are the dealers for that commodity, have contracted with the inventor to buy only of his English manufacture and refuse the foreign."

It is indeed remarkable that so early as 1676, when these words were written, Dwight should have obtained so much success in his manufacture if it only originated in 1671, the year of his first patent. In spite of a considerable amount of research, however, the real facts of Dwight's career, and particularly of his history as a potter, remain obscure. He was evidently a gentleman by birth and education, for, as we have seen, he was M.A. of Christ Church, Oxford, and he is known to have been on friendly terms with such men as Dr. Plot, the learned keeper of the Ashmolean Museum (whose words we have just quoted), with Elias Ashmole, the founder of the Ashmolean Museum, and with John Houghton,



JOHN DWIGHT.

FIG. 9.—PORTRAIT BUST OF A LADY
(SUPPOSED TO BE MRS.
PEPYS).

H. 7 in.

British Museum.

F.R.S., who published a series of "Papers on Husbandry and Trade," in which Dwight's experiments are likewise referred to. How Dwight came to turn his attention to the manufacture of pottery and the search for porcelain is absolutely unknown, for, in the year 1661, when he proceeded to his degree of B.C.L. he appears to have been appointed private secretary or registrar to Brian Walton, the first Bishop of Chester after the Restoration. There were three Bishops of Chester between 1660 and 1668, viz: Brian Walton, Henry Fern, and George Hall, and it is believed that Dwight occupied this post under all three. His movements during this period, and, indeed, for some years afterwards, are by no means clear. Professor Church, who has examined Dwight's note-books with his usual care, suggests that Dwight was living in Chester during 1683, in Wigan during 1687-89, and that the first recorded date connecting him with Fulham is 1692. It must be pointed out, however, that Dwight's application for a patent in 1671; the existence of a recumbent effigy of Lydia Dwight (which is inscribed on the back, "Lydia Dwight, died March 3rd, 1673"); and Dr. Plot's statement, already quoted, as to Dwight having so early as 1676 secured the most important trade in London, are hardly compatible with the idea that at this very time he was living in Chester or in Wigan, far removed from the scene of these operations. Are we to suppose that during those years he merely financed the works and conducted it from a distance, leaving it in the hands of experienced workmen? Such a belief would open the door to a suspicion one would be loth to entertain, that at first his stonewares were probably made by German workmen, who brought the processes from their own country, and that not until Dwight settled in Fulham, some time after 1687, was he personally concerned in the researches described in his existing manuscript note-books, which range from 1689 to 1698. We prefer to retain the opinion generally held, that Dwight, at Oxford, from about 1655 to 1661, imbibed a taste for natural science from association with such men as Ashmole, Plot, Houghton, and others, who were deeply interested in the

natural science of their day; that some chance or other turned his attention to the congenial pursuit of the mysteries of China and Cologne ware, and after the death of the last of his patrons in the Bishopric of Chester, probably determined the bent of his life.

Dwight's fame as a potter does not merely rest on his successful production of stonewares similar to those imported from abroad. Fortunately, a series of important busts and figures were preserved in the hands of his descendants at Fulham until 1862, when they passed into the hands of Mr. Baylis, of Prior's Bank.* The collection was afterwards purchased by Mr. C. W. Reynolds, so that it is frequently referred to as the Reynolds' collection. It was dispersed in 1871, after his death, and a considerable number of the pieces are now in the British Museum and the Victoria and Albert Museum, while one of the best of the smaller statuettes is in the Liverpool Museum (*see* Fig. 8). The body or paste in which these statues was formed, presents at least three distinct varieties, probably indicating different stages in Dwight's experimental work. In some of these, such as the Flora (F. 8) and the Sportsman (F. 12) of the British Museum, the ware is beautifully white, fairly translucent in the thinnest parts, such as the sharp folds of the drapery, and though absolutely vitreous is almost devoid of glaze. Some others, such as the portrait bust of a lady, said to be Mrs. Pepys (Fig. 9), and the statuette of James II. in the Victoria and Albert Museum, are of somewhat similar body, but are covered with a fairly thick salt-glaze. The recumbent effigy of Lydia Dwight in the South Kensington Museum (*see* Fig. 10), is about mid-way between the two kinds in its glaze. The noble bust of Prince Rupert, the largest and in some respects the finest of Dwight's productions that has come down to us, is decidedly warmer in tone than the other pieces mentioned; and finally there was a remarkable group of mythological figures, Jupiter (Fig. 8), Saturn, Mars, and Meleager, which have received a thin wash of ferruginous clay, so as to produce the effect of a fine bronze.

* *See* "Art Journal," October, 1862.



JOHN DWIGHT.

FIG. 10.—RECUMBENT EFFIGY OF LYDIA DWIGHT,
INSCRIBED ON BACK "LYDIA DWIGHT,
DIED MARCH 3RD, 1673."

L. 10 in. W. $7\frac{7}{8}$ in.

Victoria and Albert Museum.

In all technical qualities these pieces are triumphs of the potter's art. Several of the pieces may be slightly distorted and sunk out of shape by the tremendous heat to which they were exposed in firing, but never to such an extent as would detract from their merits. It is still more remarkable to find a series of figures displaying such finished modelling, perfect proportion, and breadth of treatment. Finer artistic work than this, in clay, has never been produced in this country, and the knowledge, taste, and skill shown in their production fully entitle Dwight to be reckoned among the great potters of Europe. The artistic excellence of these pieces raises a question as to who modelled them. Mr. Solon has justly pointed out that it was the custom throughout Europe at this time for the master potter himself to perform the most delicate and difficult parts of his handicraft, and that Dwight, by calling in any modeller to help him, would have departed from the custom of the trade. Dwight was by no means the common potter of his times, but we may safely say that whoever modelled the recumbent effigy of Lydia Dwight was quite capable of modelling any of the other pieces; and certainly it is difficult to resist the feeling that "in this beautiful and touching memorial of a beloved child, we trace the loving care of the bereaved father, in the reproduction of the features and the minute perfection with which the accessories, such as flowers and lace, are treated."* There is no contemporary modeller or sculptor to whom one would instinctively refer work such as this,† so that, in default of any documentary evidence, we are almost driven to the conclusion that Dwight was a refined and distinguished artist as well as an ingenious experimenter and a skilful potter. It should be remarked that these statues and busts are by no means of equal merit. The Prince Rupert, which has been so often illustrated, is a noble and dignified piece of portrait modelling. The piece is of beautiful texture

* Solon's "Art of the Old English Potter," p. 19.

† It has been suggested that Grinling Gibbons may have carved some of the models for Dwight, but there is little similarity in the styles to make such a theory tenable. The figures such as the Flora and the Sportsman alluded to above might conceivably be the work of Cibber the sculptor (1630-1700).

and fine colour, while the gilding on the regalia has been introduced with fine discrimination. The Jupiter, of the Liverpool Museum (*see* Fig. 8), and the nude Meleager, of the British Museum, are also worthy of the highest praise; the Mars of the same group is by no means so good; the Saturn unfortunately perished in the Alexandra Palace fire, along with so many other ceramic treasures. The portrait bust of a lady, supposed to be Mrs. Pepys, and the bust of James II. are also treated with breadth and dignity; but figures such as the Flora and the Sportsman, now in the British Museum, are in an entirely different style, being more timid in their handling, more modern in feeling, and displaying less breadth of treatment.*

We have already referred to two manuscript note-books containing memoranda of Dwight's experiments, etc., in his own handwriting. These were found by Lady Charlotte Schreiber in 1869, during a visit to the works that still occupy the site of Dwight's factory. The original note-books have been lost sight of, but a manuscript copy made by Lady Charlotte Schreiber is in the British Museum.† From these note-books we learn that besides making such wares as those already described, Dwight also produced "a mouse-colored porcelaine with white specks," "a deep red porcelaine or china clay," and "a blew porcelain cley." At this date there was no knowledge in Europe as to the real nature of Chinese porcelain, and Dwight throughout his note-book uses the name in a general way, to describe any pottery differing from the ordinary earthenwares of the times. Fortunately we have, in the British Museum collection, an undoubted specimen of his "mouse-colored porcelaine with white specks," in the shape of a well-made stoneware jug (Fig. 11), the general colour of which could not be better described than by the term "mouse colour." As will be seen from the illustration, this jug has two broad bands, one at the base of the handle and the other round the belly of the

* Mr. Hobson has illustrated many of these fine busts and statuettes in his catalogue, and Mr. Solon etched the recumbent Lydia Dwight and the nude Meleager for his second edition of the "Art of the Old English Potter."

† Certain random extracts from these books will also be found in Chaffers. Ninth edition, pp. 870, 871.



JOHN DWIGHT.

FIG. 11.—STONEWARE JUG IN MOUSE-COLOURED BODY ;
MARBLED BANDS AND WHITE RELIEFS.

H. $7\frac{1}{2}$ in.

British Museum.



FIG. 11A —BRASS STAMPS, INCLUDING TWO OF
THOSE USED FOR STAMPING THE
ORNAMENTS ON ABOVE JUG.

piece, in skilfully marbled black and white clays. It is further noteworthy for certain stamped ornaments, viz. a church, two flying cranes, and two figures of merry-andrews with parasols (both the cranes and the merry-andrews being of markedly Chinese style), which have been made by sticking bits of wet clay to the turned vessel, stamping them with a brass stamp just as one might impress some sealing wax, and then trimming off the superfluous clay left outside the edges of the stamp. This particular piece is of the greatest importance in the history of English pottery, because it proves that Dwight had perfectly mastered two methods of pottery decoration which have generally been attributed to later workers. In the marbled bands we have the definite use of mingled strips of clay of different colours which was to attain such extended use in the agate-wares of the Staffordshire potters, towards the middle of the eighteenth century. The method by which the stamped figures were produced has generally been attributed to Elers, working in Staffordshire. That Dwight practised it is proved, not only by this piece and by others of somewhat similar style, but also by the presence in the British Museum collection of a number of brass stamps which are stated to have been found in a pot on the site of Dwight's works at Fulham about 1865. Five of these stamps are reproduced in Fig. 11 α , and among them will be found those of the two cranes used in the decoration of this particular piece.

Another class of ware, which in spite of frequent references in Dwight's notes has never been connected with his name, is what he himself describes as the "Opacous red porcelain or China clay." This must have been a red, unglazed stoneware which he probably fashioned into little teapots, mugs, etc., in imitation of similar vessels from China and Japan, which were at this time making their first appearance in Europe in the wake of that strange substance tea, which was so soon to become the rage among the well-to-do classes. Other entries in Dwight's note-books refer "to the Staffordshire red clay," and to a small kiln for burning the same. Among the pieces of unglazed red stoneware of the so-called "Elers"

type in the British Museum is a small mug (G. 12) with a wide and much ribbed neck, absolutely similar in form to some well authenticated specimens of Dwight's manufacture in salt-glazed stoneware. This piece, which is of fine finish and light red tint, is decorated with an applied branch of "Prunus," and singularly enough, among the brass stamps preserved there is one that might almost have been used for stamping that identical spray. It is interesting to find a piece which may, with the greatest probability, be attributed to Dwight, among those which have hitherto been classed as the wares of the Elers and their imitators. A careful examination of the pieces in private collections hitherto ascribed to the Elers, may bring to light other pieces which ought, with greater propriety, to be ascribed to Dwight. In smoothness of surface, brightness of tint, and general excellence of technique, this piece is of the first quality. It differs mainly from the pieces that have been attributed to Elers in the thickness of its walls, which is not wonderful if it was the production of a potter accustomed to work mainly in salt-glazed stoneware. Vessels of almost identical shape, in a fine greyish stoneware with a surface so beautiful that it can only be compared with the texture of an ostrich's egg, are among the well-known examples of Dwight's productions. A remarkable specimen belonging to J. H. Fitz-Henry, Esq., and now on exhibition in the Victoria and Albert Museum, is reproduced in Plate III. The shape, the style, and the glaze all indicate a production of Dwight's, but this differs from his ordinary pieces in the curious mottling, of brown and yellow spots, caused by dabbing oxide of iron, or some ferruginous clay, in lighter or darker patches, on the mug before glazing.

It is probable that Dwight had private means before he became a potter, but it is to be hoped that some, at all events, of the pots of guineas, that he mentions in his notebooks as being buried in many singular hiding-places about his works, resulted from the commercial success of his pottery business. There is a tradition that, disappointed in the appreciation which his finest productions met with, he buried his tools and moulds; and from all the evidence in existence

there seems little doubt that after his death nothing worthy of his distinguished career was even produced at Fulham. Dwight died, and was buried at Fulham in 1703. After his death the works was probably carried on by his widow (who proved his will October 23, 1703), and afterwards by his son Samuel (born 1668, died 1737). Samuel Dwight was a physician of repute "who wrote several curious treatises on physic, and is said to have been the first to discover the secret of colouring earthenware like china,"* whatever that may mean. After his death in 1737, the works appears to have been carried on by his widow, Margaret Dwight, and Thomas Warland, who had married their only daughter Lydia. They were, however, unsuccessful in their management, as they were gazetted bankrupts in 1746. Subsequently the works passed into the hands of a Mr. White, who married Mrs. Warland after the death of her husband.† The later productions appear to have been confined to the more commercial kinds of ware that Dwight had perfected. Dr. Plot tells us that Dwight had discovered before 1677 "the mystery of the Hessian wares and vessels for retaining the penetrating salts and spirits of the chymists," and in 1761 the Society of Arts awarded a premium to Mr. White, of the Fulham pottery, "for the making of crucibles of British materials." The same William White of Fulham, potter, took out a patent in 1762 for his invention, "a new manufacture of crucibles for the melting metals and salts, etc., called by the name of white crucibles or melting pots made of British materials and never before made in England or elsewhere, and which I have lately set up at Fulham." It seems probable that William White was merely trading on the knowledge handed down to him, particularly as the materials he specified in his patent were all well known to Dwight. We have further information as to the wares made by Dwight's successors from what is known of the Fulham *trouvaille*, found in 1866. While some repairs were being carried out at the works a forgotten chamber was broken into, which was found to contain a

* Obituary, "Gentleman's Magazine," November, 1737.

† We are indebted for these particulars to the courtesy of Professor Church.

heap of stoneware vessels and fragments of various types and dates, long walled up and forgotten. Most of these specimens were in the shape of common ale jugs or wine bottles, and so similar were they in material, shape, and decoration to the pieces we know to have been imported from Cologne, that but for this find we should have been in doubt if such pieces were of German or of English make. In addition to these were many round-bellied grey jugs, with scratched and stamped ornaments and patches of cobalt blue and manganese purple used as grounds. Several of the latter kind had the monograms of English sovereigns, with a crown above, stamped on the front, and thus give us a definite place of origin for some of the well-known pieces of this description.

Later still, the stoneware jugs with the rudely embossed figures upon them, generally having a rich brown glaze with well-marked mottlings, dark on the lower part of the vessel and lighter above, came from the factory. Their artistic merit is of the slightest; indeed, they are removed only from the peasant-pottery described in the last chapter by the material and the method of their manufacture. It seems almost incredible that the fine works of John Dwight, the first great potter of this country, should have tailed off into such vulgarity. The works remained in the hands of the family until 1862, when the last Mr. White died; since that date, in the hands of Mr. C. J. C. Bailey and his successors, they have been devoted to the production of stonewares in the inartistic, if useful, form of domestic filters and similar utensils.

MINOR ENGLISH STONEWARES.

It has already been stated that the notable work of Dwight seems to have had little direct influence on the other potters of his time. Yet some influence it must have had, otherwise it is difficult to account for the appearance of fine salt-glazed stonewares in several districts of the Midlands at almost the same period or within a few years of Dwight's own labours. Simeon Shaw, in his history of the Staffordshire Potteries, says that one Miles, of Hanley,

made a brown stoneware about 1685. We have no means of judging what this brown stoneware was, but it is just possible it may have been ware, the body of which was made of local fire-clays and then coated with a wash of "Car," a highly ferruginous deposit left by spring waters coming from strata rich in clay-ironstone. Such deposits of fine clays, rich in oxide of iron, occur in many parts of the Staffordshire Potteries, and we shall find subsequently that they were used by Josiah Wedgwood for other purposes. When these clays are applied as a thick slip or wash to vessels made of more refractory materials, and are given a hard fire, they melt down to a brownish, metallic-looking glaze which is eminently characteristic. In this way a species of stoneware is indeed produced; it may be called "slip-glazed" stoneware, to distinguish it from those previously described. Such wares have been produced in many other countries, and it is just possible that the Staffordshire potters accidentally stumbled on something of this kind.

But for one well-authenticated example, we should be equally in the dark as to the pottery made by Mr. Place, of the Manor House at York, some time towards the end of the seventeenth or the beginning of the eighteenth century. This ware has often been referred to as a kind of porcelain, but the treasured specimen, formerly in Horace Walpole's collection at Strawberry Hill, and now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, is nothing but a marbled stoneware of ashen grey colour with streaks of dark grey and brown approaching to black. It reminds one, indeed, of the marbled stonewares of Dwight, though it is much thinner in its walls and more mechanically finished than his pieces. Of another Yorkshire potter "one Clifton," of Pontefract, who is said by Ralph Thoresby* to have taken a hint from Place's experiments and made a fortune by it, we have no further information.

NOTTINGHAM, ETC.

We are more fortunate with regard to the stonewares made at Nottingham, Chesterfield, and Brampton as early

* Ducatus Leodiensis, 1714.

as the commencement of the eighteenth century; the Chesterfield wares have indeed a marked place in the history of English pottery.

At an early period the manufacture of crucibles and glass pots seems to have been established at Nottingham, and as such articles require to be made of very refractory clays, the coming into the district of some of Dwight's workmen, or of a German or Flemish potter possessing some knowledge of salt-glazing, would be quite sufficient to originate the manufacture of salt-glazed stoneware. The industry once started at Nottingham might readily spread as far as Brampton and Chesterfield, which are not more than twenty miles away. Though stoneware is no longer made in Nottingham itself, the industry still flourishes, in the shape of common domestic utensils and chemists' sundries, at Chesterfield, Brampton, and Denby near Belper. Apart altogether from the manufacture of common household articles, there seems to have been a production at Nottingham from about the year 1700, or perhaps even before, of pieces having some artistic pretensions. Jewitt mentions a posset-pot with the following inscription:

<i>Samuel Watkinson</i>	<i>Major</i>	}	<i>of Nottingham.</i>
<i>& Sarah his wife</i>	<i>& Majorress</i>		
1	7		
	0		0

There is also a jug in the Victoria and Albert Museum, inscribed "Nottingham 1703" (see Plate III.). Then we have pieces in the shape of punch-bowls, mugs, puzzle jugs, etc., with dates ranging down to 1799, mostly bearing the inscription "Made at Nottingham." Naturally there is a good collection of these pieces in the Nottingham Castle Museum, while the Weston Park Museum at Sheffield has an interesting loving-cup, with ornamental patterning, inscribed "Ann Goodwin, March 3rd, 1749."

The technical qualities of the Nottingham stoneware are so well marked that there is little difficulty in its identification, even apart from the fairly characteristic cursive inscriptions, which appear always to have been scratched

PLATE III.

THREE TYPICAL STONEWARE PIECES.

(a) Brown Nottingham Jug. (b) Drab Salt-glaze Teapoy. (c) Dwight Jug.

(*Inscribed and Pierced.*)

H. 3½ in.

H. 4 in.

Victoria and Albert Museum.

Victoria and Albert Museum.

(By kind permission of J. H. FITZHENRY, Esq.)

H. 4 in.

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into the clay with a sharp-pointed steel tool before firing, and, from the nature of stoneware, have retained their sharpness unimpaired. The ware is always thin and well potted, and neatly turned on the lathe after having been thrown on the wheel. The small mugs and two-handled cups are perfectly satisfactory in form, and were often made in two parts; the inner a simple cup form to hold the liquor, with an outer and more globular envelope, not infrequently pierced through so as to give an effect of lightness to the piece (*see* Plate III.). Sometimes the pattern has only been scratched into the outer skin and not cut right through. The glaze in colour and quality of texture is perhaps, after all, the most distinctive feature of this ware. It is always thin; much less mottled and granular than the general salt-glaze of other centres; of bright, reddish brown colour having a somewhat metallic look, and even containing blackish flecks of oxide of iron, which glisten with a metallic lustre upon its surface. Everything points to this stoneware having been carefully finished, after it had been thrown, with a fine wash of ferruginous clay. The subsequent polishing in the lathe would give this a beautiful surface, and we can thus account for both the finish of the pieces and the unusual smoothness of the salt-glaze. In Plate III. we reproduce a beautiful little example, typical of Nottingham stoneware at its best; this is one of the small pierced jugs already alluded to, and bears the inscription "Nottn. 1703." The finished shape, the much-ribbed neck, and the rich brown, smooth salt-glaze, characteristic of the best Nottingham stoneware, are all admirably exhibited.

One other typical production of the Nottingham, Chesterfield, and Brampton stoneware factories of the eighteenth century must be mentioned, especially in view of the great interest such pieces excite among collectors; we refer to the "bear-vessels" moulded to represent a sitting bear, with collar, chain, muzzle, and all complete—which remind us that the country potter was accustomed to his rude bear-baitings. These jugs, however, had their practical side; the body and the detachable head formed, indeed, both a jug and cup for

use in the village ale-house throughout the Midland districts. They vary a good deal, both in colour and in finish, according, no doubt, to the particular factory at which they were made. Thus their colour is of all shades, from a pale yellowish buff, through the usual brown colour of the district, to the dark hue of specimens so highly charged with oxide of iron as to be almost black. In the same way the surface finish varies too; in what we are inclined to regard as the best Nottingham specimens the surface is perfectly smooth and shiny; but there are quite as many examples known in which the body of the animal has been strewn all over with little fragments of clay shavings from the turner's shop, a process which gives a still more rough and rustic look to the vessel. Though common stonewares of various kinds continued to be made at Chesterfield, Brampton, and in that district of Derbyshire; and subsequently at Bristol, Vauxhall, and Lambeth—to mention only the most important places—the output was generally of so rude or strictly utilitarian a character, until long after the period that will be covered by the present work, that they cannot be considered here.

CHAPTER V.

ENGLISH TIN-ENAMELLED WARES.

IN every country, so soon as the potter's art has attained to any degree of refinement, the necessity is felt for some lighter or whiter ground than that of ordinary red or buff clay, so that the pot-painter may obtain the brilliant reds, blues, and greens of other craftsmen. Several centuries before our countrymen seem to have felt this need, earthenware of an advanced type, possessing a white surface gaily diversified by skilful paintings in the brightest hues, was made in Spain and Italy. In earthenwares of this class, the natural yellow or reddish colour of the body is almost entirely masked by a coating of opaque tin-enamel, generally about the thickness of glove-leather. The perfect white ground thus obtained enabled the potter to preserve the purity, as it enhanced the brilliance, of his blues, greens, and yellows, which would have been largely masked by a darker ground. An extremely thin coating of lead glaze was put over the whole, and the piece was completed by a second firing. This art flourished in Italy during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and seems to have been introduced into France by Italian workmen about the middle of the latter century.*

The same methods were also introduced into Holland, but a new source of inspiration had by this time been found in the blue and white porcelain which the Portuguese, and the Dutch themselves, were introducing into Europe from the Far East. The Dutch potters bent all their energies to the imitation of this marvellous Eastern porcelain, and, knowing nothing of the materials or processes of the Chinese potter, they yet managed to produce, in their tin-enamelled wares, pieces that so

* See Mr. Solon's "Old French Faience" (Cassell & Co., 1903).

nearly approach the tone and quality of blue and white porcelain as often to deceive the trained eye at a little distance. The most important centre of this Dutch pottery industry was the famous town of Delft, and now the term "Delft ware" is accepted as a generic title—not only for the pottery made in Holland, but for the numerous imitations made in this and other countries. So immediate was the success of this Dutch pottery, and such an attractive superiority in lightness and finish did it offer both to the native English wares and to the stoneware of Germany, that a very considerable trade in it soon sprang up between Holland and this country. The traffic between Holland and our Eastern ports had for some centuries been of considerable extent, so much so that there was the closest business relation between our eastern counties and the Low Countries. The Dutch fair held annually at Yarmouth was a great mart for earthenware and wooden toys.* Delft ware soon became a common article in the houses of the gentry and well-to-do tradespeople all over the country. We have already stated that the Continental potters were well aware that England could provide all the materials of their craft, and with such constant intercourse between the two countries and such a growing demand in England for this new ware, it would be strange if attempts had not been made to domicile its manufacture here. These attempts doubtless took the form of the settlement of Dutch potters in this country. We have already seen that two Dutch potters were settled at Norwich, and afterwards in London, in the days of Queen Elizabeth. We have records of another settler at Sandwich towards the end of the sixteenth century, and another at Maidstone about the same period.

London itself would naturally offer the best vantage ground for such a new departure as the manufacture of this fine white earthenware, and there is abundant tradition that along the waterside, from Lambeth down to Bermondsey, and in the other direction as far as Vauxhall, kilns were established during the seventeenth century for the production of "English

* Miss Meteyard's "Life of Josiah Wedgwood," Vol. I., p. 110.



LAMBETH.

FIG. 12.— TIN-ENAMELLED DISH, WITH ARMS
OF PEWTERERS' COMPANY, AND
INSCRIPTION, "I S I 1655," PAINTED
IN BLUE

Dia. $16\frac{1}{2}$ in.

British Museum.

Delft." Unfortunately we have no documentary evidence that fixes the exact site or date of most of these kilns.*

In an old history of Lambeth it is stated that some Dutch potters were established in this place about 1650, and that the village ultimately possessed no less than twenty factories. We have also the evidence of the patent records,† as we learn from the patents granted in 1676 that a Dutch potter, John Ariens Van Hamme, encouraged by the British Ambassador at The Hague, had settled in London with a view of pursuing his "Art of makeinge tiles and porcelane and other earthen wares after the way practised in Holland." There are two other documents which throw some light on the extent of the manufacture of these wares in London; one is a proclamation of Charles II., dated 1672, "prohibiting the importation of any kind or sort of painted earthenware whatsoever (except those of china and stone bottles and jugs)"; the reason for this summary order being that "great quantities of the like painted earthenwares from the parts beyond the seas have lately been imported into England, to the great discouragement of so useful a manufacture so late found out, etc. etc." This order does not appear to have been very effectual in stopping the importation, as we find evidence of this in the second document, a petition presented to Charles II. in November, 1676, by several potters of the City of London, namely: John Ariens Van Haunne (evidently the same person to whom the patent was granted in October of that year), James Barston, Daniel Parker, John Campion, Richard Newman, and divers others, complaining "that painted earthenwares are still imported to the inevitable ruin of the petitioners and many hundreds of poor men, women, and children, whose subsistence and livelihood depend thereon, and the total destruction of the manufacture here, which is fully as well done as any foreign, and with most materials of English growth, etc."‡

* The remains of potters' kilns have been found in Southwark and Bermondsey, and fragments, in the shape of wasters, from these places are in the British Museum and the Guildhall Museum.

† Specification of Patent No. 191, October 27th, 1676.

‡ See Appendix in Binns' "A Century of Potting in Worcester."

We are therefore justified in assuming that the manufacture of painted earthenwares in the manner of "Delft" had attained a position of settled importance in the capital by the latter half of the seventeenth century, and as Lambeth appears to have been the headquarters of the industry, it is customary to group such pieces together under the general title of "Lambeth Delft," though we have no marks or descriptions which would enable us to say by what particular potter any such pieces were made. As one might expect, the Lambeth Delft was never quite equal in the skill of its potting, the quality of its painting, or the tone of its blue and white, to the best pieces of Dutch manufacture. Besides the general thickness of the pieces, the body or clay substance is markedly different, and this test generally enables us to distinguish between them. Dutch ware was made of a calcareous clay mixed with sand, and the temperature of firing was relatively so low that the carbonate of lime it contained was not decomposed, so that the body still effervesces on the application of a drop of acid. The English ware appears to have been made of the white pipe-clays or ball-clays from the neighbourhood of Poole in Dorset, also mixed with sand. Such a body is almost free from carbonate of lime, and after firing is much denser and harder than the calcareous bodies used on the Continent. While the Dutch body is so soft as to be easily cut away with a knife, the English body is generally hard enough to resist a steel point. Some other important differences in the finished product also follow from this difference in the composition of the two bodies. The Dutch body, being very porous, naturally absorbed a thicker coating of the white tin-enamel, and, in consequence, the surface was smoother, the tint of the body was more completely hidden and the ware was of more luscious quality. It has long been known to practical potters that tin-enamel is more suited to a body rich in carbonate of lime than to any other; as a natural consequence, the enamel of the English tin-enamelled wares is much more frequently crazed than that on the Dutch pieces. The technical differences here pointed out between the Lambeth imitative

wares and the Delft originals apply equally to all the similar wares made in other parts of England. It may, indeed, be stated that in failing to reproduce the essential qualities of the Dutch body the English potter never made true "Delft" at all.

By the end of the seventeenth century, probably—or, at all events, in the first years of the eighteenth century—the making of wares almost identical with those produced at Lambeth was being carried on at Bristol and at Liverpool. The bodies, glazes, and colours used at all three places are so similar that it is often difficult to refer pieces with absolute certainty to either place, and there is little doubt that some of the best Bristol and Liverpool pieces have been attributed to Lambeth. Speaking generally, the best Liverpool pieces seem to be thinner and better potted than those of Lambeth or Bristol. The glaze, the colour, and the painting on the Liverpool and Lambeth wares are equally good, while the Bristol glaze has usually a decided blue or greenish-blue tone which helps towards its identification. Naturally, perhaps, the Lambeth painting shows, both in style and touch, the nearest approach to that of true Delft, the Dutch feeling being especially marked in many of the early pieces, such as the mug dated 1631, and inscribed "WILLIAM AND ELIZABETH BURGES," and the piece marked "JOHN LEMAN, 1634."

LAMBETH.

It is the custom among collectors, in default of inscriptions and marks, to describe all the best pieces of English Delft as "Lambeth." Such a plan is, of course, open to very grave objections; but, in default of more definite information, it is one that will continue to be followed, and if one bears in mind the very indefiniteness of the term, probably no great harm is done. Among the pieces known by this title we have a considerable number of wine jugs, apothecaries' pill slabs, posset-pots, puzzle jugs, drinking mugs, candlesticks, plates, dishes, and fountains for the use of the table, as well as the characteristically English sets of cups with entwined handles, usually known as "fuddling cups."* Even

* Probably little flower-vases for the table.

where the vessels recall those of the native British potter, as in the case of tygs, posset-pots, fuddling cups, and puzzle jugs, their forms have been refined and finished as befits the superior style of the ware; but some of the candlesticks, table fountains, and dishes are clearly adapted, or even copied, from contemporary work in pewter. A good example of the latter class is reproduced in Fig. 12, and, appropriately enough, it bears the arms of the Pewterers' Company of London. The modelled rim is perfectly characteristic, and shows a form of ornament particularly well adapted for tin-enamel, as the running of the enamel off the edges of the embossed ornament produces a pinkish tone where the natural colour of the clay is less obscured. The use of modelled ornament of this kind is not, however, very common on pieces of "Delft" ware. The aim of the potter was to produce something more nearly recalling the precious Oriental porcelain; hence the prevalence of painted decoration in blue, and occasionally in other colours. Plate IV. gives a reproduction of one of the Lambeth sack bottles, painted in blue, with the arms of William Allen, and dated 1647. The piece is a fine example of the more elaborately painted vessels of this class. Generally, the Lambeth sack bottles, as they are called (wine bottles would be the more appropriate name), bear simply the name of the liquor, and sometimes the date, painted in blue. The best known inscriptions are "whit wine"—often written merely "whit"—"sack," and "claret." The earliest date appears to be 1641, and few are known of later date than 1663, though the latest actually known appears to be 1672 (B. M., E. 28). It may be remarked in passing that the claret jugs are generally dated with the later years of this period. In addition to the bottles themselves, many perforated bin labels are in existence, inscribed with the names of liquors.

The apothecaries' pill slabs, usually referred to Lambeth, are generally in the form of a heraldic escutcheon, sometimes of little more than a simple heart-shape. They are frequently perforated so that they could be hung up when not in use, and are almost invariably painted in

PLATE IV.

LAMBETH TIN-ENAMEL.

Sack Bottle: with arms of William Allen painted in
Blue, and dated 1647.

H. 6 in.

British Museum.



SACK

ALIEN

1647

blue, with the arms of the Apothecaries' Company with crest, mantling, and supporters, and the motto, "OPIFERQUE PER ORBEM DICOR." Occasionally they bear, in addition, the arms of the City of London. Along with the pill slabs, mention must be made of the drug vessels and ointment pots of various shapes and sizes to be found in every good collection. Many such objects have been found, even in excavations, in the City of London, and while there can be no doubt, from the character of body and glaze and the style of decoration, that in the majority of cases they are of similar origin to the pill slabs, some of them, at all events, appear to be true Italian majolica and not English wares at all. The extensive production of pharmacy jars and drug pots of various shapes and sizes by the Italian potters is well known to all collectors, and considering how largely drugs were imported into England from the East, by way of the Italian trading cities, it is not surprising that such vessels should also have been imported, nor that when ware of a somewhat similar character could be made here, the English potters should attempt to reproduce them. The question of the origin of many of these pieces must remain a debatable one, for while we find many little drug pots of the well-known "albarello" type, the painting on which betrays the practised touch of the Italian pot painter, there are others which are almost of the nature of wasters that could hardly have been imported at all; yet even these bear decoration betraying Italian rather than Dutch influence. We are, of course, on sure ground when we find such jars or pots with inscriptions relating to English medicinal preparations, or, better still, bearing the names and addresses of London apothecaries. It may occasion some surprise that, considering the high repute of Italian majolica, it should have had so little influence on the work of English potters. The obvious explanation is that tin-enamelled earthenware was only introduced into this country when the art of the Italian majolica painter had lost all vitality. It was introduced, too, by Dutch potters, who naturally followed their native style. And, further, the demand of the period seems to have been not so much for

elaborate ornamental pieces as for the simpler requisites of the fairly comfortable household.

There are some traces, though they are but slight, of the influence among us of the productions of Bernard Palissy, and of the tin-enamelled wares of Nevers. There are, for instance, several copies in Delft ware, presumably of Lambeth manufacture, of a well-known Palissy dish, the centre containing modelled figures of Venus and Cupids, and the broad rim having sunk wells, alternately oval and circular in shape; between the wells occur masks and baskets of flowers, all in relief.* In the copies, which are merely painted in blue and yellow, and give but a faint reflection of the striking colour of the Palissy dish, the English painter has occupied the wells in the rim, left plain in the original, by paintings of the seasons or of birds and flowers, and in some cases with inscriptions. The specimen in the British Museum collection, E. 48, has, in the circular wells, the initials $\begin{matrix} C \\ I \\ E \end{matrix}$, the arms of the City of London, the arms of the Pewterers' Company, and the date 1659. A somewhat similar one in the Victoria and Albert Museum has the inscription H. T. T. and the date 1697 but is without the coats-of-arms. A third specimen is now in the collection of Mr. Thomas Boynton.

Returning to the simpler domestic wares, "Delft" plates were extensively produced at Lambeth, and many of them bear inscriptions of names or of some quaint saying or motto, often with the date. The best known of these are what may be described as the "merry-man" plates. They occur in sets, with a rhyming verse, one line painted on each plate, as follows:—(1) What is a merry Man? (2) Let him do What he Can. (3) To Entertain his Guests. (4) With wine and Merry Jest. (5) But if his Wife do frown. (6) All merriment Goes Down. The manufacture of these inscribed plates of various shapes seems to have continued for nearly a century. Figs. 13 and 14 represent two distinct types. The earlier, which is octagonal in form and very flat in section, bears the inscription within a cartouche of arabesque, strongly

* See Solon's "Old French Faience," Plate II.



LAMBETH.

FIGS. 13 AND 14.—DELFT-WARE PLATES.

MERRYMAN SERIES.

D. 8½ in. and D. 8 in.

British Museum.

reminiscent of Dutch work. This was probably made about 1670–80. The specimen shown in Fig. 14 bears the date 1736. The plate is circular and of extremely good section. The inscription is surrounded by a well-designed wreath of simple brushwork, forming a most effective border, in which one sees no trace of Dutch influence. This wreath-border appears to have been a favourite device of the later Lambeth potters, as it is found enclosing inscriptions of various kinds and dates; E. 61, British Museum collection, is inscribed "Duke William for ever," probably in honour of the Duke of Cumberland and the battle of Culloden, and therefore dates itself about the year 1746.

So far we have spoken mainly of the Lambeth "Delft" wares painted in blue, but many pieces of similar character are known in which other colours have been used. Probably the commonest of these colours is the characteristic violet or puce obtained by the use of oxide of manganese; besides being used in flat washes and for outlines, this colour is also used to produce a sprinkled ground of a pale violet colour.

A number of large dishes are known, generally about 16 or 17 inches in diameter, with paintings in the centre either of scriptural subjects, such as "The Temptation," "The Walk to Emmaus," and "Jacob's Dream," surrounded by elaborate ornamental borders, the whole painted in many colours; or with figures of contemporary sovereigns and generals, notably Charles II., James II., William III., and Queen Anne, as well as Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough. The best of these are also claimed for Lambeth, and that attribution seems most satisfactory. Some of the later dishes, which are more coarsely made and rudely painted, are attributed to Staffordshire; these have deeply notched rims somewhat after the fashion of the large Staffordshire slip dishes, and are glazed on the back with a clear lead glaze roughly mottled with touches of yellow, brown, and purple. The dish from the British Museum collection, reproduced on

G.

Plate V., with a boldly painted ship and the inscription .I.M.

1663

is a good example of the better class of these uncertain pieces.

The back is not enamelled as in the best Delft dishes, but is merely coated with a transparent lead glaze. The painting, however, is vastly superior in style and finish to anything that we can attribute to the Staffordshire potters of that date, and, so far as our knowledge goes, this piece ought to be attributed to Lambeth, though it has been claimed that the subject of the painting would more naturally connect it with Liverpool or Bristol. This seems an unnecessary assumption, as London was a much more important seaport than either of the other towns, at this date.

Thin tin-enamelled wall tiles, in exact imitation of the popular tiles of Dutch manufacture, were also made at Lambeth. In Fig. 15 we reproduce the sign of a well-known old London tavern, "The Cock and Bottle" in Cannon Street. This sign must have been made after the Great Fire, and is therefore almost certain to have been made at one of the London factories. It remained in the tavern until it was acquired for the Guildhall Museum a few years ago.

LIVERPOOL.

We are unable to give any definite date for the establishment of Delft-ware potteries at Liverpool. There is in the Liverpool Museum a barrel-shaped mug, with one handle, decorated in blue with ships and landscape, and inscribed on a scroll round the rim, "John Williamson, 1645." For a long time this piece was supposed to be of Liverpool origin, and to indicate a very early date for the Liverpool manufacture. The best authorities are agreed, however, that this piece should be referred to Lambeth, and not to Liverpool. All the available evidence seems to point to the fact that it was only in the early years of the eighteenth century that such an industry was really founded in Liverpool, as we know that during the first half of the eighteenth century quite a colony of potters was at work in what is now nearly the centre of Liverpool, and every merchant of note in Liverpool was concerned in the trade during that period. That the productions of the Liverpool potters soon reached a comparatively high level of merit is shown by an oblong

PLATE V.

LAMBETH TIN-ENAMEL.

Dish : with Polychrome painting of Ship, and

Inscription I * M
G
1663

Diam. 22 in.

British Museum.

The University of Chicago Library is pleased to announce the acquisition of a new volume in the series of the [illegible] series. This volume, [illegible], is a [illegible] work by [illegible] and is a [illegible] contribution to the [illegible] of [illegible]. It is a [illegible] work and is [illegible] in [illegible]. The [illegible] of this work is [illegible] and is [illegible] in [illegible]. It is a [illegible] work and is [illegible] in [illegible]. The [illegible] of this work is [illegible] and is [illegible] in [illegible]. It is a [illegible] work and is [illegible] in [illegible].

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PLATE I

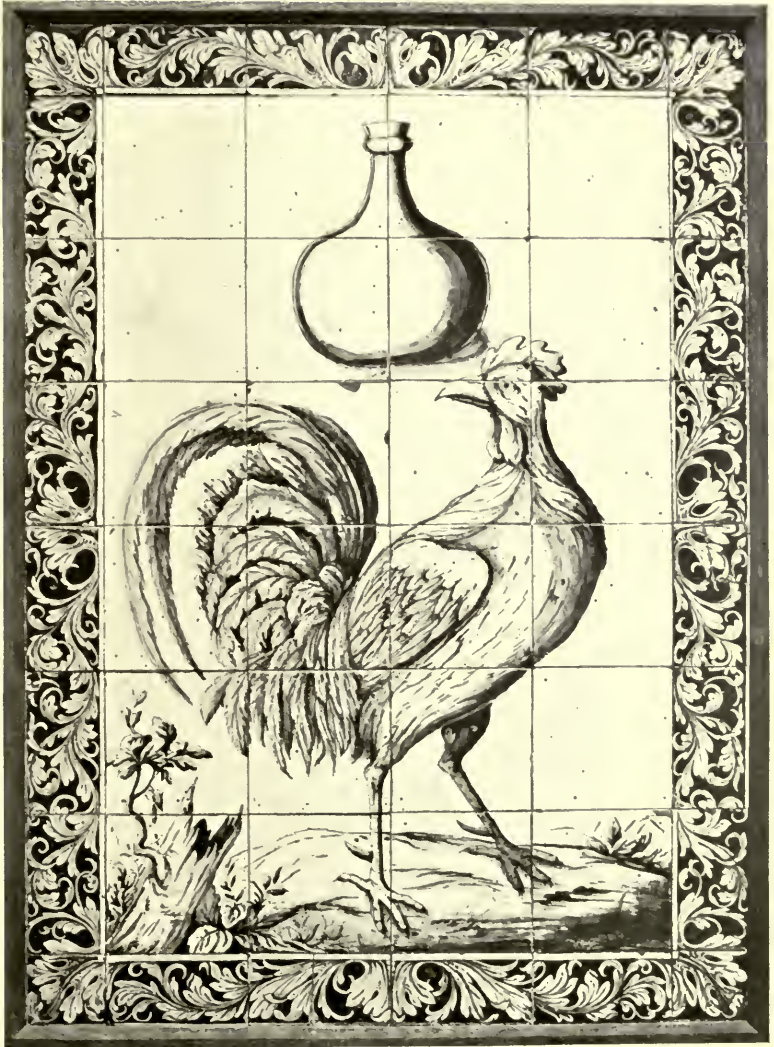
PLATE I

PLATE I

PLATE I

The University of Chicago Library is pleased to announce the acquisition of a new volume in the series of the [illegible] series. This volume, [illegible], is a [illegible] work by [illegible] and is a [illegible] contribution to the [illegible] of [illegible]. It is a [illegible] work and is [illegible] in [illegible]. The [illegible] of this work is [illegible] and is [illegible] in [illegible]. It is a [illegible] work and is [illegible] in [illegible]. The [illegible] of this work is [illegible] and is [illegible] in [illegible]. It is a [illegible] work and is [illegible] in [illegible].





LAMBETH.

FIG. 15.—SIGN OF COCK AND BOTTLE TAVERN.

H. 2 ft. 10½ in. W. 2 ft. 1½ in.

Guïdhall Museum, London.

slab 2 feet 7 inches by 1 foot 8 inches, now preserved in the Liverpool Museum, on which a design is drawn in blue representing the village of Great Crosby as seen from the Mersey. On a ribbon across the top is the inscription, "A West Prospect of Great Crosby, 1716." There is also a slab of the same ware in the old church at Crosby, on which appear the arms of the Merchant Taylors' Company and the date 1722.* The industry seems to have flourished at Liverpool until about 1760, when it was given up for that of true English earthenwares in imitation of the cream-colour perfected in Staffordshire. During these sixty years or so, enormous quantities of ware were produced, and a large proportion of it appears to have been shipped to the colonies. It is but natural that the Liverpool tin-enamelled wares should be more English in their style than those produced at Lambeth. Barrel mugs, posset-pots, cups, plates and dishes of the usual kind no doubt formed the staple manufacture, especially during the first part of the period; but Liverpool appears to have excelled in the production of large punch-bowls and of wall tiles of good technical quality. Two of the best known Liverpool Delft-ware makers—namely, Alderman Shaw, from whom the pottery quarter of Liverpool seems to have taken its name of Shaw's Brow (the present William Brown Street), and Seth Pennington—were particularly famous for their punch-bowls; and many of their productions, though of very large size, are remarkably well potted, while the blue painting is so cleverly executed as to be quite worthy of comparison with any but the very best pieces of Dutch manufacture.

The shipping trade of Liverpool was rapidly increasing, and it seems to have been the custom, when a vessel was despatched on a voyage to some remote port, to have one of these punch-bowls made, in which, no doubt, the owners and their friends brewed a bowl of punch to drink to the success of the voyage. Such bowls are generally decorated on the outside with foliage, birds, butterflies, or flowers painted in

* Rude wood-cuts of these slabs are given in Mayer's "Art of Pottery," and are copied in Jewitt's "Ceramic Art of Great Britain."

blue; and on the inside, with or without a floral border, is a ship in full sail and an inscribed label. Figs. 16 and 17 reproduce two of these bowls from the Liverpool Museum. The inscription on one is "Success to the Monmouth, 1750," while the other is inscribed "The Nancy"; and as a ship of this name was advertised as sailing on April 27th, 1759, that probably gives the date of manufacture. In the Hanley Museum there is an exceedingly large specimen of this class, 9 inches high and 20½ inches in diameter, painted in the usual style, along with which is carefully preserved the following note: "John Robinson, a pot-painter, served his time at Pennington's at Shaw's Brow, and there painted this punch-bowl." Robinson removed into Staffordshire to work, and ultimately presented the piece to the Hanley Mechanic's Institution, the forerunner of the existing Hanley Museum.

Wall tiles of Delft-ware were produced at Lambeth, but Liverpool appears to have been the greatest centre of this manufacture. At first they were doubtless made as much like their Dutch prototypes as possible, being identical in size and thickness, and similarly decorated with flowers, landscapes, animals, birds, etc., painted either in one colour, such as blue, green, and manganese purple, or, at a later period, in many colours. It is not always possible to distinguish painted Liverpool tiles from those produced at Lambeth or at Bristol, but after the two Liverpool printers, John Sadler and Guy Green, had perfected their process of printing on pottery, by 1755,* the cheapness and rapidity with which tiles could be produced led to an enormous demand, which continued for more than thirty years. We must mention here the great variety of printed designs for tiles produced by the Liverpool printers when they definitely settled down to print for the pottery manufacturers. By far the larger proportion of the tin-enamelled wares already described were painted in blue, purple, or what not, before the coating of tin-enamel was fired. As a consequence, the painting sank into the tin-enamelled ground, and, by the action of the thin

* See affidavits sworn at Liverpool in 1756: Mayer's "Art of Pottery,"; also Jewitt, Vol. II., pp. 29, 30.



LIVERPOOL.

FIG. 16.—DELFT-WARE BOWL INSCRIBED "SUCCESS
TO THE MONMOUTH."

Dia. 10½ in.

Liverpool Museum.



LIVERPOOL.

FIG. 17.—DELFT-WARE BOWL INSCRIBED

“THE NANCY.”

Dia. 10 in.

Liverpool Museum.

film of clear glaze over it, was rendered extremely soft and rich in quality. The printed patterns, on the other hand, could at first only be applied when the tin-enamel had already been fired, so that all the colours used were what are known as enamel, or on-glaze, colours. For many years only black, red, and purple enamel colours were used for this purpose, and as they were merely attached to the outer surface of the glaze and not fused into it, their hardness serves to render still more striking the precision and sharpness of the engraved lines from which they were printed. The subjects appearing on the printed tiles were adapted from popular engravings of the day, with more or less appropriate borders added. The most popular series appears to have been that of actors and actresses of the day, as they appeared on the stage in some favourite character.* These "character" tiles were adapted from engravings in "Bell's British Theatre" (1776-78); from play-bills and contemporary caricatures. Other favourite series were taken from current illustrations of "Æsop's Fables," and from "The Ladies' Amusement," containing designs by Pillement and others. We give, in Figs. 18 and 19, illustrations of two of these tiles from the Liverpool Museum. The first belongs to the actor series, and represents "Mrs. Lessingham in the character of Ophelia." The other is one of the letters of a fanciful alphabet, in the affected Chinese style of the day, and is of further interest because it bears the signature of Green, the printer, one of the originators of the process. Other engravings are known which are signed "J. Sadler," "J. Sadler, Liverpool," or simply "Liverpool." Most of the designs were cut by a well-known engraver named Carver, who worked for Sadler and Green. The largest manufacturer of the tiles themselves appears to have been Zachariah Barnes, whose works were in the old Haymarket. In addition to "Dutch" tiles, he is also said to have made labels for liquors like those already mentioned in connection with Lambeth, char pots for the potted

* Long lists of these have been compiled, for which the reader is referred to Mr. Hobson's "Catalogue of English Pottery in the British Museum" or to Professor Church's "Handbook of English Earthenware," p. 74.

char of Windermere, as well as drug pots and pharmacy jars. His manufacture of wall tiles appears to have continued into the nineteenth century.

BRISTOL.

After Lambeth and Liverpool, Bristol was the most important centre engaged in the production of English tin-enamelled wares during the eighteenth century; indeed, many authorities rank its productions next in quality and importance to those of Lambeth, a view which the author is by no means inclined to accept.

The first "Delft" ware potter in Bristol was probably a certain Thomas Frank—who is described in the marriage registers of 1697 as a "gallipot maker"—for the first Bristol factory engaged in this branch of manufacture of which we have accurate information is that of Richard Frank, son of the above, which was situated on Redcliffe Back. It is believed that Frank's pottery was in active operation, if not by the end of the seventeenth, at least quite early in the eighteenth, century, and we know that it continued in Redcliffe Back without intermission until 1777, when it was removed to Water Lane. By this time the neater, cheaper, and more durable cream-coloured wares of Staffordshire origin were displacing English "Delft"; and when, in 1784, Frank's business was disposed of to Mr. Joseph Ring, the inventory of the stock-in-trade shows to what a low pitch the manufacture of Bristol "Delft" had fallen.* The subsequent doings of the firm belong to the section dealing with true English earthenware, as after Ring came into possession of the business he turned his attention first to dealing in the various kinds of pottery made in Staffordshire and the other Midland districts, and ultimately established the manufacture of Queen's ware, or cream-colour, in Bristol.

The only other Bristol potter of tin-enamelled wares of whom we have definite knowledge was Joseph Flower.† The

* See Owen's "Two Centuries of Ceramic Art in Bristol," p. 343.

† It is interesting to note that so many of the Bristol potters in the eighteenth century, both those engaged in the manufacture of tin-enamelled wares and those engaged in the production of the still more famous Bristol porcelain, should have been connected with the Society of Friends. Frank, Ring, and Flower all appear to have been members of that body.



LIVERPOOL.

FIG. 18.—BLACK-PRINTED TILE. “MRS.
LESSINGHAM AS OPHELIA”

5 in. square.

FIG. 19.—ALPHABET TILE. SIGNED “GREEN.”

5 in. square.

Liverpool Museum.

first authenticated pieces of his manufacture are dated from about 1741. In 1775 his works was situated on the Quay, and in 1777 it was removed to Corn Street. We have no evidence as to when this second fabrication of Bristol "Delft" ceased, but there are grounds for believing that it may have survived until the end of the eighteenth, if not, indeed, into the early years of the nineteenth, century. In the absence of occasional marks or some other token to assist us, it is practically impossible to distinguish between the wares made at these factories. It has been stated that Flower's ware is thinner and neater in make than most Bristol Delft; the glaze good and the colour clear and brilliant in tone—indeed, in no respect inferior to Dutch.* We can only smile at the partiality of the local historian which caused him to make such a statement. Speaking generally, the glaze of the Bristol specimens has a very decided and somewhat unpleasant blue or bluish-green tone; it is thicker, muddier, and less brilliant than that produced at Lambeth or at Liverpool, and compares unfavourably with true Delft of the finest kind, which was never equalled in England at all. The blue colour of the painting on most of the Bristol pieces is somewhat darker in tone than on other English wares.

Besides producing the usual run of table ware, such as plates, dishes, cups, teapoys, and punch-bowls, the Bristol factories were also famous for their production of wall tiles, which seem to have been sold under the name of "Flemish" or "Dutch" tiles, which they were certainly made to imitate. These Bristol tiles, generally painted in blue only, were largely used for fire-place linings and for the decoration of dairies. Tile panels, or pictures, each composed of nine tiles, painted in the usual blue colour, with a dog and a cat as the genii of the domestic hearth, are fairly common. In one example mentioned by Mr. Owen, the dog has "Bristol, 1752," inscribed on his collar. Larger and more ambitious tile pictures than these are also known. One in South Kensington Museum gives a view of St. Mary Redcliffe Church, and as it bears the arms of Bishop Butler was probably made during

* Owen, opus cit., p. 336.

his episcopate, 1738-50. Another large picture, composed of seventy-two tiles, painted with an adaptation of Hogarth's "March to Finchley," is also known, and it has been suggested by Mr. Owen that as Hogarth was engaged on the altar piece for Redcliffe Church in 1754 it is probable this work was done in compliment to the great pictorial satirist about that date.* Among other pieces which proclaim their Bristol origin are a number of election plates made to commemorate electoral contests in Bristol and neighbouring towns. Many of these are known, with inscriptions such as:—

NUGENT ONLY.
1754

CALVERT & MARTIN
FOR TUKESBURY. 1754.
Sold by Webb.

Sometimes such plates have a plain ground, but in other cases the inscription is on a reserved centre, while the ground of the rest of the piece is sprinkled with powdered blue or violet.

A further style of decoration, which seems to have been confined to Bristol, must also be mentioned. A charming effect was produced by painting some simple pattern, generally on the borders of plates, dishes, etc., in touches of more opaque white enamel on the ordinary greenish-blue ground. This, of course, is in the style so well known by its Italian name of "bianco sopra bianco," and we cannot even guess why it should have made its appearance at Bristol, but, apparently, neither at Lambeth nor at Liverpool, because it had been so extensively used on many Continental wares, even before painted "Delft" made its appearance in England. In Plate VI. will be found a reproduction of a Bristol plate with such a "sopra bianco" border. The piece illustrated is in the famous Schreiber Collection at the Victoria and Albert Museum.

Additional interest is imparted to some of the Bristol pieces from the fact that the names of a few of the actual painters are known, as well as authentic examples of their painting. The first of these is one Michael Edkins, grandfather to the late William Edkins, well known as a diligent collector

* Owen, *opus cit.*, p. 340.

PLATE VI.
BRISTOL TIN-ENAMEL.

(a) Plate: with Bianco-sopra-bianco border and
Painting in Blue.

Diam. $8\frac{3}{4}$ in.

(b) Plate: Painted in Blue by Michael Edkins.

Diam. $8\frac{3}{4}$ in.

Victoria and Albert Museum.



of English pottery and porcelain, and in this way certain authentic pieces of his workmanship have been identified. One of these known pieces is reproduced in Plate VI. It is painted in imitation Chinese style, and is initialled

E

at the back M. B., the initials of the painter and his wife
1760

Betty. Of the later painters the best known was William Fifield, who painted floral arrangements in a stiff and mannered style. He was at work as late as 1820, and his painting, therefore, occurs even more often on Bristol cream-colour than on the tin-enamelled wares.

In connection with Bristol, mention should be made of a most interesting and, for England, unique description of pottery made at Brislington, just outside Bristol, apparently by the Richard Frank already mentioned, and his family. This ware, which is made of coarse, reddish clay with the usual tin-enamel, was decorated sometimes with blue-colour, and generally with a rude copper lustre very similar to contemporary pieces of the debased Hispano-Moresque ware. The style, fabrication, and decoration of these pieces are so reminiscent of those actually made in Spain that the idea almost naturally presents itself that Frank probably learnt the process from some travelling Spaniard, and in order to keep it secret produced it only at the secluded little works at Brislington. It is well known that a tin-enamel ground is the most suitable of all grounds for the production of copper lustre, and the genuine examples of Brislington ware can be readily distinguished from the much commoner imitations made in Staffordshire at a later date and by a different process, which are generally on the ordinary cream-colour body.

STAFFORDSHIRE.

Whether the manufacture of tin-enamelled ware was ever definitely established in the Staffordshire Potteries is very uncertain. There is nothing to support the attribution to Staffordshire of some of the large, early painted dishes similar to the one shown in Plate V., and bearing various dates in

the latter half of the seventeenth century. It is, however, probable that the later and ruder dishes, with heavy crinkled edges, painted with figures of Queen Anne, Prince George, the Duke of Marlborough, and others, may have been made there. In workmanship, technique, and quality and colour of glaze, such pieces are very inferior to those previously described. The figures are ill-drawn, the colours raw and crude, and the trees are merely dabbled in with a sponge or a piece of rag. Fig. 20 illustrates one of these dishes from the British Museum collection, and will show how inferior they are to the better known dishes of earlier date. There is sufficient evidence to warrant us in attributing these late and coarsely executed tin-enamelled dishes to Staffordshire, for the name Lane Delph was given to a little hamlet (now part of the town of Fenton), and here a potter named Thomas Heath is believed to have made exactly such pieces from 1710 onwards. Simeon Shaw describes a dish of Heath's manufacture in such a way as to leave no doubt on this head,* but we have no record of any other potter of the district making similar pieces. It is easy to understand that a process like this was not likely to establish itself successfully in a district when the simpler white bodies of pipe-clay and flint were largely worked.

* Shaw's "History of the Staffordshire Potteries," pp. 126, 127.



STAFFORDSHIRE.

FIG. 20.—DELFT PLATTER. FIGURE OF
QUEEN ANNE.

Dia. 14 in.

British Museum.

CHAPTER VI.

THE ELMERS IN STAFFORDSHIRE.

EVERY collector and connoisseur of English pottery is familiar with the various accounts that have been given of the two brothers, John Philip and David Elers, who settled in Staffordshire some time after the Revolution of 1688 and finally left it about 1710. Llewellyn Jewitt traced their pedigree, and, by his account, they were descended from a distinguished Saxon family.* Their father had removed into Holland, and married in 1650 the daughter of a rich burgomaster of Amsterdam. The two brothers are supposed to have come to England in the train of William Prince of Orange, or to have followed him after he ascended the throne, like many others of his countrymen. That they had any direct communication with this Prince appears uncertain. Jewitt states that he bestowed a pension of £300 per year on their sister, but this may only have been in the form of a dowry when she married Sir William Phipps, Governor of Massachusetts and founder of the Mulgrave family. At the outset one must confess to a feeling of astonishment that men of good family and position as the Elers appear to have been, should remove to a wild part of the country, remote from London, and busy themselves with such a simple pursuit as the making of red-ware teapots, their most distinctive productions. Judging from such pieces as are generally ascribed to their manufacture, the pottery made by them in Staffordshire had nothing in common with any pottery made in Holland or Germany, nor, indeed, is there the slightest suggestion that they had practised the potter's art there. Mr. Solon shrewdly suggested, long ago,† that on

* Jewitt's "Life of Wedgwood," p. 43.

† Solon's "Art of the Old English Potter," 1st edition, p. 58.

coming to England the brothers put themselves into communication with Dwight of Fulham, then the most distinguished potter in England; and this suggestion is rendered almost a certainty by the fact that the materials and methods which have been generally ascribed to Elers were used by Dwight himself. It may be asked, If these men were not potters why should they make the acquaintance of Dwight? It seems to us now that the answer to such a question is perfectly simple. At this period Chinese porcelain had begun to make its appearance in Europe in considerable quantities, and the curiosity excited by its perfection of manufacture, its beautiful finish, and its marvellous translucence, as well as the mysterious legends of its origin and properties, had put the alchemists of Europe, even more than the potters, into a fever of excitement to discover the secret of its manufacture.* Jewitt happens to inform us, on what grounds we can only conjecture, that John Philip Elers was a good chemist and an excellent mechanic, and was held in much esteem by Boerhaave.† If this be true, it is strong presumptive evidence that John Philip Elers was pursuing these alchemical researches in Staffordshire, for Boerhaave was only born in 1668, and first made a name for himself in 1700. The most natural view to take, therefore, is that John Philip Elers, before coming to this country, had studied such natural science as was taught by the alchemical philosophers of his day. On his arrival in London, already fired with an ambition to discover the secret of Chinese porcelain, he would naturally put himself into communication with Dwight, a man of similar scientific bent who had worked for years with the same object, and in the meantime had perfected the fine stonewares previously described. The other brother, David, seems to have settled in London as a merchant, and afterwards disposed of such pottery as was made in Staffordshire by his brother, acting alone, or on their joint account. This is largely supposition, but, at all events, it has the

* See Burton's "History of English Porcelain," Chapter I.

† Boerhaave was professor of medicine, botany, and chemistry in the University of Leyden, 1701-1720.

advantage over all the theories hitherto propounded of fitting in best with such meagre facts as are actually established, and if it be as true as it is probable, it explains the reason for John Philip Elers' appearance in Staffordshire, and also for the exceeding secretiveness he appears to have displayed as to his methods and processes throughout his residence here. Dwight, as we have seen (p. 41), had been connected with the Bishopric of Chester, and doubtless resided in that town for several years. Either there or elsewhere he had learned of the fine red clays that occurred in the North Staffordshire district, and from his note-books there is little doubt that he had fabricated small pieces of fine red ware, which, following the custom of his time, he described as "red porcelain" (*see* p. 45). He would thus be the likeliest person to direct a fellow experimentalist to such a remote spot, with absolute knowledge that fine clays and a supply of skilled, if rude, labour for performing the mechanical parts of the work could be obtained there. Leaving conjecture aside we pass on to somewhat surer ground. Some time after 1690 and before 1692, the brothers arrived in Staffordshire, where they acquired a little farm in a secluded spot near Bradwell Wood, situated on the opposite slope of the broad valley that runs to the west of Burslem and Tunstall. Here they erected their little workshops and kilns, while they are said to have occupied in addition, as a place of residence and warehouse, a somewhat superior building known as Dimsdale Hall, lying about a mile away and nearer to Newcastle-under-Lyme. We have spoken of the two brothers going to Staffordshire because that is the local tradition, but the most probable view is that John Philip Elers alone remained in Staffordshire, and for the most part carried on his labours there, while his brother David returned to London and acted as agent for the pottery, in addition to conducting his own business as a merchant.

There cannot be the slightest doubt that the first pottery made at Bradwell Wood was almost identical in its materials and methods with that already described as Dwight's "red porcelain." On the land at Bradwell Farm a seam of

red clay was discovered which formed the foundation of the ware. At first no doubt this clay would be used alone, giving, when well fired, a dense, hard, red stoneware of fine texture. No doubt other clays of the locality would be experimented upon at the same time, and the tradition is, that by mixing this fine red clay of their own with a small proportion of a lighter ochreous deposit from Chesterton (just beyond the house at Dimsdale), Elers made the specimens that have the finest texture and the lightest colour when finished. Unfortunately, we are driven to the conclusion that no mark was ever used on the productions of Elers, and as the Englishmen of that period, and indeed for long afterwards, had not learned to value and collect specimens of the applied-arts produced in their own country, we have the greatest difficulty in assuring ourselves that we can identify the actual pieces produced at Bradwell. Among the large number of specimens of fine red stonewares preserved in public and private collections, there must be many such pieces, and connoisseurs have not hesitated to select all those that exhibit the most perfect workmanship, refined ornament, and bright red colour, as the genuine work of Elers, a course of procedure which seems more generous than reasonable. We reproduce in Figs. 22 and 23 two pieces that have as good a pedigree as any known. Enoch Wood, the well-known Burslem potter (1780-1840), had the wit to form a collection of all the varieties of Staffordshire wares produced from the earliest times to his own. He was particularly interested in Elers, and had the opportunity of acquiring, from old people living in the neighbourhood of Bradwell, specimens which could hardly have been made by anyone else. The two pieces here given passed from his collection into that at the Jermyn Street Museum, and are now in the Victoria and Albert Museum. They are of a dark red body, thrown on the wheel, and then turned until they are exceedingly thin and light. The handles have been made by bending a little flat strip of clay, which was then neatly and firmly fastened on to the pieces. They bear some simple but refined ornamental devices in the shape



ELERS' IMITATORS.

FIG. 21.—RED TEAPOT AND COVER.

H. 3 in.

Victoria and Albert Museum.



ELERS.

FIG. 22.—RED MUG.

H. 2½ in.

Victoria and Albert Museum.



ELERS.

FIG. 23.—RED MUG.

H. 3 in.

Victoria and Albert Museum.

of rosettes and interlacing scroll work resembling a jewelled collar and pendant hung round the piece. The workmanship is perfect, and the ornamentation is so entirely in keeping with the rest of the work that such pieces must satisfy the most fastidious eye with their sense of unity, fitness, and refinement. The ornament has been formed by applying to the carefully turned piece while it was fairly hard, but before it had been completely dried, little bits of moister clay, which were then stamped with metal stamps, the pieces meanwhile being supported from the inside by the hand of the workman. The superfluous clay squeezed out from the edge of the stamp was then carefully removed with a little modelling tool, and any imperfections in the work corrected. Many pieces are known of exactly similar character to those here figured and described, and every collector of English pottery is proud to number them among his treasures. The ornamental stamps used were always of small dimensions, as befitted the size of the pieces themselves. Besides certain ornamental forms such as appear here, and which could be disposed in a variety of ways so as to make many decorative devices with a few simple tools, we have in addition a number of little figures, some of them with marked German feeling, such as "a lady with a parasol," "a huntsman with his horn," and figures emblematical of "the four quarters of the globe," or "the four seasons." Other teapots, mugs, or cups are known which have no stamped ornament at all, the piece having been finished in the lathe by turning into it narrow lines, or broad, flat bands. Such pieces as we may, with the utmost probability, ascribe to Elers are always of small dimensions (the two cups figured are only 3 inches and $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches high), and are invariably intended for use, not merely for ornament. Teapots, cups, and small jugs are most commonly met with, though occasionally we get diminutive piggins with beautifully made little ladles in the same material. The appearance of these fine and distinguished pieces seems to have excited some interest outside Staffordshire, for we find Dr. Martin Lister referring to them in the following terms of high praise:—

“I have this to add, that this clay, *Hæmatites*, is as good, if not better than that which is brought from the *East Indies*. Witness the *teapots* now to be sold at the potters in the *Poultry* in *Cheapside*, which not only for art, but for beautiful color too, are far beyond any we have from *China*; these are made from the *English Hæmatites* in *Staffordshire*, as I take it, by two Dutchmen, incomparable artists.”* Again, in his “Account of a Journey to Paris in the Year 1698,” he says, after speaking of the porcelain made at St. Cloud:—“As for the red ware of *China*, that has been and is done in *England*. . . . But we are in this particular beholden to two Dutchmen who wrought in *Staffordshire*, as I have been told, and were not long since at *Hammersmith*.” We also learn that the dainty red wares were so highly appreciated that the red teapots were sold at prices ranging from twelve shillings to twenty-five shillings each, with no doubt correspondingly high prices for the cups, mugs, and bowls.

From the neighbouring potters of *Staffordshire*, *Elers* received attention and notice of a much less pleasant character. Jealously guarding his secret (probably that of his attempts to make *Oriental porcelain*, towards which his red ware was no doubt regarded as the first step, being quite comparable with the finest red wares imported from *China* and *Japan*), he engaged as workmen the most stupid and idiotic persons of the labouring class that could be found. Two potters, *Twyford* and *Astbury*, who had already practised the craft, after the local methods, at *Shelton*, several miles away from *Bradwell*, acting independently of each other, feigned the requisite stupidity and idiocy, and obtained employment in the works. They persisted in this course of deception until they mastered the methods used by *Elers*, and then resumed their own businesses and set up a competitive trade. In this way the knowledge of processes which were far superior to those previously practised in the district was spread abroad, so that within a few years the potters of *Shelton*, *Burslem*, and *Stoke* were busily attempting to

* Note in *Phil. Trans.* Vol. XVII. 1693, p. 699.

supply the increasing demand for tea- and coffee-pots, sugar-basins and cream-jugs, with pieces made and decorated as nearly as possible like those of Elers himself. It has already been shown that the inhabitants of this district of Staffordshire had for a long time practised the primitive forms of the potter's art, and the processes used by Elers were so simple, and materials similar to his own were so abundant, that they could have experienced little difficulty in making tolerable imitations of his pottery. In these circumstances the identification of genuine examples becomes increasingly difficult. The exact tint can be no guide, for a little variation in the degree of fire must have made Elers' own pieces darker at one firing than at another. The most reliable indications will be found probably in the size of the pieces, the character of the handles and spouts, and the perfection and refinement of the ornament. The pieces ascribed to Elers with the greatest certainty, show no trace of moulding either in the body of the piece or in the handles and spouts, which are always plain and simple and evidently made by hand. On these grounds the teapot shown in Fig. 21, above the two Elers' cups, is now ascribed to one of their imitators, although it is of small size (3 inches high and 3 inches wide), for the handle and the spout have not been made by hand, but have been pressed from a mould of the well-known "crabstock" type.

In addition to this red ware, Elers is believed to have made a black ware of very similar character. Dr. Plot shows that the Staffordshire potters, before the advent of Elers, were acquainted with the method of darkening the surface of their red wares by dusting powdered oxide of manganese, or some manganiferous material, called by the workmen "magnus," on the surface of the ware along with the powdered lead ore used for the glaze. From this rude process Elers probably took a hint, and, as his red ware was not glazed, he added the same mineral to his clays and obtained a ware black throughout its substance. No pieces of black ware appear to be known that can now be ascribed to Elers, and the earliest black ware specimens remaining

were known to Enoch Wood as the work of Twyford, one of the men who penetrated into Elers' secrets (*see* p. 81).

So far we are on fairly solid ground, but with regard to the claim that Elers introduced the process of salt-glazing into Staffordshire, and largely practised it at his works at Bradwell, we have only a conflicting body of tradition, which, in spite of the most careful examination, leaves us still very much in the dark. The long-current idea that salt-glazing was accidentally discovered in Staffordshire by the boiling over of some strong brine in an earthen pot on an open fire is beyond belief; while even from the time when Elers left Staffordshire there seems to have been some tradition that he had practised salt-glazing, if not before the local potters, at all events in such a way as to excite their astonishment at the dense volumes of smoke and flame emitted from his furnaces. In Aikin's "History of Manchester," published in 1793, the following account is given.* "It was in the memory of some old persons with whom a friend of ours was well acquainted, that the inhabitants of Burslem flocked with astonishment to see the immense volumes of smoke which rose from the 'Dutchmen's ovens' on casting in the salt; a circumstance which sufficiently shows the novelty of this practice in Staffordshire Potteries."† Substantially the same story was given to Josiah Wedgwood in 1765 by an old workman named Steel, who could remember the Dutchmen at work at Bradwell and who joined those who ran to the place amazed at this unusual mode of firing. Josiah Wedgwood had certainly better means of arriving at the truth of this matter than we can now possess, yet we find him writing to Bentley in 1777, "I make no doubt but glazing with salt, by casting it amongst the ware whilst it is red-hot, came to us from Germany, but whether Mr. Elers is the person to whom we are indebted for this improvement I do not know."‡ It is difficult

* Aikin's "History of Manchester," p. 526.

† It will be observed that in this account there is no mention of Burslem *potters*, or that they were *eight* in number, as has been stated by other writers.

‡ Miss Meteyard's "Life of Josiah Wedgwood," p. 455 footnote.

for us to go beyond that statement to-day. If Elers knew the salt-glazing process, he is much more likely to have learnt it at Fulham than anywhere else; but while it is quite possible, and even probable, that he introduced the process into Staffordshire, our safest plan is to say "not proven." The traditional belief that stonewares were made in Staffordshire before the advent of Elers may be true enough (*see* p. 48), but we have no evidence that they were glazed with salt; yet within a few years of the opening of the eighteenth century we find salt-glazing firmly established there. Not even a fragment of salt-glaze that could with certainty be ascribed to Elers has ever been found. Shaw says that in his time and before, "the most careful research and inquiry in every direction near the spot supplied fragments of red unglazed porcelain;" but there is no mention of salt-glaze. Later digging for wasters, conducted by Mr. Thomas Hulme, of Burslem, and by Mr. Solon, failed to unearth any fragments even of the red ware, and it is greatly to be wished that some more systematic exploration should be made on the site of Elers' old factory.

We have no information of the exact circumstances which led to the withdrawal of John Philip Elers from North Staffordshire, but we can readily imagine that the prying disposition of the natives of the locality, and the unscrupulous means that some of them had used to penetrate into his secrets, must have been very galling to a man of education and refinement. He must also have found his situation at Bradwell too remote from London, by far the best centre for the sale of his wares; and if, as we may with great probability surmise, he had expended such means as he possessed in the fruitless quest of the secret of true porcelain, it is easy to understand why, about 1710, the factory at Bradwell and the house at Dimsdale were abandoned, and John Philip Elers rejoined his brother in London.

Of the subsequent career of the two brothers we have but meagre information, but such as we have appears to be fairly reliable. David Elers is said to have continued as a merchant in London and to have died unmarried, being

buried at Battersea.* John Philip Elers fell into greatly reduced circumstances, but attracted the notice of Lady Barrington, who set him up in business in a glass and china shop in Dublin, where he was very successful.† Apart from his possible introduction of salt-glaze, he conferred on the district many benefits which were fully appreciated and taken advantage of. The red and black bodies have never gone out of fashion since Elers made them, but even more valuable than the particular wares themselves were his superior methods of refining and mixing his clays, and the method of "turning" the pieces in the joiner's lathe to the utmost thinness of substance and precision of outline. That he introduced the method of "stamping" the clay ornaments is not by any means clear, though he certainly adopted a much finer and more delicate type of ornament than had been used in the district before. Most important of all was the influence of his refined taste, which must have been a revelation to the Staffordshire potters, and it is sad to reflect that Elers should have left the district impoverished and discontented with the results of his labours there.

* Jewitt's "Life of Wedgwood," p. 44.

† The authority for this statement will be found in Miss Meteyard's "Life of Josiah Wedgwood," p. 466.



TWYFORD.

FIG. 24.—BLACK TEAPOT.

H. 2 in.

Hanley Museum.



TWYFORD.

FIG. 25.—BLACK TEAPOT.

H. 3 in.

Hanley Museum.

CHAPTER VII.

ASTBURY, TWYFORD, DR. THOMAS WEDGWOOD, AND OTHER
CONTEMPORARIES OF ELSERS.

IT was briefly noted in the previous chapter how two potters of Shelton, named Astbury and Twyford, so successfully feigned stupidity or idiocy as to be employed by Elers long enough to master his processes. No doubt at the time they considered they were very clever fellows to impose so successfully upon a foreigner, and perhaps the only palliation of their conduct that can be urged is that, having acquired the information, they proceeded to develop and improve their knowledge by ingenious work on their own account, and this knowledge they appear to have communicated to their neighbours. Both Astbury and Twyford commenced working for themselves in Shelton, but independently of each other, for their works are said to have been situated on opposite sides of the mound where Shelton Church now stands. We have little information of Twyford or his productions.* Shaw states that Twyford made red ware (evidently like that made by Elers), and white stonewares, using lead-ore glaze for some vessels and salt for those of more value. No mention is made of Twyford's manufacture of black ware, and it is, therefore, singular that the only pieces of his pottery, with anything like an authentic attribution, that have come down to us, are two teapots of dull black clay now preserved in the Hanley Museum. They were presented by Enoch Wood, who knew them to be Twyford's work. These pieces are neither so elegant in shape nor so

*The Twyfords have, however, remained master potters in Staffordshire down to the present day. Mr. Thomas Twyford, the head of the famous sanitary ware pottery at Cliff Vale, Hanley, is a descendant of this Twyford. The site of the modern factory of the Twyfords is less than half a mile from the place where the original Twyford started his little works after he left Elers.

refined in finish as the pieces usually attributed to Elers. As will be seen from the reproduction in Figs. 24 and 25, the handles and spouts, though well enough made, present no sort of refinement, while the ornament, after the fashion already mentioned in describing the Elers wares, is more coarsely executed.

Of the subsequent career of Astbury* we have much fuller information, for not only did he carry on the processes he learnt from Elers, but many important improvements are attributed to his acumen and skill as a working potter. He appears to have commenced by manufacturing red unglazed pottery such as that made by Elers. It is, indeed, most difficult to be certain that some of the pieces ascribed to Elers may not equally well have been made by Astbury, or some other of the local potters who made ware of the same type. It would be only natural to expect that the taste of these local potters would be more florid than that of the Dutchman. But, in any case, Astbury and his contemporaries practised with very considerable skill the making of red tea- and coffee-pots, cups, mugs, and piggins; gradually increasing the size of their pieces, and adding moulded handles and spouts to them, instead of the simple hand-made spouts and handles of Elers.

The first invention ascribed to Astbury shows his decided departure from the refinement of Elers. This was the substitution of little bits of pipe-clay to receive the stamped ornaments. He thus obtained about the same chromatic variation as was found on the older slip wares of the district, but his ornament was less perfectly in keeping with the ware itself. That he considered the use of white pipe-clay for stamping an improvement is shown not only by the majority of the existing specimens ascribed to him, but by the fact that in excavations conducted more than forty years ago on the site of his old factory, the fragments unearthed were for the most part of this class. Unlike the Elers pieces, too, many of Astbury's pieces were glazed—sometimes with

* The Christian name of the elder Astbury is given variously as John, Thomas, and Samuel, by different writers.

the ordinary powdered lead ore, and sometimes with salt. Fig. 26 is reproduced from a well-known specimen in the British Museum, reasonably attributed to him. The piece is a teapot with globular body formed in a bright fawn-coloured clay, evidently a mixture of local clay with some pipe-clay and flint. The spout, the handle, and the stamped ornaments are all in white clay; the style of the ornament recalls that of Elers, but is more coarsely executed. There are some random touches of green glaze on the ornament, and the whole piece is covered with a lead glaze. Another piece (Fig. 27) in the same collection is a bowl of fine red clay, beautifully potted, on which a number of lozenges of white pipe-clay have been stuck and stamped with little stamps, so that they take the form of ships, fortifications, inscriptions, etc., the whole evidently being made in commemoration of the taking of Portobello by Admiral Vernon, as the stamped lettering reads:—

YE PRID OF SPAIN HUMBLED BY ADMIRAL VERNON. HE TOOK
PORTOBELLO WITH SIX SHIPS ONLY. NOV. YE 22, 1739.

If this piece was made by the elder Astbury it must have been one of his later productions, as he died in 1743. His son, Thomas Astbury, also a clever potter, commenced work at Lane Delph, now Fenton, in 1725, and we have no means of distinguishing his work from that of the father, so that the piece may have been made by either of them. We may remark, in passing, that the taking of Portobello was widely commemorated on the Staffordshire wares of the day; salt-glazed teapots, mugs, and tankards bearing similar devices and inscriptions are well known.* Such pieces would doubtless be made in 1740–41.

The greatest improvements which are attributed to the elder Astbury show that he developed into an original and successful potter. He is known to have travelled to London and other large centres to dispose of his goods, a most unusual thing at that time. It is commonly believed that he was the first Staffordshire potter to import the superior white clays of Devonshire in order to obtain a more perfect

* Fig. 36 shows one of these salt-glaze tankards of beautiful workmanship, from the Schreiber Collection in the Victoria and Albert Museum.

material than the white clays that Shelton and other parts of the district supplied. This white pipe-clay, mixed with fine white sand, he first used as a slip for washing or coating his vessels made of the strongly-coloured local clay. In 1720, if the traditional accounts can be relied upon, by a fortunate accident he was led to observe the extreme whiteness of calcined flint pebbles, and from trying the powder thus obtained in his wares in place of fine white sand, he was the real originator of the extended use of this form of silica by English potters. Here again we find the difficulties of tradition. Shaw, writing in the second decade of the nineteenth century, gives the merit of this discovery to Astbury, but Josiah Wedgwood, who ought to be a much more reliable authority, and who wrote some fifty years earlier, ascribes the same invention, arising from the same incident, to a Mr. Heath, of Shelton, and not to Astbury.*

These innovations, which the weight of evidence confirms us in attributing to the elder Astbury, were the basis for all later improvements in the manufacture of earthenware and stoneware in Staffordshire, so that we may be excused for dwelling on what might otherwise appear to be such trifling details.

It has already been pointed out that both Dwight of Fulham and Elers were greatly impressed by the rare and precious Oriental pottery and porcelain, and that, like other experimentalists in many European countries, they struggled to produce something as fine, as white, and as translucent as Chinese porcelain. The demand for a white pottery of superior quality had, independently, led to the production of the tin-enamelled wares of Italy, France, Holland, and

* The incident referred to, which Shaw says occurred to Astbury, and Wedgwood to Heath, was as follows: On a business journey to London, then naturally taken on horseback, before reaching Dunstable, or Banbury, the horse's eyes became seriously inflamed. The ostler of the inn put a small nodule of flint into the fire until it was red-hot, when he quenched it in water and pounded it to a very fine powder, a little of which was blown into each eye of the horse; the copious discharge which ensued relieved and cured them both. The potter, noticing the extreme whiteness of the calcined flint and also the readiness with which it was powdered, was led to try this material in the hope of improving the whiteness of his wares, with the most successful results.



ASTBURY.

FIG. 26.—TEAPOT, WITH GLOBULAR BODY
AND SPRIGGED ORNAMENT.

H. 4 in.

British Museum.

FIG. 27.—PORTOBELLO BOWL.

H. 4 in.

British Museum.

England. Knowing nothing of the true nature and composition of Chinese porcelain, the Staffordshire potters were incited to make a white pottery of their own that might compete with it. They had already discovered in their own district certain thin seams of clay which burned to a fairly white colour. These clays had been used principally in the form of slip for the decoration of their rude dishes, tygs, and posset-pots. Now, by the introduction of superior and even whiter clays from Devonshire, and a pure white form of silica in the shape of powdered flint, they were able to produce a species of pottery ware radically different from anything that had preceded it.* The mixture of the white Devonshire plastic clays (known at first as Bideford clays, from the port whence they were shipped, and afterwards as Chester clays because they were brought into the district by pack-horses from Chester, the other end of their sea voyage) with powdered calcined flint was used merely as a slip wash for coating the vessels made of the strongly-coloured local clays. This slip coating, in so far as it disguised the colour of the body, took the place of the coating of tin-enamel on the Delft and similar wares, but, unlike the tin-enamel, it did not fuse, and required for its completion a coating of glaze. For some time after 1720, when flint is said to have been introduced into the body, the glaze commonly employed was the traditional glaze of the district, namely, that obtained by dusting powdered lead ore over the clay vessel and firing body and glaze at one operation. Such a lead glaze has a strong yellow colour of its own, owing to the large amount of lead oxide that it contains, and so long as its use was persisted in, the finished ware, in spite of the white slip coating, always had a pale yellow or straw-colour tint. Even when the method of slip coating was abandoned, and the greater accessibility of these ingredients rendered it profitable to make the whole piece of Devonshire clay and flint, the crude lead-glaze

* The beautiful Henri II. ware of France, and some few other isolated productions, must of course be excepted from this general statement; but these earlier pieces, however beautiful, had absolutely no influence on the general course of ceramic development.

prevented the ware from displaying its natural whiteness, and it was left for subsequent improvements in the glaze itself to reveal the full beauty of this material. It is sometimes asserted that it was the younger Astbury who used the mixture of white clay and flint for the body of his ware, and so made the first cream-colour; but the statement is so absolutely unsupported by evidence that it cannot be trusted.

Meantime the process of salt-glazing, whether introduced by Elers or not, had gone on side by side with that of lead-glazing. Astbury and Twyford doubtless manufactured salt-glazed as well as lead-glazed wares, but local traditions ascribe many improvements in the salt-glazed wares to Dr. Thomas Wedgwood, a potter of Burslem, who was at work during the first half of the eighteenth century.*

It has never been suggested that Dr. Thomas Wedgwood, like Twyford or Astbury, learned anything directly from Elers, but as he was a man of intelligence and commercial aptitude, as well as one of the best practical potters of his day, he would naturally adopt such new ideas as were brought in his way. Judging by the fragments of drab salt-glazed stoneware that have been found on the site of his old works in the centre of the town of Burslem, collectors are in the habit of attributing to him, with some show of justice, many of the finest pieces of this type, such as the piece shown in Plate III. The delicacy and appropriateness of the ornamental devices stamped in white clay recall, in their fineness and finish, the best red pieces attributed to Elers, and, together with the warm drab colour of the pottery and the beautiful texture of the glaze, which is neither too bright nor too smooth, go to make up a ware of exceptionally fine quality. We are warranted, therefore, in agreeing with the traditional opinion as to the merits of this potter. The famous block-cutter, Aaron Wood, whose name will appear more than once in later pages, was apprenticed to Dr. Thomas Wedgwood in 1731, and is believed to have

* This Dr. Thomas Wedgwood is mentioned in a list of the Burslem potters at work about the time Elers left the district, which was drawn up by Josiah Wedgwood. Miss Meteyard's "Life of Josiah Wedgwood," Vol. I., p. 191.

carved some of his best models. In 1743 this same Aaron Wood was engaged for seven years to work only for Mr. John Mitchell, who is said to have secured his services in order that he might be better able to compete with Dr. Thomas Wedgwood.*

We have spoken of the wares of Astbury and Dr. Thomas Wedgwood with, perhaps, more certainty than the present state of our knowledge quite warrants; so far as is known, none of the potters of this period used any distinguishing marks; and though Dr. Glaisher possesses a teapot and milk-jug of red-ware marked "Astbury," those pieces may equally well have been the work of either the elder or the younger potter of that name. We have selected these names, however, not only from the traditional repute in which they are held in the Staffordshire Potteries, but because they have been applied as labels by collectors to wares of certain definite classes. We know quite well that wares of similar type were made by many potters in different parts of the district; but there is something appropriate in attaching the names of the best known potters of the period to the special varieties they are known to have manufactured.

The whole district, from the nature of its mineral resources, and from the long practice of many of its inhabitants in the simpler forms of pottery manufacture, needed only such stimulus as was supplied by Elers, coupled with the growing demand for lighter-coloured and better-finished wares than those hitherto made, to break out into a ferment of activity. On every hand new materials and improved methods were being experimented upon, and within a very few years we find, from the Patent records, that a number of patents were applied for and obtained, all bespeaking effort to improve the local manufacture.

In 1722, two years after Astbury is said to have introduced the use of calcined flint, Thomas Billing took out a patent "for making the most refined earthenware of a nature and composition not only transparent, but so perfect as to

* Both the agreements are given in Shaw's "History of the Staffordshire Potteries," pp. 151-154.

resist almost any degree of heat," by which he probably meant something like the fine white salt-glaze perfected a little later. By 1726 the grinding of calcined flint became of so much importance that Thomas Benson took out a patent for an engine for doing the same; but his first method proving defective, owing to the introduction of iron into the ground flint, which spoiled its colour, he amended it in 1732 by constructing the effective parts of his grinding machine of hard stone only. It is quite appropriate to find that the first of these improved machines for grinding calcined flint was erected behind Astbury's works at Shelton. The most interesting of these patents is that taken out in 1733 by Ralph Shaw, a potter of Burslem, for employing "various sorts of mineral, earth, clay, and other earthy substances, which, being mixed and incorporated together, make up a fine body of which a curious ware may be made, whose outside will be of a true chocolate colour, striped with white, and the inside white, much resembling the brown china ware, and glazed with salt." The process seems to have been nothing more than that of coating vessels made from the local red clay of the district with a slip wash of the mixture of white clay and flint which Astbury had introduced much earlier, and of which he never appears to have made any secret; the white layer on the outside of the piece was then scratched away so as to produce a pattern. The method was, in fact, simply that of "Graffiato," already described (*see* p. 27), but conducted with more carefully prepared materials. In Fig. 28 will be found a representation of a jug in the British Museum collection, which may well be one of the exceedingly rare examples of Shaw's manufacture that have survived.* Mr. Solon is the fortunate possessor of a fine bowl of similar type, which he etched for his "Art of the Old English Potter," and there can be no doubt whatever about the attribution of his piece. In the preparation of the

* It is but fair to add that some authorities consider this jug to have been made at Nottingham. The author is strongly of opinion, however, that the attribution given above is correct.



RALPH SHAW.

FIG. 28.—“GRAFFIATO” JUG.

H. 7 in.

British Museum.

white slip used for his ware, Shaw is said to have invented the process of drying his clay (after it had been mixed in the fluid condition and carefully sieved through a fine lawn to take out all the dirt and coarse particles) on a shallow kiln heated by flues running underneath. The kiln was covered over and kept locked up, the firing being done from the outside. This method of preparing potter's clay was a great advance on the primitive method of the sun-pan, described by Dr. Plot,* which had been previously used. In the sun-pan the slip was slowly evaporated down by sun and wind, an operation of uncertain duration, which left the clay open to all kinds of accidental contamination. Not content with having obtained a patent for the use of a clay slip and of methods which had been invented before his time, as well as with jealously guarding the construction of his slip-kiln, Shaw became most overbearing and litigious towards his fellow potters, until, in mere self-defence, they were obliged to take action. Many of the potters of the district united to bear the expense attendant on the trial of a suit he had commenced against the John Mitchell already mentioned. The trial took place at Stafford Assizes in 1736, when many witnesses proved Astbury's invention and prior use of the practice claimed by Shaw, so that the patent was nullified. Shortly afterwards he appears to have left the country and emigrated to France, where he is said to have carried on his trade, and, if so, was probably the first English potter to introduce into France those English products which within the next fifty or sixty years were to cause the abandonment of the old French painted faïence. Another minor improvement attributed to the same potter was that of using bits of sharp-edged stoneware to separate his vessels from each other during the firing process. This enabled him to fire many pieces, one inside another in the same sagger, so that the output of his ovens was largely increased. Since his time great ingenuity has been continuously displayed by

* Dr. Plot's account of the Staffordshire Potteries, *circa* 1683-6, is quoted in full in Chaffers' Ninth Edition, pp. 624-6, and in Jewitt's "Ceramic Art," Vol. I., pp. 97, 98.

English potters in devising all manner of sharp-pointed refractory supports for this purpose, and the small marks to be seen on the backs of most modern pieces show where they have been supported, during the firing of the glaze, in a similar way.

Down to 1740 the development and manufacture of lead-glazed and salt-glazed pottery went on side by side, the same mixtures of clays being used for both purposes. There can be no doubt, indeed, that the separation of the two branches of manufacture had not yet commenced; but it will be more convenient to consider their further development in separate chapters, and as the salt-glazed ware was perfected first it claims prior notice.

CHAPTER VIII.

STAFFORDSHIRE SALT-GLAZE.

WE have already considered the steps that led to the invention of this fine and beautiful substance, in the manufacture of which the Staffordshire potter displayed such taste and skill as his earlier productions had hardly foreshadowed. Soon after the year 1700 we find various potters at work in the town of Burslem, making what are described as "stonewares." Thus, in the list of Burslem potters referred to several times already, Dr. Thomas Wedgwood is described as making "brown stone" as early as 1710. It is probable that what is here described as "brown stone" was the early form of stoneware made by mixing the lightest-burning local clays with a fine white sand obtained from the neighbouring moorlands, on Baddeley Edge, or Mow Cop. The body thus compounded gave, at the heat necessary to fire it to stoneware, a light drab tint of pleasing quality, and for many years prior to the introduction of the South of England clays this was the characteristic colour of the salt-glaze ware. On Plate III. is shown a little teapoy of this kind, from the Victoria and Albert Museum, which is purposely placed along with a brown Chesterfield jug and a dappled mug, believed to be of Dwight's make, so that the special qualities of all three may be realised at a glance. Apart from the evidence of the body itself, we are further justified in regarding drab stoneware as of earlier date than the white, as such pieces are generally thrown and turned, and are decorated either with simply turned bands or lines, or with the stamped ornaments familiar on the red wares of the Elers type. The process of applying these patterns has been already described in the account of Dwight and of Elers (*see* pp. 45 and 75), so that it need not be

repeated here. The pieces are generally of small dimensions, and are almost all for the use of tea-drinkers, so that we cannot be surprised if their outlines are often reminiscent of those of Chinese porcelain.

In the search for whiter materials that set in, apparently with the eighteenth century, it was natural that the white clays of the neighbouring county of Derbyshire should be experimented upon. A whitish clay, obtained from some of the Derbyshire mines, had long been employed at Nottingham, in the manufacture of fine crucibles and glass pots, under the name of "Crouch clay." This material was also used in Staffordshire, and the stoneware made from it was known as "Crouch ware." This ware is said to have frequently developed a greenish tint from the traces of mineral impurity, probably in the form of copper pyrites, left in the clay. Shortly after 1720 the local clays and the "Crouch clay" were alike abandoned in favour of the much whiter body obtained from the mixture of South of England clays and calcined flint. This change had little or no effect on the ultimate chemical composition of the body.* It was solely dictated by the desire to obtain the nearest substitute for Oriental porcelain that was within the reach of our potters at this period, and we may well imagine that the men who first devised a ware so white, so translucent, and with such beautiful surface-quality as the white salt-glaze, felt that they had almost solved the problem. The manufacture of this kind of pottery soon became an important industry in Burslem and the neighbouring towns, and in addition to the two Astburys and Dr. Thomas Wedgwood already mentioned, we hear of Thomas and John Wedgwood of the Big House,

* Analyses of two fragments of ware, one drab and the other white, dug up on the site of the old factory of Dr. Thomas Wedgwood and therefore, presumably, of his make, gave the following percentage compositions :

Drab Body.		White Body.	
Silica	75·12	Silica	78·26
Alumina	19·67	Alumina	17·69
Oxide of Iron	1·85	Oxide of Iron	1·00
Lime	0·48	Lime	0·68
Magnesia	0·53	Magnesia	0·23
Soda	0·52	Soda	0·41
Potash	1·56	Potash	1·42
Loss on Ignition	0·25	Loss on Ignition	0·24



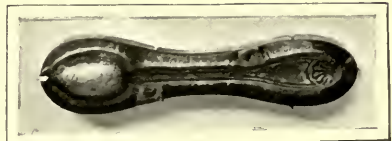
WHITE SALT-GLAZE.

FIG. 29.—BRASS MOULD FOR TRAY.
Victoria and Albert Museum.



WHITE SALT-GLAZE.

FIG. 30.—PICKLE TRAY, STAMPED FROM MOULD.
Victoria and Albert Museum.



WHITE SALT-GLAZE.

FIGS. 31 AND 32.—PARTS OF BRASS MOULD FOR
TEA-SPOON.
Victoria and Albert Museum.

Burslem, the famous Whieldon of Fenton, and R. and J. Baddeley (who created such a sensation in the district by erecting no fewer than four ovens in a row behind their factory at Shelton), as notable salt-glaze potters. It is said that about 1750 no less than sixty small factories were at work in this branch of the industry at Burslem alone, and an important and lucrative trade was soon set up, not only with the trading centres of England, but also with the nearer European countries and with the Colonies. It is interesting, indeed, to find that this distinctively English ware was so highly prized on the Continent that many of the best pieces in modern collections have been obtained from abroad, particularly from Holland.

The desire to make the ware as much like porcelain as possible led to increased efforts to produce pieces of the utmost possible thinness and delicacy. To this end a process was devised of actually "stamping" such shapes as could be stamped, in metal dies or moulds. A thin bat, or cake, of clay would be laid on the convex surface of a mould which might either be left plain or have a pattern clearly sunk or engraved in it; another metal mould of similar shape, but without pattern, was then laid upon it, the metal moulds being well oiled to prevent the sticking of the clay. The two moulds were then sharply stamped or squeezed together, and the bat of clay received its form and its ornament at a blow. In this way small articles, such as trays, spoons, pickle dishes, etc., were made so thin and crisp as almost to rival the exquisite eggshell porcelain of the East. A few moulds, once used for this purpose, are still preserved in the Hanley Museum, the Wedgwood Institute at Burslem, and the Victoria and Albert Museum. Fig. 29 shows a brass mould used for making a small tray. Below it is shown the tray itself (Fig. 30), and it is interesting to observe how much smaller the tray is than the mould from which it was stamped, proving the excessive contraction of the ware, due to the high temperature at which it was fired. On the same page will be found reproductions of the two halves of a spoon mould (see Figs. 31 and 32), and the four illustrations taken together explain the process at a glance. Moulds such as these could

only be used for the fabrication of comparatively small articles, and, indeed, the salt-glaze process rendered the manufacture of pieces of any size a matter of considerable difficulty. The demand for larger articles seems to have led the Staffordshire potter to devise another kind of mould, to which the ware owes some of its most characteristic forms and decorative features. There are in existence a few simple moulds, exactly resembling the metal ones already described, which have been carved from slabs of alabaster.* This material is easily carved into precise forms, and as it was mined in considerable quantities in certain districts of Staffordshire and Derbyshire within a day's walk of the Potteries, it would naturally suggest itself for such a purpose.† The main difficulty that limited the size of the metal moulds must equally have limited the size of those made of alabaster, and the next step was to carve the mould not from one piece, but from a number of pieces, according to the size and the shape of the vessel required. The complete mould was then put together by assembling the separately carved sections, and retaining them in position by tying them up with a piece of string or supporting them with a strip of metal. A fairly thick bat of clay was then pressed into the mould and carefully worked into all the carved ornament with the fingers; in complicated pieces a separate clay impression could be taken of each section of the mould, and these, when sufficiently dry, were carefully "trued up" at the edges and stuck together with slip; in this way the first proof impression of the object required would be obtained. Generally, this proof was fired in the oven, and became the block from which an unlimited number of moulds could be taken, either in soft clay or in plaster-of-Paris, and these were used as the working moulds for making the actual pieces. Every good collection contains examples of these clay blocks, many of which have a thin coating of salt-glaze. Mr. Thomas Hulme has presented to the Wedgwood Institute at Burslem a

* Some alabaster moulds are preserved in the Hanley Museum.

† Josiah Wedgwood attributed the introduction of alabaster moulds to Elers, but this is highly improbable.



WHITE SALT-GLAZE.

FIG. 33.—BLOCK FOR SALT-GLAZE CUP.

H. 2½ in.

Victoria and Albert Museum.

FIG. 34.—SALT-GLAZE CUP MADE FROM BLOCK.

H. 2 in.



WHITE SALT-GLAZE.

FIG. 35.—HEART-SHAPED TRAY.

L. 4 in.

Victoria and Albert Museum.

particularly fine collection, obtained during the demolition of the old residence of Enoch Wood, who so assiduously gathered together the wares and the appliances of his predecessors. Fig. 33 is taken from such a block in the Victoria and Albert Museum, and side by side with it is a cup (Fig. 34) which may have been made in a mould taken off that identical block. Again we are struck with the difference in the size between the fired piece and the block.

It has just been stated that the working moulds from such blocks were made at first of clay, and afterwards of plaster-of-Paris. The actual pieces were shaped in these moulds by a process which then made its first appearance in England. This is the process known as "casting," which has frequently been decried as not being a true pottery process, and as being one of the direct causes of the debasement of the manufacture of salt-glaze. Such a view is entirely erroneous, for the process of "casting" is just as much in keeping with the natural qualities of clay as that of "throwing" itself; while for the production of sharp and thin ware, no method can give better results. The process is carried out as follows:—Instead of using the clay in the plastic form, as it would be used for "throwing" or moulding, the clay is used in the fluid or "slip" condition. If clay-slip is poured into a porous mould some of the water is absorbed by the mould, the inner walls of which are thus coated with a thin lining of clay. When this lining has attained a certain thickness, the remaining (fluid) slip is poured out, and the mould with its clay lining is set aside to dry. On drying, the clay first hardens and shrinks, and finally, if of a suitable nature, releases itself from the mould, and can be removed in a piece—in the case of simple moulds by merely turning them upside down, or, in the case of more complicated shapes, by taking the separate parts of the mould asunder. Such a clay-cast reproduces every indentation or impression of the mould in reverse, and, when sufficiently hard, can be trimmed off at the seams and edges and have handles or spouts applied, just like a piece of thrown or pressed ware. It has been frequently stated that "casting" was performed

in metal moulds. This is a mistaken idea, as no mould can be used for "casting" pottery which is not porous. Another error found in most of the descriptions that have been hitherto given of the process is the statement that after the film or coating of clay, in the "pitcher" mould, had dried somewhat, a fresh portion of liquid slip was poured in and out as before, this operation being repeated until the desired thickness was obtained. Any such attempt would result in disastrous failure. The mould is only filled once, and the time allowed to elapse before the unabsorbed slip is poured out is entirely dependent on the condition of the mould and the thickness of cast desired. This error has probably arisen from the fact that as the absorption of the water goes on, it is necessary, from time to time, to add a few more drops of slip to keep the fluid contents up to the top of the mould, otherwise the upper part of the cast will be thinner than the rest; but in any case the mould is only emptied once. It cannot be too clearly emphasised that the metal moulds were used only for stamping or pressing in the manner described above. (*See* page 93.) At first the moulds used for the "casting" process appear to have been made of tough clay, dried so as to be somewhat absorbent, but these could never have produced fine work, as they would soon lose all their sharpness. An improvement in this respect was effected by firing the clay moulds so as just to convert them into pottery (the workman's term is "pitcher"). In this condition they would be very absorbent. Some time after 1743, and before 1750, it is stated that Ralph Daniel, a stoneware potter of Cobridge, near Burslem, after a visit to France, brought into the Staffordshire Potteries the first mould of plaster-of-Paris. This he exhibited to his neighbours, at the same time explaining how it had been produced.* The result was that moulds of plaster-of-Paris soon displaced the earlier clay or "pitcher" moulds, having the advantage of being more quickly and simply made, while they would deliver their casts in a shorter time. They have the disadvantage, however, of losing

* Shaw's "History of the Staffordshire Potteries," p. 163.



WHITE SALT-GLAZE.

FIG. 26.—TANKARD WITH STAMPED FIGURES
REPRESENTING THE TAKING OF
PORTOBELLO.

H. 7 in. Dia. 4 in.

Victoria and Albert Museum.

their sharpness much more rapidly than "pitcher" moulds, so that their introduction was by no means an unmixed blessing, though it was not the evil it has generally been made out to be.

Every fresh method of fabrication naturally brings with it certain peculiarities—sometimes advantageous, sometimes the reverse—which in the hands of skilful workmen give the work an individual character eloquent of the process itself. It would be impossible to find a better illustration of this persistent influence of method than is shown by the forms devised by the Staffordshire block-cutters and mould-makers in the evolution of the process of "casting" from moulds. The fact that the original mould was carved in hollow sections led to the production of patterns in which the seams between the different sections became quite a feature of the design. Round shapes could, of course, be most easily "thrown," but the many-sided teapots, cups, and other vessels; the purse-shaped teapots, made by sticking together two halves of a pecten shell; the lobed or heart-shaped teapots with embossed ornament; or those taking the form of a house all four sides of which were alike, bear witness to the control exercised by the process of block-cutting. The ingenuity with which the block-cutter availed himself of his process, by keeping largely to such simple forms of ornament as could be effectively rendered by a single stroke of the gouge, is also noteworthy, and gives us a good idea of his workmanlikeness and of his power of adapting means to ends. It is almost impossible to praise too highly the fertility of resource shown by these untutored block-cutters and potters. They readily adapted, from other crafts, such processes as were suited to their special requirements, and while their technique fortunately prevented much direct copying, it stimulated their powers of adaptation. Many of the master-potters were their own block-cutters, but the most famous block-cutter was one Aaron Wood, who had been apprenticed to Dr. Thomas Wedgwood in 1731 to learn the art, trade, and mystery of a potter, "throwing on the wheel being out of this indenture excepted." He was afterwards engaged, in 1743, in a penal bond of £10, to work for

a term of seven years for Mr. John Mitchell only, at the munificent sum of 7s. per week, with a bonus of 10s. 6d. a year extra (*see* p. 87). We are further told that he was engaged by Mitchell in order that that potter might be better able to compete with Dr. Thomas Wedgwood, then the best salt-glaze potter in Burslem. It appears that in later years, owing to Aaron Wood's repute as a block-cutter, he was able to make the stipulation that he should work only in a locked room, in order that he might keep his methods secret. We have it on Shaw's authority that he worked under these conditions for Thomas Whieldon at Fenton, and there produced some of the finest models for which that potter was famous. Another block-cutter whose name is handed down to us was Ralph Wood, brother of Aaron Wood, who, in addition to producing blocks of the ordinary type, also modelled a considerable number of the early Staffordshire figures (*see* p. 164). A few blocks are known which have been scratched with the initials of these two brothers, but for the most part it is just as impossible to identify the work of any individual block-cutter as it is to say who was the maker of any particular piece of salt-glazed ware.

The introduction of moulds of plaster-of-Paris about 1750 rendered the production of pieces of large dimensions much easier. From this period we must date most of the plates, dishes, soup-tureens, etc., bearing patterns of embossed basket-work, in many of which the imitation is carried still further, by the piercing of the rim or other parts of the piece. Such pieces were made not by "casting," but by "pressing" or moulding. A cake of clay was carefully applied to the mould, squeezed into its recesses by the hand of the workman, and finally smoothed off by the application of a rag, a piece of sponge, or some similar yielding substance. Such pieces are, of course, much thicker than those that have been stamped in metal moulds, or cast in those of "pitcher" or plaster. It was this process which helped to bring about the downfall of the white salt-glaze, as it enabled the potter to make dishes, plates, and other table requisites for which the ware, from the want of smoothness of its glaze, and its inability to resist sudden changes of temperature, was not really well



WHITE SALT-GLAZE.

FIG. 37.—BOTTLE.

H. 9 in.

Victoria and Albert Museum.

adapted. Professor Church has pointed out that anyone who ever used a knife or a spoon on a salt-glazed plate or dish would understand the disadvantage under which the ware labours when used for table purposes. In order to fire these large and elaborately pierced pieces safely, it was necessary to make them of considerable thickness—so that the grace and delicacy which charm us in the thinner pieces were entirely lost.

It must not be supposed that, as these processes succeeded each other, the last one ever caused the entire abandonment of those that had preceded it. Each method of fabrication, as it was developed and perfected, simply enabled the potter to manufacture pieces differing in shape, size, or style of ornamentation from those which he had made before. For round vessels "throwing" would always be preferred, and with the "thrown shape" naturally went the forms of decoration associated with it from the beginning. Handles formed by hand from thin strips of clay, simply bent over and attached to the pot; spouts softened out of the lip of a thrown piece, or stuck to it as a simple curved piece of clay; turned bands, lines, or other enrichments, cut by a turning tool, in the lathe; and applied bits of clay impressed with brass stamps, are the general forms of enrichment. We find many examples so decorated which, from their perfect quality, or from something which enables us to date them, must have been made after the later processes had come into full operation. A good example is furnished by a cylindrical quart tankard, of beautiful quality, in the Schreiber collection (*see* Fig. 36). This piece is very thinly and sharply turned; the handle is made in the old way, and the stamped reliefs represent the taking of Portobello in 1739, so that the piece dates itself about 1740-41. It is interesting to compare these reliefs with those shown on the bowl attributed to the elder Astbury (*see* Fig. 27). The inscriptions on the two pieces read differently—that on the bowl has been already given (p. 83), while on this tankard we find:—

THE	BY	: HE	WITH	ИОВ.
BRITISH	ADMIRAL	TOOK	SIX ::	Ye: 22
GLORY:	ВЕРИОН:	PORTO	SHIPS:	1739
REVIV:D		BELLO	ONLY:	

Another beautiful example of the perfection to which this earliest method could be carried is shown in a bottle, of Chinese shape, in the Schreiber collection (Fig. 37). The piece has apparently been broken at the neck, and now has a stopper of silver. The skill with which the beautiful stamped ornament has been applied, and the lovely quality of the glaze, neither too glossy nor too smooth, but showing that perfection of granulated surface which is one of the distinctive charms of salt-glaze, warrant us in reproducing the bottle here.

In many pieces decorated in this early style, we find that the stamped ornaments have been completed by the addition of little rolls, lines, or bands of clay, made by hand, and stuck on so as to form stems, sprays, or tendrils (*see* Fig. 38). In this way it was possible to create quite a variety of designs, using only a few simple stamps for the leaves and flowers; a process which was largely employed on the later red teapots made by the imitators of Elers. In the same way, too, the spouts of the teapots and the handles of teapots, cups, mugs, and jugs, were made in moulds in a variety of fanciful forms, some of them more quaint than elegant. The common "crabstock" handle, as it is called, evidently a reproduction of a bit of rustic woodwork, is a very early and common type. We cannot wonder at this, for, as was pointed out in the last chapter, during the first forty years of the eighteenth century at least, many of the potters made red unglazed stoneware as well as salt-glazed stoneware, together with the earlier forms of cream-colour, so that we must expect to find the same methods of manufacture and the same style of decoration used on all these wares, so far as the materials would admit.

The method of stamping in metal dies brought with it a more complex and finished style of embossed ornament, for with a suitable pattern once engraved in this way an unlimited number of pieces could be made. The two little trays, Figs. 30 and 35, both shaped by stamping in metal moulds, are absolutely typical of their class.

Similarly the technique of the block-cutting process, by which the original models of the cast pieces were made,



WHITE SALT-GLAZE.

FIG. 38.—TEAPOT.

H. 5 in.

Victoria and Albert Museum.



WHITE SALT-GLAZE.

FIG. 39.—SAUCE-BOAT.

L. $7\frac{1}{2}$ in.

Victoria and Albert Museum.



WHITE SALT-GLAZE.

FIGS. 40 AND 41.—CUPS.

H. $2\frac{3}{4}$ in. H. $2\frac{1}{2}$ in.

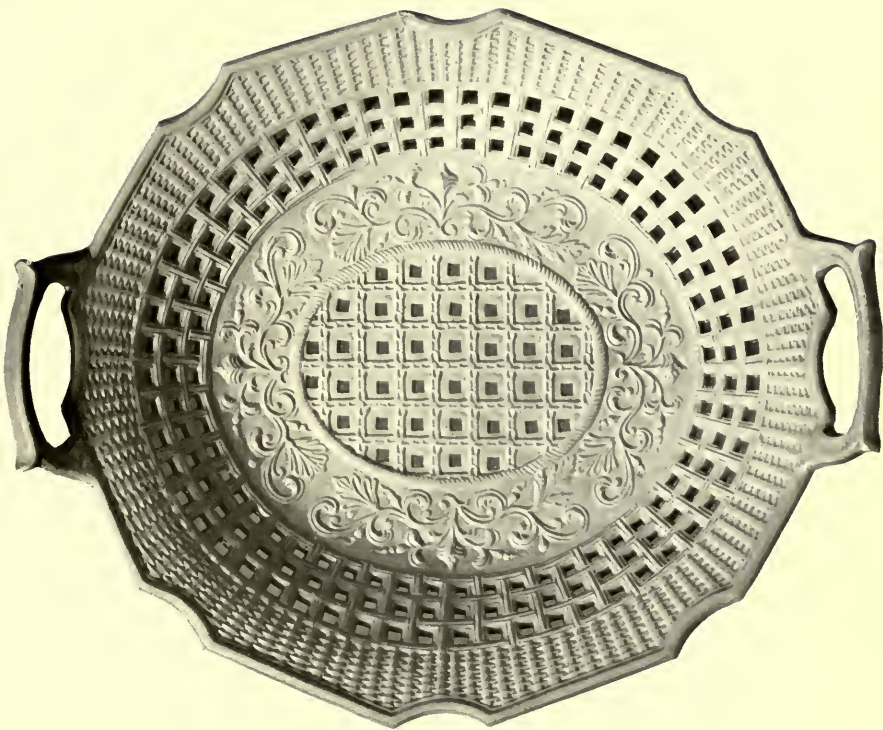
Victoria and Albert Museum.

gives us a third type, well illustrated by the two cups, Figs. 40 and 41. As the first model was carved in separate sections there was of course a plain seam where these sections were united, and instead of attempting to disguise this seam, as the modern workman would be likely to do, the eighteenth-century block-cutters took advantage of it, and divided their ornament into separate strips or panels, each one fitting the space into which it was carved. Moulds of this kind lent themselves to the manufacture of many-sided vessels, hence the abundance of examples with four, six, or eight sides. The same method was, however, applied to round shapes too, as will be seen by reference to Figs. 34, 40, and 41. The ingenuity and, shall we say the rusticity, of the potter, turned this method also to the production of the many quaint, even comical, teapots representing animals. The favourite animal forms appear to have been those of the camel, the squirrel, the bear, and the cat; but in many cases they are redeemed from undue naturalism, both by the simplicity of the modeller, which left him satisfied with a rendering quite remote from actuality, and by the introduction of embossed scrolls or flowers, which show that his intention, at all events, was to produce ornament. Another favourite device was based on the pecten shell, the simple ribbed form of which lent itself readily to the tool of the block-cutter. Thus we have teapots, sauce-boats, and many other articles, with their two sides shaped as much like the valves of a pecten shell as possible, the vessel being completed by plain, rounded pieces of clay, out of which the spout and the handle spring. More elegant, and better considered in their design, are the double-handled sauce-boats in which the effect of the ribbing of the pecten shell has been obtained, without too close an adherence to its natural form. Some of the pieces of this description mark the very perfection of the work of the period (*see* Fig. 39).

When the introduction of moulds of plaster-of-Paris enabled the potter to make larger pieces by the method of "pressing," the production of complete dinner services was largely developed; so that from about 1750 salt-glaze

ware avowedly entered into competition with tin-enamelled pottery and with porcelain. Plates and trays, large dishes for meat, fish, and game, as well as soup-tureens and other requisites for a well-appointed table were produced in abundance for both the home and foreign markets. The mere mention of such articles shows how the eighteenth-century potter was successfully catering for those much higher in the social scale than the purchasers of the ware of the peasant-potter. Many of the shapes and ornamental devices introduced at this period show no less strongly the influence of the perforated porcelain plates, dishes, and trays made in imitation basket-work lately introduced at Dresden, the first home of true porcelain manufacture in Europe. The Dresden pieces are noted among ceramic collectors for their delicacy, intricacy, and skill, but the productions of the Staffordshire potter are equally noteworthy, and, from their very simplicity, are less open to objection on the score of inartistic imitation than their foreign prototypes. Such salt-glaze pieces are by no means servile copies of the Dresden patterns (a real Dresden piece must, at this time, have been something of a rarity in remote Staffordshire), and in English hands the work soon acquired a more practical character. Aaron Wood is known to have modelled several patterns with basket-work centres and pierced borders, specimens of which are to be found in every good collection of salt-glazed wares. Fig. 42 is taken from a fine oval dish in the Victoria and Albert Museum, and shows the perfection of workmanship reached in such articles. Similar patterns were produced by many makers between 1750 and 1780, but they appear to have been most extensively manufactured by the firm of R. and J. Baddeley, of Shelton, who were amongst the best potters of this period.

Having thus described in detail the various methods successively devised for the fabrication of the pieces, together with the styles of decoration that were the legitimate outcome of such methods, we must give some account of the different ways in which applied colour was used on the salt-glaze as an additional decorative resource. No doubt,



WHITE SALT-GLAZE.

FIG. 42.—OVAL TRAY.

L. 14 in.

Victoria and Albert Museum.



SCRATCH-BLUE.

FIG. 43.—TEAPOT.

H. $5\frac{1}{2}$ in.

Victoria and Albert Museum.

in the earliest times the common oxide of iron and oxide of manganese, so long used in the decoration of the rude slip-wares, would be tried on the improved whiter body. There are a few salt-glazed pieces which show a more or less accidental yellowish colour from the use of oxide of iron, and, still more rarely, we find pieces tinged on parts of the ornament with the violet colour given by oxide of manganese with salt-glaze. It is on this ware, however, that the rich, dark cobalt blue, so largely used on the earlier tin-enamelled wares, makes its first definite appearance among the decorative materials of the Staffordshire potter. Cobalt was still a rare and expensive substance, but its staining powers are so great that a little of it would go a long way. It was first used in the production of "scratch" blue patterns of the simplest kind. On the pieces which had been made by "throwing" and "turning" or by "casting," some rude pattern of simple scrollery was scratched in the dry clay with a sharp-pointed iron tool. With a flock of cotton-wool or rag, powdered zaffres (a dark blue glass stained with cobalt oxide) was dusted into the scratched lines, and, after firing in the salt-glaze kiln, the lines appeared filled with dark blue colour, surrounded with a lighter blue zone where the cobalt had stained out, whilst the rest of the piece had the ordinary white or grey colour of the ware. A very simple form of this scratch-blue decoration will be found on the piece illustrated in Fig. 34; a simple and not inelegant band of scrollery has been scratched into the otherwise plain rim of a "cast" cup, the body of which is covered with embossed ornament. Many similar pieces are known in which the plain rim has a rough cross-hatching of lines filled with blue. Generally speaking, the results obtained by this method were the reverse of artistic; the patterns were mostly scratched by women with the point of an iron nail; no master-potter considered it essential to provide good designs, so that the "flowerers," as the women were called, appear to have scrawled their patterns at their own sweet will. Rude as was the general result, scratch-blue mugs, jugs, and posset-pots were in great demand, and as the

process was one by which dates, names, and inscriptions could be readily supplied without the necessity of making any new tool or mould for the special purpose, inscriptions are more common on this class of salt-glaze pieces than on any other. That the method might easily have been turned to better decorative account is shown by an exceptional little teapot in the Schreiber collection (*see* Fig. 43). A teapot of well-known style, bearing an embossed pecten shell in the centre of each side, has had its plain surfaces scratched with a simple but most effective pattern of scroll foliage and little birds. Among scratch-blue wares such a piece as this is unfortunately very rare.

Another and, in its result, much more effective use of cobalt in the decoration of salt-glazed ware is attributed to William Littler, best known for his abortive attempts to establish the manufacture of porcelain at Longton Hall between 1750 and 1758.* William Littler was originally a salt-glaze potter working at Brown-Hills, near Burslem, and soon after 1740 he is said to have tried to improve the ordinary processes of his trade. At this period he was working in conjunction with his brother-in-law, Aaron Wedgwood, and, taking a hint from the method previously invented by Astbury, they got a finer surface on their ware by dipping it, while it was still in the clay state, into a bath of carefully lawned slip of the same ingredients. In this way they improved the smoothness of the surface and consequently of the salt-glaze upon it. Ultimately, by adding to the slip a small proportion of the ground zaffres or cobalt-glass, already alluded to, they produced a blue dip which, under the salt-glaze, developed a tint of exceeding richness and brilliance.† Sometimes this blue dip was employed on an embossed piece, and in such cases the effect produced by the embossing

* *See* Burton's "History of English Porcelain," p. 76 *et seq.*

† On the strength of Shaw's account of this process many writers have mistakenly ascribed to William Littler and Aaron Wedgwood the introduction of fluid glazes. It is perfectly clear both from Shaw's account ("Shaw's History," pp. 168 and 169), as well as from the pieces themselves, that what they introduced was not fluid glaze but the use of a fine slip, sometimes coloured blue, sometimes left white, into which the clay pieces were dipped before salt-glazing.

PLATE VII.

WILLIAM LITTLER.

Coffee-pot: with Blue Salt-glaze and raised White
Enamel Decoration.

H. 8 in.

Victoria and Albert Museum.

Faint, illegible text at the top of the page, possibly a header or introductory paragraph.

1917

WILLIAM J. ...

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gives an additional charm, from the variety it lends to the tint. A few pieces of exceptional merit are known in which, after glazing, the piece has been still further enriched by little sprays of flowers, etc., in raised white enamel. Such pieces are strongly reminiscent of the so-called "Persian style" of Nevers.* The resemblance, indeed, is so striking as to suggest that Littler had seen, or had become possessed of a piece of Nevers ware of this type, or that he employed some French enamel-painter who enriched the blue ground with this fine embellishment. A reproduction of one of these pieces, now in the Schreiber collection at the Victoria and Albert Museum, and the best available for our purpose, is given in Plate VII. A still finer example is in the possession of Professor Church, while another piece, not quite so fine, was recently sold at Sotheby's, on the dispersal of the collection of Mr. John Hodgkin. Occasionally such pieces appear to have been still further enriched by the addition of size gilding. We are unable to state the exact year when these were made, but it is probable that they date from the period of Littler's porcelain manufacture at Longton Hall, where we find precisely the same use of white enamel on a blue ground, and of size gilding. Examples of all these productions of Littler are exceedingly rare.

The more the salt-glaze was perfected in whiteness, in delicacy, and in finish, the more its makers could venture to bring it into rivalry with porcelain, so that soon after the establishment of the early English porcelain works at Bow and Chelsea we find the rivalry pushed a step further by the introduction into Staffordshire of the process of "enamelling," hitherto used only on porcelain. In enamel decoration the painting is applied on the fired glaze, the colours used being such as were employed by the glass painter or the enameller of metals. Enamel colours contain a large proportion of fusible glass or flux, so that when the piece has been painted it only needs to be raised again to a clear red heat to fuse them firmly to the glaze. At this low temperature many

* See M. L. Solon's "Old French Faïence," Plate VII. (Cassell & Co., London, 1903.)

colours can be used which would disappear at the high temperature necessary to melt the glaze itself; hence the palette of the on-glaze painter is much more varied than that of the under-glaze painter, while if the enamels are thickly applied they yield most brilliant tints. This process of decoration was introduced into the Potteries by two Dutchmen who settled at Hot-Lane (now Cobridge). They purchased white salt-glaze from the neighbouring manufacturers and enamelled it in the style which the Dutch had evolved from their study of the patterns on Oriental porcelain. These Dutchmen seem to have done their utmost to keep the process secret, and to this end are said to have erected the muffle kilns, in which their painting was fired, in a garden at Bagnall, then quite away from any pottery works. It was impossible that they should succeed in this aim, for they were not the only enamellers in England, and in a very short time workmen who had been employed in decorating porcelain and "Delft" wares in other parts of England, soon found employment in Staffordshire. The first native potter to do his own enamelling is said to have been Ralph Daniel, of Cobridge, the same manufacturer who introduced moulds of plaster-of-Paris, and in whose vicinity the Dutchmen had established themselves. He brought workmen from Bristol, Chelsea, Worcester, and Liverpool, and within a very few years the district of Hot-Lane, or Cobridge, became a nest of enamellers, who either worked for the trade or bought ware in the white and decorated it on their own account. We shall see later that even the famous Josiah Wedgwood had his early cream-coloured ware enamelled by Mrs. Warburton, of Hot-Lane, a neighbour of this Ralph Daniel. The earlier pieces of enamelled salt-glaze, some of which may with propriety, from their style, be ascribed to the two Dutchmen, are often most commendable both for their harmonious colouring, and for the broad and effective way in which the touches of enamel were applied. A slaty blue colour, not unlike that appearing on many pieces of Bow and Chelsea porcelain, is almost characteristic of these particular pieces. Next we note the intro-

PLATE VIII.

ENAMELLED SALT-GLAZE.

Victoria and Albert Museum.



duction of floral sprays less distinctively Oriental in feeling but still quite satisfactory; the enamels were put on in thick bold touches, standing up almost like jewels on the refractory salt-glaze, the crinkled surface of which enhanced their brilliance by its added reflections. (*See Plate VIII.*) As the painters became more expert, the artistic value of their work diminished, and the delicate tracery with which the heavily embossed pecten patterns were picked out in fine lines of red and blue, though no doubt extremely skilful, possesses little merit. This increasing skill also led to the painting of landscapes and figures in the style so well known in connection with the porcelain of Chelsea and of Worcester. The King of Prussia, then so popular in England, seems to have been commemorated by the salt-glaze enamellers even more gaily, if less widely, than by the Worcester china-printers. Every collection of salt-glaze contains a teapot on the body of which his profile is enamelled in proper colours; a more inartistic production it would be scarcely possible to imagine.

Mention must, however, be made of the late pieces, unfortunately only too rare, in which rich-coloured enamel grounds, doubtless in imitation of those produced on Chelsea porcelain, make their appearance. The quality of these enamel grounds—in red, gold-purple, and turquoise—is noteworthy, that of the turquoise blue especially so; salt-glaze forming almost the best possible ground for the perfect development of that tint. As we have seen, the enamellers of salt-glaze were generally brought from some of the English porcelain factories, so that their work was executed in a similar style. The greater part of the piece was covered with one rich colour, small panels of varied shape being reserved to receive some bit of delicate painting. Size gilding was generally introduced to complete such pieces, and the final effect was as bright and as showy as could be desired.

Leaf gold was often used alone for the decoration of some of the richly embossed pieces of the later salt-glaze, and, as the method of firing the gold to the glaze had not then been mastered by the Staffordshire potters, they

were compelled to attach their gold merely by japanner's size. Traces of gilding executed in this way will be found on the embossed ornaments of the teapot shown in Fig. 38.

Finally, when the method of transferring printed designs to glazed pottery was perfected at Liverpool, about 1755, a considerable quantity of salt-glazed ware was finished—it can hardly be said to have been decorated—by this process. The Staffordshire potters doubtless sent their wares to Liverpool to be printed by Sadler and Green, but as the process did not come largely into use until salt-glaze had fallen on evil days it need not occupy much attention here.

By 1780 at the latest, the salt-glaze ware was practically abandoned in favour of the simpler, more tractable, and therefore less expensive, cream-coloured earthenware. Its production lingered on in one or two works for some years longer; indeed, the last factory in Burslem is said only to have been closed about 1823.

Although the industry originated in the Staffordshire Potteries and was centred there throughout its course, a small quantity of similar wares was made in one or two other places. The "Delft" ware potters of Liverpool were keenly alive to what was going on in Staffordshire, and strove to adopt all the successive improvements introduced there. There is little authentic information to enable us to distinguish the pieces made at Liverpool, apart from those bearing stamped impressions of a bird with a twig in its mouth, the bird representing the "Liver," which is the crest of the town.*

Jackfield, a little hamlet about a mile below Ironbridge in Shropshire, had long possessed pottery works where simple peasant-pottery had been made, and some salt-glaze was also made there about the middle of the eighteenth century. A moment's reflection as to the routes by which the Staffordshire potters conveyed their wares to the then important port of Bristol, for shipment to the American colonies and elsewhere, helps to account for such an occurrence. Before the rise of Liverpool to eminence as a trading port, the Staffordshire

* Some of these pieces with bird decoration must have been made in Liverpool, as many wasters were found on the site of Shaw's factory there.

pottery, equally with the Manchester cloths, the Leeds woollens, and Sheffield cutlery, was sent by pack-horse to certain depôts on the Severn, whence it was despatched to Gloucester and Bristol in the old-fashioned river barges known as Severn "trows." Bridgnorth, Bewdley, and Stourport were in those days great warehousing centres for the traffic so conducted, and we can readily understand the potters of Jackfield, who were in frequent communication with those of Staffordshire,* conceiving the idea of starting this new manufacture, and so saving the troublesome and costly transit to the river. "About 1763 a potter named Simpson is said to have made a ware, the body of which was pipe-clay glazed with salt; this he sent down the Severn for export to America—a trade to which the American War of Independence put an end."†

The evidence adduced in favour of similar wares having been made at Leeds‡ and Swansea is most inconclusive, though we must admit that they might well have been made in other places than those here mentioned.

It is impossible to take leave of the famous white salt-glaze without a few words in appreciation of its many charming qualities. It was the first refined pottery that the English potter evolved by working after his own ideas, and is the most perfectly English form of pottery we have, for it was never made elsewhere. When one recalls the beautiful qualities of colour and texture of the thin pieces of the best period, the admirable way in which its makers had adapted their processes so as to display the beauties of the ware to the greatest advantage, and the triumphant skill with which they had overcome the risks attendant on firing such dainty pieces at so high a temperature, one cannot but regret its disappearance from the scene.

* Jewitt states that as early as 1560 entries occur in the parish registers of Stoke-upon-Trent of people as "from Jackfield."

† Jewitt's "Ceramic Art of Great Britain," Vol I., p. 304.

‡ White salt-glaze was decorated by Robinson and Rhodes in Leeds about 1760, but they probably obtained the ware itself from Staffordshire. It is known that salt-glaze was enamelled in many places outside Staffordshire, just as the white pieces of Worcester and Chelsea porcelain were enamelled at many other places besides the works where they were made.

CHAPTER IX.

THOMAS WHIELDON AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES.

THE development of English cream-colour has been incidentally treated in the previous chapters in so far as it marched step by step with that of salt-glazed stoneware, and it is to the labours of the potters already mentioned—particularly the Astburys (father and son)—that we must ascribe a principal share in the creation of this new form of pottery. The temperature of firing, as well as the chemical nature of salt-glaze, combined to make that ware something in the nature of a new creation. But cream-colour was still earthenware, fired and glazed in the old way traditional in the district, so that many of the primitive methods were continued in its manufacture and decoration; and these must be duly considered before we enter on the final period, when the cream-colour of the Warburtons, Wedgwoods, Turners, Mayers, and other Staffordshire potters overran the civilised world, setting a fashion in pottery manufacture that has endured to our day, and still shows no sign of being superseded.

In describing the progress made during the first twenty or thirty years after the awakening of the Staffordshire potteries, we spoke of the men who are believed to have been most active and instrumental in bringing about those improvements. For the post of honour at the head of such a chapter as we now propose, no name could enter into competition with that of Thomas Whieldon, who between 1740 and 1780 improved the older processes and wrought with them new kinds of ware, so that the name "Whieldon ware" is used to describe not only his own productions but those of every potter working in the same style. Whieldon's skill as a potter is still proverbial in the district, and when we

remember that four of the best potters of the last quarter of the eighteenth century—the first Josiah Spode, William Greatbach, Robert Garner, and J. Barker—were his apprentices, and that Josiah Wedgwood was for some years his junior partner, improving himself in his craft by working along with the best master of the day, it will be seen what claims Whieldon has to this recognition. It is also most fitting that Whieldon's name should be associated with the agate wares, the tortoiseshell wares, the melon, cauliflower, and pineapple wares that he made so well, for they all represent the perfection of the original processes of the rude peasant-potter. Whieldon, having amassed a competence by his industry, never pursued the later developments of earthenware manufacture, but when the richly glazed wares had in their turn to make way for the enamelled and printed cream-colour, the black Egyptian, the jasper, and other dry bodies, he simply retired from his labours, content to cease working when the demand ceased for the wares that he must have loved, because he made them so perfectly.

To trace the development of these various kinds of earthenware it is necessary to refer for a moment to some of the processes of the slip-potters of the seventeenth century. In Chapter III. the first appearance of marbling, by the rough clouding of a light slip on a darker-coloured clay, was mentioned (*see* p. 23). The fine owl-jugs, probably not made before the first decade of the eighteenth century, show the vastly improved effects obtained in the same way, by combing layers of mixed slip over the surface of the clay vessel (*see* Fig. 3). As a legitimate outcome of this marbling and combing, we reach what are known as the solid agate wares. Here the different coloured clays were not used as slips, but thin bats, or cakes of clay of different colour, were laid upon each other in succession, and then slapped to drive out the enclosed air and to make the separate cakes adhere; from the veined composite mass thus obtained, slices were cut which could be shaped by "throwing" or "pressing." At first the clays used for this purpose were the ordinary red and buff clays of the district, and though the veining was often broad and irregular

such pieces are very effective, with their colours softened and harmonised by the rich yellow galena-glaze. It has already been stated that the process of shaping clay by pressing it into moulds, or on to convex moulds in the case of dishes, was known to the Staffordshire potters of the late seventeenth or early eighteenth centuries (*see* p. 33); and there can be little doubt that the later solid agate ware was almost invariably pressed, and not thrown. The manipulation of the clay in the hands of the thrower is very well marked in the early pieces made in red and buff clay.* As the method was more extensively practised, the layers of different colours were made thinner and thinner by beating out the pile or mixed bats of clay, slicing it with a wire, and "wedging" one half down upon the other, taking care to preserve the general trend of the laminæ; this process of repeated slicing and beating gave the most finely veined pieces imaginable. Other coloured clays were, of course, used as fast as they were introduced, and the later pieces, made from about 1740, are veined and mottled with the finest bands, like those shown in cross sections of banded agate. On Plate IX. is reproduced a globular teapot which illustrates the pitch of skilful manipulation to which the process had been carried. Even round pieces like this were, however, moulded and not thrown; the globular body has been made in two halves (top and bottom), the seam where the two halves were joined can be seen running round the body of the piece, demonstrating in the most emphatic manner the care and skill with which the potter arranged his bats of variegated clay so that the veinings should join properly at the seam. In the handles and spouts of such pieces the veining is a little distorted from the rolling, due to their having been formed by squeezing in a two-part mould. In the earlier specimens, made of red and yellow clay, the thick yellow glaze helped to harmonise the strong colours; in the later, more highly finished pieces, where white and light-coloured clays were used, the thinner and whiter glaze was, for the same reason,

* The cup of Place's ware preserved in the Victoria and Albert Museum may be described as a "thrown" agate ware.

PLATE IX.

WHIELDON (?)

(a) Solid Agate Ware Teapot.

H. $4\frac{1}{2}$ in.

(b) Tortoiseshell Glazed Plate.

Diam. 9 in.

Victoria and Albert Museum.

THE HISTORY OF THE

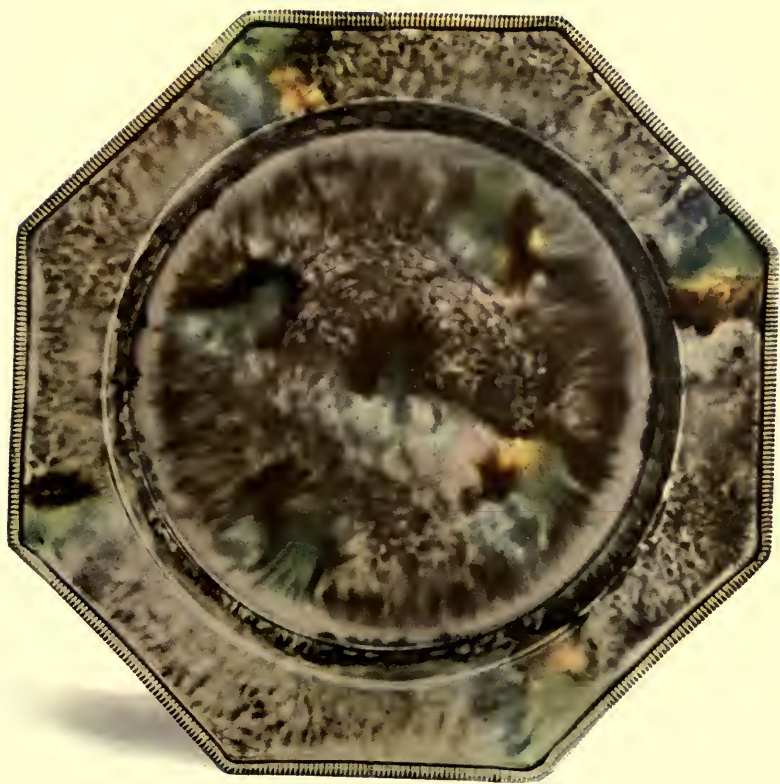
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given a slight tinge of blue with a pinch of ground zaffres. Besides tea- and coffee-pots, sauce-boats and pickle-trays, the agate ware was largely used in the production of snuff-boxes and hafts for knives and forks. These were sold in very large quantities to the metal mounters of Birmingham and the Sheffield cutlers, and are, perhaps, the most beautiful examples of the agate ware-maker's skill. Thomas Whieldon was the recognised head of this particular trade, and is said to have carried his wares in a basket to the tradesmen with whom he dealt, travelling, no doubt, by stage-coach or waggon; a striking proof of the simplicity of business methods in his day. The novelty and perfection of these agate wares excited the rivalry of potters outside Staffordshire, for besides being in great demand in England they were largely exported. Several Continental potters, already aware of the growing powers of the Englishmen, imitated the process, the most successful imitations being those made at Apt and Castellat, in the South of France, in the latter part of the eighteenth century.*

Besides the skilful imitation of banded agates, other wares were made, though less extensively, with some approach to the markings of granite or porphyry. In its earliest and coarsest form this consisted in little more than sprinkling the surface of the clay vessel with small, irregular fragments of red or yellow clay, a process recalling that used on the rough stoneware bears of Chesterfield. The next step was to smooth down these fragments of clay with a spatula, or broad-bladed knife, and after glazing, the thick yellow glaze filled up the interstices, producing a rough imitation of the crystalline markings of some granites or porphyries. The pieces done in the earlier manner have a rude and coarse appearance, but some of the later smoothly finished pieces are much more interesting. Ralph Wood, of Burslem, the block-cutter already mentioned, made some of the best of them. An obelisk 16 inches high now in the Victoria and Albert Museum (formerly G. 364, of Jermyn Street), bears the impressed mark "Ra. Wood, Burslem." The apex of this piece is broken, but it was

* See Solon's "Old French Faïence," p. 94, also Fig. 41.

probably surmounted by an ornament, or by a nozzle for holding a candle. Dr. Diamond possessed three similar pieces, each surmounted by a globe, but these perished in the fire at the Alexandra Palace.

All these agate and variegated wares received their final perfection at the hands of Josiah Wedgwood, and an account of his productions in this style will be given in the chapter especially devoted to him (*see* pp. 133 and 134).

From the process of varying the colour of earthenware, by clouding it with slip, or forming it in layers of different colour, there was only a step to mottling the surface with ores or mineral oxides which would modify the tint of the clay underneath. Dr. Plot found, before 1686, that the Staffordshire potters produced a motley colour by blending the lead ore with manganese. This practice was no doubt continued for the commoner and rougher wares, and by the gradual introduction of other metallic colouring matters, such as oxide of copper, oxide of iron, and cobalt (used in the form of zaffres or smalt), it became possible to make all the varieties of mottled or tortoiseshell ware of the period between 1730-1760. So long as the strongly-coloured local clays continued to be extensively used, these colouring oxides, mottled on the clay, as they probably were, or mixed with the lead-ore for the glaze, would only have the effect of darkening the already dark tint of the body. It was in this way, by adding a sufficient amount of manganese, and finally a small quantity of zaffres as well, that Whieldon produced the shining black-glazed ware for which he was so famous in his day. On the early cream-colour body the brilliant colours developed by these cloudings of metallic oxide, when they dissolved in the lead-glaze, could display themselves to the fullest advantage.

One of the earliest uses of the cream-colour earthenware was in the production of a great variety of pieces on which the rich madder-brown tone of manganese, the warm yellow tones of oxide of iron, the darker golden brown made by mixtures of the two, the green of oxide of copper, and the blue given by oxide of cobalt, when they were taken up



TORTOISE-SHELL WARE.

FIG. 44. LARGE BOWL AND COVER.

H. 8½ in. Dia. 17 in.

and dissolved by the lead-glaze, could show their full beauty. Though such colours had been obtained long before this time—notably by Bernard Palissy in France—the process was a native one to the Staffordshire potters, and we can trace every step in its evolution, from the simplest motley wares of the old slip potter to the beautiful tortoiseshell wares of Whieldon. The earliest examples of this treatment, with splashes of colour mottled on the clay, are found in certain tea- and coffee-pots, which, from their style of manufacture and of raised ornament, belong to the school of Astbury. In Fig. 26 will be found a representation of a globular teapot, the body of which is of a bright fawn colour, evidently obtained by mixing some local clay with pipe-clay, marking a stage in the transition from the red body, coated with white slip, to an actual cream-colour body. On this fawn ground a rustic scrollery of stems, foliage, and rosette-like flowers has been formed in white clay. The work is both stronger and ruder than that made in direct imitation of Elers' red ware. The floral rosettes and the leaves have no longer been made by sticking on a piece of clay and stamping with a seal, but have been formed by pressing a piece of soft clay into a mould, scraping it off level at the back, picking it out of the mould with a tool, and attaching it to the surface of the piece with a little water or thin slip. The leaves and rosettes have then been connected by rolled threads of the same white clay, skilfully coiled about the piece so as to unite these sprigged* ornaments into a connected design. Here and there touches of copper oxide have been roughly applied to the white ornament, and wherever they occur we get a patch of green colour formed by the copper oxide dissolving in the lead-glaze. The piece here figured and described might well be the work of either of the Astburys, but the same style of ornament was practised for many years, and many similar pieces are attributed to Whieldon.

* The term "sprigged" is applied to all clay ornaments made in a separate mould and then attached to the surface of the piece with water or slip. This old method was the one adopted by Wedgwood for attaching the jasper figures and ornamental devices to his vases, etc.

It is indeed interesting to find that Whieldon, while making fine white-stoneware, solid agate ware, tortoiseshell and the other wares already mentioned, should have continued the use of this old process of decoration as well. Almost the only piece of pottery that we know, without a doubt, to be of Whieldon's manufacture is a jug in Mr. Solon's collection which bears the inscription: "Ralph Hammersley, 1757."* The jug is beautifully made, true in shape, and very thinly potted; it has the old-fashioned crabstock handle, and the body of the piece is ornamented with the rosette-like flowers and with leaves sprigged out of moulds like the Astbury teapot described above; the design is, as usual, completed with rolled threads of clay, all applied to the jug with the most perfect neatness and finish. The body of the piece is of light yellow colour, but the flowers have been tinted with touches of grey, yellow, and green glaze.

This scroll foliage, which perfectly reveals the influence of the technique upon the design, persisted for more than thirty years, especially on the mottled tortoiseshell and the black-glazed wares. One of the largest and finest examples known is the two-handled bowl, with cover, in the Schreiber collection (*see* Fig. 44). Here the scroll-foliage is of unusual intricacy and elaboration, and the mottling of the rich purple-brown glaze obtained from manganese has been so aided by all kinds of accidental thickenings, where the flow of the glaze has been checked by the ornament, as to produce an unusually varied effect. A more ordinary specimen of the same type is the little teapot reproduced in Fig. 46.

More delicate work, displaying the use of richly mottled glaze, is met with in the double teapots, the outer skin of which has been skilfully perforated, no doubt in imitation of some rare piece of Oriental china. The potter has not improved the appearance of these teapots by the thickly mottled tortoiseshell glaze, which, running into the angles of the piercing, takes off so much from its sharpness. An illustration is given in Fig. 45 of one of these pieces in the Victoria and

* Ralph Hammersley was Whieldon's milkman. Mr. Solon gave a beautiful etching of this piece in the first edition of his "Art of the Old English Potter."



WHIELDON (?).

FIG. 45.—PERFORATED TEAPOT. TORTOISESHELL
GLAZE.

H. 6 in.

FIG. 46.—TEAPOT WITH WATER GILT FOLIAGE.
TORTOISESHELL GLAZE.

H. 5½ in.

Victoria and Albert Museum.

Albert Museum, though, owing to the difficulty of photographing glaze so dark as this, it hardly does justice to the original.

Most beautiful of all the tortoiseshell pieces are the simple plates, generally very flat in section, and with a broad and nearly horizontal rim. The choicest examples are those which have been very softly and skilfully mottled with manganese alone, so that the thick lead-glaze floated it, and varied and softened the colour, in the most beautiful manner. In the more ordinary examples several colours have been used; over the whole piece manganese appears to have been skilfully mottled, and then a few, apparently accidental, splashes of copper oxide and zaffres have been laid on. In this way the pieces were variegated with coloured glazes of yellow, brown, and grey tones, with occasional touches of vivid green. (*See Plate IX.*) No doubt the great majority of the tortoiseshell wares belong to the period when the Staffordshire potter was attaining to his full skill as a workman, and was no longer limited to pieces of small dimensions. Besides teapots, coffee-pots, jugs, bowls, plates, and trays, as well as baskets and sauce-boats, we find elaborately modelled cornucopiæ probably intended for wall brackets or flower vases, ornaments in the form of dove-cots, and the like, and figures of men, animals, and birds; but in the majority of these examples the tortoiseshell glaze is anything but an addition to such primitive artistic qualities as they possess. Whieldon appears to have made quantities of little figures for children's toys or for chimney ornaments; and, while, in the absence of marks, it is impossible to be sure that any such pieces now existing are of his manufacture, it is quite possible that some of the figures decorated with mottled glazes, after the style of the better-known tortoiseshell plates and teapots, were made in his works at Fenton. Whieldon evidently prided himself on the production of pieces requiring more than ordinary skill and taste, and knowing this, it is almost impossible to resist the tendency to attribute to him every especially fine piece of tortoiseshell or agate ware. It must never be forgotten, however, that their

manufacture was by no means confined to him, and several other potters were famous at the same time for their agate buttons and knife hafts, their plates and dishes of tortoiseshell glaze, and their teapots and mugs of shining black. Thus Daniel Bird,* whose works were situated at Cliff Bank, above the town of Stoke, was famous for his agate buttons, knife hafts, etc., as well as for his white salt-glaze; while, near by, John and Thomas Aldersea were makers of tortoiseshell ware. About 1750 the use of clouded and mottled glazes was, of course, common throughout the district, but the solid agate wares appear to have been made much more in the district of Fenton and Stoke than at the other end of the Potteries, it we may judge by the evidence of disinterred wasters.† It should be mentioned that a few rare pieces of salt-glaze with solid agate veinings are known. In the British Museum collection there are two of the well-known squirrel teapots in agate ware, one made of buff and red clay, glazed with lead (H. 30), the other (G. 76) a salt-glazed piece, evidently from the same mould, made of white clay with very fine blue veins. There is a striking contrast in the size of the two pieces, owing to the higher temperature at which the latter has been fired.

The final improvements with which the name of Whieldon is associated took place, it is believed, after 1754, when Josiah Wedgwood, then a young man of twenty-four, became his managing partner, and they produced the cauliflower, melon, and pineapple pieces which had such a great vogue for nearly thirty years. In my "History of English Porcelain" I pointed out that at this very time dishes and vessels of all kinds, for table use, were being made at the Chelsea porcelain works in the shape of fruit, vegetables, birds, etc., and coloured in enamel colours, as naturally as possible; a practice introduced from Continental factories. It

* It has been suggested that the knob in the shape of a bird so often found on the black-glazed and tortoiseshell teapots, etc., may have been the sign of this potter.

† Mr. Thomas Hulme assures me that in excavations at Burslem he has found fragments of all the early wares of Staffordshire with the exception of the solid agate. If that be so—and it is impossible to question Mr. Hulme's authority—it disposes of the statement, so often repeated, that Dr. Thomas Wedgwood was a famous maker of solid agate wares.

(a) Green Glaze Bowl and Cover, with Sprigged
Ornaments and Traces of Gilding.

Diam. 4 in.

(By kind permission of J. H. FITZHENRY, Esq.)

(b) Cauliflower Ware Teapot.

H. 4 in

(c) Pineapple Ware Teapot.

H. 4 in.



is just possible that Whieldon may have taken a hint from some of these pieces, but his development of the idea was quite original, and more decorative than that presented by the porcelain pieces. Cups—many of them of refined and elegant shape—teapots, cream-jugs, sugar-bowls with covers, tea caddies, jugs, and coffee-pots—generally of small size—were skilfully modelled so as to reproduce the characteristic growth and markings of these natural objects. In the hands of many makers of these wares the naturalism is much too pronounced. We have teapots which in shape and colour are made to look like a real apple, pickle-trays that might almost have been moulded from a cabbage leaf, and many other instances of the closest possible imitation of natural objects. In the best pieces, which are thinly potted and beautifully made, the forms have been much more considered, and have been rendered with a certain amount of true decorative feeling. In a word, the forms have been better conventionalised.

It is traditionally believed that the bright green and yellow glazes used to complete the effect of these wares were the first fruits of the inventive spirit of Josiah Wedgwood. One likes to believe such a tradition, for they mark a great technical advance on the old method of obtaining the coloured glazes used on the tortoiseshell wares. The colouring matter is no longer mottled on the clay and left to be taken up by the glaze as it melts in the firing, but the finely-ground oxides of iron and copper have been mixed along with the flint and calcined lead-ore, or white and red lead, so producing the type of coloured glaze that has persisted ever since. On Plate X. will be found examples of the cauliflower and pineapple ware, which convey an idea not only of the style in which the pieces were modelled, but of the brilliant effect produced by the improved coloured glazes. The third piece on the same plate is a beautiful green-glazed sugar-bowl and cover, showing remains of water-gilding, which is probably one of the productions of Wedgwood, made after he had severed his connection with Whieldon and had commenced work on his own account in Burslem. There can be no doubt

that when Wedgwood commenced to manufacture on his own account he would naturally continue to make such wares as he knew most about. We may be very sure, therefore, that the use of his newly improved glazes, on the shapes he had helped to devise in Whieldon's works at Fenton, would be continued at Burslem, and it is probable that many of the best pieces of such wares in our modern collections should be ascribed to Wedgwood; but this point must be reserved for further consideration in the next chapter.

CHAPTER X.

JOSIAH WEDGWOOD.

THE life of the prince of British potters has been related at such length by Miss Meteyard and Ll. Jewitt, and has lately been so admirably summarised by Professor Church in his monograph, that a brief recital of its principal features must suffice for this volume.

Josiah Wedgwood, one of a race of potters long established in the neighbourhood of Burslem, some of whom had already risen to comparative eminence and wealth, was born in the house attached to the Churchyard Works of that town in 1730.* His parents were in comfortable, though by no means affluent, circumstances, and the boy appears to have had quite as much education as was customary at that period in the class to which he belonged. In 1739 his father, Thomas Wedgwood, died, and the boy was removed from school to work in the factory which had descended to his elder brother Thomas. About two years afterwards he had a virulent attack of smallpox, which not only enfeebled him for a considerable time, but left him with an affection of the right knee, which, after causing him great pain and prostration during more than twenty years, finally led to the amputation of his right leg below the knee, in 1768. It was the custom at this time for the sons of a potter to be regularly apprenticed, and learn, in true workmanlike fashion, every detail of the manufacture as it was carried on; so that Josiah Wedgwood was duly apprenticed in 1744, on recovery from his illness, to his brother Thomas.† He is said to have acquired considerable skill as a thrower before his illness, and afterwards, possibly in consequence of his somewhat enfeebled condition, was led to turn his attention more

* He was baptised in the Parish Church at Burslem on the 12th July, 1730.

† The indentures of his apprenticeship are preserved in the Hanley Museum; they have been published in the works of Miss Meteyard and Mr. Jewitt.

particularly to the less laborious branches of the trade, such as "stouking," as the making and the fixing of handles and spouts on to vessels was then called, and so by a natural progression to the higher branches of operative work, such as block-cutting and modelling. Some time after the expiration of his indentures he left his brother and commenced work in partnership with one Harrison, a tradesman of Newcastle-under-Lyme, at a little factory formerly worked by a potter named Aldersea, on Cliff Bank, above the town of Stoke-on-Trent. At Cliff Bank he seems to have principally manufactured the white and blue salt-glazed wares of the period. It is said that he also made the clouded, mottled, and tortoiseshell wares of his predecessor Aldersea.* After about two years, apparently dissatisfied with the treatment accorded to him by his partner, he made a fresh start, and we find him, in 1754, associated with Thomas Whieldon, of Fenton, referred to in the last chapter as the most famous potter of the day. This partnership with Whieldon, and the training and experience he acquired in it, must have exercised the greatest influence on the future career of Josiah Wedgwood. Whieldon, though a man of simple tastes, was an extremely skilful potter, who had brought the manufacture of agate and tortoiseshell wares to a pitch of great perfection. The partnership must have been to the mutual advantage of both, for if Whieldon had all the traditional knowledge of the district, and an unusual degree of skill and taste, his young partner had extraordinary energy, and was already acquiring a reputation for his incessant experiments, a passion which never left him to the end of his life. Tradition says that Josiah Wedgwood was too enterprising and too fond of experiment for his older partner; however this may be, they appear to have separated with mutual esteem and goodwill about the end of 1758.†

* Shaw gives the name as Aldersea; it is elsewhere given as Alders. It is somewhat uncertain if Wedgwood was in partnership with Harrison alone, or with Harrison and Aldersea or Alders.

† In confirmation of this date, there is an existing "Memorandum of Agreement, December 30th, 1758," between Josiah Wedgwood, of Stoke-upon-Trent, and his cousin, Thomas Wedgwood, of Worcester, by which the services of the latter were engaged for five years as a journeyman potter.

In the year 1759, Josiah Wedgwood, then twenty-nine years of age, commenced his independent career. His distant cousins, John and Thomas Wedgwood, of the Big House, Burslem, who had been important manufacturers for more than twenty years, leased to him, at a small annual rental, a portion of their works known as the Ivy-House, in the market-place of that town. Within a few years his business had grown so rapidly that he took a larger neighbouring works, known as the Bell Works, and at these two places he laid the foundations of his extensive business. His first successes lay in securing the patronage of Queen Charlotte for his fine cream-coloured earthenware, made exactly like that of his neighbours the Warburtons and others, but finished with that high degree of technical perfection which is shown in all his productions.

It was at the Bell Works, or the Brick-House Works, as it was also called, that Wedgwood was first able to display, on a somewhat extended scale, that capacity for organisation and attention to detail that were the real foundations of his commercial success. Though the improvement in pottery manufacture that we have already described had resulted in the development of many new and beautiful wares, the industry was still conducted by what seem to us methods of primitive simplicity. In many, probably in the majority of cases, the operations were all performed by a father and his sons, sometimes with two or three kinsmen, or a few rough labourers in addition. The men were supposed to be quite competent to perform all the routine operations of the little works, while to the master-potter himself were reserved those branches requiring the utmost skill and manipulative dexterity. From 1740 at least, *i.e.* some twenty years earlier than the period we are now considering, this old system had begun to change in the direction of greater specialisation. Skilled workmen in certain branches of the trade were more and more retained at that branch. We cannot but believe that such potters as the two Astburys, Dr. Thomas Wedgwood, Thomas and John Wedgwood of the Big House, together with the Warburtons, the Baddeleys, and Thomas Whieldon, had

already carried this change to considerable lengths. The master potters of 1760 were far removed from the uncultured peasants of the previous century, and many of them had already attained to positions of considerable importance by their technical skill and business aptitude. The mere conduct of the growing business relations with other centres of industry, such as Manchester, Birmingham, Sheffield, Liverpool, Bristol, and London, together with the ambition and enterprise which had opened up a considerable and growing foreign trade, led the Staffordshire potter to appreciate the necessity for better trained labour, better equipped workshops, and the more systematic methods that at this period were converting many of the older handicrafts into businesses of the modern type. Josiah Wedgwood seems to have recognised this tendency of his times and taken advantage of it, to a greater extent than his fellow potters; he was, in a word, a remarkably shrewd man of business, as well as a most skilful and enterprising master-potter, and he reaped the full benefits of the early years of the factory system. Instead of staying in Burslem and spending all his time on his works, he travelled, in the course of business, to Manchester, to Liverpool, to Birmingham, and to London, informing himself at every turn as to what was being done in other trades besides his own. Realising, too, how severely the district of North Staffordshire was handicapped by its remote situation, and the evil state of its roads and lanes, he threw himself with energy into a long-slumbering project for improving the existing roads and making new turnpikes to open up the district and provide it with the means of safer and more speedy transit for its products. James Brindley, the famous canal engineer, was a neighbour and friend of his, and Wedgwood was drawn into the project for the cutting of the Trent and Mersey Canal, which but for his energy and enthusiasm might have taken many more years to complete than it did. In pursuance of these projects Wedgwood made the acquaintance of many of the great nobles and landowners of the district, and thus acquired a fame and reputation such as no English potter had ever obtained

before. This growing reputation among the nobility and landed gentry was of the utmost service to his business, not merely in the commercial sense, but in the widened knowledge of men and affairs that came from it. Wedgwood formed the acquaintance and obtained the friendship of many of the notable men of his time, some of whom lent him vases, medallions, seals, gems, etc., from their cabinets and collections, and gave him every assistance in the development of his business. Most important of all these friendships, because of its paramount influence on his subsequent career, was that with Thomas Bentley. They appear to have met in 1762, when Wedgwood was laid up in Liverpool by an accident to his lame leg, and from that day until Bentley's death in 1780 they were the closest friends. Bentley, a Liverpool merchant of standing, appears to have been a man of polished manners and of some considerable scholarship, so that we may fairly trace Wedgwood's fondness for the reproduction of classic shapes, which was to increase with him all his life, to the encouragement, if not the direct inspiration, of Bentley. For a time, Bentley acted as general Liverpool agent for Wedgwood's growing business, dealing with his printed wares sent to Sadler and Green, his export trade from Liverpool, and his imports of clay and other materials from the South of England. In 1765 Wedgwood opened his first showroom in London at the corner of St. Martin's Lane and Newport Street, where his brother John acted as his London agent. His business developed with very great rapidity, especially in the manufacture of the fine vases in cream-colour and those variegated with pebble, agate, and granitic markings. We find him soon making overtures to Bentley to become his active partner in the "ornamental" branch of the business, and though the overtures came to nothing at the time, a partnership was finally agreed upon about 1768. The partners were soon compelled by the approaching expiration of the lease of the Burslem works to find more suitable premises, and Wedgwood bought a piece of land about two miles away from Burslem, where in 1769 he commenced his most famous works, which he christened

Etruria. At first, only vases and other ornamental articles were made here, Wedgwood himself superintending every detail of the settlement of the new works, and Bentley removing to London to manage the business of the firm there; the "useful" works at Burslem remaining under the management of Wedgwood's cousin, Thomas,* who also was in partnership with Josiah in this branch of his business. The Burslem works were carried on separately until about 1771, when the workmen were gradually transferred to Etruria, and they were ultimately given up about 1773. A separate establishment was founded in Chelsea for the enamel painting of the cream-colour and the encaustic painting on black wares, and for many years goods were sent up from Etruria to London to receive their final decoration there. Bentley died in 1780, and Thomas Wedgwood, the cousin, died in 1788. In 1790 Wedgwood's three sons, John, Josiah, and Thomas, together with their cousin, Thomas Byerley, were taken into partnership; but from June, 1793, the partnership consisted of Josiah Wedgwood himself, his second son Josiah, and his nephew Thomas Byerley. Wedgwood died in 1795, full of fame and honours if not of years. He had been elected a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1783 on account of his ingenious invention of an instrument for measuring high degrees of temperature; he was deservedly honoured during his lifetime both at home and abroad, and by his labours he did more for English pottery than any other single individual, until, indeed, the name Wedgwood became almost a synonym for English pottery. The business he founded at Etruria has been most honourably conducted by his descendants to our own time, and is still in active operation.

We must now turn to the consideration of the various wares manufactured by Josiah Wedgwood. It must not be forgotten that he had behind him the labours of a whole race of potters, who had been conducting sedulous if un-systematic experiment for at least sixty years, and, as was natural, when he commenced in business in Burslem on his own account, he made exactly the same kinds of ware as

* See footnote as to his first engagement, p. 122.

PLATE XI.

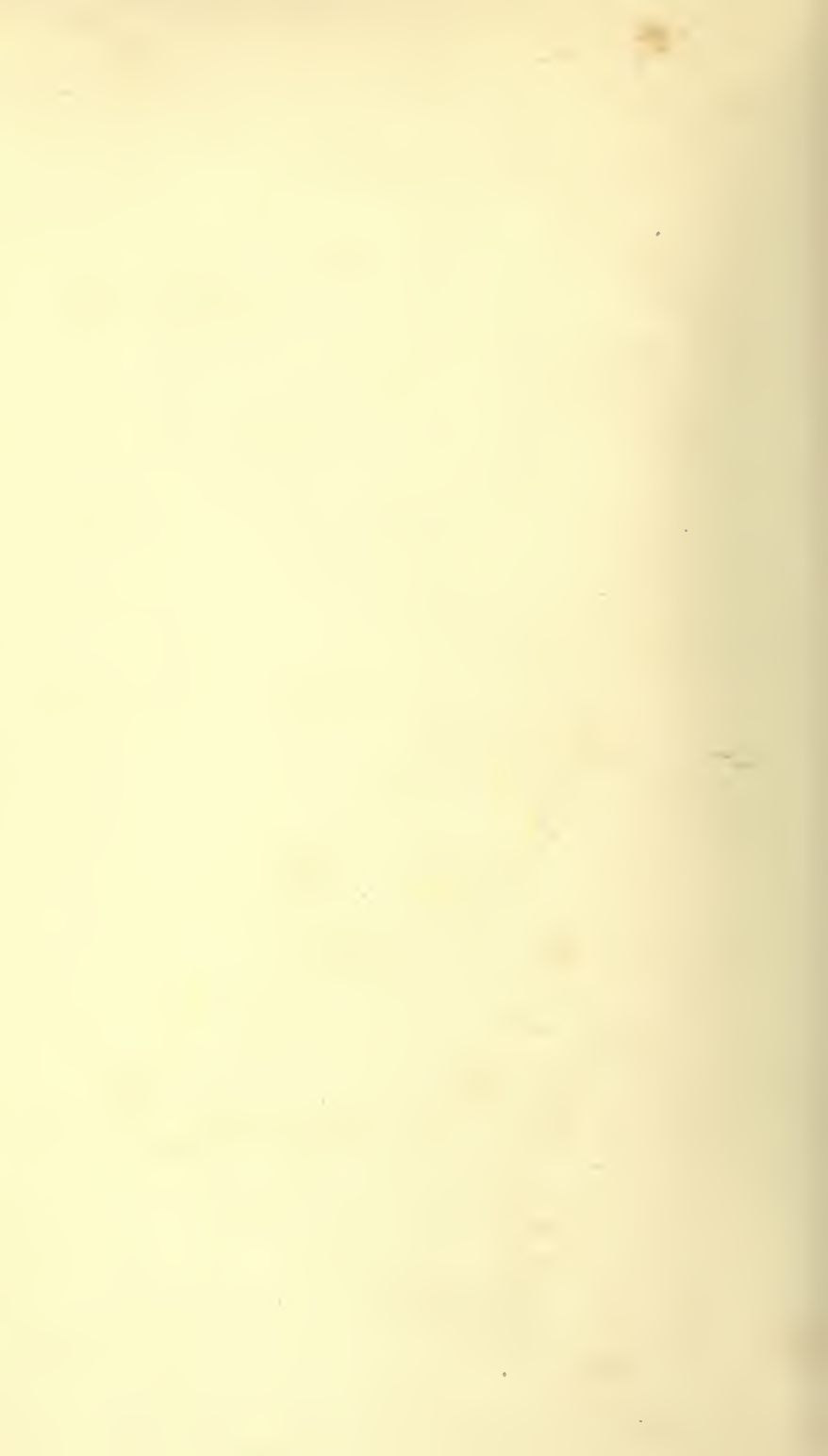
WEDGWOOD.

Two Small Teapots of Wedgwood's Manufacture at
the Ivy-House, Burslem.

H. 4½ and 4¾ in.

Wedgwood Institute, Burslem.





were being made by many of his fellow potters. Collectors have long wished that it were possible to identify any of Wedgwood's productions at the Ivy-House Works, but in the absence of marks, and also perhaps from the want of appreciation of the simple beginnings from which a business is built up, no such pieces have hitherto been pointed out. On Plate XI. will be found two small teapots, beautifully made and displaying both refinement and skill in their simple ornamentation and colour. These two little pieces, with a number of others of the same class preserved by Mr. T. Hulme in the Wedgwood Institute at Burslem, had long attracted the author's attention by their perfection and elegance, and the simplicity of the means by which they had been attained. Searching one day through a box of disinterred fragments, in order to obtain authentic pieces of old ware for analysis, the author found a number of small fragments of identical pieces. Mr. Hulme knew that these had been unearthed on the site of the old Ivy-House Works, and, when we consider the workmanship of these pieces, and how they are decorated with the green and yellow glazes that Wedgwood invented when he was connected with Whieldon, the ascription of these pieces to Wedgwood and to the period when he was working at the Ivy-House seems quite warranted. There are no such pieces in any of the London museums, but three or four examples, of larger size, were included in the collection of Mr. John Hodgkin, recently dispersed at Sotheby's. If we are correct in ascribing such pieces to Wedgwood's earliest years as an independent manufacturer, they only serve to confirm in the most emphatic manner the traditional belief as to the skill and taste he had acquired by the time he was thirty years of age, though he could have seen comparatively little outside the Staffordshire potteries. Attention should especially be directed to the fine "punched" ornament in the rim of the more dainty of the two teapots. Each opening has been cut out by a separate little tool or punch, the whole forming an elegant pierced design.*

* Wedgwood is known to have designed many punches for this purpose. A letter of his is extant with sketches of such tools. See Miss Meteyard. Vol. II., p. 18.

The body of these pieces is the ordinary cream-colour of the day, and it was because of the perfection to which Wedgwood, so early as 1763, had carried his manufacture of this ware that he was entrusted with the making of a table service for Queen Charlotte. This secured him the title of "Potter to the Queen," and caused him to christen his light-tinted cream-colour, "Queen's Ware." So much has been said by previous writers as to Wedgwood's invention of cream-colour that it may be as well here to state briefly what we believe to be the facts. Cream-coloured earthenware originated when the elder Astbury made earthenware, white throughout its substance, by mixing the white Devonshire clays with calcined flint. This was fired, exactly as the old, strongly-coloured wares had been fired, with a coating of lead ore, and finished at one operation. The second Astbury is said to have greatly improved this ware, probably by a more careful mixture and preparation of its ingredients, and also by coating the ware before firing it with a mixture of white or red lead with flint, instead of the primitive lead-ore, for glaze. In 1750 Enoch Booth, of Tunstall, introduced the method of first firing the pieces without glaze, to what is known as the "biscuit" condition, and then dipping the porous pieces thus obtained into a fluid mixture of ground flint and white lead in water. The ware thus received a coating of the glazing materials in the most perfect condition, and was finished by a subsequent firing at a lower temperature. This process of Booth's is said to have been immediately adopted by the Warburtons of Hot Lane, and soon afterwards by the Baddeleys of Shelton, and these two families appear to have been by far the largest manufacturers of cream-colour when Josiah Wedgwood settled in Burslem. His early cream-colour, including "Queen's Ware," was made in exactly the same way, and there seems to have been no improvement in the materials until John Greatbach introduced a glaze of the same kind as those used at the English china factories, hence known as "Greatbach's China Glaze." We have no means of saying exactly when this change took place, but if we may implicitly trust a memorandum

of Enoch Wood's,* it could hardly have been earlier than 1765.

The final improvement in the cream-colour ware came when the china clay and china stone, discovered in Cornwall by Cookworthy, were introduced into the composition of the best earthenware bodies of Staffordshire. Cookworthy obtained his first patent for the use of these materials in 1768, and there is no likelihood that china stone, at all events, had been known in Staffordshire before that date.† About this time the cream-colour ware of the English potter received its final form. The pipe-clay of Devonshire had been largely replaced by the superior tertiary clays of Dorsetshire and Devonshire; and, in addition to the ground calcined flint, china clay and china stone were now added to the plastic clay to give increased whiteness and durability to the body. These changes made the ware much more perfect and even in tint, and thus aided the Staffordshire potters to give their product a superior finish. It is perfectly easy to understand after this why the Staffordshire potters as a body, and not merely Wedgwood alone, opposed Champion's attempt to obtain an extension of Cookworthy's original patent in 1775. By this time the manufacture of cream-coloured earthenware had reached a high degree of perfection in the hands of many potters besides Wedgwood, so that the free use of these materials had become of the utmost importance to a large and rapidly extending industry. Wedgwood has always been accused of opposing the renewal of Champion's patent from purely selfish motives, but there can be no doubt, in the mind of any reasonable man, that all the leading Staffordshire potters of the day were united in this justifiable opposition, and that Josiah Wedgwood and Turner, of Lane End, were chosen to speak for the whole body of manufacturers because they were the most important and influential of their number. A careful examination of all the statements that have been made leads one to the conclusion that, just as Wedgwood did not invent the cream-colour body, neither did he alone perfect

* See "English Earthenware," by A. H. Church, F.R.S., pp. 81, 82.

† See Burton's "History of English Porcelain," pp. 124, 125.

it. When china stone and china clay were discovered there were many potters in Staffordshire who were as keenly alive to the improvement of their products as he was, and as quick to adopt the new materials.*

The introduction of the process of decorating salt-glaze ware by enamel painting has already been referred to (*see* p. 105), and so soon as cream-colour was definitely adopted as a general table ware we may be perfectly sure that the same enamelling process would be applied upon it. While Wedgwood was bringing the shapes and forms of his cream-colour table services and other pieces to perfection at the Bell Works at Burslem, he seems to have sent the ware after it had been glazed to the works of Mrs. Warburton at Hot-Lane (*see* p. 106), about a mile away, to receive its enamel decoration. How long he continued this practice is uncertain, but even at a later period in his career we find that his enamelling was largely conducted at Chelsea, firstly by trade enamellers working for him—like Rhodes and Croft—and afterwards by people in his own employ. It is by such evidence as this that one realises what an excellent organiser and man of business Wedgwood was, and how readily he seized on every improvement, from whatever source, that could be turned to practical account in the development of his own business. We find him making exactly the same use of the invention of Sadler and Green, of Liverpool, when they had perfected their process of transferring printed designs to the surface of glazed pottery (*see* p. 64). Instead of desiring to add the process of printing to the already multifarious departments of an expanding business, he was content for many years to send his fine cream-colour to Liverpool, first by pack-horses, and then by waggon, to receive its final decoration in the shape of printed patterns, applied and fired at their works in Harrington Street. At first he used such patterns as they had already designed and engraved, and there are many examples of Wedgwood's cream-colour in

* Turner, of Lane End, accompanied Wedgwood on a voyage of discovery into Cornwall in 1775, after the Champion case had been heard, and they jointly leased some clay mines at St. Stephen's, Cornwall. *Miss Meteyard*. Vol. II., p. 422.



WEDGWOOD.

FIG. 47.—CREAM-COLOUR PLATE WITH
ENAMEL DECORATION.

Dia. 10 in.

British Museum.

existence which bear the same printed designs as those found on some of the Liverpool tiles (*see* p. 65). We may well believe, however, that it was not in his nature to be long content with the common designs of the trade, and he soon began to provide his own designs for the Liverpool printers. Probably dissatisfied, too, with the somewhat meagre appearance presented by a printed pattern in the centre of a plate, he carried the process a step further by adding some enamel decoration painted by hand to eke out the printed device. In Fig. 47 will be found a cream-colour plate which typifies his fine manufacture and finish, though it cannot be commended from the point of view of taste. In the centre of the plate is a printed design illustrating the fable of "The Fox and the Crow."* An attempt has been made to overcome the unsatisfactory appearance of the square engraving by framing it with enamelled decoration of looped ribands, husks, etc., while the border of the plate has received a decoration of little scattered sprays of flowers and leaves that are quite out of keeping with the centre. Table services of this class must have been rather costly, and afford ample proof that Wedgwood's taste was that of a period when the older traditions had been lost and no sure principles of decorative art had been established.

The final style of enamel decoration used by Wedgwood for his perfected cream-colour stands on a totally different level. Shortly after 1770 he was commissioned to make an extraordinary table service in Queen's ware for the Empress Catherine of Russia, which was to bear, in black enamel, upon each piece a different view of the palaces, seats of the nobility, and other remarkable places in the kingdom of Great Britain. In order to complete this singularly inartistic service, Wedgwood gathered together, in a branch works at Chelsea, a body of trained enamellers, many of them drawn from the leading English china factories. When the service was completed, in 1774, he was loth to dispense with the services of such a staff of

* This pattern is one of the well-known series of illustrations to "Æsop's Fables," which has already been mentioned as being largely used on Liverpool printed tiles.

workpeople, and began to make table services more in accordance with our English taste, decorated with extremely appropriate patterns, painted in enamel colours. On Plate XII. will be found a salad-dish of this kind, and round it four enamelled borders taken from different pieces, which give an excellent idea of his best work in this direction. It is impossible to praise such designs too highly. Perfectly adapted to their purpose, these borders were so simple, so reticent, so entirely harmonious with the shapes and the material on which they appeared, that one gladly accords to them a very high position among the varied products of Wedgwood's skill. A fine collection of these patterns will be found in the Ceramic Gallery of the Victoria and Albert Museum, as well as in the Mayer collection at Liverpool.

We have dealt with Wedgwood's productions in Queen's ware at considerable length because they illustrate so perfectly one of the most important features of his career as the greatest of English potters. His varied productions in this particular kind of pottery all resulted from the enterprise, the skill, and the incessant care with which he sought to perfect the wares invented by his predecessors. To this task he brought not only his potter's skill, which was of a very high order, and his taste, which appears to have been emphatically sober and English, but also every improvement that was suggested by the labours of his contemporaries in other branches of the potter's art, as well as the wider knowledge and culture which resulted from his acquaintance or friendship with some of the most distinguished men of his time. It will, perhaps, simplify a somewhat intricate task if we consider, in order, the different varieties of pottery he produced in continuation of the work of his predecessors, leaving to the last those species which were his own invention, resulting from incessant experiment with all the new materials he could lay his hands upon.

Throughout his career he never neglected what was probably his first noteworthy invention, the fine green glaze; and his dessert services, decorated with simply modelled leaves, berries, etc., were made not only so long as he lived, but have been

PLATE XII.

WEDGWOOD.

Cream-colour Dish with Enamelled Border.

L. 8½ in.

Four Enamelled Borders from Cream-colour Pieces.

Victoria and Albert Museum.





WEDGWOOD.

FIG. 48.—GREEN-GLAZE CANDLESTICK

H. $10\frac{3}{4}$ in.

Wedgwood Institute, Burslem.

continued as an article of manufacture by his descendants down to the present time, and seem likely to endure for many a generation yet. In Fig. 48 we reproduce a candlestick in green glaze which, by the evidence of fragments, is believed to have been made at the Bell Works.

In the same way he continued to bestow great attention on the old methods of marble and agate-ware decoration. It is, indeed, in the hands of Wedgwood that we find these processes of an earlier generation assuming their most perfect form. Not content with anything short of technical perfection, he made, both at the Bell House Works at Burslem and during the early years at Etruria, vases and other ornamental objects in which every variety of marbled, granite, and agate ware that could be produced by trailing, clouding, or mottling slips of various colours on the surface of his fine cream-colour body, or by the folding, banding, and mixing of variegated bats of stained clays pressed into moulds. In Plate XIII. a choice example of his earlier pieces of this kind is reproduced from a specimen in the British Museum. The piece is marked "Wedgwood and Bentley"; and while in the finish, the workmanship, and the thinness of its potting it shows the refinement which Wedgwood had introduced into his wares, the form itself is no less reminiscent of the classic leanings of Bentley. Over the surface of the piece, clay slips of various colours have been painted in a truly decorative fashion, and the sobriety and simplicity of the colouring are perfectly in keeping with the reticence of the shape itself. Pieces of this kind are uncommon, but they mark the limits of perfection in one of Wedgwood's applications of the methods of his predecessors. In Plate I. will be found a reproduction of his later and better-known agate wares. The classic feeling of the late eighteenth century is strongly marked, both in the outlines of the piece and the character of the handle, and the applied masks by which it is connected with the body of the vase. By the various methods of banding and clouding the imitation of natural agate has been pushed to its utmost limit, and it is impossible to conceive how the skill and patience of the potter could ever go further in

reproducing the qualities of fine natural stones. Not content with making the body of his pieces simulate the markings and the colours of polished agate as perfectly as possible, Wedgwood finished the handles, the shoulder bands, and the feet of these vases with leaf gold, so that the complete effect was that of a vase carved in agate and mounted with bands of gold or ormolu, a favourite device of the French goldsmiths of the period. Specimens of the type here represented are by no means uncommon. The Wedgwood Institute at Burslem has a fine assemblage of perfect pieces, which it owes to the discrimination and generosity of Mr. Thomas Hulme; but the largest and best collection is undoubtedly that formed by Mr. Joseph Mayer, and now deposited in the Liverpool Museum.

In such pieces as those already described Wedgwood was not even approached by any of his competitors; but in another class of vases, where the markings were obtained by the use of finely pencilled or splashed touches of coloured slip or enamel colour, which could then be heightened by the application of gold leaf, it is impossible to make any distinction on the score of quality between his pieces and those of Palmer and his successor, Neale. (*See p. 159 and Fig. 78.*)

Another of the current manufactures which Wedgwood adopted and largely developed was that of the unglazed red and black stonewares introduced into Staffordshire by Elers, and continuously made with varying success by his followers and the later Staffordshire potters. Considerable attention has already been devoted to the productions of Elers and his successors, and, so far as the unglazed red stonewares were concerned, there was nothing left for Josiah Wedgwood to do except to fashion or decorate the material by the superior mechanical processes of his time. It has been repeatedly stated that the small pieces attributed to Elers show a perfection of surface and brightness of tint that were never equalled by Wedgwood. The author is unable to subscribe to any such opinion, as he is acquainted with many pieces made at Etruria, both by Josiah Wedgwood and his descendants, that are quite equal in perfection of surface and in brightness of colour to any Elers piece he has ever seen.

PLATE XIII.

WEDGWOOD AND BENTLEY.

Vase in Marbled Cream-colour.

H. $7\frac{1}{2}$ in.

British Museum.





WEDGWOOD.

FIG. 49.—RED COFFEE-POT, ENGINE TURNED.

H. 8½ in.

Wedgwood Institute, Burslem.

The Wedgwood pieces in red ware are much thicker in substance and, as a rule, less refined in outline than those of Elers. Their ornamentation is also more mechanical and less perfectly in keeping with the true nature of a piece of pottery. Wedgwood readily adopted every improvement of the turning lathe that could be applied to his processes, and he seems to have used the red stoneware, with its fine colour and texture, as the very material on which he could best display the mechanical perfection of engine turning. In Fig. 49 a fine red coffee-pot of his manufacture, preserved in the Wedgwood Institute at Burslem, is reproduced, and will serve to demonstrate the perfect control Wedgwood had acquired over both his materials and his tools. One cannot but appreciate the perfect workmanship of such pieces, even while one feels instinctively how much more appropriate the simpler methods of Elers were. The same red body was used for the manufacture of countless jugs, cream-jugs, milk-jugs, and similar articles; and the material lent itself so admirably to the neo-classicism of Wedgwood's later shapes that one is sometimes inclined to prefer the undecorated pieces of this class to the more elaborate productions in jasper and basalt.

Another species of pottery that Wedgwood made peculiarly his own, though in this respect he was approached very closely by Palmer, Mayer, and Turner, was the black unglazed stoneware, which, as we have seen, also probably originated with Elers, and was continued by his successors. There is ample evidence that black wares had never gone out of use in the Staffordshire potteries from the commencement of the eighteenth century, and it is impossible to distinguish by the fineness of texture, the depth and intensity of colour, or the perfect polish which the material was capable of taking on the lapidary's wheel, between Wedgwood's black Egyptian or black basalt wares and those made by some of his contemporaries. In his first use of this material he followed his usual business-like habits and wrought the ware mainly into useful articles, such as tea services, coffee-pots, inkpots, trays, and flower-pots. It is in this "black basalt," however, that we get the full development of the prevailing classic taste of the period as it

was adopted by Wedgwood. We have already referred to Bentley's leaning toward the antique; and with such a partner, whose taste Wedgwood evidently considered superior to his own, we cannot wonder that the new-born interest in every phase of classic art should find its reflection in the workshops at Burslem, and afterwards at Etruria.

The constant efforts of Wedgwood and Bentley to work still further in the direction of classic vases led Wedgwood to invent his method of encaustic painting. For this purpose he used enamel colours or, at all events, colours with a considerable proportion of fluxing materials, which fired to a nearly dead or mat surface, applied, as they were, directly to the body of the ware without the intervention of a coat of glaze. By the aid of a few simple tints, mostly various shades of red and brown, though a white pigment and a shining-black one were also used, he strove to imitate the effect of the fine Greek painted vases of the red figure period.* We have only to reflect on the state of the potter's art in England at this period, and the methods used in the shaping and finishing of all English pottery, methods which Wedgwood himself had delighted to carry to the utmost pitch of mechanical perfection, to realise that these efforts were doomed to be unsuccessful. Modern knowledge of the masterpieces of the Greek potter was then in its infancy. Such examples as Wedgwood seems to have actually copied were not even of the best quality, and there was no appreciation by the potter of the rhythmic flow of the outline in the best Greek vases, or of the extremely skilful and dexterous brushwork by which they had been decorated. Wedgwood's forms are, of course, not altogether wanting in style and fitness, but their style is only that of his period, and he aimed at mechanical rather than artistic perfection. The touch of such enamel painters as he could procure for the drawing of his figures is generally tame and spiritless,

* His method of preparing these colours, as well as of an encaustic bronze and a shining black, are set forth in the patent which he applied for and obtained in 1769.

PLATE XIV.

WEDGWOOD.

Encaustic Painting on Black Basalt.
Bulb Pot with Figures in Relief.

L. 8 in. H. 5½ in. W. 3½ in.

Victoria and Albert Museum.

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and their timid pencilling is in the greatest contrast to the freedom and dexterity of the work they were striving to imitate. They succeeded better, however, in their adaptations of the simple meanders and other conventional borders used for the handles, shoulders, and rims of the pieces, and it is no doubt to the work of this kind that we owe the enamel-painted borders on the Queen's ware, already described and illustrated. His largest known piece of encaustic painting is an immense two-handled vase (formerly G. 343 of the Jermyn Street collection), which was a copy of a Greek vase of the period of decadence, probably lent to Wedgwood by Sir William Hamilton, and now in the British Museum. It may be safely said that the largest and most ambitious pieces of this encaustic ware were the least satisfactory. The simple teacups, bowls, jugs, and spill-pots, with no ornamentation save a painted border or one or two painted figures of small dimension, are much better. On Plate XIV. will be found a reproduction of a beautiful and important example of encaustic painting from the Victoria and Albert Museum. The piece is a bulb-pot made in the black body, with sunk panels bearing applied black figures of Cupids supporting wreaths of foliage. The ground of these panels has been filled in with red colour, which is of richer quality than usual, and the piece has been further enriched by some skilful tracery in white. Had such pieces as this been commoner, we should have had a better opinion of Wedgwood's productions in the encaustic style.

Much higher praise must be awarded to the pieces, in endless variety of shape and use, that Wedgwood made in the black body alone. In the simplest of these we get a much nearer approach to the Greek feeling for form than in the more elaborate painted pieces. In Fig. 50 will be found a simple and beautiful black vase, ornamented solely with a few incised bands turned into it when it was being finished on the lathe, and with a simple festoon frieze, with applied masks for handles. The fineness of the material and the solidity of its rich bluish-black colour are admirably displayed. Equally successful, too, are many of the more elaborate

examples in the form of vases, drums, or pedestals, lamps, inkstands, salt-cellars, and trays, in which, in addition to these turned bands or flutings, heavily embossed scrolls of foliage, suspended from classic masks or similar reliefs, are displayed round the piece. The classic drum or pedestal reproduced in Fig. 51 is a perfect example of this type of piece, and gives an excellent impression of the skill and taste brought to bear in their manufacture. The most famous examples of this class are probably the two large ewers, commonly known as "the wine and water" vases, which were modelled by Flaxman in 1775.* Flaxman at this time was only twenty years of age, and these pieces must not be taken as his own conception, for they are undoubtedly copied or adapted from some antique bronze ewer. They are found mounted on plinths of various shapes and sizes, but in every case the feeling of the bronze is still too evident, and the forms are lacking in refinement.

Every connoisseur knows the beautiful surface texture, generally amounting to a polish, which the best of these black pieces of Wedgwood's now possess. This polish did not exist when the pieces were drawn from the oven, but the ware is of such perfect texture and so hard, that mere friction with a soft rag soon brightened them up to the state in which we now find them. Wedgwood, however, took advantage of the hardness and the perfect grain of this material, and many of his pieces were finished, after firing, by actual polishing on the lapidary's wheel, just as vessels of natural agate, jasper, or blood-stone are polished. Many of his later jasper vases were mounted on plinths of black basalt polished in this way until they actually acquired a brilliantly reflecting surface.† The process of polishing on the lapidary's wheel seems to have been most extensively used, however, in finishing the shanks of the seals so largely made by Wedgwood, both in black basalt and in his

* In the first bill rendered by Flaxman to Wedgwood and Bentley an item occurs for these two vases. See Miss Meteyard's "Life of Wedgwood," Vol. II., p. 322.

† Following Wedgwood's example, this process was also imitated by Palmer, Turner, Mayer, and other makers of black basalt.



WEDGWOOD.

FIG. 50.—BLACK BASALT VASE.

H. 9 in.

Victoria and Albert Museum.



WEDGWOOD.

FIG. 51.—BLACK BASALT PEDESTAL.

H. $7\frac{1}{2}$ in.

Victoria and Albert Museum.

later jasper bodies. It was also frequently used to perfect the edges of some of his cameos.

A word must be given here to the famous figures and busts of illustrious ancients and moderns, varying in height from a few inches to about two feet. Among the portrait busts of large size we may mention those of Zeno, Cicero, Plato, and Homer, as well as Chaucer, Milton, Spencer, Bacon, Lord Chatham, and the two De Witts, the latter probably indicative of Wedgwood's extensive trade with Holland. Among the smaller figures we have Voltaire, Rousseau, and Linnæus. In the same material we have also a number of figures of animals, sphinxes, etc., either modelled as purely ornamental objects, or introduced into the composition of candlesticks, antique lamps, inkstands, and other articles.

The latest development in these black wares appears to have taken place about 1776, when, for the first time, the elaborate bas-reliefs of classic figures and groups were applied in the decoration of vases of the same material. It is, perhaps, a little singular that Wedgwood should not have hit on this device at an earlier date, for it had already been practised by Palmer, of Hanley, as early as 1769, and the two practical points of the method had long been within Wedgwood's knowledge. The first step was the production of the bas-reliefs themselves, and these Wedgwood had for a long time manufactured in the shape of flat or slightly curved medallions. The method by which these medallions or the bas-relief figures or ornaments could be transferred to the surface of the pieces was simply the old Staffordshire method of "sprigging," which had been in use long before Wedgwood's time for the decoration both of salt-glazed and other wares.* Some considerable difficulty must have been experienced by Wedgwood in adapting this process to his bas-reliefs, owing to the extreme fineness of his materials, which would make figures, reasonably high in relief, extremely apt to crack after they had been applied to the vase, either in the drying or in the firing. After 1776 we find black vases, often of large size, decorated with bas-reliefs, made in black clay or in the

* See p. 115.

famous white stoneware and jasper bodies which were perfected about this date.

A word must also be said as to the "bronze encaustic" pieces produced on the black body. These are now extremely rare, and we can hardly wonder at it, for a careful study of Wedgwood's description of his process and his specification of his patent* forces one to the conclusion that for the most part the bronze powder (which was precipitated metallic gold) was secured to the piece by japper's size, either directly, or on an intermediate coating of a soft flux of white lead and flint. In either case the gold powder would be so imperfectly fixed to the ware that the mere cleaning of the piece would probably soon remove the traces of the bronze.

In addition to these famous red and black wares we find an extensive production of similar stonewares made with a basis of local clays, used alone, or in conjunction with other clays, flint, and Cornish stone; sometimes also stained by the addition of finely ground iron ore, oxide of iron, umber, oxide of manganese, and other mineral substances. It has been the custom to attribute the various cane, buff, drab, and chocolate bodies thus obtained to the experiments of Wedgwood alone; but, apart from tradition, and the fact that many buff and chocolate pieces were produced before Wedgwood's time, all these bodies were made to such an extent by contemporary potters that we can hardly attribute their discovery to Wedgwood. What we can safely say, however, is that he produced more colours of this class, and used them in a greater variety of ways, than any other potter of his time. It was only natural that he should make the same shapes, and should, as far as possible, apply the same methods of decoration to these bodies as he had already used for his red and black wares. We thus find a cane- or light buff-coloured ware made in exactly the same styles as the red and black wares. A few rare pieces are known in which encaustic painting has been applied to such a body, but a more general form of colour decoration was the application of touches of brilliant enamel colours,

* Patent Specification No. 939, of 1769.

generally blue and green, giving a colour combination that is sometimes quite harsh and startling. After the introduction of sprigged ornaments and figures in bas-relief, we also find the application to the buff, red, drab, or chocolate stonewares of sprigged leaves and foliage in various shades of drab and green. Generally, these pieces are found as cups and saucers, plates, cream-jugs, teapots, fern-pots, etc. The best-known pattern is one of impressed fern leaves, with little star-like *patere* apparently based on the whorls of the common mare's-tail (see Fig. 71), which Wedgwood is said to have first made for his intimate friend Dr. Darwin. This pattern is therefore known to collectors as Dr. Darwin's pattern. Wedgwood rung all the possible changes on these dry bodies, as they were called from the absence of glaze, and we have red ware decorated with black and buff sprigged ornaments, black ware decorated with red and buff, and, occasionally, buff decorated with red or black.

All these elaborate uses of the materials known to the earlier potters led Wedgwood to his invention of the famous jasper bodies with which his name will be for ever connected. Incited by his success in the production of the fine red, buff, and black wares, he had for many years endeavoured to produce an equally perfect unglazed stoneware white throughout its substance. As early as 1770 this matter was engaging his attention, and his first invention was a light creamy body of perfect texture, which he frequently described as "white porcelain." This was no inapt description, for though the substance was not perfectly white, it was so vitreous as to be quite translucent on the thin edges of pieces. It was this vitreous quality, however, which prevented the extended application of the material, and, apart from the use made of it in small cameos, intaglios, and seals, it was mainly used for the plinths of vases.* In order to improve this substance in whiteness, as well as in firing qualities, Wedgwood made incessant experiments with all the white minerals he could lay his hands upon. He was no chemist, as has been

*The variegated, marbled, and jasper vases are frequently found mounted on plinths of this white stoneware or semi-porcelain.

popularly supposed—indeed, such chemistry as was known in his day would have helped him singularly little in his business as a potter—but he was an indefatigable experimenter, who kept a careful record of his experiments, so that they became really fruitful in his hands; a quality much more useful to him than all the chemical knowledge possessed by his friend Dr. Priestley would have been. Among the white minerals with which he was experimenting in 1773 were the native spars or earths containing barium. From the lead mines of Derbyshire he obtained both barium sulphate, known as “heavy spar” or “cawk,” and barium carbonate. At first he was naturally much puzzled by the different behaviour of these two minerals when they were fired with mixtures of clay and flint; and as he does not seem to have known the simple method of distinguishing between them by the mere action of a drop of acid, it took him considerable time and experiment to discover that barium sulphate, or barytes, was the mineral that would answer his purposes, while the carbonate could only be used in exceedingly small quantities to increase the fusibility of the mixtures. He appears to have tried these new ingredients with every variety of white-burning clay, such as the plastic tertiary clays of Dorset and Devon, and the white china clay of Cornwall, along with varying proportions of flint and of Cornish stone. Ultimately he settled on a mixture of barium sulphate, clay, and flint, which, either with or without the addition of a very small percentage of barium carbonate, formed the basis of his jasper bodies. By the introduction of this novel ingredient, barium sulphate, Wedgwood produced a fine white stoneware of beautiful texture and quality, almost as translucent as Oriental porcelain in thin pieces, and giving, with the simple metallic oxides, various characteristic shades of blue, green, yellow, and lilac. This was Wedgwood’s crowning achievement as an experimentalist, and it is but due to him to say that no other potter appears to have succeeded in making this body, except after learning Wedgwood’s recipes. Even then the difficulties attendant on the grinding of the materials and firing of the pieces, as

well as the fabrication of the ware, prevented the production of specimens of equal merit, except in a few instances. It is perhaps necessary to add that, even in Wedgwood's own hands, the material was not always produced with the same degree of perfection. The finest pieces are distinguished by the flatness and evenness of their tint, and by the beautiful softness and translucence of the white applied ornaments—which should be neither so dry as to look chalky nor so vitreous as to have a glossy sheen, while at the same time they retain every detail of the mould, or the sharpest touch of the modelling tool, unimpaired. To those who know how much the perfect charm of the best pieces depends, at once, on the perfect grinding of the materials, the absolute sharpness and precision of workmanship, the fixing of the bas-reliefs to the ground when both are in the proper condition of hardness, and finally the well-regulated firing which is needed to develop their beauties perfectly, it is not at all surprising to find great variations among the pieces produced under Wedgwood's own active superintendence; a variation greater than has been generally recognised by most collectors. The ground colours produced by Wedgwood in his jasper bodies appear to have been strictly about seven in number. These are a dark blue, which is generally rather staring, though in exceptional pieces it becomes of very fine quality; a light blue or lavender colour; two shades of green; a black of richer quality and greater translucence than the black basalt made from commoner clays; a bluish-pink colour known as lilac; and, rarest of all, a fine yellow. To fix the identity of these colours we have reproduced in Plate XV. eight small Wedgwood cameos in jasper, showing the ground colours generally obtained; but it must be remembered that these colours varied very much in strength and tone, not only from mixing to mixing, but according to the nature and temperature of the firing they received. The yellow colour is the rarest of these jasper colours; the lilac is the most variable in tint, as one may expect from the nature of its colouring matter; while the dark blue is generally most beautiful when it has been spoilt somewhat in the

firing by the introduction of reducing gases, a defect commonly known among the workmen as "sulphuring." Under these circumstances it develops a remarkably fine indigo tone, greatly superior to that which it more commonly possesses. At first the jasper pieces, whether plaques, medallions, seals, or vases, were coloured throughout their substance; but after 1777, owing to the high price of the purified oxide of cobalt, and to certain difficulties in firing, what is known as jasper-dip was invented. In jasper-dip the medallion, plaque, vase, or what-not, was shaped in white jasper and was dipped, in the clay state, into a slip of coloured jasper, which formed a beautifully even coating on its outer surface, hence the name "jasper-dip."* On the coloured ground of solid jasper, or of jasper-dip, ornamental reliefs in the shape of foliage, conventional scrolls, figures, medallions, or portraits, were applied, usually in white, but occasionally in coloured jasper. The method by which these bas-reliefs were applied was the old method of "sprigging." Into a mould of plaster-of-Paris or "pitcher" bearing the subject in intaglio, the moist jasper clay was squeezed by the thumb of the workman † until it filled every line and dot of the intaglio; superfluous clay was then scraped off with a modelling tool or a sharp knife level with the face of the mould, and, after a few minutes' drying, the clay impress was removed by skilfully lifting it with a modelling tool. It was then applied to the piece by simply wetting the surface with a little clean water, and pressing the relief upon the wetted surface so as to adapt it to the shape and to secure perfect adhesion to the coloured ground.

At the period when Wedgwood invented his jasper bodies he had attained such complete mastery of all the manipulative processes of a potter that we naturally find his jasper wares, as befits their fine quality and their original composition, assuming the most skilful shapes and decorations of all his varied productions. He had gradually brought together and organised a body of highly trained

* This treatment appears to have become fairly general after the death of Bentley in 1780.

† Hence the general name of "thumb" moulds applied to all moulds of this class.



WEDGWOOD MEDALLIONS.

FIG. 60.—LINNAEUS.

FIG. 61.—FRANKLIN.

FIG. 62.—CAPT. JAMES COOK.

FIG. 63.—SIR W. HAMILTON.

H. 3 in.

British Museum.

workmen, as well as a considerable number of trained artists and modellers,* who were employed either in modelling their own designs or portrait medallions, or in copying and adapting to Wedgwood's purposes antique bas-reliefs, cameos, and intaglios. Most famous of these was John Flaxman, who not only modelled for Wedgwood and Bentley many of their best pieces and their most perfect bas-reliefs, but doubtless brought his artistic influence increasingly to bear on the character of their productions.

A whole volume might easily be devoted to the enumeration and description of Wedgwood's productions in jasper alone, but it must suffice here if we briefly describe, with the aid of a few carefully chosen examples, the principal varieties produced during the lifetime of Josiah Wedgwood himself. Wedgwood had never relinquished his connection with the metal mounters, originating in the days when he made knife hafts, etc., of solid agate, and his production of knife hafts, shoe-buckles, buttons, brooches, beads, ear-rings, seals, and other *bijouterie*, to be completed by mounting in metal, gives us a wonderful idea of the enterprise with which he sought and developed every possible means of extending his trade. We give a small selection of articles of this class from the extensive collection in the British Museum (*see* Figs. 52-59). It is impossible to imagine anything, in pottery, which could exceed in delicacy and perfection of workmanship many of these small pieces. The small oblong plaques, one of which is shown in Fig. 57, which were intended either to be mounted as brooches, or set as cameos in the lids of little boxes, etc., are particularly noteworthy: In the finest of these pieces the grounds are often of two colours, green and blue, or lilac and green, with the ornament in white relief. The choicest examples have bevelled edges, finished by polishing on the lapidary's wheel.

Wedgwood soon utilised the jasper bodies, too, in the extended reproduction of his medallion portraits. These

*The most complete list of the artists and modellers employed by Wedgwood will be found in Professor Church's monograph, "Josiah Wedgwood, Master Potter," London, 1903, p. 74.

“jasper” portraits, which are invariably in white, on grounds of light or dark blue, very occasionally on green or black, were made to commemorate not only the distinguished men of his own time, but also the profile likeness of anybody who cared to pay for the making of the necessary model and mould. We give in Figs. 60-63 a reproduction of four of these portraits of the usual size, *i.e.* about $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches long by $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide. The examples have been chosen to illustrate, as far as possible, the various styles of rendering, from the severe simplicity of “Franklin,” to the greater elaboration of “Sir William Hamilton.” A few particularly fine examples are known of similar portrait medallions of exceptionally large size, the complete plaque being from 10 inches to 12 inches in length by 7 inches in width. Among these are the portraits of Robert Boyle, Sir William Hamilton, Benjamin Franklin, Joseph Priestley, Sir Isaac Newton, and John Locke. The British Museum possesses a fine collection of these large medallions, as well as many of the smaller ones, while the Mayer collection, in the Liverpool Museum, is particularly rich in medallion portraits, especially those of medium size, and in the small cameos, intaglios, and seals produced in the same materials.* Some of the portraits appear to have been modelled by Flaxman himself, but many of them are undoubtedly the work of William Hackwood, a skilful modeller employed at Etruria, who, besides producing many excellent renderings from miniatures, has left us life-like presentments of Josiah Wedgwood, together with his wife and many members of the family, as well as some local celebrities. In addition to these fine medallions, Wedgwood produced a magnificent series of plaques or slabs, some of them of large size, which were intended to be used as cabinet pictures, as insets in furniture, or in the ornamentation of mantelpieces.† Most noteworthy among them are the slabs

* Joseph Mayer, F.S.A., who formed this, the finest collection of Wedgwood wares in existence, was fortunate enough to secure the cabinet in which Wedgwood kept his own series of specimens, and these may now be seen, in the cabinet, in the Liverpool Museum.

† Fine examples of mantelpieces decorated with the jasper slabs are in the Tangye Collection at the Birmingham Museum.

bearing bas-relief groups of classic subjects, such as "Achilles among the Daughters of Lycomedes," "Priam begging the body of Hector," "Achilles dragging the body of Hector round the Walls of Troy," and the "Sacrifice of Iphigenia." Many of them were the work of Italian modellers or sculptors, such as Angelini, Dalmazzoni, Pacetti, and others, who were at work in Rome copying or adapting many of the famous works of antiquity. The group of "Priam appearing before Achilles" was adapted by Pacetti, while the subject of the "Sacrifice of Iphigenia" was copied by the same artist from the sculpture on the Sarcophagus in which the Barberini or Portland Vase was discovered. Most ambitious of all Wedgwood's jasper wares were the vases, drums, pedestals, and other purely ornamental forms in this material. In Plate XVI. will be found a reproduction of one of the simplest but most perfectly satisfactory examples of this class. The severity of the style and the decoration recall those of fine Greek work, and the fine quality of the dark blue, the white, and the rare yellow jasper show the high pitch of perfection reached in the best of such pieces. Larger and more elaborate examples are reproduced in Figs. 64 and 65. The particularly fine examples from which these reproductions were taken are in the Hulme Collection at the Wedgwood Institute, Burslem. Fig. 64 is decorated with reliefs representing "Hercules in the Garden of the Hesperides," while the snake-handled vase, a triumph of technical skill, is decorated with the figures of "Apollo and the Muses." The figures on these two vases are among the most successful of Flaxman's relief works for Wedgwood. In the same connection we cannot pass over the splendid jasper vase which Wedgwood presented to the British Museum in 1786. This piece, which with its plinth and cover measures 18 inches in height, is decorated with a group of figures generally called "The Apotheosis of Homer," modelled by Flaxman from a painted Greek vase in the British Museum. The cover is surmounted with a Pegasus, and the vase is often known as the Pegasus Vase.*

* An illustration of this famous piece is given in Hobson's "Catalogue of English Pottery in the British Museum," Plate XXXIII.

The finest jasper vases appear to have been made in the period 1786-95. Most famous of all of them are the copies of the Portland Vase, made by Wedgwood after 1790. No praise would be too high to bestow on the technical merits of this performance, which Wedgwood evidently regarded as the crowning achievement of his skill and knowledge; but, dispassionately regarded, it is difficult to accord high praise as a work of art to what is, after all, but a laborious copy, in another material, of one of the most elaborate productions of the classic decadence. The original is of dark blue glass, coated with opaque white enamel, which has then been cut, with extraordinary skill, and an amount of labour that it is almost impossible to realise, by the lapidary. Wedgwood's copies were executed in a body of black, or bluish black, jasper, with white jasper figures, moulded in relief and laid on in the usual way. In the best examples, the figures were all skilfully touched up by a modeller before firing, and in some cases they received a final finish at the hands of the lapidary; occasionally, too, it would seem as if the white figures had been tinted in the thin parts to reproduce the effect obtained in the original, where the dark ground shows through the thin parts of the white relief. Such elaborate work as this had never been done before in pottery, yet the pieces are, artistically, much less interesting than many of those simpler productions in which Wedgwood had been content to use his materials as a potter should.

One often feels that far less attention has been paid to the smaller and less ambitious pieces of Wedgwood's jasper than they deserve. Many of his bowls, teapots, cups, saucers, candlesticks, spill-pots, plant-pots, etc., give us complete satisfaction, even though they are in the nature of cabinet pieces rather than of pieces for every-day use. The rare cups, saucers, and bowls of white jasper, with simple leaves in green and medallions in lilac, one of which is reproduced on Plate XVII., are especially fine. The pieces, with black or blue grounds, with heavily moulded festoons and masks, like the saucer shown on the same plate, are often of great excellence, while the tea- and coffee-pots, cups, trays, bowls and dishes,



WEDGWOOD'S USEFUL PIECES.

- FIG. 68.—CREAM JUG. BUFF BODY WITH RED FIGURES. H. 4½ in. FIG. 69.—BLACK TEAPOT WITH SILVER LUSTRE. H. 3¾ in.
 FIG. 70.—CREAM JUG. DRAB BODY WITH RED FIGURES. H. 6 in. FIG. 71.—HOT WATER JUG. BUFF BODY, DRAB ORNAMENT. H. 5¾ in.
 FIG. 72.—CHOCOLATE POT. RED BODY. H. 6 in.

where Wedgwood showed at once the beauty of his jasper bodies and the perfection of his engine-turning, by the production of what are known as "dice" patterns—in which the blue jasper dip has been cut through, so as to make a chequered pattern of blue and white, the white squares being relieved by simple applied stars in solid yellow jasper—are especially noteworthy (*see* Fig. 67). It is, indeed, in his useful ware that one feels to the full the debt we owe to the famous potter. The shapes of the ordinary plates, cups, dishes, and bowls, in use before his time were often pleasing enough in their simplicity or even in their quaintness, but Wedgwood introduced into their manufacture the very best elements of what he had assimilated from classic art, or from the suggestions of Flaxman and the other artists he employed. We give, in Figs. 68–72, a small group of such useful pieces, which will show at a glance how perfectly adapted they were to their purpose, and what a degree of simple elegance and perfection had been imparted to their outlines. In designing handles that were easy to hold, elegant in outline, yet firmly attached to the piece to which they were applied, and spouts and lips that would deliver their contents without spilling, he set an example from which succeeding potters have departed only at some sacrifice of both beauty and utility.

In connection with these useful pieces, mention must be made of a few minor inventions introduced by Wedgwood in the later part of his career. As early as 1775 he considered very carefully, and repeatedly discussed with Bentley, the question of the exact tint to be given to his general earthenware, and as to whether it should be made as white as possible, or even deepened in colour from the Queen's ware. At the time it was decided to continue the Queen's ware without alteration, but some years later he invented a much whiter body, by increasing the proportion of china clay and flint, and adding to the clay mixture a minute quantity of oxide of cobalt to neutralise the last traces of the yellow colour, on the same principle as the washerwoman uses the blue bag. This fine white ware he christened "Pearl-

ware," and during his lifetime it seems to have been mainly employed in the production of the pieces of a shell dessert service, modelled after some of the best shells in an extensive collection he had made for his own enjoyment. These "pearl" dessert shells were generally decorated with thin flat washes of delicate enamel colours, so as to reproduce as far as possible the colours of natural shells. It cannot be said, however, that in this way they are very satisfactory. A few very fine specimens are known, in which the same shells were decorated by the application of a gold lustre introduced at Etruria about 1792. Where this lustre was thinly applied the effect was remarkably good, because it stained the glaze of the ware to a purplish pink colour, on which the metallic *reflet* of the lustre displayed itself to great advantage. This effect was also taken advantage of to produce a kind of lustre mottling of gold, yellow, and purple, also found on the pearl ware. On Plate XVIII. will be found a reproduction of a well-shaped jug, probably of Wedgwood manufacture, which has been most ingeniously decorated by the application of this gold lustre on moulded ornament. The newly discovered metal platinum was also employed to make what is known as "silver lustre," by which a shining silver surface was given to the whole piece. This was largely used on tea- and coffee-pots, cream-jugs, trays, candlesticks, and other articles in the period between about 1792 and 1810. Occasionally, after laying in the whole ground in this so-called silver lustre, a pattern would be taken out by the end of a stick, and pieces of this type are much more satisfactory than those with the silver lustre over the entire piece. It should be added that this silver lustre was often applied to glazed black and red ware as well as to cream colour and pearl.

It is impossible to close this condensed account of the life and labours of the great English potter without some reflections on the extent of his influence on the whole subsequent course of English pottery. Wedgwood's taste was essentially English in its strong leaning towards what was practical in shape, simple and even sober in colour, and formal in disposition and arrangement. He had no love of the gay colour

PLATE XVIII.

WEDGWOOD.

Pearl Ware Jug with Purple Lustre.

H. $5\frac{3}{4}$ in.

Victoria and Albert Museum.





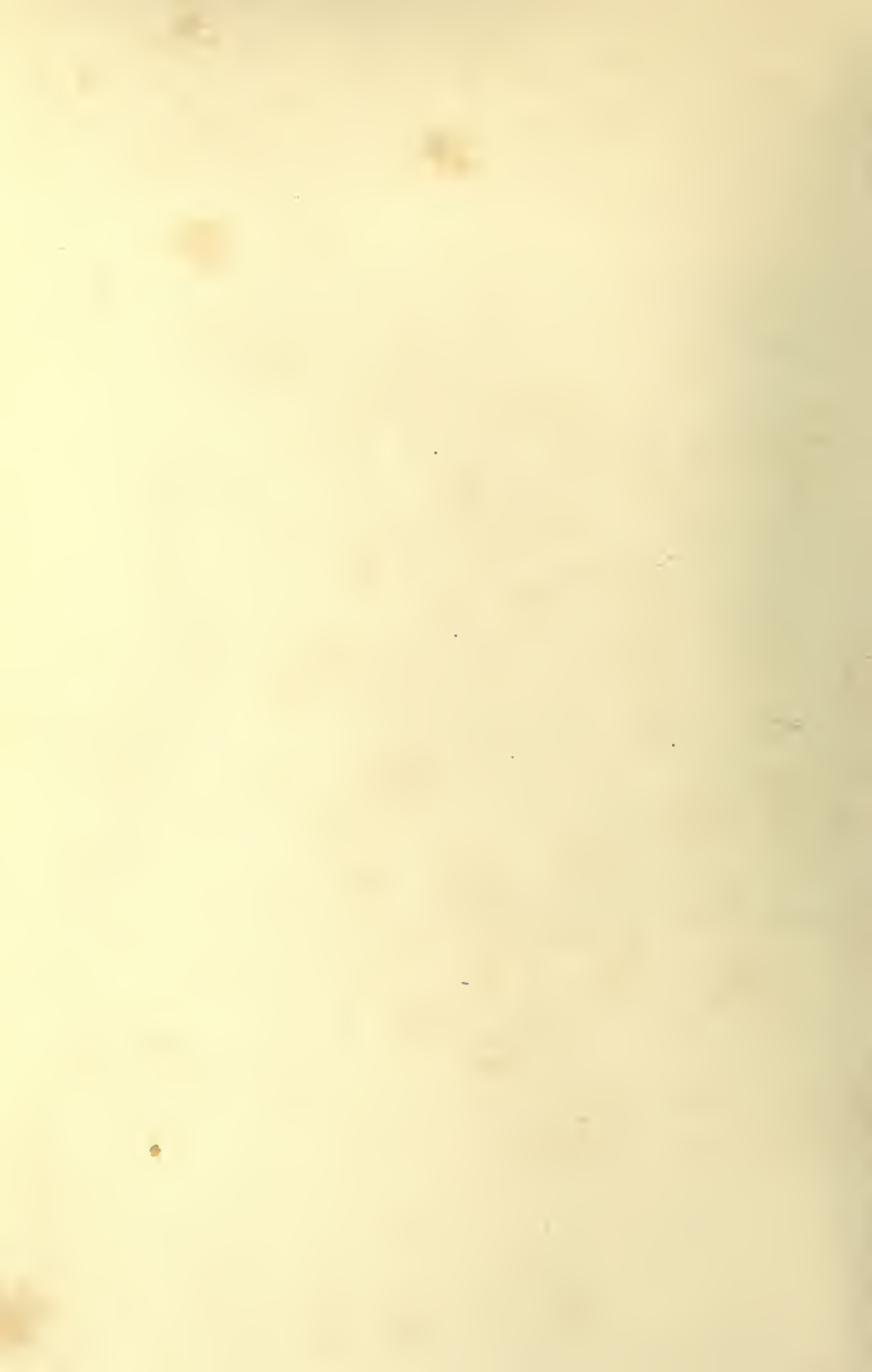
WEDGWOOD.

FIG. 73.—PERFORATED ORANGE BASKET. CREAM-
COLOUR WITH WATER GILDING.

H. $7\frac{1}{4}$ in. Dia. 7 in.

Stand Dia. $7\frac{3}{4}$ in.

Victoria and Albert Museum.



and free brush work that gives such charm to the early tin-enamelled wares of the Continent, and it is impossible not to regret, at times, the completeness of the change, due to Wedgwood more than any other man, by which the perfect repetition of form and of mechanical pattern was rendered so easy and so certain as to drive the simpler forms of hand-work completely from the field, and confirm the Englishman in his native fondness for mechanical rather than artistic skill. Wedgwood's classic forms are especially open to this charge, and it is a curious commentary on his taste as a potter that many of his finest productions should convey the feeling of something turned in stone, or some other equally hard substance, rather than the rhythmic line of a vessel shaped by the hand of the thrower in plastic clay.

His influence was so powerful, and his personality so dominant, that all other English potters worked on the principles he had laid down, and thus a fresh impulse and a new direction was given to the pottery of England and of the civilised world. He is the only potter of whom it may be truly said that the whole subsequent course of pottery manufacture has been influenced by his individuality, skill, and taste.

CHAPTER XI.

WEDGWOOD'S CONTEMPORARIES IN STAFFORDSHIRE.

WE have already combated the mistaken view which ascribes to Wedgwood many improvements and inventions that should really be credited to his forerunners. In the same way, we must dissent strongly from the idea that all contemporary Staffordshire manufacturers were his imitators. Not only is such a view unfair to some famous potters—little inferior to Wedgwood in technical accomplishment, though they may have lacked his commercial aptitude—but it would have been repudiated by Wedgwood himself as a stigma on men whose abilities he did not fail to recognise, and some of whom were his personal friends. There can be no doubt that Wedgwood by his far-reaching abilities, his energy, and his enterprise, set the fashion in English pottery; but if, at times, his improvements and inventions were undoubtedly copied and plagiarised by many manufacturers, there were others who strove to emulate his success, so far as their means and resources would allow, by original and independent work of their own.

The old Staffordshire family of the Warburtons of Hot-Lane has been referred to several times in connection with the development of cream-coloured earthenware. It is said that Enoch Booth's invention of fluid glaze was immediately adopted at their works in 1750, and we have also seen how at a later period Wedgwood was content to send his cream-coloured plates and dishes to Mrs. Warburton to be enamelled. The son of this Mrs. Warburton was a remarkable man. He was a few years younger than Josiah Wedgwood, with whom he appears to have been on terms of intimate friendship. He acted as his own foreign traveller, making many visits to the Continent to extend his trade and his business connections, and acquiring a competent

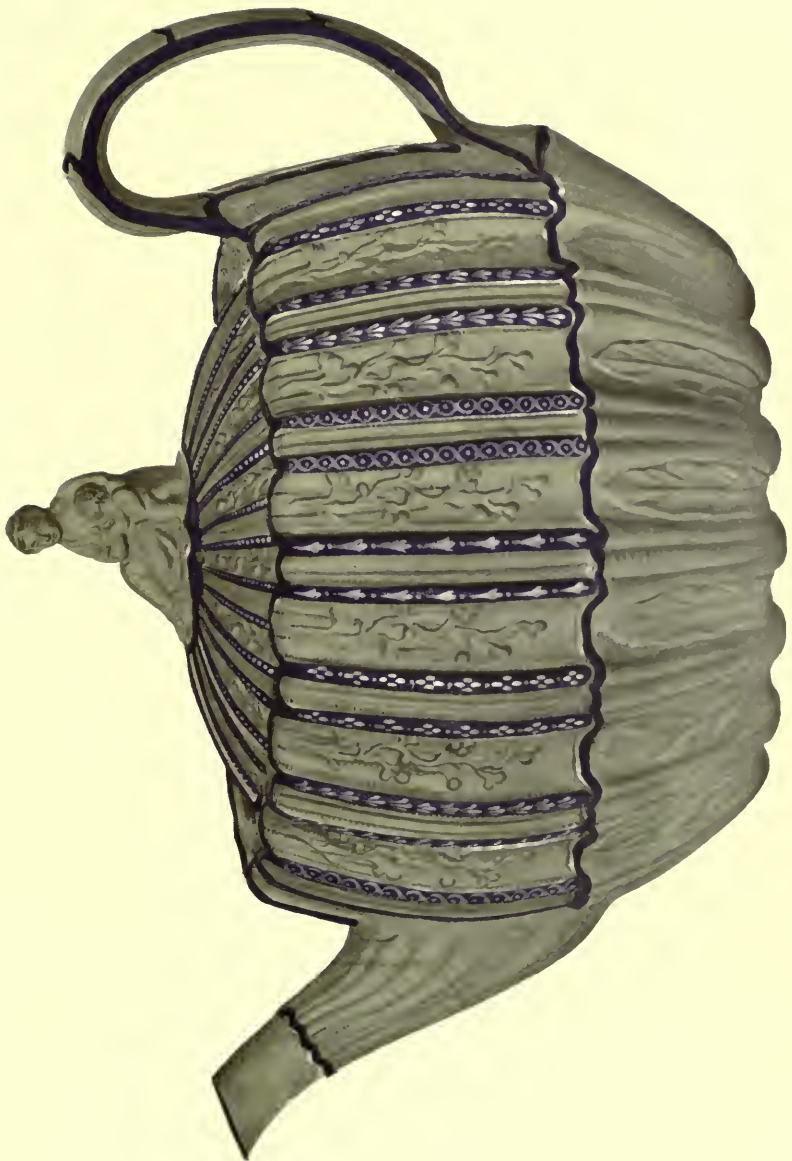
PLATE XIX.

SAMUEL HOLLINS.

Green Stoneware Teapot with Ornamental Reliefs
in White and Blue Jasper.

H. 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.

Wedgwood Institute, Burslem.



knowledge of French, Dutch, German, and Italian. At one time his Continental trade is said to have been more extensive than that of Wedgwood himself. He continued in business into the nineteenth century, dying in 1826 in his eighty-sixth year. He was one of the company of potters who bought the unexpired portion of Champion's porcelain patent in 1781.* It is indeed asserted that it was principally owing to his enterprise that the company was formed, and though the porcelain they manufactured is of no particular interest, they were largely instrumental in bringing into more extensive use the china clay and china stone by which the cream-coloured body was finally perfected.

The productions of the Warburtons in earthenware have received no attention from collectors, being often confounded with those of Wedgwood. Marks were very seldom used before 1760 by any of the Staffordshire potters, and pieces marked "Warburton" are exceedingly rare. One such piece is a vase (K. 18), about 9 inches high, in the British Museum, which has the name impressed under the foot; it is of ordinary cream-coloured earthenware, with simple flutings and some slight traces of gilding.

SAMUEL HOLLINS, the red china potter of Shelton, a designation which recalls at once the unglazed red Elers ware of an earlier date, was another of the company of seven potters who formed the company to acquire and work Champion's porcelain patent, and it is perhaps significant of his repute as a potter that after a very short trial at Tunstall the business was removed to the New-Hall works in the vicinity of Hollins' works, at Shelton, where he could easily overlook it. Judging by the pieces of Hollins' ware that have come down to us, he was a potter of uncommon skill. His red china ware, which is, of course, hard fired stoneware made of the local clays, is of excellent quality and finish. Many of the specimens are of a chocolate colour and have a surface almost as fine and lustrous as that obtained on Wedgwood's black basalt. He must have done a large trade in teapots, coffee-pots, and jugs. These

* Burton's "History of English Porcelain," p. 136.

pieces are decorated with "sprigged" ornaments of foliage, figures, etc., in a clay of the same colour as the body of the piece, but in many of his later productions bas-relief figures and ornaments in black or some other coloured clay were introduced on the red or chocolate body. He was also noted for the production of a fine green stoneware, perfectly vitreous and very dense in body, from which he manufactured many elaborate teapots, coffee-pots, cream-jugs, etc. For the shapes of these vessels he was apparently indebted to the silversmiths' work of his period. A few pieces are known in which his green stone body had been still further enriched by the application of "sprigged" ornaments in blue jasper, the two bodies giving a very successful colour combination. A fine piece of this class is preserved in the Hulme collection at the Wedgwood Institute, Burslem, and is reproduced in Plate XIX. Such pieces as this could scarcely have been of earlier date than 1785, when the secret of the composition of Wedgwood's jasper had leaked out. A few rare pieces are also known of maroon-coloured stoneware made by Hollins. A bowl of this kind will be found in the British Museum collection (K. 27). In finished workmanship, in fineness of grain, all these productions are of the highest class, and compare quite favourably with those of any other Staffordshire potter.

JOHN TURNER, also a member of the company that bought Champion's patent, was, after Wedgwood himself, the most famous Staffordshire potter of the time. He appears to have been almost as skilful and enterprising, and as unwearied in his experiments,* as Wedgwood, and though his operations were never conducted on so extensive a scale or with such wealth of knowledge and influence as Wedgwood brought to bear, he was extremely successful in business, and it says much for his ability that many of his productions are fit to rank with those of his great contemporary. John Turner appears to have been engaged in the manufacture of white stoneware in partnership with a Mr. R. Bankes, at a works

*There is an old tradition in the Potteries that Turner sacrificed many an ovenful of ware to secure the success of his trials and experiments.



TURNER.

FIG. 74.—SAUCE-BOAT WITH PAINTED
ORNAMENT IN BLUE.

H. 6 in.

Liverpool Museum.



MAYER.

FIG. 75.—CREAM-COLOUR SAUCE-BOAT.

H. 7 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.

Wedgwood Institute, Burslem.



TURNER.

FIG. 76.—BULB POT. CREAM STONEWARE.

L. 9 in. H. 7 in.

Decorative Museum.

situated in the centre of Stoke, as early as 1756. In 1762 he removed to Lane End (now Longton), where he manufactured the usual cream-colour and stonewares of his day. That he was recognised throughout the district as one of the leading manufacturers is proved by the fact that he was selected to accompany Wedgwood to London, in order to voice the opposition of the Staffordshire potters to the extension of Cookworthy's patent, which Champion sought to obtain in 1775. We have ample evidence that he was then aware of the value of these two substances to the Staffordshire potter, as he joined with Wedgwood in leasing mines in Cornwall (*see* p. 130). His cream-coloured ware was indeed of excellent quality, and an examination of the piece represented in Fig. 74, which is one of his ordinary trade productions in this medium, will show the success he obtained in the manufacture of useful pieces. He appears to have had a trading connection with the Continent almost equal to that of Wedgwood and the Warburtons. This Continental trade was still further developed by his two sons William and John, and at one time they are said to have had a *depôt* in Holland to which their cream-coloured ware was shipped in the white, and enamelled by Dutch painters in their native style.

The wares for which Turner is most famous, however, were his cream- or cane-coloured stonewares, and his fine productions which have often been mistaken for imitations of Wedgwood's jasper. His light-coloured stoneware had as its basis a fine local clay which he discovered at Green-Dock, near the site of the present Longton Cemetery. This native clay burned in itself to a light cane colour, and by mixing it with certain proportions of china clay and china stone he produced from it a number of bodies of very fine grain and close vitreous fracture, which varied in colour from a light cream to a warm buff or pie-crust colour. In the manufacture of the lightest of these bodies he seems to have been absolutely unapproached, and pieces of this class are well known to collectors in the form of jugs, bowls, dishes, wine-coolers, bulb-pots, and inkstands. Fig. 76 reproduces a bulb-pot of this ware now in the Liverpool Museum. The form and style of the piece

are obviously reminiscent of Wedgwood, while it is very probable that the moulded relief of "Aurora," on the front, would never have been made but for the previous success of Wedgwood's classic productions. The best known pieces of this kind are the famous Turner jugs, one of which is reproduced in Fig. 77. The body of these is of the same fine white stoneware, the neck is deeply ribbed, while the handle is extremely well conceived and firmly attached to the piece. The jugs are decorated with a variety of bas-relief figures, including sporting subjects, ships, etc. The body is unglazed, but the ribbed neck and the upper part of the handle are generally coated with a dark chocolate-coloured, or in some rare instances a greyish blue or black glaze. He also appears to have manufactured in the same body a number of fine busts and statuettes, which were frequently mounted on a plinth of his black basalt, as fine as Wedgwood's, and similarly finished by grinding and polishing on a lapidary's wheel. The most interesting of these busts known to the author is one, nearly life-size, of the second John Turner, which is now in the possession of Mr. Bernard Moore, of Longton; it is inscribed at the back "E. Ray, Modeller, Longton."

In the darker-coloured varieties of his fine stoneware, Turner made a great number of wine-coolers, cooking-vessels, and pie-dishes; indeed, he seems to have carried the imitation of pie-crust to such a pitch of perfection in his cane-coloured stoneware that it became almost deception. A tradition has been handed down in Longton that, as a *tour-de-force* of imitative skill, he made in pottery a group of vessels shaped and coloured like the actual roasts of one of the homely country feasts of the day. A baron of beef, a roast leg of mutton, a sucking pig, goose, turkey, and many other pieces completed this queer assemblage, which on completion was exhibited at one of the inns at Lane End, where it made a nine-days' wonder for the country-side. In the Mayer Collection at Liverpool are four or five such pieces with Turner's name impressed in them, and, whilst we may smile at the rustic taste of such productions, we must admit that they are triumphs of technical skill.

Turner made a fine series of blue and bluish green wares,



TURNER.

FIG. 77.—STONEWARE JUG.

H. 6 in.

Liverpool Museum.

ornamented in white relief in the style of Wedgwood's jasper. It is probable that these wares were made in rivalry with the better known pieces from Etruria, and though it is not uncommon to find subjects which are known to have been modelled for Wedgwood used by Turner, we have a large number of Turner subjects which are undoubtedly his own. A good deal of the so-called jasper of Turner's production is not jasper at all, but is a fine white stoneware or porcelain intermediate in composition between true porcelain and parian.* It is generally somewhat vitreous; at all events, its surface is more glossy than Wedgwood's jasper, while its texture is also notably different. It follows from its composition that the colours obtained in it are also distinctly different from Wedgwood's colours; one shade of blue being more slaty and glossy than Wedgwood's light blue, while the darker blue is much greener, and indeed in many pieces is of distinctly green-blue tone. On Plate XX. will be found a reproduction of a Turner sugar-bowl, and a comparison of its colour with that of the true jasper ware will at once indicate to collectors the striking difference between them. Turner appears to have excelled also in the production of small cameos, seals, beads, shoe-buckles, ear-rings, and other trifling articles that were made for the Birmingham trade. It is impossible to conceive anything more perfectly and finely wrought than the pieces of this kind made by the Turners.

The first John Turner died in 1786 at an advanced age, and was succeeded by his two sons, John and William, who carried on his business with great spirit and enterprise. Besides developing the ordinary earthenware trade, they became close competitors of Josiah Wedgwood in their Egyptian black and fine jasper-like bodies already alluded to. No doubt,

* The author had long been convinced, from the texture and other qualities, that many of these Turner pieces were not jasper, before an opportunity of making a complete analysis of a marked piece proved the correctness of that opinion. The analysis is as follows :

TURNER'S FINE STONWARE OR PORCELAIN.

SiO ₂	..	..	53.95
Al ₂ O ₃	..	..	34.00
CaO	..	..	7.53
MgO	..	..	0.76
Na ₂ O	..	..	0.37
K ₂ O	..	..	3.41

like other potters, they ultimately heard of Wedgwood's use of barytes in the body of his wares, and many pieces produced after 1790 appear to be of true jasper composition. In 1800 these two Turners took out a patent for a new method of manufacturing porcelain by the use of certain minerals of local origin, known as "Tabberner's Mine Rock," "Little Mine Rock," and "New Rock," but they are supposed to have been prevented from carrying out their project by the action of the agent of Lord Gower, the owner of the mines, who resented their applying for a patent for the use of these materials, remembering how sedulously their father had opposed the extension of Champion's patent. Their business was exceedingly prosperous until it was brought to ruin by the break up of their Continental trade consequent upon the upheaval of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars, and it finally ceased to exist in 1803. One of the brothers, John Turner, became manager for Mr. Thomas Minton, then laying the foundation of that business at Stoke-on-Trent, which was to develop into one of the greatest ceramic enterprises of England; and doubtless his skill was of the utmost value to the Minton business in its early days.

HENRY PALMER, of Hanley Green, was another of the skilful potters of the period. He has generally been credited with being a most unscrupulous imitator of Wedgwood, securing his new patterns as soon as they appeared in his London showroom and copying them. There can be no doubt that Palmer, and his successor Neale, did copy many of Wedgwood's fine productions, and so skilfully that in some cases it would be impossible to distinguish their productions but for the marks. There was also considerable ill-feeling between the Palmers (for Mrs. Palmer appears to have been the active commercial spirit of the enterprise) and Wedgwood and Bentley; and we cannot wonder, considering the pains and the enterprise shown by them in producing their gems, seals, and fine vases, that Wedgwood and Bentley should be annoyed when they found their ideas and methods immediately adopted by those who had had no part in their conception. Palmer appears to have employed as one of his



NEALE.

FIG. 78.—GRANITIC VASE WITH TRACES OF
GILDING.

H. 10 in.

Victoria and Albert Museum.

modellers a Frenchman named Voyez, who had worked for Wedgwood, and between them these two men seem to have hit on the idea of applying the relief medallions on black vases before Wedgwood himself. In the British Museum there is a vase of this kind (K. 11), decorated with applied figures of "Venus and Cupid in Vulcan's Smithy," and a trophy of a wreath, quiver, vase, etc., signed "Voyez sculpt. 1769"; the piece bears in addition the mark, "made by H. Palmer." Wedgwood himself does not appear to have adopted this process till about 1775.* He was under no delusion as to the merits of Palmer's wares, for he more than once referred to them in his letters to Bentley, with the remark that, "We (W. and B.) must be progressing, or they will be treading on our heels."

Palmer was apparently not a good man of business, for after 1776 the pottery appears to have been mainly conducted by his brother-in-law, Neale.† Later a potter named Robert Wilson joined Neale, and the firm became successively, Neale and Co., Neale and Wilson, and ultimately Wilson alone. Through all these changes the imitation of Wedgwood's productions seems to have continued, and when the secret of the true jasper body leaked out its manufacture was largely adopted by this firm. A good example of their work in jasper will be found on Plate XXI. In Fig. 78 will be found a reproduction of a vase of the granite ware made by Neale and Co., and but for the mark it would be impossible to distinguish such pieces from those of Wedgwood.‡ This sprinkled marbling was executed on the cream-colour body and was then finished with gold, not only on the handles and the sprigged ornament, but apparently on the body of the piece as well. Palmer and Neale, in addition to producing black vases, seals, etc., also made a number of

* See Miss Meteyard's Vol. II., p. 133.

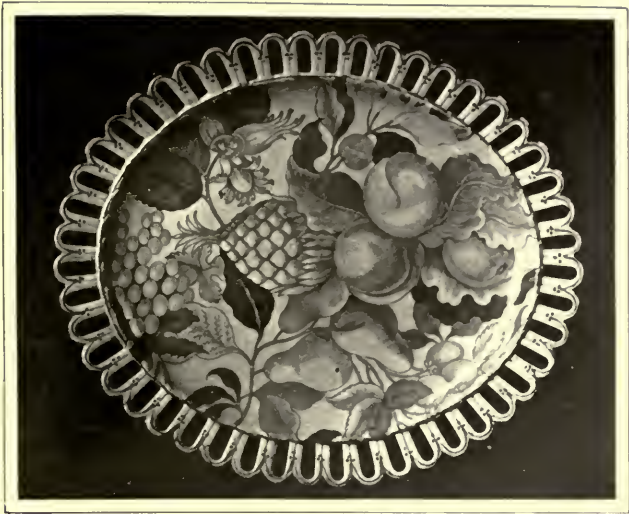
† Neale and Palmer had both married daughters of Mr. Thomas Heath, of Lane Delph, who soon after 1710 is said to have been making a coarse, tin-enamelled ware at that place.

‡ If Palmer and Neale were such unscrupulous imitators of Wedgwood as has been stated by previous writers, it is singular that they boldly marked their pieces with their own names.

oval portrait medallions, some of them of large size. They also appear to have made a number of busts and figures, both in the black ware and in cream-colour.

When the business passed into the hands of Wilson, he made a very fine red stoneware, ornamented with black figures of the same kind as those used by Turner on his well-known white stoneware jugs. He is also said to have manufactured a variety of earthenware, known as chalk body, from the introduction of a considerable portion of that material into the ware; the chalk made it whiter in texture and very suitable for the development of the underglaze blue-printing, then coming into vogue.

JOSIAH SPODE was an apprentice of Whieldon during the time when Wedgwood was his managing partner. After leaving Whieldon he entered the employment of Mr. Banks, who had a works at Stoke for the manufacture of white stoneware and cream-colour. When Mr. Banks relinquished business about 1770, Spode rented the works, and in addition to carrying on the manufacture of cream-colour decorated with blue painting, he also turned his attention to the production of black-printed ware—as the printing in enamel colours was called, black being the colour most commonly used—and also of the black Egyptian or basalt ware. In connection with Spode, we may well notice the introduction of the process of blue-printing, which was to replace in a great measure all the older forms of cream-colour decoration after about 1790, for though the process was not introduced into the Potteries by Spode, it seems to have been largely developed by him. Printing in blue under-glaze appears to have been first practised at Worcester and then at Caughley, and it was from the latter place, about 1783, that an engraver named Lucas and a printer named Richards were brought by Josiah Spode. In blue-printing, the paper print taken from the engraved copper plate was transferred to the biscuit ware, and not to a glazed surface, as in the case of the enamel printing already considered. The lines of these engravings need to be very strongly and deeply cut, in order to carry a sufficient body of colour. At first the engravings



SPODE (?).

**FIG. 79.—PERFORATED DISH. EARLY
BLUE-PRINTED WARE.**

L. 9½ in.

Stoke-on-Trent Museum.



STAFFORDSHIRE.

FIG. 80.—BLUE-PRINTED PLATE.

Dia. 9 in.

Stoke-on-Trent Museum.

used were pure line engravings (*see* Fig. 79), but afterwards only the strong outlines were engraved in line, the shading being given by fine stipple work or punching (*see* Fig. 80). The contrast between the blue printing and the earlier enamel printing in black and red is most marked; the blue colour having considerable body, and being softened by the glaze melted over it, is of an extremely rich and soft character, and the facility with which elaborate patterns of the most unsuitable description could be applied to every kind of table ware not only proved the death-blow of such simple blue-painted patterns as still survived (*see* Fig. 74), but tended more than anything else to sink the English earthenware of the next half century, or more, to a low level of artistic merit. The constant effort of the Staffordshire potters, from Wedgwood downwards, to give the most perfect mechanical finish to their wares, received its fitting termination in this process of under-glaze printing, used at first for blue only, but in course of time for all such other shades of colour as were fitted for the work.

Josiah Spode the elder soon developed an extensive business, establishing his eldest son, the second Josiah Spode, in London as a dealer in china and glass. The younger Spode does not appear to have stayed long in London, for we soon find him back again at Stoke-on-Trent perfecting the manufacture of the blue-printed, and the various coloured stonewares and jasper with white reliefs. There is nothing individual about these particular productions of the Spodes, for many of them are actually copied, both in the shapes of the pieces and in the decoration, from the more famous jasper of Wedgwood.

The elder Spode died in 1797, and his son gradually introduced the decoration of earthenware in the style of pattern known as Crown Derby Japan,* in which blue was associated with enamel red and lavish gilding. The workmanship of the Spode ware is undoubtedly excellent, and the gilding was more technically perfect than that of any other Staffordshire potter of the period.

* *See* Burton's "English Porcelain," p. 175.

The improvements wrought by the second Josiah Spode in settling the position of the English china body, that has practically remained unaltered to this day, are not only outside the scope of this volume, but have been already treated in a previous one.* The business established by the labours of these two Spodes is still continued by their successors, Messrs. W. T. Copeland and Sons.

ELIJAH MAYER, of Hanley, appears to have originally been an enameller for the trade, as in a list of manufacturers for the year 1786 he is described as enameller only, and not potter; but when he became a manufacturer his practice as enameller stood him in good stead, particularly in his finely executed enamel borders on cream-colour, and the simple patterns of lines and foliage in blue and green enamel which he used on his bamboo wares. He also made Egyptian black of the most perfect finish, and in the Staffordshire Potteries to-day the reputation of Mayer's black body stands as high as that of Wedgwood's, for its density, texture, and fine blue-black colour. His shining black, *i.e.* black-glazed tea ware, similar in style to the black-glazed wares of Whieldon and other potters, was also excellent.

In Fig. 75 we reproduce a cream-colour sauce-boat of Mayer's make which shows how well his work compared with that of another of his great contemporaries, Turner, while a choice example of his enamelled cream-colour is reproduced on Plate XXII. This little tray or dish is not only of elegant shape, but the enamelled border is perfectly proportioned to the piece, and, with its yellow bands and black lines, forms a most effective, if quite simple, decoration.

It would be impossible within the limits of our space to mention all the less noteworthy Staffordshire manufacturers who were at work between 1760 and 1800, but space must be found for a brief account of two families both of great note in their day, the families of Adams and Woods, and at the same time we will endeavour to disentangle some of the confusion that has existed as to the relationship of the various members of these families.

* See Burton's "English Porcelain," pp. 18 and 171.

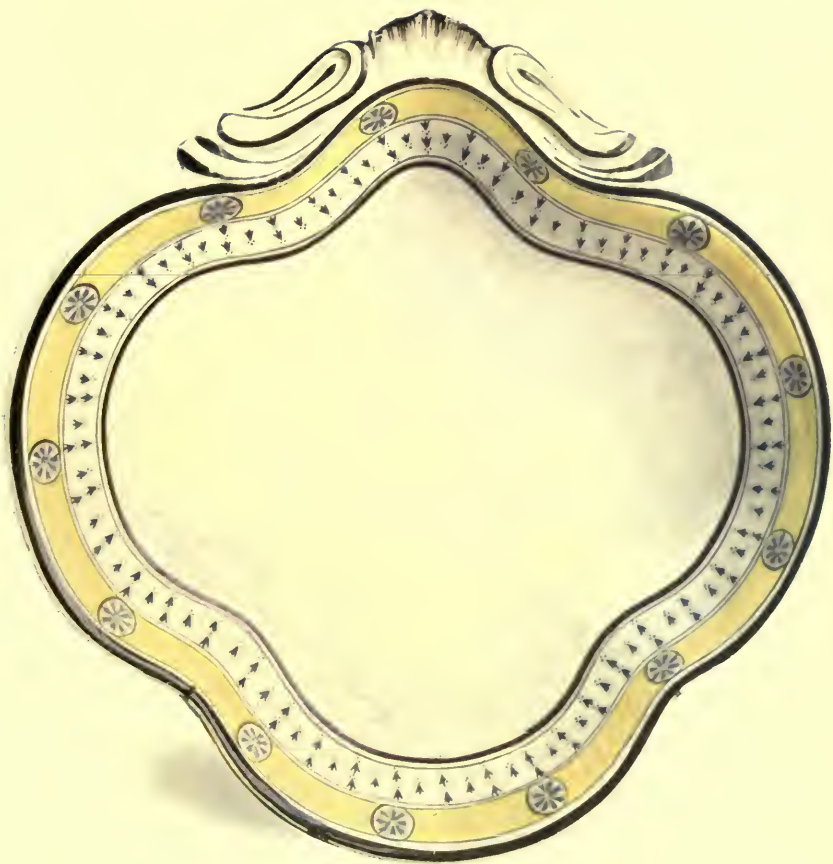
PLATE XXII.

ELIJAH MAYER.

Cream-colour Dish with Enamelled Borders.

Diam. 8 in.

Victoria and Albert Museum.



At the end of the eighteenth century there were three potters named William Adams, all connected by birth, who were making the usual kinds of earthenware, in the Potteries. The first of these was William Adams, of Cobridge, whose particular branch of the Adams family had been potters in Burslem from the middle of the eighteenth century. A cousin of his, also named William Adams, is said by Shaw to have erected four separate factories at Stoke, for the manufacture of earthenware and china, at the end of the eighteenth century. The pottery produced by these two makers had no especial qualities which render it worth the notice of collectors, but the works of the third William Adams, a cousin several degrees removed of the other two, have long been prized, as in some respects the most successful imitations of Wedgwood's jasper. Imitations they undoubtedly were, for William Adams had worked for Wedgwood for many years, and is said to have been his favoured pupil, so that when he started for himself at Greengates, Tunstall, in 1789, he had simply to transfer to his own establishment the processes and the recipes he had learnt at Etruria. Bearing this in mind, we must still accord a high place to Adams' productions, especially in jasper ware. His colours were naturally like those of his master, and many of his shapes, and the bas-relief decorations, are obviously copied from Wedgwood's work. The mug reproduced in Plate XXIII. is a very characteristic piece of Adams' production, and the perfection of the ground, and the sharpness of the figures, leave nothing to be desired. This William Adams, of Greengates, died in 1805, and the business passed out of the hands of the Adams family in 1820.*

The family of the Woods is particularly noted for its connection with the Staffordshire figures. Reference has been several times made, in preceding chapters, to Aaron Wood and Ralph Wood—well-known modellers of the middle of the eighteenth century—who were the sons of one Ralph

* Within the last few years the old Greengates factory has been amalgamated with the Greenfield pottery of Tunstall, founded by the Stoke branch of the family, so that it is again worked by an Adams, though of a different branch from its founder.

Wood, a miller of Burslem. Aaron Wood was the most famous block-cutter of salt-glaze moulds, and appears to have worked at his trade of block-cutter and modeller all his life. Two of his sons are well known; the first, William Wood, who was apprenticed to Josiah Wedgwood in 1762, to learn handling and pressing. At the end of four years it was agreed between Mr. Wedgwood, his father, and himself that he should serve four years longer as a modeller, and most of the useful articles manufactured at Etruria are said to be from models and moulds of his production; he never left the employment of the Wedgwoods. Enoch Wood, a younger son of the same Aaron Wood, was apprenticed to Henry Palmer of Hanley Green, and seems to have continued some years in his employment as a modeller. In 1784 he commenced business at Burslem as a manufacturer of cream-colour and the other staple wares of the time; his productions will be referred to presently.

Ralph Wood, the brother of Aaron Wood, was also a modeller, and seems to have turned his attention to the modelling of simple rustic figures, and some time after 1750 he established a little works in Burslem for the manufacture of these figures and of other ornamental pieces (*see* p. 113). He is said to have died in 1772, and was succeeded by his son, who was also called Ralph Wood, who died in 1797. Both the Ralph Woods modelled the Staffordshire earthenware figures, which some collectors prize out of all proportion to their intrinsic merits. Those of the elder Ralph Wood are generally better than those of the son, because they are far simpler and less pretentious; they have in them, too, a marked vein of true, if somewhat bucolic, humour, and his group of the "Vicar and Moses" is quite inimitable. The companion group of the "Parson and Clerk" is not quite so successful, and may possibly have been moulded by his son, particularly as we know of no example in which the simple colour scheme of the earliest pieces is used.

The most useful general index of the approximate date of these Staffordshire figures of the Woods will be found in the way in which they are coloured. Those of the first Ralph

PLATE XXIV.

RALPH WOOD.

The Vicar and Moses.

H. 9½ in.

Victoria and Albert Museum.



THE VICAR
AND MOSES



RALPH WOOD.

FIG. 81.—“TOBY.”

H. $9\frac{1}{2}$ in.

Wedgwood Institute, Burslem.



RALPH WOOD.

FIG. 82.—LADY AS SHEPHERDESS.

H. $9\frac{1}{2}$ in.

Wedgwood Institute, Burslem.

Wood appear to have been made of a rather darkish buff or yellow body, doubtless containing local clays. The colours are always in the form of coloured glazes of rather quiet tones—brownish purple, yellow, grey blue, and olive green—practically identical with those on the tortoiseshell wares of the period. A reference to Plate XXIV., where we reproduce a remarkably fine specimen of the "Vicar and Moses," now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, will convey a clear idea of the scheme of colour of these best early pieces.

Other examples of early figures of the same type are given in Figs. 81 and 82, while there is a well-known figure of a sportsman with dog and gun, of the same class, which is not without merit. It is not unusual to find among these earlier Staffordshire figures and groups copies of those that are known to have been made at some of the china factories of the day. Thus, we have a figure of "Old Age" and the group known as the "Tythe Pig" group, both of which are believed to have been first produced at the Derby China Works.

The figures that we may with reason attribute to the younger Ralph Wood are technically somewhat better than those of his father, but in so far as they are more ambitious and lack the native humour and quaintness of the earlier pieces, they are decidedly less interesting. They also suffer in their colouring, for the soft and quiet coloured glazes of the earlier pieces were replaced by heavy and shining enamel colours of indifferent quality; a method of colouring which only serves to emphasise the want of character in the modelling. In this case the improvement of the body had not been followed by any improvement in the results; rather the reverse. It is to this Ralph Wood that we should attribute certain busts, such as those of Milton, Handel, and Washington, that are occasionally met with bearing the stamped impression "Ra Wood, Burslem." These pieces often bear a stamped number in addition, and there can be no doubt that this represents the number of the mould, and has nothing to do with the years in which they were modelled.

Enoch Wood, the third member of the Wood family whose figures are prized by collectors, was not only a modeller

of distinct talent, producing many admirable portrait busts, but developed an extensive business in all the ordinary wares of his period, including cream-colour, black basalt, and jasperware, at Burslem.

He is still more entitled to our grateful remembrance for the interest he took in the works of his predecessors in the Staffordshire Potteries, and the assiduity with which he collected examples of their productions from the very earliest period. Unfortunately, he never seems to have made a catalogue of his collection, so that the benefits we have derived from his labours are not so complete as they might have been. In 1835 he forwarded 182 of the choicest pieces of his collection to the King of Saxony, which are still preserved in the Dresden Museum; the rest of his collection was dispersed after his death in 1840, and fortunately the major portion of it is preserved in our public museums.

The best-known figures by Enoch Wood are the portrait busts of Wesley and Whitfield. The one of John Wesley (*see* Fig. 83) is a fine example of modelled portraiture, and is said to have been produced in 1781, when Wesley stayed with Enoch Wood on one of his preaching tours. Most of his figures are in fine cream-colour body, but in the Wedgwood Institute, Burslem, there is a large bust of Enoch Wood himself, in black basalt. He appears at first to have been in business with his cousin Ralph Wood, as in the directory of 1786 the firm is described as Enoch and Ralph Wood of Burslem. In 1790 he took into partnership James Caldwell, and the business was carried on under the title of Wood and Caldwell until 1818, when Enoch Wood purchased Mr. Caldwell's interest in the concern, and the business was carried on under the title of Enoch Wood and Sons until 1846. The firm of Wood and Caldwell made quite a number of well-modelled portrait busts and statuettes, the best known of which are those of Wellington, Napoleon, and Alexander I. of Russia. One of the best known of their figures is that of "Falstaff," given in Fig. 84.

In order to complete our account of the Staffordshire figure-makers, we must again mention the French modeller,



ENOCH WOOD.

FIG. 83.—BUST OF JOHN WESLEY.

H. 14 in.

Victoria and Albert Museum.



WOOD AND CALDWELL.

FIG. 84.—FIGURE OF FALSTAFF.

H 10 in.

Victoria and Albert Museum.

Voyez, who was brought into the district by Josiah Wedgwood, and, though extremely skilful in his art, appears to have been not very scrupulous in his dealings. He only remained in Wedgwood's service for a short time, as during the year 1768 and in 1769 he seems to have been modelling medallions, vases, etc., for H. Palmer at Hanley; but this connection cannot have been of long continuance, as in 1773 he issued, "A catalogue of intaglios and cameos . . . made by J. Voyez, sculptor, and to be sold at his house at Cowbridge, near Newcastle, Staffordshire, and at M. Swinney's in Birmingham."* These intaglios and cameos were obviously intended to compete with those of Wedgwood, but we hear little more of Voyez as an independent manufacturer. There is a well-known rustic jug, with figures modelled in high relief, which is dated 1788 and signed "J. Voyez." It is usually found coloured with glazes, brighter and less satisfactory than those on the early Ralph Wood pieces; but it gives one a poor impression of Voyez's skill as a modeller when he was not working from the antique.

It is only to be expected that the great variety of figures produced at Chelsea, Bow, Derby, and other English porcelain factories should have set a fashion also among the Staffordshire earthenware makers. A considerable number of statuettes are known, obviously imitated from these sources, and coloured in enamel colours and finished with gilding so as to reproduce something of the effect of the originals. Speaking generally, they look what they are: spiritless reproductions of the better-made and more highly finished porcelain pieces.

* See Chaffers' "Marks and Monograms," 9th edition, pp. 687, 688.

CHAPTER XII.

LIVERPOOL, LEEDS, AND THE NORTHERN POTTERIES.

WE have already spoken of the Liverpool tin-enamelled wares and tiles at considerable length, and a few words must be added as to the efforts made by the Liverpool potters to meet the competition of their formidable Staffordshire rivals. For some time the manufacture of tin-enamelled ware was persisted in—in fact, some of the potters appear never to have made anything else; but the more enterprising among them, like the younger Shaw, Chaffers, and Pennington, undoubtedly made cream-colour and other wares so like those of their rivals that they have generally passed for Staffordshire productions. As was natural, the process of black-printing was very largely practised, and while the custom of attributing to Liverpool many fine, unmarked examples, because they bear the excellent printed patterns of Sadler and Green, is, perhaps, a natural one, it has been too much followed of late years, for so highly esteemed was the Liverpool printing that the potters of Staffordshire sent their wares in considerable quantity to that town to be printed as late as 1780.

In the last decade of the eighteenth century a pottery was started at Liverpool, which produced ware of some distinction, and as it was generally impressed with the name of the works, "Herculaneum," it has obtained a considerable vogue among collectors of English wares. The pottery was originally established about 1793-94, at Toxteth Park, on the banks of the Mersey, by Richard Abbey, an engraver, formerly an apprentice of Sadler's, and one Graham, a Scotchman. They are said to have been very successful in business; but, if so, must have been men of moderate desires, as in 1796 the works were taken over by a new firm—Worthington, Humble, and Holland—who enlarged them, named them Herculaneum, and brought over a colony of Staffordshire potters, with a foreman and manager named Mansfield, from

Burslem. As was to be expected, the ware produced under such circumstances has a strong family likeness to that of Staffordshire.

Blue-printed ware, then the most recent successful innovation in Staffordshire, was largely produced from the beginning—of course, in the form of useful pieces. Afterwards a fine, if somewhat greyish, cream-colour was made, while jugs with bas-relief figures, after the style of Turner's well-known stoneware jugs; buff, black, and red wares without glaze; bright green glaze, in imitation of Wedgwood's; and other varieties of earthenware and stoneware, were manufactured. Early in the nineteenth century the manufacture of English bone-china was added to the other products, and the business was carried on with great spirit and enterprise. In 1822 it was ordered by the proprietors that the words "Herculaneum Pottery" should be stamped or marked on some conspicuous part of all china and earthenware made at the manufactory. In 1833 the company was dissolved, and the business was carried on for a short period by Thomas Case and James Mort, who are said to have used the mark of the "Liver." From 1836, until its close in 1841, the business was in the hands of Case, Mort and Company. The site of the factory is now covered by the Herculaneum Dock. A good representative collection of the pottery made at Herculaneum during the various stages of its career will be found in the Liverpool Museum.

LEEDS.

The most successful competition to the fine cream-colour of Staffordshire was that set up by the factory at Leeds, founded about 1760 by two brothers named Green. The proprietorship of the works underwent many changes in the period of more than a century during which it existed. We know that it was Humble, Green and Co. before 1774; that William Hartley became a partner between 1775-1781; that in 1781 Humble retired, and the style of the firm was Hartley, Greens and Co. from that date to 1825. Hartley appears to have been the soul of the business, and the fine and distinguished Leeds ware was at its best during the time he was connected with the firm. He died in 1820, and the firm

immediately became involved in difficulties. From 1825 the style was Wainwright and Co. Wainwright died in 1834, and there was an interval until 1840, when the firm was Stephen and James Chapel, who became bankrupt in 1847. The business was carried on by Warburton and Britton from 1850 to 1863, and by Britton alone till 1878, when the works was finally closed. It is only the wares produced between 1780 and 1825 or 1830 that are of interest to collectors.

As to the earliest productions of these works we have no reliable information. It is likely that at first they would make the common earthenware glazed with lead such as was then being made in Staffordshire, and the early black Leeds ware which is frequently mentioned was, in all probability, not black basalt, but a black glazed ware like that of Whieldon and other Staffordshire potters of the period, or the Jackfield black ware, made by coating a rich, red body with a highly stained lead glaze. It is not until the time of Hartley, roughly 1780-1820, that we find the true cream-colour of Leeds, which vied in elegance of shape, excellence of potting, and richness of colour with that of the best Staffordshire potters, such as Wedgwood, Mayer, and Turner. The Leeds cream-colour is indeed notable for the full richness of its tint, which is somewhat yellower and, at the same time, brighter than the Staffordshire cream-colour. The fact is that the Leeds potters used somewhat different clays from those commonly used in Staffordshire. They imported the ball clays of Poole, in Dorsetshire, in large quantities, and by using this clay in their body they obtained the characteristic tint which distinguishes their ware. They soon established a large trade with the Continent, particularly with Germany and Russia, and as early as 1783 they issued an illustrated catalogue of their wares. This catalogue was accompanied by a descriptive price list, published in English, French, German, and also in Spanish. Several editions appear to have been printed, though in somewhat limited numbers, in 1783, 1785, and 1786. A fresh edition was issued in 1794, and this was re-issued about 1815-16.* From

* See Kidson's "Old Leeds Pottery," where one of the lists is reprinted, though without the illustrations.



LEEDS.

FIGS. 85 AND 86.—CREAM-COLOUR CUPS.

H. $2\frac{1}{2}$ in.

Victoria and Albert Museum



LEEDS.

FIG. 87.—CREAM-COLOUR PLATE.

D. 9 in.

Victoria and Albert Museum.

these catalogues we are able to form a very good idea of the goods that were manufactured. The pieces are all of a useful character, but some of the table centrepieces, the tureens, and the candlesticks are quite imposing in their style. As we have said, the cream-colour was of the highest quality in material, glaze, and finish; the shapes were generally light and elegant, simply decorated with fluted bands, and often with feather-edged moulding, scalloped borders, and narrow fluted or beaded mouldings. Many of the cups were made without handles, but a favourite form of handle with the Leeds potters was the double-twisted handle securely fastened to the body of the piece by the application of a little leaf form at each of the ends. It has sometimes been supposed that this handle is a distinctive mark of Leeds cream-colour, but it had long been used in Staffordshire; and a reference to Plate XI. will show that the little teapot, which we believe to be an early production of Josiah Wedgwood's, bears the same handle. The Leeds ware is most noteworthy, however, for the extensive use made of piercing or "punching," by which patterns were punched or cut out of the rims of plates, dishes, cups, and all the other articles in rice-grain, heart, or diamond shapes.* Figs. 85, 86, and 87 represent two cups and a plate decorated in this way, while in Fig. 88 is a large oval basket or tray, in which, in addition to the ordinary punching in various lozenge-shaped forms, an attempt has been made to combine this into a definite floral pattern, in the special piercing under the shells at each angle of the piece. Enamel-printing and water gilding seem to have been largely used on this cream-colour ware. Doubtless at first the ware was printed in Liverpool by Sadler and Green, but it is stated that by 1791 the factory possessed over £200 worth of engraved copper-plates, which were in use there. The enamel printing in black, red, and purple is of great excellence. Enamel painting was largely employed also, but though the colours are generally quiet and harmonious, the style of the enamelling has little to recommend it. When earthenware

* It has been stated, in error, that "piercing" was an invention of the Leeds potters. It had been extensively and skilfully used in Staffordshire long before.

printed with patterns in under-glaze blue became popular in Staffordshire, after 1790, the practice was adopted at Leeds with the same skill and success that distinguished their use of other processes, and helped to confirm the hold that the firm had obtained upon the Continental markets.

Very few vases are ever met with that can be attributed to Leeds with the slightest probability, but a few busts and statuettes are known, such as the figures emblematical of "Air" and "Water," and a large statuette of "Grief at an Urn," which is evidently imitated from a well-known Derby porcelain group. A few figures of animals are also known, but these are of no artistic merit.

After 1800 a white body, something after the fashion of Wedgwood's "Pearl" ware, was manufactured, but its tint was never quite equal to that of Wedgwood's. On this body the same gold and platinum lustres that were used by Wedgwood and his successors also appear, and there was, no doubt, an increasing tendency to compete with the productions of the Wedgwoods. In the same way, black basalt ware was produced, of good hard body, but having a more decidedly bluish-black cast than the black ware of Wedgwood, Mayer, Palmer, and Turner. A great quantity of tea ware of all kinds was made in this material, and Jewitt says that by 1812-13 from ninety to a hundred patterns and sizes of tea-pots alone were regularly made in it. The knobs of the lids were seated figures, lions, swans, etc., while the lids were made of every variety, both outward and inward fitting, sliding, and attached with hinges.

A final word must be given to a singular variety of marbled cream-colour or white ware, also produced at Leeds. This is generally found in the shape of mugs or tankards having a number of sharply turned narrow flutings at the neck and foot, which are coated with a bright green glaze rather thinly applied; the marbling or combing covers the body of the piece. It is always in streaks of yellow, reddish brown, and chocolate colour, and appears to be in the nature of marbled under-glaze colour rather than coloured slip. Its most distinctive feature, however, is its marking, which is so



LEEDS.

FIG. 88.—PERFORATED BASKET.

1. 14 in.

Liverpool Museum.

exactly that of the marbling on book edges that it can hardly have been done except by the same means. Most of these pieces also have the double-twisted foliated handles already referred to. The great majority of the Leeds pieces are unmarked, with the exception of the blue printed wares, though why this should be so is not very clear, as the marks are generally found impressed in the paste. A reproduction of the best known of them will be found in the section on marks.

THE ROCKINGHAM FACTORY.

On Swinton Moor, near Rotherham, owing probably to the occurrence of local beds of good fireclay and of coal, conditions very similar to those that existed in the North Staffordshire district, there had long been several little pottery works producing rough pottery, bricks, and tiles. In 1778 a Mr. Thomas Bingley became the principal proprietor of the largest of these works; while among other proprietors were John and William Brameld, who seem to have been the practical managers for many years, and ultimately had much to do with the success of the business. They appear at this period to have manufactured common white earthenware, as well as the ordinary local brown and yellow wares. From about 1790 a firm trading under the style of Greens, Bingley and Co. was started; Mr. John Green, of the Leeds pottery, becoming the active proprietor. There seems to have been a close connection at this time between the Swinton works and Hartley, Greens and Co., of Leeds, for the Swinton firm adopted the Leeds price list. The Swinton works had developed its earthenware trade, and, in addition to making blue-printed and shining black-glazed pottery with water gilding, it was the first to produce a new species of glazed pottery known as "brown china." This so-called brown china was simply white or cream-colour earthenware of the usual kind which had been dipped in a lead glaze heavily stained with the purest oxide of manganese obtainable. The colour produced is an exceedingly rich purple-brown, always, of course, lighter on the neck of the piece and darker at the foot, because of the way in which

it runs during the firing, and in fine examples showing a beautiful "bloom" such as hardly any other coloured glaze possesses. From the fact that the land on which the pottery was built belonged to the Marquis of Rockingham, this particular coloured glaze was christened "Rockingham glaze," and wherever it is made to-day throughout the length and breadth of England it is still known as "Rockingham glaze." It has frequently been stated by enthusiastic writers that the quality of the old Rockingham glaze made at Swinton between about 1796 and 1810 or later has never been equalled since. This is a mistake, as the firms of Wedgwood and Ridgways produce Rockingham glazes to-day of finer quality than were ever manufactured at Swinton—probably, even, finer than any ever made elsewhere in the world. Of course Rockingham glaze, from the nature of its colouring material, varies exceedingly with slight variations in the firing temperature, for oxide of manganese is one of the most volatile of the potter's colouring materials, so that a considerable range of tint will be found on the pieces of old brown Rockingham ware from the Swinton factory. Although the glaze was used for dessert plates, dishes, tea- and coffee-pots, etc., it seems to have been most largely employed for the Cadogan tea- or coffee-pot made so largely for the London firm of Mortlock. This receptacle for the beverage, which is of anything but a pleasant shape, was constructed without a lid. In the bottom of the foot there was a small opening communicating with a spiral tube which passed up inside the vessel to within half an inch of the top, so that after filling the pot through this tube it could be turned over into its proper position for table use, and the beverage was kept in without chance of spilling; surely one of the clumsiest methods of filling a tea- or coffee-pot ever invented.

In 1806 the partnership between Hartley and Greens, of the Leeds pottery, and Bingley and the Bramelds of Swinton, was dissolved. The business passed into the hands of the Bramelds, and they continued it with varying fortune down to 1843, when they became bankrupt, and the works was closed. Their doings during this period, as well as their

manufacture of china,* are outside the scope of this volume. Marked pieces of the early pottery are rare, but after 1806 the words "Rockingham, Brameld," and "Rockingham Works, Brameld," all impressed, are found. The Cadogan teapots are frequently met with, stamped "Mortlock," the name of the London dealer for whom they were made.

Several other potteries of minor importance were commenced in the same district, all about 1790, that deserve nothing more than a passing mention. The first of these was another pottery at Swinton, founded in 1790 by John Green, of Leeds, while he was still a partner, apparently, both in the Leeds and in the Rockingham factories. This works, which was commenced on a very small scale, was known as the Don Pottery. Its products were as much like those of Leeds as possible, including the white earthenware, the marbled ware, and the black on-glaze and blue under-glaze printed. Many of the patterns used seem to have been identical with those used at Leeds, and the same pierced plates, dishes, spoons, ladles, and other pieces, as well as the "twig" baskets for which both Leeds and Wedgwood were so famous, were also made. The pieces lacked the finish and quality of the Leeds ware, and are generally distinguished by the name "Don Pottery," or "Green, Don Pottery," both impressed in the ware or marked in red over the glaze. The works is still continued.

Another little works was started at Castleford, about two miles from Pontefract, about 1790 by David Dunderdale, who made Queen's ware, or light cream-colour, of a quality inferior to that produced at Leeds. David Dunderdale remained at the head of the business until 1820, when the works was closed for some time; it has been carried on by a succession of proprietors since. The most distinctive production of the works during the Dunderdale period, apart from the common cream colour, was a vitrified stoneware, something after the style of Turner's stoneware, but decorated with raised ornaments and blue enamelled lines and edges. When any mark was used at all, it was generally "D. D. & Co., Castleford," impressed.

Another works was started in the neighbourhood of Ponte-

* See Burton's "English Porcelain," pp. 176, 177.

fract, at Ferry Bridge, by one William Tomlinson about 1792. In 1796 Ralph Wedgwood, son of that Thomas Wedgwood who had been managing partner in Josiah Wedgwood's useful-ware works, joined the firm; but his partnership was not of long duration, as he seems to have been an erratic potter whose methods of manufacture were the reverse of economical. Cream-colour ware of the usual type was made, and the place is hardly worth mention except that an impressed mark was used of "Wedgwood & Co.," which has sometimes been confused by collectors with the mark of the well-known house at Etruria. Occasionally the mark of "Tomlinson & Co." occurs, while "Ferrybridge" was sometimes used, either separately or in conjunction with one or other of the names. Other Yorkshire potteries were established at Mexboro', at Rawmarsh, and at Rotherham, as well as at Leathley Lane, Hunslet Hall, and Rothwell, near Leeds; but none of these is worth any detailed notice. Neither can we notice here the Belle Vue pottery at Hull, started early in the nineteenth century, with which the Ridgways of Shelton were connected.

NEWCASTLE AND SUNDERLAND.

A number of earthenware factories were founded in the neighbourhood of Sunderland and Newcastle-on-Tyne at the end of the eighteenth and the commencement of the nineteenth century. They one and all made common cream-colour earthenware, though inferior, both in style and quality of material and potting, to the productions of Staffordshire and Leeds, which they were obviously meant to imitate. Frog mugs—*i.e.* mugs with a modelled frog stuck inside at the bottom, so that anyone drinking beer or milk from such a vessel would find the ugly creature only on emptying the contents—seem to have been a favourite production of the Sunderland potters, though we know they were also made at Leeds. We can hardly imagine such pieces being made except for the commonest use. A good deal of common printed ware was manufactured, too, and a favourite engraving, for black on-glaze printing, is a view of the iron bridge over the Wear, which is said to have been engraved by Edward

Barker. A number of statuettes were made, not badly potted, but spoilt by the coarsest colours rudely daubed on. Indeed, there seems to be little doubt that most of the pottery produced, at first, at these various works was of the kind that would be best appreciated by a rough seafaring and mining population. Gold and gold-purple lustre were often used, daubed on in the same crude way as the enamel colours, and often over black printed patterns. From this unpromising start the present flourishing earthenware manufacture of the district has steadily grown; but this growth, taking place during the nineteenth century, is quite outside our range. The best known of these early Northern potters were Sewell, or Sewell and Donkin, of St. Anthonys, Newcastle-on-Tyne. This works is said to have been started as early as 1780. It passed into the hands of the Sewells in 1803 and 1804, and was continued by them for some time. Jewitt says that printing on pottery from wood engraving was practised at this works, and that some of Bewick's blocks were used for this purpose. Fell and Co. started a works at St. Peter's, near Newcastle, about 1817. Their mark was generally "Fell, Newcastle," or "Fell," impressed. Christopher Thomson and John Maling established a pottery at North Hylton, near Sunderland, in 1762, and they are said to have made the first printed ware in the North of England. They were subsequently noted for their enamelled and lustred ware. In 1817 Mr. Robert Maling removed the works to the neighbourhood of Newcastle-on-Tyne, and the business has developed in the hands of his descendants into one of the largest earthenware businesses especially for the production of jam jars, cream jars, and ordinary earthenware, of the present day. Other potteries at Hylton, near Newcastle, were those of Dawson and Co., established in 1800, while Maling's old works appears to have been carried on by J. Philips after Maling's removal to Newcastle. Philips also had a pottery at Sunderland, as well as Messrs. Dixon, Austin and Co.; while other potters of Sunderland about 1800 were Scott and Co., of Southwick, and Moore and Co., of Southwick.

CHAPTER XIII.

MINOR EIGHTEENTH CENTURY FACTORIES: DERBY, JACKFIELD,
BRISTOL CREAM-COLOUR, SWANSEA, ISLEWORTH, MORTLAKE,
CADBOROUGH, ETC.

To make our tale of the eighteenth century reasonably complete, it is necessary to give a brief account of certain factories scattered up and down England at which attempts were made either to develop some local wares, or to imitate the prevailing fashions set by Staffordshire.

The Cockpit-Hill works, at Derby, has already been mentioned in connection with the slip-decorated wares, but during the middle part of the eighteenth century there seems to have been a considerable manufacture of ordinary cream-colour earthenware, which, in the absence of marks, it is impossible to distinguish from the contemporary Staffordshire productions. A few pieces have, however, been localised from the occurrence on them of certain local references, such as the inscription, "Harper for ever, fair play and now fair Dealing," which evidently refers to the election contest for the county in 1768, when Sir Henry Harper was defeated by Godfrey Clark.

Jewitt quotes from a document which shows that in 1758 this works was being carried on by William Butts, Thomas Rivet, and John Heath, and later by John and Christopher Heath,* who were bankers and merchants in Derby, and who appear to have financed William Duesbury in his successful attempts at china manufacture. John and Christopher Heath became bankrupt in 1780, and the stock-in-trade of the Cockpit-Hill works was advertised for sale.

* The document in question is quoted in full in Jewitt's "Ceramic Art of Great Britain," Vol. II., p. 58.

In 1785 the material of the buildings, etc., was sold, and the works ceased to exist.

JACKFIELD, SALOP.

The little village of Jackfield, situated on the right bank of the Severn, and about a mile below the famous Ironbridge, had some manufacture of peasant-pottery from very early times, and the manufacture of salt-glaze at this place has already been referred to (*see* p. 109). The first Jackfield potter of whom we have any mention is one named Glover, who was succeeded in 1713 by John Thursfield, who had come from Stoke-upon-Trent, and made the common pottery of his time. He died in 1751, and the works was carried on by his son, Maurice Thursfield, who is famous for his production of a fine black-glazed pottery, the pieces being known locally as "black decanters." He appears to have done a large trade in this ware; as examples of tea- and coffee-pots, mugs, jugs, and similar articles are by no means rare. The brilliant black-glazed ware was frequently decorated with oil gilding, and occasionally with paintings in oil colour. Of course, such painting and gilding could never have been fired, and is consequently much worn on the majority of the specimens. It should be said that a great many examples of ware of this class, hitherto attributed to Jackfield, are more likely to have been made in the Staffordshire Potteries, for we know that Whieldon largely manufactured such wares, as did also Elijah Mayer and many other Staffordshire potters. Maurice Thursfield died in America, where he did a considerable trade, and the works passed into the hands of John Rose, who commenced the manufacture of china from about 1780, removing thence to the works at Coalport, which he was to make so famous.*

BRISTOL CREAM-COLOUR.

In concluding our account of the Bristol tin-enamelled ware we stated that the old business of Richard Frank and

* *See* Burton's "English Porcelain," p. 147.

Son passed into the hands of a Mr. Joseph Ring in 1784. By 1786 Ring had already commenced the manufacture of Queen's ware, engaging a potter from Shelton, named Anthony Hassells, to superintend the practical part of the manufacture. Hassells brought other workmen, as well as working moulds and tools, from Staffordshire, so that we cannot wonder at the general likeness between Ring's cream-colour ware and that of Staffordshire. The ware was very finely and neatly made, and the potting left nothing to be desired. It can generally be distinguished from Staffordshire cream-colour by its stronger yellow colour, due, not as at Leeds to the colour of the body itself, but to the use of a glaze, stained yellow by oxide of iron. Ring was killed while superintending some alterations to the works in 1788, but the business was continued by his widow and his two partners, Taylor and Carter, and has continued under various changes of title until the present time, the title of the firm to-day being Pountney and Co. Printing does not appear to have been introduced at Bristol until 1797, for it was only natural that an attempt should be made to utilise, for the decoration of the cream-colour, the old painters who had been trained for the blue painting on the earlier tin-enamelled wares. Enamel decoration in colours was largely used, and the work of William Fifield (1777-1857) is much prized by collectors.

SWANSEA.

Following the success of the establishment of the manufacture of cream-colour in the Staffordshire Potteries, a factory was erected some time before 1769 in Swansea, which was under the management of a Mr. Coles, probably from Staffordshire, who is said to have made both salt-glaze and cream-colour ware. We have no definite knowledge of its products until after 1790, when it passed into the hands of Mr. George Haynes, who enlarged the works and called it the Cambrian Pottery. About 1801 Mr. L. W. Dillwyn either bought the whole business or a very large share in it, and it was under his direction that the Cambrian Pottery made its finest pottery, both in cream-colour and in a hard white earthenware,

which was called "opaque china." Much of this ware was decorated in a sumptuous manner, with carefully executed floral painting on enamelled grounds of black or chocolate. The work of the flower painter, W. W. Young, who had been originally employed in illustrating Dillwyn's works on natural history, is highly esteemed by collectors. He painted with skill and fidelity, though with little artistic feeling and in a highly mannered style, birds, butterflies, shells, plants and flowers, just as they might have appeared in the natural-histories of the period; in fact, it is quite common to find the scientific names of flowers, birds, and butterflies written on the backs of plates, or even on the inside of cups and basins. Another species of decoration largely used at Swansea was that of gold and purple lustre, and some highly satisfactory pieces of this kind are known. Occasionally the gold and purple lustre was enamelled over a marbled blue ground, which gave it a singularly rich effect, and some considerable use appears to have been also made of the silver-like platinum lustre.

Haynes appears to have remained as manager at the works until 1810, when he was succeeded by a Staffordshire potter named Bevington. About 1814 the manufacture of porcelain was introduced here by Billingsley.*

In 1817 Dillwyn sold out, and the firm passed into the possession of Robey, Haynes, and Bevington, who do not appear to have been very successful, as in 1824 Dillwyn once more took over the business, and his son became manager of the works. Although the subject is outside the scope of this volume, mention may just be made of what is known as Dillwyn's Etruscan ware, made about 1845—46. This was an attempt to imitate the Greek vases painted in black on a red body. The body was a fine, rich red, made from a clay found at Penellgarre, a few miles from Swansea, and was manufactured in as close an imitation of the Greek vases as possible. Some of the shapes are fairly well copied from good examples of Greek vases, but while the shining black surface is very good, the drawing is of course very feeble

* See Burton's "History of English Porcelain," Chapter XV.

when compared with that of the originals. The marks on the Swansea wares are generally "Opaque porcelain, Swansea," "Cambrian Pottery," "Dillwyn and Company," either impressed in the paste, or painted or gilt on the glaze in italic capitals of somewhat flourishing style.

MORTLAKE AND ISLEWORTH.

A number of small pottery works appear to have been founded in the latter part of the eighteenth century in the neighbourhood of London, of which those at Hounslow, Mortlake, and Isleworth are the best known.

The first Mortlake pottery, that of Saunders, seems to have produced common tin-enamelled ware, while the other works, owned by a potter named Joseph Kishere, was engaged in the production of an ordinary drab or brownish stoneware ornamented with figures in low relief, of the usual sporting, drinking, and hunting scenes.

The works at Isleworth, which were situated at Railshead Creek, by the ferry side, are said to have been commenced by Joseph Shore, who came from either the Worcester or Derby china works. He is said to have manufactured china ware down to 1800, but this is doubtful. After 1800 the works appears to have been in the hands of Richard Golding, his son-in-law, and Richard's son, William Golding. They made rough earthenware, which was known locally as Welsh ware, being apparently a kind of coarse slip-decorated earthenware. The most notable pieces attributed to this factory, however, are certain teapots, kettles, etc., copied with very considerable skill from Chinese pieces (*see* Fig. 89). They are made in a red clay body, and have a rather bright red, almost waxen-looking surface. They are of a distinctive character, and are rightly prized by collectors.

CADBOROUGH.

At Cadborough, near Rye, in Sussex, a factory was started about 1790 for the manufacture of common pottery of local red clay, which continues to the present day. It was first in the hands of the Smith family, and in 1840 passed



ISLEWORTH.

FIG. 89.—TEAPOT, CHINESE PATTERN.

H. 9 in.

Victoria and Albert Museum.

to the Mitchells, in whose occupation it still remains. One of the common productions of the works was the "Sussex Pig," a drinking vessel of the same character as the stoneware bears previously described, but made of common red clay with a thick yellow lead glaze. Some of the ware was also decorated with inlaid slip in the manner of the mediæval tiles, and similar wares were produced also at Iden and Chailey in the neighbourhood. In the British Museum collection there is a beautiful inlaid drinking flask (Q. 8) made at Chailey, by a potter named Richard Norman, in 1842, which is a remarkably fine example of workmanship.

There must always remain a large number of unclassified and unclassifiable examples of common English earthenware, for not only were works established in many places like those we have already mentioned, but the smaller local efforts to establish earthenware works in imitation of those of Staffordshire have been almost unlimited. Matters are still further complicated by the existence of certain dealers and enamellers, like the well-known Absolon, of Yarmouth, who had an enamelling kiln in the rear of his premises, and bought his ware in the white, from the Staffordshire or Yorkshire works, to decorate it in accordance with his own taste or that of his customers. It would be easy to fill a volume with notes of such undertakings as these, but the information is of no practical benefit except to the enthusiastic local collector interested in the history of his native place.

Glossary

of Technical Terms used in this Volume.

- Agate wares.** Vessels formed of veined, spotted, or banded bats of clay so as to reproduce the markings of agates and other natural stones (*see* pp. 111–112, etc.).
- Ball clay.** An exceedingly plastic tertiary clay from the districts round Poole, in Dorset, and Newton Abbot, in Devonshire; they form the basis of the modern English earthenware bodies.
- Basalt black or Egyptian black.** A solid black stoneware of considerable density and great hardness, so that it is capable of receiving a high polish.
- Black-printing.** On-glaze or enamel printing was frequently called black-printing during the latter half of the eighteenth century, because black was the colour most largely used.
- Block-cutting.** Originally the cutting or carving of moulds in alabaster—then the cutting of sectional moulds in alabaster or clay from which the working moulds for salt-glaze were prepared (*see* pp. 97–98).
- Blue-printing.** When the process of underglaze printing was devised about 1780, blue was the only colour that could be used in this way; and for some time the term “blue-printing” was used as a general name for the underglaze printing, just as “black-printing” was used to describe enamel or on-glaze printing.
- Calcareous clay.** An impure clay containing lime; indispensable in the body of the Delft ware; little used in England.
- Casting.** The method of making pottery articles by pouring the body mixture in the “slip” condition into moulds of plaster-of-Paris. The mould absorbs water from the slip, and thus acquires an inner lining of paste. When this has reached the required thickness, the workman pours out the slip that remains liquid, and the mould with its lining of clay is put to dry. The clay hardens and contracts, and can then be removed from the mould. This process was largely used in the fabrication of the thin Staffordshire salt-glaze.
- Chalk-body.** A white earthenware made by adding chalk to the ingredients of the cream-colour body (*see* p. 160).
- China clay or Kao-lin.** The purest and whitest form of clay, hence largely used in making porcelain and the light-coloured earthenwares. Chemically, it is a hydrated silicate of alumina. The china clay used in England is obtained from Cornwall and Devonshire, and is sometimes spoken of as Cornish clay.



IMITATION CHINESE
MARK ON RED-WARE
TEAPOT OF ELMERS
STYLE.



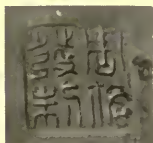
IMITATION CHINESE
MARK ON RED-WARE
TEAPOT OF ELMERS
STYLE.



IMITATION CHINESE
MARK ON RED-WARE
TEAPOT OF ELMERS
STYLE.



IMITATION CHINESE
MARK WITH IMPRESSED
W ON A RED TEAPOT OF
WEDGWOOD'S MANUFACTURE.



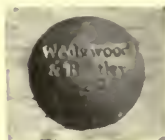
IMITATION CHINESE
MARK ON RED-WARE
TEAPOT OF ELMERS
STYLE.



WEDGWOOD AND
BENTLEY.



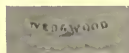
WEDGWOOD AND
BENTLEY.



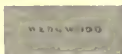
WEDGWOOD AND
BENTLEY.



WEDGWOOD AND
BENTLEY.



WEDGWOOD.



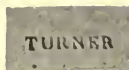
WEDGWOOD.



WEDGWOOD.



S. HOLLINS.



TURNER
(OF LANE END).



TURNER
(OF LANE END).



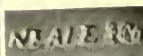
H. PALMER
(OF HANLEY).



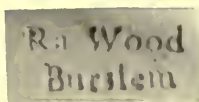
H. PALMER
(OF HANLEY).



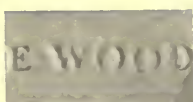
SEALE (OF HANLEY)



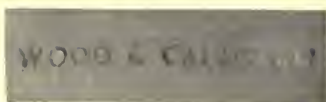
SEALE
(OF HANLEY).



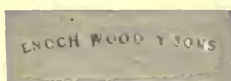
RALPH WOOD,
BURSLEM.



ENOCH WOOD.



WOOD AND CALDWELL.



ENOCH WOOD AND SONS.



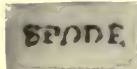
ENOCH WOOD AND SONS.



SPODE
(1780-1800).



SPODE
(1780-1800).



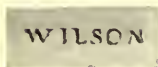
SPODE
(1780-1800).



SPODE
(1780-1800).



SPODE
(1780-1800).



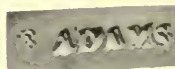
WILSON.



ELIJAH
MAYER.



WILLIAM
ADAMS,
OF
TUNSTALL.



BENJAMIN
ADAMS,
OF
TUNSTALL.



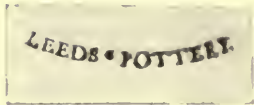
HERCULANEUM POTTERY
(18TH CENTURY).



LEEDS POTTERY.



LEEDS POTTERY.



LEEDS POTTERY.



DON POTTERY.



DON POTTERY.



FERRYBRIDGE.



DAVID DUNDERDALE
AND CO.



ROCKINGHAM
FACTORY.



ROCKINGHAM
FACTORY.



ROCKINGHAM
FACTORY.



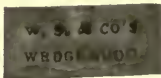
SEWELL AND DONKIN.



FELL, OF NEWCASTLE.



FELL, OF NEWCASTLE.



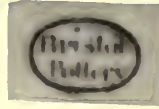
WILLIAM SMITH AND CO.,
STOCKTON-ON-TEES.



WILLIAM SMITH AND CO.,
STOCKTON-ON-TEES.



MARK PAINTED IN BLUE ON BACK OF BRISTOL TIN-ENAMEL PLATES.



BRISTOL POTTERY (PAINTED IN BLUE).



BRISTOL POTTERY (PRINTED IN BLUE).



RING'S BRISTOL CREAM-COLOUR.



SWANSEA.



SWANSEA.



SWANSEA.



SWANSEA.



KISHERE, MORTLAKE.



SHORE AND GOLDING (ISLEWORTH).

- China stone.** Sometimes called Cornish stone. A weathered pegmatite used in English cream-colour, porcelain, and stoneware bodies to give hardness and a vitreous nature to the fired substance.
- Cream-colour.** The name given to all the light cream or yellow-coloured varieties of English earthenware so largely used from about 1750 to the present time.
- Delft ware.** A general name applied to the tin-enamelled wares made in imitation of those so successfully produced at Delft after 1600. The name ought really to be restricted to the Dutch article, but popular usage appears to be too strong at present for such a change.
- Earthenware.** Pottery made of any mixtures of clay, flint, or other materials which, when sufficiently fired for use, remains decidedly porous and opaque, and needs to be completed by a coating of glaze. The body and glaze may be fired at one operation, but it is more usual to fire the body first and the glaze-coating afterwards.
- Enamel colours.** The colours applied on the surface of the fired glaze, in painted or printed patterns, and then fixed to the glaze by fusion at a low red heat. The colours are mixed with a large proportion of flux (*q.v.*) to fuse them to the glaze.
- Enamel printing.** Patterns printed from engraved metal plates on to paper and then transferred to the surface of the fired glaze. Sometimes called "black-printing" (*q.v.*). Black, red, and purple were the colours generally used during the eighteenth century.
- Encaustic painting.** The name given by Wedgwood to his paintings, executed in three or four shades of red, white, and shining black, on his black basalt wares. The colours were generally dry (*i.e.*, not glossy), as they were painted directly on the body and not on a glaze. Occasionally encaustic painting was executed on other bodies than black.
- Frit.** The term "frit" is often used to indicate any special glass made by potters for use in glazes, such as borax frit, lead frit, alkaline frit, etc.
- Flux.** A very fusible glass, rich in borax, oxide of lead, or oxide of bismuth, which is added to colouring oxides and to gold to fuse them to the glaze, in the process of enamelling.
- Galena glaze.** The oldest form of lead-glaze used on the slip-decorated wares and the early cream-colour. It was obtained by dusting powdered galena (native sulphide of lead) over the clay piece, and firing body and glaze at one operation.
- Gilding.** The decoration of pottery with metallic gold. All the early salt-glaze, cream-colour, and dry stonewares were gilded with leaf-gold, fixed with size and merely stoved. The modern method of fluxing gold to the glaze and firing it was only adopted by the earthenware potters about 1780, after it had been in extended use by the porcelain makers.

- Jasper.** The name given by Wedgwood to his fine stoneware body containing a large proportion of barum sulphate (barytes) (*see* pp. 143-144).
- Lustre ware.** Ware decorated by obtaining thin films of various metals, such as copper, gold, platinum, etc., on the fired glaze. The copper lustre of Brislington (*see* p. 69) differs essentially from the gold and other lustres of later date (*see* Plate XVIII.).
- Marbled wares.** Earthenware coloured by combing or marbling slips of various colours over the surface of the clay (*see* Fig. 3).
- Moulds.** Moulds were largely employed in the making of white salt-glaze, and their use has extended ever since. The first moulds were of dry clay or of "pitcher," but subsequently plaster-of-Paris was used. The workman makes the actual piece of pottery by "pressing" or "casting" (*q.v.*). Intricate pieces are made in parts from separate moulds, and the parts are afterwards joined together by a little slip, until they become united in the firing.
- Pearl Ware.** A kind of white earthenware, containing more flint and china clay than cream-coloured ware, and slightly blued with cobalt; probably invented by Josiah Wedgwood (*see* p. 149).
- Piercing.** The operation of carving or cutting out holes of round, diamond, heart, or grain-of-rice shapes in a dry clay vessel. Largely used by Wedgwood and the salt-glaze potters, and especially in the decoration of Leeds ware (*q.v.*).
- Pipe clay.** A fine white plastic clay largely used in earthenware bodies in the first half of the eighteenth century. First used in making clay tobacco-pipes, hence the name.
- "Pitcher" moulds.** Moulds formed in clay and then fired.
- Pressing.** The method of shaping pieces of pottery by pressing thin cakes or bats of clay into moulds of plaster-of-Paris, "pitcher," etc.
- Punching.** When piercing is done by specially shaped little punches, which cut out the incision at a blow, it is called "punching."
- Refractory.** Fire-resisting; applied to those materials which are most infusible at the heat of a porcelain furnace.
- Sagger.** A fire-clay box used to contain and protect pottery during the firing operations.
- Salt-glaze.** The glaze obtained when common salt is thrown on to the fires, or into a kiln at its hottest. If the ware is rich in silica, the salt vapours attack the surface and form an extremely fine layer of a clear white glaze.
- Scratch blue.** A rude form of decoration often applied to Staffordshire salt-glaze. The pattern was scratched into the surface of the clay before firing, and powdered zaffres (*q.v.*) was dusted into the lines. After firing, the lines were filled with blue glaze.
- Slip.** The thick fluid obtained by mixing clay or any body mixture with water.

- Slip decoration.** The decoration obtained by painting, trailing, or pouring slips of various colours, in patterns, over the piece of pottery while still in the "clay" state (*see* Plate II. and Figs. 2-7.)
- Slip kiln.** A shallow brick-work trough in which mixed slip can be boiled, to evaporate the water, so as to produce potters' clay.
- Sprigged ornaments.** Ornaments pressed in a "thumb" mould and then applied to the surface of a vase, jug, etc., with a little water or slip to secure perfect adhesion. Sprigged ornaments were used by some of the early salt-glaze potters, but their finest use was in the coloured jasper and other wares of Josiah Wedgwood and his contemporaries.
- Stamped ornament.** Ornament formed by applying little knobs or wafers of clay to the piece, and then stamping them with a seal, as one would stamp an impression in wax (*see* pp. 44-46 and Figs. 21-23, etc.).
- Stilts and spurs.** Pieces of refractory clay with sharp points or edges, used to support articles during the firing of the glaze. Little marks are often found on pieces of ware where they have rested on such supports (*see* pp. 89-90).
- Stoneware.** Those varieties of earthenware which, when sufficiently fired for use, are practically impervious to fluids, and so do not need a coating of glaze. Glazed stonewares are, however, often manufactured, and the commonest type of glaze is that made by throwing salt into the kilns (*see* "Salt-glaze").
- Stouking.** The old Staffordshire name for the operation of making and fixing the handles, spouts, and feet of jugs, mugs, tygs, posset-pots, etc.
- Throwing.** The art of shaping vessels on the potter's wheel.
- Thumb moulds.** Flat intaglio moulds in plaster or pitcher, into which clay is pressed in making sprigged ornaments, feet, knobs, etc. Generally the moulds are so small that the clay is pressed in by the thumb; hence the name.
- Tortoiseshell wares.** Cream-coloured earthenware coated with mingled coloured glazes (*see* Plate IX.).
- Turning.** The finishing of "thrown" or "pressed" vessels, by putting them into the lathe when they are sufficiently dry and hard, and completing them by turning and polishing.
- Underglaze printing.** The process of transferring the paper print to the porous biscuit piece, so that the colour is under the glaze. The process seems to have been devised at Worcester or at Caughley about 1780, and was introduced from there into the Staffordshire Potteries.
- Wedging.** The slicing and slapping together of a mass of clay to render it of uniform consistency for the thrower or presser.
- Zaffres.** A dark blue glass, coloured with cobalt. Before the introduction of refined oxide of cobalt, late in the eighteenth century, cobalt glass, under the name of zaffres and smalt, was the only source of cobalt known to English potters.

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