

Steps towards English stoneware manufacture in the 17th century

Part 2 – 1650-1700

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The 1650s

With the London Port Books still lacking in this decade, there is no documentary evidence to show whether stoneware imports may have continued, say, at about the levels of the late 1630s. At the manufacturing centre of Frechen the indications are that after the end of the Thirty Years War in 1648 the activity revived briskly, but there is nothing to document the quantity of the trade to England. There were soon new difficulties. In 1651 the English Parliament adopted the Navigation Acts, one effect of which was that it was no longer permissible for goods from Germany to be shipped to England in vessels of the United Provinces; this restriction continued until it was removed by the Treaty of Breda in 1667. War followed with the "First Anglo-Dutch War" of 1652-54, which would have further increased the difficulties and risks in the trading. In 1654, also, a higher 10% additional tax was levied on pottery and glass, including imports. In 1657 a new edition of the Book of Rates increased only modestly the value of "stone pots" for the Custom duties from the 1642 figure of £2 10s 0d per 100 cast to £3 0s 0d²¹. There has been no evidence of any attempts in this period to make stoneware in the London area or elsewhere in England, apart from the possible dating to c 1660 of the Woolwich kiln, as already discussed²².

Certainly, however, some stoneware was available in London. Isolated survivals in the unpublished (and not fully studied) household records of the Earl of Bedford show that early in 1652 five dozen "pint-size" stone bottles were bought for 2s 3d per dozen and in 1658 six dozen "quarts" for 2s 6d per dozen²³. But a new feature, in at least the second half of the decade, was interest, in London and elsewhere, in developing the manufacture of durable "green glass" bottles, suitable as a rival to stoneware (and also tinglazed earthenware) for an increasing fashion among better-off people of bottling their wine, ale and other drink. In 1658 the Earl of Bedford's household also bought these glass bottles. The attempt in 1661 by Henry Holden and John Colnett to secure a monopoly Patent for the manufacture failed on the ground that it was not a new invention, so that henceforward it was able to develop strongly and without artificial constraint, competing

increasingly for corresponding uses with stoneware²⁴.

The Navigation Acts encouraged English shipping and overseas trading. In the 1630s a published series of the extant Port Books of Boston, Lincolnshire, already shows that the local English merchants had taken the initiative to begin themselves purchasing regular supplies of stoneware, tinglazed earthenware and other commodities at Rotterdam²⁵. In his Exeter studies John Allan has demonstrated that, certainly after 1660, stoneware supplies there were being obtained direct from the Continent, rather than largely from London. In the second half of the century the unique importance of London as a redistribution centre in this trade was probably much diminished²⁶.

After the Restoration, 1660-70

In February 1674 representatives of the now flourishing London Glass-Sellers' Company (which was equally concerned with the pottery trades) attended at the House of Lords to urge that the Cologne stoneware and some other imported pottery should be exempted from a proposed prohibition on pottery imports. They were recorded vaguely as saying that of "Dutch jugs and stone bottles" there had been "no quantity" made in England. Their written evidence said with regard to the stoneware that there had been "divers endeavours" of imitating it in England, but added, rather depressingly, that all had proved unsuccessful. Whether or not they knew of the venture at Woolwich, they should at least have been aware at this date of the work of John Dwight at Fulham. He was indeed on this occasion also present himself and declared that he could make "as good and as much Cologne ware as would supply England", but he did not apparently claim to be already marketing it²⁷.

Apart from the question of Woolwich, it is not possible to pin-point any further "endeavours" to make stoneware during the 1660s. Despite growing interest in the new glass bottles, which had the additional attraction that they could readily be impressively "marked" with identifying personal seals at not too much extra cost, a significant demand seems to have persisted for the familiar and still somewhat cheaper stoneware bottles and drinking vessels²⁸. After the Restoration of King Charles II the legislation of the Interregnum

21. For the legislation of the Interregnum, including text of the 1657 Book of Rates, see C H Firth and R S Rait *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum* (1911). For the "cast", see fn 8 (Part 1).

22. Part 1.

23. Bedford Estates Trustees, unpublished records. See also fn 38.

24. R J Charleston *English Glass* (1984).

25. R W K Hinton *Port Books of Boston 1601-40 (Lincoln Record Soc 50, 1956)*.

26. J Allan (1984) (fn 2). See also earlier essays by J Allan in Davey and Hodges (eds) (1983) (fn 2).

27. House of Lords manuscripts, see Mrs Arundell Esdaile 'Further notes on John Dwight' *Trans English Ceramic Circle* 2 no 6 (1939). Also in Fulham Documentary sources (fn 3).

had been mostly scrapped (though the Navigation Acts were re-enacted); the additional tax on glass and pottery was abolished, and in a new 1660 edition of the Book of Rates the nominal value for Customs duty of stone pots reverted to the 1642 figure of £2 10s 0d per 100 cast. However, a significant change was the introduction of a separate category for “stone bottles”, with a relatively excessive nominal value of 5s 0d per dozen, irrespective of size. This could have been intended to give encouragement to the glass manufacture. Old references from the 16th century in the Book of Rates to “cruses” (drinking vessels) and pots with covers (metal mounts) were still retained, but seem to have been long effectively obsolete²⁹. Unfortunately, the surviving records of import quantities at London in this decade are limited. Semi-official records, which might not be accurate, give total imports of only 1200 dozen of the stone bottles in a 12-month period in 1662-63, but of 8131 dozen in a similar period in 1668-69³⁰. Checking of the extant London Port Books for 1667 showed only small quantities of stoneware, but this was partly during the last phase of the Second Dutch War of 1665-67, which had probably reduced the trading; there was also in 1665 at Frechen (as in London) a serious outbreak of the Plague, said to have killed one-third of the population³¹.

A notable London venture in c 1660-65 which has been specially investigated was that of a Pieter van den Ancker, with four partners, for importing and selling Frechen stone bottles. Pieter, who was born at Dordrecht, had come from there to London with his family in 1654, shortly after the end of the First Dutch War, and traded principally in the import of Rhenish and French wines, also obtaining English nationality in 1657³². He is also identified by the appearance on numbers of extant bottles and fragments of medallions with his device of an anchor and “PVA” monogram and, in some cases, full name or dates “1660” or “1661”, found

chiefly in various parts of London and also at Frechen (Fig. 6), though no similar identifications have been found for any of the partners. No earlier stoneware item has been shown to have been personally identified for an English customer³³. Aspects of this episode have prompted fuller treatment in separate studies³⁴, but it should also be noted here that documentary evidence at Dordrecht found by Göbels shows that in 1663 Pieter and his partners had entered into an agreement with the suppliers at Cologne which seems to have been directed to increasing the supply of stoneware and, indeed, providing for them a form of monopoly treatment; however, a family lawsuit much later in London provides the further information that the import of the bottles was discontinued altogether in about 1665, specifically because of the development of the English glass bottles³⁵.

In the present context there must be rather greater interest in the survival also of an unprovenanced stoneware drinking pot, now in the British Museum, with medallion inscribed for a Holborn coffee house keeper, William Barrett, and date “1668” (Fig. 7). There is a sherd with the same medallion in the Museum of London, and Barrett also issued a trade token with similar inscription and the same date³⁶. In this case no evidence has been found concerning

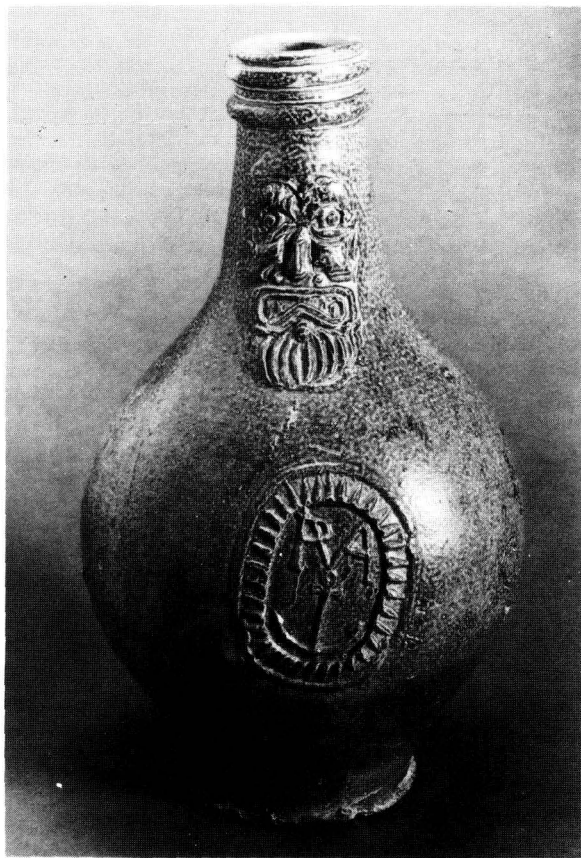


Fig. 6: Frechen stoneware bottle with medallion for Pieter van den Ancker, London. c 1660-5. Found in “London area”. Photo: Museum of London

28. In the 1660s the glass bottles (quart size) normally in London cost about 4s 0d per dozen, with 1s 0d per dozen extra for marking with a special seal, and stoneware quarts 3s 0d per dozen.
29. Printed copies of the 1660 Book of Rates are in Guildhall Library, London, and the Library of HM Customs and Excise. This edition remained in force until 1697, when a new basis for valuations was introduced, based on actual cost of goods.
30. A R Mountford and F Celoria *Journ Ceramic Hist* 1 (1968). (The London Port Book for 1662 for aliens shows only small stoneware imports; that for English nationals is damaged and incomplete and has not been accessible.)
31. K Göbels *Rheinisches Töpferhandwerk* (1971). See also fn 12.
32. J van Loo ‘Pieter van den Ancker en Jan op de Kamp’ *Antiek* 21 (1986); J G Hurst *et al* (1986) (fn 1) and D Haselgrove and J van Loo, forthcoming in *Post-Medieval Archaeol*.
33. A possible earlier example has the name “MOLMAN” and date “(1)606” (Museum of London A4319). A Cornelius Melman (also recorded as “Molma”) was noted as a London resident from the Netherlands in 1593 but was not traced subsequently. This surname is also found in the Netherlands.
34. See fn 32. There must be particular interest in the numerous different moulds used for the medallions, and also in the problems of the quantities of bottles which may have been supplied.
35. K Göbels (1971) (fn 31); PRO (London) Chancery C6 255/63.

the supplier. It would be difficult to see this as a further product of, at least, the Woolwich kiln. Visually it appears to be a typical Frechen product and, pending scientific tests of the relevant fabrics, the inclination must be to suggest that, like the bottles of Pieter van den Ancker, the pots were specially commissioned from there³⁷. No further such cases have been identified.

The early 1670s and the stoneware of William Killigrew

From 1671 to the mid-1690s the unpublished household accounts of the Earl of Bedford include a more or less continuous series of bills from London glass-sellers for regular supply of glass and stoneware, largely quart-size bottles, and other pottery³⁸. Imported wares are not distinguished, but stoneware was being bought in the period before that of Dwight was put on the market, probably during 1675. The London Port Books are available for 1672, and a check has shown limited imports, mainly during the summer months, totalling 2664 dozen stone bottles and 8050 cast of stone pots. However, in this year the Third Anglo-Dutch War was declared in March, and the allied armies of Louis XIV invaded the United Provinces, and some of the stoneware arrived unusually via Ostend³⁹. The identified leading importers were now members of the London Glass-sellers' Company, notably Edward Osgood of Queenhithe and William Bennett of Southwark. By their charter, granted in 1664, the members had been given a monopoly of sales of glass and pottery within a 7-mile (11km) radius of London, and their evidence to the House of Lords about stoneware in February 1674 has been referred to above.

Dwight's first 14-year Patent for English manufacture of "China and Persian ware" (porcelain) and also "the stoneware, vulgarly called Cologne ware" was approved on 17 April 1672, and he probably set to work at Fulham at about this time, with the assistance of an experienced Southwark potter. However, for reasons to be noted further below, it was about three years before he marketed ordinary "brown stoneware", copying the Frechen wares; he had not engaged technical help from the Continent. When, in the 1690s, the validity, under a second Patent obtained in 1684, of his monopoly for making stoneware was being disputed by other potters in London and elsewhere, affidavits in February 1696 by two of his former employees claimed that he had not been the first to make stoneware in England. John Stearne, who deposed that he had been engaged by Dwight's business partner, Windsor Sandys, to make stoneware for them, agreed that Dwight had made

36. British Museum 1983-4-7-1 (see Fig. 7), and Museum of London (sherd) A4903; see also drawing of medallion in J Horne (1985) (fn 3). The trade token is G C Williamson (ed) *Boyne's Trade Tokens* London no 1365. Barrett's is identified as a coffee house in H W Robinson and W Adams *The Diary of Robert Hooke* (1935); ale was also sold in such establishments. By a coincidence, surplus stock of Pieter van den Ancker's stoneware bottles was sold to Thomas Westbrooke, a member of a family of Holborn glass-sellers.

37. It is fairly evident that in the Post-Restoration period in London stoneware supplies were being increasingly imported by the glass-sellers themselves rather than brought in bulk by general merchants. See further below.



Fig. 7: stoneware drinking pot for William Barrett, Holborn, London. Dated 1668. Photo: British Museum

stoneware 20 years earlier, but said that he himself had made stoneware 21 years ago for a Mr Killigrew of Chelsea (close to London and Fulham), before being engaged to work for Dwight. His statement was supported by Henry Parker, who had also worked for Dwight. An older Southwark potter, Daniel Parker, said that 25 or 30 years previously a Symon Wooltus had made stoneware at "Southton" (Southampton) and later his son, also named Symon Wooltus, had made stoneware for Killigrew, and this was before it was made by Dwight⁴⁰. As a result of its owners and Anthony Thwaite having kindly brought to notice a previously unknown *Bartmann* bottle in private hands, it has been possible to find positive support for these claims, with clear indications that some stoneware was successfully made in England in at any rate 1672.

The bottle, which is unprovenanced, is of hard-fired salt-glazed stoneware, and its medallion has initials "W. K.",

38. The glass-sellers' and other bills from 1671, providing a nearly continuous unique record of purchases over more than 20 years, are shared between the archives of the Bedford Estates Trustees and the British Library of Political and Economic Science, London. For published details see W A Thorpe 'The Glass-sellers' Bills at Woburn Abbey' *Journ Soc Glass Technology* 22 (1938) and also D Haselgrove 'The 17th century "Cock Ale-house" at Temple Bar and some Fulham stoneware bottles' forthcoming in *Trans London Middlesex Archaeol Soc* 37.

39. Trading direct with enemy countries was still at this time permitted in time of war, but there were risks of interception and capture. During this war Pieter van den Ancker sought official permission to go from London to Dordrecht to buy supplies of Rhenish wine.

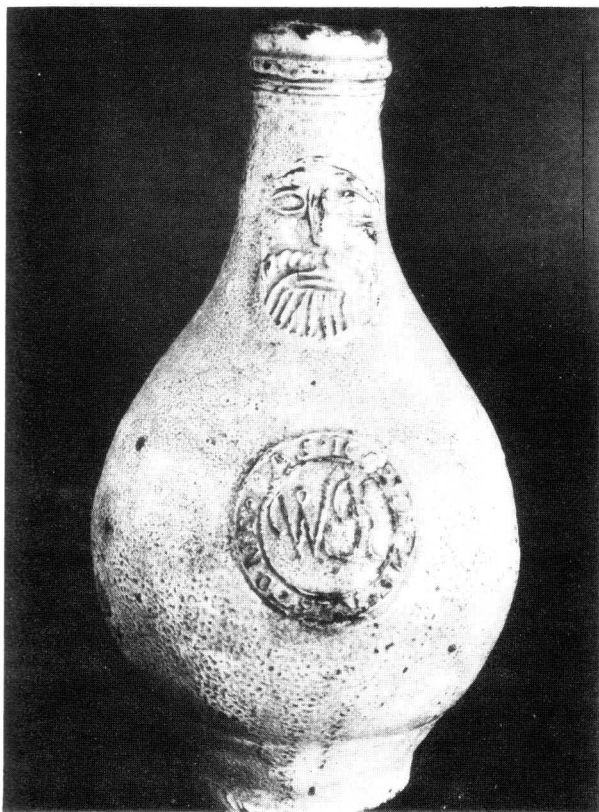


Fig. 8: "Killigrew" stoneware bottle. Dated 1672.

Photo: Christopher Green

the date "1672" and a motto in French "IE NE MESTONE PAS" (Je ne m'étonne pas) (Fig. 8). It was then found that a further bottle with the same dated medallion (though from a slightly different mould) has been excavated in the centre of Southampton and was published in 1975; the body was of sufficiently good quality for this to have been seen as a Frechen product⁴¹. Also relevant must be another, which was exhibited at the Society of Antiquaries in 1894, with subsequent publication of drawings, but of which the present whereabouts have not been found; this, however, notably had green lead-glazing, and although the medallion had the same motto the initials were "R. B." and the date "1674"⁴². Finally, a record was belatedly noted in the State

40. Texts of these and all other documents found in the context of Dwight's lawsuits (PRO Chancery) are transcribed in the Fulham Documentary Sources (fn 3). The name "Wooltus" was not recorded by Göbels as that of any Frechen potter; by chance a Hermann Wollters is recorded as having been the owner of a pottery at Cologne in the 16th century.

41. C. Platt and R. Coleman-Smith *Excavations in Medieval Southampton 1953-1969* (2 vols.) (1975) no 1256.

42. Note and drawings in *Antiq J* (2nd series) 15 (1895) 77-8. No obvious identification can be suggested for "R. B.", but since the Hon. Robert Boyle, in whose laboratory Dwight had worked at Oxford, was said by Dwight to have encouraged him in his ceramic venture, the possibility that Killigrew might also have wished to impress him should not be excluded. A Dwight medallion with "R. H." must have been for Robert Hooke, his

Papers showing that on 30 April 1672, thirteen days after Dwight's Patent had been approved, a request was before the Royal Council from a William Killigrew for grant of a Patent to give him the sole right "to make and sell stone bottles and blew cannis."⁴³ This application was referred to the Attorney General, but can only have been unsuccessful. The reference to the "blew cannis" is of particular interest in indicating that cobalt-decorated stoneware, almost certainly produced in the Rhineland Westerwald villages rather than at Frechen but similarly traded through Cologne, had apparently at this time begun to make an impression in England; the excavations at Fulham showed that this ware was also copied by Dwight in his experimental work up to about 1675 or 1676.

It seems fairly clear that the William Killigrew concerned must have been the son of this name of Sir William Killigrew (1606-1695), a leading member of a prominent and distinguished family. Sir William was a loyal retainer of both King Charles I and King Charles II and from 1662 to 1684 was Vice-Chamberlain in the household of the Queen, Catherine of Braganza, and he was also MP for Richmond, Yorkshire, and elder brother of the better-known dramatist and theatrical manager, Thomas Killigrew; however, this branch of the family in this period was always close to penury, following an earlier unlucky drainage project in the Lincolnshire fens, and the King's bounty was frequently sought⁴⁴. The son, William, in the 1660s served in the Army, attaining the rank of Captain. Although he has not been positively identified in the stoneware role, and the motto on the bottles has not been linked with this (or any other) family, the circumstances suggest strongly that he is likely to have been responsible for the successive operations by the Wooltuses referred to by Daniel Parker, in the Southampton area in about 1672 and probably in the London area in about 1674, and that these represented a further attempt to import the Rhineland expertise⁴⁵.

Captain Killigrew is found in further references in the State Papers and the Treasury Books and Papers and is seen to have served in Germany as well as in England. During the Second Dutch War of 1665-67 he was in England and moved troops from Dorchester to Portsmouth. Subsequently he was sent to Germany to serve with the Army of the Prince Bishop of Münster in Westphalia, Charles II's ally, but was back in England in 1671 when he received payment due to him for expenses in the Dutch War. Soon after the petition for the stoneware Patent was considered in April

fellow-worker under Boyle at Oxford, who similarly encouraged him, but no corresponding tribute has been found for Boyle.

43. State Papers (Domestic) Entry Book 37, p. 30. No further reference to this application has been found. The distinction (if any) between "cannis" and "jugs" in contemporary English use is unclear.

44. For Sir William Killigrew, see *Dictionary of National Biography*, and there are numerous further references to him and his wife and William in the State Papers. The Treasury Papers show that on 17 October 1677 William was given £100 by the King at Newmarket, but the circumstances are not disclosed.

45. No other William Killigrew has been found at this period, and it appears that he would have been able to develop his plans and engage Symon Wooltus while serving in Germany.

1672 he was reported by the local military commander to have been at Cowes in the Isle of Wight on unknown business, in communication with a person there known to be a Dutch agent; he may well, of course, have been seeking the latest war news following the beginning of the Third Dutch War in March, and he may then have returned to Germany, quite likely taking the elder Symon Wooltus back with him. A year later, in June 1673, he wrote from on board the warship the *Royal Charles* to Sir Joseph Williamson, Clerk of the Council at Whitehall, reminding him of an earlier request he had made in London to be allowed to resign from the service of the Prince of Münster, but saying that, in view of the War, he would go to Germany for a further campaign and then resign again⁴⁶. His name is not found as an occupier in the extant Chelsea Hearth Tax list of 1674, but he might have had a sub-tenancy; in 1675 a son of a William Killigrew, also William, was buried at Chelsea Old Church. It seems likely that there was an interval of time between the initial stoneware venture at Southampton, for which the elder Symon Wooltus would have been brought to England, and that, probably in the London area but not necessarily at Chelsea itself, for which the son was subsequently employed⁴⁷. This latter would soon have been suppressed at the insistence of Dwight and Windsor Sandys; it happens that Sandys, who was Dwight's partner during the period c 1674-76, had a brother, Thomas, who also served in the Queen's household.

John Dwight's stoneware manufacture at Fulham, 1672-1703

Without seeking to anticipate the evidence of the Fulham excavations and Christopher Green's forthcoming report, it must be said that Dwight's decision to abandon his career as a church lawyer serving the Bishop of Chester and to pursue scientific invention in ceramics was a venture of a quite different order from those considered so far. He had had first-class scientific training and experience in working in his youth in Robert Boyle's famous chemical laboratory at Oxford and was convinced that he could achieve one of the pressing artistic ambitions of the age in Europe, the successful making of porcelain as brought from the Far East. Although not finding the essential materials, he nearly succeeded. In his 1672 Patent he had also reserved for himself a proprietary interest in making the "Cologne ware", but although he was attempting from the outset at Fulham to produce similar stoneware, his interest in this too can be seen to have tended in the direction of more exotic products, including statuary and other items which might appeal to the wealthy, rather than a major production of the common stoneware so long imported from Frechen. He understood well enough what was needed for his work and could study and imitate the Rhineland products, but he had only indirect knowledge of the manufacture itself and asserted

46. State Papers (Domestic) Car. II 335 no 262, 3 June 1673.

47. It is nowhere implied that the pottery itself was at Chelsea. Daniel Parker, who provided the most detailed information, lived earlier and subsequently at Southwark. John Stearne, who was also engaged by Killigrew, said that he had begun his career painting porcelain (i.e. probably tinglazed "delftware"), but has not been located in England or abroad before he was employed

that he had no help from there. His kilns were copied and developed from those of the Southwark tinglaze potters and there was evidently difficulty initially in achieving the necessary high temperatures in large-scale production firing, but he was soon successful. The Dorset ball clay which was already being shipped to London for the tobacco-pipe makers proved satisfactory for stoneware, and for tempering he seems finally to have preferred a fine sand from the Isle of Wight, perhaps from the Bagshot formations from Alum Bay, which were also used in glass-making.

It would probably have been increasing financial necessity that led Dwight, at latest in 1674, to press forward to achieve satisfactory production and marketing of common brown stoneware, and by 1676 the Glass-sellers' Company was willing to make a 3-year agreement that its members would accept a maximum Fulham output of approved forms at agreed wholesale prices, in preference to the imported stonewares⁴⁸. Experiments at Fulham in copying the more decorative Westerwald products were given up. There was little use of the traditional *Bartmann* face masks on the brown stoneware, but designs of decorative medallions, in the Frechen tradition but distinctive, had been numerous, both for general sale and for individuals, and the vessels show excellent workmanship (Fig. 9). However, this decoration too seems finally to have been given up soon after about 1680. Subsequently a large production of undecorated ware, still mainly of drinking pots or jugs ("gorges"), bottles and mugs, in a considerable range of sizes, was maintained, but the actual quantities are not documented. From the early 1680s Dwight was also concentrating anew on designs of fine stoneware and had not abandoned his quest for a true porcelain. It appears that, although the formal agreement with the Glass-sellers' Company was not continued (a revised version for three years was signed in May 1677), the normal outlet for the Fulham products continued to be through the London glass-sellers. Now that a clearer view of the products and their development will be possible, it will be of particular interest to discover the extent to which they may have been distributed not only in the London area but further afield.

Dwight's rivals c 1680-1700

There has been no indication that Dwight concerned himself further about continuance of stoneware imports, and there have as yet been no studies of the quantities that may still have been brought into London. In 1680 there was an enquiry to the Government from the London Resident of the Elector of Cologne whether "earthenwares made within the Barony of Frechen" might be freely imported, as not being "painted earthenwares"; these latter had been excluded under a Proclamation which had been secured in 1672 by the London tinglaze potters and renewed in 1676. The matter was cautiously left for legal determination, but the enquiry had probably been promp-

by Killigrew. It seems to be a clear implication of Daniel Parker's account that the pottery had not continued to be at Southampton.

48. For full texts of this and the subsequent agreement of May 1677 see Fulham Documentary Sources (fn 3). In view of the revision, it is possible that the 1676 text proved finally unacceptable to Dwight and implementation was delayed.

ted by the preference which had been given by the glass-sellers to Dwight's stoneware⁴⁹. In 1696, when a civil servant, Thomas Bateman, compiled a list of pottery prices, the earlier "Cologne ware" had become "Fulham ware"; however, his further list of more exotic and varied "Purple and Blew ware", which was much more expensive, seems likely to represent the Westerwald products, which, although now increasingly popular, Dwight had not marketed⁵⁰. The publicist, John Houghton, has left a record that in the year 1694 total imports for England and Wales as a whole of stone pots and bottles were respectively only 21166 "casks" (he should have written "cast") and 191 dozen bottles. This was again in wartime, though the Dutch were now allies⁵¹. As noted by Aubrey Toppin, the official record for the 6-month period from Lady Day to Michaelmas in 1697 showed imports for England and Wales of 19411 cast of stone pots and 87 dozen bottles, but none at all in this period came actually to London⁵². Although this was a relatively modest increase from 1694, the market at this time was particularly depressed owing to the imposition of new war taxes on home-manufactured and imported glass, pottery and other products.

In regard, however, to further rival attempts to make stoneware in England, Dwight had apparently remained keenly on the alert to maintain his monopoly and indeed had been able, by his own or his advisers' ingenuity, to have this quite irregularly prolonged beyond the initial 14-year period until almost the end of the century. The record of his legal actions may well provide virtually a full account of further English attempts to manufacture stoneware until after 1700⁵³.



Fig. 9: Fulham stoneware bottle with medallion for Henry Crosse, proprietor of the "Cock Ale-house", Temple Bar, London. c 1675-80. Found at Storey's Gate, Westminster. Photo: Museum of London

The first attempt was conceived a little before 1684, when John Stearne, who had worked for Killigrew and subsequently for Dwight, planned to engage in a rival venture at Litte Peckham, on the Kentish fringes of London, which would be financed by Sir Humphrey Miller. Learning of this, Dwight, as Stearne later related in his 1696 deposition, moved quickly in the highest quarters to obtain a new monopoly, though the original 1672 Patent still had about two years to run. He was successful, but claimed that the cost was 100 guineas. The new Patent, granted in 1684 for 14 years, listed new forms of fine stoneware which Dwight had essayed, but also repeated the reference of the original Patent to "China and Persian ware" and "Cologne ware", so that it was able to be used in the 1690s against further attempts to make stoneware. It was also expressed to extend to the whole of the King's dominions rather than, as previously, to England and Wales and the town of Berwick-on-Tweed. The plans of Sir Humphrey Miller and John Stearne were effectively thwarted.

It was not until 1693 that Dwight apparently became aware of further such ventures, but over the following five years he proceeded in the Chancery courts against a series of rival attempts, alleging initially that his secret processes had been betrayed by a Fulham workman. The first section was against the brothers, David and John Philip Elers, who were of German descent but had been fairly recent immigrants from the United Provinces, and James Morley, an English brickmaker at Nottingham. The Elers, after working in London as silversmiths, had by 1691 started a pottery in Staffordshire, perhaps that at Bradwell Wood that they used later, copying the Chinese Yi-Hsing stoneware as had been done successfully at Delft in the United Provinces since about the early 1670s. This ware was explicitly included in Dwight's 1684 Patent. The Elers were prepared to concede that they made "red tea-pots" and also "brown mugs", saying that David Elers had learnt how to make stoneware at Cologne. By 1693, when the suit was brought, they had made plans to operate also at Vauxhall, south of the Thames near London, or might have already begun to do so⁵⁴. As aliens, they probably felt vulnerable, and it is inferred that Dwight was quickly able to persuade them into an agreement by which they would return to Staffordshire and

49. The text is PRO PC 2/68 f.498; also transcribed in Fulham Documentary Sources (fn 3).

50. Text (Manchester Central Library P2873/10) published by Geoffrey Wills in *Apollo* 85 (1967) 436-43; also in Fulham Documentary Sources. The "Purple and Blew Ware" includes, for example, drinking pots at 3s 0d to 6s 0d per dozen, dishes and plates at 4s 0d to 12s 0d per dozen and "large fine garden pots" at £4 0s 0d per pair.

51. John Houghton *Husbandry and Trade Improv'd*, 13 March 1696; also transcribed in Fulham Documentary Sources (fn 3).

52. A J Toppin 'The China Trade and some London Chinamen' *Trans English Ceramic Circle* 1 no 3 (1935) 37-56.

53. Transcribed in Fulham Documentary Sources (fn 3).

54. Dwight had also essayed the "red stoneware", described in his 1684 Patent as 'opacous redd and darke coloured porcellane'. The pottery with which the Elers were concerned at Vauxhall appears to have been that of the de Wilde family, on the site of Cophthall House, see R Edwards (fn 3) and F Britton *London Delftware* (1987). For Morley see A Oswald *et al* (1982) (fn 3).

not operate in London, and perhaps also paid him a licence fee⁵⁵. In the case of Morley, for whom no link appeared with the Elers, but who admitted to making “brown mugs”, the basis of the expertise of his stoneware manufacture has not been discovered, but his products at this date might have appeared, like those of the Elers, in the London shops, so coming to Dwight’s notice. The legal proceedings against him proceeded successfully, but it is not clear that they had any effect, and he may have continued to produce. Certainly by 1700 he was producing very fine stoneware and he continued to do so, and the developed Nottingham stoneware became well known as “Nottingham ware”.

At the end of 1693 Dwight had extended the legal action to include the three brothers, Aaron, Thomas and Richard Wedgwood, of Burslem in the Staffordshire Potteries. This might well have been part of the arrangement with the Elers, in order to safeguard their position, but it is not clear if anything was achieved. As late as the end of 1697, when Dwight’s Patent has only about six months still to run, he brought a further action against three more Staffordshire potters, and this might also have been at the instigation of the Elers. Next year, with Dwight’s patent expiring, the Elers left Bradwell Wood and may have planned to resume pottery-making at Vauxhall, but in 1700 they were made bankrupt and did not afterwards engage in the trade⁵⁶. In Staffordshire good brown stoneware was being produced at any rate soon after the beginning of the new century and was followed by the remarkable advance of the Staffordshire “white salt-glaze” industry. With knowledge of Dwight’s work and that of the Elers, and the increasing strength and competence of the local industry, the development of stoneware manufacture here, and also at Nottingham and in the neighbouring Derbyshire, may have been entirely indigenous⁵⁷.

The amateur enthusiast, Francis Place, of Durham and York, also succeeded in the early 1690s in making very fine decorative stoneware, a few attractive examples of which with spiral marbling have survived. He may have had the opportunity to see some of Dwight’s similar work – he wrote that he was puzzled by the method of glazing – and

55. Although John Houghton (fn 51) included references on 13 October 1693 and 13 March 1696 associating the Elers’ teapots with Vauxhall and it has generally been thought that they were manufactured there until the end of the century, it seems more likely that Dwight induced the Elers in 1693 to return to Staffordshire, though an interest in the premises at Vauxhall seems to have been retained, perhaps as a depot. The crucial evidence that the Elers had later been working in Staffordshire under licence from Dwight is in the account which was given in 1698 to Sir John Lowther’s factor at Whitehaven by one of the Wedgwood brothers from Burslem, see L Weatherill and R Edwards ‘Pottery Manufacture in London and Whitehaven in the late 17th century’ *Post-Medieval Archaeol* 5 (1971) 160-81. Another benefit which Dwight apparently extracted was a first supply of the Staffordshire red clay, which his “recipe books” show he was using in experiments in November 1693. Details are in Fulham Documentary Sources (fn 3).

56. For the Elers see further details in R Edwards (1974) (fn 3).

57. Apart from the sojourn of the Elers, there has been no evidence that stoneware skills were imported into Staffordshire.

58. See R E G Tyler ‘Francis Place’s Pottery’ *Trans English Ceramic*

he was deterred from a commercial venture at least partly by knowledge of Dwight’s Patent⁵⁸.

By May 1694 Dwight found that he was confronted with the beginning of stoneware manufacture in the pottery community of London’s south bank at Southwark. The first defendant, Matthew Garner, was in the process of establishing a new pottery for making stoneware at Gravel Lane, Southwark, in partnership with a Luke Talbot, and claimed that he had himself found the way to make brown stoneware “mugs and cans”. The other, Moses Johnson, moved his pottery in 1695 from the Pickleherring area to the Bear Garden and denied that he had imitated Dwight’s products. Affidavits on Dwight’s behalf claimed that vessels similar to his had been purchased at both the defendants’ potteries, and it was also in this context in 1696 that the evidence, referred to above, was given concerning the earlier work of the Wooltuses and the interest of Killigrew. Dwight’s proceedings had dragged on somewhat ineffectually and by about the middle of 1696, perhaps in consequence of this evidence, he decided, or was advised, to abandon his current actions. The making of stoneware at Gravel Lane was permitted to continue, though this did not greatly benefit Garner and Talbot themselves, since they were compelled following the suit to borrow money and could not repay it; the creditor, Nathaniel Oade, soon foreclosed and took over the pottery and continued to operate it for both stoneware and tinglaze manufacture for himself. The further career of the other Southwark potter, Moses Johnson, is uncertain, but, after being apparently compelled to move to the adjoining parish of Lambeth, he was recorded much later, in 1715, at Bristol, and he may have played a part, from some time early in the century, in helping to establish the stoneware manufacture there, which soon flourished and was well placed to serve the western parts of the British Isles and colonies⁵⁹.

It may be noted finally that in March 1698 the possibility that stoneware might be made in a pottery venture on the estate of Sir John Lowther, FRS, MP, around the port of Whitehaven in distant Cumberland was raised by Sir John with Dwight himself. With his Patent shortly to expire,

Circle 8 part 2 (1972) 203-212.

59. For research on the careers of the Southwark potters, see R Edwards (1974) (fn 3).

60. For full details see L Weatherill and R Edwards (1971) (fn 55) and also Fulham Documentary Sources (fn 3).

61. The significance of the dated medallion of the left-hand bottle, with inscription “Aff ANNO 1680”, is not clear. Both bottles, which are unprovenanced, would be seen as very unusual as Frechen products and they are certainly not Fulham. However, the jug, similar to Fig. 7, may well be Frechen.

62. For preliminary accounts of the excavations at the Vauxhall Pottery close to Vauxhall bridgefoot (to be distinguished from the de Wilde pottery referred to in fn 54), see Roy Edwards ‘The Vauxhall Pottery: History and Excavations 1977-81’ *London Archaeol* 4 no 5 (1981) 130-6 and no 6 (1982) 148-54; also Roy Edwards ‘An early 18th century Waste Deposit from the Vauxhall Pottery’ *Trans English Ceramic Circle* 12 Part 1 (1984) 47-56. For full discussion of developments in English stoneware manufacture in the 18th century see A Oswald *et al* (1982) and Robin Hildyard (1985) and Jonathan Horne (1985) *op cit* fn 3.

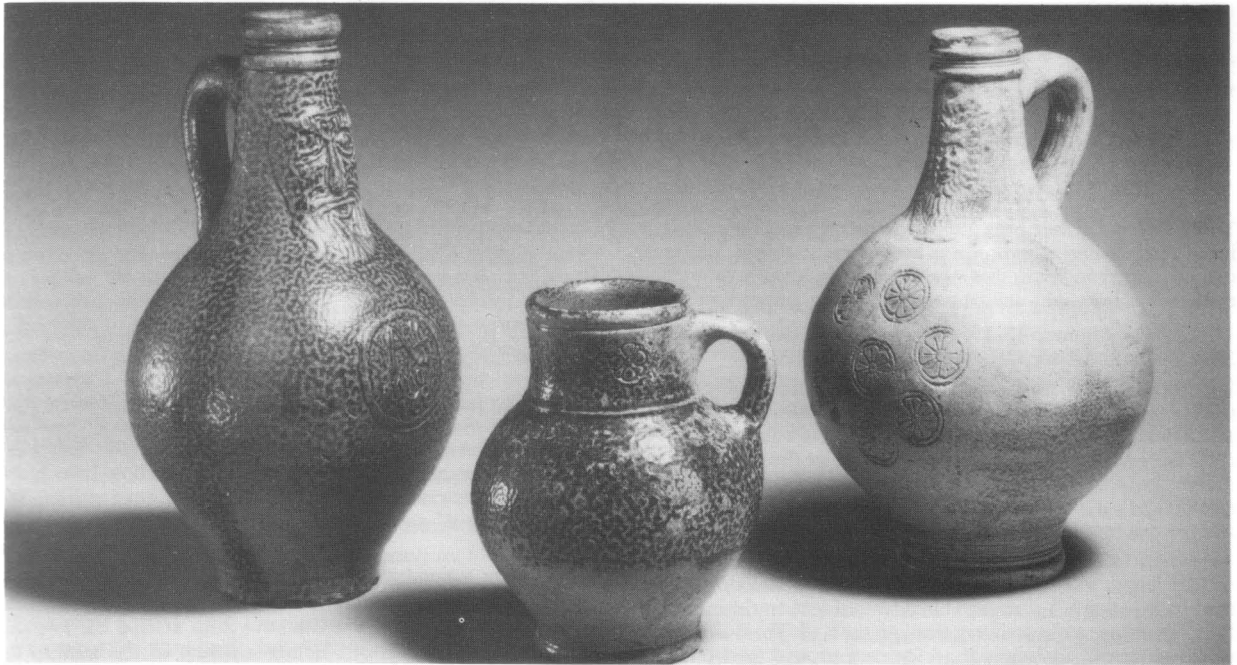


Fig. 10: stoneware bottles and jug. German or English?
Photo: courtesy of Jonathan Horne

Dwight was not unhelpful, but stressed the practical difficulties, particularly that it would be essential to have a source of suitable clay and to carry out trials. It has not appeared, at any rate so far as stoneware was concerned, that the matter developed⁶⁰.

The earliest products of Dwight's competitors at Southwark, as well as those at Nottingham and in Staffordshire, have still to be identified. Equally there remain extant vessels which have not, as yet, been attributed confidently to either a Rhineland or an English source. Thus the relevant evidence which has been considered may well not have indicated the whole of the story, and there should remain the possibility of informative new archaeological finds in London and elsewhere. Jonathan Horne has interestingly drawn attention to the two illustrated *Bartmänner* and a jug, one of the former with "Aff ANNO 1680" medallion and the other with a very unusual representation of the mask (Fig. 10)⁶¹. Meanwhile, it can be added that in recent years there has been notable progress in new studies and

identification and dating of much early 18th century English stoneware from the steadily increasing variety of centres and factories, basing itself, for example, on the preliminary indications from the archaeological work at Fulham and also at Vauxhall, notable studies of decorative features and, not least, careful comparison of the individual "ale measure marks" for warranty of capacity which from 1700 onwards were required to be marked on all vessels intended for retail sale of ale and beer⁶².

Conclusion

The above brief survey has endeavoured to offer historical background for the beginnings of English stoneware manufacture in the 17th century. As has been stressed, it may not have been able at this time to uncover or infer the whole of a true or full account. In the longer term it may be hoped that further investigation together of both the English and imported products will shed additional light and might lead to some further perspectives in the overall history of European stoneware.

Letter

Execution burials

ROB Poulton's letter (*LA* 6, no. 4, 101) misses the main point of my letter on the Galley Hills execution burials, namely, the wide range of possible dates for burials near execution sites.

The idea that all those at present known must be late Saxon seems to be very unlikely. On commonsense grounds, they obviously may date from any period the execution site in question was in use. I strayed into the subject of burials in the vicinity of Hundred meeting places because these are the ones that most often appear in the literature, but I do not, of course, think that the Galley Hills

ones are of executions following a Hundred Court verdict. Their location has been determined by the fact that the barrow was the site of a gallows, hence the large post-hole disrupting the burial and the name, Galley Hills. If anything, an execution site unconnected with a Hundred Court meeting place is far less likely to have burials of late Saxon date than one near a Hundred site. Indeed, the more I think about it, the more I feel my medieval attribution to be a modest claim as it seems to me very possible that, chronologically, these burials could be as late as Tudor or Stuart times.

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