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DWIGHT P. LANMON, CHAIRMAN

# Ceramics in America

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kiln sites and through collating seventeenth- and eighteenth-century archaeological evidence of ceramics occurring in New England occupancy sites so as to establish types, origins, and distribution. The great value of the Fortress Louisbourg ceramic material is its potential relationship to such research and its ability to enlarge upon it.

The French faience shows, just as at Fort Michilimackinac, the degree of elegance that was manifested in frontier situations. I only wish that we could have been shown more of the common French earthenwares to which we need much greater exposure.

Both of these papers have increased our awareness and our breadth of vision, and they should make better ceramic historians of us all.

#### NOTES

1. "Plymouth, Inwards, 1682." Port Book Records, E190/1047/13, British Colonial Office (hereafter British Port Book Records).
2. "Plymouth, Outward, 1667/8." E190/1038/8, British Port Book Records.
3. British Port Book Records; Plymouth Port Book Records.
4. Captain George Corwin, Ledger; ms. C832, v.1, Essex Institute, Salem, Mass. (hereafter Corwin Ledger).
5. Suffolk County Court Record Books (Massachusetts Bay Colony), microfilm, Smithsonian Library, Washington, D.C.
6. Corwin Ledger.
7. J. Jefferson Miller II and Lyle M. Stone, Eighteenth-Century Ceramics from Fort Michilimackinac: A Study in Historical Archaeology, Smithsonian Studies in History and Technology, no. 4 (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1970).

#### STAFFORDSHIRE SALT-GLAZED STONEWARE

Arnold R. Mountford

THE northern part of the county of Staffordshire situated in the middle of England has for centuries been renowned for the manufacture of ceramics. Today the city of Stoke on Trent, with its vast industry, thrives as a conglomerate of six townships where the skills of potting, handed down from father to son, testify to the continuance of a long tradition. Ubiquitous bottle-shaped kilns, clay pits, marl holes, sherd heaps, and coal-mine wastes dominate a landscape born out of the industrial revolution.

Easily accessible deposits of clay, marl, coal, lead, iron, and copper in north Staffordshire coupled with an adequate water supply presented an ideal opportunity for exploiting the abundant natural resources of the area while inherent skills and a healthy proclivity for experiment ultimately established the six pottery townships as The Potteries.

The evolution and growth of this famous ceramic center can best be assessed from the seventeenth century onward when the written word supersedes conjecture. Hitherto, an occasional reference in a manor court roll, an indenture or conveyance, gave passing reference to a potter or to a potwork, but from the 1660s certain activities in Staffordshire were being noted in greater detail. Perhaps the best-known account is that found in Dr. Robert Plot's The Natural History of Staffordshire, published in 1686, describing the manufacture of pottery as then practiced in Burslem the most ancient of the townships.<sup>1</sup> Incidentally, Plot appears to have been the first person to describe a kiln of the period using the term oven, "which is ordinarily above 8 foot high, and about 6 foot wide, of a round copped forme." He has much to say regarding the clays in use for the production of slipware and tells us, "for making their severall sorts of pots, they have as many different sorts of Clay, which they dig round about the Towne, all within half a miles distance." The excellence of

these iron-bearing clays was also known and appreciated outside The Potteries, not least by the London potter John Dwight, whose notebook for the year 1691 includes a recipe using "Staffordshire red Cley."<sup>2</sup> The sales of clay and more particularly the vending of pots brought Staffordshire men to the metropolis, and it is my belief that these commercial links between north Staffordshire and London, 150 miles to the southeast, were directly responsible for what we should today describe as a successful piece of industrial espionage.

Legend has it that the technique of salt glazing originated in a village a few miles to the northeast of the six townships, but the circumstances attached to this supposed discovery have long ago been discounted. It has also been claimed that the two Dutch brothers, John and David Elers, famous for their red stoneware, brought the secret to north Staffordshire, but no less a person than the celebrated potter Enoch Wood, who inspected the remains of the Elers' kiln, wrote in 1814, "Report says, Salt glaze ware was made first at Bradwell about the year 1700, I have seen the foundations of the oven near the west end of the barn about 20 years since and believe it was built to fire Red China only."<sup>3</sup> This opinion was supported by a John Mountford, who demolished the remains of the Elers' oven about 1802, when he stated "the height was about seven feet, but not like the salt glaze ovens."<sup>4</sup> The final denunciation can be found in the History of the Staffordshire Potteries, first published by Simeon Shaw in 1829.

The Oven itself had five mouths, but neither holes over the inside flues or bags, to receive the salt, had any been used by them; nor scaffold on which the person might stand to throw it in. . . . E. Wood, and J. Riley, Esqrs., both separately measured the inside diameter of the remains, at about five feet; while other ovens, of the same date, in Burslem, were ten or twelve feet. . . . We may also mention, that the Salt glazed Pottery of that time, was comparatively cheap; and the oven, being fired only once each week, required to be large, to hold a quantity sufficient to cover the contingent expenses. Hence we find the ovens

were large, and high, and had holes in the dome, to receive the salt cast in to effect the glazing.<sup>5</sup>

To discover why the Elers brothers were once credited with the introduction of salt glazing into Staffordshire it is necessary to return to our London potter, John Dwight, who in 1671 had been granted sole use of a patent for fourteen years to manufacture various types of salt-glazed stoneware and redware.. Before the term had expired, he made application in 1684 for an extension of his patent rights to continue for a second period of fourteen years, which was also granted. No doubt John Dwight considered his monopoly inviolate, but this was not to be. Before the second patent had expired, John and David Elers had left Fulham (London) and set up a factory adjacent to the source of the red clay at Bradwell, Staffordshire. Ignoring the patents and risking the consequences, several potters in Staffordshire and Nottingham openly began to manufacture brown stoneware coated with salt glaze. Dwight, on learning that his rights were being infringed, started to collect evidence in support of a series of actions against the offenders, and lawsuits instituted in the court of chancery dragged on from 1693 to 1697. In the first case on June 20, 1693, the Elers brothers were accused of having "for several years past in a private and secret manner made and sold great quantities of earthenware in imitation but far inferior to them . . . the said counterfeits are sold at an under price."<sup>6</sup> On December 15, 1693, permission was granted to attach the names of three more potters to the charge as Dwight widened his search. This trio was the Wedgwood brothers: Thomas (1655-1717), Aaron (1666-1743), and Richard (1668-1718) of Burslem, and it was most likely through these three master potters that the techniques of salt glazing, as perfected by John Dwight, were brought to Staffordshire, the Elers limiting their plagiarism to redwares.

But the story of Dwight and his drawn-out lawsuits is not yet complete. A recently discovered unpublished bill of complaint, dated December 4, 1697, was taken out against three more Staffordshire potters, Cornelius Hamersley, Moses Middleton,

and Joshua Astbury. The charges make fascinating reading, Dwight claiming that:

By often intrudeing themselves unknown into yr Oratr workhouses to inspect his furnaces and wayes of Manufacturing haveing learnt how to counterfeit the Said manufactures thereupon they the Said Confederates . . . without any lysense or authority from yr Oratr have or hath for Severall yeares last past in a private and Secrett manner made & Sould very great quantities of Earthen Wares in immitation and resemblance and counterfeiting of the Said new manufactures So invented made and Sould by yr Oratr.<sup>7</sup>

The only answer to this charge seems to have come from Cornelius Hamersley in January 1698, where in an affidavit he denied:

He hath often made any Earthen Ware with a designe to imitate the complaynnts or that he makes any other ware than what properly belongs to the potters trade but Saith that there hath been a trade of potters at Burslem in Staffordshire and at severall other townes there about where this defendant lives for the memory of man where the potters were never confined to any mode or fashion for the makeing of their Earthen ware but each potter did from tyme to tyme vary and alter the same as he thought good And as hee found best pleased his customers.<sup>8</sup>

Alas, the outcome of this particular litigation is unknown but regardless of the result, Dwight's second patent expired in 1698, which meant that the potters of Staffordshire could continue to manufacture their salt-glazed stonewares but now without the fear of court proceedings for infringement.

Geographically the six townships comprising The Potteries were ideally situated for supplying the major towns of Great Britain with earthenwares, and better placed than any other

ceramic center for manufacturing salt-glazed stonewares. The neighboring county of Cheshire had the richest deposits of salt in England, and once the Staffordshire potters had mastered the new techniques of glazing during the last quarter of the seventeenth century a regular trade was established between the two counties.

Utilizing the abundant supplies of locally occurring iron-bearing clays, the north Staffordshire craftsmen produced brown salt-glazed stoneware in which the tankard, mug, and cup predominated (Fig. 1). Indeed, during the early period nothing but hollow ware appears to have been made, the vessels being either completely or partially covered with a ferruginous wash. For this process it should be remembered that there were ample supplies of iron in the immediate neighborhood.

The higher oven temperatures required for firing salt-glazed stonewares not only necessitated changes in the size and shape of the potter's kiln, and the saggars in which the wares were packed, but also in the preparation of the ceramic body where sand was added to the clay as a reinforcement. These and other alterations towards perfection came about only after endless experiment, and it was through these early endeavors that one of the most successful branches of English ceramic art was eventually to flourish.

During recent archaeological excavations in Stoke on Trent, a number of brown salt-glazed stoneware tavern tankards made about the year 1710 were discovered in association with mottled ware and iron-glazed ware. Finds also included tankards that had been partially covered with an exterior freckled ferruginous wash overlying a white pipe-clay slip and squat mugs that had been white-dipped over a darker-colored Staffordshire clay.

What inspired the Staffordshire potter to experiment towards a whiter ceramic body, apart from purely commercial consideration, is not certain. It may have been an attempt to emulate porcelain, following in the steps of Dwight; or, possibly, the influence of Lambeth delft. Whatever the reason, the natural progression during his search for a whiter product must first have involved the utilization of the local lighter-colored firing clays and then the dipping of these, in the leather-hard state, into a white pipe-clay slip. The next innovation was the

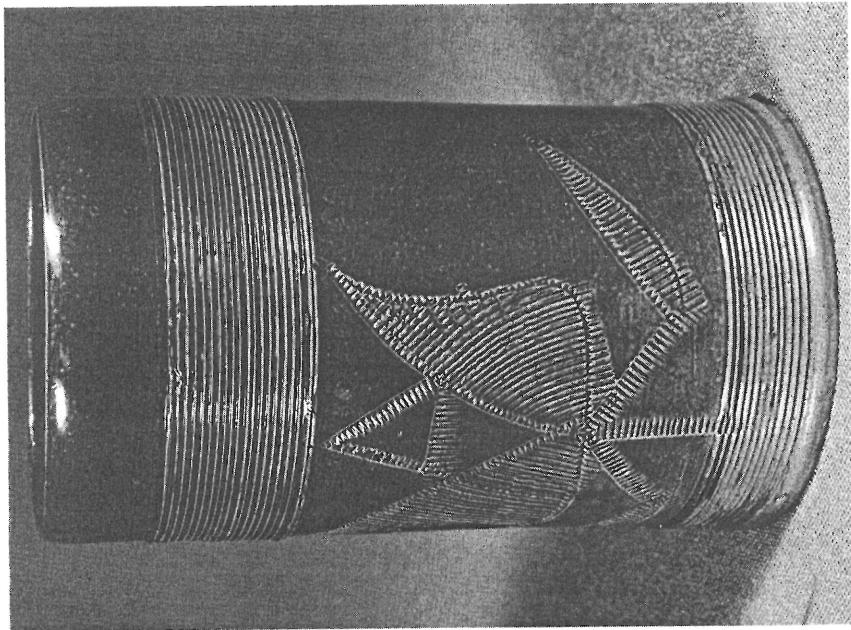


Fig. 1. Tankard, Burslem, ca. 1710. Salt-glazed stoneware with impressed crown and "AR" to left of incised tulip decoration; H. 6 3/4". (City Museum and Art Gallery, Stoke on Trent.)



Fig. 2. Tankard, Staffordshire, dated 1723. Salt-glazed stoneware with sgraffito decoration; H. 5 1/4". (City Museum and Art Gallery, Stoke on Trent.)

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introduction of calcined flint into the glaze to effect an ever whiter finish.

While north Staffordshire was rich in iron-bearing clays, there were few deposits of the white variety in that area. In the southwest of England, however, in the counties of Devon and Dorset, there were ample supplies of white tobacco-pipe clays that began to be imported into The Potteries about the year 1720

The price of this clay, coupled with the costs of transport, would obviously have made the importations extremely expensive, and in the early days few potters could have afforded to do more than dip their wares into a white-clay slip. One of the most important specimens of the white-dipped variety, dated 1723, is in the City Museum, Stoke on Trent, and an analysis has established that the white engobe contains flint, while the body composed of Staffordshire clay is flint-free (Fig. 2).

By the 1720s what could loosely be termed a peasant craft was giving way to commercial enterprise as technological advance replaced rule of thumb. Though the two continued for a period side by side, the growth in number and size of manufacturers brought about inevitable change not only to the Staffordshire scene but also to the traditional methods of ceramic production. Hitherto, the craft had thrived on easily accessible raw materials, but with the importation of white pipe-clay from the southwest of England, flint from the east coast, and salt from Cheshire, this expanding branch of the potting trade came to rely less and less upon local resources except coal for firing the ovens. The demand for all types of Staffordshire salt-glazed stoneware was great, and potters by the score took advantage of the obvious possibilities by adding stonewares to their output. Expansion was most noticeable in the northern part of The Potteries where the Wedgwood and Wood families predominated. Within twenty-five years, the regular white salt-glazed trade was phenomenal, and by 1762 a case submitted to Parliament by the Staffordshire potters, asking for a certain road to be turnpiked, tells its own illuminating story:

In Burslem, and its neighbourhood, are near 150 separate Potteries, for making various kinds of

Stone and Earthen Ware; which together, find constant Employment and Support for near 7000 People. The Ware of these Potteries is exported in vast Quantities from London, Bristol, Liverpool, Hull, and other Sea Ports, to our several Colonies in America and the West Indies, as well as to almost every Port in Europe. Great Quantities of Flint Stones are used in making some of the Ware, which are brought by Sea from different Parts of the Coast to Liverpool and Hull; and the clay for making the White Ware, is brought from Devonshire or Cornwall, chiefly to Liverpool; the Materials from whence are brought by Water up the Rivers Mersey and Weaver, to Winsford in Cheshire; those from Hull up the Trent to Wellington and from Winsford and Wellington, the Whole are brought up by Land Carriage to Burslem. The Ware when made, is conveyed to Liverpool and Hull, in the same Manner the Materials are brought from those Places. Many Thousand Tons of Shipping, and Seamen in proportion, which in Summer trade to the Northern Seas, are employed in Winter in carrying Materials for the Burslem ware. And as much Salt is consumed in glazing one species of it, as pays annually near 5000[£] Duty to the Government. Add to these Considerations, the prodigious Quantities of Coals used in the Potteries; and the Loading and Freight this Manufactory constantly supplies, as well for Land Carriage, as Inland Navigation, and it will appear, that the Manufacturers, Sailors, Bargemen, Carriers, Colliers, Men employed in the Salt Works, and others, who are supported by the Pott Trade, amount to a great many thousand People: And every Shilling received for the Ware at Foreign Markets, is so much clear Gain to the Nation; as not one Foreigner is employed in or any

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Materials imported from Abroad, for any Branch of it: And the Trade flourishes so much, as to have increased Two-thirds, within the last fourteen years.<sup>9</sup>

Without doubt the foregoing is a most important document, for on the strength of these facts and figures the Staffordshire potters were granted permission to turnpike their main road, facilitating the transport of goods and materials between Burslem and the port of Liverpool.

As Ivor Noël Hume has shown elsewhere, there is archaeological evidence that three different types of white salt glaze reached the American colonies in the 1720s. As early as 1724, William Randall, "in the middle of Cross-Street," Boston, was advertising, "white stone Tea-cups and Saucers."<sup>10</sup> Excavations at widely separated points on the eastern seaboard of the United States testify to the influx of the Staffordshire ware, which remained popular for at least half a century.

Until the second quarter of the eighteenth century, pottery forms and styles of decoration had largely been dictated by the potter, but then outside influences, including the shapes of silver vessels, affected output to such a degree that new techniques had to be evolved to supply the complicated shapes in which relief decoration was an integral part of the pot and not merely an addition. The first step was the carving of alabaster into small trefoil, quatrefoil, triangular, and heart-shaped molds in order to mass-produce spoon trays, sweetmeat dishes, pickle trays, and other dishes by pressing thin slabs of clay into the molds. This innovation was followed by the making of clay molds, in which painstaking concentration on detail was of paramount importance, for on the quality and crispness of the carving would depend the final result. After firing, the molds (now referred to as a pitcher mold) were used to manufacture various flatwares by the technique of press molding.

One of the most important technological advances that stimulated the manufacture of white salt-glazed stoneware was the use of porous molds about the year 1740, fabricated from native gypsum or plaster of paris. The new trade of slip casting was to become a vital process in the ceramic industry. This is what

Simeon Shaw writing in 1829 had to say on the subject:

Moulds were now made of all different pieces; for complete Breakfast, Dinner, Dessert, and Supper Services, and much fancy was exercised in forming the Basket-work, Shell-work, Mosaic, Barley-corn, and other patterns, with great diversity of shapes agreeable to the taste of visitors, and the ingenuity of the workman. The specimens are glazed with salt; and from the accuracy of the ornaments, and the extreme lightness, of Tureens, Dishes and Sauce Boats, they are supposed to have been cast in the moulds, by pouring in a very thin slip, and letting it remain a few minutes, then pouring it out, and refilling with a thicker slip which instantly assimilates with the former, and more than doubled its thickness; a third, and often a fourth dose of thick slip was added, until the vessels had the required thickness; when the mould and its contents were placed a while before a fire, and afterwards they easily separated, and the workmen dressed off the seams where the moulds divided, and the spouts, handles, and other appendages were affixed, in the process, called "Handling and Trimming."<sup>11</sup>

Cast ware is invariably very light in weight, and where relief decoration is present indentations following the contours can be seen on the interior (Fig. 3). This process of production permitted an almost unlimited variety of forms, especially in tableware where teapots in particular were made in a bewildering range of shapes and subjects. At this juncture it should be pointed out that the new technique of slip casting in no way replaced the process of throwing or press molding, all three methods being variously used in the manufacture of the white stoneware.

The earliest method of decoration on Staffordshire salt-glazed stoneware was achieved by scratching the leather-hard pot with a sharp pointed implement and filling the scored lines with a metallic oxide. In the 1720s iron-brown was used, but in the



Fig. 3. Punch bowl, Staffordshire, ca. 1745. Salt-glazed stoneware with cast panel decoration depicting The Seven Champions of Christendom; H. 7 1/4", Diam. 10 3/8". (Colonial Williamsburg.)



Fig. 4. Attributed to Enoch Booth, Loving cup, Tunstall, dated 1754. Salt-glazed stoneware with inscription "1754 EB" and incised blue floral decoration; H. 7 1/4". (City Museum and Art Gallery, Stoke on Trent.)

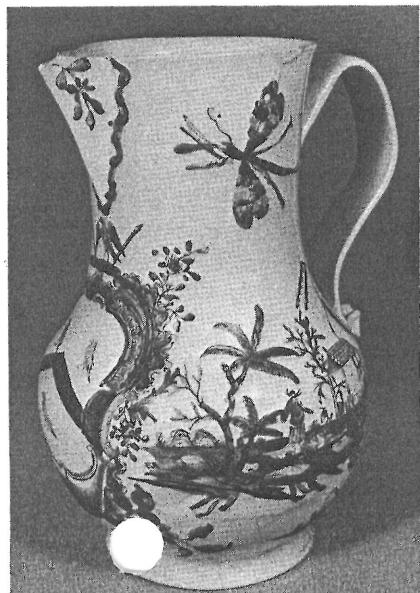


Fig. 5. Jug, Staffordshire, ca. 1760. Salt-glazed stoneware decorated in polychrome enamels and bearing the arms of Walhall of Wistaston and Leek (Staffordshire); H. 12." (City Museum and Art Gallery, Stoke on Trent.)

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1740s this was replaced by cobalt blue, which was to remain in favor for the next forty years. Simeon Shaw tells us "The Flowerers now scratched the jugs and tea ware, with a sharp pointed nail, and filled the interstices with ground zaffre, in rude imitation of the unmeaning scenery on foreign porcelain, and in this art women were instructed, as a constant demand was made on the men for the plastic branches."<sup>12</sup> Tea caddies, mugs, plates, cups, bowls, punch bowls, ale tankards, puzzle jugs, loving cups, and harvest flasks were embellished with rather artless stylized flowers, foliage, and, less frequently, birds. Scratch blue was particularly popular during the first twenty years of its production as betrothal, christening, and birthday remembrances, but from the surviving number of pots inscribed "Ale" it is evident that they were also in demand for other convivial occasions (Fig. 4).

It is my belief that the richly decorated London porcelains of the late 1740s had a profound influence on the Staffordshire potter, which eventually led to the use of polychrome enamels on the white salt-glazed ground. But the desire to emulate the more expensive porcelain presented fundamental problems to the Staffordshire salt-glaze potter--at that date his factory was not equipped with a decorating shop; more to the point, he had no employees skilled in the art of painting. Scratch blue "flowerers" were plentiful, but the freehand painter was as yet unknown in The Potteries. When enameling was first practiced in north Staffordshire about 1750, independent decorating establishments were essential to the potter in order to fulfill an increasing demand for polychrome ware (Fig. 5). Until he was in a position to provide accommodation and employ his own artists, special workshops staffed by painters from porcelain factories supported by locally trained workmen were set up in the district. But by the later 1760s certain master potters had teams of decorators in their factories. As with the earlier plain salt-glazed stoneware, demand was great and vast quantities of enameled ware left Staffordshire for markets overseas.

Another method of decorating white salt-glazed stoneware was the semimechanical process of transferring prints from an engraved copperplate to the pot by means of transfer papers. Seemingly confined to octagonal and round plates with a molded

rim of stars and dots within a diaper between medallions with foliate borders in relief, transfer-printed stoneware had a short life, from about 1755 to 1765, and was ousted by transfer-printed creamware (Fig. 6).

Salt-glazed stoneware was made in north Staffordshire for a century, during which time countless potters competed for a living. A few were highly successful, but the majority who toiled with clay, coal, salt, sand, and flint, from the start of their apprenticeship at the age of fourteen often to the time of their death, remain anonymous. A fair proportion of their wares survive, but seldom is it possible to link pot with potter and marked specimens are the exception to the rule. Parish registers, wills, deeds, trade directories, and, rarer still, account books, hiring books, and crate books give the names of some of those connected with the salt-glaze trade, but the overall picture is still far from complete. Fortunately, a selection of fine salt-glazed stoneware and a mass of related documentary material has recently been acquired by the City Museum, Stoke on Trent. This highly important collection, which had been safeguarded by descendants of the Wood family, is concerned with the master potters, Thomas and John Wedgwood of Big House, Burslem.

Thomas (1703-76) and John (1705-80) were born into the trade, their father being the Aaron Wedgwood cited by Dwight in the 1693 lawsuit. Following the order of the day, one may assume that the boys would have been inducted into the "secret art and mystery of the potting business" from an early age. It is evident, however, that both Thomas and John received some formal education, although there is nothing in the Wedgwood documents to indicate where they received their schooling. Instruction in writing, reading, and arithmetic invariably began (when parents could afford it) at the age of six, and it was usual to be "set on" as an apprentice potter at fourteen for a term of seven years. The foregoing was no doubt the path followed by the Wedgwood brothers.

Sometime before 1740, Thomas, an excellent thrower, and John, a skillful fireman, left their father's service to commence business for themselves in the manufacture of white stoneware. But three years later, on the death of their father, they succeeded to his manufactory in the middle of Burslem. There is no reason

to suppose that the family business taken over by the brothers in 1743 could in that day have been classed as unique; it was probably one like many others with its new owners competing for trade alongside fellow craftsmen who manufactured and sold their wares in the manner of their fathers. It is evident that John Wedgwood was the more ambitious partner, his energies being directed to the end of establishing himself as the foremost potter of Burslem. By a combination of forward planning, astute investment, and endless hard work, he became one of the most influential men of his day.

The obvious limitations of the ubiquitous single-oven factory inspired him to cogitate on factory planning of a different dimension. It was fortunate that the plot of the land on which his late father's potworks stood was large enough to accommodate new buildings. In 1743 he and his brother Thomas launched a revolutionary scheme that was to capture the imagination and no doubt the envy of their fellow townsmen--but let Simeon Shaw tell the story: "They erected a new manufactory, and incurred general censure because of their extravagance in erecting so large a manufactory and covering it with tiles (all others being covered with thatch) and for erecting three ovens (subsequently increased to five)."<sup>13</sup> Several years later, in 1751, they caused another sensation when they built the Big House, the first residential brick building erected in Burslem. Whatever else can be said of the Wedgwood brothers, no one can deny their role as pioneers.

Before discussing the products of Thomas and John Wedgwood, the point should be made that their sales account book, compiled by John, covering the period between 1745 and 1776, and the crate book, itemizing the wares that left the district in the 1770s, are two of the most important documents connected with the Staffordshire pot trade to come down to us. Even casual analysis proclaims that in every sense of the word, the Big House Wedgwicks were the leading master potters of their day. Discovery of these manuscripts, with their wealth of detail, throws new light on the early history of pottery making in Staffordshire and violently contradicts the long-held belief that no industry as such existed before the time of their famous relative, Josiah Wedgwood.

I submit that any "pot-bank" (to use the local term), which



Fig. 6. Plate, Staffordshire, ca. 1755. Salt-glazed stoneware decorated with red overglaze transfer print of "Le Marchand d'Oiseaux" after Boucher, engraved by J. Daullé; Diam. 9". (City Museum and Art Gallery, Stoke on Trent.)



Fig. 7. Thomas and John Wedgwood, Cream jug and block, Burslem, ca. 1750. Salt-glazed stoneware; H. (jug) 4 3/4". (City Museum Art Gallery, Stoke on Trent.)

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could offer for sale over a period of thirty years hundreds of different lines, varying from a humble pickle pot to an extensive range of tablewares, from twenty-eight sizes of porringer to twenty-five variations of teapot, was obviously a commercially successful establishment.

Historians have rightly presented Thomas and John Wedgwood as the supreme manufacturers of salt-glazed stonewares in Burslem, their products embracing every category from the cheap brown to the more expensive polychrome decorated. But the documents referred to are more specific and show that the brothers catered to the tavern and kitchen at one end of the scale and to the tables and drawing rooms of the rich at the other. Wares were supplied not only to the shops and warehouses of the London retailers or "chinamen," but also to the houses of the nobility. In short, there is ample evidence of a universal market including overseas trade via the ports of Liverpool, Bristol, and Hull.

Collectors of salt-glazed stonewares will be familiar with a feature which might be best described as notches, seen on some handles, where small pieces of clay have been removed with a sharp tool to expose two flat faces. Teapots and cream jugs displaying this characteristic, together with their associated block molds, are to be found in the Thomas and John Wedgwood collection and correspond with descriptions of "white natched teapots" listed during the period 1740 to 1750 in the sales account and crate books. Another interesting link is a "block" in the Victoria and Albert Museum, which matches a cast cream jug in the City Museum, Stoke on Trent, made by the Wedgwood brothers and inscribed "R.W. 1749" (Fig. 7). From other evidence there is proof that another famous Staffordshire potter, Ralph Wood, was responsible for some of the blocks used by the Wedgwicks. This is one of the few occasions on which, with some certainty, a pot can be linked with a potter.

The only direct reference in the Wedgwood papers to pots leaving Burslem for America is as follows:

Sent to Mr. Brindley for his son to take to America  
in Mar. 1772

1 Doz. Meat Spoons & 6 Pierced

6 Doz. Tea Spoons Two Sizes  
 1/2 Doz. narrow mouthed spoons  
 1 Doz. Short Mustard Spoons  
 Nest Starr pettys  
 Nest double Starr pettys  
 Nest double Starr Cups nest treble do  
 Nest Custerd Cups  
 Nest Puding nest Do  
 3 Ash Flowr Pots & Stands  
 Ash Pint & Qut. Jug Do

(The last two items were not salt glaze.)

But the number of customers of Thomas and John Wedgwood in the port of Bristol indicates that their salt-glazed stoneware was shipped abroad in quantity. Of particular significance in this connection are references in the documents to the partners Wraxhall and Flower; Nathaniel Wraxhall is listed in a Bristol directory for 1775 as "American merchant," and Joseph Flower is the potter of tin-enamel fame. This speaks for itself and identifies with reasonable certainty a man who was instrumental in shipping consignments of wares made by Thomas and John Wedgwood to the colonies. There must of course have been other merchants similarly engaged in the salt-glaze trade.

The wealth of information already gleaned from the Wedgwood documents makes one regret that similar records compiled by their contemporaries have long since disappeared. Our picture of eighteenth-century Staffordshire ceramic production and export will never be complete, but it is certain from the countless number of potters engaged in the manufacture of salt-glazed stoneware that there must have been many who were, to a large extent, dependent upon markets overseas for their living.

During the third quarter of the eighteenth century, there was a marked decline in the quantity of stoneware leaving The Potteries. It had nothing to do with recession in trade or competition from an outside source. Quite simply, another class of ware was taking its place--the new fashion was for the perfected lead-glazed creamware, or, as Josiah Wedgwood was eventually to rename it, "Queen's Ware." It was only a matter of time before his contemporaries, conscious of his unqualified success,

abandoned the old method of salt glazing as yet another outstanding Staffordshire ceramic achievement was about to capture world markets. But that is another story.

#### NOTES

1. Plot, The Natural History of Staffordshire (Oxford: Printed at the theater, 1686).
2. See Arnold R. Mountford, The Illustrated Guide to Staffordshire Salt-Glazed Stoneware (London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1971), p. 4.
3. Mountford, Staffordshire Salt-Glazed Stoneware, p. 2.
4. Mountford, Staffordshire Salt-Glazed Stoneware, p. 2.
5. Shaw, History of the Staffordshire Potteries (1829; repr ed., London: Scott, Greenwood & Co., 1900), p. 121.
6. Mountford, Staffordshire Salt-Glazed Stoneware, p. 5.
7. Dwight's bill of complaint against Hamersley, Middletor and Astbury, dated December 4, 1697, Public Records Office, London C6/524/37, as quoted in Mountford, Staffordshire Salt-Glazed Stoneware, pp. 6-7.
8. Affidavit by Cornelius Hamersley sworn at Newcastle under Lyme, January 1698, Public Records Office, London C6/404/24, as quoted in Mountford, Staffordshire Salt-Glazed Stoneware, p. 9.
9. Case of potters to Parliament, 1762, as quoted in Mountford, Staffordshire Salt-Glazed Stoneware, pp. 11-12.
10. Ivor Noël Hume, "The Rise and Fall of English White Salt-Glazed Stoneware," Antiques 97, no. 2 (Feb. 1970): 248.
11. Shaw, History of the Staffordshire Potteries, p. 146.
12. Shaw, History of the Staffordshire Potteries, p. 177.
13. Shaw, History of the Staffordshire Potteries, p. 161.