

THE MONTAGUE CLOSE DELFTWARE FACTORY PRIOR TO 1969

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Part I Finds of delftware waste material near Southwark Cathedral before 1969 by G. J. Dawson

On at least three occasions prior to 1969, excavations of a non-archeological nature in the neighbourhood of Southwark Cathedral had produced material which was obviously waste from a delftware kiln.

In 1837 when some excavations were making in the northern side of St Saviour's Churchyard, the workmen came upon the ruins of a kiln with an abundance of earthen vessels of light reddish soft paste, void of glaze.

Mrs Boger then goes on to describe some of the finds made,

gallipots, also porringers. These had a handle or ear just beneath the rim, perforated with hearts and circles ... Fewer still were some small twin cups with little domed lids surmounted by knobs to lift them¹.

In the Cuming Museum, Southwark, there are five objects which are described as found in excavating for warehouses on the north side of St Saviour's Churchyard, Southwark, 1837² though Cuming did not in fact acquire them until 1849 from a Mr Sells.

Cuming described these as four gallipots and one trivet and in the Cuming Catalogue there is also recorded a porringer and a pierced porringer handle as found at the same place and time and which Cuming also acquired in 1849 from the same person³. It is known that Mrs Boger was dependent on Henry Syer Cuming for some of her local information and it seems clear that all of the information which she has could come from the Cuming catalogue except for the reference to the lidded pots and the kilns.

In the Roach Smith Collection in the British Museum there are three objects which are described as

... found on the site of a potters kiln, during excavations for Mr Humphries warehouse, near St Saviour's Church, Southwark. Larger quantities of fragments of similar pots were dug up at the same time...⁴

Humphries owned a number of the warehouses in Montague Close in the middle of the nineteenth century. That immediately north of the Cathedral seems to have been erected in 1837/8 while those on the north side appear to have been built between September 1845 and September 1851⁵.

The catalogue, in which this entry occurs, was, however, written in April 1854, so that the objects could derive from either building operation. From the excavations undertaken in 1969-71, it seems clear that the warehouse involved must have been the one just north of the north transept of Southwark Cathedral (built in 1837/8) and the kiln discovered is likely to have been Kiln 3⁶ unless another kiln existed

which was destroyed completely by warehouse building. In any case, it must have been within the area of this warehouse.

Immediately after the war, further excavations were undertaken for an unexploded bomb at the east end of the Cathedral (TQ327/802). There are two records of this. One is contained in the Guildhall Museum Records⁷ for 1947 but no finds are directly associated with it. However, there are a few finds in the Guildhall Museum which are described as from St Saviours and these may well have been acquired as the result of this activity. The other account is contained in labels associated with material from the excavations, formerly on display in the Cathedral, but now on permanent loan at the Cuming Museum. This records much the same information though dating it to 1948.

In the same year, material was recovered from an excavation in the roadway near New Hibernia Wharf and this too is now in the Guildhall Museum. There is also an isolated find from the south east corner of the churchyard made in 1911 when new railings were being installed (TQ 3272/8028)⁸.

THE FINDS

Thus three groups of material were available for the study of the products of the Montague Close kilns before scientific excavation began in 1969.

The material will be described after the formula used in 'Excavations at Norfolk House, 1968, a delftware kiln in Lambeth, London'⁹, and the classification used is the one published in that report. However, certain amendments and extensions of that classification are suggested in this report. The amendments are both minor matters of terminology. It is suggested that the word 'domestic' be dropped from before tiles so that tiles are now classified as either 'Kiln tiles' or 'Tiles Type, 1, 2 etc.' This change seems necessary since Type 1 title is at present unique to Norfolk House and is not known to occur in domestic contexts. The other change is the substitution of the term 'domestic vessel'¹⁰ for chamber pot since the latter term implies a restricted use for this type of vessel which has been, and is, disputed. The other changes are extensions to the classification. Three new classes are defined, candlesticks, salts and 'Pharmacy Jar type', and a number of new types or subtypes are described (Spouted Pedestalled Vessel Type 2, Albarello Type Container Type 3, and Cauldron Type Container Type 2a2.).

1837 GROUP

This is the smallest of them all, and has only a general provenance.

Material in Cuming Museum

The extant material comprises only five objects.

Kiln Furniture

Trivet Type 2. One complete example—not as concave-sided as type specimen—3 inches between points (Acc. No. C4964).

Biscuit

Albarello Type Containers Type 1. Two complete profiles: rim D. 4 6/16 inches and 3 4/16 inches, H. 3 10/16 inches and 2 2/16 inches; in both, carinations sharper than in examples at Norfolk House: larger example has everted, flat-topped rim, slightly thickened externally, and slight hollowing internally: smaller has upright, flat topped rim, slightly thickened externally: both have very kicked bases and chamfered feet (Acc. No. C4967 and 4966).

Type 2. One complete example: rim D. 1 14/16 inches, H. 1 8/16 inches: simple everted rim with smoother carinations and flaring foot (very close to Norfolk House No. 99) (Acc. No. C4965).

Glazed

Albarello Type Container Type 3. This type did not occur at Norfolk House and this is therefore the type specimen. The type is defined as having a concave side between the two constrictions, but is otherwise the same as Types 1 and 2. One complete example: rim D. 2 2/16 inches, H. 1 14/16 inches: simple everted rim, sharp carinations and flaring foot: glazed both sides, now badly crazed and blackened (Acc. No. C4966). (Fig. No. 1).

Material in the British Museum. Only three items and all,

Biscuit

Albarello Type Container Type 1. Complete profile: carinations very rounded and tending in form towards cauldron type container type 2a, flaring unchamfered foot and flat base, simple, sharply everted rim: rim D. 2 inches, H. 2 13/16 inches (Acc. No. E99).

Type 2. Complete profile: carination at top quite pronounced but lower one hardly at all, foot flaring and chamfered, base slightly kicked and rim simple everted but thinner than body: rim D. 2 1/2 inches, H. 2 8/16 inches (Acc. No. E98).

Miscellaneous. Complete profile of vessel with no foot, very slightly kicked base, vertical lower side and concave upper side ending in simple rim: rim D. 1 1/2 inches, H. 1 2/16 inches (Acc. No. E100). (Fig. No. 2).

Isolated 1911 find (Cuming Museum) (TQ 3272/8028)

Spouted Pedestalled Vessel, Type 2. A Type 1 with only one spout, was defined at Norfolk House. This is the type specimen for Type 2, which has

three spouts, and applied motifs between them, which on this example have come off, but which on complete examples usually seem to be ram's horn finials¹¹. The rim too is different from Type 1 at Norfolk House in being everted and having a rib externally and a corresponding groove internally. The body of this example is rather squat and the spouts are eccentric to the holes through the body (Acc. No. 58/2/27). (Fig. No. 3).

ST SAVIOUR'S GROUP (1947) (about TQ 3273/8029)

Kiln Furniture in the Guildhall Museum (not certainly from this group).

Saggars Type 1. Thirty-four fragments. All have fingering marks internally and are made of laminated red and buff fabric¹². Eleven side- and base-fragments with cuts (sides of 'U' shaped openings?) surviving in side, ten of these go right down to base, six have patches of thick dirty white glaze, one has rectangular depression in base 1/2 inch x 1/4 inch x 1/4 inch: D. 7 inches (10), T. 4/16 inches (4), 6/16 inches (4), 7/16 inches (2): H. 1 1/8 inches +, 1 1/4 inches +, 1 3/4 inches + (2), 2 1/4 inches + (2), 2 1/2 inches +, 3 inches +, 3 1/4 inches + (2): other example has cut only down to 3/4 inches above base, rim D. 5 inches, T. 5/16 inches, II. 4 1/2 inches +. Two base fragments with central hole, external diameter 7 inches (1), D. of hole 1 1/4 inches? (1), 3/4 inches + (1): T. 4/16 inches (1), H. 2 1/2 inches + (1): thick dirty glaze externally round hole (1). Nineteen side and base fragments with no slots or holes on surviving parts: D. 7 inches (19), T. 2/16 inches (1), 3/16 inches (3), 4/16 inches (7), 5/16 inches (6), 6/16 inches (1), 7/16 inches (1): H. 1 inch + (7), 1 1/4 inches + (1), 1 3/4 inches + (1), 2 inches + (2), 2 1/2 inches + (2), 2 3/4 inches + (1), 3 inches + (2), 3 1/2 inches + (3): patches of thick dirty white or pinkish white glaze (8): most rather crudely potted in coarse fabric but three better potted in harder, redder, fabric, tendency for walls to become thinner towards rim. Two rim fragments, everted with concave upper surface, white glaze internally: T. 3/16 inches (2), H. 2 inches +, 1 1/2 inches +.

Type 1? Three body fragments, thick dirty white glaze internally (2): T. 5/16 inches, 6/16 inches and 8/16 inches.

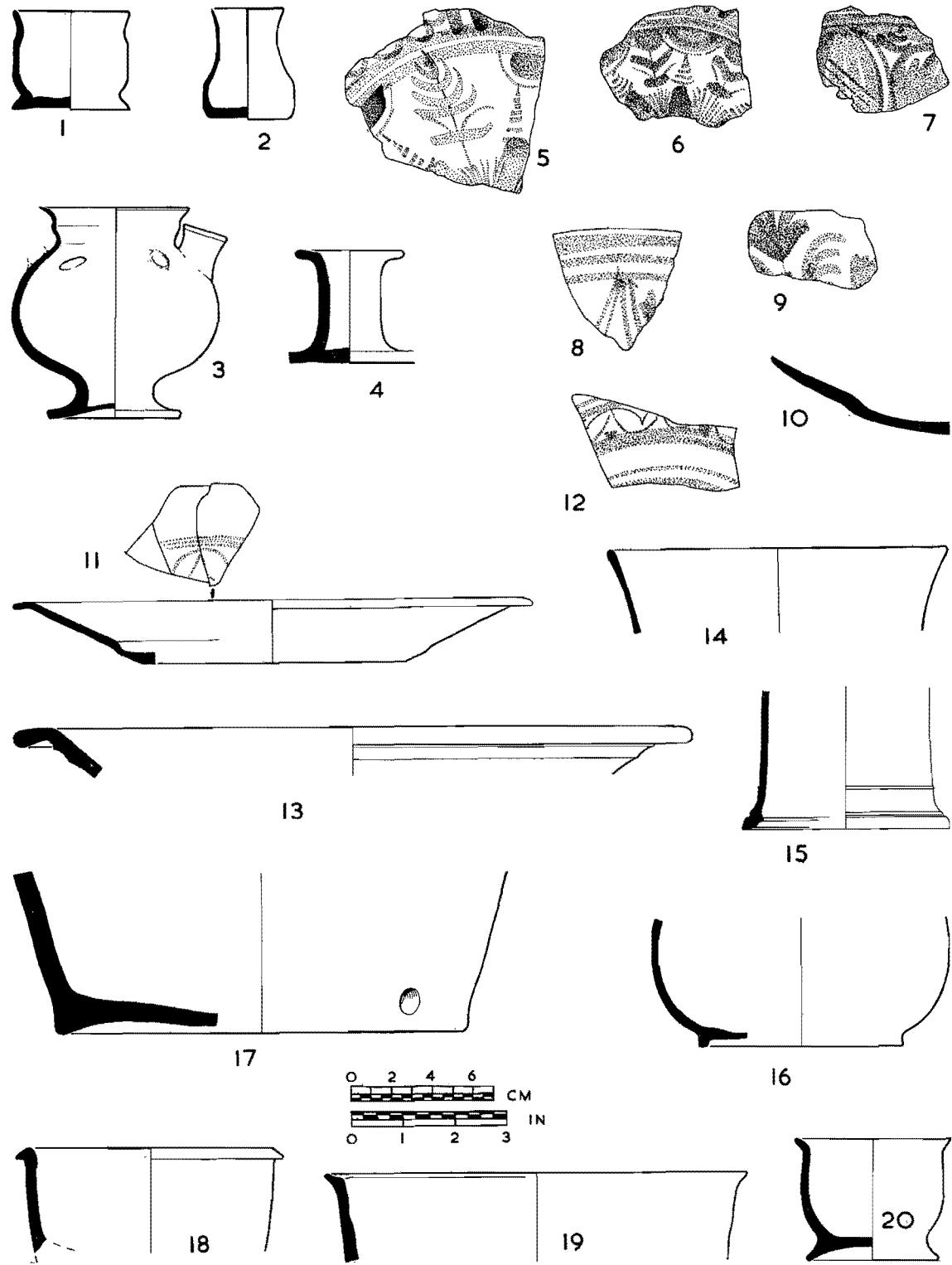
Saggars Type 2. 1 base to rim sherd, blobs of white glaze on rim, D. 9 inches, T. 7/16 inches, H. 4 6/16 inches, apex of peg hole to rim 8/16 inches: crudely made but more uniform than Type 1, buff fabric.

MATERIAL IN CUMING MUSEUM (on permanent loan from Southwark Cathedral 58/2)*Kiln Furniture*

Saggars Type 1. One complete profile with about quarter of circumference, rim flat-topped like Type 2 and no trace of cuts or basal hole. Body slopes markedly inwards but this appears to be due to a distortion, the fabric is laminated pinkish red with heavy tempering of very large white grits and areas of the surface are a dirty

buff: internally, except on base, a thick glaze which is largely pinkish orange but near base is dirty buff (i.e. is lead glaze), also externally, on base: externally on body, traces of dirty buff surface which has flaked off (possibly an encrustation): rim D. $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches, T. $6/16-7/16$ inches, H. $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches (Acc. No. 58/2/22).

Type 2. Upper body fragment: 3 peg holes in two rows, finger (not fingering) marks internally: D. 9 inches, T. $8/16$ inches, H. $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches +: apex of peg holes to rim $8/16$ inches and $1\frac{10}{16}$ inches: apex to apex in same row $2\frac{2}{16}$ inches (Acc. No. 58/2/25 but also has 16852 on it): usual buff, friable fabric.



Figs. 1-20. Pottery from Montague Close. ($\frac{1}{3}$).

Trivet Type 1. Sides a little more concave than type specimen at Norfolk House: $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches between points: T. $7/16$ inches (Acc. No. 58/2/21).

Biscuit

Dish Type 3. One base:footring slopes upwards towards middle (cf N.H. No. 20): has uneven chamfering externally: footring T. $8/16$ inches, footring H. externally $5/16$ inches: footring D. $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches (Acc. No. 58/2/24).

Horizontal lobed handle Type 3. One: seven lobes, apices of hearts point outwards (Acc. No. 58/2/26).

Candlesticks. This class was not represented at N.H. at all. It is defined as a vessel with a hollow tube, round which at some point is a circular flange (drip ring?). Two types occur at St Saviour's.

Type 1. Comprises an apparently open-ended thick-walled hollow tube with a flange round it and with its tube expanding into a splayed base which is also hollow. No rim or edge of base known. The type specimen is from New Hibernia Wharf (see Fig. No. 21) though this one is identical but less complete: internally it has a white encrustation in the tube (unfired tin-glazed?): D. of tube (external) 1 6/16 inches, D. of base 3 4/16 inches +, D. of flange 3 inches + (Acc. No. 58/2/55).

Type 2. This is only known from this one example. It consists of a short tube with a horizontal rim, closed at the basal end and with a flat flange round its base. The edge of the flange does not survive (Acc. No. 58/2/35 Fig. No. 4).

Salt. This class was not defined at N.H. though it did occur there. It is basically a hollow pedestal base with a shallow 'cup' on top and a nearly horizontal flange around it, sometimes with evidence for applied motifs (ram's horn terminals?) near the rim of the flange. The more complete specimen from New Hibernia Wharf is illustrated (Fig. No. 23) though this one is identical except that it lacks the rim to the flange: has a powdery white encrustation (unfired tinglaze?) round edge inside pedestal: rim D. 3 11/16 inches +, pedestal D. 2 6/16 inches + (both external) (Acc. No. 58/2/23). There is possibly another type of this class which is much thinner and has the cup made separately and applied. An example is illustrated below from New Hibernia Wharf (Fig. No. 24) and an example occurs at N.H. (No. 68).

Glazed and Decorated

Dish Type 3. Three base and lower body sherds, two with sufficient of the footing to show that this sloped upwards towards centre (cf. N.H. No. 20): all lead glazed externally: footing T. 8/16 inches (2), D. 4 inches (2): two are decorated on the front in blue: one has traces of a panelled border with Taoist type symbols and a central motif comprising a single stylised 'fern' between a dividing triangular pattern between two dark blue rock like motifs: two light blue concentric lines separate the centre from the border: it has one 'trivet scar'. The second has basically the same pattern except that the whole figure is repeated more frequently and the fern is replaced by a stylised 'flower' (Acc. No. 58/2/30 and 31 respectively). (Fig. No. 5 and 6 respectively.) The third has blue bands framing a central motif outlined in blue and filled in with orange and green though with two elements in blue (perhaps a 'tulip' design) (Acc. No. 58/2/33 Fig. No. 7).

Dish Type 3a. One rim with hollowed, slightly down-turned flange. Lead glazed externally. Internally has three narrow blue bands on the flange and three on the mid body and between them on the upper body a row of blue arcs intersected by a row of brown arcs: rim D. 16 inches (Acc. No. 58/2/29).

Bowl Type 2b? One rim fragment with slightly everted rim, lead glazed externally and decorated internally in blue with a border and motif below,

of which little survives but might be suggestive of the upper rigging of a ship: rim D. 9 inches (Acc. No. 58/2/28 Fig. No. 8).

Dish? Base sherd with footing, T. 4/16 inches, D. 2 10/16 inches: footing slopes slightly inwards towards centre: lead-glazed externally, internally decorated with stylised flower pattern in light and dark blue: one 'trivet scar' (Acc. No. 58/2/32. Fig. No. 9). This type of dish does not occur at N.H. but published parallels¹³ show that they are similar in profile to dish Type 3 though smaller and without a flanged rim.

Albarello Type Container Type 1. Rim and upper body sherd, thick coarse fabric with burnt-out organic inclusions: profile very close to Norfolk House No. 94: decorated in light blue with pattern close to Norfolk House No. 87 except that it has intersecting arcs instead of chain motif in centre: rim D. 4 inches (Acc. No. 58/2/34).

NEW HIBERNIA WHARF (1947) Group (about TQ 3266/8037)

Kiln Furniture

Saggars Type 1. Seven fragments. Two rim to base sherds but with centre of base missing: one in well made buff fabric: H. 3 3/4 inches, T. 3/16 inches, D. 4 1/2 inches (Acc. No. 16851): has a cut in the side from the rim to near the base: spots of tin glaze on base internally: other is in a coarse laminated red and buff fabric with a thick orange glaze internally, H. 4 3/4 inches, T. 5/16 inches, D. 6 inches, cut from rim to 1/2 inch from base: both have flat-topped slightly everted rims. Three base and side fragments in the same laminated fabric, all with evidence for central hole in base of about 1/2 inch diameter: thick dirty yellow glaze internally: H. 2 inches + (2), 3 1/2 inches + (1), T. varies from 3/16 inches to 6/16 inches, D. 6 inches. (3). One rim in friable yellow fabric: flat-topped slightly everted: possible cut in side: H. 2 3/4 inches +, T. 4/16 inches, D. 6 inches. One rim to base fragment: H. 1 3/4 inches, T. 3/16 inch, D. 6 inches: sides slope inwards towards the top as the others do and has everted rim: base of cut begins 10/16 inches from base. All have fingering marks internally.

Type 2. Three fragments, all have simple flat-topped rims in friable yellow fabric with sand texturing on both surfaces: H. 3 1/8 inches +, 4 inches + and 8 1/2 inches + (Acc. No. 16852), T. 8/16 inches (3), D. 8 inches (3), apex of peg hole to rim 2 1/16 inches (1), apex of peg hole to base 2 7/16 inches (1), apex of peg hole above 2 inches (1): vertical luting mark (1).

Untyped. One rim to base fragment in same fabric with simple flat-topped rim but no trace of peg holes or cut aways, though insufficient to show not present and has trace of return for base: sand textured on both sides: perhaps new subtype: H. 6 1/2 inches, T. 8/16 inches, D. 8 inches (Acc. No. 16853).

Disc? One flat fragment of friable yellow fabric with central hole: W. 2 1/2 inches +, T. 6/16 inches.

Trivet Type 1. One: more concave than type specimen at N.H.: T. 5/16 inches, distance between points 4 inches.

Peg Type 1. One: sloping head, 1 inch wide base, length 2 inches. One?: head missing but may be damaged: length $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

Girder. One fragment: flange W. $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches, T. $10/16$ inches.

Kiln Tiles. Three fragments: sand textured on one side: $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches + $\times 2\frac{1}{2}$ inches +, $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches + $\times 2\frac{1}{2}$ inches +, and $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches + $\times 5$ inches +, T. $8/16$ inches, $9/16$ inches, and $12/16$ inches: first two are in friable yellow fabric with glaze spots on smoothed surface forming curved scars, other is in laminated red and yellow coarse fabric.

Biscuit

Tile Type 2. Two, one with straight edges (i.e. not chamfered), $5\frac{1}{16}$ inches $\times 5\frac{1}{16}$ inches, T. $5/16$ inches (Acc. No. 16832). Other, T. $5/16$ inches.

Plates. Thirteen fragments.

Type 1a. Seven. Three flanges, rim D. 8 inches (3), flange widths $7/8$ inches (2), $6/8$ inches (1) (cf. N.H. No. 29). Another is much shallower: rim D. 7 inches, flange width $6/8$ inches. Three fragments without rim: flange widths 1 inch +, $1\frac{3}{8}$ inches +, and $1\frac{6}{8}$ inches + (Fig. 10). Although these are Type 1a, their profile is not closely paralleled at Norfolk House.

Type 1a? Three unglazed sherds with black decoration painted directly on the biscuit: only one has a rim, which is everted: flange W. $1\frac{6}{8}$ inches (excluding the rim): decoration consists of horizontal lines enclosing double arcading on the flange and one horizontal line on the lower body angle, on back is line near the flange/body angle and two close together near the middle of the flange (Acc. No. 16846. Fig. No. 11). One of the others is very similar, flange W. $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches + but bands instead of lines, and dots added to the arcading, on back has six concentric bands on the flange. (Acc. No. 16847? Fig. No. 12). Other is very small fragment of the flange/body angle which has two narrow bands internally on the base and, externally, one on the flange and one on the lower body (Acc. No. 16848).

Type 2. Three sherds: D. of countersinking of bases c. $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches, flange W. $1\frac{2}{8}$ inches, $1\frac{3}{8}$ inches + and 1 inch +, the first is the only one with a measurable rim: D. 9 inches (Acc. No. 16842). One sherd, possibly of this type, but too small for certainty.

Dishes Type 3. Three footings, all slope upwards towards the centre (cf. N.H. No. 20), two, D. $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches and 4 inches, footing T. $7/16$ inches and $8/16$ inches, footing H. $4-5/16$ inches, one has a trace of circular mark internally on the base with D. 3 inches, other has a stringhole through the footing (Acc. No. 16845). Other footing T. $7/16$ inches, D. 3 inches, H. $6/16$ inches, internally and externally has a grey coating adhering in patches which internally covers a white substance, on the surface of which, partly covered by the grey, two faint grey lines occur (unfired lead glaze over decorated tin glaze?).

Type 3a. Three rims all with slight hollowing on top, and slight downturning of flange (as on N.H. No. 20) but no hollowing externally: D. 10 inches, 10 inches? and 0 inches.

Type 3b. Five rims with the horizontal flange of this type but rims thickened giving flange oval

cross section (which does not occur on N.H. No. 21). Two have distinct hollowing and raised line externally on body immediately below flange, and faint traces of same on other three (Acc. No. 16844 (Fig. No. 13), 16843), D. 12 inches (5). One rim probably of this type: horizontal flange, and hollowing externally below it: D. 12 inches but rather thinner than usual.

Bowls

Type 1. One rim: everted (similar to N.H. No. 50 but less downturned and with thinner walls): D. 10 inches.

Type 2a. One footring, thin and high, D. $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches, T. $2/16$ inches.

Type 2b. One rim, simple on outward sloping body: D. $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches (Fig. No. 14).

Type 3a. One body-sherd.

Horizontal Lobed Handles Type 2. One handle on probable Type 3a bowl (Acc. No. 16838 similar to N.H. No. 59): has three lobes.

Type 1. Two, one has $4\frac{1}{2}$ lobes, other probably same.

Type 3. One, apices of hearts face outwards and applied bands against the rim on top and bottom of handle, and has four lobes (cf. N.H. No. 60a).

Mug. One base and side fragment with expanded footring, a moulding immediately above it, externally, and a small cordon some way up body: straight sides slope inward somewhat: base D. 4 inches (Fig. No. 15). Simple rim possibly from same vessel: D. 4 inches.

Domestic Vessels. One rim and handle fragment, simple, horizontally everted rim, D. 6 inches?: handle hollowed vertically down centre and applied to underside of rim. Two base sherds with very low footings: one has part of body, with thin walls, scribed horizontal lines and slight chamfering externally on footring, footring D. 4 inches (Fig. No. 16). Other has thicker walls and footring roughly finished, D. 6 inches (Acc. No. 16836): both have a slight chamfer externally just inside footring. Two body-sherds, one thin-walled with scribed horizontal lines, other has thicker walls (thus each is similar to one of the bases but seem to come from different vessels).

Storage Vessels. One base of very large vessel in hard red fabric, has very thick walls: immediately above base are two circular holes which slope upwards towards interior: D. 8 inches (Acc. No. 16850. Fig. No. 17). This is probably not delft biscuit at all but is included here for the sake of completeness. The group contains no other non-delft material.

Type 1? Two rim and body sherds: One has triangular beaded rim and internal body contour turning inwards where it is broken, D. $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches (Fig. No. 18). Other slightly everted with hollowing on top of rim (Fig. No. 19), D. 8 inches.

Albarello Type Container, Type 1. Base and lower body fragment with only slight chamfer on foot: basal D. 4 inches (close to N.H. No. 82, Acc. No. 16837).

Type 2. One rim, flat topped, everted with external thickening, very weathered, D. 5 inches (Acc. No. 16840). One base, chamfered foot, slightly kicked base, D. 4½ inches (close N.H. No. 81) (Acc. No. 16833).

Untyped. Three rims, all flat-topped with external thickening, two everted (as N.H. No. 84) but other not (upright rims of this type only occur twice at N.H. (Kiln A and Layer 10 Kiln B) and could belong to Pharmacy Jar Type). D. 6 inches (1) and 5 inches (2). Four bases all with chamfered foot (in chamfering only, like N.H. No. 83): three (at least) have kicked bases: D. 5 inches (2) and 6 inches (2).

Cauldron Type Containers Type 1. One base slightly kicked and with slight hollowing internally, foot roughly finished, D. 1¼ inches.

Type 2a. It is necessary to split this type, defined at N.H. into two. Type 2a1 will comprise all those at N.H. in that they have unreduced feet while 2a2 has reduced feet. However, N.H. No. 92, 93 and Y are transitional 2a1/2 in that their feet are somewhat reduced. Only one *Type 2a1* occurs here: complete profile and close to N.H.Y, except that it has a strongly kicked base and a chamfered foot, features which more usually occur on albarello type containers (Acc. No. 16834. Fig. No. 20). *Type 2a2.* One base and body fragment with strongly kicked base, D. 1½ inches.

Type 2. Three small rim fragments: two flat-topped (D. 4 inches and 3 inches) and one simple (D. 4 inches).

Lid. One: somewhat similar to N.H. No. 75 in having horizontal flange and a rim which is thinner than the body but differs from it in that rim curves inwards and body has smooth contour: D. 5 inches (Fig. No. 22).

Classes which do not occur at Norfolk House

'*Pharmacy Jar Type*'. No complete profile of this vessel survives so it is not possible to determine what precisely the vessel type is. But at least three vessels occur which have certain characteristics in common and clearly form a type. These characteristics are best seen on the type example (Acc. No. 16835. Fig. No. 23). This has a kicked base, a chamfered flaring foot with a beading at the top of the chamfer, a moderately constricted body above the foot, above which the body widens to a diameter greater than the foot. Above this, the body thickness is slightly reduced by an external inset which may be the base of a recessed panel. It has pronounced fingering marks internally. Base D. 3¼ inches¹⁴. There is another base fragment which is almost identical to this (base D. 3½ inches) while the third has a much more pronounced constriction, giving it an almost pedestal base, only slight chamfering on the foot and no beading, while the slightly kicked base is very thin (Acc. No. 16849. Fig. No. 24): base D. 2¾ inches. Five body sherds with very marked fingering marks internally. Two body sherds: profile similar to the constriction/body angle of Fig. No. 21 but since they become thinner at what would be base end, may come from a balancing contour on shoulder

(if such exists). One body sherd: marked fingering marks internally: immediately above? external inset, body curves inwards. Body sherd, has cordon, above? which the body becomes thinner and curves inwards: may belong to this type of vessel (but could be a lid).

Candlesticks Type 1. Three: flanges slope slightly upwards: best preserved example drawn (Fig. 25). Other two consist only of part of the tube and flange, one with an almost complete width of the flange, at 1½ inches (this has been restored on to the drawn example). No rim survives in any example.

Salt. One fragment: top of hollow pedestal foot, shallow cup above, and upward sloping flange with simple rim: immediately within rim, scar for ram's horn finial: rim D. 4½ inches: inside pedestal white powdery encrustation round edge (un-fired tinglaze?) (Fig. No. 26). One fragment with hollow flaring base and little cup applied to its top probably belongs to this type: very close to N.H. No. 68 except that pedestal does not thin out towards base and no evidence for rim form: D. 4 inches (Acc. No. 16849. Fig. No. 27). Part of the pedestal foot of another similar vessel: D. 4 inches.

Unclassified

Bases. 6 bases. Three are very similar (Fig. No. 28): sharply outward sloping body, two with flaring base (D. 2½ inches). Other too damaged to see, D. 2 inches. Internally and externally has thick white powdery encrustation (un-fired tinglaze?): possibly bases of cauldron type containers Type 2a. One somewhat similar (Fig. No. 29): chamfer round its basal circumference externally makes flaring foot almost a footring: the base is flat and the body angle is straight not curved like the others and it cannot very well belong to a cauldron type container, D. 2¼ inches. One, possibly part of a cup, has a roughened basal angle and a kicked base: D. 4 inches. One curved basal angle of an apparently footless, hemispherical vessel. Three flat base sherds. (See also appendix.)

Body sherds. Thirty-two untyped body sherds: one has a thick wall and a patch of white powder adhering to it (un-fired tinglaze?).

Glazed and decorated

Dishes Type 3. Two footings: one slopes upwards towards centre (cf. N.H. No. 20): lead glazed externally except on the footing, internally has a floral motif composed of short blue dashes over a green wash and motif consisting of blue lines and an area of solid blue, too little of which survives to identify: footing T. 10/16 inches, footing H. 4-5/16 inches; other of squared type (cf. N.H. No. 21), D. 4¼ inches, T. 11/16 inches: tinglazed both sides, except on footing where only spots: internally has band round edge of sherd partly light and partly dark blue, and within this two light blue concentric bands separated by a blue line.

Type 3a. One rim with slight hollowing on top and slight downturning of flange (as on N.H. No. 20), but no hollowing externally: lead glaze externally, internally three blue concentric lines on top of flange, broad blue band at top of body and

oval area below outlined in blue, which partly filled in with green wash (leaf?) all on tinglaze, D. 10 inches.

Bowls Type 2b. One rim, simple on outward sloping body (Fig. No. 30): decorated in blue except for yellow band contiguous to lowest blue line on rim, D. 11 inches.

Albarello Type Container Type 1. Glazed mid-body fragment, decorated with two blue bands at top (or bottom depending which way round sherd goes), with a purple band below and blue line below that from which pend spirals: centre pattern consists of blue foliage, edged in brown in places, from which spring blue circular flowers filled in with yellow: lead glazed internally (Fig. No. 31).

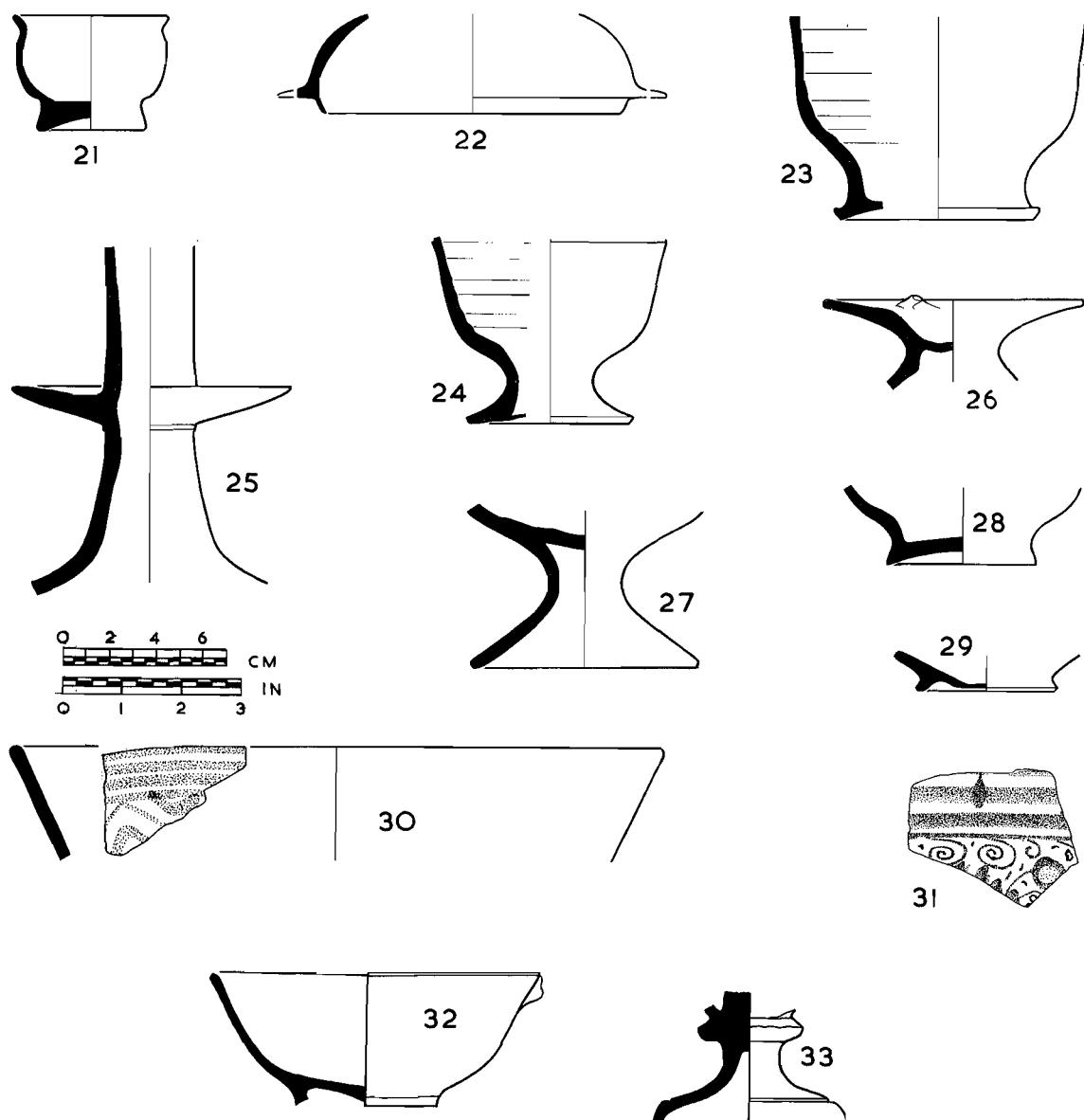
Untyped. One base: glazed and decorated with three blue bands just above foot: chamfered, slightly kicked foot (close N.H. No. 81): base D. 5 inches.

Cauldron Type Container Type 2a2. One complete profile, which apart from reduction of foot, is very close to N.H. Y: externally circumference of base is not glazed but centre is: base strongly kicked: basal D. $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches (Fig. No. 21).

DISCUSSION

Dating

The dating of all these groups is difficult because of the circumstance in which they were recovered, in that this was during excavations by workmen for other reasons and not during controlled archaeological excavation. It would therefore be expected that if different layers of delftware kiln waste occurred at the point of excavation these would become mixed up and that, as a result of this, the groups would not represent uncontaminated assemblages but rather mixtures of two or more. Further, the groups are rather small except perhaps New Hibernia Wharf, and this, of course, applies especially to the material recovered in 1837 and that in the Roach Smith Collection. Further, the only published parallels are the assemblages from Norfolk House which makes comparison difficult, especially for the period before Norfolk House is in production. Comparison with the Norfolk House assemblages does suggest, however, that the New Hibernia Wharf group is fairly 'clean' and there is no reason to think that the others are unduly mixed, though odd fragments are probably better regarded as strays. There is, however, good reason to be suspicious of the saggars Type 2 in the St Saviour's



Figs. 21-33. Pottery from Montague Close. ($\frac{1}{3}$).

Group (Cuming Museum) since this has on it the number 16852, which happens to be exactly the same accession number as a saggar Type 2 in the New Hibernia Wharf group in the Guildhall Museum. The possibility of this being mere chance seems so remote that it is fairly safe to assign this saggar to the New Hibernia Wharf Group¹⁵.

Removal of this saggar Type 2 from the assemblage formed by taking the two St Saviour's groups together, does suggest that the assemblage which this material represents lacks saggar Type 2 altogether, for there is only one other saggar Type 2, in the kiln furniture group in the Guildhall Museum, as opposed to 33 saggar Type 1, and this isolated example is in a different fabric to all the other saggars (i.e. it is the usual friable buff fabric of saggars as opposed to the laminated pinkish red/buff fabric of the others), and it can therefore probably be excluded as a stray. This would suggest an early date for this assemblage since at Norfolk House saggar Type 1 was shown to go out of use after c. 1730 while saggar Type 2 continues on. Therefore an assemblage without saggar Type 2 should be earlier than all the Norfolk House assemblages which all have saggar Type 2. Thus a date prior to 1680, the initial date for Norfolk House, is indicated for this group. This early date is supported by the lack of plates of any sort (though with this sort of group negative evidence is dangerous), and the universality of lead glaze externally on dish Type 3, which Ray states goes out of fashion after 1690, though at Norfolk House it appears to continue as long as dish Type 3 does, that is to about 1730. In general appearance the assemblage is not unlike that from a garderobe pit at Dover Castle¹⁶. Both have dish Type 3, a shallow dish similar to dish Type 3, horizontal lobed handles (and therefore presumably bowl Type 3), and a bowl or dish with a simple rim. The types which are found at Dover but which the St Saviour's group lacks, are albarello type container Type 3 and a footringed plate. Mynard does not seem to suggest a date for the group as a whole, but there can be little doubt that it belongs to the middle years of the seventeenth century and the St Saviour's group can be fairly confidently assigned to the same period.

The two groups which have been assigned to the 1837 building operations, in fact seem to be rather different in date. The material in the Cuming Museum contains an albarello type container Type 3, which does not occur at Norfolk House or in later kiln dumps but does occur at Potter's Fields and in the Dover group. It is therefore unlikely to continue after 1680. The sharpness of the carinations at the constrictions is, it has been suggested, an early feature (certainly the albarello type containers at Norfolk House do not have sharp carinations), so that the whole group could well also be pre-1680. The pot described in the Cuming Museum Catalogue which is no longer extant³ is clearly a bowl Type 3 plus an associated horizontal lobed handle. Unfortunately, it is not possible to tell which type from Cuming's description but if Mrs Boger is indeed describing the same finds, her description would suggest a horizontal lobed handle Type 3. At Norfolk House this type only occurs in the earliest assemblage, and though there are only four examples on the site, this might suggest that they are an early type which do not continue very long into the eighteenth century¹⁷ and the same certainly applies to the trivet, so if not perhaps adding any great support to a date before 1680, they certainly do not argue against it. The three vessels in the British

Museum, however, would appear to be later, for, not only do the two albarello type containers have smooth carinations, but the other peculiar vessel is apparently only paralleled by a very similar vessel from the flue of Kiln 1 at Montague Close¹⁸, from a deposit which is certainly of the mid eighteenth century in date.

The New Hibernia group ought to be easier to date considering its much larger size. In fact it is very close in its profile to Norfolk House assemblage IX/XIII, especially if this is taken as containing trivets as IX does but not XIII. It is distinct from Norfolk House assemblage VII/XIV in that it possesses plate Type 2, bowl Type 2b and perhaps storage vessel Type 1, while its possession of saggar Type 1, trivets and dish Type 3 distinguishes it from Norfolk House assemblage X-XII. However, it does have one fragment of a girder which is diagnostic of X-XII, and all but one of its cauldron Type 2's are 2a2, which at Norfolk House only occur in a X-XII context (in L. 12 of Structure B). Further, it has cauldron type container Type 1, which again only occurs in X-XII contexts at Norfolk House while it lacks plate 1b which occurs in a number of the IX/XIII groups. Although none of these facts would be particularly significant on their own, since so few examples of each type are present, taken together they do make a consistent pattern and suggest that the New Hibernia Wharf group lies near the end of the life of the IX/XIII assemblage at a time when the changeover to X-XII was already beginning. At Norfolk House, on documentary evidence, assemblage IX/XIII was dated to c. 1700-1730 and therefore a date towards c. 1725/30 would seem to fit the New Hibernia Wharf material reasonably well. It is quite distinct from the fill of the stokehole of Kiln 1 (M.C. 69 F2)¹⁹, which represents the last phase of the factory at Montague Close which must therefore be somewhat later than 1730.

Kiln Preferences

It seems unlikely that any particular type, unless it be a very exceptional vessel of extremely rare occurrence, will be peculiar to a particular kiln. Nevertheless, it is equally probable that no two kilns produced exactly the same range of products or in the same quantities. Those products which a particular kiln produced in large quantities are regarded as its preferred products while those which it produces in only very small quantities, if produced elsewhere in larger quantities, are regarded as its non-preferred products. At the present stage of work, it is difficult to discover these preferences very clearly since rare vessels may be absolutely rare rather than just rare on the particular kiln site being dealt with. However, there are a number of classes and types which occur at Montague Close but not at Norfolk House which may form a basis for this. Comparison of New Hibernia Wharf with Norfolk House is particularly relevant in this respect since they are contemporary. Candlesticks Type 1 would seem to come into this category as do the so-called 'Pharmacy Jar type' neither of which occur at Norfolk House. Candlestick Type 1 is, moreover, easily recognisable, and it does not appear to have been recognised on any other Lambeth site yet, though examples have been found in Southwark. At Emerson Place a biscuit example was found in a domestic context while an example occurs in the Burnett Collection of delft waste material presumably from east of London Bridge. It is possibly, therefore, a Southwark type,

though candlesticks of any sort seem rare or non-existent in Lambeth. Since it occurs in both the New Hibernia Wharf and the St Saviour's material, it must have a fairly long life (i.e. late seventeenth and early eighteenth-century) though none have been found in the kilns at Montague Close so far. Another possible Southwark preference as opposed to Lambeth is Cauldron Type Container Type 2a which are rare at Norfolk House, as compared to 2b's which are rare at Montague Close. The same applies to dish Types 1 and 2 which are not represented in any of the groups published here, nor in Kiln 1 stokehole (M.C. 69 F2)²⁰.

Technical

Most of the basic techniques involved in the manufacture of delftware, as far as the kiln furniture and products give evidence for them, have been discussed in the Norfolk House report²¹, and no evidence from these groups contradicts the conclusions reached there. However, the three examples of probable Type 1a plates in biscuit with black painted decoration on them raise the problem of what process this is the result. It has been suggested²² that delftware can be decorated with underglaze painting but this seems unlikely since the tin oxide is added to make the lead glaze opaque. A test carried out²³ on one of the sherds showed that modern tinglaze completely hides the pattern though this is not absolutely conclusive since seventeenth to eighteenth-century tinglaze may well have had less tin oxide in it and would therefore be more translucent. What is, however, conclusive is that the concentric lines on the reverse are not paralleled on any glazed examples as plates are never decorated externally, and an example of this occurs at Norfolk House too. Thus it is certain that these are not the results of breakages which have occurred after the biscuit has been painted and before it has been glazed. Moreover, if all biscuit was so painted before glazing, the number of specimens with this feature should be much greater. Further, the example of a Type 3 dish with unfired glaze on it shows that example, at least, was decorated with overglaze painting.

Another suggestion with regard to these painted biscuit sherds is that they were potters doodles. Although biscuit was very occasionally used by potters for some sort of recording or calculation, of which one example occurs at Norfolk House and one at Potter's Fields, and of which one example has also been recognised in the excavations at Montague Close, these are clearly not from that class, and though not particularly well drawn, too much care has been taken with them to consider them to be the result of idle doodling. The only explanation which seems to account for all of these facts is that they are apprentice pot painter's practice pieces, which would explain the effort put into them without quite achieving complete control of the line. It would not be surprising that they should practise on biscuit before graduating to painting over the expensive glaze. This is interesting evidence, therefore for the training of pot painters within the factory at Montague Close, and at the other sites where this occurs, and shows that pot painting was carried on within the factory and not elsewhere as has sometimes been suggested might be the case.

A number of objects have been described as having a white encrustation, which has been interpreted as unfired tinglaze. Six examples occur in these groups with this feature, in three of which it only survives in

crevices, though on the other three the encrustation is more or less overall. It might seem surprising that dried, but unfired, tinglaze will survive burial in the ground but this is the only reasonable interpretation of the dish Type 3 where the two layers of glaze with the decoration between them are clearly visible. Ray²⁴ states that in some factories the vessel is lightly fired to fix the glaze before decoration, and this might explain the survival of the unfired (or rather partly fired) glaze, but this cannot explain the Type 3 dish where the upper glaze and the decoration both survive which would clearly not be fired again till the final firing. Since this example (and another was found at Potter's Fields) shows that lead glaze will survive, there is therefore no reason to doubt that tin-glaze, which is basically a lead glaze, will not also survive and there is no reason to invoke a further act in the process to explain them. Such survivals are not confined to these groups but occur fairly widely in kiln dumps, for instance twelve examples occur at Norfolk House, distributed through the groups (Group I, II, III, IV, VII, VIII, IX, XI and XIII had one or two specimens each). Presumably since most dish Type 3's have lead glaze on the back, the glaze on these must have been dusted on rather than applied by dipping, though Ray implies that dipping is universal²⁴.

The dish Type 3 example with unfired lead glaze over decorated tin-glaze is also an example of a process called *Kwaart* which is usually regarded as a Dutch characteristic, though it is known to have been used in England where it is regarded as Dutch influence. Ray²⁵ states that this period of Dutch influence was 1680-1740 (or on another page 1690-1745) and, since his evidence for this is partly the use of *Kwaart*, he would presumably date it to this period too. A date of c. 1725/30 for this piece would fit into this date bracket but the process is almost certainly used before 1680 since an unfired example occurs at Potter's Field²⁶.

The occurrence of objects made not of the usual buff fabric so characteristic of delftware but in a laminated red/buff ware is of some interest. It is confined to saggar Type 1 except for one kiln tile from New Hibernia Wharf. However, while in the St Saviour's groups all the Type 1 saggars are in this fabric, at New Hibernia Wharf, where there are more saggar Type 2 any way, some of the Type 1 saggars are also in buff yellow fabric. Isolated examples of kiln furniture in this fabric have also been produced by the excavations at Montague Close but it does not seem to occur in other kiln dumps in South London. This may relate to a practice said to have occurred at Lambeth, where galley ware (i.e. delftware) was made of three parts red clay, five parts blue clay and seven or eight parts white clay, all mixed together²⁷. However, this seems to apply to vessels which are glazed and not, or not specifically, to kiln furniture, while no examples of non kiln furniture have been found with this laminated fabric. Clearly, however, some mixing of two different sorts of clay takes place but in such a way that they do not blend together but remain separate even after being thrown or placed in the mould (for the one tile). It may be, of course, that all objects were made with this mixture of clay, but that, with the vessels to be glazed, the clays were mixed properly together, though why, in this case, the other items of kiln furniture (pegs, trivets, discs, tiles) were not also made of the laminated clay is rather a mystery. It certainly seems to go out of use, more or less, in the early eighteenth century, for the numbers in the New Hibernia Wharf group are very small. This

may, of course, be because saggar Type 1 was also going out of use, for which this fabric was almost exclusively used, but this would not explain the growth of the number of saggar Type 1 made in the normal buff fabric. The other alternative is that these saggars were not made at Montague Close but somewhere else, perhaps not even at a tin-glaze pottery. This often seems to be the explanation of the correlation of an exotic fabric with one particular type of vessel. However, saggars seem much rarer on local contemporary coarse ware pottery sites and none, as far as is known, used this particular type of saggar which does seem to be a specific delftware type.

Conclusion

Thus these four groups provide an indication of the products of the delftware kilns at Montague Close (which will be shown below to function from c. 1613 to c. 1750) at three or four points in their existence, two of the groups very inadequately, though the New Hibernia Wharf group would seem to be fairly comprehensive. None of these date to the very end of the factory's life, from which period most of the large excavated groups come, and they will therefore be useful supplements to the material excavated from 1969 onwards. They also provide evidence as to certain techniques used in the manufacture of delftware and about the preferred products of the kilns.

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NOTES

1. E. Boger, *Bygone Southwark* (1895), 242.
2. *Cuming Manuscript Catalogue* (1840-50), (Cuming Museum), 104
3. *Ibid.*, 101 and see Appendix.
4. C. Roach Smith, *Catalogue of the Museum of London Antiquities* (1854).
5. Evidence from St Saviour's Rate Books.
6. Preliminary report on 1971 excavation at Montague Close published by the Southwark Archaeological Excavation Committee and Southwark and Lambeth Archaeological Society. This identification is confirmed by the inscription on this warehouse which shows that it was called Humphry's Warehouse.
7. *Transactions of London & Middlesex Archaeological Society*. XX (1961), 168.
8. *Archaeologia*, LXIII (1912).
9. *Post Medieval Archaeology*, V (1971).
10. As used in P. Amis *Some Domestic Vessels of Southern Britain* (1968).
11. F. H. Garner, *English Delftware* (1948) Pl. 26A.
12. As are the three Type 1?
13. cf. *Post-Medieval Archaeology*, III (1969) Fig. 10, No. 1.
14. In these features it somewhat resembles large pharmacy jars as illustrated by J. K. Crellin, *Medical Ceramics in the Wellcome Institute* (1969) Pl. 24, 26 etc.
15. Presumably it was included in the Cathedral display to make it more representative.
16. A group of post medieval pottery from Dover Castle, D. C. Mynard, *Post-Medieval Archaeology*, III (1969).
17. But there is an example in the New Hibernia Wharf Group, for whose date see below.
18. Two Delftware Kilns at Montague Close, Southwark. Graham Dawson, *London Archaeologist*, I (1971), 228-9.
19. Montague Close Part 2, Graham Dawson, *London Archaeologist*, I (1971), 250-1.
20. Montague Close Part 2, Graham Dawson, *London Archaeologist* I (1971) 250-1.
21. *Post-Medieval Archaeology*, V (1971).
22. By Caiger-Smith at the Morley College Ceramic Circle's Symposium in English Tinglaze (delftware) Earthenware.
23. By W. Rector, Conservator, Guildhall Museum.
24. A Ray, *English Delftware Pottery in the Robert Hall Warren Collection* (1968), p. 21 but he quotes no source for this.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 37 and 87.
26. Excavations by Dr F. Celoria.
27. R. Edwards and L. Weatherill, 'Pottery Manufacture in London and Whitehaven in the late 17th Century', *Post-Medieval Archaeology* V (1971).

Part 2 The Documentary Evidence

From the viewpoint of documentary evidence, the delftware manufacturing site at Montague Close in St Saviour's parish, Southwark, can be regarded as one of the most important in London. It had a continuous productive life of nearly a hundred and fifty years. This is a period longer than the duration of

any other delftware site in London that has been already investigated by excavation²⁸. The kilns excavated at Montague Close have more substantial fabric remaining than any others known in this country.

The nearest site in distance, at Pickleherring Quay,

in St Olave's parish, is probably the most closely comparable to Montague Close²⁹. Both were established within the same decade. Pickleherring existed on its original site for a hundred years. There is no evidence that either pottery ever made any ware other than delftware. In the case of many of the other potteries in Southwark and Lambeth established later in the seventeenth or in the eighteenth centuries, stoneware was manufactured in addition to delftware³⁰.

The documentary evidence relating to the Montague Close site has survived in surprisingly full detail, especially for the early seventeenth-century period. The eighteenth century is less well represented, for several reasons. Some classes of record sources, such as taxation and parish rating assessments do not survive for the post-1700 years. Because of this, it is difficult to establish the ownership of the pottery after 1740, or the exact date of its closure. Another source which proved invaluable for the seventeenth century, Chancery proceedings, are almost impossible to trace after 1714, as the indexes are by then arranged by surnames only, and are very bulky.

THE SITE

Before discussing the reason for the establishment of the Montague Close pottery as an early seventeenth-century trade monopoly, the location of the site should perhaps be considered. What chance led the monopolists to Montague Close we do not know. The most striking feature of the site employed is its unsuitability. Since its beginning, the kilns appear to have been situated within feet of the north walls of St Saviour's church, and the buildings huddled into the conglomeration of ramshackle industrial premises that occupied the Close.

A large yard was desirable in a delftware pottery, to facilitate washing and processing of clay. Montague Close may have been rather cramped in this respect. Also, there was no open area in the immediate vicinity for the dumping of waste material, as there was at Potter's Fields, near the Pickleherring site. However, warehousing and workspace was reasonably commodious, as the pottery premises included some of the old buildings of the priory of St Mary Overy, one of which was the 'fraternity house', a large hall 90 feet x 27 feet, with vaults under it³¹.

Though the kilns themselves subjected the church to smoke and the danger of fire at incredibly close quarters, it was not remarkable that a dirty trade such as pottery making should take place in the Close. The area between the church on the south, Borough High Street on the east, St Mary Overy's dock on the west, and the river Thames on the north, was throughout the seventeenth century a high-density industrial one. Within a few hundred yards of the Montague Close pottery were a dyeworks and a glasshouse, and next door a large soap-boiling works.

Living in the Close in 1618 was a dyer from Frankfurt, Daniel Tyberkyn, who is named in 1622 in the bill of complaint against Hugh Cressey, the owner of the pottery, as one of the tenants in the Close³².

A lease of 1669/70 describes a dyehouse with buildings in Pepper Alley, Angel Alley and Montague Close, including a gallery over the Thames, rooms and a yard, all in the occupation of Peter de Lanoy, but formerly of Patient Mitchell, dyer. This Peter de Lanoy appears to have been also a part owner in the green glasshouse situated between the church and St Mary Overy's dock³³.

The soap-works belonging to Robert Bromfield and later Thomas Overman, seems to have occupied a site in the Close next to the pottery, as in 1617 Bromfield appears in a rate assessment next to Hugh Cressey. During the 1630's Overman was the most important soap manufacturer in London³⁴.

THE 'FIANSA' WARE PATENT OF 1613

The Montague Close pottery was established by Edmund Bradshawe, a London merchant who appears to have traded in the Mediterranean and North Africa, and was probably connected with the satellites of James I's favourite, the Duke of Buckingham. He had already had shares in a monopoly of the manufacture of gold and silver thread, which he relinquished in 1612³⁵.

On 5 August 1613, together with his partner, Hugh Cressey, he obtained a monopoly for 21 years, of the manufacture of delftware, the first to be granted for this type of ware since 1571³⁶. A note on the warrant for the issue of the patent, dated 24 July, said

Wheras Edmond Bradshawe gent, hath informed your matie that he hath founde out a p(er)fekte and ready waye for the making of all manner of earthen vessell(es) after the manner of Fiansa being a workē not heretofore put in use wthin this kingdome, and hath brought workemen into this kingdome for the p(er)forming thereof³⁷.

It is notable that the wares were described as being similar to those made at Faenza in Italy, which seems to have been a less usual description than that of 'galleyware', associated mainly with the Netherlands and Holland. The claim that this type of ware had not previously been made in England was deliberately untrue, but was a claim usually made by patent-seekers. More interesting is the statement that Bradshaw had imported foreign workmen. This, however, cannot be substantiated as few names of potters in St Saviour's parish are available until after 1625.

Though Bradshawe appears to have been the prime mover in obtaining the monopoly, he sold shares in his enterprise to another London merchant, Hugh Cressey, a Merchant-Taylor. Later Cressey said that he invested 100 marks at this time³⁸. Bradshawe had obtained on 15 November 1612, for a rent of £34 p.a. a lease of premises in Montague Close, in conjunction with another merchant, Nicholas Mawley³⁹. This is corroborated by the appearance of 'Capt. Bradshawe' in the Close, in the St Saviour's Token Book of 1613. The name of Hugh Cressey was written in as an addition⁴⁰.

The wares that Bradshawe and Cressey intended to make were described in the patent as

all pavinge tiles of all sises dishes of all sises pott(es) of all sises Post(es) for gardens and all other p(ro)porcions and vessell(es) made of earth of all fashions after suche manner as is used in Fiansa and other partes beyond the seas ...

This covers most forms of tin-glazed wares in a general way, the only odd item being the posts for gardens. It is difficult to discover the meaning of this. Apart from the very remote possibility that it could mean plinths for garden statuary, the only explanation which can be suggested is the published description of pressmoulded architectural fittings,

by two contemporary monopolists, Simon Sturtevant and John Rovenzon or Robinson. These two both intended to use their patented furnaces in firing earthenware products. Sturtevant in particular described press mouldings

Gardens, Squares, and Walkes are usually composed and inuironed with railes and pales of wood or stone; this may also be done by Press-ware cheaper, stronger and handsomer ...⁴¹

Rovenzon mentioned

certaine white earthen vessels, painted with divers colours, commonly called by the name, or names of Faianza vessel, and a certaine earthen vessell of Jasper colour, or such as are brought out of the Straights, Italy, Spaine, France, Germany, and the Low Countries, together with paving tiles ...⁴²

This description seems to indicate at least awareness of, or perhaps some association with, Bradshawe's intentions.

In spite of Rovenzon's hopes for his patented sea or pit-coal fired furnaces, it is unlikely that he had any hand in the Montague Close kilns, as tin-glazed earthenware was probably fired with wood alone. Rovenzon did in fact build furnaces for Dud Dudley of Worcestershire for iron smelting in 1618, but these were a failure⁴³.

Bradshawe and Cressey's monopoly included the customary privileges of sole right of manufacture, of entry to any place where they suspected other persons were unlawfully manufacturing and the seizure of any wares thus made.

THE MONOPOLISTS AT MONTAGUE CLOSE

The evidence for the manufacture of wares at Montague Close in the first decade can at present only be surmised from the statements made by Hugh Cressey in 1619-22, when his enterprise was labouring under various difficulties and he was involved in three Chancery actions.

The first of these was in 1619, by Cressey against Rowland Heylin and Nicholas Mawley⁴⁴. In his complaint, Cressey stated that shortly after Bradshawe had obtained the patent and taken Cressey as a joint partner, he sold out his share to Cressey, together with his own and Nicholas Mawley's 16-year lease of the Montague Close premises. Cressey specified that the buildings included 'a house called the fraterie beinge parte of Mountague house'. The assignment to him of 4 February 1613/14⁴⁵ was of

the said house called the fraterie and also the house and all the Roome vaultes and all and singular the ... tooles instruments and all manner of stiffe Clay Collours wares potts dishes tiles posts for gardens and other vesselles and Comodities whatsoeuer then made and certaine debts due ... to have and to hold the said furnaces mills frames engines tooles instruments stiffe Clay Collours pots dishes ... (etc.)

From the beginning Cressey was the resident working manager of the pothouse. He was allowed rent free lodgings in Montague House, and drew a salary of £6 13s 4d per annum. After Bradshawe's departure, which is noted in The Token Book of 1614 by the superscription 'gone', Cressey was 'earnestly im-

pertuned by Sr. Thomas Smith knight and Rowland Helin merchant', to accept them as joint partners in the enterprise. On 8 March 1613/14, this partnership was established, and Smith and Heylin invested a sum of £127⁴⁶. This acceptance of the new partners meant that merchants of the first rank and wealth in London had realised the potential profits to be gained from the new pottery manufacture at Montague Close. Sir Thomas Smith was Governor of the East India Company, Treasurer of the Virginia Company, had been an ambassador to Moscow, and promoted voyages of exploration. Rowland Heylin was Treasurer of the Muscovy Company, Master of the Ironmonger's Company twice and in 1625 Sheriff of London. Both were exceedingly rich men⁴⁷.

However, their term of interest in the pottery appears to have done great harm to Cressey and his business. His complaints against them culminated in the action of 1619, against Heylin and Mawley, for debt. He maintained that Heylin had persistently tried to oust him from the partnership and made various allegations against him.

First of all Heylin persuaded Cressey to take an apprentice, Nicholas Teringe, who was duly bound and paid 20 nobles for his fee, which was retained by Heylin. Cressey taught Teringe to make the 'Fians' vessels, but Heylin sought to bring him under his own influence.

In March 1617 Cressey became ill, and while he was on his sick bed, Heylin demanded to see the firm's account books, which he obtained and refused to return. He also obtained money from customers that he appropriated for his own use. This was not all, for during the time that Cressey was confined to bed, the apprentice was smuggled into Montague House, where he stole some of the wares in stock, which were sold for the gain of Heylin.

Heylin's manoeuvre was backed up by a demand that Cressey surrender his share in the patent and the lease. Nicholas Mawley, who had only been involved in the business at its beginning, seems to have joined Heylin and Smith in their campaign, as they accused Cressey of ousting him from his share at the time of the 1614 assignment. Cressey asked the Court for a writ of *subpoena* against Heylin and Mawley, but the result of the case is not clear.

THE COMPETITORS OF HUGH CRESSEY

In 1620 Cressey was again involved in a Chancery action. This time he sued Samuel Sotherne, a Mercer, for infringing his patent. Unfortunately both complaint and answer are so illegible that much of the evidence is lost⁴⁸. Several points, however, are made clear. Although it is not known where Sotherne had his pottery, it seems almost certainly to have been on the Middlesex side of the Thames. In particular he was making 'divers great quantities of pavinge tyles'. Cressey swore

that one Samuell Sotherne of London Mercer (being a man altogether ignorant and unskilfull in the said arte ...) having by sinyster practise inveigled ... perswaded some of yo^r Orators (Cressey) servantes ... such as were weake and feeble of iudgment and easilie moved and seduced to wth drawe themselves from yo^r said Orators service and to spend their tyme and work wth him the said Samuell Sotherne who promised some extraordinary favours and benefits from him ...

In August 1619 Cressey had made forcible entry to Sotherne's warehouse and removed some of the goods. As a result Sotherne began an action at Common Law, declaring that such a seizure was illegal. Because of this Cressey feared that his monopoly might be destroyed, and wished to have an injunction placed on Sotherne to stop him manufacturing. Cressey had already managed to get an injunction placed by Lord Chancellor Ellesmere upon his near neighbour in Southwark, Christian Wilhelm, whom he described as one of the 'certeyne refractorie and disobedient persons...'. This must have been before March 1616/17, as Ellesmere died then. Thus it seems possible to date the beginning of Wilhelm's career as a potter between 1612-13, when he was in dispute over small making with Abraham Baker, and does not mention any involvement in pottery making, and 1616⁴⁹. As Wilhelm said he turned to gallipot-making as a result of his dispute with Baker, he could have established the Pickleherring pottery in 1612, which is the date he himself gave, and, having no patent, found himself at the mercy of those who did acquire one. Equally, he could have established his pottery around 1614-5, hoping as Sotherne had, to break the monopoly. This maze of rivalries concentrated in the Southwark parishes, as Abraham Baker had his small works somewhere in St Saviour's⁵⁰. It is not possible to tell whether the prohibition had much effect upon Wilhelm, or for how long, or if he came to some compromise with Cressey.

Of Sotherne himself, little can be discovered. In his answer to Cressey's charge, he did not state where his pottery was, although he did mention that the shop or warehouse that Cressey entered was in the Steel-yard. He also made the valid point that the designation of 'Fiansa' wares was only an attempt to pass off the manufacture as a new invention. Everyone, he said, knew that this was only another name for what had long been known as gallyware, since the men from Antwerp had made it in England forty years before. This was clearly a reference to Jacob Johnson, who made this type of pottery at Aldgate from 1571 until an unknown date. It is just possible that Sotherne himself had his pottery on the same, or a nearby, Aldgate site. Two Flemish potters were living in Aldgate in 1617 and 1621⁵¹. Although Sotherne is supposed to have brought an action of Trespass in the Court of Common Pleas, this has not yet been found and the outcome of his attempt to destroy Cressey's monopoly is not known.

The monopoly was not one of those abolished in 1621 by the 'Proclamation touching Grievances', although it did come under review by the committee investigating complaints. The Statute of Monopolies of 1624 does not mention it. In this statute all patents, except those specified and those proved genuine inventions, for the buying, selling, making and using of commodities were abolished. Whether the 'Fiansa' monopoly was destroyed by this, or had been destroyed between 1621 and 1624 by action at Common Law, the only redress permissible against it, is difficult to discover⁵².

By 1622 Hugh Cressey, who was so anxious to bring his rivals to litigation, was himself sued by William Arundell for payment of a £20 p.a. chief rent due to Lord Montague, from which he had hitherto been exempt, as he said, under the terms of his lease. He denied the charge that he had allowed the premises to fall into disrepair and said that he could testify that he had spent £150 on repairs and rebuilding. He was also willing to resign his lease.

This he seems not to have done immediately, as he appears in the Token Books in 1613-24, and only in 1626 was his place noted as 'empty'. In 1617, two assessments were made by the parish, in June and August, for the payment of the Provost Marshal. Hugh Cressey was assessed in the Close for £4 12d., being next door to Robert Bromfield 'the sopehouse', who paid £8⁵³. In 1618 his servants Hugh, William, Peter and Margaret are noted⁵⁴.

The parish registers of St Saviour's provide very few names of potters during this time, although trades are almost always noted in baptismal entries. Francis Belgrave, 'a potters servant' was in the Close 1616-18, marked in the Token Books near Cressey, though by 1622 he had gone. He had three children baptised 1617-21. Thomas, son of Hugh Cressey, 'potter', was baptised 9 June 1617.

THE SUCCESSORS OF HUGH CRESSEY

Cressey may well have surrendered his lease in 1625, when Lord Montague sold his property in the Close to Thomas Overman and Robert Bromfield⁵⁵. By 1627 a new tenant appears in Montague House, who was described in the parish register in 1629 as 'potmaker'⁵⁶. His name was Jacob Prynne, and could be of Flemish origin. It is interesting to note that an alien, of unspecified trade, by the name of Jacob Prien was taxed in 1617 and 1625, in Aldgate, in 1617 next to Christian Bonharinck, a potter. He had been in England thirty years⁵⁷. Also, in 1611 a Jacob Prien was attested to the London Dutch Church as being of the congregation of the Sandwich, Kent, Dutch Church⁵⁸. Dutch potters are known to have worked in Sandwich⁵⁹.

Prynne remained in Montague Close until his death in 1633-34. In 1634 'Widow Prynne' was in the Close⁶⁰. In 1629 Prynne had two lodgers in his house, 'Medcalfe Willsmer' and 'John Bessick'. This John Bessick or Bissicke remained in the Close until 1642. This, one may safely assume, was the John Bissicke who left Southwark in the 1640's to work at a pottery in Brislington, Bristol⁶¹. In his will of 1659/60 he mentioned his 'kinsman Richard Bissick (sonne of Richard Bissicke of the Borough of Southwark ... Gally-pot maker)...'⁶². In 1632-4 a Richard Bissicke was also living in the Close.

In 1629 one other name that can be identified as a potter in the parish register, John Bartell or Bartole, can be found in Montague Close⁶³. By 1632, seven others appear in the Token Book, including William Bellamy, who seems to have been associated with Christian Wilhelm in St Olave's before Wilhelm's death in 1630⁶⁴.

THE GREAT EXPANSION OF MONTAGUE CLOSE

By the mid-1630's, it is clear that the Montague Close pottery lease was held by London business men who were not the resident potters, and that the premises were being extended. In February 1634/5 return was made for St Saviour's parish to the Commissioners for Buildings, of all new buildings erected during the last nine or ten years. In Montague Close there was

One Pothouse or workhouse built all in brick upon old foundations heretofore severall tene-ments and nowe in lease to one John Humphreyes worth per Annum 20 Mks. or thereabouts.

Also described were 'two small tenements with a stable ... Thomas Irons dwelleth in the one of them and William Bellamy in the other'⁶⁵. These two were both potters.

It is perhaps worth noting that John Humphreys was a member of the Haberdashers' Company, as was William Bellamy, and several other potters associated with Montague Close at this time, including Jonathan Collington who also worked at Pickleherring⁶⁶.

In 1635 there was either another change of leaseholder at Montague Close, or an extension of a partnership. In December of that year, 'John Kirby } for the pothouses' in Montague Close were assessed for Ship Money payment⁶⁷. In 1637 a parish assessment for contributions to the repair of Chertsey Bridge named 'Mr Thomas Robinson and John Kirby'⁶⁸; in 1638 'Mr Thomas Robinson and his partners for the Pothouse'⁶⁹; and in 1639 'Thomas Robinson etc. for his pt of ye Pothouse' paid Ship Money⁷⁰.

MONTAGUE CLOSE—THE PEAK PERIOD

Three potters who were to remain in active partnership until the 1660's had come to live in the vicinity of the Close by 1640. They were Thomas Irons, John Townsend and Edward Ball.

John Townsend is of some interest because of his possible family relationship with Thomas Townsend, the successor of Christian Wilhelm at the Pickle-herring pottery⁷¹.

Thomas Irons appears to have been chief leaseholder in the pottery, as in 1642 he paid Poll Tax, 'Thomas Irons for himselfe thirteene shilling and fowre pence Mr Overman landlord one poune three shillings and fowre pence'⁷². Edward Ball was also in business as a woodmonger or coal-merchant at St Mary Overy's dock, which may explain his association with the pottery, as a supplier of fuel⁷³.

After the astonishing boom of the 1630's, when numbers of potter's names appearing in St Saviour's parish registers increased from ten in the 1620's to forty-three by 1640, numbers continued at about the same level until 1680⁷⁴.

During the earlier part of this period, we have information which mentions the mill that the Montague Close potters employed for grinding their 'colours', or constituents of glazes. The materials were brought back up to Southwark from Armoury Mill, on the river Ravensbourne, in Greenwich. This mill was water-powered and had previously been used as an armourer's workshop. A Parliamentary Survey, taken 18 February 1649/50, describes it as

All that Tenement or Mill called or knowe by ye Name of ye Armory Mill consistinge of one large Roome wherein standeth two Mills lately altered used & employed by Potters for Grindeinge of Colours for their Earthen Ware together wth two other little Roomes one Little stable one large pond.

A memorandum was made

wheras Mr Anthony Nicholls a late Member of ye noble howse of Com(m)ons Assembled in P(ar)liament by his Indenture bearinge date ye fift day of August 1646 did for & in consideracon of ye sum(m)e of threescore and five pounds to him paid at or before the ensealinge of ye said Lease

demised unto Thomas Irons John Townesend Edward Ball Henry Parker and William Constable Haberdashers and Citizens of London for the Tearme of twenty one yeares ... ye afore-said Lessees have enjoyed ye said Mill & Ground since ye date of the said Lease and haue expended upon ye New makinge of the said Mills wth ye repaire of ye Bancks of ye said pond the su(m)e of two hundred and fifty poundes, but by what power or authority he ye said Mr Nicholls did demise ye said p(re)misses wee know not, and therefore wee have valued ye same in possession, And by vertue of our said Com(m)ic(i)on wee have demised the said Mill and Ground for one yeaere from Christmas last past unto ye said Thomas Irons John Townesende Edward Ball and William Constable for ye su(m)e of seauentene pounds, but worth upon an Improued Rent ouer and aboue the said xviiii p(er) Ann(um)⁷⁵.

Evidence for the source of the clay used by the Montague Close potters will be discussed in the report on the excavations and the pottery analysis.

THOMAS HARPER 1668-1702

In about 1668-70, after Thomas Irons had died, Ball and Townsend appear to have transferred their interest in the pottery to Thomas Harper, who had lived in St Saviour's parish since at least 1647, presumably as their employee. In the Hearth Tax returns of 1664-5 the potters living in the Close were John Townsend (6 hearths), William Constable (2), Thomas Harper (3), Edward Ball (4)⁷⁶.

In 1674 there were Thomas Harper and his partner Daniel Parker (6), Widow Constable (1), Captaine Ball (3)⁷⁷.

During the 30 years of his occupation of the Montague Close pottery, Thomas Harper became one of the most influential potters in London. He certainly took many more apprentices than his predecessors. Between 1669 and 1699 he took twenty apprentices, several of whom became well known potters in Southwark and Lambeth⁷⁸.

For example Matheu Garner and Moses Johnson, who were sued by John Dwight in 1695 for infringing his stoneware patent, had both originally learnt to make delfware at Montague Close. Daniel Parker, Harper's partner, gave evidence on behalf of Matthew Garner, saying

That he knoweth the Compt^t Dwight extraordinary well & hath soe done for abt 25 yeaeres last past & he alsoe knows the Def^t Garner who served his tyme as an Apprentice to Mr Harper a Pot-maker ...⁷⁹

Two of Dwight's employees, Henry and Nathaniel Parker may have been Daniel's sons.

Thomas Harper also played an important part in the campaign of the English tin-glaze potters to prohibit the import of foreign and in particular Dutch wares. He was named in petitions complaining of imports in 1672, 1685/6, 1689 and 1694⁸⁰.

It is probable that during the 1690's a slump in the tin-glaze potter's trade was felt even before the introduction of the restrictive Excise duty in 1695. An advertisement appeared in 1693 which suggests that there was either unemployment among the potters in

St Saviour's parish, or that Thomas Harper had perhaps run into disputes with his workmen. It said:

Any Gentlemen that are desirous to be concerned in the Art of Pot-making, and Painting of fine Earthen Ware, curiously imitating the Holland Ware, and are willing to set up a Pot-House, may hear of Artificers (that will perform the same on Reasonable Terms) at Mr Downings at the Plume of Feathers at St Mary Overyes, Southwark⁸¹.

A contributory cause of this unemployment may have been the large numbers of apprentices taken by master potters like Thomas Harper from the 1670's onwards. The system was a method of obtaining cheap labour, as the apprentice probably for four or five years out of seven or eight provided craftsman's skills without drawing craftsman's wages.

THE EXCISE DUTY

The Excise duty imposed in 1695-8 on earthenware and glass was alleged to be a ruinous imposition on the pot-makers. Although Thomas Harper was by now an old man and did not give evidence to the House of Commons Committee investigating complaints himself, Richard Crew, one of his principal workmen did. On 17 February 1696/7 he said

that this Duty lays 10L per Cent. upon the White Earthen Manufacture: which has occasioned the loss of this Trade; not having had any Work these 10 Weeks past; and, for want of a Sale of their Stocks, the Masters are not able to pay their Workmen, the Wages they owe them: That he is a Journeyman, and knows that the Goods which he, with the rest of his fellow Servants, have made, remain on his Master's Hands, and cannot be disposed of: That the Manufacture is at a Stand, and will be entirely destroyed⁸².

By May 1698 the situation had grown worse. The 'Petitions of Mr Dwight, and other Master Pot-makers, and Workers in that Manufacture' were presented to the Commons.

Mr Crew said, That, since the Duty, their Workmen are become chargeable to the Parish; but before, were maintained by themselves: That, before the Duty, they had a good Trade, which is now much lessened: That he formerly employed 100 Men, and now but Fifty; and his Duty amounts to about 100L per Annum...⁸³

By this date, Crew was probably the manager at Montague Close. Thomas Harper died in 1702. His will is short and does not mention his pottery business, or name a successor⁸⁴. Richard Crew presumably ran the pottery until his own death in 1707/8⁸⁵. He had been apprenticed to Harper on 27 November 1683, and himself took apprentices from May 1702 until 1705⁸⁶.

SAMUEL WILKINSON

The successor of Richard Crew at Montague Close and owner of the pottery in its last important phase seems to have been Samuel Wilkinson, who had also been apprenticed to Thomas Harper, on 4 July 1695. He took his first apprentice soon after Crew's death, in 1707/8. He achieved a position of eminence among the London potters and within the Ironmongers' Company.

Largely due to the apprenticeship system of Thomas Harper, a very large number of earthenware potters

were members of this Company during the first half of the eighteenth century. Wilkinson himself was Master from 27 July 1738 until October, during which time he attended Court meetings on 10 and 31 August. On 23 October, a new master was elected. No explanation of this curtailed term of office is given⁸⁷.

Wilkinson took his last apprentice in December 1735, and his name last appears in a London Directory in 1740⁸⁸. This could indicate illness and eventual death. But there is no certain record of his death in the parish register, though a Samuel Wilkinson did die in St Saviour's on 27 February 1749/50. No will can be found for either date, or any year between. The Samuel who died in 1750 may even have been his nephew, who was apprenticed to him on 5 April 1721. Wilkinson appears to have been friendly with Nathaniel Oade, owner of the Gravel Lane pottery, as he was one of those to whom Oade bequeathed a share of his property in trust in 1726⁸⁹.

There is no reason to suppose that the Montague Close pottery was anything but prosperous during the 1720's. On 24 March 1727 Samuel Wilkinson leased for 61 years

All that their Messuage or Tenement thentofore used for the Goale or Prison called the Clink sometimes in the tenure of one Robert Newman Dyer (etc.)⁹⁰.

Whether he wished to use this building as warehousing, or to convert it into another pottery, is not known, but by 1746 a pottery was in production there⁹¹.

After 1740 no mention of a pottery at Montague Close occurs in directories until 1752, when an entry for 'Richard Day & Son, Potters Montague Close, Bank-side', appears. The entry is repeated in Kent's Directory of 1755, but by 1759 Day had left Montague Close and was noted as 'R. Day & Son Merchants next to Joiners-hall, Upper Thames Street'. From these directories it is impossible to tell whether Day was a manufacturing potter at Montague Close or a wholesale dealer in earthenware. He is described as potter, but this term is used by 1755 to describe both dealers and manufacturers. In Mortimer's Universal Directory of 1763, which lists manufacturers in London of both stoneware and 'blue and white' ware, the Montague Close pottery does not appear.

From all this rather negative evidence the date of the termination of pottery manufacturing at Montague Close can only be established within a possible period of about fifteen years. It took place after Samuel Wilkinson's death or retirement in about 1740, but before 1759, when Day & Son had moved to Thames Street. The evidence of the Ironmongers' apprenticeships suggests that the end of Samuel Wilkinson was in fact the end of Montague Close as a manufacturing pottery. No apprentices appear to have been taken by any of Wilkinson's men after 1740, and although potters are still named in St Saviour's parish registers until at least the 1760's, they were very probably employed at the Gravel Lane pottery until the 1750's or at Clink Street, both of which were within the parish.

NOTES

28. Dump site at Pickleherring Quay or Potters Fields, Southwark, excavated by Dr F. Celoria in 1965: c. 100 years (c. 1618-1723). Norfolk House, Lambeth: c. 60 years (c. 1680-1740) see final report on this site in *Post-Medieval Archaeology*, V (1971).

- Other sites represented by fieldwork finds are : in Southwark, Gravel Lane, c. 60 years (1693- c. 1750); Bear Garden, probably c. 40 years (c. 1660-1700); in Lambeth, Vauxhall, probably c. 140 years (c. 1690-1830).
29. See I. Davies, 'Seventeenth-century delftware potters in St Olave's parish, Southwark', *Surrey A.C.*, LXVI (1969), 11-31.
 30. Gravel Lane and Bear Garden in Southwark; Carlisle House and Vauxhall in Lambeth. Short notes on these sites can be found in F. H. Garner, 'London Pottery Sites', *English Ceramic Circle Trans.*, 2, No. 9 (1946), 179-187.
 31. See below, note 38. Also W. Taylor, *Annals of St Mary Overy* (1833), 18-19. A detailed description of the pottery, with all measurements, was given in a lease of 1683, quoted in a Chancery case of 1693 (PRO C5/149/49, answer of Henry Markinfield). It is intended to include a full transcript of this in the final archaeological report on the excavations, as it has much relevance to the topography of the factory in relation to the excavated structures.
 32. As Note 39. See *Victoria County History of Surrey*, II (1905), 365-6.
 33. Minet Library, Lambeth, deed 4864.
 34. As Note 53. See *Victoria County History of Surrey*, II (1905), 402-4.
 35. Edmund Bradshaw trading in N. Africa is mentioned in *Acts of Privy Council 1616-17*, 391; *Cal. State Papers Domestic, Addenda 1580-1625*, 587. His connection with the thread monopoly (a Buckingham project) is mentioned in *Frederick Devon, Pell Records. Issues of the Exchequer... during the reign of King James I* (1836), 147.
 36. Patent to Richard Bertie, Thomas Cecil, Francis Harrington and Edmund Hall, PRO C66/1062.
 37. Warrant, PRO SP 39/3 no. 41. Patent Roll, PRO C 66/1982.
 38. PRO C 5/305/15.
 39. PRO C 2/Jas. I.A1/5.
 40. GLCRO P92/SAV/202.
 41. Simon Sturtevant, *A Treatise of Metallica* (London, 1612). BM.
 42. John Rovenzon, *A Treatise of Metallica* (London, 1613). BM.
 43. Hans R. Schubert, *History of the British Iron and Steel Industry c. 450 BC to AD 1775* (1957), 228.
 44. As Note 38.
 45. This date is given in the 1622 case, as Note 39.
 46. All as Note 38.
 47. See entries in *Dictionary of National Biography*.
 48. PRO C 5/305/47.
 49. See Davies *op. cit.* in Note 29, p. 12-14.
 50. In 1622 Baker sued John Fitz, who had built engines in his smalt works in St Saviour's, PRO C 2/Jas. I F5/47.
 51. Christian Bonharincke in 1617, see R. E. G. Kirk and Ernest F. Kirk (eds.), *Returns of Aliens dwelling in the City and Suburbs of London*, pt. II (1902), 148, *Huguenot Society Publications X*. 'Peter' in 1621, *ibid.* pt. III (1907), 249.
 52. The Proclamation and the Statute are transcribed and printed in William Hyde-Price, *The English Patents of Monopoly*, Harvard Economic Studies I (1906), 166-8, 135-41.
 53. GLCRO P92/SAV/1340-1.
 54. Token Book P92/SAV/207.
 55. L. C. C. *Survey of London*, XXII, 'Bankside' (1950) 43-4, quotes ref. PRQ C 54/2637.
 56. Daughter Grace bapt. 2 Dec.
 57. *Huguenot Soc. Pubs.*, X as in Note 51, pt. III, 148, 287.
 58. J. H. Hessels (ed.), *Register of the Attestations... in the Dutch Reformed Church, Austin Friars 1568-1872* (1892), 9.
 59. *Huguenot Soc. Proceedings*, II (1887-8), 216, 226, 236.
 60. Token Book P92/SAV/224-5.
 61. Anthony Ray, *English Delftware Pottery in the Robert Hall Warren Collection, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford* (1968), 39-40.
 62. PRO PROB 11 Nabbs, 23.
 63. Daughter Ellen bapt. 6 Oct. 1628.
 64. Davies, *op. cit.* in note 29, 23-4.
 65. GLCRO P 92/SAV/1326.
 66. Registers of freedoms and apprenticeships, Haberdashers' Hall. Collington is mentioned in Davies, *op. cit.* in Note 29, 25.
 67. GLCRO P 92/SAV/1351.
 68. *Ibid.*, 1347.
 69. *Ibid.*, 1348.
 70. *Ibid.*, 1355.
 71. Evidence given in detail in Rhoda Edwards, 'An Annotated List of London Potters c. 1570-1710', *Journal of Ceramic History*, forthcoming 1973.
 72. PRO E 179/257/22.
 73. Will of Edward Ball 1689, PRO PROB 11 Ent, 118.
 74. A histogram comparing the numbers of potters in Lambeth and Southwark during the seventeenth century can be found in Lorna Weatherill and Rhoda Edwards, 'Pottery making in London and Whitehaven in the late-seventeenth century', *Post-Medieval Archaeology*, V (1971).
 75. PRO E 317/KENT no. 30.
 76. PRO E 179/258/7.
 77. PRO E 179/188/496.
 78. Ironmongers' Company apprenticeship registers, consulted by permission of the Clerk to the Company.
 79. PRO C 24/1188.
 80. These petitions are listed in F. H. Garner, 'Lambeth Earthenware', *English Ceramic Circle Trans.*, I, no. 4 (1937), 60-1.
 81. *London Gazette*, 11-14 Sept. 1693.
 82. *House of Commons Journal*, XI, 709.

83. *Ibid.*, XII, 281.
84. PRO PROB 11 Herne 97.
85. Buried 7 Mar. 1707/8, St Saviour's parish register.
86. Ironmongers' apprenticeship registers, as In Note 78.
87. Ironmongers' Court Minutes, as Note 78
88. *A Complete Guide to All Persons who have any TRADE or CONCERN with the City of LONDON... (etc.)* 1740.
89. Will of Nathaniel Oade, PRO PROB 11 Farrant 70.
90. Minet Library, deed 4943.
91. Wills of Thomas Lunn 1747, and Richard Rogers 1752, PRO PROB 11, Potter 76; Bettesworth 138.

The site is marked as a pot-house on John Rocque's map of London, 1746.

(The following abbreviations have been used:

GLCRO	Greater London Council Record Office
PRO	Public Record Office
BM	British Museum)

APPENDIX

Since this article was written, two more vessels belonging to the above groups have come to light.

1. This is the 'porringer' found in 1837 and described in the Cuming Manuscript Catalogue (see footnote 3 above). It seems to belong to the class of

Bowls Type 3 though it is somewhat different from the examples of this type published from Norfolk House. It has a gently curving body, which does not curve back near the rim, a simple rim, and a scar for one horizontal handle (it may have had two since the relevant part is missing on the other side) (Fig. 32). Footring D. $2\frac{7}{16}$ inches, W. $\frac{4}{16}$ inches, H. $\frac{4}{16}$ inches: rim D. $5\frac{10}{16}$ inches: H. (of vessel) $2\frac{2}{16}$ inches. It has a close parallel at Dover Castle (see *Post-Mediaeval Archaeology*, III (1969), Fig. 10, No. 7) which would support the suggestion made above that this group belongs to the mid seventeenth century.

2. This belongs to the 1947 St Saviours Group in the Cuming Museum (Acc. No. 58/2/54). It is a hollow flaring foot and a solid stem with a heavy cordon on it and the beginnings of the outward sloping sides of the upper part of the vessel. The top of the stem is in fact broken but it is unlikely that it went up much higher within the vessel (Fig. 33). D. of foot $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches. Probably the base of a goblet similar to an example in the British Museum ('English Delftware'.

Catalogue by Michael Archer, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam 1973 No. 32) dated 1650. The majority of dated English goblets fall within the period 1650-60 (*Ibid* p. 22) and this fits well with the mid seventeenth century date suggested above for this group.

Documentary evidence has now come to light which shows that the Spouted Pedestalled Vessel Type 2 (Fig. 3) was not found in 1911 (see p. 48 above) but was found with the rest of the St Saviour's material in 1947